



# THE CENTER & CLARK NEWSLETTER

UCLA CENTER FOR 17TH- & 18TH-CENTURY STUDIES  
WILLIAM ANDREWS CLARK MEMORIAL LIBRARY

NUMBER 31

SPRING 1998

## Ahmanson Foundation Grant

Early this year, the Clark Library received a gift of \$100,000 from the Ahmanson Foundation of Los Angeles, to be used for the direct purchase of material for the Ahmanson-Murphy collection at the Library. This generous donation has allowed us to acquire some very interesting and important books, including, for example, Jonathan Swift's rare *Directions to Servants* (Dublin, 1745); a very scarce book on the design of parterres, Daniel Loris's *Le thresor des parterres* (Geneva, 1629); a bound volume of pamphlets and broadsides by Francis Hoffman, an early-eighteenth-century English poet and astrologer; a rare piece of Sterniana called *The Life of Christopher Wagstaff* (London, 1762); and a late-eighteenth-century manuscript catalogue of the books belonging to a religious young woman named Miss Freeman.

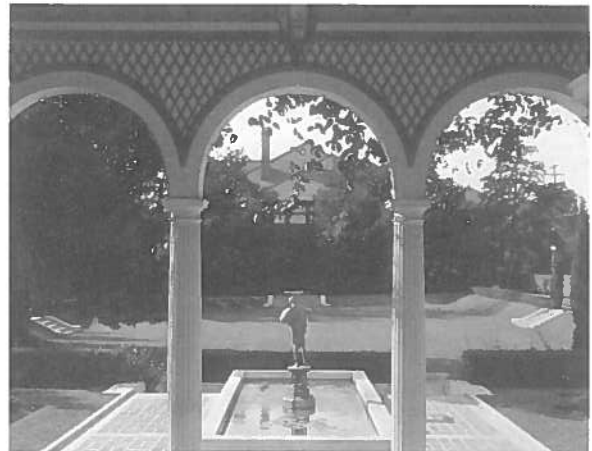
This gift was made in addition to the Ahmanson Foundation's regular support of the Center and the Clark, and we are immensely grateful to the foundation for this generous expression of confidence in the Clark's work.

## An Afternoon of Acquisitions

On Sunday, March 8, the Clark Library held its first major fund-raising event in support of the book collection. Over a hundred guests attended the "Afternoon of Acquisitions," during which forty recently acquired books and manuscripts were exhibited in the north and south bookrooms and were available for sponsorship. Some twenty-seven items found sponsors and almost \$30,000 was raised for the Library's book fund. The program began with remarks by UCLA Chancellor Albert Carnesale, Dean of Humanities Pauline Yu, and Center and Clark Director Peter Reill. Three readers then presented a lighthearted and amusing selection of passages from works by Oscar Wilde. Film director Sydney Pollack and UCLA Professors David Rodes and Michael Allen were the stars of this Wilde medley, which Professor Rodes had put together. The Center and the Library extend thanks to the U.S. Trust Company of California, which helped underwrite the event, and to the committee of volunteers led by Caron Brody (the co-chair of our Director's Advisory Council), who organized the affair and carried it off. We hope to make the "Afternoon of Acquisitions" an annual occasion, and planning for the 1999 program has already begun.

## Frances Brody's Gift to the Garden

The Center and the Clark are pleased to announce that this past January, Frances Brody, a leading member of our Director's Advisory Council, made a donation of \$100,000, which is to form the corpus of an endowment fund for the restoration and renovation of the library grounds. Earnings from this fund, to be named the Clark Library Gardens and Grounds Endowment, will initially be used to prepare detailed plans for the long-needed restoration of the Clark's landscape, including its sculptures, fountains, and urns, as well as its sprinklers. We are tremendously grateful to Mrs. Brody for her great generosity, and we look forward to proceeding with the plans which it has made possible.



View of Clark's residence and garden from his teahouse, c. 1923.  
See article below.

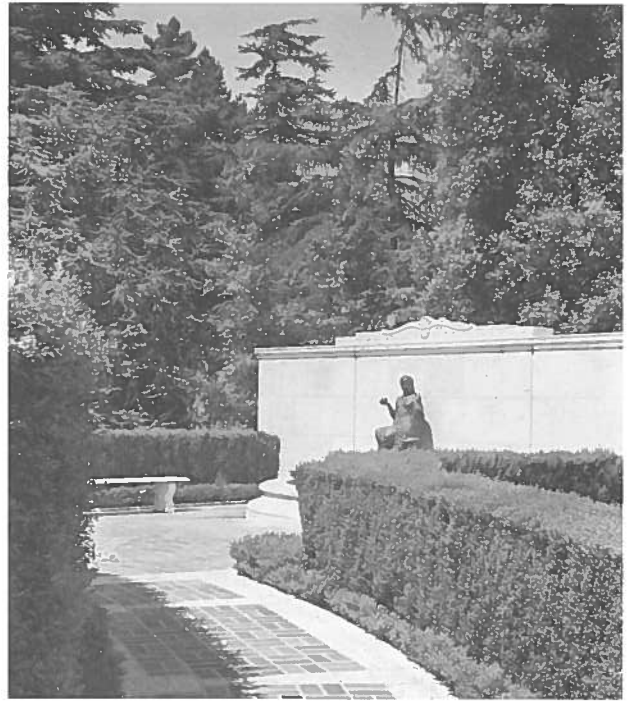
## Far from All Noise, Some Silent Shade

In the close confinement of city existence, unless man can have occasional refuge from the din and clamor and strife of the "roaring town," he becomes a mechanism of overwrought nerves, a harassed, irritable being. He needs must pause at times to rest his nerves, to reassemble his energies. What better place for this than the garden?—and what greater reason for being need a garden have?

Ralph Cornell, the first landscape architect to open his office in Los Angeles, wrote these words in an article for *California Graphic* in May 1924. Discussing the components of a suc-

cessful garden, Cornell used the West Adams residence of William Andrews Clark Jr. to illustrate his points. Clark had employed Wilbur A. Cook, designer of the original Beverly Hills city plan, to work out a formal design reflecting Clark's exacting taste, his education, and his travels. The Italian and French influences fashionable in the gardens of the Southland's wealthy during the teens and twenties are evident in the plant choices and geometric layout. Cook formed a major axis, with Clark's house as the western terminus, a sweeping lawn between, and a teahouse at the other end. Yews and conifers filtered the midday sun. Raised beds of roses, long straight walkways edged with boxwood, a judiciously placed pool and sculpture, boundaries of foliage to screen and enclose—all contributed to create a reflective, private space.

By 1928 Clark had replaced the teahouse with his library building and expanded his acreage. He called in Mark Daniels, the designer with whom he collaborated on a three-year plan that included pavilions, shrines to Keats, Shelley, and Goldsmith, sunken gardens, and a ninety-foot-long formal bathing pool. In an interview with the *Los Angeles Times*, Daniels said that Clark had also specified rare foliage and floral culture so that "no garden in the U.S. [would] exceed this development in charm and beauty." This ambitious program was not completed, perhaps because of the stock market crash in 1929. Daniels did execute the long sunken lawn on the east side of the library, which extended the main axis that Cook had introduced. He planted additional hedges, this time of fine-leaved myrtle and bronze-tipped eugenia, to line the lawn and paths. A variety of trees placed behind



"Maid of the Garden," c. 1938

the hedges added contrast and depth. On the south side of the library, Daniels built an outdoor pavilion (now known as the "outdoor reading room") in which he harmonized the classical forms of cast-concrete caryatids and urns with plants like the laurel bay, a favorite from antiquity. He modified the west steps leading down from the front of the library building by installing curving travertine copings that circle two basins. Within these, he placed two bronze pieces sculpted by Sherry Fry, "Boy with a Shell" and "Undine." Both still function as fountains.

The garden was finished several years after Clark's death, when ownership of the library transferred to the University of California. In 1937, the Regents turned to Ralph Cornell, by now the landscape architect at UCLA. Given no specific agenda, Cornell began by completing the eastern face of the garden overlooked by the library's drawing room windows. Closing the main axis, he erected an ornamental wall in order to frame a new fountain containing a third bronze by Fry, "Maid of the Garden."

On the stretch of property to the north of the library, Cornell devised a picturesque setting which featured a Moreton Bay fig, a mature specimen even in Clark's time. As its girth now measures over twenty feet and its canopy spreads to one hundred, the tree easily dominates the vast swath of lawn and the arrangement of magnolias that Cornell established. At the western end, he positioned a small grove of trees, in front of which he placed four sections of privet hedge encircling an exquisite birds-in-flight bronze sculpture by Clare Sheridan. On the other side of the Moreton Bay, Cornell created an "earthwork amphitheater": a sloping area to seat an audience, a depression for the orchestra pit, a grassy stage flanked by yews—the whole ringed by a clipped hedge.



Outdoor reading room by Daniels, c. 1929

Today, though the yews have disappeared, the outlines of the amphitheater can still be discerned.

Much has changed since this critical period of the garden's development. A small wooden observatory (shown on p. 8) was removed in 1951 and a parking area built in its place; Clark's house was replaced by the main parking lot in 1972; a new set of buildings, informally called the North Range, was completed in 1990. Some rare botanical specimens still survive, and although a number of great trees and shrubs have died, the elegant and simple design of the grounds is intact. The unified, harmonious setting achieved by Cook, Daniels, and Cornell, remains undiminished through the decades, and the garden continues to offer a peaceful retreat from the "roaring town."

SUZANNE TATIAN  
*Reader Services, Clark Library*

## Fellows' Research on Millenarianism

[The following articles were contributed by the Ahmanson-Getty fellows who participated in this year's program "Millenarianism and Messianism in Early Modern Europe and America"]

### I - Arianism and Millenarianism

While recent scholarly study of Protestant millenarianism has concentrated overwhelmingly on the Anglo-Saxon world, in the seventeenth century the doctrine itself was far more widely diffused. Millenarianism revived in Germany earlier than in England and flourished in the war-torn conditions of central Europe decades before similar conditions fostered its spread in the British Isles. The return of relative stability in the later seventeenth century did not halt its revival: millenarianism flourished amid the peace and prosperity of the Dutch golden age, attracted its most distinguished intellectual defenders in England after the Restoration, peaked in France after 1685, and won a flood of converts in Germany and Scandinavia with the advent of Pietism in the 1690s. By the end of the seventeenth century, millenarianism was more rigorously established intellectually and more broadly diffused geographically, socially, and confessionally than ever before and had infected, at one time or another, virtually every denomination and country in the Protestant world from the Unitarians of Transylvania to the Puritans of New England. Far from being an Anglo-Saxon eccentricity, millenarianism in the seventeenth century was, in fact, a pan-European phenomenon. Perhaps the most fundamental question in the study of early modern millenarianism is therefore why, despite its virtually unanimous condemnation by the first generations of mainstream Protestant theologians, millenarianism subsequently surfaced within every major Protestant community.

At the Clark, my research into this question has focused primarily on the doctrine's revival within one relatively little-studied strand of radical Protestantism: antitrinitarianism. Arianism (the most common variety of antitrinitarianism)

and millenarianism, on the face of it, seem strange bedfellows. Antitrinitarianism has won a firm place in the liberal narrative of the emancipation of the Western mind from the bondage of medieval dogma. In rejecting the central mystery of orthodox Christianity, we are told, antitrinitarians developed the most progressive aspects of the Renaissance and Reformation in the direction of the Enlightenment and nurtured a trinity of liberal values: freedom, reason, and tolerance. The reputation of millenarianism, on the other hand, could scarcely offer a greater contrast. Norman Cohn, to cite only the most obvious instance, used a study of what he variously called "revolutionary messianism," "mystical anarchism," and "millenarianism" as a means to explore the social and ideological preconditions for persecution and genocide; and the second edition of his classic work concluded by directly comparing medieval and Reformation millenarian movements to the totalitarian eschatologies of Hitler and Stalin.

As a result of this conceptual divide, the coincidence of Arianism and millenarianism is rarely noted and almost never analyzed. Yet the coincidence of these two traditions is remarkably common and widespread, occurring among groups ranging from illiterate peasants to leading intellectuals and in regions from Transylvania to New England, from Spain to Sweden. Of the figures whose writings combined antitrinitarianism and millenarianism, the best known are five of the most intellectually distinguished representatives of either movement in the early modern period. Isaac Newton and his successor as Lucasian Professor at Cambridge, William Whiston, had many views in common, but "the most startling point of similarity in their views," according to James Force, was "the confluence between the heartfelt Arianism of the two men and their millennial hopes." The two leading dissenting intellectuals of late-eighteenth-century England, Richard Price and Joseph Priestley, disagreed on so many fundamental theological issues that Jack Fruchtman Jr.'s study of them concluded that "the only principles that they held in common were their rejection of the idea of the trinity and [their expectation of] the coming millennium." A less familiar but no less distinguished example is the greatest intellectual of eighteenth-century Sweden after Linnaeus: the nobleman, inventor, natural philosopher, metaphysician, theologian, and mystic Emanuel Swedenborg, who combined an unusual variety of antitrinitarianism with a unique quasi-millenarian interpretation of the Apocalypse.

These celebrated intellectuals, however, are only late representatives in a long and distinguished line stretching back to the decades immediately after the Reformation. The first Protestant known to express unorthodox views on the Trinity was Martin Cellarius-Borrhaus. The work in which he did so, his *De operibus Dei* of 1527, is also among the first explicitly millenarian writings to emerge within the inner circle of Lutheran reformers. Other well-known millenarians noted as well for antitrinitarianism include Sebastian Franck, Melchior Hoffmann, and David Joris. An even more striking case is the fountainhead of the modern tradition of radi-

cal antitrinitarianism, the Spaniard Michael Servetus. Servetus's masterwork, *Christianismi restitutio* (1553), traced the rise of the Antichrist back to the Council of Nicea in A.D. 325 and prophesied the end of Antichrist's 1260-year kingdom, his overthrow in a final, cataclysmic battle, and the beginning of the thousand-year reign of the saints in 1585. The founders of Transylvanian antitrinitarianism, Giorgio Blandrata and Ferenc Dávid, followed Servetus in recounting the history of the Athanasian Antichrist, and they republished passages from the crucial millenarian work of Cellarius. In Transylvania, Lithuania, and parts of Poland, others related a still more radical form of antitrinitarianism so firmly to millenarianism that the two doctrines survived together as central tenets of a Sabbatarian sect into the present century. Similar patterns are evident elsewhere. The first Socinian tract in English, for instance, published by Paul Best in London in 1647, bears the title *Mysteries Discovered. Or A Mercuriall Picture pointing out the way from Babylon to the holy City*. The main confessional statement of his successor, John Biddle, concludes with an explicitly millenarian passage. The radical antitrinitarian William Freke published an anonymous pamphlet in 1702 entitled *The New Jerusalem . . . most solemnly assur'd in the Latter Days to the Churches . . . To the thorough Satisfaction of all further Millenary Doubts*. From figures such as these the tradition extends forward to Newton and Whiston, Priestley and Price.

What, then, was the logic that linked antitrinitarianism and millenarianism in the minds of so many? The most general answer is to be found in their radical rejection of the dominant theological tradition of the previous thousand years. Antitrinitarians agreed that the Christian Church had suffered a catastrophic fall at the Council of Nicea, when the Athanasian doctrine of the coessentiality of the three persons of the Trinity was established as orthodoxy. Such a position prevented them from accepting the modified Augustinian position, common to most mainstream Protestants, that the millennium could be identified as a thousand-year period in the past history of the church. And if the prophecy of the millennium had not been fulfilled in the past, then it would have to be fulfilled in the future. Antitrinitarians, therefore, adopted millenarianism less out of unprecedented optimism regarding the future than from unprecedented alienation from the past. In this they are particularly clear exemplars of a rule which, as I hope to show during my future researches at the Clark, is evident in most other forms of Protestant millenarianism as well.

HOWARD HOTSON  
*University of Aberdeen*

## II - Whigs, Astrologers, and Millenarians

My research at the Clark has been part of a larger project on astrology and politics in Restoration England. I began with a question concerning the history of the Popish Plot and Exclusion Crisis of 1678–83. The Crisis centered on an al-

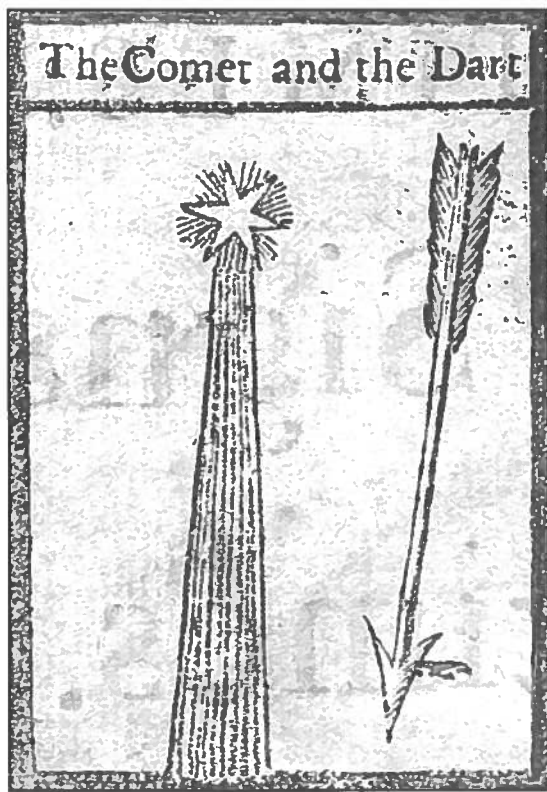
leged Catholic plot to murder King Charles II and a subsequent political effort by Protestants either to prevent, or “exclude,” his Catholic brother, James, from succeeding the King, who had no legitimate children, or to limit James's power if he did succeed to the throne. This is one of the canonical events of English history, marking, among other things, the first appearance of *Whig* and *Tory* as terms identifying English political groups. Whigs largely supported an anti-Catholic remodeling of English government and James's exclusion or limitation, while Tories supported the royal government and James's succession to full royal powers. The Crisis also produced an explosion of printed tracts, broadsheets, and newspapers.

A strong interest in the Restoration period has characterized recent scholarship on the seventeenth century, and the Crisis has received a great deal of attention from scholars. Reading over this literature, however, I found something unsatisfactory about the way modern historians have treated it. Their accounts, while varying widely, all seemed to be somewhat anachronistic in portraying later-seventeenth-century politics as more “rational,” more “modern,” than I believed it actually was. I found myself wondering what had become of the many premodern systems of political thought that historians had found in the English Revolution of the mid-century. Astrology, ancient prophecy, sacral monarchy, and millenarianism had all been shown to be significant in revolutionary political culture. By comparison, studies of the ideologies of the Popish Plot and the Exclusion Crisis, only forty years later, seemed to employ a much narrower idea of the “political.” Was this, I wondered, justified? I decided that investigating the use of some of these premodern discourses in the Crisis would be worthwhile.

For this part of the project, I examined millenarian writings employing both prophetic interpretation and astrology, tracing the ways these elements were used in political discourse during the Crisis. Focusing on the writings produced by the “first Whigs,” the zealously anti-Catholic supporters of the Plot trials and James's exclusion, I located a number of Whig millenarian and astrological/millenarian tracts that treated the events of the Crisis in an apocalyptic way. These tracts, which proclaimed their loyalty to the Whig cause, were often dedicated to Whig leaders and printed by printers identified with the Whigs. An examination of the Whig newspapers of the period reveals that apocalyptic tracts were frequently advertised in them. I found that the Whig anti-Catholicism of these tracts continued the apocalyptic tradition of anti-Catholicism associated with the Reformation and the English Civil War. Whigs, as did the Puritans of the days of Oliver Cromwell, viewed the pope as the Antichrist and saw that identification as central to current politics. They saw the Popish Plot and associated events as episodes in the Antichrist's struggle against the true church, literal fulfillments of the prophecies in the book of Revelation. Even when not in the context of an imminent Apocalypse, the identification of the pope as the Antichrist in terms borrowed from Revelation was extremely common in Whig writing.

Much Whig writing during this crisis brought together astrology and millenarianism when it was dealing with the comets of the time (there were remarkable comets in 1677, 1680, and 1682) and the “great conjunction” of Saturn and Jupiter in the sign of Leo in 1682 and 1683. Conjunctions between the two outer planets take place about every twenty years and they were, particularly if they occurred in the fiery triplicity of zodiacal signs (Aries, Leo, Sagittarius), often associated with great, even apocalyptic, change. The most prolific author in bringing together astrology and millenarianism in this way was the London Congregational minister Christopher Ness (1621–1705), author of a number of tracts with titles like *A Philosophical and Divine Discourse Blazoning upon this Blazing Star* (London, 1681) or *A Strange and Wonderful Trinity; Or, A Triplicity Of Stupendious Prodigies, Consisting of a Wonderful Eclipse, As well as of a Wonderful Comet, And of a Wonderful Conjunction* (London, 1683). These materials have barely been examined by scholars. Ness is particularly interesting as someone who combined biblical interpretation and astrology in a coherent millenarian theory rooted in current political struggles. He wrote about a wide variety of subjects including comets, “darts” (unexplained shafts of light in the sky), and prophesying maidens—all pointing to the imminence of the Apocalypse and the necessity of struggle against the Catholic Antichrist.

Another important group of sources were the writings of professional astrologers, particularly their annual almanacs, an underused source for the political, cultural, and religious history of early modern England. All writers of astrological



Panel from the frontispiece to Ness's *Signs of the Times* (London, 1681)

almanacs discussed the comets and the conjunction, but their approaches varied considerably: some supported an apocalyptic interpretation; some, particularly the Tory astrologer John Gadbury (1627–1704), denied that these events were particularly important; others claimed that the conjunction would lead to great things without specifically proclaiming the Apocalypse.

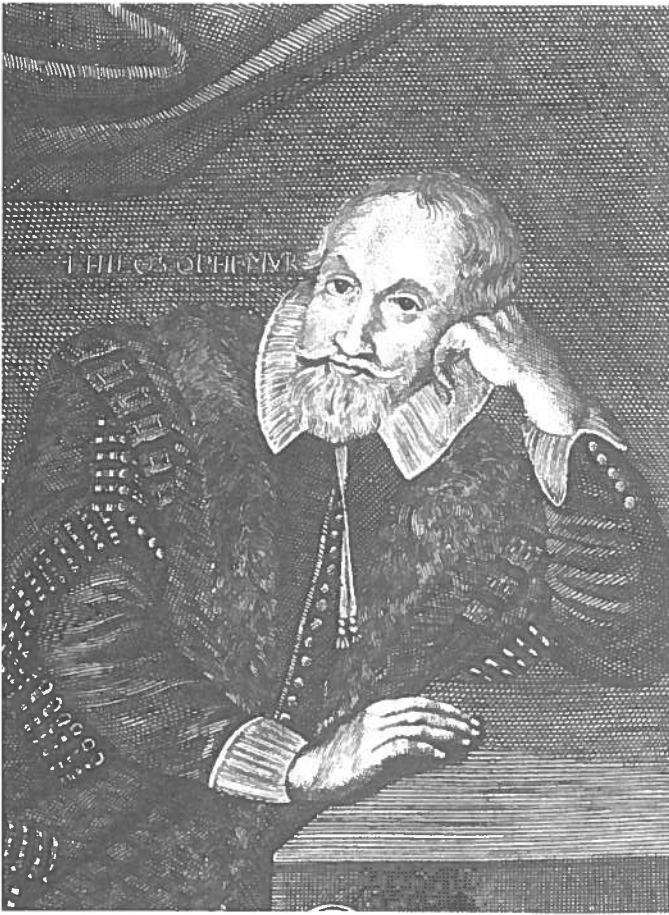
I have concluded that millenarianism and astrology were both important parts of the culture of Whig politics and that inclusive histories of Whig ideology must address the role played by systems of thought which do not fit into the modern definition of political rationality.

WILLIAM E. BURNS  
Center for 17th- & 18th-Century Studies, UCLA

### III - Henry Wotton and the Art of Politics

My research on millenarianism examines potential links between the anti-papal political writings of the Venetian friar Paolo Sarpi (1552–1623) and early-seventeenth-century English political propaganda that portrayed the pope as the Antichrist. Henry Wotton (1568–1639), an early English ambassador to Venice and friend of Sarpi's, was instrumental in the English publication, in 1620, of Sarpi's history of the Council of Trent. Wotton, whose own writings conceptualized political action and natural philosophy in similar ways, called Sarpi's history one of the best books ever written in Italian on art (along with works by Galileo and Palladio). A close reading of Sarpi's and Wotton's writings suggests that specific cultural assumptions enabled Wotton to make connections between church history, art, and natural philosophy. Further, attention to the form in which Wotton's writings were posthumously published and read may explain how millenarian politics fit into a common cultural matrix with these other concerns.

Sarpi's history focuses on the activity of papal agents “skilfull in state affaires” and examines Roman political techniques, or arts. A dedication to the king by the translator of the 1620 edition promises that the work will display the way a false ecumenical council was “governed by humane policies and Arte” rather than by the Holy Spirit. Sarpi praised Pope Adrian VI because “he used neither Arts, nor secret ends”; he was nevertheless impressed by Paul III's political abilities: “The olde Pope, being most sensible, who, with the acutenesse of his iudgement, saw more then them all, did immediately penetrate to the bottome” of matters at hand. Sarpi shows how since “it was an usuall Arte to confesse the evill, and to promise the amendment thereof, without any thought to effect any thing,” papal plans to reform the Roman court were met with skepticism. Sarpi described the way the Roman Empire had been “usurped by the Artes” of previous popes and commented upon how the “Arte of government [was] covered with the cloake of religion.” While papal legates negotiated “with a Spanish dexterity . . . webs were spunne in other places . . . and Engines were



Frontispiece to *Reliquiae Wottonianae*, 3rd ed. (London, 1672)

framed” to undermine the initiatives of papal opponents. Sarpi concluded that pro-Protestant sentiment expressed by a French bishop in 1562 was “saide by him, not because he beleevd it, or for intemperance of his tongue, but by Arte. . . . And it is incredible how his affaires were advanced by this meanes.”

Just as Sarpi’s history was largely concerned with the political techniques or arts employed by the pope and his courtiers, Wotton’s own political writings also referred to art. In a tract published posthumously in 1641, *A Parallell betweene Essex and Buckingham*, Wotton referred to the earl of Leicester as a “great Artizan of Court” and wrote that “there passed then betweene the Queene and the French King, much Arte” concerning a military expedition of Essex to Calais. In an undated personal letter, Wotton wrote to the Lord Treasurer Weston of “the [Spanish] Intentions against the *Palatinate*, which were then in brewing, and masked with much Art.” Despite his various foreign political successes, Wotton admitted to Arthur Throckmorton that the diplomatic vocation belongs “unproperly unto me: Who, I hope, am . . . fitter to be an instrument of Truth then of Art.” In the mid-1620s, Wotton described his “civil employments abroad” in terms of “observations, which have been spent that way in discovery of the *Roman Arts and Practices*, whereof I hope to yield the World some account.”

Wotton’s manner of describing his interest in the art of politics mirrored his way of writing about the natural philosophical activities in which he frequently engaged. In 1616 he praised Sarpi’s project on Trent because “it containeth many rare things never discovered before.” Wotton’s appellation of Sarpi—*Concilii Tridentini Eviscerator*—suggests that he thought of the Venetian as a kind of political anatomist. In his life of Buckingham, Wotton compared the encounter between the duke and Olivares in Spain in 1623 to a “meeting of two Pleiades, me thinkes not unlike that which Astrologers call a conjunction of Planets.” In a 1613 letter to his niece’s husband Edmund Bacon (Francis Bacon’s nephew), Wotton discussed the political structures of the day by noting that “the Court doth like a Load-stone, draw only those that are *intra orbem virtutis suae*.”

The methods by which Wotton analyzed political actions and natural occurrences were also similar: in each realm, observation served as the basis for sets of principles. In his correspondence with Edmund Bacon, he discussed European politics with reference to “my forein Maxims.” The only Jesuit for whom Wotton had a kind word was Giovanni Botero, author of *Ragion di Stato* (1589), whose examination of the specific causes of certain events permitted him to generalize about politics. One finds in the *Reliquiae Wottonianae* (a posthumous collection of essays, letters, and poems, first published in 1651) an episode in which a prospective diplomat sought from Wotton “some experimentall Rules for his prudent and safe carriage in his Negotiations.” In a letter to an unnamed friend, Wotton imparted a certain “Catholick Rule which was given me long since by an old *Roman* Courtier with whom I tabled in Siena.” A treatise entitled *The Difference and Disparity Between Buckingham and Essex* (attributed to Wotton in the 1651 edition of the *Reliquiae* but to Edward Hyde, earl of Clarendon, in later editions) declared that

however the arts and mysteries of a Court are undefinable, yet as in the reformation and improvement of all sciences there are certain principles and maxims unalterable and unquestionable, so there is a certain comparity, conformity and complacency in the maners, and a discreet subtilty in the composition, without which (as those principles) no man in any age or Court shall be eminent in the Aulicall [courtly] function.

Just as Wotton the natural philosopher worked under carefully managed conditions to extract secrets from nature, so did Wotton the political artist draw upon secret information (culled from state archives, restricted libraries, or direct observation) to construct political maxims. Indeed, Wotton considered Sarpi’s church history exciting precisely because it was written “out of the Original Registers and secret Papers” (Wotton to James I, 1619). Such an interest in access to privileged material from which political conclusions might be drawn was apparently shared by the publishers and readers of collections of maxims (beginning with Francis Bacon’s in 1597) and personal papers. What might be termed a re-

liquiae publishing genre emerged for the first time between 1648 and 1651, when previously private papers belonging to such influential figures as Charles I, Francis Bacon, and Wotton were published as reliquiae. Viewing Wotton's *Reliquiae* in association with these types of publications suggests that not only Wotton but also his editors and readers shared a fascination with mysterious and potentially powerful information. This common cultural assumption helps to explain how an art of politics linked to experimental, natural-philosophical methods could coexist in the seventeenth century with a millenarian politics that, among other things, portrayed the pope as the Antichrist.

MATTHEW VESTER  
Southern Illinois University

#### IV - Women and Millenarianism

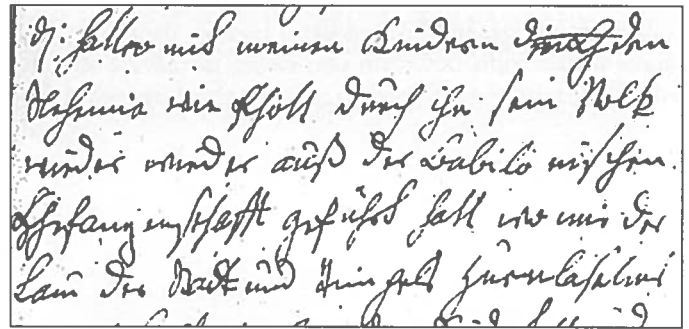
My reflections on the millenarian perspective in Württembergian Pietism are part of a larger investigation of the cultural history of Pietism. Research into Pietist history has tended to neglect questions of communication, group culture, gender, world view, and the role of religion in the organization of daily life—all potential links between social-cultural and spiritual forms of expression. Württembergian Pietism, which remained within the Lutheran state church but developed its own specific character, is regarded today as an autonomous type of Pietist thought with strong millenarian influences. Its leaders, the so-called “honorables,” were members of a university-educated, middle class elite whose endogamous marital behavior was largely shaped by class membership and piety in combination. Contextualizing Württembergian millenarianism within its particular social and cultural milieu yields insight into its effects on daily community, family, and individual practices.

Specifically, I have been investigating the extent to which women were involved in the millenarian thinking of the Württembergian elite and how they participated in its theological discourse. The *Wochenbuch*, or journal, of Beate Paulus, née Hahn (1778–1842), shows that she put the learned millenarian vision into practice in her family life and congregation.

Beate Hahn was the daughter of Philipp Matthäus Hahn (1739–1790), a Pietist minister who embraced the millenarian teachings of such German Protestant theologians as Johann Jakob Spener (1635–1705), Johann Albrecht Bengel (1687–1752), and Friedrich Christoph Oetinger (1702–1782). A millenarian activist, writer, and teacher, Hahn, like his intellectual predecessors, believed that Pietists were God's elect, particularly predestined to carry out God's plan, possessed of special knowledge, and charged, like the twelve disciples whom Jesus characterized as workers in the Lord's vineyard (Matthew 20:1-16), with working in the still-developing kingdom of heaven on earth. Hahn published numerous works on millenarian themes and popularized the expectation of

the millennium in sermons and in his instruction to children. His daughter, Beate, was thoroughly familiar with her father's ideas and with those of his teacher, Oetinger.

For the elder Hahn, the consciousness of being “chosen” legitimized and reinforced his claims to male authority within the family. Beate's view of herself as “chosen” also influenced her gendered position, albeit in a very different way. Her journal, now housed in the Württemberg State Library, covers about one thousand manuscript pages and documents twelve years (1817–1829) in her life as the wife of Karl Friedrich Paulus, a Lutheran minister from a family of wealthy Stuttgart civil servants. Paulus was *not* a Pietist, and this religious difference proved a source of conflict with his wife, much of it over their sons' formal training. Following Oetinger's teaching, which emphasized the special responsibility that lawyers, scholars, and teachers have in preparing for the coming millenium, and applying it to her family situation, Beate believed that only a university education (the specific area of study was not important) would enable her sons to fulfill their duties in the service of the kingdom of God. Her conviction lent a religious tone to what was also a question of



From Beate Hahn's journal: an undated entry from late 1826

worldly status for her family. Lacking this Pietist perspective, her husband disagreed, preferring practical occupations (scrivener and gamekeeper) for his offspring. He refused to cooperate with Beate's goals by blocking her plans for their financing, thus throwing her, at times, into deep emotional and spiritual crises. Beate expressed her anguish in special prayers, often pleading with God to make her sons “useful workers in his vineyard.”

In this matter, her gendered position within Pietist activism is quite clear: as a woman, she cannot directly serve the kingdom of God, nor can her daughters; this work is reserved for men with university degrees. She can contribute only by doing everything in her power to ensure that her sons attain a proper education. She also can (and does) participate in the theological discussions and plans formulated by the men, and she holds devotional hours with discussions and readings of theological texts; all these were common activities on the part of Pietist women. In their autobiographies, learned Pietists often mention the involvement of their wives and daughters as helpers in their work. These women possessed a basic knowledge of Latin, which

they were taught in the home together with their brothers. Both Spener and Hahn taught their wives Greek, and it was the women who transcribed their theological manuscripts.

Through their commitment to their children's educational goals and their involvement in the work of the men, Pietist women thus promoted the millenarian plans so important to the group, the family, and the individual. In Beate's case, however, such activity required disobedience to and conflict with her husband. We can see in the journal how Beate's belief that she was one of the "elect" (women were included among the "elect" by Pietist thinkers, merely excluded from the public activities that were part of its expression), as well as her identity as heir to her father's spiritual message, sustained and legitimated her resistance to her husband, the failed (i.e., non-Pietist) minister.

In Beate's millenarian aspirations, two perspectives come together: the typically Württembergian Pietist assumption that each individual must fit into a higher framework and a family-related perspective on salvation in which the super-individual plan for salvation must also be expressed in the history of the family. The goal of establishing the thousand-year kingdom of God on earth connects Beate to her family's future. In such manner, religious aspirations also ensured a continuity of class in Württemberg. Indeed, the strong emphasis within millenarianism on linking the divine and the worldly perspectives helped to achieve the permanent formation and continued renewal of the Württembergian middle class into the nineteenth century.

ULRIKE GLEIXNER

*Technische Universität, Berlin*



*View of the library and grounds from the house of William Andrews Clark Jr., c. 1930. The brick gatehouse, visible between the observatory and the library, was eventually moved by Clark to the northwest corner of his property. See article on pp. 1-3.*

*The Center & Clark Newsletter* is published by  
The UCLA Center for 17th- & 18th-Century Studies  
405 Hilgard Avenue, Los Angeles, California 90095  
Telephone: (310) 206-8552; fax: (310) 206-8577  
Internet: <http://www.humnet.ucla.edu/humnet/c1718cs>

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Editors: Marina Romani and Ellen Wilson

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