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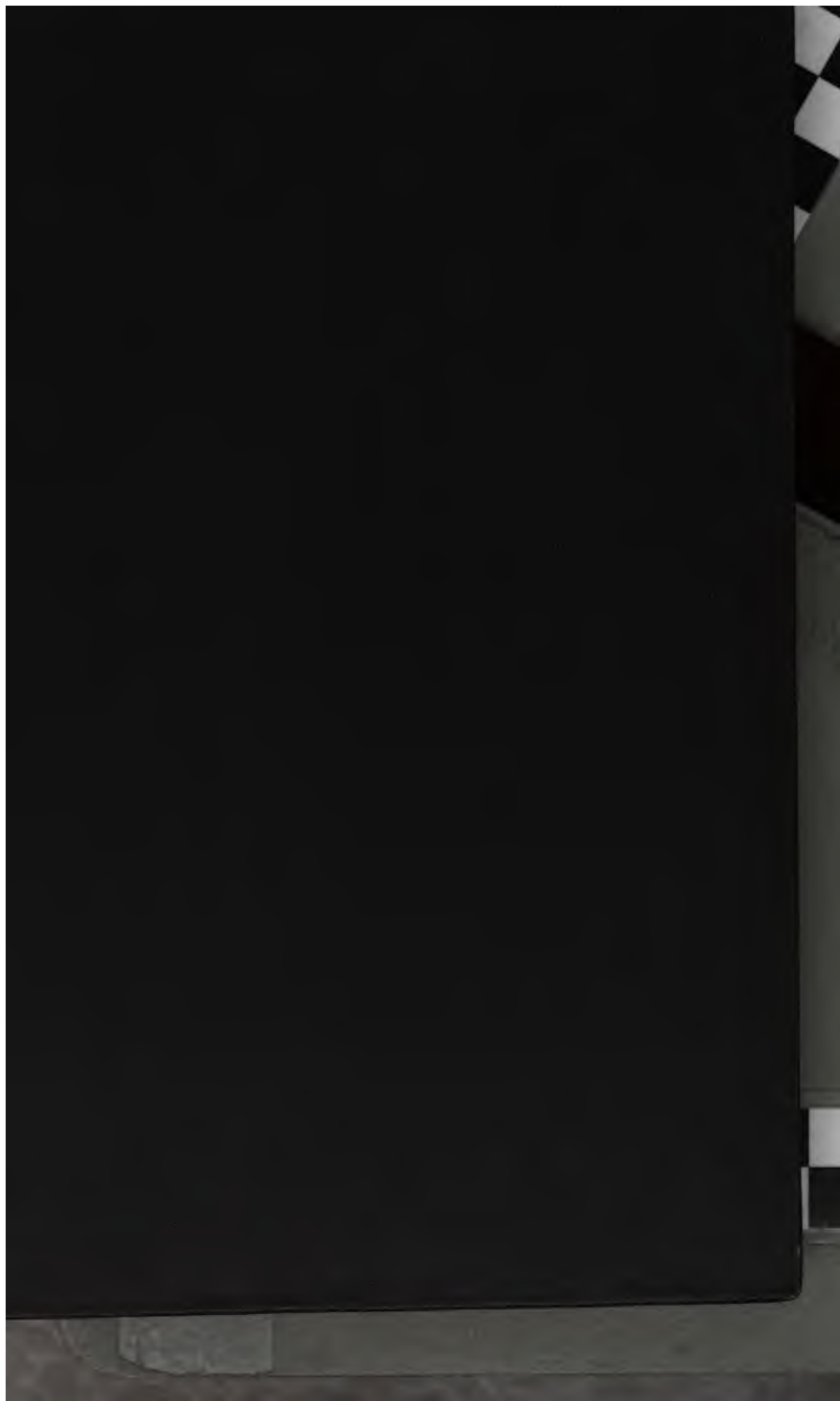
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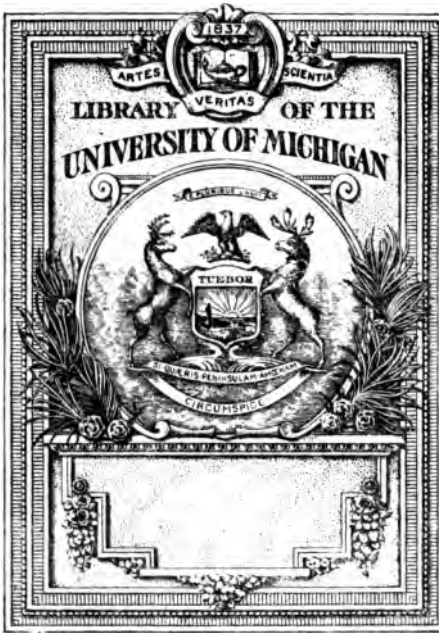
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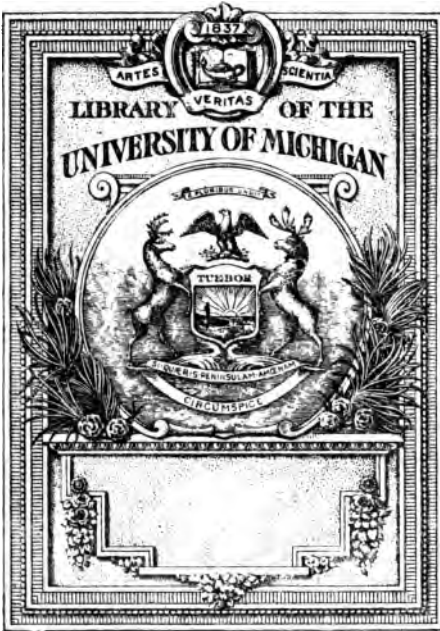
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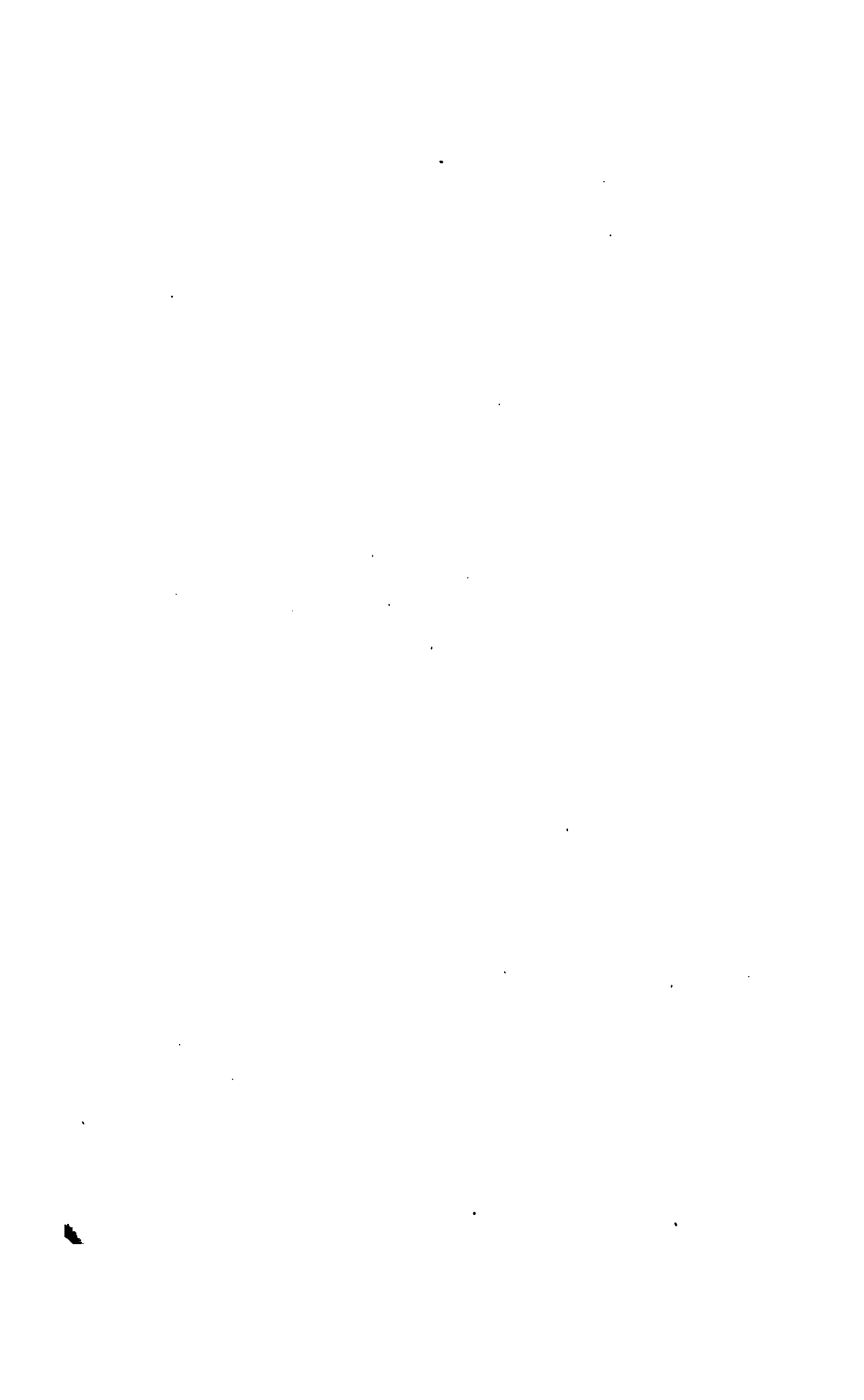






















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HEIMREICH'S WESTPHALEN MONUMENTA INEDITA IV,  
TAB. 28.

**ANNA OWENA HOYERS**  
**A POETESS OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY**

**A Dissertation**

**PRESENTED TO THE FACULTY OF BRYN MAWR COLLEGE IN PARTIAL  
FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE  
OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY**



**BY**

**ADAH BLANCHE ROE**

---

**BRYN MAWR, PENNSYLVANIA**  
**MARCH, 1915**



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**The Lord Baltimore Press**  
BALTIMORE, MD., U. S. A.

4860  
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BRYN MAWR COLLEGE  
MONOGRAPHS

Monograph Series, Vol. XIX

ANNA OWENA HOYERS  
A POETESS OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

BY

ADAH BLANCHE ROE

Published by Bryn Mawr College  
Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania  
1915





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## I. MANUSCRIPTS AND EDITIONS.

The most comprehensive manuscript collection of Anna Owena Hoyers' poems is in the Royal Library in Stockholm.<sup>1</sup> It is bound in parchment and consists of 221 leaves, thirteen of which are left blank. The inside of the front cover is adorned with three small prints. The one in the center is a picture of Anna Owens herself,<sup>2</sup> with the inscription, "Obiit, Ao: 1655. Den 27: 9:b: Altt, 71, Jahr. A: O: H:" To the left is a representation of St. Michael's fight with the dragon, to the right the Hoyer family coat of arms.<sup>3</sup> The latter bears the date 1643 and the words, "Caspar Hoijer Honos virtutis praemium."

The first Part of this manuscript, comprising 164 leaves written continuously (except Folio 134) on both sides, was inscribed by Anna Owens' sons, Caspar and Friedrich Hermann Hoyer. For the second Part the manuscript must be reversed. In 1658 Christian Straus obtained possession of it, and, beginning at the back, proceeded to copy into it the hymns of Herr Krustern, written in prison in Moscow and dated 1657. The index records seventeen hymns, but there are only six there, "Buszgebett desz Königs Manass" and Psalms 13, 1, 70, 25, 79. According to an inscription on the third page, the manuscript went back into the Hoyer family in 1660. The inscription reads, "Christian Straus, Dem das Buch Gehörigh, Anno Christy 1658," and on the margin is written, "Non est verum, Caspar Hoyer 1660," so that Straus's work was probably curtailed. With Folio 17 of Part II begin again the poems of Anna Owens copied by her son Friedrich Hermann Hoyer.

<sup>1</sup> Riks-Biblioteket, Stockholm, Handskrifter, Vitterhet, Tysk, No. 1854 (quoted as St. MS).

<sup>2</sup> Another picture of her as a young patrician lady appears in Heimreich's Supplementa, in Westphalen Monumenta Inedita, IV, Tab. 28. (See frontispiece.)

<sup>3</sup> The coat of arms shows the head, shoulders and forelegs of a unicorn. It occurs also in Andreas Angelus' Holsteinische Chronica, I, 60.

The first page of Part I contains the title, "Lieder verfasst oder gesammelt von Anna Ovena Hoijer 1624-1655," and two Latin epigrams; the second page, a short poem in German and a Latin letter-cross. Then follows an inaccurate index of the first lines of the songs. About fifty of these Anna Owens had herself composed, usually signing them with her initials A. O. H. or, as was so often done at the time, spelling out her own name in the initial letters of the stanzas. For three of the songs (nos. 4, 6, 69) she wrote her own music. For the others she often chose some well-known melody. Twelve of them appear also in the only edition of her poems now in existence, published in Amsterdam in the year 1650.

Seven are hymns:

Steht Auff von Allen Sunden, St. MS no. 1; Poem. p. 302.

O, du geliebte Christenheit, St. MS no. 10; Poem. p. 228.

O, Gott mein Herr wie wunderbahr, St. MS no. 14; Poem. p. 299.

Christe Gotts einiger Sohn du bist, St. MS Fol. 45; Poem. p. 282, with music.

Unter den Dornen Rosen stehn, St. MS no. 25; Poem. p. 219.

Auff, auff es ist nun Zeitt, St. MS no. 36; Poem. p. 223.

Komb Davids Sohn sturtz Babylon, St. MS no. 38; Poem. p. 177.

One poem can be classed as a hymn only in the sense that it is a song expressing religious feeling, for it is quite personal in tone:

Auff, Auff Zion und schmucke dich schon, St. MS no. 35; Poem. p. 216, with the refrain, "Hans Owens Tochter Anna."

Two poems are in praise of her royal Swedish patronesses: Grosmechtigste Königin, Frewlein Hochgeboren, St. MS no. 28; Poem. p. 276.

Frewet euch mit mir ihr frommen, St. MS no. 37; Poem. p. 279.

Two are didactic:

Geldt- und Welt-freunde vortrauwen, St. MS no. 17;  
Poem. p. 294.

Weh ju pastoren, St. MS no. 67; Poem. p. 259.

The other poems of the Stockholm manuscript may have appeared separately in pamphlet form, as did "Ein Schreiben über Meer gesandt," "Süssbittre Freude," etc., but I have not been able to find any trace of such publications. So far as I have been able to discover, they exist only in manuscript. They are as follows:

Twenty hymns:

- Dasz 2 Liedt. Adde, Adde du blinde Welt.  
 Dasz 3 Liedt. Adde ihr Menschen Kinder.  
 Dasz 4 Liedt. Auff, Auff lobt Gott mit singen (with music).  
 Dasz 6 Liedt. Alles wasz sich bewegt (with music).  
 Dasz 7 Liedt. Zu wem soll ich nun fliehen hin.  
 Dasz 9 Liedt. O Jhesu Christ mach mich bereit.  
 Dasz 11 Liedt. Auff, Auff Jungen und Alten.  
 Dasz 15 Liedt. Allmechtiger Gott und Herr der Herscharen.  
 Dasz 16 Liedt. Allein zu Gott hab ich gericht, mein zuversicht.  
 Dasz 18 Liedt. Ach, Ach ihr Menschen, last euch sagen.  
 Dasz 19 Liedt. Bekehret euch uon Eur bosheit.  
 Dasz 22 Liedt. O Gott mein Herr dein Ehr, und Lob vermehr.  
 Dasz 23 Liedt. O Jesu Köning, Gott und Herr.  
 Dasz 24 Liedt. Ach Herr bewahr mein Kinderlein.  
 Dasz 31 Liedt. Ach Gott wie gehts her im Land.  
 Dasz 39 Liedt. Auff Zion, Auff, bereit dich.  
 Dasz 40 Liedt. Alle Völcker der Erden Nah' und weit.  
 Dasz 49 Liedt. Auff mein Hertz zu erheben.  
 Dasz 57 Liedt. O Herr bekehr, Regir und Lehr.  
 Fol. 158. Jesu Christ, der du bist mensch gebohren (with music).

## Five didactic poems :

- Dasz 32 Liedt. O, Ihr Kinder ist es recht.  
 Dasz 41 Liedt. Kumpt her zu schauwen.  
 Dasz 42 Liedt. Ach ihr Weltmenschen last euch sagen.  
 Dasz 43 Liedt. Liedlein von den Undanckbaren gesten.  
 Fol. 140. O Du Epicurj Knecht, wie erbarmlich wird dirs  
 gehen.

## Eight occasional poems :

- Dasz 12 Liedt. Alles das, den odem hatt empfangen.  
 (Eiderstedt flood.)  
 Dasz 13 Liedt. Auff, auff zu sehn und hören. (Eider-  
 stedt flood.)  
 Dasz 21 Liedt. Allmechtiger Herr Zebaoth. (Pest in  
 Hamburg.)  
 Dasz 44 Liedt. Gluck Schweden, löblichs Köningreich  
 (in honor of Hedwig Eleonora).  
 Dasz 46 Liedt. Barmhertzig ist mein Jesus Christ (in  
 honor of Benjamin Magnus Croneburg).  
 Dasz 47 Liedt. Erbarme dich doch O Herr Jesu (in  
 honor of Elisabeth Krusbiörn).  
 Dasz 48 Liedt. Gott der alles Sunderlich, regieret in der  
 Welt (thanks for the gift of Sittwick).  
 Fol. 148. Seyt frölich ihr fröme Herten (in honor of  
 Carl Gustavus).

## A short poem extolling the beneficence of the Lord :

- Fol. 94. Gebet Iesu Die Ehr' Die Ihm Gebühret.

Besides these poems, which can definitely be ascribed to Anna  
 Owens, there are seven songs of unknown authorship :

- Dasz 5 Liedt. Heut früh ehe noch der Tag Anbracht.  
 Dasz 8 Liedt. Ich musz Tragen die thorheit meiner  
 Jugent.  
 Dasz 30 Liedt. Mein Gott und Herr bekehr, Die Men-  
 schen Kindt.  
 Dasz 33 Liedt. Ach ich musz klagen, Ja schir verzagen.  
 Dasz 34 Liedt. Ausz gutem grunde sage ich.  
 Dasz 45 Liedt. Mein Hertz ist sehr betrübet (a lament  
 for Maria Gubert's departed husband).

- Fol. 106. Ich bin von euch geschieden (Jakob Makeleir's consolation sent from the heavenly world to his wife).  
Nineteen hymns belong to other poets:
- Fol. 40. O, Gott mein Herr, Dein Ehr, erretten thu.—  
Margarita Hoyer.<sup>4</sup>
- Dasz 20 Liedt. Christliches Herz nimb woll in acht.—  
Caspar Hoyer.<sup>5</sup>
- Dasz 29 Liedt. Ach wasz ist doch dasz ich befind.—  
Daniel Sudermann.<sup>6</sup>
- Dasz 50 Liedt. Mein Gott und Herr, Ich suche dich.—  
Ottmar Ellyger.<sup>7</sup>
- Dasz 51 Liedt. Das Walt Gott Vater, und Gott Sohn.—  
Hinderich Otterson.<sup>8</sup>
- Dasz 52 Liedt. Es ist Hochzeit, der thorheit ist genug.  
Aus dem Buchlein genandt Panacaea, des Herren  
Jacobi Guarini, genandt Dickhauht.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Probably Anna Owens' sister-in-law. She married Vincent Möller, mayor of Hamburg. (See Carlander's Stammbuch.)

<sup>5</sup> Either Anna Owens' father-in-law or her son. If the latter, then her grandson must have worked with her two sons, Caspar and Friedrich Hermann, in writing the manuscript, since the poem bears the inscription "Pater meus Fecit." (See Schütze<sup>(1)</sup>, p. 250.) The initial letters of the stanzas spell out the name "Caspar Hoyer, Hermans Sohn," which could refer to either one.

<sup>6</sup> The same hymn appears again in Folio 145. Daniel Sudermann (1550-1631) was a devoted student and follower of Caspar Schwenckfeld. In 1584 he published a new edition of Schwenckfeld's writings, and throughout his life defended and explained his teacher's theories. His numerous hymns (2500 in all) are often only didactic, and always without regard for the niceties of form; but because of his position as Domherr in Strassburg (in Elsass), he was able to do much for the Schwenckfeld sect and was highly honored by his contemporaries. (Koch II, 422-428.)

<sup>7</sup> I have not been able further to identify the author.

<sup>8</sup> According to Koch II, 232 and Wack. V, 309, Martin Behm (1557-1622) is author of this hymn. Anna Owens has omitted the eighth stanza.

<sup>9</sup> See Jöcher II, 1240: "Guarinus (Jacob), mit dem Zunahme Dickhauht, ein Theologus, lebte um 1607, und schrieb ideam universae theologiae diaetiae, adhibitis tabulis synopticis; Grundheil aller krancken, betrübten, angefochtenen und sterbenden Menschen; 9 Tauf Predigten." Guarinus' book "Panacaea" I have not been able to discover.



- Dasz 53 Liedt. Lobet Gott unsern Herrn.—Martin Luther.
- Dasz 54 Liedt. Merck auff du frommer Jungling zart.—B. Ringwald.
- Dasz 55 Liedt. Der grimmig Tod mit seinem Pfeil.—Balthasar Bidembach<sup>23</sup> or Petrus Franciscus.<sup>23</sup>
- Dasz 56 Liedt. Ach Gott wie maniches Hertzeleit.—M. Möller.<sup>23</sup>
- Dasz 58 Liedt. Frisch Auff mein Seell in Noth.—Josua Stegmann.
- Dasz 59 Liedt. Werde Munter mein gemüte.—Johann Rist.
- Dasz 60 Liedt. Wo soll ich fliehen hin.—Joh. Herrmann.
- Fol. 141. Wach auff mein Seel wasz schleffestu.—P. Nagel.<sup>23</sup>
- Fol. 146. Waltz Gott mein Werck ich lasse.—Michael Ziegenspeck.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Balthasar Bidembach (1533-1578) was bishop in Stuttgart. His "Schwanengesang" is a collection of sermons concerning the Epistle of Paul to the Romans (Koch II, 291). In Wetzel's *Historische Beschreibung der berühmtesten Lieder-Dichter, Herrstadt, 1719, I, 111*, this hymn is also ascribed to Bidembach.

<sup>23</sup> Petrus Franciscus is probably the author of the first five stanzas in Wack. V, 1557, beginning "O Sonnen schön, edler Planet." The last stanza in Wack. is not the same as here.

<sup>23</sup> The hymn is more often ascribed to Cunrad Hoier. It appeared first in Martin Möller's "Meditationes" (1587), but among those songs which he himself designated as being written by others (A. D. B., 1880, XII, 709).

<sup>23</sup> See Jöcher III, 805: "Nagel (Paul), ein Mathematicus, am Anfange des 17 Seculi, war Rector auf der Schule zu Torgau, schrieb Novam philosophiam & astronomiam; prodromum astronomiae apocalypticae; de IV mundi temporibus; letztes Freuden-Geschrey contra Phil. Arnoldum; prognosticon astrologicum, und starb 1621. Weil es verboten war, ihn auf den Gottesacker zu begraben, und ihn daher niemand in die Erde bringen wollte, haben ihn endlich die Weiber verscharret. Er ist aber wieder ausgegraben, und die Weiber mit 4 Wochen Gefängnis bestraft worden."

The A. D. B., 1886, XXIII, 215, gives 1624 as the date of "Philosophia Nova," and this hymn is dated 1631, so that Jöcher must be mistaken in the date of Nagel's death.

<sup>24</sup> See Koch II, 270: "Ziegenspeck, Michael, Pfarrer und Senior zu Burg-Rhanis im sogenannten Osterlande, einem Städtchen bei Saalfeld. Hier gab er im Druck heraus: 'Christlich Tag- und Uhrwerk. Leip-

Fol. 150. Wer in guter Hoffnung will.—Petrus Herbert.<sup>18</sup>

Fol. 154. Så som de wysa män (with music).—Friedrich Hermann Hoyer.<sup>19</sup>

Fol. 159. Ach was soll ich anfangen.—Anna Rathgen.

Fol. 162. Wan wird doch mein Jesus koñnen.—Thomas Kühnemann Uhrmacher.<sup>20</sup>

Folios 157 and 158 record the number of those drowned in Eiderstedt during the great storm of 1634 and the amount of property destroyed.<sup>21</sup> With Folio 133 two leaves were turned over instead of one, and this space is filled out with two short German verses and three Latin quotations. Other Latin epigrams appear in Folios 21, 24, 26, 39, 45, 68, 127, and 130. Folio 39 contains also a brief poetic comment upon Isaiah LXIII, 4: "Gott hat einen Tag der Rach, Ihm furgenommen." Letter-crosses appear in great numbers, wherever a strophe does not quite fill out the page, or as adornment for the margin.

In Part II, Folios 1 to 3 contain Latin and German maxims. Folios 4 and 5 recount the twelve signs of the zodiac and the combinations which are most propitious for taking medicine, sending messengers, cutting the hair, putting on new clothes, etc. Folios 6 to 16 contain the hymns of Herr Krustern.

zig 1617' aus welchem sich bis heute noch in thuringischen G. G. erhalten hat—'Walt's Gott, mein Werk ich lasse'—ein Abendlied für Handwerksleute. Später erschienen dann auch von ihm: 'Freud- und Gebet-Psalmen am Jubilaeo der Augsburgischen Confession. Leipzig 1630' mit dem Lied:

'Fangt all mit mir zu jauchzen an.'

<sup>18</sup> One of the three editors of the hymn-book of the Moravian Brothers. He was also one of those sent to Emperor Maximilian II, in 1566, with the hymn-book and the second plea for protection, as a result of which the Brothers received the promise that they should not be persecuted on account of their faith (Koch II, 414).

<sup>19</sup> Anna Owens' youngest son. The hymn is in Swedish and was written on his 54th birthday, in 1675.

<sup>20</sup> "Wann wird doch mein Jesus kommen" appears in Fischer IV, 552, among the hymns of the North-German poets, "Lieder von unbekanntem Verfasser."

<sup>21</sup> Heimreich II, 142, records 2107 men, 6100 head of cattle, 6738 sheep and swine, 664 houses as destroyed by the storm in Eiderstedt. Anna Owens gives 2110 men in Eiderstedt, 6133 men and 1333 houses in Nordstrand.

Then there are several of Anna Owens' poems, etc.: a series of short prayers; a morning blessing in prose; a memorial (Fol. 20. "O Menschenkindt du Wasseblasz"); part of the prologue of "Süssbittre Freude" (Fol. 23); two "orations," one of which (Fol. 27. "O Wesen dasz all' ding bewegt") occurs also in the edition of 1650 (p. 167); "Regulae Vitae"; and four other poems:

Fol. 32. Ein getrewer freundt ders hertzlich meint.

Fol. 35. Gott lasz Nimmer von mir scheiden.

Fols. 36 and 37. Two poems directed against the aristocracy of wealth.

There are other prayers and poems in Part II without any signature or with an insufficient one. I have not been able to discover their author.

Thirteen prayers in verse.

Two prayers in prose.

One prayer signed Joach. M. (Fol. 25. "Gebett um Wahre gelassenheit").

Four other poems:

Fol. 20. O Mensch lerne die Welt verachten.

Fol. 26. In drey dingen ich mich ergetz.

Fol. 27. Das sterbstundlein und lest gericht.

Fol. 31. Ein warhafftige Gesicht.

Folios 27 and 29 contain quotations from St. Augustine; Folios 24, 25, and 27, other Latin quotations and mottoes.

According to a note on the first page of Part I, the collection was bought in 1854 by B. A. Rappe of Kalmar and presented by him to the Royal Library in Stockholm.<sup>29</sup>

There is also another manuscript, discovered by Helene Höhnk (Archivarin in Heide, Schleswig-Holstein) in the library of Breitenburg Castle near Itzehoe, which I was able to use through the courtesy of Hans Caspar Graf zu Rantzau. This contains the thirty-six-line fragment of "Süssbittre

<sup>29</sup> "Har tillhört familjen Hoijer, som i sednare hälften af 1600 talet var bosatt i Kalmar län. Köpet af B. A. Rappe i Kalmar 1854 och af honom gifven till Kongl. Biblioteket i Maj samma år."

Freude," the last eighteen verses of which occur also in St. MS II, Fol. 23, and nine other poems, all of which appear in the Stockholm manuscript:

Absag der Welt und Ihrer Eitelheit, St. MS 2.

Heut früh ehe noch der Tag Anbracht, St. MS 5.

Adde ihr Menschen Kinder, Adde Du blinde Welt, St. MS 3.

Zu wem soll ich nun fliehen hin, St. MS 7.

Auff, Auff lobt Gott mit singen, St. MS 4.

New Jars liedlein, St. MS 1.

Gebeth einer Getrewen Mutter für Ihre Kinder, St. MS 24.

O Jesu Christ mach mich bereit, St. MS 9.

Alles was sich beweget, und auff der Erden reget, St. MS 6.

The title page reads, "Lieder von Anna Hoyers eines Stallers Wittwe," and then (in a different script) "ein Manuscript welches bei ihre gedruckte Bücher eingebunden war worin sie sich diesen Namen gegeben Anero Hireijo." The handwriting is the same as that of the first part of the Stockholm manuscript.

The only attempt at a publication of a large number of her compositions is the beautiful little Elzevier<sup>20</sup> edition (quoted as Poem.), of which I have discovered five copies: one in the Royal Library in Berlin, one in the City Library in Hamburg, one in the University Library in Kiel, one in the University

<sup>20</sup> See F. A. Ebert, *Allgemeines Bibliographisches Lexikon*, Leipzig, 1821, Appendix II, pp. 1111-1115. Ludwig Elzevier Junior established his publishing-house in Amsterdam in 1640, and until 1655 conducted it alone. From that time on, until his death in 1662, he worked in partnership with his cousin Daniel. He was the last of the distinguished Elzevier family, and with him ended the glory of their publications. The first book in this edition was Eutropius, printed by Ludwig Elzevier Senior in 1592; and the collection, not yet complete, contains chiefly the Greek and Latin Classics and the Church Fathers. There are, however, several interesting German publications among the number aside from the poems of Anna Owens: *Liebesbeschreibung Lysanders und Kalisten nach dem Französischen*, Philip von Zesen, Amst., 1644; *Die adriatische Rosemund*, Philip von Zesen, Amst., 1645; *Ibrahim*, Philip von Zesen, Amst., 1645; *Argenis aus dem Lateinischen von Johann Barclay*, Martin Opitz, Amst., 1644; *Gedichte*, Martin Opitz, Amst., 1646; *Gedichte*, Weckerlin, Amst., 1648; *Wunderliche und wahrhaftige Gesichte*, Philander von Sittewalt, Leyden, 1646; *Apophthegmata*, Der Teutsche Scharfsinnige kluge Sprüch, Zingref, Leyden, 1644; and others.

Library in Göttingen, and one in the Ducal Library in Wolfenbüttel. The title page contains the inscription:

ANNÆ OVENÆ  
Hoyers  
Geistliche und Weltliche  
P O E M A T A  
Amsteldam,  
Bey Ludwig Elzevierien. A°. 1650.

and an engraving, which pictures the situation of the first poem, "Geistlich Gespräch zwischen Mutter und Kindt." The mother sits beside a table upon which are two large books, and before her stands the boy whom she is teaching. Upon the wall hangs a guitar and a large picture representing the conflict of the soul with the world, the flesh and the devil. Cherubs hover about the head of the victorious hero. Upon the floor in the foreground is an open book and a wand surmounted by a dove and wound about with serpents.

The copies which I saw in Berlin and Hamburg are bound in white calfskin and have two silver clasps. The book consists of 310 pages in duodecimo form and contains:

The didactic poems:

- p. 3. Geistlich Gespräch zwischen Mutter und Kindt vom wahren Christenthumb.
- p. 41. Einfältige Warheit.
- p. 67. Schreiben an die Herrn Titultrager von Hohen Schulen.
- p. 131. Christi Gülden Cron.
- p. 145. A. O. H. Guter Rath an alle Alte Wittwen.
- p. 153. Kurtz bedencken von der Alten Weiber Heyrath.
- p. 169. Deutsche Warheit.
- p. 181. Posaunenschall.
- p. 231. Schreiben an die Gemein im Land Holstein.

p. 246. De Denische Dörp-Pape.

p. 263. Schreiben an die Gemein in Engellandt.

The Book of Ruth (p. 77) and Schwenckfeld's "Buch vom Wort Gottes" (p. 157) done into verse.

An occasional poem:

p. 74. Schrieben an Peer / Niels Söhn tho Westerwyck.

The twelve poems and the "oratio" already mentioned as occurring also in the Stockholm manuscript.

A hymn (with music) signed F. A. K.:<sup>a</sup>

p. 286. Kommt her mit fleisz betrachtet.

Moller says that the Swedish ambassador, Le Blond (a Schwenckfelder), attended to the publication of the poems, and that the author of the introductory verses signed J. A. W. (p. 2) was the imperial ambassador to the Hanse cities, Johannes Angelus Werdenhagius. He also mentions an edition dated 1661, and Adelung speaks of one dated 1663, but repeated inquiries failed to discover them.

Anna Owens' work seems to have been published at first, however, in pamphlet form, and some of these editions of single poems are still in existence. Moller and Adelung mention "Süssbittre Freude 1617"; "Gespräch eines Kindes mit seiner Mutter 1628, 1634" (the edition of 1628 is in the City Library in Brunswick, bound with "Heraclite ov de la Vanité et misere de la vie humaine 1613"); "Zwey geistliche Lieder, Amsteldam, 1644." They also cite, "Frauenpflicht, zu lernen Gott und ihren Männern zu gehorsamen, geschrieben durch eine tugendhafte Frau und Liebhaberinn Christi. Amsteldam 1636" as one of Anna Owens' works. This last statement, however, I have found to be incorrect. In the introduction to the book, which I obtained through the courtesy of the Ducal Library in Wolfenbüttel, is stated expressly that the authoress is unknown and wishes to remain so, and that the work is

<sup>a</sup>F. A. K.—Fecit Andreas Kesler (?), General Superintendent in Coburg, or Fecit Andreas Kritzelmann (?), Cantor in Altenburg. I have not been able to find the hymn in any of the large hymn-books. The author need not necessarily have been in Eiderstedt at the time of the flood, but was nevertheless deeply impressed by the catastrophe, as the hymn clearly shows. The song is dated 1635.

published under the name of Anna Owena Hoyers as a protection against possible critical attacks and because under her name the book would command more recognition than under that of an unknown aspirant to literary fame.<sup>23</sup> If Anna Owens did write the "Frauenpflicht" herself, it is the only prose work we have from her pen; and its confused and tautological style is in great contrast to her usual clear, direct, vigorous manner.

Paul Schütze mentions the separate publication of "Ein Schreiben über Meer gesandt." It is in the University Library in Kiel in a small volume containing also "Frohlocken des Helicons und der Musen über den Geburtstag Sophie Dorotheen 1707: Zufällige Gedanken über das am 1sten Nov. 1755 die Stadt Lisabon betreffene Schicksal; Cantate bey der öffentlichen Feyer der Vermählung Ludewig Herzogs zu Meklenburg und Charlotta Sophia Herzoginn zu Sachsen am 15. May 1755. Joachim v. Bülow; Wittenberg im Feuer, den 13. October 1760 von dem Herrn Hofrath Triller." I give these names and dates as interesting evidence that during a century at least Anna Owens' poems retained their interest and attracted attention.

A complete edition of her works will follow as complement and illustration of this thesis, for which the edition of 1650 will serve as a basis so far as it goes, since it gives the impression of being a very careful and scholarly work, while the manuscripts, although copied with filial piety, contain many orthographical and other errors, due either to ignorance or to carelessness.

<sup>23</sup> Introduction, p. 2: "Ehrliebende Frawen / mir ist zu Handen kommen disz klein Büchlein von einer Frawen gemacht / doch nicht wissent wer sie sey / oder wo sie wonhaftig ist / vnd hat jhren Nahmen nicht offenbaren wollen / vmb deszwegen keinen Ruhm zu haben / was GOTT durch jhr gethan hat" . . . . ; p. 3: "Disz Büchlein hab ich im Namen Anna Oeveam Höyers ausgeben vnnd jhr zugeeignet zu einer Beschirmung dieses Werckes / ob es vielleicht möchte angefochten werden / als Petri Schifflin. Vnd weil die, die das Büchlein gemacht hat / Christi Weinberg sucht fort zu pflanzen / gleich Anna Höyers jhre Schwester / wol genennet mag werden / vnd auch / vmb dasz durch jhren Nahmen von Anna Höyers disz Büchlein besser bekind möchte seyn."







IN THE STOCKHOLM MANUSCRIPT.

## II. BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH.

In the seventeenth century, after an almost complete silence<sup>1</sup> of five hundred years since the time of the pious Ava, women began again to play an important part in the creation of German literature. Naturally enough the new actors were received with applause as a pleasant diversion. The public had become weary, in the masculine century just passed, of having its attention constantly called to feminine faults. It welcomed the refining influence of woman.

The satirists, especially Lauremberg and Rachel, made merry of course at the expense of the poetizing ladies. They insisted that a woman's place was in the kitchen and beside the cradle, and that the pen and beard belonged to the man alone. But they were in the minority. At almost all the courts in Germany were found noble ladies<sup>2</sup> who indulged in literary work of some sort, and under their protection other women found it possible to assert themselves. They were soon invited to membership in some of the literary societies<sup>3</sup> which were prominent at the time. To the surprise of a few people, women were found worthy even of the imperial laurel wreath.<sup>4</sup> Anna Maria von Schürmann<sup>5</sup> aroused astonished admiration as one of the wonders of the world on account of her learning and her

<sup>1</sup> In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries there were, to be sure, some mystical writers who were women: Mechtild von Magdeburg, Adelheid Langmann, Christina Ebnerin, and others.

<sup>2</sup> Anna Maria, Duchess of Saxony; Anna Sophie, Countess of Hessen-Darmstadt; Louise Henriette, Electoral princess of Brandenburg; etc.

<sup>3</sup> The Pegnitz society in Nuremberg, and the Deutschgesinnte in Hamburg.

<sup>4</sup> Sibylla Schwarz, Katharine Regina von Greiffenberg, Gertrud Moller.

<sup>5</sup> Anna Maria von Schürmann (1607-1678) spoke and wrote seven languages, including Hebrew, and was a fine musician as well. She was a disciple of Labadie and followed him to Altona, where he established a sectarian community.

poetry. In fact the general opinion was that the literary women were to be accepted and flattered.

Among her celebrated sisters, however, Anna Owena Hoyers<sup>6</sup> stood singularly alone. She did not understand the fine art (then so fashionable) of using beautiful and high-sounding phrases to say nothing. The careful metrical rules, which Opitz and others had laid down, were apparently unknown to her. When she wrote, it was always with a definite purpose in view. The substance was the important thing, not the form. She was always blunt, often very sarcastic in her violent outbursts of wrath against the evils of her day. The clergy received the lion's share of her bitter criticisms, and were the more deeply insulted by the fact that she herself was entirely unmoved either by censure or by ridicule.

The chroniclers of the period have very little to say in praise of her. The greater number of them were clergymen, and could hardly be expected to feel anything but disapproval for this straightforward, energetic woman who attacked the vices of their class so mercilessly. That she was not so fanatical as they would have us believe, is, however, quite evident to all who have read her writings with an open mind.

Anna Owens was born in 1584 in Coldenbüttel, a small town in Eiderstedt, in the duchy of Schleswig. Her family was a distinguished and wealthy one, with generations of culture behind it.<sup>7</sup>

The family was in all probability North Frisian. One must distinguish here between the West Frisians, who dwelt in the country north of the mouth of the Rhine (now the Netherlands), the East Frisians, in the Netherland district of Groningen and as far north as the Weser, and the North Frisians, in Schleswig and the adjoining islands, although as seafaring people they were closely associated with each other in commerce and politics. The North Frisians retained their own

<sup>6</sup> In the genitive case, as the wife of Hoyer.

<sup>7</sup> She was apparently not related to the painter Georg van Owens (1620-1695); see Z. f. Schleswig-Holst. 38, 416.

government longer than the others, and their own language as well, in spite of Danish and Low-German influences. Indeed, Frisian is still spoken upon the islands of Sylt, Föhr, Amrum and Helgoland, and along the west coast of Schleswig, although the dialect upon the mainland is quite different from that upon the islands. Eiderstedt was colonized very early by the Frisians, and Frisian was spoken there until about the middle of the seventeenth century.

Bold sea robbery had not been unknown among this people. Always at war with the elements, and especially with the sea, which repeatedly overwhelmed their low and flat country, they had developed a defiant courage and endurance, a proud self-respect and hatred of all tyrannical arbitrariness, which made them dangerous enemies. "Deus Mare, Friso litora fecit" (God created the sea, but the Frieslander its boundaries) is one of their oldest mottoes. There were no nobles, no feudal lords among them, for none of them could consent to be a vassal.

In matters of religion they had been as independent as in matters of government. No other nation had cherished its ancient rites and ceremonies with as much loyalty as the Frisians. They had, in common with all the North Germans, little sympathy with the poetic mysticism of the Catholic Church. The priests had no authority over them. On the contrary, the priests were themselves dependent upon the favor of an assembly of citizens. The Reformation found therefore very little opposition in this land where Catholicism was so weak. The Frisians are still an intellectual, reasonable, practical people because of the stern necessities of their existence, although not without an understanding of the imaginative and philosophical side of life. The various sects flourished among them; and Menno, the leader of the Mennonites, was a Frisian.

Unfortunately, repeated floods, followed by famine and pestilence, almost exhausted this sturdy people. When finally, in 1634, the tremendous Nordstrand flood came, Duke Frederick III was obliged to enter into a compact with the wealthy Netherlanders, according to which they should have possession of all

the land which they were able to rescue and protect with dikes. Some of the old inhabitants worked as servants for the intruders, some went to Holland to serve as sailors, some settled on the island Föhr.<sup>8</sup>

At the time when we first hear of the Owens family, however, these disasters had not yet occurred, and they found in Eiderstedt opportunity for following their professions and for amassing wealth. Tete Owens (Anna Owens' grandfather) was barrister in Witzworth. Her father, Hans Owens, was a well-known astronomer, but he died in the year in which Anna was born. Her mother was Wennecke Hunnens, daughter of Jacob Hunnens, alderman and councilor in Oldensworth. She died, too, only a few years after her husband,<sup>9</sup> and left the three-year-old baby to be cared for and educated by relatives.

Of Anna Owens' childhood we know nothing definite, but the probability is that she grew up in Witzworth, where two of her uncles acted as her guardians.<sup>10</sup> She was full of vitality and of the joy of living, and not entirely unconscious of her beauty and her intellectual accomplishments:<sup>11</sup>

Wann ich all sein Wolthat betracht,  
Das Er Zum menschen mich gemacht,  
Durch fromme Eltern mir das leben  
Und wolgestalten Leib hat geben,

<sup>8</sup> See G. Weigelt, *Die nordfriesischen Inseln vormals und jetzt*, Hamburg, 1873; and M. Anton Heimreich, *Nordfriesische Chronik*, Tondern, 1819. The Frisians living between the Weser and the Jade maintained their independence until they were conquered in 1234 by the Archbishop of Bremen and the Count of Oldenburg and their land was united with Oldenburg.

<sup>9</sup> See Carlander's *Stammbuch*.

<sup>10</sup> Staatsarchiv Schleswig, Acta A, XX, Nr. 3305: "An Mewes und Jon Owens zu Witzworth von Herzog Johann Adolf, dasz ihr Mündtlein Anna Owens, weill dieselbe sich mit benanntem Staller [Hermann Hoyer] für diesen eingelassen, sich bis zu Austrag solcher Sachen des Freyens enthalten soll." (By courtesy of Helene Höhnk.)

<sup>11</sup> See Helene Höhnk, *Niedersachsen*, 9. Jahrgang, Nr. 8, p. 128: "In den Schreiben, welche der Herzog an sie richten liess, wird sie stets die 'Hochgelehrte und Wohlweise' angeredet." The many Latin words and phrases in her poems show that this was not merely a form of address.

Stete fürsorg für mich gehabt,  
 Mit Witz und Verstandt mich begabt,  
 Von der kindheit und Jugend auff,  
 Auch mitten im Sundlichen lauff,  
 Mich gnädiglich gesehen an,  
 Ich ihn nich genug rühmen kan.

—Poem. p. 15.

She probably had more than one suitor for her hand, for the joys and sorrows of love are the theme of her first long poem:

Wie wunderbar die liebe Sey  
 Ist klar hirinn zufinden,  
 Was freüd und Süszigkeit dabey,  
 Thut disz büchlein verkünden,  
 Imgleichen auch die bitterkeit  
 Viel trauren, Sorg und schmerzen  
 So wohnet bey zu iederzeit  
 Allen verliebten Herten.

—Breitenburg MS p. 2.

From her father she inherited apparently a great interest in astronomy<sup>13</sup> and mathematics,<sup>14</sup> although she may simply have absorbed her knowledge from the people round about her. The Frieslander lived in close dependence on the stars, partly as necessary guides upon his long voyages, partly as sympathetic companions for his deep philosophical inquiries;<sup>15</sup> and astronomy and mathematics were the most important subjects required of those desiring to be confirmed.<sup>16</sup> Gustav Frenssen

<sup>13</sup> Thu deinen fleisz  
 Zu seinem preis,  
 Lunam zu überwinden.  
 —Poem. p. 200.

Lasz deinen sinn  
 Nicht, wie vorhinn,  
 Vom *Scorpion* regieren.  
 —Poem. p. 203.

*Solarisch* arth,  
 Ist etwas hart,  
 Jächzörnig und hochmütig.

Werff *Martis* stern  
 Auch von dir fern.  
 —Poem. p. 205.

<sup>14</sup> St. MS Fol. 154.

<sup>15</sup> Gustav Frenssen, Jörn Uhl, Berlin, 1912, p. 176: "Der Menschenschlag des Landes ist vorwiegend für Philosophie und Mathematik beanlagt," etc.

<sup>16</sup> G. Weigelt, Die nordfriesischen Inseln, p. 233.

has not forgotten this inborn instinct in his people, and to his hero Jörn Uhl he gives at first but two treasures to comfort him in his bitter loneliness: an old book (Littrow, *Wunder des Himmels*) and a crooked telescope. Amid such surroundings even the children study the heavens.

Anna Owens had also a fair knowledge of Latin, to judge from the many Latin quotations and the frequent use of Latin words and phrases in her works.<sup>16</sup> The only attempt at writing Latin verses is, however, scarcely worthy of admiration:

Littera gesta docet,  
quid Credas Allegoria,  
Moralis quid agas,  
quo tendas Anagogia,  
S. A. O. H. Schripcit.

—St. MS p. 6.

Her school days were destined to be brief. Scarcely fifteen years old, the rich and beautiful girl was sought in marriage by the distinguished Staller,<sup>17</sup> Hermann Hoyer, and became

<sup>16</sup> Es geht nicht mehr  
So scharff daher,  
Denn *Pax* ist nun geboren;  
Die *Charitas*  
Vertreibt den hasz,  
Der Kriegs-mann hat ver-  
lohren.

Im Regiment  
Gehts *Excellent*,  
*Concordia floriret*;  
*Justitia*  
Ist wieder da,  
*Pietas* Gubernieret.

—Poem. p. 192.

See also St. MS Fols. 21, 24, 26, 39, 45, 68, 127, 130, 133, etc.

<sup>17</sup> Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch*: "Nach Adelung gab es in der Landschaft Eiderstädt einen Oberstaller (Amtmann zu Husum) als oberste aufsichtsbehörde in kirchlichen, politischen und ökonomischen sachen und einen unterstaller oder staller schlechthin als richter für das erste verfahren in privatsachen; daneben bei den Friesen staller gleichbedeutend mit statthalter" (governor, lieutenant).

Christian I, 45: "Zu den Hofbedienten gehören die Hirdsmen, Gestir, Kuskaler, denen der Staller oder Marschall vorstand, der aber auch öfters vom Hofe entfernt und eine Provinz zu regieren bekam; daher man noch jetzt in der Provinz Eiderstedt einen königlichen Staller findet." According to Christian, then, the Staller was originally a Stallmeister.

Heimreich, p. 19, derives "Staller" from "installando," because he was installed.

In earlier times the Staller led the people in war as well, but is here only the highest judicial and executive authority in his district.

mistress of the manor in Hoyersworth,<sup>22</sup> the 15th of April, 1599. It has been said that her married life was not happy,<sup>23</sup> and indeed the reasons adduced for its not being so seem somewhat plausible. The Hoyer family was related to the royal household in Denmark,<sup>24</sup> had been employed in important diplomatic missions, and was enjoying many of the privileges of the nobility. Hermann Hoyer himself had been educated almost entirely with princes and, as Staller of Eiderstedt, Everschop and Utholm,<sup>25</sup> was a personage of great importance. His wedding day was celebrated in Latin poems composed in honor of "nobilissimi viri Casparis Hoyeri, Consiliarii Principum Holsatiae primarii, filii provinciae Eiderostadiensis Praefekti dignissimi,"<sup>26</sup> and the privileges<sup>27</sup> granted to the father were cordially extended to the son. No greater contrast could be imagined than that existing between this experienced courtier and his naïve young bride. That they were both self-willed and independent personalities<sup>28</sup> would make the adjustment even more difficult.

<sup>22</sup> Hoyersworth is the only estate in Eiderstedt with noble privileges, and lies half a mile north of Tönning. It is at present in the possession of the Hamkens family, and looks almost like a castle, with its double moat and extensive grounds. It was used by the Danish king Frederick IV as his headquarters during the siege of Tönning, in 1713. The old house has its family ghost as well as its underground dungeon. The iron ring, sign of the Staller's office, still hangs on the high tower.

<sup>23</sup> See Moller I, 264: "Post mariti (quocum, heterodoxiae suae, a parentibus forsitan in filiam derivatae, indignante, haud admodum concorditer eam vixisse, Sperlingius perhibet), d. 13 Sept. A. 1622. defuncti, excessum, in praedio illius commorata Hoyerswortano, librorum lectione assidua, & carminum vernaculorum scriptione, cui jam ante assveverat, thori vidui fefellit taedia." Compare also Adelung and Erich Schmidt's essay in A. D. B.

<sup>24</sup> Harmen Hoyer married Catharine, the illegitimate daughter of Frederick I.

<sup>25</sup> Since 1456 the three districts had had one Staller.

<sup>26</sup> Kraft, p. 171.

<sup>27</sup> They were excused from paying the usual taxes, had the privilege of hunting and fishing at all seasons of the year, and could not be called to account by the provincial court.

<sup>28</sup> Manuscript aus Eiderstedt geliehen (without signature or number, by courtesy of Helene Höhnk), Nachricht von den Stallern in Eiderstedt, Everschop und Utholm, mit einigen Fragmenten aus der Geschichte der drei Landen, p. 32: "Hermann Hoyer war ein grosser



From an old document <sup>26</sup> we learn, too, that Hermann Hoyer had been engaged to Margareta Schultze, before he offered his hand to Anna Owens. In fact Margareta's mother complained to Duke Johann Adolf about the fickleness of the Staller, and the result was a ducal command that Anna Owens should refuse any further attentions from Hermann Hoyer until the difficulty might be arranged.<sup>27</sup> Perhaps the devout Margareta had not charm enough to hold him, or the wealthy Anna, with her enormous dowry of 100,000 Lübeck marks (about \$30,000),<sup>28</sup> presented greater attractions. At all events, there seems to have been very little deep affection connected with the marriage of the duke's representative and the rich orphan girl.

There is, however, no trace of dissatisfaction with her lot in any of her poems. She bore her husband seven children <sup>29</sup> and watched over them with loving motherly care.<sup>30</sup> She

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starker schwarzbrauner Mann, breit von Schultern, Stirn und Brust, hatte ziemlich grosse Augen, abgekürztes Haar, grossen und breiten Bart, ein ziemlich breites Kinn, ein ernsthaftes Angesicht, war jedoch gemeinsahm und fast geschwätzig, auch sehr lustig und kurzweilig und war froh, wenn er einfältige Leute aus einer geschwinden Rede überhanden konte. Er war gastfrey und bewirthete oft die Landleute. Er hatte kein Laster, als dasz er was eigensinnig war."

<sup>26</sup> Staatsarchiv Schleswig (document not numbered, by courtesy of Helene Höhnk): "Conradt Wulff Hoyer war mit einer Schultze verheiratet. Mit einer Schwester derselben war Hermann Hoyer verlobt. Die Mutter dieser Schultzen hies Catherina geb. Blankenfeldt."

<sup>27</sup> Compare note 10.

<sup>28</sup> 100,000 Lübeck marks were of much greater value at that time than the same sum would be to-day. Anna Owens brought her husband a fortune, and he himself was not poor. See Andreas Angelus, *Holsteinische Chronica*, 1597, I, 60: "Disz Geschlecht hat in Eyderstedt drey Vorwerck vnd Häuser."

<sup>29</sup> Johann died apparently as a small baby. Anna married Peter Siemens, did not go with the others to Sweden, and on that account is not mentioned in the poem "Christi Gùlden Cron," Poem. p. 132. Maria married the musketeer Friedrich Nassach. Christina married a Swedish sculptor. Caspar was innkeeper in Sittwick. Christian was foreman in the iron-works about four miles from Stockholm. Friedrich Hermann, born 1621, was pilot in the Swedish fleet, teacher at a naval academy, and later copper-plate engraver in Stockholm.

Erich Schmidt, whose two essays furnish the most modern source of information for Anna Owens, mentions but five children, quoting probably Poem. p. 132. (See Carlander's *Stammbuch*.)

<sup>30</sup> St. MS 24, "Ach Herr bewahr mein Kinderlein"; Poem. p. 133, "Christi Gùlden Cron"; "Posaunenschall," especially pp. 199-208; p. 3, "Gespräch zwischen Mutter und Kindt."

proved herself a true and obedient wife, subservient to her husband in all things:

Ihr Frawen ewer Månner Ehret,  
Mindert ihr Leidt, ihr freüde Mehret,  
Ihnen zu dienen seyt geflissen,  
Månner sind Herren, das solt ihr wissen.

—St. MS Fol. 99.

She encouraged young girls to marry and to help their husbands in founding pious homes.<sup>20</sup> In her version of the Book of Ruth she describes the loyal wife as the paragon of all virtues,<sup>21</sup> showing that she herself is by no means the emancipated woman who would disregard all home ties.

She seems, moreover, to have enjoyed the complete confidence of her husband. He made her sole guardian of his children and executrix of his large estates. Whether it was due to her tact or to his diplomacy, there was at least no open break between them.

The only thing which perhaps might be interpreted as a sign of unhappiness on her part is her first literary effort (already mentioned above), written five years before her husband's death. It is a version of Aeneas Sylvius'<sup>22</sup> famous love story of Euryalus and Lucretia,<sup>23</sup> in which Lucretia, the wife of a

<sup>20</sup> Poem. p. 150.

<sup>21</sup> Poem. p. 87.

<sup>22</sup> Pope Pius II.

<sup>23</sup> "Süszbittere Freude; oder eine wahrhaftige Historie von zwey liebhabenden Personen, unter verdeckten Nahmen Euryali und Lucretiae, durch Aeneam Sylvium Lateinisch beschrieben, durch Nicolaum von Weil, Stadtschreiber, verdeutsch, jetzt aber in deutsche Reimen gestellt durch Anero Hireijo zu Horstrowey in Testredey (Anagramm für Ovena Hoyeri zu Hoyersworth in Eyderstedt). Schleswig 1617. 4<sup>o</sup>."

Niclas von Wyle, important chiefly as translator, was born in Bremgarten, in Switzerland. In 1445 he was city secretary in Nuremberg; in 1449 he filled the same office in Eszlingen. In 1470 he was chancellor to Count Ulrich von Würtemberg. He dedicated some of his translations to Duchess Mathilde of Austria, the most important of which are: "Euriolus und Lucretia"—Aeneas Sylvius; "Über den Nutzen der klassichen Studien"—Aeneas Sylvius; "Bericht über Procesz und Tod des Hieronymus von Prag"—Poggio; "Von dem Adel"—Hammerlin;

wealthy citizen in Sienna, dies of love for the chancellor of the emperor Sigismund. Only a short fragment remains extant, but what we have is a warning against the dangers and sorrows which Venus sends upon her worshippers.

Her life as seen from a superficial point of view was crowned with all the blessings which make for happiness. Her social position as wife of the influential Staller was an enviable one. Her beautiful home in Hoyersworth, and later in Tönning, was often thronged with guests who vied with each other in showering compliments upon her and in showing her every mark of respect.\* Music and the laughter of children were not wanting. Wealth was also there in abundance. What more could the heart of woman desire?

There was one thing, however, which disturbed the harmony apparently existing between the husband and wife. They were not in sympathy with each other in regard to the endless litigation carried on between the Lutheran pastors in Eiderstedt and the various Anabaptist sects (some of whom called themselves Mennonites, some David Jorites). Since the terrible events in Münster in 1535,\*\* the Anabaptists had been espe-

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\* "Guiscarde und Sigismunde"—Boccaccio (from the Latin translation of Aretino).

See Goedeke I, 361, and the dissertation of Bruno Strauss, "Der Übersetzer Nicolaus von Wyle," Berlin, 1911.

\*\* Mit Reverentz fein zierlich  
Setzt man uns oben an,  
Praesentirt uns manirlich,  
Viel dienst und Freundschaft an.

—Poem. p. 294.

\* The trouble began in 1534 with Bernhard Rotmann, who, at the head of 900 armed citizens, demanded unconditional religious freedom from the Catholic bishop. Then came Jan Mathys and Jan Bockelson from the Netherlands, and drew a multitude of fanatics to Münster through the fiery eloquence of their preaching. On the 27th of February, 1534, Mathys announced it as God's will that all unbelievers should be driven out of the city. All images, church organs and books were destroyed. Twelve of the oldest men, as inspired prophets, were set at the head of the city government. A community life was introduced, which included even a community of wives. Hessen, Trèves, Cleves, Mainz and Cologne helped in laying siege to the city, which finally had to yield on account of famine. After a hard struggle the Anabaptists were conquered and Catholicism was reestablished. (Joh. Heincr. Kurtz, Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte.)

cially feared and persecuted. In Schleswig they had found a peaceful refuge for thirty years or more, partly because of the more tranquil nature of the people, partly because of the less zealous dogmatism of the clergy, who were for the most part disciples of the peace-loving Melanchthon. But they increased so rapidly, and came to form such a large part of the community, that they could be tolerated no longer. In 1588 Caspar Hoyer banished six and called many others to account. His son, Hermann, attacked the heretics even more energetically. On the 29th of March, 1602, he brought many to trial at Tönning. In 1607 he cross-examined and rebuked a number of Mennonites and David Jorites in Cotzenbüll and Tönning. In 1608 he held another cross-examination and threatened all who did not recant before June, 1609, with banishment and the confiscation of half their property. In 1614 he was obliged to interfere again, for the Anabaptists had summoned clergymen of their own from Holland and were making converts. He put several in prison, but they were soon released by a ducal command<sup>26</sup> and had to defend themselves before the chancellor and the duke's council in Gottorp. Permission was finally granted them to remain in the country on condition that they conducted themselves with propriety and made no attempt to disseminate their teachings.

The Anabaptists themselves gave four reasons why they were so hated and persecuted: they had not the Lutheran but the symbolic point of view; they could not believe that young children were afflicted with original sin which could be exorcised only by the rite of baptism; they expected forgiveness of sin from God alone and not from the priest; they could not put the Confession of Augsburg and Luther's Shorter Catechism on an equal footing with the Bible. They were accused, furthermore, of having a community of wives, and of trying to destroy the whole idea of a state government since they refused to serve even in a just war or to take the oath of allegiance.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Most of the Anabaptists were rather wealthy, and the duke's heaviest tax-payers.

<sup>27</sup> Hansen<sup>(1)</sup>, p. 175.

These difficulties with the sectaries were not really adjusted until after the death of Duke Johann Adolf (March 31, 1616). His son Frederick III, a mild and broad-minded prince, followed him as Duke of Schleswig-Holstein; and he, although himself an orthodox Lutheran, granted the sects a village on the Eider called Sebul. This they enlarged and built up into a city which they named Friedrichstadt. Special privileges were bestowed upon them by the duke on the 13th of February, 1623. For the first time the sectaries were entirely free from religious persecution.\*\*

The series of lawsuits and banishments in Eiderstedt must have seemed very unjust to the Staller's wife, for she was a great admirer of David Joris, "De trûw Gottes Knecht,"\*\* and had read his writings with almost as much attention as those of Schwenckfeld. One could hardly expect her to recognize that the Schleswig authorities were, in comparison with those in other parts of Germany, remarkably moderate and tolerant in their action. However, she seems to have concealed her interest in the heresies until after her husband's death. At least she made no public attempt to defend them.

In 1603 the Staller's residence was changed from Hoyersworth to Tønning, where the Hoyer family lived for nineteen years. Then, on the 13th of September, 1622, Hermann Hoyer died, and his wife began almost immediately to give expression to her natural antipathy for the orthodox clergy. There was needed only a special case in which she was personally interested to stir her wrath to a white heat, and that came very soon.

Moller tells us that after her husband's death she returned to Hoyersworth, where she passed her time in "*librorum lectione assidua, et carminum vernaculorum scriptione.*" Jöcher and Paullinus give the same account of these years following her bereavement. Judging from her poems and various quotations in the Stockholm manuscript, she had a superficial knowl-

\*\* Christian III, 137.

\*\* Poem. p. 259.

edge at least of St. Augustine<sup>40</sup> and Propertius.<sup>41</sup> She had also read the eager controversialists of the Reformation—Luther, Flacius, Calvin, and Melanchthon; the heterodox mystics—Schwenckfeld, Joris and Weigel; the modern poets—Opitz, Rist, Sudermann, Nagel and Ziegenspeck; and knew most intimately of all, Luther's translation of the Bible.<sup>42</sup> Indeed, the Bible was her household book, which she read and re-read and knew almost by heart. It furnished her with material for her poems<sup>43</sup> and had a very strong influence upon her language and style.<sup>44</sup>

But her life was also an active one, made such in part by acquaintance with Dr. Nicolaus Teting (Knutzen). One of her children was ill and she needed his medical aid; but aside from that, she had heard of his unjust banishment from Flensburg and was curious to meet him. Born about 1590 at Husum, he had studied medicine and chemistry (which at that time meant alchemy) in Leyden and later settled in Flensburg, where he won many friends. In 1622 he and his friend, Hartwig Lohmann, the town clerk, came into conflict with the clergy, perhaps unnecessarily. Habacuc Meyer, pastor of St. Mary's, had publicly attacked Weigel's theory of the Incarnation. Teting and Lohmann, supposing that the sermon was directed against them, wrote out a confession of what they really believed, in order to defend themselves against any false accusation. Their minister conferred with Friedrich Johannes, his colleague, and with Friedrich Dame, Propst<sup>45</sup> and pastor of St. John's. The controversy was carried on partly in writing, partly by cross-examination, and the two friends finally left Flensburg of their

<sup>40</sup> St. MS II, Fols. 3, 26.

<sup>41</sup> St. MS Fol. 24.

<sup>42</sup> This translation contains the Apocryphal books. (See Poem. p. 117; St. MS 6—9; St. MS II, Fol. 31.)

<sup>43</sup> "Das Buch Ruth"—Poem. p. 77; "An die Gemein in Engellandt"—Poem. p. 268.

<sup>44</sup> See Chap. IX.

<sup>45</sup> Propst—head pastor of a district, almost always pastor of the largest church.

own accord. Teting went to Hattstedt and from there to Windert, whence he was called to Hoyersworth.

Here he won the sympathy and confidence of the Staller's widow, and she invited him and his family to take up their abode in the gate-keeper's house on her estate. Adelung writes scornfully of the influence which the "Erzschwärmer und Goldmacher" had over her. It was not difficult for him, says Adelung, to turn her head completely, and to involve her in the wildest fanaticism. She kept Teting, whom she considered a divine prophet, with her, to the disgust of the whole neighborhood, and made Hoyersworth a gathering-place for all the Anabaptists and fanatics, announcing herself as their leader and giving Teting the power to baptize and teach whom he would. Krafft tells, too, how she and her children and her entire household were ensnared by Teting; and Holberg remarks that, because she was very eager to learn of new religious theories, it was easy for Teting to imbue her, "als ein schwaches Weib," with many strange and foolish notions.\*

This zeal on Teting's part only transferred the Flensburg disputes to Hoyersworth. Resentment was at once aroused by the fact that Teting held private church services in his patroness' home and proceeded to extend his influence to the people in the vicinity. On the 24th of May, 1623, the duke ordered an investigation, which Nicolaus Wedovius of Witzwort was to conduct. According to the account which his adversaries give of the trial, Teting expressed some very unorthodox views: that in 1625 the kingdoms of this world would come to an end and the millenium would then begin; that Christ received the human part of his person (as well as the spiritual) from the Holy Spirit, and that the conception took place through faith; that Christ dwells bodily in the hearts of his children; that the reading of the Bible and the hearing of the word is of no value without the inner enlightenment of the

\*Krafft, p. 173: "Sie ist herzlich zu bedauern, dass sie bei ihren Gaben so tief verfallen ist durch den Umgang mit Nicolaus Knutzen (Teting)."

Spirit." The discussion became somewhat heated on both sides, and Teting found it advisable to return to his native city Husum. Anna Owens and her family soon followed him; and they began again their community life, this time, too, in a house belonging to her. As might have been expected, they were at once attacked by the resident clergy of Husum, with Petrus Dankwerth at their head; and September 27, 1624, Teting was commanded to recant or leave the country within fourteen days. He chose the latter alternative and departed for Hamburg, where he lived for some time as a practising physician.

Lohmann settled in Odense, on the island of Fühnen, eventually repented of all his heretical beliefs, and was received back into the church as a penitent sinner (1635).

Anna Owens was naturally very angry over the banishment of her friend, and in 1625 wrote a biting satire against the "Herrn Titultrager von Hohen Schulen," directing her invective against the clergy of Flensburg—Meyer, Johannes and Dame—and repudiating Dame's "Abgetrungen Relation des Colloquii mit denen von Flensburg entwichenen Enthusiasten":

O Ihr verkehrte Pfaffenknecht,  
Fritz Hannsen und Fritz Dame.  
O Schlangen art, Ottern geschlecht  
Ja Satans eigner same.

—Poem. p. 67.

She also continued to hold private church services in her own house and to receive hospitably the sectaries who had been driven out of other provinces.<sup>47</sup> She depended for protection upon the favor which her family had long enjoyed at the hands of the royal house of Gottorp. Nor was she mistaken. The clergy began their attack by a "kindly reminder." She retorted with characteristic independence that she had never received any consolation or help from the church and that the

<sup>47</sup> M. Fridericus Dame, *Abgetrungen Relation des Colloquii mit denen von Flensburg entwichenen Enthusiasten*, Rostock, 1625.

<sup>48</sup> Poem. p. 242.



ministry had no authority over her. A typical story is told of one of the rare occasions when she attended the church service in Husum. The minister noticed his distinguished visitor at once and began a polemic against Teting's special teacher (Weigel) and other fanatics. This the impetuous lady could not endure. She arose with much noise and rushed out of the church with the words, "De Düwel schall in de Husumer Kark kamen."<sup>10</sup> The clergy then appealed to the Duchess Augusta, Johann Adolf's widow,<sup>11</sup> but she would take no steps against one whose family had performed such good services for the Crown. The ministers had to content themselves with public admonitions and rebukes.

As the natural result of all this bickering, Anna Owens became bitter and defiant toward the whole world. In 1625 she even refused to pay a special tax levied upon one of her houses in Husum, but had to yield to a ducal command. She became involved in endless lawsuits over debts which her husband had left unsettled. She went to law with the mayor of Husum on account of a quarrel over a house there, and lost her case.

She suffered from financial embarrassment as well, some say because of extravagant beneficence to her sectarian friends.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>10</sup> M. Voss, p. 104.

<sup>11</sup> Krafft, p. 498, Beilage 41: "Sie euszert sich mit ihren Kindern und mehrentheils Hausgesinde desz üblichen Gottesdienstes liederlicher und verächtlicher Weise; Ja auch frembde Seelen, die ohne Zweifel eben dieses gebäcks seyn, in ihre Beheusung aufnehmen, vnd mit denselben eine eigene Enthusiastische Winckel-Kirche haben sollen, mit welchen allen dem Fürstlichen ernsten Mandat nicht allein trotziglich zuwidern gelebet, sondern auch eine grosse Ergernisz in vnser Gemeine angerichtet wird."

<sup>12</sup> Moller: "Has ob causas cum patriae clero esset exosa, opesque ingentes liberalitate prodiga dilapidasset, praedio Hoyerswortano Augustae, Johannis Adolphi, Ducis Holsatici, viduae, vendito, in Sveciam A. 1632 exulatum abiit."

Adelung says she lived in such an extravagant fashion that she went through her own and her husband's money in less than ten years, of which the Anabaptists and other "schwärmerische Schmarotzer" may have enjoyed the greater part.

Christian IV, chap. 12: "Ihre Freygebigkeit brachte sie um ihr Vermögen. Ihr Vater und Schwiegersohn suchten gerichtliche Hülfe dagegen aber vergebens."

But her large inheritance was already heavily encumbered with debt at her husband's death.<sup>53</sup>

About this time she seems to have found the executorship of her estate very burdensome and to have divided the property among her children. On the 17th of March, 1625, she requested the appointment of trustees for them.<sup>54</sup>

In 1628, relieved to some extent of her business difficulties, she went to Hamburg, perhaps to obtain comfort and help from her friend Teting,<sup>54</sup> or to visit her sister-in-law Margareta Moller, who had married the mayor of Hamburg.<sup>55</sup> At any rate she stayed some weeks there, just at the time of the great plague:

Auch da grosz sterben umb mich war,  
erhiltestu mein Leben,  
Und rettetest mich aus der gefahr,  
damit ich war umbgeben.  
Zu mir und meinen Kindern Müst,  
die pestelentz nicht kommen.  
Hast väterlich zur selben frist,  
dich vnser angenommen.

—St. MS 21—4.

From Hamburg she went to Denmark, whether to Copenhagen we do not know, and suffered shipwreck just off Helsingör.<sup>56</sup> Why did she make this long, dangerous and expensive journey, rendered even more exhausting by the care of several of her children whom she took with her, at a time when she could hardly well afford it? She was undoubtedly wearied to death by

<sup>53</sup> Helene Höhnk, Niedersachsen, p. 129: "In einem Aktenstück 1626 heisst es direkt, dass Harmen Hoyers Erbschaft mit ansehnlichen Schulden belastet gewesen war."

<sup>54</sup> Schleswig Staatsarchiv, Acta A, XX, Nr. 3304.

<sup>55</sup> None, even of her most bitter enemies, has made any compromising remark concerning this friendship, except the clergy in Husum in the written complaint which they sent to Duchess Augusta (Krafft, p. 498).

<sup>56</sup> Carlander's Stammbuch.

<sup>56</sup> On the Danish island of Seeland, not far from Copenhagen. (See St. MS 21—6.)

the incessant and paltry hostilities which she had to endure in Husum. Her old acquaintances, who had cultivated her so sedulously as long as she had money and position, had also left her<sup>87</sup> and she found herself bitterly alone. It is probable that she had already begun to consider the necessity of leaving her native land forever, and sought in Hamburg and Copenhagen friends who might be helpful to her.

But her absence from Husum was not prolonged. The years 1629 and 1630 she spent again at home, and with unconquerable courage published two of the most stinging satires which we have from her pen. If she had written nothing else but "Einfältige Wahrheit" and "De Dörp-Pape," she might have considered herself sufficiently revenged for all the injuries inflicted upon her by her old enemies, the theologians. "De Dörp-Pape" was especially sharp and cutting, the climax of all her writings, and aroused a storm of abuse against her.<sup>88</sup> The clouds in her sky began to darken ominously.

In December of the year 1630, she was obliged to sell a house in Husum, "because she and her heirs were hard pressed by their creditors and were involved in not a little expense."<sup>89</sup>

In 1634 she incurred heavy loss in the famous Nordstrand flood. Her son Friedrich Hermann tells how his mother, his sister Maria and his brother Caspar had to sit three days in the upper rooms of their house and wait for the waters to recede, "da die fische durch fenster und thür in der stuben spatzierten vnd die Schiffe auf der gassen gingen, über acker und wiesen."<sup>90</sup> The island of Nordstrand was almost entirely swallowed up by the sea, and the whole coast suffered greatly from the inundation. The event made a deep impression upon Anna Owens. In the twelfth and thirteenth songs of the Stockholm manuscript she expresses a wondering awe toward the Almighty God who could so swiftly and unexpectedly

<sup>87</sup> Poem. p. 294; St. MS 43.

<sup>88</sup> See Kraft, p. 173.

<sup>89</sup> Schleswig Staatsarchiv, Acta A, XX, Nr. 3305.

<sup>90</sup> St. MS Fol. 158.

punish. Her almost childlike confidence in His mercy and goodness is, however, not disturbed:

O Gott wie wunderbarlich, errettestu vom thott,  
 Der rechter Helffer warlich, bistu in aller Noth.  
 Wen wir in Angst und schrecken, bitten im  
 glauben dich,  
 so lestu unsz Nicht stecken, das hab erfahren ich.

—St. MS 13—11.

It is remarkable that we find no ballad or popular song commemorating this terrible misfortune. The only really thrilling description of the disaster is that in Heimreich's "Nordfresische Chronik."<sup>11</sup> Otherwise the clergy have used it simply as an illustration of divine chastisement. Our author also adopted the didactic tone, but with some impressive accents:

Nemht sein werck, zu hertzen o ihr Sünder,  
 Erkent sein grose sterck.  
 Etzlich thausent seindt umbekommen,  
 durch die flut hinweg genommen,  
 In der Nacht, plötzlich zu Nicht gemacht,  
 auch frawen die ihr Kinder,  
 Nur halb ansz licht gebracht.

—St. MS 12—3.

About this time Anna Owens decided to leave the unfriendly city of Husum,<sup>12</sup> never to return. Almost impoverished, she

<sup>11</sup> Heimreich II, chap. 13, pp. 134-152.

<sup>12</sup> The date of her departure is variously given. Most of the chroniclers hold to 1632, because of the poem "Peer / Nielsz sin Söhn tho Westerwyck" (Poem. p. 74), dated 1633, which gives the impression of having been written in that city. 1632 is, however, certainly too early. In 1634 she was still in Eiderstedt, at the time of the flood; and, aside from this indisputable fact, she would hardly have gone to Sweden just after the death of Gustavus Adolphus, when a young queen still in her minority was but nominally on the throne. (Gustavus Adolphus died in 1632, and Christina was not invested with full regal authority until 1644.) The date of "Peer / Nielsz sin Söhn tho Westerwyck" may be a misprint. Gottfried Arnold says she did not leave Schleswig-Holstein until 1644, but that is just as certainly too late. In 1642 was the great Tønning lawsuit against the Anabaptists, and she was then already in Sweden. Erich Schmidt also says that she went in 1632 (A. D. B.).

sold the estate Hoyersworth to Duchess Augusta and with a heavy heart turned her back upon a land which had been very dear to her. It is not easy for the Frieslander to leave his native soil; he goes only when compelled by stern necessity, and she had all the Frisian loyalty and national pride. Armed with a letter of recommendation from Augusta to Maria Eleonora, the widow of Gustavus Adolphus,<sup>68</sup> she departed for Sweden, leaving behind the eldest daughter Anna, who was already married. There she lived for some time in Vestervik, a seaport town in Götaland, in Kalmar län:

Arm und elend, als vergessen,  
 Hab gewohnt bald hie bald dort,  
 In der Stadt und auff dem Lande  
 Im betrübten Witwen Stande,  
 Hie an diesem frembden Ort.

—Poem. p. 280.

If one may assume that the poem "Peer / Nielsz sin Söhn tho Westerwyck" is the result of a personal experience, as almost all of her poems are, she led a poverty-stricken existence there upon a small farm called Blickhem, on which she had cows and chickens. Her freedom and independence were protected by a document signed by her landlord and the mayor of Vestervik (Peer Nielson himself), but her rights were not always respected. Her produce was often bought without being paid for, and the rents were exorbitant.<sup>69</sup> The years must have been unspeakably hard for the proud, aristocratic, once wealthy woman.

Yet her own trials did not make her indifferent to those of old friends whom she had left at home. The poem "Ein Schreiben an die Gemein im Land Holstein," written in 1642,

<sup>68</sup> Ja, Gott sey dafür gepreiset,  
 Er hat mir viel Gnad beweiset,  
 Mich als bey der Hand geführt  
 Ausz Holstein hierher ohn schaden:  
 Ich bin von Ihr Fürstlich Gnaden  
 An Ihr Maystät commendirt.

—Poem. p. 280.

<sup>69</sup> Poem. p. 74.

shows what an active interest she took in all that happened there. There had been another protracted lawsuit against the David Jorites in Eiderstedt, and Anna Owens had followed the proceedings with close attention. This time the leader of the orthodox party was Moldenit, Propst in Tönning. Severe and ruthless in his zeal for the Lutheran dogmas, he sought out heresy even where it really did not exist, and aroused interest in David Joris and his writings among people who would otherwise never have thought of reading them. He brought about the imprisonment of several of his parishioners during March and April of the year 1642, and refused to admit several others to the Confession on the ground of their being suspicious characters. In May the duke commanded the confiscation of all the David Jorite books which upon search could be discovered. The accused tried to defend themselves, presented a written confession of faith, and complained of the unjust way in which they had been treated by Moldenit. In October, however, they were obliged to sign a "formulam Confessionis," which the "General Superintendent" <sup>65</sup> Fabricius had drawn up, and in the same month the confiscated books were burned in the market square in Tönning. With this the proceedings against the sectaries were, for the time being, brought to a close, although Moldenit still found occasional cases of heresy.<sup>66</sup>

Anna Owens was of course incensed by the whole dispute, and took up arms with great energy in defense of her sectarian friends against the "Praelaten":

Der Teuffel aller boszheit voll,  
Ist in den Pfaffen rasend toll,  
Und macht sie tobend wie die Heiden,  
Dass sie Fried-liebend Leut nicht leiden.

—Poem. p. 234.

<sup>65</sup> His duties corresponded to those of a bishop. The office was introduced during the reign of Christian III, 1541, in Schleswig-Holstein and Denmark.

<sup>66</sup> Hansen<sup>(2)</sup>, p. 31.

She appealed to the duke not to drive away "Jesu Christi Brüder," but admitted that it was a terrible thing for a ruler to incur the anger of the priests and to be obliged to endure the ban of the church.

In 1643 she was still in Vestervik, but brighter days were soon to come. In the poem "Lob-Liedlein zu Ehren der Schwedischen Cronen," written in honor of Christina's coronation and dated Stockholm, September 7, 1644, she already rejoices in the protection of the Swedish queen:

O Ruhm-würdigs-Schweden-Reich,  
Frew dich deiner Cronen;  
Kein Königreich ist dir gleich  
In dir ist gut wohnen;  
Bey dir suchen schirm und schutz  
Wider ihrer Feinde trutz  
Frembde, Wittwen, Waisen,  
Hoch bistu zu preisen.

—Poem. p. 277.

She had found a rich patroness, too, in Maria Eleonora of Brandenburg, the widowed queen-mother, to whom she had already dedicated "Das Buch Ruth" in 1632, and from her bounty she received a small country-seat in Laagard, northeast of Stockholm, called Sittwick. In the poem "Gott, der alles Sunderlich regieret in der Welt," she expresses hearty thanks for this generous gift:

Er hat unsz alsz bey der hant, recht väterlich geführt,  
Seine gnad hab ich erkant, und seine lieb gespührt.  
Im Elenden Wittwen stand, hat er mich woll ernehrt,  
Bey Stockholm auff Ladgarts landt, mir auch ein Haus  
beschert.

—St. MS 48—2.

Queen Hedwig Eleonora of Holstein-Gottorp and Karl Gustavus were also very gracious to her.\* Indeed, she did not lack

\* Poem. p. 77.

\*\* St. MS 44: "Auff die Fröliche Ankunfft Der Durchläuchtigen, Hochgebornen Fürstinnen und Frewlein F. Hedwich Eleonora."

wealthy and influential friends outside of the royal family. Benjamin Magnus Croneburg<sup>66</sup> and his noble wife, Elizabeth Krusbiörn,<sup>67</sup> showered benefits upon her, so that she began to live more happily here, although in exile, than she had lived at home. Her songs in praise of Sweden are eulogies written with genuine gratitude for the favors which she had received.

In 1649 she took as active an interest in English affairs<sup>68</sup> as she had taken in 1642 in the Eiderstedt lawsuits, and poured out her wrath upon the rebels.<sup>69</sup> She accused them unceremoniously of high treason in their execution of Charles I, and enlarged upon the respect and esteem due to all those in authority:

Wisst ihr nicht dass ihr schuldig seydt,  
Zu gehorchen der Obrigkeit,  
Welche die Schrifft nennt Götter?

—Poem. p. 269.

The poem was so personal in its invective that it called down an official reprimand upon the head of its author.<sup>70</sup> As might have been expected, she answered the rebuke with another poem<sup>71</sup> in which she reiterated her former statements as undeniably true, showing a fearless obstinacy against which state and church alike were powerless.

But her work did not last much longer. In 1655 the pen suddenly became too heavy for her feeble hand, and in the midst of a polemic against the aristocracy of wealth, she found it impossible to write further. Her son Friedrich Hermann was obliged to finish the poem for her. On the margin of Folio

<sup>66</sup> St. MS 46: "Erl gesessen auff Walstad und Haselåås, etz. K: M: in Schweden woluerordneter Commendant auff Lageholm in Halland" (a province in the southern part of Sweden).

<sup>67</sup> St. MS 47.

<sup>68</sup> It is interesting to note Moller I, 263, in this connection: "In Aktis Erud. Germanicis Lipsiensibus, Parte XXXV, p. 806, perperam appellatur die bekandte Engelländische Qvackerinn, cum Angliam nec patriam habuerit, nec unquam adierit."

<sup>69</sup> Poem. p. 263: "Schreiben an die Gemein in Engellandt."

<sup>70</sup> Poem. p. 272.

<sup>71</sup> Poem. p. 272, "Wer gern mit Alten Frawen streitt."



36, Part II, of the Stockholm manuscript, opposite the seventh verse, stands, "So weit hats meine Mutter Seelige," and at the foot of the page, "dieser rest F. H. Hoyer." An old engraving in the same manuscript bears the inscription, "Anna Ovena Hoiijers Obiit Ao: 1655. Den 27: 9: b: Altt, 71, Jahr."

The chroniclers of the time have all manner of curious tales to tell about the last years of her life. They say she became infatuated with Pythagorean "vagaries"<sup>76</sup> and would allow no living creature to be killed, not even for food; that she ate only decaying fish; and kept dogs for the special benefit of fleas and lice, that they too might have an assured habitation.<sup>77</sup> Why her sympathies did not extend to the dogs is not explained. She is said to have had a foreboding of the hour of her death, and to have sought out a lonely spot where she might die without a witness of her final weakness.<sup>78</sup>

These tales contain in all probability a minimum of truth. Anna Owens devoted herself evidently to her family and her literary work, without disturbing herself about the opinions of her neighbors. Her independent attitude, her frank and obstinate maintenance of her own opinion, estranged people from her. In the poem, "Wer gern mit alten Frauen streit," we can see that she was not particularly beloved:

Bitt last es euch gefallen doch  
 Und tadelt nicht ihr schreiben,  
 Sie bleibt bey warheit, liebt das Recht,  
 Lest sich daran genügen,  
 Hat ihren eignen Kopff (ist schlecht)  
 Wie die Gãnsz im Land Rügen,  
 Achtet nicht mehr Welt-schand noch ehr.

—Poem. p. 273.

Under such circumstances, stories, fanciful and grotesque to almost any degree, might easily be devised about her character and manner of living.

<sup>76</sup> Especially touching the transmigration of the soul.

<sup>77</sup> Adelung says that this form of charity is also practised in India.

<sup>78</sup> Joh. Henr. Feustking, *Gynaeceum Haeretico Fanaticum*, p. 358.

This much, however, we may infer from her writings and from the various accounts concerning her: She was a strong, earnest, deeply religious personality whom the struggle of life did not soften or make more compliant. She found worldly pleasures transitory and deceptive, and disavowed all interest in wealth or position or power. This hard, austere woman has written no love lyrics of any kind; but it is highly improbable that such an impetuous and passionate nature was entirely uninfluenced by the effect of love. The only place where she touches on the subject is in the fragment of "Süssbittre Freude" where she warns against its sorrows:

Die sich begeb'n in liebes bandt  
 Macht Venus All zu Gecken,  
 Verendert ihr gemüth und Sinn,  
 Macht hin und wieder wandern,  
 Nimpt Mannheit, sterck und klugheit hinn,  
 gibt kindische Gedanken,  
 Kindische Wort, Sinn, Muth und sterck,  
 Anschleg, thun und furnehmen.

—Breitenburg MS Fol. 1.

In her friendships, too, she seems to have had unfortunate experience. The poem "Gegen die Geldt- und Welt-freunde"<sup>78</sup> gives a very vivid characterization of the fair-weather friend who fills one's ears with protestations of willingness to serve as long as the purse is full and the table well set, but who fails to recognize one on the street after misfortune has come:

Disz ich vor wenig Jahren,  
 Sehr wol empfunden hab,  
 Darumb lasz ich sie fahren  
 Scheid von der Freundschaft ab.

—Poem. p. 297.

In the forty-third song of the Stockholm manuscript she laments over an ungrateful guest whom she had hospitably enter-

<sup>78</sup> Poem. p. 294.

tained, and in Part II, Folio 31, she speaks of the rarity of true friendship.

Her children were also a source of grave anxiety to her. Tenderly as she loved them, it was natural for an imperious person like herself to try to domineer over them even after they were full-grown; and she resented bitterly their objection to her attempt at maintaining an absolute control. In 1643 and 1645 she even tried to choose her sons' wives for them,<sup>73</sup> and as late as 1650 she threatened them with eternal punishment if they refused to obey her.<sup>74</sup>

The stern and serious household had, however, one lighter, more human aspect. The whole family was extremely fond of music. Anna Owens herself composed the music for several of her hymns.<sup>75</sup> The eldest son, Caspar, played the violin;<sup>76</sup> Friedrich Hermann, the trombone;<sup>77</sup> and Maria, the spinnet.<sup>78</sup> One can picture many a family concert. Nor did the music consist entirely of hymns. Secular songs were cultivated, the very newest as well as the older ones: "Warum sollt ich nicht fröhlich sein,"<sup>79</sup> "Wol dem, der weit von hohen Dingen,"<sup>80</sup>

<sup>73</sup> Poem. p. 153, "Kurtz Bedencken von der Alten Weiber Heyrath"; p. 145, "Annae Ovenae Hoijers Rath an alle Alte Witwen."

<sup>74</sup> St. MS 32, "O, Ihr Kinder ist es recht, Euer Mutter zu betrüben."

<sup>75</sup> St. MS 4, 6, 69; Poem. p. 282.

<sup>76</sup> Poem. p. 198.

<sup>77</sup> Poem. p. 200.

<sup>78</sup> Poem. p. 203.

<sup>79</sup> Warum sollt ich nicht fröhlich sein und haben guten Mut?

Das Alles wollst du bleiben lan, was dir mit wohl ansteht.

Brauch deine Sinn zu der Vernunft, dein Gmüth zu dem Verstand  
und thu auch keinem Andern nicht, was du nicht haben willst.

Text im Ambraser Liederbuch 1582. Nr. 251.

Melodie bei Werlin Hdschr. um 1640, p. 2513.

See Erk und Böhme, Deutscher Liederhort, Leipzig, 1894, III, 574. (Compare St. MS 10 and 19, "Auff die Melodey, Worumb sollt ich Nicht fröhlich sein.")

<sup>80</sup> Wol dem, der weit von hohen Dingen  
Den Fusz stellt auf der Einfalt Bahn;  
Wer seinen Muth zu hoch wil schwingen,  
Der stöszt gar leichtlich oben an.  
Ein jeder lobe seinen Sinn,  
Ich liebe meine Schäferin.

—Martin Opitz.

Goedeke u. Tittmann, Leipzig, 1869, I, 27. (Compare St. MS 18.)

“Einsmahls da ich lust bekam, anzusprechen eine Dam,”<sup>77</sup> “Amor hat mich zum süssen Possen,”<sup>78</sup> “Daphnis gieng vor wenig Tagen,”<sup>79</sup> “Mitt viel schmerzen muss ich dich vorlassen,” “Daphnis om en Sommer Natt,” “Falscher Schaffer ist es recht,”<sup>80</sup> etc. These songs, her deep affection for her children, and her keen sense of humor, so often shown in the apt use of proverbial expressions, prevent us from considering her either an unbalanced religious visionary or an unsexed intellectual reformer.<sup>81</sup>

From iconographical materials we can likewise divine something of her character. The youthful portrait in Heimreich's

<sup>77</sup> Einsmahls da ich lust bekam,  
ansprechen eine Dam  
vnd sie freundlich fragte  
ob ich jhr auch wol gefiel,  
warlich nicht besonders viel,  
sie gar spötlich sagte.  
—1647. Author unknown.

Venus Gärtlein 1656, herausgegeben von Waldberg.  
Halle, 1890, p. 109. (Compare St. MS 25.)

<sup>78</sup> Armor hat mich zum süssen Possen,  
Mein Hertz in jhr Castel verschlossen,  
befiehlt mir solches zu manteniren,  
sol ich darüber mein Leben quitiren.  
—Author probably G. Finkelthaus.

Venus Gärtlein, Halle, 1890, p. 209. (Compare St. MS 42.)

<sup>79</sup> Daphnis gieng vor wenig Tagen  
Ueber die gegrünzte Heid;  
Heimlich fieng er an zu klagen  
Bei sich selbst sein schweres Leid.  
Sang aus hochbetrübttem Herzen  
Von den bitteren Liebesscherzen:  
“Ach! dasz ich dich nicht mehr seh’;  
Allerschönste Galathe!”

—Joh. Rist.

(Aus “Des Daphnis aus Cimbrien Galathe,” 1644. Nr. 1.)

Franz Magnus Böhme, Volksthümliche Lieder der Deutschen, Leipz., 1895, 359. (Compare St. MS 43.)

<sup>80</sup> The three last songs I have not been able to find. Compare St. MS 12, 28, 32.

<sup>81</sup> For this account of her life I have drawn very largely upon her poems, and felt justified in doing so, because her work is not that of a fertile imagination. She could not assume at will any rôle she chose, and wrote therefore simply out of her own experience. Her verses contain on that account much valuable biographical material.

Supplementa, in "Westphalen Monumenta Inedita"<sup>22</sup> represents her as a young patrician lady with clear, finely chiseled, resolute features, revealing intellectual power as well as energy of character. In startling contrast to this image of confident youthful strength is the engraving in the Stockholm manuscript (made in her seventy-first year). Placing these pictures side by side, one can see how harshly life had treated her, for the older face is full of bitterness and severity. It is, however, impossible to mistake the high forehead, aristocratic nose and vigorous chin. From one portrait the other is easily recognizable. There is one other picture said to be a portrait of her, an oil painting which hangs in the little church in Oldensworth, of which I was able to obtain a photograph, thanks to the courtesy of Pastor Wulf. But the features do not in the least resemble those of our author,<sup>23</sup> nor is the coat of arms the same as that of the Hoyer family. The picture is interesting only as showing that she is still remembered by the people of the neighborhood, who know that the stately manor-house of Hoyersworth once belonged to her. The shy, sensitive face which looks down upon us from the wall of the Oldensworth church has nothing at all of the almost masculine strength displayed in the portraits of Anna Owens.

<sup>22</sup> Heimreich IV, Tab. 28.

<sup>23</sup> It has probably been ascribed to her because of her husband's prominent position and the active part which he took in church matters, as well as because he and his family had a pew in the Oldensworth church. It is not known whether he left any legacy to the church or not.



IN THE CHURCH IN OLDENSWORTH.



### III. RELIGIOUS POINT OF VIEW.

More important than the account of Anna Owens' external career is the consideration of her inner life, its problems and development. She has been most often described and classified as a sectary and a mystic. In a ducal mandate, dated March 18, 1651, her poems were denounced as heretical and disgraceful and their confiscation was enjoined.<sup>1</sup> Adelong compared her with Antoinette Bourignon,<sup>2</sup> Madame Guyon<sup>3</sup> and Johanna Eleonora Petersen.<sup>4</sup> Lemcke said her mysticism went to the extent of being preposterous. Feustking maintained that she surpassed Teting in her zealous propagation of Weigelian doctrines, and that the sources of her heterodoxy were the writings of Schwenckfeld, Paracelsus, the Rosicrucians, Weigel and David Joris, which she had studied under Teting's guidance.<sup>5</sup>

No criticism, however, could be more untrue or more superficial. She was, in fact, supremely practical in her religious ideas and wasted no time in theoretical and philosophical speculations. Her writings show no morbid disregard of the duties of this work-a-day world, no attempted flight into worlds

<sup>1</sup> M. D. Voss, p. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Netherland Mystic (1616-1680).

<sup>3</sup> French Mystic (1648-1717).

<sup>4</sup> Wife of Joh. Wilhelm Petersen, bishop of Lüneburg. In 1692 he and his wife were obliged to flee to Madgeburg because of the Chiliastic opinions which they entertained.

<sup>5</sup> Colberg, p. 245: "Sie ist recht vom Schwenckfeldischen, Rosencreutzerischen (die in ihren altfränkischen Versen trefflich herausgestrichen werden) und Weigelianischen Geist besessen gewesen."

Arnold says: "Sie heisst eine schwärmerin weil sie die Rosencreutzer, den David Georg, Schwenckfelden, die Chiliasten und Weigelianer gelobt."

In Koch's "Geschichte des Kirchenlieds" she is discussed in the chapter devoted to "Sektirer und Schwärmgeister. Anhänger Schwenckfeldts und Weigels."

Erich Schmidt, Charakteristiken I, p. 88: "Sie begründete ein förmliches wiedertäuferisches 'Gemeinschaftle.'"



beyond. Nor did she concern herself with the fine distinctions of dogma which claimed so much of the attention of the sectaries at that time. She did not try to explain the Incarnation, or the meaning of the Lord's Supper, or the significance of baptism.

Her independent attitude<sup>6</sup> is evident when we compare her with the various men whose style and thought influenced her. In the Stockholm manuscript she has usually noted the names of those who served her as models, and many are as loyal in their Lutheranism as one could desire: Christoph Knoll, deacon in Sprottau;<sup>7</sup> Sebaldus Heyden, rector of the School of St. Sebald in Nuremberg;<sup>8</sup> Martin Luther himself, whose "Wer Gott nicht mit uns dise zeyt" served as model for the fourteenth hymn; Nicolas Herman, the pious precentor of Joachimsthal;<sup>9</sup> and Lobwasser, whose psalms enjoyed at first such popularity in the Lutheran Church, although they were later discountenanced as containing Calvinistic heresies.<sup>10</sup> The hymns of some of the most zealous Lutherans made such an impression upon her that she copied them in their entirety into

<sup>6</sup> She classed Lutherans, Calvinists and Catholics all together in her disapproval of sectarianism. (St. MS Fol. 31; Poem. p. 30.)

<sup>7</sup> Christoph Knoll was deacon in Sprottau from 1563 to 1621. He was also very much interested in astrological investigations. During the time of the pest he composed his famous hymn "Herzlich thut mich verlangen nach einem selgen End." (See St. MS 3.) It acquired a widespread popularity almost immediately.

<sup>8</sup> Sebaldus Heyden (1498-1561) was a distinguished pedagogue, church reformer and composer. His hymn "O Mensch bewein dein Sünde groß" (see St. MS 7) was written in 1525 and describes the sufferings of Christ. In spite of its great length, it was soon adopted by all the churches and was sung even among the Catholics.

<sup>9</sup> Nic. H. Herman (died, 1561). His poems reveal a simple and fervent piety and an ingenuousness equal to that of Hans Sachs. He says himself they were written only for children and for the family circle. The best-known are "Lobt Gott, ihr Christen, alle gleich" and "Wenn mein Stündlein vorhanden ist." (See St. MS 14.)

<sup>10</sup> Lobwasser (1515-1585) was for seventeen years professor of law in Königsberg. His Psalter appeared in 1573, as an antidote for Paul Melissus' Psalmody (of the Reformed Church), and is simply a translation of the French Psalter of Marot and Beza, with the same stanza forms and melodies. Lobwasser himself was and remained a staunch Lutheran, but his psalms were sung especially in the Reformed Church.

her manuscript: Bartholmeus Ringwald's "Merck auff du frommer Jüngling zart" (St. MS 54); Josua Stegmann's "Frisch auff mein Seell in Noth" (St. MS 58); Johann Rist's "Werde Munter mein gemüte" (St. MS 59); Johann Heermann's "Wo soll ich fliehen hin, weil ich beschweret bin" (St. MS 60).

What brought her into opposition with the Lutheran ministry was not a great conflict of soul over questions of creed to which she could not give assent. She never found it necessary to present a confession of faith, as Schwenckfeld, Joris and Teting had done. With her the motive power was simply an unfeigned piety of heart and a genuine sincerity and truthfulness of character which could tolerate no hypocrisy. She was rationalistic in the sense that her moral ideals were the controlling influence in her religion. The whole attitude and manner of living of many of the clergy of her land were utterly distasteful to her. Some of them filled their days with feasting, reveling and debauchery, and were much more zealous in stirring up dissension than in inspiring the members of their parish to purity of thought and Christian activity. Their sermons were too often either uninteresting rehearsals of historical parts of the Bible or invectives against the "heretics" who had become tired of the dead doctrinal religion to be found in the church and were seeking some faith with more life and vigor in it. The conditions were not very different from those in England in 1739, when, under John Wesley's leadership, the Methodist Church came into being.<sup>11</sup>

That Anna Owens had had some personal experience with these "Christian" clergy is very apparent in her bitterest satire, "De Denische Dörp-Pape." It gives a very clear picture of a time when pastors and peasants danced and caroused together,

<sup>11</sup>The brothers John and Charles Wesley had established a society in Oxford as early as 1729. Their object was prayer, study of the Bible, preaching the gospel to the ignorant, and visiting the sick and prisoners. The members of the society were contemptuously called Methodists, because they were supposed to perform their acts of piety according to rule.

and when the clergy thought only of filling their purses at the expense of their parishioners, and at heart despised the simple and superstitious people whom they could so easily terrify and control. It explains perhaps better than any other of her writings her anti-orthodox attitude. The worldly, unjust, licentious conduct of men who were supposed to care for the welfare of the souls of their fellow-men could only arouse her wrath and opposition. Not for philosophical, but for practical reasons, she took the side of the "Schwärmer"—who at least strove to lead a clean and decent life—against the established church.

Our author avows openly that she is not attacking the church as an institution (she had really far too much respect for authority to think of doing such a thing), but only the evils existing therein. She does not include the really devout ministers in her severe criticisms:

Die frommen sind hir nicht gemeynt,  
Ich halt sie all' fur liebe freund,  
Die sich im guten üben.

—Poem. p. 47.

Why, then, is she always classed among the fantastic spirits of her age? The question is not difficult to answer. In her quest after godliness she came upon the writings of Caspar Schwenckfeld, David Joris, and Valentin Weigel, all notorious for their heterodoxy. There she found, among many extreme and curious theories, much that was alive with a real devotional spirit. Her poems are permeated with the phraseology of these men; and since her teachers were outlawed by the church, she could hardly expect a better fate herself.

Schwenckfeld presented in his teachings four points at variance with the tenets of the Lutheran Church: (1) Justification was to him not merely a gift of divine grace passively received, but denoted an inner transformation and purification of the soul. This was a theory diametrically opposed to Luther's, who preached zealously the imputed righteousness of Christ through faith, without the necessity of good works or the coöperation

of the individual will. (2) The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper should be celebrated daily between the soul and its Maker; for the outward breaking of the bread and drinking of the wine are simply a reminder of the coming of the Lord, while the inner and vital meaning of the Sacrament is the feeding of the hungry soul with spiritual manna, and this is not dependent upon any outer sign. Luther, on the other hand, clung to the word of Holy Writ, "This *is* my body," and insisted upon the actual presence of Christ in the elements of which he partook. Schwenckfeld interpreted the words to mean, "My body is bread (the bread of life)." (3) The human part of Christ's body was received from the Holy Spirit as well as the spiritual part. He was not a creature as we are creatures, but was the Son of the Most High, and His body could not die. He rules in Heaven as a perfect man, with body and soul, flesh and blood. The orthodox church answered with the texts, "And the Word was made flesh and dwelt among us"<sup>12</sup> and "For verily he took not on him the nature of angels, but he took on him the seed of Abraham. Wherefore in all things it behooved him to be made like unto his bretheren."<sup>13</sup> (4) The inner word of God is much more important than the outer, and can be heard and understood quite independently of any outer medium. This was the most heretical doctrine of all, for it endangered one of the central pillars of the evangelical faith, the indispensability and importance of the Scriptures. In 1553 Flacius<sup>14</sup> attacked Schwenckfeld on this score in his pamphlet, "Von der heiligen Schrift und ihrer Wirkung," and

<sup>12</sup> Joh. 1, 14.

<sup>13</sup> Heb. 2, 16, 17.

<sup>14</sup> Matthias Flacius Illyricus (1520-1575) was, after Luther's death, the active representative of the stricter church party. He opposed Melancthon's teaching, that good works are necessary to salvation and that the free will has its part in the conversion of the individual, with the doctrine that mankind is fundamentally and naturally evil and can only oppose all acts of divine grace. He has been called the father of Protestant church history because of his "Magdeburger Centurien," as well as of all modern Biblical exegesis because of his "Clavis scripturae."

later in other argumentative writings, showing that the Holy Spirit had exalted the human word to be the instrument of its divine activity. Schwenckfeld wrote, in reply, "Das Buch vom Wort Gottes" (about 1555), in which he explained at great length that the outward word could effect only the physical ear, and went no further unless the Spirit of the Lord spoke directly to the soul.

He was much persecuted by the orthodox clergy. In 1529 he was obliged to leave his Silesian home.<sup>25</sup> In 1540 his teachings were officially condemned in the convocation of Schmalkald and his books were confiscated. Luther wrote contemptuously of him as Stenckfeld. From 1540 on, he found only temporary resting-places in Ulm, Tübingen, Augsburg, etc., and after twenty-one years of wandering he died in Ulm (1561).<sup>26</sup>

After his death his friends formed themselves into a sect, living chiefly in Silesia and enduring imprisonment and cruel treatment. Finally, in 1726, Count von Zinzendorf gave them a place of refuge, and in 1734 forty families departed for America. There is still a large colony of these sectaries in Pennsylvania, and they are at present engaged in the laudable work of publishing a complete edition of Schwenckfeld's writings.<sup>27</sup>

His teaching of the inner voice inspired Anna Owens to write the poem "Judicium über des in Gott seeligen Herrn

<sup>25</sup> He was born in 1490, in Ossing, not far from Lübben, in the principality of Liegnitz.

<sup>26</sup> Arnold, Part II, chap. XX; Hagenbach's *Kirchengeschichte* III, 632; A. Köpke, *Historische Nachricht von dem vor 200 Jahren berühmten und verruffenen Schlesischen Edelmann, Herr Caspar Schwenckfeld von Ossing, 1744*; Caspar Schwenckfeld, *Verantwortung vnnnd Defension für Casparn Schwenckfeld, 1542*; Caspar Schwenckfeld, *Bericht von Caspar Schwenckfelds leere, 1547*; Karl Adolf Menzel, *Neuere Geschichte der Deutschen seit der Reformation, Breslau, 1854, I, 233.*

<sup>27</sup> *Corpus Schwenckfeldianorum*, published under the auspices of the Schwenckfelder Church, Pa., and the Hartford Theological Seminary, Conn. Vol. I, *A Study of the Earliest Letters of Caspar Schwenckfeld von Ossing, Leipzig, 1907*; Vol. II, *Letters and Treatises, June 11, 1524, to 1527, Leipzig, 1911*; Vol. III, *Letters and Treatises, 1528 to December, 1530, Leipzig, 1913, not yet complete.*

Caspari Schwenckfelds Buch vom Wort Gottes," which is quoted at length in Köpke's "Historische Nachricht von Caspar Schwenckfeld von Ossing, 1774":<sup>18</sup>

Caspar Schwenckfeld von Ossing ist  
Der Wahrheit zeug, ein Frommer Christ;  
Hat Gottes Wort bey seiner zeit  
Durch red und schreiben ausbreitt.

—Poem. p. 163.

This poem is particularly characteristic of her religious point of view, especially when one considers what she avoided in discussing Schwenckfeld's book. His censure of Flacius Illyricus, quotations from the Church Fathers, exegesis of various Bible verses, and his long discourse concerning justification she omitted entirely. Through her interest in mystical writings generally, her attention had been called to the inner voice, the inner light; but the theological, controversial aspect of the matter did not appeal to her.

The vital point in Schwenckfeld's doctrine, however, the necessity of good works as the result and outward sign of the "inward and spiritual grace," she adopted with enthusiasm. In his "Ermahnung des Miszbrauchs etzlicher furnembsten Artikell des Evangelii"<sup>19</sup> he had shown how Luther's doctrine of justification by faith could be misused, how by denying free will it could lull the soul into dangerous passivity and security, how by emphasizing the worthlessness and inadequacy of human achievements it could lead to a neglect of all active virtues. With this teaching Anna Owens could agree most heartily. Indeed, she went further than Schwenckfeld in her negation of justification by faith, even satirizing it in "Einfältige Wahrheit":

Dadurch ist, was Adam verrichtt,  
Nun gantz vergeben und geschlichtt,

<sup>18</sup> p. 172.

<sup>19</sup> Breslau, 1524.

Unser sünd sind vergraben  
 In seinem grab. Nun werden wir  
 (Sprechen sie) Ewig fried hinfür  
 Darumb mit Gott auch haben.

—Poem. p. 56.

Schwenckfeld insisted upon faith *and* works. Anna Owens laid the emphasis upon the works. To her the important thing was purity and consistency of life, not belief in this or that theological doctrine. Herein she is essentially Schwenckfeldian, although she never declared herself a follower of his. To be sure, in some of her hymns occur passages which, on the contrary, sound very Lutheran;<sup>20</sup> but in her other writings she has emphasized again and again this central teaching of Schwenckfeld's doctrine, that the outward conduct of the Christian is a very important measure of his inward piety and that good works are the necessary expression of a truly devout heart:

Herr Gott lehre mich deinen Weg,  
 Und leite mich in deiner Warheit steg,  
 Das ich nach deinem Willen  
 Dein gebott mög erfüllen.  
 (Die Pfaffen sagen Es ist unmüchlich.)

—St MS 2—10.

She also knew and loved Daniel Sudermann, the most important of the Schwenckfeld hymn-writers; and his hymn "Ach was ist doch dasz ich befind" appears twice in the Stockholm manuscript (nos. 29 and 63).

Although one cannot say that she belonged to the sect of the Schwenckfelders, for she concerned herself not at all with what their leader taught on the Sacrament and only superficially with what he taught on the Incarnation,<sup>21</sup> nevertheless his influence is the most important one in her life, and is the more noticeable because she had not the immediate or personal con-

<sup>20</sup> St. MS 3—11, 49—9, 30—11.

<sup>21</sup> Poem. pp. 13, 59.

nection with the Schwenckfelders that she had with the Jorites and Valentin Weigel. The "Judicium" was written in 1642, long after Anna Owens had gone to Sweden and in the same year in which the Anabaptist lawsuit, which was also of great interest to her, was being carried on in Tönning.<sup>22</sup> It is very significant that she turns at this point from all the troubles of her sectarian friends to Schwenckfeld and his "Buch vom Wort Gottes."<sup>23</sup>

Her interest in the Anabaptists and David Joris<sup>24</sup> was aroused during the time of the Eiderstedt lawsuits in which her husband was involved. David Joris had joined the Anabaptist sect, but he had also developed an independent system of his own. It is reported of him that he claimed to be nothing less than the second Messiah, that he excused his disciples from all obedience to law and that he did not set a very high value upon the holy state of matrimony. He really did teach an unusual conception of the Trinity, as representing three stages in the revelation of God to the world, these stages being expressed in Moses, Christ, and "Christ David," who was yet to come.

He was born in Delft, in 1501, and became a skilful glass-painter in Antwerp and in his native town. In 1533 he joined the Anabaptists, although disapproving highly of their extravagant violence. He wandered from city to city, fleeing from his persecutors and doing his best to persuade his co-sectaries to greater moderation and harmony among themselves. In 1544 he settled in Basel under the name of Johann von Brügge, joined the Reformed Church, and won the respect and affection of his neighbors. His writings were anonymously printed in Holland, so that he remained undiscovered. He died on the 26th of August, in 1556, and was buried as a highly respected citizen; but almost immediately one of his servants betrayed

<sup>22</sup> Compare "Schreiben an die Gemein im Land Holstein," Poem. p. 231.

<sup>23</sup> Erich Schmidt (Charakteristiken, p. 87) has called her "Die Schwenckfeldianerin," but she never broke off her connection with the Lutheran Church or openly joined the Schwenckfelders.

<sup>24</sup> Poem. p. 259.



him, and his family was obliged to endure endless cross-examinations as well as imprisonment. In 1559 his body was disinterred, and with his portrait and all his heretical papers was burned under the gallows.<sup>25</sup>

The most important teaching of the Anabaptists—as the name implies—concerned baptism. They did not acknowledge the baptism of young children as practised by the church, and rebaptized all those who wished to join their society, basing their action upon Christ's command to his disciples—first to teach and then to baptize.<sup>26</sup> The Anabaptists did not attend the public church service, because, they said, God is everywhere and can be worshipped in the forest and on the mountains as well as in the chapel or cathedral. All political authority seemed to them a heathen institution, and consequently they refused to take any oath of allegiance. One of their favorite theories was the community of all property, and they cherished the hope of seeing the kingdom of Christ established upon earth.<sup>27</sup>

From them and David Joris, Anna Owens adopted the doctrine of the freedom which God's children enjoy,<sup>28</sup> and the hope of a Golden Age soon to appear. This latter teaching made such a strong impression upon her that she wrote seven hymns celebrating the second advent of Christ and the establishment of His kingdom upon the earth.<sup>29</sup> Nicolaus Teting had already prophesied, in 1624, that the millennium would begin in the next year; and it was said of David Joris that he himself, as the second Messiah, expected to usher in the new epoch. The Chiliasts, too, believed that the Golden Age would soon appear, and specified the length of its duration as a thousand years. Anna Owens says nothing of the thousand years, but the hope

<sup>25</sup> Hansen<sup>(1, 2)</sup>; Hagenbach's *Kirchengeschichte* IV, 470; Ubbo Emmen, *Ein grundtlick Bericht Van der Lehre vnd dem Geist des Ertzketters David Joris*, 1597; *Adelung* III, 336; Arnold, Part II, chap. XXI; David Joris, *Wonderboeck*; David Joris, *Tractaten*.

<sup>26</sup> Matt. xxviii, 19.

<sup>27</sup> Hagenbach's *Kirchengeschichte* III, 350; Arnold, Part II, chap. XXI; Hansen<sup>(1)</sup>, p. 175.

<sup>28</sup> St. MS 7-4, 14-9.

<sup>29</sup> St. MS 10, 15, 25, 36, 38, 39, 40.

that Christ would soon come to punish his enemies and comfort his loyal followers was very dear to her heart :

O Du geliebte Christenheit  
 Auszerwehlt von dem Herren,  
 Gesessen bistu lange zeit  
 In schimpff, spott und unehren,  
 Steh' auff, frew dich und tritt herfür,  
 Dein Kõnig kômpt und will bey dir  
 Mit seiner hülff einkehren.

—St. MS 10—1.

Valentin Weigel had also a certain amount of influence upon her. She became acquainted with him through her friend Teting, whose first difference of opinion with the clergy was concerning Weigel's teachings. The orthodox church saw in Weigel not only the leader of a great spiritual revolution, but the head of a political party as well. He appeared as a second Münzer\* when he spoke of the rights and duties of Christian magistrates. During his life he was not suspected of having any dangerous ideas. From 1567 until his death in 1588 he was pastor in Zschopau, honored and beloved because of his brilliant oratory and his gentle seriousness. But in 1616 his books were burned in the University of Altdorf, and many students who confessed that they were followers of his were imprisoned.

His exaltation of the believing soul above all laws and forms brought him to the conclusion that even the ceremonies of the Catholic Church had nothing absolutely objectionable in them. The only criterion by which a Christian could be recognized was the purity of his life. He spoke much, too, of a quiet

\* Thomas Münzer (1499-1525) was an evangelical minister in Zwickau in 1520; and although he was soon dismissed on account of his Anabaptist beliefs, he received another appointment, in 1523, to the church in Allstedt. Here he commanded a radical reform, not only in the church but in political affairs as well, and was again deprived of his office. In 1524 he went to Mühlhausen, where he instigated a great revolt among the peasants. Philipp von Hessen silenced the uproar with speed and severity. Münzer beat a hasty retreat toward Frankenhausen, but was captured and with twenty-five others was beheaded in Mühlhausen.

passive waiting upon God, of a complete effacement of self, and of the teaching of the Holy Spirit.<sup>21</sup>

His influence upon Anna Owens is most apparent in the emphasis which she lays upon the necessity of an absolute renunciation of self-will, if the soul is to enter into communion with God and be taught by Him :

Ich geb mich gantz in deinen Zwang,  
Und will dein seyn mein lebenslang.

—St. MS 23—1.

Fast ewer Seel gedultig in der still,  
Denn disz allein ist sein befehl und will.

—St. MS 40—11.

It has been said that the Rosicrucians left their mark upon her writings too,<sup>22</sup> but how or when she became interested in them is not known. The name Rosenkreuzer was first used by Valentin Andreaë (1586-1654) in his satires against the lifeless dogmatism of the church, as well as against the secretiveness of the alchemists.<sup>23</sup> The clergy, however, mistook his purpose entirely and declaimed against the society of the Rosicrucians as if it really existed.<sup>24</sup> Andreaë recommended a general revolution in all classes of society, and lamented espe-

<sup>21</sup> Julius Otto Opel, Valentin Weigel, Leipz., 1864; Arnold, Part II, chap. XVII; Hagenbach's Kirchengeschichte IV, 365; Weigel, Der Guldene Griff, Das ist, Alle Ding Ohne Irrthumb zu erkennen, Newenstatt, 1617; Weigel, Dialogus de Christianismo, Newenstatt, 1618; Weigel, Von der Gelassenheit, Newenstatt, 1617; Weigel, Gnothi Seauton, Newenstatt, 1618.

<sup>22</sup> Compare Colberg, Feustking and Arnold.

<sup>23</sup> Confession der Societät der Rosenkreutzer, 1613; Fama Fraternitas, 1614; Chymische Hochzeit Christian Rosenkreutz, 1616.

<sup>24</sup> Jensen, Schleswig-Holsteinische Kirchengeschichte II, chap. II: "Die Rosenkreuzer fürchtete man wie ein Gespenst. Man konnte sie nirgends fassen. Zuerst 1611 erschien über diesen Bund eine Druckschrift, die von einem deutschen Mönche, Christian Rosenkreuz erzählte, der schon im vierzehnten Jahrhundert gelebt hätte. Er war im Morgenland gewesen, lernte dort die Magie, die Kunst verstand Gold zu machen und das menschliche Leben zu verlängern, wäre in die Geheimnisse der Cabbala eingedrungen und hätte diese in die gestiftete Bruderschaft niedergelegt. Der fromme Johann Arndt blieb von dem Verdachte nicht frei, dass er nicht dazu gehöre."

cially the scandalous life of the clergy. He complained, too, of their erudition, and taught that all wisdom must be obtained through prayer alone.

Anna Owens' relation to the Rosicrucians may be traced in two references to them:

Kompt einer her und sagt vom Geist,  
Der wird sehr übel abgeweist,  
Und alsz ein Ketzler hart verklaget,  
Incarcerirt oder verjaget,  
Genant Schwenckfelder und Phantast,  
Rosencreutzer, Enthusiast,  
Chiliast, Weigelianist,  
Davidianer, Neutralist.

—Poem. p. 165.

Unter den Dornen *Rosen* stehn,  
Also auch unterm *Creutz* hergehn,  
Die Christen, Christi Brüder.

—Poem. p. 219.

Our author appears to have been influenced by others who were decried as "enthusiasts." Paul Nagel's hymn "Wach auff mein Seel wasz schleffestu" appears in the Stockholm manuscript (no. 62); and of him it is related that he was a Chiliast and an astrologer, and that his corpse was refused a resting-place in the churchyard.<sup>35</sup> Petrus Herbert, one of the leaders of the Moravian Brothers,<sup>36</sup> is also represented with

<sup>35</sup> Compare p. 10, note 13.

<sup>36</sup> The society of the Moravian Brothers arose about 1453, and was especially well-known at first in Prague. Their principal doctrines were: The law of God is the supreme law of all, above that of church and state; a Christian may not take part in any war or shed blood even in self-defense, but must love his enemies under all conditions; the efficacy of the sacraments depends to some extent at least upon the moral character of the priest administering them; marriage is only a concession to the weakness of the flesh, and should be avoided when possible; every believer can fill the office of a priest, and needs no theological training, which, after all, only tends towards a misuse of the Scriptures; in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper the body of Christ is present in the sense that, as the Christian partakes of the visible elements, he also partakes of the real body of the Lord through faith. (Cf. Albert Hauck, *Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*.)

his hymn "Wer in guter Hoffnung will von hinnen abscheiden" (no. 66). And of Nicolaus Teting's influence we have already given an account.

Anna Owens showed, however, a most characteristic selective ability in her use of her various teachers. She ignored all theological arguments and disputes, and employed only those doctrines which she could understand and which she considered essential.

For information concerning what she herself believed, I have made use of her hymns, as being more intimate and subjective in style than the satires or the didactic writings. She emphasizes especially the possibility of satisfying the divine law in this life—an entirely anti-Lutheran idea:

Herr Gott lehre mich deinen Weg,  
 Und leite mich in deiner Wahrheit steg,  
 Das ich nach deinem Willen,  
 Dein gebott mög erfüllen.  
 (Die Pfaffen sagen Es ist unmüchlich.)

—St. MS 2—10.

Christian activity is so important that the greatest blessing is promised as a reward for it:

Der den Armen guts beweist,  
 Wirt werden belohnet,  
 Die Barmhertzigkeit gepreist,  
 Und mit straff verschonet.

—St. MS 31—6.

The Christian is no longer a sinner,\* for his *will* is to do good and Christ has expiated his trespasses upon the cross. The justice of God is therefore his consolation:

Gerechtigkeit ist nun mein schutz,  
 und mir nutz wieder Satans-trutz.

—St. MS 30—11.

\* Compare Schwenckfeld, *Auflösung einer Christlichen notwendigen frag. ob ein Christ auch ein Sünder sey*, 1560.

The impossibility of performing good works without the aid of the Holy Spirit is also dwelt upon, and the prayers for help and succor are frequent and insistent :

Kan aber in den Dingen  
nichts, weder grosz noch klein,  
es mangelt am Vollbringen,  
Dein gnad thut es allein.

—St. MS 3—II.

Mankind is after all entirely dependent upon God for all good and perfect gifts, whether material or spiritual; <sup>28</sup> and a deep sense of gratitude to the wise and gracious Heavenly Father who so tenderly cares for His children, even when He leads them into danger and distress, <sup>29</sup> is everywhere expressed. The fourth hymn especially is a paean of praise for the mercy and goodness of God, in that He has created the soul in His own image, given it a fine body, and devout parents, has rescued it from the power of Satan and endowed it with receptivity and understanding for the true wisdom. Thankfulness can be shown not by sacrifice, but by humility of heart and a willingness to serve.

All human wisdom and learning are of no avail without the heavenly instruction, which the Lord is ever ready to impart by means of His Spirit :

Verstandt zu seinen Ehren,  
Vermehrt er Täglic mir,  
Sein Weisheit mich zu lehren,  
Ich augenscheinlich spühr,  
Sein Wort macht er mir kundt.

—St. MS 4—6.

He has also given us Holy Writ for our instruction and admonition, but it must be accepted by a pure and sincere mind, unin-

<sup>28</sup> St. MS 2—9, 4—12, 11—7, 22—4.

<sup>29</sup> St. MS 14.

fluenced by the sacerdotal arrogance of those teachers who only lead their followers astray :

Thut selbst die schrift erwegen,  
Die Weisheit ist umb sonst zu Kauff,  
bittet nur Gott umb segen.

—St. MS 19—6.

Worldly pleasures, which are after all transitory and deceptive, are to be given up ;<sup>a</sup> and the soul must be freed even from itself, that it may live unto God :

Von mir selbst wer ich gern erlöst,  
Der eigen Will thutt mir das böst  
. . . . .  
Könt ich von mir selbst nur auszugehn.

—St. MS 23—2.

This renunciation of all worldly ambition and the complete effacement of self are the most pronouncedly pietistic tendencies in Anna Owens' writings, but the intensely practical way in which she understands and utilizes them is very typical of her. They do not signify to her an excuse for neglecting the duties which naturally devolve upon her, nor a justification of indecision and weakness. Her self-effacement never means a lack of vigorous and well-developed individuality, although it involves putting aside everything which could hinder an intimate relationship between herself and God.

She prays that He may reveal Himself directly to her, and take up His abode within her, that she may be one with Him :

Wollst dich mir offenbaren,  
Eröffne meinesz Herzensthür,  
Dasz ich dein gegenwart in Mir,  
müg in der that erfahren.

—St. MS 7—1.

She waits for the early advent of the Almighty and for His judgment upon those who have despised the pure in heart,<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> St. MS 2—1, 6—6.

<sup>a</sup> St. MS 6—8, 10—4.

as well as for the speedy establishment of the kingdom of God and of His Christ upon earth :

Alsdann wird die lieb auszubreitt,  
Die Warheit herfür blitzen :  
Frombhartig' und friedfertig' Leut,  
Werden das Land besitzen.

—St. MS 10—5.

The eighteenth hymn gives warning of the near approach of the Last Judgment, and admonishes all to turn away from their sins and to seek mercy while it is yet to be obtained. All war shall cease, for the spilling of human blood is horrible to God, and the peace-makers shall inherit the earth. The whole world shall prepare itself for the coming of the Lord of Lords :

Folget rath, gehorchet mir,  
Bessert ewer leben,  
Dasz Gericht ist fur der thür,  
Rechnung Müst ihr geben.

—St. MS 31—8.

These are the principal elements in the poetic expression of Anna Owens' religious thought, and all of them may be paralleled in Joris or Weigel, Schwenckfeld or Teting. As we have seen, Schwenckfeld laid especial stress upon the necessity and importance of a holy life; and in David Joris' "Wonderboek" we often find the same idea. Christ has died that we should live alone in Him in unity and peace. The evil must die in us if He is to give us His Spirit and life. The darkness must depart before the light can shine.<sup>42</sup> Man is created for the express purpose of becoming a complete and perfect being.<sup>43</sup> Ubbo Emmen reports as one of the teachings of the arch-heretic David Joris, that man can attain perfection even in this life

<sup>42</sup> Wonderboek, chap. 78; Poem. p. 49.

<sup>43</sup> Wonderboek, chap. 123.



and fulfil the whole will of God here upon earth.<sup>44</sup> Weigel, too, judges of a man's Christianity by his life.<sup>45</sup> Every believer has by his confession of faith put on Jesus Christ and thereby promised to lay aside worldly desires, the lust of the eyes and the pride of life. He who cannot put these aside has not real faith. True Christians are to be recognized by their complete surrender to God and by their love of mankind.<sup>46</sup> All things are easy and possible for the believer. Indeed, it would be impossible for a Christian not to keep the commands of Christ, for love is the fulfilment of the law.<sup>47</sup>

The entire and direct dependence of the soul upon its Maker is also a favorite theme with Joris,<sup>48</sup> Schwenckfeld<sup>49</sup> and Weigel.<sup>50</sup> Flesh and blood can accomplish nothing. The letter of the law is useless. All wisdom and all knowledge of God lie hidden in Jesus Christ, in Whom is all depth and height, all the riches of understanding. These He bestows upon the weak and simple, upon the poor in spirit. Human wisdom and learning are of no avail, for here we have a higher science, a truer wisdom, a holier, better language. All erudition outside of God is great ignorance, but if the soul is anointed of the Holy Spirit, it is wiser than its earthly teachers.

The renouncing of self is particularly emphasized. Weigel has written a long tract on this very subject.<sup>51</sup> One must disclaim all one's own thoughts, desires and works, all inclination

<sup>44</sup> Ubbo Emmen, *Ein grundtlick Bericht Van der Lehre vnd dem Geist des Ertzketters Daud Joris*, 1597, p. 115.

<sup>45</sup> J. O. Opel, *Valentin Weigel*, p. 49. Compare also Caspar Schwenckfeld, *Underweisung vnnnd verstand des eusserlichen vnd innerlichen worts Gottes*, p. 9: "Nu wer khan daran zweiflen / gottes werck seind gütte werck / vnd gütte werck seind gottes werck / vnd darumb wer glaubt in Christum / der thût gottes werck / das ist der thût gütte werck / Vnd also kan der rechte glaube vñ gütte werck nit von einander gescheiden werden."

<sup>46</sup> Weigel, *Dialogus de Christianismo*, 1618, pp. 48, 49.

<sup>47</sup> *Dialogus de Christianismo*, p. 76.

<sup>48</sup> *Wonderboek*, chap. 4; *Tractaten* I, 22; XIII, 1.

<sup>49</sup> *Underweisung vnnnd verstand des eusserlichen vnd innerlichen worts Gottes*, p. 2; *Von der hailigen Schrift*, Fol. VIII.

<sup>50</sup> *Arnold*, Part II, chap. XVII.

<sup>51</sup> *Von der Gelassenheit*.

to that which is evil, culpable and shameful.<sup>23</sup> Even worldly prudence must be neglected, and the Christian must become a fool before the world that he may be wise before God; must be formless, naked, empty, that he may be filled with the Infinite.<sup>24</sup> A soul which will really surrender itself to God, and soar above itself into the boundless will of the Almighty, must give up its own individuality, must lose itself in His will.<sup>25</sup> The soul should fear itself more than the Devil, for it is its own worst enemy.<sup>26</sup> In Nicolaus Teting's sermon "Vom Reiche Gottes," we read, too, that we must put away all temporal and transitory things, separate ourselves from all that is earthly, that we may enter into the Holy of Holies. There we must stand in deep and boundless space, in silence and oblivion of self, that the glory of the Lord may appear unto us, full of mercy and truth.<sup>27</sup>

The indwelling of Christ in the soul is the natural result of this self-effacement. The love of Christ, the Spirit and wisdom of God, shall be in us and we in Him.<sup>28</sup> This Spirit cannot be seen, but its voice is understood by the soul and it is under no authority but its own.<sup>29</sup> It is in mankind as the image of divine beauty, a living, eternal breath of the power and wisdom of the Almighty God.<sup>30</sup> Thus the Infinite God takes up His abode in the finite individual,<sup>31</sup> but only after all striving has ceased. Where man comes to an end of his powers, there God begins.<sup>32</sup>

The hope of the millennium is also cherished by Weigel, the Rosicrucians, David Joris and Nicolaus Teting. The time is coming when the blind shall see. Right and justice shall be recognized.<sup>33</sup> The Lord shall judge the nations and rule over

<sup>23</sup> Von der Gelassenheit, p. 4.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 8.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 10.

<sup>26</sup> J. O. Opel, Valentin Weigel, p. 156.

<sup>27</sup> Nicolaus Teting, Vom Reiche Gottes, p. 3.

<sup>28</sup> Joris, Wonderboek I, chap. 133.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, II, chap. 7.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, II, chap. 8.

<sup>31</sup> J. O. Opel, Valentin Weigel, p. 51.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 145.

<sup>33</sup> Wonderboek I, chap. 6.

all people.<sup>63</sup> The day is near at hand when holy peace and the joy of the Spirit shall reign on earth.<sup>64</sup> All sectarianism and priestcraft will vanish away. The universal catholic church alone will remain. Christ Himself will rule over the earth, and the Father will reveal Himself in His entirety. Love will be the governing power in this epoch of the Holy Spirit.<sup>65</sup>

Anna Owens undoubtedly absorbed many thoughts from her "heretical" teachers, but the use she makes of them acquits her of sectarianism and leaves her guilty only of a certain mystical tendency, well mixed with common sense. Her attitude in religious matters was determined by the practical needs of her own life. All about her she observed lewdness, debauchery, drunkenness and injustice towards the weak (the clergy being often worse than their parishioners), and she could not accept such a form of Christianity. Her religion must be as direct and sincere and practical as possible. She had nothing of that rapturous extravagance of feeling which made the Pietists tremble in reverential wonder before the Almighty and shed tears of awesome joy as they thought to approach Him in prayer; nothing of the sighs and sobs, the nervous abnormality and hysteria of the older mystic nuns (Hildegard von Bingen, Mechtild von Magdeburg<sup>66</sup> and others); nothing of the amorous disposition of Heinrich Suso;<sup>67</sup> nothing of the voluptuous sensuousness of Zinzendorf;<sup>68</sup> no ecstasy nor excessive feeling of any kind.

Neither had she grasped even remotely the significance of the union of the Infinite with the finite, of the indwelling of God

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, I, chap. 13.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, I, chap. 130.

<sup>65</sup> J. O. Opel, p. 191.

<sup>66</sup> Compare her book, "Das fließende Licht der Gottheit."

<sup>67</sup> E. Lehmann, *Mystik im Heidentum und Christentum*, Leipz., 1908, p. 111: "Denn Liebesschmerz und Schmerzenslust, davon hat er gesagt und gesungen wie seitdem keine andere Zunge auf deutsch, bis Werther erschien und Heine seine Lieder dichtete."

<sup>68</sup> Compare Koch V, 343, "Ich habe nur Eine Passion, und die ist Er, nur Er," and the hymn "O süsse Seelenweide in Jesu Passion!"

in mortal man. The lofty, mysterious, solemn grandeur of this mystical teaching passed her by. If one defines mysticism as that form of religion which distinguishes only quantitatively, not qualitatively, between God and man, then Anna Owens is not a mystic. Only vaguely does she even approach such an idea:

Dann darumb ist er Mensch gebohrn,  
 Und hat ein Menschen Kindt seyn wollen,  
 Auff das wir durch ihn werden sollen  
 Kinder Gottes, from, rein und pur,  
 Theilhaftig Göttlicher *Natur*.

—Poem. p. 14.

To her the Almighty is the Protector and Avenger, the Teacher, the Giver of all good things, but a being quite apart from the creatures that He has made—another trace of her rationalism. She is and remains a pronounced Deist. We hear nothing of the return of the soul to its source as the waters seek the sea—a figure which occurs again and again in the writings of the mystics. God created the soul in His own image, to be sure, but there is no emphasis laid upon the lordliness and intrinsic majesty of the individual. It would not have been possible for her to say, with Meister Eckhart,<sup>80</sup> “Wie sin wir süne gotes? Daz ist, daz wir *ein* wesen hân mit ime.”<sup>81</sup> Such flights are beyond her. In fact, one never receives the impression that she

<sup>80</sup> Meister Eckhart (1260-1327) was born in Hochheim, not far from Gotha. He became a Dominican monk in Erfurt, and was soon made provincial (general superintendent of his order) there. From 1300 to 1303 he studied in Paris, and finally came to Strassburg, where his heretical beliefs were gradually discovered. The pope sent a bull against him, and it is said that he recanted all his teachings before his death.

<sup>81</sup> Meister Eckhart, herausgegeben von Franz Pfeiffer, Leipz., 1857, II, 39. Compare G. Landauer, *Meister Eckharts mystische schriften, in unsere sprache übertragen*, Berlin, 1903-1904; H. Büttner, *Meister Eckharts schriften und predigten aus dem mhd. übersetzt*, Leipzig, 1903-1904.

is making an attempt to utter the unutterable, or to penetrate into the mysteries of the Creator and His work.

She does not reject all outward expression of her religion either, as did Meister Eckhart<sup>11</sup> and Saint Teresa.<sup>12</sup> On the contrary, in the verses "Rath an alle Alte Witwen" (Poem. p. 152), she advises regular church attendance, Bible study, the singing of hymns, and prayer. Works of charity are, indeed, of paramount importance with her.

The feeling for nature, too, which plays such an important rôle in the metaphorical language of other fantastic spirits, is with her almost entirely unexpressed. The only time when she mentions the world about her at all is when she calls upon the heavens, the air, the sea, the mountains, the forests and everything that lives and breathes to praise and glorify the Lord:

Alles wasz sich beweget, und auff der Erden reget,  
Das komm itzundt herfür, und sey frölich mit mir,  
Ihr Berg und thal, psallirt mith schall.

—St. MS 6—1.

Personification is entirely lacking:

Die hohen Berg und tieffen Thal,  
Die Bäum und Kräuter allzumal,  
Als wenn sie stimmen hetten,  
Sollen frölich antworten all.

—Poem. p. 221—11.

<sup>11</sup> Meister Eckhart, 1857, II, 27: "Sô der mensche alsô stât in eine lûttern nihte, ist denne nicht bezzer, er tuo etwas, daz ime daz dunster-nüsse unt das ellendê vertribe, alsô daz der mensche bete oder lese oder predie hoere oder ander werc tuo, daz doch tugende sint, daz man sich dâ mite behelfe? Nein, daz wizzest in der wârheit: aller stillest stân und aller lêrest ist da dîn allerbestez."

<sup>12</sup> Teresa (1515-1582) was at first a Carmelite nun in Avila. Then she established, in 1562, a new rule for nuns of that order. In 1567 she traveled through almost all the provinces of Spain, establishing new cloisters and visiting old ones. Later, she was mercilessly persecuted by the older unreformed Carmelites.

Compare this poverty of feeling for nature with Spee's<sup>73</sup> intimate affection for all the phenomena about him, or with the pantheism of Jakob Böhme.<sup>74</sup>

Anna Owens has, however, taken on much of the phraseology of her teachers in her attempt to find some real life outside the cold, insipid, systematized religion of her day. One finds the words: *auserwählt, erkoren, neugeboren, Offenbarung, Erleuchtung, das Innere Wort, Gegenwart Gottes, Stille, Ruhe, Gemüts-agen, Herzensthür, Seelengrund, das neue Licht, Salbung des Geistes, etc.*; but she uses them rather in imitation of Schwenckfeld, Weigel, Joris and Teting, than because she herself had any personal experience, or feeling for the sublimity of the ideas involved.

She is a strong, sincere, religious nature with high ethical ideals, but quite without the power to conceive or express a great thought. Her Christianity is eminently practical, but does not rise far beyond the moral precepts which she found in the Bible. It consists, she says,<sup>75</sup> in forbearance, peace, love, unity, tenderness, patience, friendship without envy, and in the crucifixion of the flesh. Further than this she does not go.

<sup>73</sup> Friedrich Spee, *Trutz-Nachtigal*, 1879, pp. 1, 16.

<sup>74</sup> Jakob Böhme, *Aurora*, herausgegeben von K. W. Schiebler, Leipz., 1832, p. 2: "Gott der Schöpfer herrschet in Allem, gleichwie der Saft in dem ganzen Baume"; Böhme, *Die drei Principien göttlichen Wesens*, p. 9: "Da nun Gott diese Welt samt Allem hat erschaffen, hat er keine andere Materie gehabt, daraus er's machte, als sein eigen Wesen aus sich selbst."

<sup>75</sup> Poem. p. 30.

#### IV. HYMNS.

In the discussion of Anna Owens' religious point of view, the most important source of information was her hymns. She has written comparatively few of them—only twenty-six<sup>1</sup>—in comparison with Daniel Sudermann's twenty-five hundred.

Wackernagel begins his history of the German religious song with Ottfried von Weissenburg. He does not omit "Christus und die Samariterin," "Ezzo," Spervogel's verses, the songs in honor of the Virgin Mary, the poems of the Minnesingers, the tender, fervent hymns of the mystics<sup>2</sup> or the penitential songs of the flagellants.<sup>3</sup> But as an intrinsic part of the church service to be sung by the congregation, the religious hymn is the peculiar product of the Reformation. This Reformation period and the century following it present three distinctly recognizable stages in the development of the church hymn. The first is distinguished by pure religious enthusiasm and immutable faith, by a simple and naïve yet vigorous style of expression. The religious poetry of this period presents its truths, not in a didactic or reflective tone, but in the form of a confession or a testimonial. Not the subjective feeling of the individual but the joyous confidence of the whole company of believers is the characteristic mark of these hymns.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> St. MS 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 14, 15, 16, between 17 and 18, 18, 19, 22, 23, 25, 31, 36, 38, 39, 40, 49, 57, Fol. 158. Two are published in Fischer III, 291: no 14 and the one between 17 and 18, "O Gott mein Herr, wie wunderbahr" and "Christe, Gotts einger Sohn du bist," both of which are also in Poem. p. 299 and p. 282.

<sup>2</sup> Joh. Tauler and Meister Eckhart.

<sup>3</sup> An order established first in Italy in the thirteenth century. In 1348 there was a great flagellant movement in Germany, until the church was obliged to put a stop to the public scourging. Their hymns are chiefly of Italian origin.

<sup>4</sup> Compare the hymns of Luther, Hans Sachs, Lazarus Spengler.

But after the anxiety and oppression of the first decades of the Reformation were over, the eager enthusiasm for the evangelical faith began to grow faint. Discords began within the church,<sup>5</sup> and the power and fervor of the church hymn necessarily suffered under such conditions. The language was no longer so terse and pithy as at first. The tone often became dogmatic, pedantic and lifeless. To be sure, the form gained much through the efforts of Opitz and his school. The verses were smoother and more regular, the expressions not so downright; but to most of the poets the primitive power was lost.<sup>6</sup>

The third period was that of real subjective feeling. Paul Fleming, Paul Gerhardt, Simon Dach, Johann Rist and Martin Rinckart are worthy representatives of a time characterized by refinement of language and sincere piety of heart. Wackernagel has designated pertinently and briefly the difference between this period and the first. The hymns typical of the first period he calls "Bekennnislieder," for they sing of the new faith; those of the third, "Erbauungslieder," for they are written for the edification of the saints.

Anna Owens cannot be classified as belonging to any one of these periods. In many of her hymns of praise she belongs to the sixteenth century, among the courageous and joyous singers of the Reformation. Her strong didactic tendency brings her into connection with the writers of the second period. The many reminiscences of the sectaries in her poems show the influence of the Schwenckfelders and the Anabaptists. Of the

<sup>5</sup> Compare the strife between Melanchthon, Flacius and Wiegand concerning the union of the Lutheran with the Catholic Church; the strife concerning Osiander's teaching of Justification; concerning the Adiphorites, who wished to adopt the forms of the Catholic Church since *form* was a matter of indifference; concerning the necessity of good works, and the part which the individual had to play in his own conversion; concerning the real presence of Christ in the elements of the Lord's Supper; etc.

<sup>6</sup> This period lasted from about 1550 until almost 1625. It had some poets, of course, who expressed real feeling in their verses (Barth. Ringwaldt, Nik. Selnecker, Martin Moller, Christoph Knoll), but they were exceptions.



striving after variety and correctness of form, so important among her contemporaries, she knew nothing. In fact, she is not at all a product of her time, and is quite untouched by the soft, smooth, often affected style of her fellow poets.

The didactic note in her hymns is most apparent in the warnings which she gives to all sinful and indifferent hearts. The time of grace is short, the Last Judgment is at hand, and they must turn at once from their sins if they would obtain mercy. This thought she repeats again and again in her attempts "die sündler auffzuwecken":

Bekehret euch uon Eur bosheit,  
o ihr vorstockte Hertzen,  
Und last euch euwer sund seyn leit,  
hab drüber rew und schmerzen.

—St. MS 19—1.

Her subjective hymns, on the other hand, show two distinct tendencies: one, the ardor and devotion of sincere gratitude to the Almighty for His manifold mercies; the other, profound despondency and despair over her own sins and those of the people round about her:

Auff, Auff lobt Gott mit singen,  
Wasz lebt und odem hatt,  
Die Seiten lasset Klingen,  
Rühmet Gotts wunderthat,  
Harffen in süssen thon,  
Zythrn, lauten und geygen,  
Wasz stimb hat sol nicht schweigen,  
Lob Gott in Höhsten tronn.

—St. MS 4—1.

Zu wem soll ich nun fliehen hin  
Weil ich so hertzlich traurig bin?

—St. MS 7—1.

O Herr bekehr, Regir und Lehr,  
 All die noch sein in Sünden,  
 Verleih dein Licht, Lasz zum gesicht,  
 Nun kommen Alle blinden.

—St. MS 57—1.

The two elements of joyful hope and anxious sorrow are as apparent here as in any of the hymns of the immediate Reformation period.<sup>1</sup>

Then there is a group of seven hymns celebrating the second coming of Christ and the establishment of His kingdom upon the earth. The figure of the Bridegroom Who comes to claim His bride seems to be a favorite one with her:

Singet mit süszem thon,  
 Der schönen Braut Zion  
 Zu ehrn, ein new Gesang,  
 Last hörn der Harffen klang;  
 Der Breutigamb kômpt,  
 Der Breutigamb kômpt;  
 Sein Nahm gebenedeyt,  
 Sey weit und breit,  
 Gelobt in Zeit und Ewigkeit.<sup>2</sup>

—St. MS 36—16.

She dwells also with special pleasure upon the great marriage festival with which Christ will celebrate His union with the church.

This theme has been used by other hymn-writers with whom we know she was well acquainted. Cunrad Hoier,<sup>3</sup> Daniel Sudermann<sup>4</sup> and B. Ringwaldt<sup>5</sup> all sing of the coming of the Bridegroom. One point of difference between them and Anna Owens is, however, very obvious. In none of her verses is there anything of the amorous tone which occurs occasionally

<sup>1</sup> Wack. III, 2 and 5.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Phil. Nicolai, "Wachet auff, ruft uns die stimme" (Wack. V, 259).

<sup>3</sup> St. MS 56; Wack. V, 121, 127.

<sup>4</sup> St. MS 63; Wack. V, 949, 950, 960, 961, 983.

<sup>5</sup> St. MS 54; Wack. IV, 1455, 1456.

in Hoier's, Ringwaldt's and Sudermann's songs. Entirely foreign to her were such verses as:

Jesu, du edler Breutigam werd,  
mein höchste zier auff dieser Erd,  
an dir allein ich mich ergetz.

—Wack. V, 121.

O Christe, vnser Breutigam,  
du aller beste Bule.

—Wack. IV, 1456.

She did not use the symbol of the spiritual union of Christ with the individual soul, but with the whole body of believers, with Zion, His church. She mentions repeatedly the marriage supper described in Matthew (xxv, 1-12), and uses the story of the five foolish virgins as a warning to the church to prepare itself for the coming of the Lord; but she avoids the erotic note entirely.

There are, however, several reminiscences of other hymn-writers whose songs are contained in the Stockholm manuscript. Compare the lines:

Wo soll ich fliehen hin,  
weil ich beschweret bin.

—Joh. Heermann, St. MS 60—1.

Zu wem soll ich nun fliehen hin,  
weil ich so hertzlich traurig bin?

—St. MS 7—1.

Or compare the lines:

Ach Herr wan wirtzs dasz ich vorgesz  
meiner selbst, und von mir werde losz,  
ich bitte dich wollest mich mir Nehmen,  
und dir zu eigen gantz thun geben.

—Ellyger, St. MS 50—3.

Von mir selbst wer ich gern erlöst,  
Der eigen Will thutt mir das böst.

—St. MS 23—2.

For the form of her hymns she is also dependent upon other authors, and usually gives with each one the melody for which she has written it. The discussion of form would naturally appear in a chapter devoted to metre; but because it is such a vital part of a song intended to be sung, it may be considered here. Sometimes she has written to the melody of a folk-song: "Warumb sollt ich nicht froilig sein," "Einsmahls da ich lust bekam," etc.—a practice which was very common among the hymn-writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, partly because in this way the secular texts which were displeasing to the clergy might be suppressed. The phraseology of the folk-song also had its influence upon the sacred hymns of the Lutheran Church.<sup>29</sup> Anna Owens has not borrowed much more than the melody, however. Only occasionally do we hear the artless language of the "Volkslied":

Die hohen Berg und tieffen Thal,  
 Die Bäum und Kräuter allzumal,  
 Alsz wenn sie stimmen hetten,  
 Sollen frölich antworten all,  
 Mit einem hellen widerschall,  
 Der Trommeln und Trompeten.  
 Die Thierlein werden springen dan,  
 Die Vögel haben freud daran,  
 Ihr stimm mit lassen schallen.

—St. MS 25—11.

Sometimes she has chosen the form and melody of the hymns of other writers, using particularly those songs which appear in Lobwasser's hymnal: St. MS 3; Hertzlich thut mich verlangen (Lobwasser 503); St. MS 14, Wann mein stündlein vorhanden ist (Lobwasser 522); St. MS 15, Bewahr mich, Herr, thu mir zur rettung kommen (Lobwasser, Psalm XII), etc.

Although our author displays little originality in the form and subject-matter of her songs, she certainly found pleasure in diversity of expression. The twenty-six hymns show twenty-

<sup>29</sup> Compare F. A. Hünich, *Das Fortleben des älteren Volksliedes im Kirchenliede des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Leipz., 1911.

two different strophes, ranging in length from four to twelve lines. The arrangement of rhyme is also varied. Sometimes all the lines of a strophe have the same rhyme (St. MS 9). Sometimes couplets rhyme together (St. MS 15). Sometimes a very complicated rhyme scheme occurs (St. MS 7—a a b c c b d d e f f e).

Of Opitzian metrical rules no knowledge is revealed. The syllables are simply counted, without too much regard for the natural accent of the word; but the rhythm of the music makes the metre more regular in the hymns than it is in her other poems.

The refrain is used but twice, each time with remarkably good effect:

Wollt ihr dem Zorn des Herren entrinnen  
So folget nicht mehr ewern Sinnen.

—St. MS 18 (at the end of the stanza).

Der Breutigamb kômpt,  
Der Breutigamb kômpt.

—St. MS 36 (in the middle of the stanza).

Nineteen of the hymns are acrostics: thirteen with the full name Anna Ovena Hoiiers,<sup>13</sup> one with the name Ovena Hoiiers,<sup>14</sup> four with Ovena<sup>15</sup> and one with Anna.<sup>16</sup> Here, too, she shows the influence of others. For instance, acrostic hymns may be found in large numbers among the writings of Sudermann.<sup>17</sup>

The entire lack of feeling for nature in her poems is not very striking when one compares her verses with those of many of her contemporaries. Spee<sup>18</sup> (1591-1635) and Gerhardt (1607-1668) showed, to be sure, a fine feeling for the beauties of the natural world. But they were the first, and we need not be surprised that Anna Owens, with her want of all real poetic imagination, remained untouched by them.

<sup>13</sup> St. MS 2, 3, 4, 6, 11, 15, 18, 31, 35, 36, 39, 40, 49.

<sup>14</sup> St. MS 57.

<sup>15</sup> St. MS 9, 10, 22, 23.

<sup>16</sup> St. MS 16.

<sup>17</sup> Wack. V, 704, 797, 803, 804, 806, 846, etc.

<sup>18</sup> Philipp Witkop, *Die neuere deutsche Lyrik*, Bd. 1, Von Friedrich von Spee bis Hölderlin, Leipzig und Berlin, 1910.

## V. PRAYERS.

In close connection with her hymns, and, like them, expressions of feeling with occasional didactic touches, are the prayers in verse. She has written eleven prayers in all, only one of which is in prose. The desires of her heart are few but fervent. She prays for her children, for those still living in sin, and for herself. She has also written one evening and two morning prayers, as well as a prayer of thanksgiving for God's mercies.

The only prayer written in stanza form is that devoted to her children, and it is numbered among the hymns of the Stockholm manuscript as if it were intended to be sung. Her chief concern for her children is that they shall be genuine and devout Christians :

Mach ihre Hertzen New und rein,  
Und wohn mit deinem Geist dar ein.

—St. MS 24—1.

Nim von ihnen all Eitelheit,  
Mach sie zu deinem Dinst bereit.

—St. MS 24—2.

For herself she prays that she may have the necessary wisdom and grace to train them up in the "nurture and admonition of the Lord." A letter-cross at the end of the poem fills out the page :

G	Gib Gnade Meinen Kindern Mein
G	Getreuer Gott,
M	Das sie sich nicht verhindern lassen
G. G. M. K. M. G. G.	durch böse Rott.
M	Behüt fur schand und spott, hilff
G	halten dein gebott.
G	

Seven other prayers are quite as personal in tone. "Ach Herr Zeugh mich, so folge ich" petitions strength for entire self-effacement and complete obedience to the divine will:

Zeig mir dein Werck, gib dz ich merck,  
Den Willen dein, und mich allein,  
Dar nach stets richt, mich auch verpflichtet,  
Dzu dinen dir, Herr nimb mich mir,  
Mein g'müth regier, und mich Nach deinen  
Willen führ. Amen.

—St. MS II, Fol. 19.

"O Gott du Meines lebens Erhalter" was written in an hour of despondency, when the burden of the years weighed heavily upon her and her Heavenly Father seemed to have forgotten her:

O Gott du Meines lebens Erhalter,  
Verlasse Mich Nicht in Meinem Alter,  
Gedenck Nicht Mehr Meiner Jugend Sunden,  
Gnad bitt ich Herr, lasz Mich gnade finden.

—St. MS II, Fol. 20.

"Wer steht, der seh dasz er Nicht Fall" requests strength to be ever on her guard against the cunning snares of the Evil One, and prays for complete renunciation of self:

Herr Nimb mich Mir, und gib mich dir  
in allen dingen mich regier,  
dein gnad von mir Nicht wende.

—St. MS II, Fol. 23.

"O du Ewige Krafft stercke mich"<sup>1</sup> begs for strength, the guidance of eternal truth, the teaching of eternal wisdom, the illumination of the eternal light, the embrace of eternal love, and union with God Himself. "O Wesen dasz all' ding

<sup>1</sup>St. MS II, Fol. 23.

beweg't" is full of interjections and has a certain poetic fire which is lacking in the other prayers:

O Wesen dasz all' ding beweg't,  
 In dem sich alles wesen regt,  
 O Inner Kern, O Morgen stern,  
 O Glantz der Herlicheit des Herren,  
 O sprechendes Wort, Gottes Sohn.

. . . . .

—St. MS II, Fol. 27.

Send down from Thy throne Thy divine wisdom to teach me and let Thy light break in upon my soul. Open wide the door of my heart and enter in. Drive the money-changers out and those that sell doves, and take complete possession of me. Make Thy presence manifest, and overrule all things to the glory of Thy Holy Name. "O liebe Gedult wie guth bistu"<sup>2</sup> is an earnest supplication for the patience which brings peace and tranquillity and consolation in sorrow. When all friends depart and leave me in distress, when the whole world rages against me and the devils hate me, I will not despair, but will have an heroic courage in all misfortune. "Dem Lieben Gott sey lob und danck"<sup>3</sup> expresses the heartiest gratitude for the gifts of the Almighty, for food and drink, for shelter, clothing and shoes, for health and peace. Our author then requests that these mercies shall be continued to her, that she may be protected from her enemies, and may walk in the way of the Lord.

The morning and evening prayers (a form which so many hymn-writers have used)<sup>4</sup> are for the most part very conventional in thought and language. Of the two morning prayers, one is in prose:

*Morgen Segen A: O: H: Fecit.*

Ich stehe auff durch die gnade Gottes, vnter dem schutz des aller höghten, und der liebe H. Engelen, mit allen ausserwelten

<sup>2</sup> St. MS II, Fol. 36.

<sup>3</sup> St. MS II, Fol. 22.

<sup>4</sup> Selnecker, Lobwasser, Ringwaldt, Petrus Herbert, Martin Behm, etc.



Kindern Gottes, in rechtem glauben, vestem vortrawen, Zu der Barmhertzikeit Gottes in bestendigger Hoffnung, Christlichem Vorsatz, und gutem Willen, Gottselig zu wandeln, Auffrichtig zu handeln, Gott zu loben, zu lieben und zu Ehren, und zu folgen willig und gern, Jhesu Christo meinem Herren, Im Nahmen Gottes des Vatters, Sohns, und h: Geistes. Amen.

—St. MS II, Fol. 20.

It reminds one strongly of Luther's "Morgensegen" in the Shorter Catechism, except that Luther prays for protection from the "böser Feind." This prayer is the only bit of prose which we have from Anna Owens' pen, and even here rhymes appear: wandeln—handeln; Ehren—gern—Herren.

The other morning prayer, "Gelobet sey Gott in Ewigkeit,"<sup>1</sup> begins with thanksgiving for protection during the night and for the mercy of God in allowing us to see the light of another day. The petitions are for protection during the day which has just begun, and for the instruction of the Holy Spirit, that we may give unto the Lord the glory due unto His name.

The evening prayer<sup>2</sup> has the same conventional tone: Glory be unto God that He has let us live through the day; may He protect us also through the night, that we may enjoy a sound, wholesome and refreshing sleep, without pain or the disturbance of an uneasy conscience, and may awaken with joy and gladness in the morning.

<sup>1</sup>St. MS II, Fol. 17.

<sup>2</sup>St. MS II, Fol. 18.

## VI. DIDACTIC AND SATIRICAL POETRY.

Anna Owens' hymns and prayers are an expression of lyrical feeling, but even in them the instructive note is often heard. It is most natural for her to treat every subject from the didactic standpoint. In her satires there is also a strong didactic element, so that it seems better to discuss her satirical and didactic poems together.

In these she is very little affected by her contemporaries. The didactic and satirical poems of her time attack not so much the depravities of the church, and of the inner religious and moral life, as the absurdities of society, the susceptibility to foreign influence in dress and speech, and the political conditions of the period. There was much, both in the life and in the literature of the seventeenth century, to provoke scorn and derision; and the mockery came no longer in the form of the harmless fable or the good-humored jest.<sup>1</sup> The poets were especially vulnerable, partly because of the unwholesome sensuousness, partly because of the unnatural stiffness and bombast of their verses.<sup>2</sup> The world as it was, was much too ordinary and prosaic for them. Everything was made to move on stilts. The earth, the heavens, and all the gods were often forcibly produced as witnesses of the most indifferent occurrences. The verse-makers also loved to move in an idyllic world filled with beautiful shepherdesses and adoring shepherds. The preëminence of Italian literature in Germany was especially marked in the first half of the seventeenth century, and the poetry showed Italian influence in both form and subject-matter.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Der teutsche Michel (Anon.); Rist, Die edle teutsche Hauptsprache; Moscherosch, À la mode Kehrausz; Gryphius, Horribilicribrifax; Lauremberg, Scherzgedichte; Rachel, Teutsche satirische Gedichte, and numerous others.

<sup>2</sup> Freiherr von Canitz, Satire von der Poesie, herausgegeben von J. U. König, Leipz., 1727, p. 93.

<sup>3</sup> M. v. Waldberg, Die deutsche Renaissancelyrik.

Scholars were as bad as poets in their pompous pedantry ;<sup>4</sup> and the people were worse than either, for they were weak and characterless, entirely ruined by their servile aping of other nations, and richly deserving of the slavery in which they lived.<sup>5</sup>

It was the time of the zealous literary societies, and of the great Thirty Years' War ; but Anna Owens knew nothing of the one, and mentions only incidentally the distressing conditions resulting from the other.<sup>6</sup> She was also entirely untouched by the Italian influences of the period. She remains, in fact, quite within her womanly sphere, concerning herself with the church which was open to her, but (with the apparent exception of the poem directed against the English rebels, in 1649) uninterested in political or literary questions. Only when the world about her came into an ethical conflict with her own, did she satirize it.

That she was independent of any literary models in her didactic and satirical poems, we can affirm with more assurance when we consider the poems in which she did follow in the footsteps of others.<sup>7</sup> Where she was not entirely uninfluenced by others in her work, she followed her teachers very exactly. But here, in her robust and vigorous style, her blunt and uncouth expressions, she belongs still to the sixteenth century, as an associate of Brant, Murner and Fischart. Nor does she avoid the personal invective, as did the other satirists of her day. Rachel defines the satire as " ein solch Werk, welches allerhand übliche und im Schwange gehende Laster, iedoch ohne Verletzung eines Menschen Ehren, guten Namen und Leumut, durchziehet und mit lachendem Munde die dürre Wahrheit saget,"<sup>8</sup> but Anna Owens always had definite persons

<sup>4</sup> Joh. Balth. Schuppius, *Schriften, Lustiger und anmühtiger Discurs von der eingebildeten Academischen Hoheit und Reputation eines unvorsichtigen Studentens*, 1660, p. 979.

<sup>5</sup> Moscherosch, *Wunderbare Gesichte*.

<sup>6</sup> St. MS 18, 31; Poem. p. 235.

<sup>7</sup> "Das Buch Ruth," Poem. p. 77; "Bedencken von Schwenckfelds Buch vom Wort Gottes," Poem. p. 157.

<sup>8</sup> Satire VIII, ll. 481 ff.

in mind, and she did not hesitate to name them. She looked upon the conditions round about her, conditions with which she herself was intimately connected, and wrote out of the abundance of her heart.

Her satires were directed, with one exception,<sup>9</sup> against the clergy, and here invective, ridicule, and direct moral teaching go hand in hand. The six poems against the orthodox ministers criticize every phase of their life and activity. In connection with these satires it is interesting to note that almost a century before the "Dörp-Pape," in 1539, there had appeared in Cologne, from the hand of a Catholic poet "Daniel von Soest, 'Ein gemeine bicht oder bekennung der predicanten to Soest,'" in which the sins of the ministers were also sharply censured. It is very doubtful, however, whether our author knew anything of this satire.

The faults so glaring in the professional life of the pastors of her day receive perhaps the most attention at her hand. Their sermons are lifeless, either superficial catalogues of Old and New Testament historical events or ostentatious displays of classical erudition. They have no understanding of heavenly things,<sup>10</sup> nor are they concerned with the piety of their parishioners.<sup>11</sup> They preach for money alone, which they obtain by fair means or foul. They have enormous power over the superstitious people and stop at nothing in their efforts to maintain their position. They absolutely forbid all independent thought,<sup>12</sup> that no one may presume to investigate divine truths for himself or discover how faulty is his teacher's instruction in the way of life. He who persists in his attempt to find a living faith is persecuted with a most unchristian intolerance as a heretic and enthusiast, for the priests cannot bear even an implied criticism of their own methods.<sup>13</sup>

Their social sins are as great as their professional ones. They have a kind of aristocracy of their own, winning favor

<sup>9</sup> Poem. p. 263.

<sup>10</sup> Poem. pp. 46, 68.

<sup>11</sup> Poem. p. 64.

<sup>12</sup> Poem. p. 68.

<sup>13</sup> Poem. p. 70.

with the nobility by their learning, and tyrannizing over the peasants. They must have the most prominent place in every company, and the choicest morsel at every feast.<sup>22</sup> They must always be treated with the respect due them as God's ambassadors, although their private life is far from justifying this claim. They simulate great piety, but misuse the power of their position; and the people become so terrified at the threat of the ban that they are ready to agree, even if the priest says black is white.<sup>23</sup>

In private life they are the greatest of sinners, quick to stir up strife, proud of their learning, intolerant of contradiction, hypocritical. Their own actions give the lie to their teachings; for they live luxuriously and lazily, are rich, sleek, and well-fed,<sup>24</sup> and have no mercy upon the poor.<sup>25</sup> Their most serious concern in life is how their power may remain untouched, and how they may eat, drink and sleep well.

Those who are more energetic do not by any means devote their energies to the fulfilling of the duties of their position. On the contrary, they have political interests. They are the ones who have caused the war which has wrought so much devastation.<sup>26</sup> They have so much influence with the ruling princes that they cannot be withstood, and their voice is always for strife. These messengers of peace no longer have the cross upon their coat of arms, but a helmet:

In Husum habe ich gesehn,  
Pfaffen Waffen im Fenster stehn,  
Und auff ihren Schild einen Helm,  
Seht, ist der Teuffel nicht ein Schelm?

.....  
Mich dunckt die sachen stehn sehr schlecht,  
Wann ein Geistlicher führt Kriegszeichen.

—Poem. p. 238.

<sup>22</sup> Poem. p. 45.  
<sup>23</sup> Poem. p. 52.  
<sup>24</sup> Poem. p. 46.  
<sup>25</sup> Poem. p. 174.  
<sup>26</sup> Poem. p. 235.

Even when a ruler would rather maintain peace and exercise justice and mercy, he cannot, because of his superstitious fear of the spiritual power of these would-be teachers of the gospel of Jesus Christ.\*

In none of Anna Owens' other writings does one find such a wealth of choice epithets as in these poems directed against the clergy—Herrn Titultrager, Warheitsverjager, Fromheitplager, Herrn von Hohen-Schulen, die Schriftklugen, Weltgelerten, Seelenwürger, Finsterfischer, blinde Leiter, Mietlinge, der Schlangen Art, des Satans Vorreiter, die Cantzel-Herrn, die Pfaffen-teufel, Babelsbulen, Wolcken ohne Wasser, die Letterweisen, die klugen Letterknecht, faule Bäuche, leere Schleuche, die Herrn Gotts affen, fleischliche Pfaffen, geizige blutsaugende Igel, etc. Her use of epithet is really one of her strongest points.

These "clerical" verses, if one may call them such, are grouped about two events, each of which caused a sensation in Eiderstedt and Husum. The first, which called forth "Schreiben an die Herrn Titultrager," "Einfältige Warheit," and "De Dörp-Pape," was the banishment of Nicolaus Teting at the instigation of the priests, and the subsequent attempt to banish Anna Owens herself. The second took place after she had gone to Sweden, but it produced two very biting satires: "An die Gemein im Land Holstein" and "Deutsche Warheit." It was the great Anabaptist lawsuit in Tönning. No wonder that the instincts of loyalty to her friend, of self-protection, and of justice to those unfairly attacked, aroused this resolute woman to an astonishingly fearless and ruthless criticism of the all-powerful clergy. That they did not remain entirely indifferent to her disapproval can easily be seen from the accounts they give of her.

"Das Schreiben an die Herrn Titultrager von Hohen Schulen," written in 1625, was intended as a refutation of Friedrich

\* Poem. pp. 234, 235.

Dame's "Abgetrungenene Relation des Colloquii mit denen von Flensburg entwichenen Enthusiasten. Rostock 1625." It contains much personal invective against Habacuc Meyer (Tetting's confessor) and his colleague Friedrich Johannes, as well as against Dame himself :

O Ihr verkehrte Pfaffenknecht,  
 Fritz Hannsen und Fritz Dame,  
 O Schlangen art, Ottern geschlecht,  
 Ja Satans eigner same.

—Poem. p. 67.

[Die Warheit wird] euch zu schanden machen gar,  
 Mit eurem Kuckuck Meyer,  
 Sein Kram hat auch kein gute wahr,  
 Nur faul und Stinckend Eyer :

. . . . .  
 Mit dem Kuckuck er fliegen kam.  
 Liesz sich in Tönning nieder,  
 Auch mit dem Kuckuck abscheidt nam,\*  
 Floh hinweg mit ihm wieder.

—Poem. p. 70.

It ends with the advice to the priests :

Lernet weiszheit studiren,  
 Und gebt euch unter Gotts gewalt

. . . . .  
 Sonst wird sich ewer ansehen bald  
 Verlieren bey den Leuten.

—Poem. p. 71.

This is the beginning of her open arraignment of the clergy, the first step along the way which in five short years led to the "Dörp-Pape." She began by losing all respect for their

\*Habacuc Meyer had just entered upon his duties as pastor in Tönning when he suddenly and secretly left his church in order to accept an appointment to St. Mary's, in Flensburg. (Schütze<sup>(2)</sup>, p. 542.)

learning and authority and by setting up her own teachers as models for them :

Heran ihr Pfaffen all heran  
 Lasst euch zur Schulen fuhren  
 Von Herrn Tetenge und Lohmann.

—Poem. p. 71.

She ended by bringing a serious indictment against their moral character.

“Einfältige Wahrheit,” a product of the year 1630, contains the finest satire on the sermons of the orthodox minister. Beginning with the creation of the world, he relates all the events of the Old Testament, and then speaks of the New, that he may fill out the time. He emphasizes the mercy of Christ, justification through faith, and the uselessness of any further effort on the part of the Christian beyond church attendance and the partaking of the Sacrament. He has nothing to say of the new birth or of a striving toward perfection in this life. Indeed, he omits everything which would necessitate a change in his own manner of living or which is difficult of explanation. If any of the nobility are in his audience, he glorifies the life of the warrior and with skilful flattery wins the favor of his hearers. The poem closes with the earnest admonition to seek truth and wisdom and enlightenment at the hand of the Almighty Himself.

The climax of Anna Owens' satire, “De Dörp-Pape,” appeared in the same year, 1630, and is by far the best poem that she ever wrote. Paul Schütze has considered it important enough to merit separate discussion in an article entitled “Anna Ovena Hoyers und ihre niederdeutsche Satire ‘De Denische Dörp-Pape.’”<sup>21</sup> He connects it with the five Low-German peasant-comedies which Jellinghaus has edited in “Bibliothek des litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart,” Vol. 147; for these comedies have similar drinking scenes, although in them the pastors do not carouse with the peasants.

<sup>21</sup> Schütze<sup>(1)</sup>.



The "Dörp-Pape" is a dramatic dialogue, and, in the clear-sighted penetration of character and the swift delineation of real, living persons, is unsurpassed by any of the contemporary dramatic attempts. It is not surprising that Anna Owens wrote this peasant scene in Low German, which was spoken in Eiderstedt, especially since the comic scenes even of High-German dramas were often written in dialect, and Low German was *the* language of satire.<sup>22</sup>

The action takes place in a tavern on a Saturday evening. The priest Herr Hanns is amusing himself with his peasants and is dancing with the maid, when his colleague, Herr Hack, from the village near by, comes to visit him. Both sit down among the peasants, and a regular drinking bout begins. One of the peasants finally becomes so angry over the superior, patronizing air of Herr Hack that they almost come to blows, but his companion pacifies him and they both leave. The priests remain, expressing great contempt for the ignorance and stupidity of the peasants and rejoicing over their own easy life. They do not need to take thought for the church service of the morrow, for they can easily read an extract or two from their collection of sermons. They congratulate themselves upon their comfortable existence and the facility with which they can fill their purses. The dialogue is followed by a short but deeply serious moral teaching in strophe form:<sup>23</sup>

O latht juw lehren,  
 Gott recht tho ehren,  
 Mit Word und Wercken;  
 Hört Gottes baden,  
 In tidt der Gnaden,  
 Syt nicht alsz de Fercken.

—Poem. p. 262—13.

<sup>22</sup> I have refrained from a discussion of the language of the "Dörp-Pape" and of its historical position in Low-German literature, since an adequate treatment of the problems involved would extend unduly the limits of this dissertation. Paul Schütze's article in the "Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Schleswig-Holstein-Lauenburgische Geschichte," Bd. XV, might be used as a basis for future investigation.

<sup>23</sup> Also in St. MS Fol. 153.

The uncouth realism of the poem, as well as the scene itself, reminds one of the pictures of Breughel, Brouwer or Teniers, and as a revenge for the banishment of Teting it was also effective.

It aroused such bitterness among the clergy that they redoubled their efforts to get rid of this woman who so zealously played the part of conscience-awakener. That they made her life almost unendurable is certain, and that she defiantly endured all the annoyances which they knew so well how to inflict, and remained in Husum four years after the publication of the "Dörp-Pape," is but another proof of her high spirit and dauntless courage.

Then there was a silence of twelve years, so far as the clergy was concerned, until the great Tönning lawsuit called forth two other poems. The first, "An die Gemein im Land Holstein," written in 1642, is rather a plea addressed to the ruling princes than any attempt at consolation for her friends who were involved in Moldenit's bigoted persecution. The rulers are appointed by God to protect their peaceful subjects, but their power extends only to the regulation of externals. God reserves for himself the judgment of the inner man, and princes as well as priests should beware of intruding upon his jurisdiction. From a purely utilitarian point of view she urges the protection of loyal and obedient subjects against the fanatical opposition of the clergy, for with their industry and commercial ability they increase the prosperity of the country and do all they can to maintain peace:

Ihr Fürsten liebt Gerechtigkeit,  
Schaffet ab allen zanck und streit,  
Im urtheil'n unparteylich seyt,  
In gnaden neigt die ohren beid,  
Mit fleisz auffmerckend, ohn verstören,  
Des gegentheils wort auch zuhören,  
Ob es wol hat der Pfaff nicht gern.

—Poem. p. 236.

The poem contains also a bitter censure of the clergy themselves :

Aber ach dasz die Fürsten wüsten,  
 Wie wenig Apostolsche Christen,  
 Oder rechte Evangelisten,  
 Man unterm Pfaffen-volcke findt.

—Poem. p. 237.

The Eiderstedt flood in 1634 came as a warning, and carried off many of the "Cantzel-Herrn"; may they accept this second warning and rebuke, and amend their ways.

In 1644 appeared "Deutsche Warheit," a dialogue between the personified Veritas and the devout heart. It reminds one of the old English morality plays, and of Rist's "Das Friede jauchzende Deutschland," although the latter was not written until 1653. The devout heart laments over the absence of Truth and decides that the "Pfaffenvolck" are responsible for her non-appearance, for they persecute her and drive her away wherever they find her. She answers his complaint with the comforting assurance that she is not far off and will soon appear. God gladly bestows good gifts upon His children, she says, but your sins are great, for you tolerate and obey spiritual leaders who know nothing of me. Repent, for the time is coming when Babylon will fall and "the place thereof shall know it no more." The power of the prelates and "Domherrn" will be broken, their ban useless, their palaces the dwelling-place of owls, ravens, and wild beasts.

The only other poem devoted manifestly and avowedly to the shortcomings of the ministry is the "Trew-Warnings Liedlein an die Saduceer und Epicureer."<sup>\*</sup> Here the author speaks again of the coming of the Lord and of the eternal punishment which shall be the lot of those who do not believe in Him.

<sup>\*</sup> St. MS Fol. 140.

Next to the priests she is most severe against rebellious subjects, as may be seen in "Schreiben an die Gemein in Engellandt," written in 1649. It is perhaps surprising that she should thus suddenly attempt to interfere in English affairs; but it was not the political situation which interested her, nor even the religious questions which were being agitated, but the ethical question of loyalty to those in authority. This feeling of reverence for established institutions we have already noted in discussing her standpoint with regard to the church as an institution, apart from its ministry. This is also contrary to the ideas of many of the mystics, for whom worldly authority did not exist. The magistrates are divinely appointed, she says, and Christians will gladly obey them, even eccentric magistrates and those who may have acted contrary to their oath. For the English nation which has beheaded its monarch, she cannot find words harsh enough. Charles I is to her the innocent martyr, the patient sufferer, the tragic hero. This tone of horrified indignation against the English subjects is also heard in Andreas Gryphius' "Karolus Stuardus oder ermordete Majestät" 1649 and in Philipp von Zesen's "Verschmähten doch wieder erhöheten majestät, das ist: Karls des zweiten, königs von Engelland u. s. w. wundergeschichte," 1661. Anna Owens accuses them of treachery, treason, tyranny, and calls them Eydbrecher, Ehrvergessene Meyn-Eydge Gotts-Ordnung-Schänder, Wetterhanen, tolle Thoren, Parlamentische Aufrührer, Rebellen, Teuffels-Rädleinführer, menschliche Teuffel, teuffelsche Menschen. Then she proceeds to personal invective: she compares General Alexander Leslie with Judas Iscariot, who betrayed his Lord; Fairfax is "du gottloser Mann . . . Schelm tituliert dich jedermann"; Cromwell is "des Fairfax Spieszgesell"; and Hammond deserves Haman's gallows as his reward. She accuses them of wishing to make England a republic as Holland is. But they shall not succeed; God will rebuke and punish them according to their deserts.

The personal tone of these verses called forth a reprimand (from the English government apparently) which Anna Owens answered with the lines beginning

Seht doch, da kompt ein Adeler  
Ausz dem Krug-hausz geflogen her,  
Zu einer alten Frawen.

—Poem. p. 272.

She does not retract one word of what she has written, but maintains that it was only the truth and that she is entirely unconcerned with the hostility which it may cause. She also gives warning that it will be of no use to argue with her :

Wer sich an alten Kesseln reibt,  
Gern streitt mit alten Frawen,  
Derselb nicht unbesudelt bleibt,  
Das sag ich euch in trawen.

—Poem. p. 274.

Such proud independence of spirit only increased her growing unpopularity.

But Anna Owens' earliest polemics were not directed against public evils, although we have discussed these first as being the most important. Her early attempts were indeed of quite a different character, and more exclusively didactic in tone. The first, "Süssbittre Freude," written in 1617, belongs really to the chapter devoted to her attempts at versifying the works of other authors; but because the fragment which we have is so intensely didactic, it may stand here as well. It consists simply of moral reflections concerning the folly and unhappiness connected with the passion of love. The other, "Kumpt her zu schawen unser Jungfrawen," of the year 1624, is a sarcastic description of the fashionable and frivolous maiden with her golden chains, her broad collar, her mincing gait and coy glances. A serious exhortation to old and young is added: Let them have nothing to do with these "Eulen, gar schon gesieret." We may compare in this connection Thomas Murner's "Die Gäuchmatt," especially the seventh chapter, "Dem

gouchlocken"; the eighth, "Den gouch fohen"; and the nineteenth, "Wenus lere vnd ermanung zû allem wypplichē geschlecht."

Anna Owens concerns herself also with her own household. Five poems are devoted to the instruction of her children: "Gespräch eines Kindes mit seiner Mutter von dem Wege zur wahren Gottseligkeit," "Christi Gûlden Cron," "Posaunenschall," "Kurz Bedencken an der Alten Weiber Heyrath," "O Ihr Kinder ist es recht ewer Mutter zu betrûben?"

The first of these, written in 1628, is the least vigorous, least interesting of them all. In strong contrast to the vivid and natural characterization of the peasants and priests in the "Dörp-Pape," the child in this dialogue is the most wooden, most unfeeling, most unnatural puppet one could well imagine. This is, however, typical of the time and can hardly be used as a very serious criticism against Anna Owens herself. One sees not only in literature, but in art as well, that the world had not yet come to realize the peculiar problems and possibilities of the child. If Van Dyck could paint only stiff little figures with old, unchildlike faces, and the Italians could represent the Christ child without any expression in its face, we need not wonder that Anna Owens, in spite of her keen observation of human nature, was unable to depict a child which would appeal to us.

In "Das Gespräch" the child is instructed by the mother concerning the search for real holiness, which is not to be found in the churches or among the sectaries, but only in Christ. The child laments his wasted opportunities and his inability to do the good which he desires to do, but the mother comforts him with the thought that Christ's sufficiency will supply his need. She warns him that the priests are responsible for the lack of real piety in the churches and for the persecution which is the portion of the Lord's "chosen ones." The tone of criticism against the clergy is not yet so bitter as in the "Dörp-Pape," but a strong feeling of dissatisfaction is apparent.

Here, too, there are many mystical allusions. Thou shalt renounce the world and thine own will. Then will Christ come and dwell in thy heart, if thou art empty of self and entirely resigned to Him.\* Thou shalt be anointed with the oil of gladness and His spirit shall enlighten thine eyes. Those learned only in worldly wisdom will never experience the "new birth" or be able to hear the "inner word." But thou, if thou art "still" and waitest before the Lord with faith, shalt receive His supreme gifts and come to understand His Holy Writ.

The three poems written in 1643—"Christi Glden Cron," "Posaunenschall," "Kurz Bedencken an der Alten Weiber Heyrath"—show a grave anxiety for the welfare of her family. Her youngest child, Friedrich Hermann (born in 1621), was now a grown man, and the responsibility of getting her children settled in positions suitable for them was weighing heavily upon her.

"Christi Glden Cron" is dedicated to all five, Christian, Caspar, Friedrich Hermann, Maria and Christina. She urges them to live as Christians should, to watch and pray, to take up their cross and follow Christ, to read the Holy Scriptures much and thoughtfully, to learn to know their own hearts, to be courageous soldiers of the Lord and merciful to those in distress, to live in peace and harmony with all mankind. The poem is full of letter-crosses, and is rather a collection of short moral poems than one long one.

"Posaunenschall" is a glorification of the marriage of Christ with the Church and a jubilant account of the wonderful festivities attending His advent. He will usher in the era of peace. All weapons will be laid aside. The pope, cardinals, abbots, bishops, "Mnchesche dreckpatzen," and nuns must yield before the coming of the Lord. The evils which they have inflicted upon others will now descend upon their own heads.

Then she turns to her own children, and we gain a very good idea of the family life on the little estate in Sittwick, with

\* Poem. p. 11.

its family concerts and its sternly exercised discipline. Motherly affection does not blind Anna Owens to her children's shortcomings. Caspar she warns against women and wine; Christian against indolence; Friedrich Hermann, the favorite son,\* against anger and intoxication. Not neglecting the rather obvious opportunity for a pun upon her darling's name,† she urges him to be strong and courageous, chaste, zealous in good works, generous to the poor. Maria she praises for her maidenly purity and vigorous mind, but rebukes her hot temper. Christina's besetting sin is avarice; but if she will read the Scriptures and earnestly pray for help, she shall be freed from all sin.

Then follows an exhortation to filial dutifulness, in which the children have evidently been lacking:

Zu g'horchen mir  
 Seyd schuldig ihr,  
 Die Schrifft hats euch gebotten,  
 Nach der euch richtt,  
 Der Herr will nicht  
 Dasz ihr sollt meiner spotten,  
 Mit euch meyn ich  
 Es Mütterlich  
 Wolt dasz ihrs möchtet wissen;  
 Dann würdet ihr  
 Ohn zweiffel mir  
 Zufolgen seyn geflissen,  
 Und nicht hinfort  
 Stoltz bitter wort  
 Mehr wieder mich ausgiessen.

—Poem. p. 207.

At the end is added a song of rejoicing over the coming of the Bridegroom. It is in strophe form, with the refrain "Hanns Owens Tochter Anna."

\* Poem. p. 200.

† Poem. p. 202.



In the same year, 1643, her motherly heart seems to have been very anxious about her three marriageable sons, lest they should choose unsuitable help-meets. In "Kurz Bedencken an der alten Weiber Heyrath," she warns them seriously, almost vehemently, against marrying older women, as if the danger were alarmingly imminent. It is quite right and proper to honor and help old women, especially if they are widows; but to marry them is nothing but legalized prostitution. The clergy ought never to allow such a disgraceful state of affairs; for if a woman is not able to give birth to children, then they lie when they say, "Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth":

Ein solch Heyrath gehõret  
 Zum grewel der Verwüstung mit,  
 Der Geist des Lebens wird verschüt  
 Viel guts dadurch zerstõret,  
 Des Herren grimm und straff erweckt,  
 Und das Gewissen sehr befleckt,  
 Disz wollet wol bedencken.

—Poem. p. 155.

Once more in 1650<sup>28</sup> she rebukes them for disobedience and undutiful resentment against her control (the *youngest* son was then 29 years old), and threatens them with the dire punishment which God visits upon those opposing lawful authority. It was quite natural that this strong-willed, energetic personality should seek to command and superintend those intrusted to her care, even after they had outgrown the necessity for her guidance; but it was also quite as natural that her sons and daughters, who had probably inherited some of their mother's independence, should chafe against the restraint.

Other people besides those in her own home attracted her didactic interest. We have already spoken of the poem in which she warns her sons against marriage with older women (1643). In 1645 she addressed another directly to the old

<sup>28</sup> "O Ihr Kinder ist es recht, ewer Mutter zu betrüben?"

women themselves, specifically widows—"Annae Ovenae Hoiyers Rath an alle Alte Witwen."<sup>28</sup> You should not marry again, she says to them, for the men cannot really love you and they only desire your money. It is your fault if they break their marriage vows, for you no longer have charm enough to hold them. Your activities must lie outside the field of matrimony, which belongs only to young women and for which you are no longer suitable. You can help care for your grandchildren, spin and sew, teach the young women to keep house and to honor their husbands. If you are rich, fill your time with works of charity, with reading, prayer, singing and writing. Go often to church and meditate upon what is told you there.

Disz ist der rechten Wittwen arth,  
 Gott wird ihr wolfart bawen,  
 Sie werden ihn anschawen,  
 Auf einer grünen Awen  
 Selig sind solche Frawen.

—Poem. p. 152.

Then, as Anna Owens approached the last years of her long life, she wrote in a somewhat bitter mood about the duties of friend to friend. In the "Liedlein von den Gelt-liebenden Welt-Freunden,"<sup>29</sup> we see that she had had most unpleasant experiences with fair-weather friends. As wife of the influential Staller, she was courted, flattered and entertained. People were proud to be associated with her and promised unchangeable loyalty to her and her children. But only in adversity do we learn what true friendship is, just as we can see the stars

<sup>28</sup> G. Weigelt (*Die nordfriesischen Inseln*, p. 222) tells us, as a proof of the sacredness of the marriage vows among the Frisians, that they were especially unwilling to countenance marriage with a widow. For a long period of time such a thing was of rare occurrence among them. Compare the folk-song "s ist nichts mit den alten Weibern" (G. W. Fink, *Musikalischer Hausschatz der Deutschen*, Leipz., 1843, no. 93); and Fischart, *Das Philosophisch Ehzuchtbuchlin*.

<sup>29</sup> Poem. p. 204.

only in the dark. Fair-weather friends stay by us as long as we have a well-set table and a well-filled purse; but when misfortune comes, they no longer recognize us when they meet us on the street. Again, in the "Liedlein von den Vndanckbaren gesten,"<sup>21</sup> she laments that those very people whom she has entertained most hospitably are now her enemies and increase her sorrows and burdens. She forgives them freely and admonishes them to amend their ways; but if they do not, the wrath of the Lord shall descend upon them. Then, in a little five-line stanza almost at the end of the Stockholm manuscript, she comments upon the rarity of really loyal friends:

Ein getrewer freundt, ders hertzlich meint,  
Ist in der Welt, mit gudt noch Gelt,  
Zu bezahlen nicht, wie Sirach<sup>22</sup> spricht,  
Wirt dem gegeben, zu trost im Leben,  
Der Gott recht fürcht, Sein Wort gehorcht.

A: O: H: Fecit.

—St. MS II, Fol. 31.

The loss of her money and friends, and her consequent dependence upon the favor of patrons, were almost intolerable to this high-spirited woman. In 1655 she wrote with keen sarcasm against the undeserved superiority which wealth bestows upon its possessors.<sup>23</sup> Even those who are poor in virtue are considered rich if they have property and money, and the foolish are considered wise. Money has so much power that it can make the ugly beautiful and the peasant a nobleman. Even if it is obtained by deceit and cunning, that makes no difference in the respect which it commands. Few desire to be virtuous or God-fearing, and yet virtue alone brings nobility, beauty, riches, and all that is good in life.

There are also three undated poems of a more general didactic nature. The forty-second poem of the Stockholm

<sup>21</sup> St. MS 43.

<sup>22</sup> Sirach VI, 14-17.

<sup>23</sup> St. MS II, Fols. 36, 37.

manuscript is directed to "alle Stands Personen in der Welt," calling their attention to the evil conditions of the time, to the worldly ambitions of the multitude, and to the intolerance with which genuine piety is treated. Those in authority are exhorted to administer justice in the fear of the Lord, and to protect the stranger within their gates, the widows, the orphans and the poor. Subjects must honor and obey their rulers. Husbands should love their wives and with them help to build up Christ's kingdom in peace. Wives should submit themselves to their husbands, for the husband is lord of his household. The child should love his father and avoid doing anything to grieve his mother, for she brought him into the world with much pain. The wealthy should be humble, gracious and generous, and all classes of society should be zealous in good works.\*

The "Regulae Vitae" \*\* recommend piety and moderation in all things. Live in peace with all mankind. Be joyous when it is time to jest and serious when the occasion requires. Be tolerant of your equals, respectful to your superiors and considerate of your inferiors.\*\*\* Cultivate the society of good people and avoid those who are not of the same opinion as yourself. Speak little but observe much, and among thousands trust but one.†

\* This poem reminds us very strongly of part of Luther's "Haustafel" in the "Enchiridion, Der Kleine Katechismus D. Martini Lutheri." Strophes 5-7 are devoted to the "Herren von Gott ordenieret," corresponding to Luther's "Den Bischöfen, Pfarrherren und Predigern." Strophes 8-11 treat of the duties of loyal subjects, as does Luther's "Von weltlicher Oberkeit." The twelfth strophe, concerning husbands, may be compared with the paragraph "Den Ehemännern"; the thirteenth, wives, with "Den Eheweibern"; the fourteenth, children, with "Den Kindern." To the paragraphs "Den Eltern," "Den Knechten," "Den Hausherren," "Der gemeinen Jugend," "Den Wittwen," "Der Gemeine," there is nothing here to correspond. Compare also Caspar Löner's two hymns, "Ain gaistlich Gesang von allen Stenden" and "Hausztffel, Von allen heiligen Orden vnd Ständen ampt in dieser Welt." (Wack. III, 726, 727.)

\*\* St. MS II, Fol. 30. Compare also B. Ringwald's hymn "Merck auff du frommer Jungling zart." (St. MS 54.)

\*\*\* Compare Ecclesiasticus iv, 7, 8.

† Ecclesiasticus vi, 6.

The poem "O Menschenkindt du Wasseblasz" is concerned with the emptiness of all worldly pleasures:

O Menschenkindt du Wasseblasz  
 Schnell flüchtig blat, zerbrechlich Glasz,  
 Vergänglich felt blum, hör doch wasz  
 Ich dir hir sag, und mercke das:  
 Heut, Heut bey Zeit die Welt verlasz,  
 Sie ligt im argen, lebt in Hasz.

—St. MS II, Fol. 20.

Here may also be mentioned the epilogue of "Das Buch Ruth," which explains at length the lessons which the story of Ruth is supposed to teach:

Zwo Hauptlehren insonderheit  
 Sollen wir hie wol mercken.

—Poem. p. 105.

The first is that an all-controlling and loving Providence rules over our lives; the second, that every Christian should show the same kindly and generous spirit toward those in need that Boaz showed toward Ruth. The tone is as didactic as in any of the poems discussed above.

## VII. TRANSCRIPTIONS.

As translator Anna Owens has attempted nothing, although she understood Latin and although most of the writers of the period were interested in the study of foreign authors. It was the time when in Italy Ariosto and Tasso, in Spain Cervantes and Calderon, were establishing a literary standard which it was destined should never again be attained. England had just produced in Shakespeare her greatest dramatist. In France the satirist Rabelais and the lyric poet Ronsard were giving promise of an active literary development there. Germany eagerly drank in the beauties which other peoples had to offer and waited for the day when she too might worship at the shrine of a national genius.

Anna Owens' attempts at introducing other authors to the German public in more popular form were very modest indeed and consisted simply in versifying works already in German: Niclas Wyle's translation of Aeneas Sylvius' story of Euryolus and Lucretia, of which we have only the opening verses; the Book of Ruth; and a "Judicium über Caspar Schwenckfeld's Buch vom Wort Gottes." All three might also be classed as didactic poems, for the instructive tone is heard throughout.

The story of the beautiful Lucretia was especially beloved, and had already been made use of by Hans Sachs. It is the history of a noble Italian lady, wife of the wealthy Menelaus of Siena, who falls in love with the Emperor Sigismund's chancellor Caspar and who dies of grief when his duty to the Emperor calls him away from her. Euryolus, however, does not take the matter quite so tragically, and is soon consoled by "eine hubsche Jungfrau aus herzoglichem Blut geboren," whom the Emperor bestows upon him.



Wyle's translation begins with the same moralizing tone as Anna Owens' rendering:<sup>1</sup> "Item in der ersten translatze dises büches von Euriolo vnd lucrecia wirt funden ain grosser fremder handel ainer bülschafft vnd darjnne alle aigenschaft der liebe vnd was die gebürt, besunder daz darInne allwegen entlich mer bitterkait dann süsse vnd mer laides dann fröiden funden werd vnd darumb die syg zefliechen vnd zemyden." Anna Owens has made use of almost identically the same words:

Wie wunderbar die liebe Sey  
Ist klar hirinn zufinden,  
Was freud und Süszigkeit dabey,  
thut disz büchlein verkünden,  
Imgleichen auch die bitterkeit  
Viel trauren, Sorg und schmerzen  
So wohnet bey zu iederzeit  
Allen verliebten Hertzen.

—Breitenburg MS 1.

Only a short fragment of thirty-six lines is left of this poem, but the probability is that it was written from the didactic point of view and that the story was used as a warning example.

Her versification of the Book of Ruth shows just as little independent thought; but that is in this case a virtue rather than a fault, for she has not attempted "eine ausführliche, paraphrastische Behandlung,"<sup>2</sup> which would have spoiled entirely the laconic beauty of the tale. Her reasons for choosing the Book of Ruth rather than any other Biblical story are evident. She saw without doubt an analogy between herself and Naomi. Both were widows, both knew the hardships attendant upon a sojourn in a strange country, both had had grave

<sup>1</sup> Translationen von Niclas von Wyle herausgegeben durch Adeibert von Keller, Stuttgart, 1861.

<sup>2</sup> West-Östlicher Divan, Leipz., 1912, p. 135: "Ebenso hat das Buch Ruth seinen unbezwinglichen Reiz über manchen wackern Mann schon ausgeübt, dasz er dem Wahn sich hingab, das in seinem Lakonismus unschätzbar dargestellte Ereignis könne durch eine ausführliche, paraphrastische Behandlung noch einigermaßen gewinnen."



misfortunes, both were dependent upon the favor of rich and powerful patrons. Another reason was that here was an excellent opportunity to make a suggestion for her own welfare. Boaz, who cared for these homeless and desolate women and was blessed of the Lord in doing it, furnished a good example which every Christian should follow :

Der sich des Nechsten noth annimnt,  
 Und helffet gern den Armen,  
 Segen vom Herrn wid'rumb bekombt,  
 Gott will sich des erbarmen,  
 Erretten ihn zur bösen zeit,  
 Beym leben ihn bewahren,  
 Dasz ihm in nôthen und kranckheit,  
 Kein leid soll widerfahren.

—Poem. p. 115.

The third reason, which she gives herself, was to comfort Queen Eleonora in her sorrow and bereavement with a story which illustrates the kindly overruling of a divine Providence (Gustavus Adolphus died in 1632, and this poem was written in 1634).

The poem begins with a long dedication to “Der Durchleuchtigsten, Grosmåchtigsten Fürstinnen und Frawen, Frawen Mariae Eleonora, Der Schweden, Gothen und Wenden Königin, etc.” May God grant you a long life, protect you from all sorrow, and comfort you in your present bereavement. I have transcribed this Book of Ruth that your Majesty may see how an all-wise Providence watches over the fate of each individual creature. Such a faith makes me forget my troubles and my poverty, for God is the protector and the husband of the widow, the father of the fatherless.

Then comes the story of Ruth itself in four chapters, just as in the Bible. In fact, the author has followed the order of the Bible story exactly, except that in Chapter II part of verse 18 is put before verse 15.\* She has used the exact words of the

\* Poem. p. 95.



text, too, as far as that was possible, with one exception. Chapter II, 21, reads, "He said unto me also, Thou shalt keep fast by my young men, until they have ended all my harvest," whereas Anna Owens has written:

Der Mann sagt mir imgleichen,  
 Ich solt sein'n Dirnen folgen nach,  
 Und nicht von ihnen weichen,  
 Bisz alles Korn zu hausz gebracht.

—Poem. p. 96.

The "maidens" she has evidently taken from the twenty-third verse: "It is good, my daughter, that thou go out with his maidens."

The additions which she has made are very brief. Some consist in moral reflections inserted in the course of the story:

Hie haben ein Exempel wir,  
 Gar schön, dasz gleicher massen  
 Einem ehrlichen Weib gebühr,  
 Ihrn Mann nicht zu verlassen.

—Poem. p. 87.

Some of her observations throw added light upon the psychology of the characters:

Wie sie nun meynten in der Ruh,  
 Ihr Nahrung zu erwerben,  
 Da sandte Gott unglück herzu.

—Poem. p. 87.

Er [Boaz] ist meins Manns Verwanter  
 Und Erb, ein solcher frommer Mann,  
 Der nicht hat unterlassen  
 Sein Gütigkeit zu zeigen an  
 Thut unser sich anmassen.

—Poem. p. 96.

Some further details of the story are also added: the account of Naomi's and Ruth's extreme poverty,<sup>4</sup> of Ruth's zealous

<sup>4</sup> Poem. p. 92.

energy in the field,<sup>6</sup> of Boaz waking her in the morning,<sup>6</sup> of Obed as Naomi's servant who should serve her in her old age.<sup>7</sup>

There are unfortunately some repetitions and unnecessary amplifications, but they are comparatively few. Instead of the simple words "I went out full, and the Lord hath brought me home again empty," Naomi tells all her troubles to the people of Bethlehem:

Leer hat er mich zu hausz gebracht,  
Und den Mann den ich liebet,  
Hat er von mir genommen hinn,  
Beider Söhn mich beraubet;  
Von hertzen ich drum trawrig bin,  
Ja mehr denn man mir glaubet.

—Poem. p. 91.

In Ruth's conversation with Boaz the rhetorical question is added:

Was solt ich doch begehren mehr  
Denn ewer Gunst alleine?

—Poem. p. 94.

There is also an addition in Boaz' conversation with his servants,<sup>8</sup> in Ruth's report of the day's happenings to Naomi,<sup>9</sup> and in Naomi's advice concerning the winning of Boaz' favor.<sup>10</sup>

When Ruth's simple tale is finished, a long moral is affixed, that there may be no mistake about the lessons which the poem is intended to teach. The first is, that God guides all events in accordance with His eternal purposes. Ruth was a heathen maiden; but He decided that she should become a Christian, in order to show us (who were also originally heathen peoples) that we, too, should in due time be called "into the grace of Christ." He brought it about that she should become Boaz'

<sup>6</sup> Poem. p. 92.

<sup>7</sup> Poem. p. 99.

<sup>8</sup> Poem. p. 104.

<sup>9</sup> Poem. p. 95.

<sup>10</sup> Poem. p. 96.

<sup>11</sup> Poem. p. 97.

wife and, through her son Obed, the progenitor of Jesus. First He drove Boaz' relative Elimelech, with his family, out of Israel by means of a famine, and led them into Moab, to the very place where Ruth was dwelling. Then, because the father would never have permitted his sons to marry heathen women, God let Elimelech die, whereupon Mahlon married Ruth, making her a relative of Boaz. This justified Boaz later in taking her to wife, since the law of the land was, "If a man die having no children, his brother shall marry his wife, and raise up seed unto his brother."<sup>41</sup> Then the brothers were allowed to die, that their wives might be free to marry again and that Naomi, bereft of her entire family, might long for her own people and country. He also sent a time of plenty to the land of Israel, which was a further inducement to Naomi to return. Boaz would eventually have married Ruth anyway, since he was her nearest of kin; but in order to hasten the fulfilment of His plan, the Lord sent her to glean in Boaz' fields and filled the heart of the head-servant with pity for her. He also sent Boaz into the field just at the right moment, that he might see Ruth and question his servant about her.

The second important teaching is that concerning the outward conduct of the Christian. He should be reverent, devout, honorable, chaste in word and deed, and as kind as Boaz was. His works of charity must also be done in love :

So disz ausz liebe nicht geschicht,  
Nutzen dir nicht die gaben.

—Poem. p. 119.

The poem closes with a "Vale Mammon," a series of letter-crosses, a joyous avowal of supreme confidence in God, an explanation and proof of the existence of a divine Providence, and an expression of gratitude for the immeasurable mercy of God.

The other transcription, "Das Judicium über Caspar Schwenckfeld's Buch vom Wort Gottes," was written in the

<sup>41</sup> Matt. xxii, 24.

year 1642 and has as a background the aforementioned Töning lawsuit against the Anabaptists. Anna Owens felt that the whole process concerned itself only with superficialities, and thought it time to call attention to the "inner word":

Man schreyt und schreibt, man singt und saget,  
Ist alles umbsonst und verlohren,  
Verstockt und verstopfft sind die ohren,  
Das mach't der böse will allein,  
Keiner begehrt recht weisz zu seyn;  
Jedermann meynet er sey klug,  
Der Buchstab geb' ihm liechts genug.

—Poem. p. 165.

Schwenckfeld's book (published about 1555) bears on the title page the following inscription: "Vom worte Gottes Das khein ander wort Gottes sei / aigentlich zureden / denn der Sün Gottes Jesus Christus / Bewerbung Durch Caspar Schwenckfeld von Ossing." But Anna Owens must introduce her subject with ten letter-crosses and her author with a brief description of his character and sufferings:

Caspar Schwenckfeldius  
Est Sanktus Christianus.  
Caspar Schwenckfeld Ein Seeliger Christ  
Und Zeug der reinen Warheit ist,  
Sein gedechtnûsz bleibt jederfrist,  
Wird nicht gedempfft durch Satans list.

—Poem. p. 162.

He tried to spread abroad the knowledge of the Most High and had on that account much to endure. Satan fought mightily against him; but the Lord was his refuge, and in spite of opposition his writings became known throughout the country.

She apparently had the idea of taking up his book chapter by chapter; but his dogmatic discussions, as well as his invective against his chief opponent, Flacius Illyricus, were too much for her. The argumentative part she therefore omitted entirely, and the rest she abbreviated to suit herself. Chapter II,

“ Vom Worte Gottes, von seiner Natur, art vnd eigenschaft,”  
is disposed of in four lines :

Des waren Wortes Eigenschaft,  
Sein lebendige würcklich krafft,  
Sein wesen her von Ewigkeit,  
Wird uns hirin klar angedeut.

—Poem. p. 163.

Chapter III, “ Vom vnderscheide des schriftlichen oder mundtlichen worts, vnnd des lebendigmachenden worts Gottes,” is combined with Chapter X, “ Das Gottes wort nicht ein stin noch mundtlich wort, Sonder ein innwendig geistlich wort sei, vnd durch das mundtliche wort alls durch sein zeichen werde eröffnet.” The living word of God is a spirit. It speaks inwardly to the heart, enlightens the understanding and purifies the thoughts and desires of man. The letter of the Scriptures, on the other hand, is only a symbol of the true word. Chapter IV, “ Von Illyrici vnd der andern Irrthumb beim schriftlichen vnd mundtlichen worte,” is omitted. Chapter V, “ Was das ampt der H. schrift vnnd ihr rechter brauch vnd miszbrauch sei,” is combined with Chapter XIII, “ Vom ampte des eusserlichen worts der predigt,” and with Chapter XIV, “ Von der heiligen geschriff, das die h. schrift ein gewiss zeugknus sei.” The Holy Writ is not on any account to be neglected. It was given us as a witness of the inner word, as a teacher, as a comforter, but it can accomplish nothing more :

Der Geist ist Herr, der Buchstab knecht.  
So ich des Worts krafft soll gniessen  
Musz der Herr selbst mein hertz auffschliessen.

. . . . .  
Umsonst ist was man hört und list,  
So nicht das Wort inwendig ist.

—Poem. p. 164.

The inner word can effect its purposes without outer means, but the reverse is impossible.

Then follows a glorification of the true word :

Das Wort das uns die Schrift erklet,  
 Die Salbung die uns alles lehrt,  
 Ist die warheit die niemand treugt,  
 Ein Mund ohn falscheit, der nicht leugt,  
 Der Schlüssel Davids der auffschleust,  
 Der Brunn darausz die Weiszheit fleust,  
 Ein Liecht so das hertz illustriert :  
 Der Weg so uns zum Vater führt.

—Poem. p. 164.

Anna Owens disregards entirely the proofs which Caspar Schwenckfeld brings for his doctrine from the Church Fathers, as well as his explanation of various passages in the Bible which his opponents had used against him. His long discourse concerning Justification, in which he defines his position with regard to Osiander and Luther, does not interest her. She turns instead to the life about her. Who regards the true word in these days? The letter of the law is sufficient for most people; and if anyone speaks of the spirit, he is attacked as a heretic, imprisoned or banished. The doctrine of the inner word is too hard for the children of this world. The desire for favor and friendship prevents many from accepting it. The authority of the learned and the persecution accorded to heretics hinder others. They desire worldly honor and glory rather than the pure teaching of God's word. At the close of the poem, in an "oratio" which occurs also in St. MS Fol. 27, she prays for the gift of divine wisdom, for the indwelling of God in her heart, and for the enlightenment of the Holy Spirit.

## VIII. OCCASIONAL VERSES.

The only other literary genre of which Anna Owens has made use is the "Gelegenheitsgedicht," a form which is especially characteristic of the seventeenth century. Everywhere poets sought noble patronage and recognition, in spite of the apparently democratic element in the pastoral poetry of the day. No one of any importance belonging to a princely family could be born, marry, or die, or could celebrate a birthday or a wedding anniversary, without a flood of verses. Neither political nor social events could pass unnoticed. The poets even celebrated the beauties of each other's work, that they might be furthered in their own literary aspirations, and the flattery was often fulsome to the point of nausea.<sup>1</sup> Scherer says, "diese niedrige Gelegenheitsdichtung suchte das Mäcenatenthum oder kollegialisches Danklob herauszufordern; sie bettelte um Geld und Ruhm: die vornehmen Gelehrten waren darin nicht besser, als die verachteten Spielleute des Mittelalters."<sup>2</sup>

Anna Owens has written only eleven poems which can be classed as occasional verses in the strict sense of the term. The poems directed against the clergy and against the English

<sup>1</sup> Compare Opitz (funeral, wedding, and adulatory—"Genung, o Held, genug! Du Zier und Trost der Zeit," etc.—poems); Tscherning; Nüzler; Buchner (especially "An Herren Martinum Opitium"); Rist (numerous wedding verses and laments over Opitz and Niebauer, etc.); Simon Dach (funeral and wedding poems, a "Loblied" for Opitz, etc.). Goedeke says (III, p. 345): "Die Reihe der Hofpoeten würde, wenn man die Dichter des Jahrhunderts nach ihrer Thätigkeit in dieser Richtung ordnen wollte, fast so umfassend werden wie das Verzeichnis aller bisher genannten Namen, da seit Opitz kaum ein Dichter Verse schrieb, der nicht auch zum Hofpoeten geworden wäre. Die Kunst, den Dichtern sorglose Musse zu gestatten, um ihre Natur frei herauszubilden, ohne dass sie mit Lob vergelten müssen, war an den Höfen noch unbekannt."

<sup>2</sup> Geschichte der deutschen Litteratur, 1885, p. 318.

people were also written for special occasions, but they had another aim in view than that of immortalizing a particular event. None of her verses are in praise of her competitors for the undying laurel wreath. It is possible that she knew very little of the prolific writers of her day, and probable that she did not approve of them, although she cites Opitz, Johann Rist, Paul Nagel and Daniel Sudermann. None of her poems celebrates a birth or a wedding or a death. Three commemorate her escape from grave physical danger. Seven are devoted to her various patrons, but with very little flattery, notwithstanding her entire dependence upon their favor.

The first one concerns the pestilence in Hamburg in 1628 and the shipwreck off Helsingör, which she experienced on her way from Hamburg to Denmark. She had her children with her and was in great anxiety concerning them as well as herself:

Ich schreite zu dir im gebeth,  
 Mein Hertz für ängsten bebt,  
 Herr wiltu hier, bezahlen mir,  
 In deinem grim mich töten,  
 Soll ich nun Nicht mehr dancken dir,  
 Sprach ich in Meinen Nöthen.

—St. MS 21—6.

From the very house which Anna Owens was occupying, the sick and the dead were carried out, but she and her children were saved. "Not because of any virtue on my part," she says, "did He bring our ship finally to port when others were broken and hopelessly wrecked, but because of His fatherly love toward us."

In 1633 appeared "Peer / Nielsz sin Söhn tho Westerwyck," written in Low German. This poem is the main argument of those who declare that our author went to Sweden in 1632. It purports to be a letter from some one living in Blickhem to Peer Nielszon, Mayor of Vestervik, concerning a half pound of butter which the latter may have, if he will send back the



linen bag in which the butter had been sent the time before. The real purpose of the letter is to recall to Nielszon's mind the protection which he had promised to the person who had sent the butter :

De Wedwen, Weysen un Frembden dwingen,  
 Ehnen affnehmen, nist wedder bringen,  
 Isz sülckes der Westerwycker wise?  
 Gy hebben den Breef mit underschreven  
 Den my Hinrich Hanszen hefft gegeben,  
 Van wegen des wolgebarnen Herren,  
 Dat my nemand schall molesteren.

—Poem. p. 74.

In the next year (1634) occurred the great Nordstrand flood, and this fearful catastrophe made such a deep impression upon Anna Owens that she wrote two songs<sup>3</sup> of praise which are outbursts of genuine gratitude for her deliverance. She considers the whole tragedy as a punishment sent by God for the sins of the people :

Alles das, den odem hatt empfangen,  
 kom hieher und sehe wasz  
 unser Gott hat angerichtet  
 wie er Leuth und Vieh vernichtet,  
 Weh und Ach, itz ist der grose tag,  
 und die Zeit angegangen,  
 Drin Er wird vben rach.

—St. MS 12—1.

Then from the period of her sojourn in Sweden we have several poems. One undated, except that it contains a New Year's wish, is a song full of thanksgiving, written apparently in response to Maria Eleonora's gift of Sittwick. The Lord hath cared for me in my poverty and widowhood and bestowed a house upon me "auff Ladgarts landt." Sweden is now my

<sup>3</sup> St. MS 12 and 13.

home, and I desire to remain here under the protection of the Swedish crown:

Gott erhalt in Schweden fried, in Schweden mirs behagt,  
 Ich bin nun des reisens Müd, Auch alt und wolbetagt,  
 Im fried lob ich freuden voll, Sitz geren in Sittwick still,  
 So lang bis ich weichen soll, dann weich ich wan Gott will.

—St. MS 48—4.

The poem closes with a supplication for protection for herself and her children, and the assurance that she, too, values truth and peace as the best treasures of any people. She does not forget Schleswig-Holstein, prays daily for her friends there, but prefers to remain in this land where she has freedom from her enemies.

In the poem "Zu Ehren der Schwedischen Cronen," written September 7, 1644, she celebrates the coronation of Christina, reigning sovereign in Sweden from 1644 to 1654:

Grosz-mächtigte Königin  
 Fräwlein Hochgeboren  
 Durchleuchtigte Grosz-Fürstin,  
 Von Gott auszerkoren,  
 Zu führen das Regiment  
 Im Königreich Excellent.

—Poem. p. 276—1.

Her enthusiasm for Sweden reaches such a height that she can even say:

Kein Königreich ist dir gleich  
 In dir ist gut wohnen.

—Poem. p. 276—2.

She prays for the blessings of heaven upon the imperial councillors, who advise her majesty so boldly and wisely, as well as upon the queen herself. Naturally we do not hear anything of the rather bizarre character of this "Sibyl of the North"—nothing of her liking for masculine sports and dress; nothing of her extravagance; nothing of the dissatisfaction aroused by her patronage of talent, irrespective of birth or rank, and by her

intimacy with Calvinists and Jesuits alike; nothing of her change of faith. The tone of reverent respect is kept throughout.

There is one other song of rejoicing dated August 29, 1648, which concerns the safe arrival of Christina and her widowed mother, Maria Eleonora, in Stockholm:

Wie lieblich ist anzuschawen,  
Die Gestalt der schönsten Frawen,  
Und das Königlich Fräwlein  
Das von Ihr Maystât geboren,  
Und von Gott ist auszerkoren,  
Zu regieren die Gemein.

—Poem. p. 279—4.

This is a day of joy and gladness, for we have two queens present with us at the same time:

Ja, Gott sey dafür gepreiset,  
Er hat mir viel Gnad beweiset,  
Mich als bey der Hand gefürt  
Ausz Holstein hierher ohn schaden:  
Ich bin von Ihr Fürstlich Gnaden  
An Ihr Maystât commendirt.

—Poem. p. 280—7.

Although I have had years of poverty and loneliness in this strange land, yet the mercy of the Lord has watched over me and kept me even to this my sixty-fourth year. May His blessing rest upon the royal household.

Then, when Christina formally resigned all claim to the throne, and Karl Gustavus, Palsgrave of Zweibrücken, was declared her successor, Anna Owens commemorated this event, in 1654, with two poems, one dedicated to the new queen, Hedwig Eleonora, Duchess of Schleswig-Holstein, the other to Karl Gustavus himself. She is especially proud of the fact that the queen is a countrywoman of her own,<sup>4</sup> and that she now has three royal friends, Maria Eleonora, Christina and Hedwig Eleonora. The hope is expressed that the new queen

<sup>4</sup> St. MS 44—3.

will treat Maria Eleonora with filial consideration, as if she were her own mother.

In the poem dedicated to Karl Gustavus she avows great confidence that with him a time of prosperity will come to the realm. He will abolish all evil, punish the rebels, protect the devout, feed the poor, the widows and the orphans, for he loves truth and peace:

Er wirts unrecht legen Nieder,  
 das verfallne bawen wieder  
 billig preist Man diesen Herrn,  
 der Mit eignen augen schawet,  
 Und Nicht leichtlich andern trawet,  
 wer wolt ihm Nicht dienen gern.

—St. MS 65—9.

Here, too, she mentions her “dearest queen,” Maria Eleonora, and wishes her, as well as the ruling king and queen, long life and happiness. The royal councillors are not forgotten in her prayer that the glory of Sweden may be made known to all the potentates of the earth.

She has two other patrons aside from the royal family, Benjamin Magnus Croneburg and his wife Elizabeth. In their honor she wrote two acrostic hymns. In the first she praises the mercy of Jesus Christ, who saves us from the sins into which we have fallen, and comments upon the transitory pleasures of the world and the certainty of death: \*

O Mensch betracht, disz Tag und Nacht,  
 Gedenck am Hinweg scheiden,  
 So lebestu in guter Ruh,  
 Kanst leicht die Sunde meiden.  
 Wan du auffstehst, auch schlaffen gehst,  
 Und liegst in deinem Zimmer,  
 So sprich bey dir, der Todt steht hier,  
 Und wartet auff mich immer.

—St. MS 46—17.

\* Compare Balthasar Bidembach's hymn, “Der grimmig Todt in seinem pfeil.” (St. MS 55.)

The hymn dedicated to Elizabeth Krusbiörn is a mournful lament over the sorrows and anxieties and weaknesses to which the flesh is heir, and an earnest supplication to Christ for His mercy and help:

Bin ich doch dein, du hast mich ja geschaffen,  
Darumb wirstu auch zu hart nit straffen,  
Das liebe Creutz wirt mir zu schwer nit werden,  
Leidlich und zeitlich sind all' Ding auff Erden.

—St. MS 47—6.

## IX. STYLE.

What impresses the reader at first sight as the most characteristic element of Anna Owens' style is not the superabundant use of Biblical quotation and allusion, which one finds as a matter of course in writings of a religious character, but the "volkstümliche" element, especially the repeated recurrence of the proverb, reminding one of the writings of Hans Sachs<sup>1</sup> or of Fischart. Sometimes proverbs and adages are introduced in the midst of the most serious religious discourse:

Darumb mein kindt sieh dich wol für  
Das diese drey nicht schaden dir,  
So du wirst diese ubermannen  
Jagst auch all andern leicht von dannen,  
. . . . .  
Dann wann die Obersten erschlagen,  
Sind die Soldaten leicht zu jagen,  
Darumb von aller Eitelheit  
Wende dein augen ab bey zeit.

—Poem. p. 21.

Sometimes they interrupt the fervent feeling of a spiritual song:

Sein Wort hat er euch kundt gemacht,  
worumb wolt ihr nicht hören.  
Man schreibt euch, ja man Singt und sagt,  
verstopfft sind euwer Ohren,  
Darum weil ihr wolt hören Nicht,  
So müst Ihr fühlen wie man spricht,  
Und folgen euwern Thoren.

—St. MS 19—3.

<sup>1</sup> Compare Charles Hart Handschin, *Das Sprichwort bei Hans Sachs*, 1902.

The learned poetizers of the day did not countenance this phraseology, taken directly from the lips of the people. They considered it unrefined and vulgar; but the aristocratic mistress of Hoyersworth loved the piquancy of thought so often contained in the vigorous, pointed, even uncouth expressions which she learned from her beloved countrymen. Especially in the verses directed against the clergy, she used the proverbs with a bitter sarcasm which reveals intense feeling and earnestness:

Dann Predigt wieder Herr Johann,  
Da hat das Weib den rechten Mann.  
Der topff sein'n Deckel funden,  
Sein rechte Schäfflein auch der hirt,  
Sehr liebe Gäst' sind, da der Wirt  
Mit ligt oben und unden.

. . . . .  
So soll mann der Gemein, vorstehn,  
Lassen den Bock im garten gehn,  
Die Reben auffzubinden,  
Die Butter ist verwahret fein,  
Wenn die Katzen ihre hüter seyn.

—Poem. p. 64.

Although she makes more generous use of this form of seasoning in her "clerical verses," her other writings are not entirely free from it:

Traw wol und glaube leicht, die beid  
Machen auch offtmals hertzenleid.

—Poem. p. 267.

Wer sich an alten Kesseln reibt,  
Gern streitt mit alten Frawen,  
Derselb nicht unbesudelt bleibt,  
Das sag ich euch in trawen.

—Poem. p. 274.

But not only with homely adages did our author adorn her energetic, rather violent tirades against the evil-doer. She

showed in other ways that she was not averse to strong expressions and unaesthetic figures of speech :

Nichts so verdrieszlich und beschwerlich,  
 Als die schändtliche wollust ist,  
 Ich gleich sie dem Kuhkoth und mist,  
 Den Fladen die in Felde ligen.

—Poem. p. 24.

Münchesche dreckpatzen.

—Poem. p. 189.

Gabst stanck für danck, dasz dich Gott schänd!

. . . . .

Weh' dir und auch dem krummen  
 Cromwel, des Fairfax spiesz gesell!  
 Der Hencker zieh' euch ab das fell.

—Poem. p. 267.

These quotations are hardly what one would expect from a lady's pen, nor was this the fashionable tone of the day. On the contrary, Anna Owens' contemporaries must be aesthetic at any price, and bombastic oratory was preferred to vigorous strength; but she did not concern herself about such standards of taste. The social polish which had come with the foreign influences of the seventeenth century had not affected her. She remained a worthy associate of the satirists of the previous century.

She did not adorn her rhymes with many metaphors, similes, or decorative epithets. Her feeling for nature is almost entirely undeveloped. Her feeling for color and form, if she had any, is never expressed. The strict simplicity of her style has something almost childish about it. But there are two figures of speech which she used to excess—the exclamation and the rhetorical question. These, too, are the elements which one finds in the old-wives' tales and in the stories of the glee-men. A learned poetess is certainly not to be found in these verses,



although Anna Owens was neither uneducated nor inexperienced. Sometimes she answers her questions herself :

Meint ihr dasz das recht weiszheit sey,  
Wann man viel sprachen lernet frey,  
Griechsch und Latein kan schwatzen?  
Nein lieben leut, das fehlet weit.

—Poem. p. 51.

Sometimes they contain the keenest sarcasm :

Hat auch des nachts wol bey der leucht  
Nicht geschont seiner augen,  
Man sights sie sind ihm itzt noch feucht,  
Solt Er dennoch nicht taugen?  
Ohn zweiffel ja, wer sagt das nicht?

—Poem. p. 69.

Sometimes she heaps them up in her wrath and indignation until they fairly tumble over each other :

Wie oft bist wol zur Kirchen gangen?  
Sag was hastu für nutz empfangen?  
Welcher Pfaff sagt vom innern wort?  
Hast von der Salbung auch gehort?  
Von der Tauff mit dem Geist und fewr?  
Wie ist doch diese Lehr so theur?

—Poem. p. 34.

These groups of rhetorical questions, as well as single ones, occur repeatedly and are a favorite method of expressing any strong emotion which quickens the tempo of the lines.

The exclamations are almost as frequent, at times expressing awe and adoration,<sup>1</sup> or fervent longing;<sup>2</sup> at times, anger,<sup>3</sup> or sorrow.<sup>4</sup> Sometimes they express a desire for the reformation of those about her,<sup>5</sup> or admonition and warning.<sup>6</sup>

However, Anna Owens did not conceal her learning entirely. She made frequent use of foreign words and occasionally of

<sup>1</sup> Poem. p. 18.

<sup>2</sup> Poem. p. 22.

<sup>3</sup> Poem. pp. 168, 202.

<sup>4</sup> Poem. p. 235.

<sup>5</sup> Poem. pp. 64, 130.

<sup>6</sup> Poem. p. 182.

Latin phrases. The phrases occur principally in the poems against the clergy, and in the verses dedicated to her five children :

Sprechen, er hats vollendet :

In dem wort, Consummatum est.

—Poem. p. 58.

In summa seytrerbawlich allen.

—Poem. p. 138.

Cavete vobis, spricht der Herr.

—Poem. p. 170.

*Dominus sustentavit me*

Der Herr hat mich erhalten.

—Poem. p. 144.

They occur also frequently in letter-crosses :

M

M

D

M M D F D M M

Miserere Mei Domine

Fili Dei Miserere Mei.

—St. MS Fol. 26.

D

M

M

Foreign words\* appear in almost all her poems, although they are of course not so numerous in the hymns as in the other verses :

Geistlich Gespräch: exempel, Prophet, Apostel, pur, vocation, Phantast, Enthusiast, Evangelist, etc.

Posaunenschall: Praesenten, Regiment, Tyranny, Scepter, Trompetten, Muszquetten, Cardinal, N. B. (nota bene), Pax, Charitas, Excellent, Concordia, Justitia, Pietas, Scientz, Fides, Spes, Veritas, Prophet, Creatur, pur, propheceyt, Luna, Scorpion, Ira, solarisch, Solis, Humilitas, Mars, Affekten, reverentz, Salvator, Glori, gebenedeyt, etc.

\* Compare Klara Hechtenberg Collitz, Fremdwörterbuch des siebzehnten Jahrhunderts, Berlin, 1904.

She even displays her erudition by making occasional reference to the old mythology, very occasional to be sure, but that she mentions this world of classical learning in such religious poems at all is worthy of notice:

Deucalion und Pirra beid  
Haben viel Steinen Herten  
Gelassen nach zu dieser zeit.

—Poem. p. 121.

Der Dreyköpffige Hund der Hellen,  
Kans lassen nicht, muss sie anbelln.

—Poem. p. 166.

Of the influence which her mystical teachers had upon her style we have already spoken in the chapter devoted to her religious point of view. The phraseology of the mystics is everywhere apparent, not only in the hymns but in her other writings as well: the anointing,<sup>9</sup> the key of David,<sup>10</sup> the new birth,<sup>11</sup> the inner word,<sup>12</sup> the effacement of self.<sup>13</sup> All these expressions occur repeatedly in the writings of Schwenckfeld, Joris, Weigel and Teting.

The part which Luther's translation of the Bible plays in her poems is also very conspicuous. She seems to have known the Scriptures as thoroughly as any theologian, and to have been so imbued with their language that at times she adopted their phraseology unconsciously:

lasz fahren die fleischliche lüst  
fleuch die Wercke der finsternüz,  
Der tag gar Nah verhanden ist,  
Darin man rechnung geben musz  
Von Worten und von Wercken,  
Disz woll ein Jeder Mercken.

—Breitenburg MS Fol. 2.

<sup>9</sup> Poem. p. 28.

<sup>10</sup> Poem. p. 28.

<sup>11</sup> Poem. p. 33.

<sup>12</sup> Poem. p. 34.

<sup>13</sup> Poem. p. 82.

At other times she herself acknowledges the source of her quotation and occasionally even gives the chapter and verse.

Ein guter Baum bringt gute Frucht,  
Ein fauler arge, Christus spricht.

—Poem. p. 32.

Wol dem der mit dem Job einstimbt,  
Spricht in gedult: Gott gibt, Gott nimbt.

—Poem. p. 82.

Disz sagt die Schrifft die noch musz werden erfüllet.  
Jerem. 5. vers. 25. cap. 6. vers. 7 &c. &c.

—Poem. p. 175.

She knew the Old Testament as well as the New, but there are some passages which appealed especially to her. The parable of the ten virgins, five of whom were wise and five foolish,<sup>14</sup> occurs most frequently.<sup>15</sup> The marriage supper of the Lamb, as told in Revelation XIX, 7-9,<sup>16</sup> and the parable of the great supper<sup>17</sup> are also favorite themes.<sup>18</sup> The advent of Christ, His revenge upon His enemies, the binding of the dragon, and the establishment of an era of peace upon the earth are frequently dwelt upon.<sup>19</sup> The figure of the straight and narrow way which leadeth unto life, and the broad way which leadeth to destruction;<sup>20</sup> of the good tree which bringeth forth good fruit, and the corrupt tree which bringeth forth evil fruit;<sup>21</sup> of spiritual blindness, and of the blind leaders of the blind;<sup>22</sup> of the Christian's armor;<sup>23</sup> of the Word which was in the beginning,<sup>24</sup> she uses again and again. She refers also with special pleasure

<sup>14</sup> Matt. xxv, 1-13.

<sup>15</sup> Poem. p. 205; St. MS 1-5, 6; 6-3; 7-5; 12-12; 15-7; 39-2.

<sup>16</sup> Poem. pp. 181, 182, 187, 194, 211, 216, 220, 223, 224, 225.

<sup>17</sup> Luke xiv, 15-24.

<sup>18</sup> Poem. pp. 28, 194; St. MS 1-4, 6-6, 14-9.

<sup>19</sup> Poem. pp. 60, 65, 72, 175, 176, 177, 193, 194, 195, 196, 211, 221, 222, 226, 229, 241, 271; St. MS 12-5, 7; 13-5; 15-6, 14; 31-8, 15; 40-5; 46-21.

<sup>20</sup> Matt. vii, 13-14; Poem. pp. 16, 38, 165, 166, 199; St. MS 7-2, 3; 16-6; 18-5; 42-2; 45-8, 14; 46-6.

<sup>21</sup> Matt. vii, 16-20; Poem. pp. 31, 32, 46, 173.

<sup>22</sup> Matt. xv, 14; Poem. pp. 44, 68; St. MS 1-1; 19-4, 8; 57-1.

<sup>23</sup> Eph. vi, 13-17; Poem. pp. 19, 134; St. MS Fol. 45-13.

<sup>24</sup> Joh. i, 1; Poem. pp. 13, 157, 161, 164.



to the story of Christ's driving the money-changers out of the temple,"<sup>25</sup> and to his direction to Simon Peter, "Feed my sheep."<sup>26</sup> She had her favorite texts, too: "But the very hairs of your head are all numbered";<sup>27</sup> "Ask and it shall be given you; seek and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you";<sup>28</sup> "Thou shalt dash them in pieces as a potter's vessel";<sup>29</sup> etc. From these references we can see that she had studied the Holy Writ "from her youth up."

When one comes, however, to consider Anna Owens' use of figurative language, which by her contemporaries was carried to such excess, the poverty of her imagination is at once apparent. The similes are the most numerous; but they, too, are often taken from the Scriptures:

Das zeitlich hie  
Fleucht hin wie staub,  
Felt ab wie Laub.

—Poem. p. 123

Geldt und Welt-Freund vertrauwen,  
Ist wie auff sandich grund,  
Ein hohes Schlosz zu bawen.

—Poem. p. 294.

Here, too, she inclines to the vigorous at the expense of the aesthetic:

Ich gleich sie [wollust] dem Kuhkoth und mist  
Den Fladen die im Felde ligen,  
Bey Sommers zeit, darin die Fligen  
Heuffig herumb spatziren gehn.

Eben also sind die dreck Gecken,  
Die sich mit dollust koth beflecken.

—Poem. p. 24.

<sup>25</sup> Mark xi, 15-17; Poem. p. 167; St. MS 13-3, 15-13.

<sup>26</sup> Joh. xxi, 15-17; Poem. pp. 53, 64, 65, 67, 266.

<sup>27</sup> Matt. x, 30; Poem. pp. 83, 112, 127.

<sup>28</sup> Matt. vii, 7; Poem. p. 38; St. MS 7-2, 10-9, 31-7.

<sup>29</sup> Psalm 2, 9; Poem. pp. 158, 214; St. MS 13-4, 15-3.



Ubel wirts euch bekommen,  
 Ja eben wie dem Hund das grasz.  
 —Poem. p. 270.

The metaphors also are very often Biblical. Nevertheless, one finds here and there a figure carried out at some length and with a certain degree of originality. In the poem "Kumpt her zu schawen" (St. MS 41), the frivolous maidens are the owls adorned with fine feathers, the snares which capture the cuckoos, the traps which Satan sets to catch the finches. In "Geistlich Gespräch" (Poem. p. 24), the same idea with slight variations is used again:

Was ist wollust, die viel verblindt?  
 Ein dollust man sie billig nennt,  
 Ein uberkert tödtlich speise  
 Damit Satan fangt seine meuse,  
 Das allerhöchste gift der Welt,  
 Ein Netz das er sein'n Vögeln stellt,  
 Ein garn und strick das er fürhangt,  
 Darin leichtfertig hertzen fangt.

One finds only occasional examples of personification:

. . . . wann *Hans Mors* anklopffet,  
 Von Hoff und Hausz, Treibt er sie ausz.  
 —St. MS 46—15.

Her style is, on the whole, very direct and terse; but there are some repetitions, especially in "Geistlich Gespräch":

Im hertzen dasz noch krencket mich  
 . . . . .  
 Was ist es doch das dich thut krencken?  
 . . . . .  
 Disz ist es das mich krenckt so sehr.  
 —Poem. p. 6.

Wie nimpt der Vatr ihn an so gern  
 . . . . .  
 Sieh wie freundlich Er ihn annimpt  
 . . . . .  
 Ist bereit wann wir noch sind weit,  
 Uns anzunehm . . . .

—Poem. p. 12.

She is also sometimes at loss to fill out the lines, and resorts to phrases such as: *das ist gewisz; wie ihr wisst; Ihr werdet sehen.* Or she is guilty of tautology: *die toten leichen;*<sup>20</sup> in *reiner Keuschheit.*<sup>21</sup> There is even one example of circumlocution:

Genug vorrath zu zehren hat,  
 Vier tag' nach übermorgen.

—Poem. p. 64.

Our author is also sometimes tempted to display her wit in puns:

Wie schwer es sey dasz Reiche Leut,  
 Ins Reich der Himmel gehen.

—Poem. p. 121.

Or she makes use of an ingenious repetition of words:

Recht Richtet unser Held.

—Poem. p. 227.

O ihr Menschliche Teuffel!  
 Teuffelsche Menschen.

—Poem. p. 226.

She is also fond of stringing series of nouns or verbs together, not disposed in order of climax and yet giving a certain impression of gradation:

Brütet aus zorn, miszgunst, rachgir,  
 Streit, neid und laster mehr ohn zahl.

—Poem. p. 20.

<sup>20</sup> St. MS 21—5.

<sup>21</sup> St. MS Fol. 45—6.

Der Herr wird seyn dein liecht und Heil,  
 Deins lebens krafft, dein gutes theil,  
 Dein schilt, dein schutz, fried, freud, und ruh.

—Poem. p. 23.

Sometimes she arranges her words antithetically:

Süsz oder saur, grosz oder klein.

—Poem. p. 54.

Denn reichthumb, armut, glück und fall,  
 Der Todt und auch das leben,  
 Kompt uns von Gott her alzumal.

—Poem. p. 113.

It is remarkable how little sense of color she has. Although she contemplates with much affection the splendor of the great feasts of the New Testament and refers again and again to the Bridegroom and His Bride, the descriptions are very meagre:

Macht euch bereit,  
 Man wird sie heut,  
 Ihrem Breut'gamb zuführen;  
 Sie ist geschmückt  
 Ihr kleid gestickt,  
 Mit Gold und reiner Seiden.

—Poem. p. 187.

Her feeling for nature is also undeveloped. Indeed, she does not mention the world about her at all, except where she summons the winds and the clouds, the sea, the mountains, the trees, the birds, beasts and fishes to help her in praising the Lord. The phraseology reminds us at once of the 148th Psalm.

Her style is vigorous, direct, forceful, but lacks all graceful turns of expression as well as all poetic imagination. Her verses reveal an eminently didactic mind and, as she herself says, her sole purpose was to teach and to preach.

When one comes to consider the individual words, one finds here, too, some characteristic features.



Her use of compounds is on the whole not particularly original, but there are some combinations worthy of notice: Zornfeur, Freudenwein, Teuffels-Radlein-führer, Letterknecht, Titultrager, Frommenplager, Warheitverklager, Lediggänger, Schalcksnarren, Dreckpatzen, Truncken-trincken, Creutz-dorren, Pfaffen-teuffel, Tränen-brot, End-ursache, Dreck gecken, Dollust-koth, Schrift-verkehrer, Pfaffenschalck, Seelen-würger, Finsterfischer, Schulfuchserey, Sünden-mist, etc.

In her use of diminutives she is, as one might expect, very sparing. The sweetly emotional "Jesulein" tone, which is so audible in many of the writings of the sectaries, is entirely unknown to her. On the contrary, the diminutives in her verses are often very sarcastic:

Kompt her zu schawen, unser Jungfrawen,  
Und Tochterlein . . . .  
Seht doch, wie lieblich . . . .  
Seindt diese Thierlein an zu sehn.

—St. MS 41—1.

Ihr Euglein funcklen, lieblich in Dunkeln.

—St. MS 41—7.

Das Keützhen ist schon abgericht  
Zu fangen diesen Armen Wicht.

—St. MS 41—8.

Im langen Priesterlichen kleid,  
Haben ein grosz ansehen:  
Wann sie in ihrer Ehrbarkeit,  
Da auff dem Höltzlein stehen.

—Poem. p. 69.

As we have already remarked, the descriptive epithets are usually scarce; but where they occur there is apparent a distinct inclination toward those formed with the suffixes -lich and -ig, as well as toward adverbs formed in the same way: leichtlich, künstlich, lieblich, manierlich, zierlich, jämmerlich, väterlich, männlich, trewlich, beständiglich, freventlich, priesterlich, unsterblich, hertzlich, sundtlich, innerlich, tröstlich, etc.

The verbs formed with *-iren* are also used with particular pleasure, and show an innocent delight in the display of Latin learning: *regiren*, *passiren*, *studiren*, *promoviren*, *vociren*, *vexiren*, *agiren*, *ordiniren*, *examniren*, *illustriren*, *glossiren*, *allegiren*, *disputiren*, *arguiren*, etc.

#### RÉSUMÉ.

Anna Owena Hoyers is essentially a didactic poet. In whatever literary form she strove to clothe her thought, the moral appeared as an unavoidable appendage. Even in the hymns and transcriptions, as well as in the directly didactic poems, her aim in writing was to instruct and correct. The satires also are fundamentally didactic, for they result from the fact that her teaching often failed to produce the desired effect, in which case she resorted to sarcasm and bitter denunciation, always adding the advice to the sinners whom she attacked to better their ways before it was too late.

Of real lyrical feeling she has given little sign except in the religious songs and in some of the occasional verses. There are no love lyrics at all among her poems. To be sure, the real German lyric had not yet been born. Spee and Fleming were the first of the lyric poets who were destined to be the precursors of Günther, Haller and Hagedorn. The lyric feeling of the time was embodied in the church-hymn and the folk-song; but Anna Owens has nothing new to tell us in the one literary genre, and, although knowing and loving the other, she remained uninfluenced by it.

Neither was she in the least affected by the literary movements of the time. The literary societies, the Italian influence, the court atmosphere did not touch her. Although a contemporary of Opitz, she still belonged, in the form, style and subject-matter of her poems, to the robust and masculine sixteenth century. There she would not have been an unusual figure, with her vigorous, uncouth expressions and straightforward manner of expressing herself; but among the smooth,

skilful, adulatory verse-makers of her day she seems distinctly out of place.

She made use of but two sources for her work. The Bible, as we have seen, had the most pronounced influence upon her language and style. Every line of her writings is colored by its phraseology, and almost the only poetical figures which she uses are taken from its pages. On the other hand, conditions around her furnished her with material for her verses. The close connection between her own personal experience and her literary efforts accounts very easily for the characteristically emphatic and impressive tone of the latter. The thoughts which she has presented are real and vital, and the half-archaic garb in which they come to us does not detract from their power.

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