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2023

### Comparing Emotional Communities: Moravians, Methodists and Halle Pietists

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#### Recommended Citation

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**Comparing emotional communities: Moravians, Methodists and Halle Pietists**  
**Katherine Faull, Bucknell University, USA**

**Introduction**

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Recent scholarship in the fields of the history of emotions, gender, and pietism, has pointed to the intentional creation of emotional communities in the practice of piety. For example, Engelbrecht (2022) and Gent (2015) both identify the centrality of the cultivation, relation and regulation of emotions in pietistic communities. In her study of “heart religion” within the early Methodist movement in Britain, Phyllis Mack (2008) draws on published and manuscript materials within the Methodist archives to provide a gripping analysis of men’s and women’s emotions. And similarly, Bruce Hindmarsh in his account of the evangelical conversion narrative draws on sermons and letters of application to Charles and John Wesley in his analysis of the emotions of conversion in addition to a small selection of Moravian memoirs. However such comparative studies are few.

The field of comparative sentiment analysis opens up an intriguing window into the expressed feelings of past authors. It can also reveal the differing social, cultural, and community expectations of emotional expression (physical and verbal) within those communities. Norming of emotions may particularly apply to minoritized authors from marginalized populations, where personal expression is heightened by a consciousness of a power imbalance. Written memoirs can exemplify not only the deployment of sentiment dictionaries or lexica but also reveal code-switching, where authors speak or write differently depending on context, social situation, and the community with which they were interacting.

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In this paper I will lay out the framework for comparing emotional vocabularies, using two corpora of first-person narratives from the Moravian Church and the Methodist Church from the mid-18th century. The Moravian texts are from the Fetter Lane congregation in London and the majority of the manuscripts are to be found at Moravian Church House. These texts have been transcribed, encoded and published on the Moravian Lives website. The Methodist corpus is compiled from a project housed at the Rylands Library in Manchester, which contains letters of petition to Charles Wesley transcribed by volunteers and available online at

(<https://www.library.manchester.ac.uk/services/digitisation-services/projects/rapture-and-reason/>)

As McGuire and I have shown in our previous study (Faull and McGuire 2022), applying computational analysis to text corpora can help to identify emotional communities in which common patterns and sentiment lexica can be found. This paper will begin to address these questions by:

- a) identifying the emotional vocabularies or sentiment dictionaries of personal narratives of members of the Methodist and Moravian churches in Northern England in the eighteenth century;
- b) exploring a methodology for measuring those sentiments and offer alternate methods for analysis and interpretation
- c) asking whether such a comparative perspective could be applied to the personal papers of Halle Pietists. I make this claim based on Hindmarsh's argument that, Zinzendorf's dispute with the Halle pietists on the necessity of the Busskampf as proof of conversion in 1740 is simultaneous with the contact with the Wesleys and Methodism. In Hindmarsh's eyes, this meant

that the Moravians and their followers were able to distinguish their own piety from that of the Methodists in the same way: Methodism was Hallensian Pietism redivivus (Hindmarsh 165)

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##### A. Background on the study of emotional communities in pietism

Turning first to the question of emotional communities within Pietism, the role of language in creating, maintaining and promoting specific religious sentiments has been long recognized and studied. As August Langen states in the preface to the first edition of his groundbreaking work, *Der Wortschatz des deutschen Pietismus* (1954) the impetus for his focus was the realization that “ein wesentlicher Teil dieser Aufgabe in der Untersuchung der *sprachlichen* Mittel bestehen müsse: erst mit der eingehenden Prüfung des psychologischen Wortschatzes erfassen wir die Grundlagen der dichterrischen Menschendarstellung und der Erfahrungsseelenlehre des 18. Jahrhunderts.” (Langen, vii) Despite the exciting lexical and pragmatic potential of Langen’s work, little has been done in the field of linguistics on the peculiar nature of religious language in its function and use within religious communities.

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This dearth of further research leads Alexander Lasch and Wolf Andreas Liebert in the 2017 volume edited on the pragmatics of religious language to claim that although the pragmatic turn in cultural studies has been seen in many social and humanistic disciplines it has not been as prevalent in studies of language use in religious practice, and certainly not in the study of Pietism. What I would like to develop in this paper is an extension of Lasch’s argument about the pragmatic function of language in expressing the ineffable, the transcendent, in terms of something equally indescribable, emotions. However, given that the linguistic expression of emotions, as we have seen in the work of Mettele, Gleixner, Mack, Hindmarsh, Engelbrecht, can

be trained, I am going to supplement this analysis with the methodology of James Pennebaker and his research into the role of the unconscious in the formulation of our linguistic worlds. I have already published a short excursus into this methodology in the examination of emotional communities with McGuire. However here I would like to first look at the sentiment lexica extracted from the two corpora, compare them, and then look at the function word analysis of the two corpora.<sup>1</sup>

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### **B. The importance of understanding emotions, gender, race, and piety in historical contexts**

In her recent volume on Enthusiasm, Monique Scheer draws on Bordieu's practice theory to think through the embodied nature of emotions. To counter the prevalent thought that we are the passive recipients of emotional response Scheer defines emotions as a form of embodied action, a doing that exists only within cultural habit and context.<sup>2</sup> She argues that emotions, although sometimes felt as passive experiences, are actions our bodies actively engage in. These emotional actions are influenced by factors like language, societal structure, and cultural norms, part of broader cultural practices that are closely linked with our activities and interactions with spaces, objects, sounds, and people. This spectrum of emotional activity can range from fleeting reactions to long-established behavior patterns, and can involve various tools, cultural artifacts, and linguistic forms. Such emotional actions in context are termed "emotional practices". Using practice theory to understand emotions is valuable as it perceives actions as not just deliberate intentions but also as habitual behaviors. It distinguishes from the traditional idea of action, where behavior is intentional and based on an understanding of purpose. In practice theory, individuals are seen as products of their practices, not pre-existing entities. It posits that there is

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<sup>1</sup> Mention Ute Frevert's new volume

<sup>2</sup> (Scheer 2022)

no innate inner life; our understanding and expression of emotions and self are culturally cultivated. This cultivation varies across time and cultures; for instance, the Western understanding of self and emotions has been shaped by specific societal and cultural events that focusses on the individual. Thus, an emotional response triggered by a sermon or a hymn can be considered not in terms of authenticity versus manipulation but rather speaks to the community's methods of shaping emotions and self-awareness in a given cultural context.

### **III. The Concept of Emotional Communities**

The history of emotions has shifted from focusing on institutional influences to examining individuals' navigation through moral, religious, and political constraints on emotions. Earlier studies emphasized how institutions controlled how members expressed emotions, delineating acceptable and unacceptable feelings as a form of social control. William Reddy introduced the concept of emotional regimes, which are normative orders established by political regimes. These regimes can handle deviant emotions by allowing for 'emotional refuges,' private or secret areas where people can express emotions outside the norm. Reddy suggests that emotional regimes must permit some deviation to be effective.

Barbara Rosenwein's concept of an emotional community (Cornell UP, 2007) is helpful in moving us away from an institutional approach and towards thinking through emotions in a group of people who share similar socio-economic and political interests, and thus similar systems of feeling. These communities can be diverse and non-exclusive, with individuals often belonging to multiple communities, like families, neighborhoods, or nations. Emotional communities can compete or conflict with each other, and emotions must be understood in their specific context. Historians engage with psychologists, sociologists, and anthropologists to

understand this dynamic. Belonging to multiple emotional communities can lead to political issues, challenge emotional regimes, and contribute to a constantly changing normative landscape that dictates which emotional practices are acceptable and which are not through the practice of norming.

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Norming of emotions refers to the process by which societies, cultures, or groups establish norms or standards for emotional expression. This process involves defining which emotions are acceptable or appropriate and how they should be expressed in different contexts.

Emotional norms vary widely across different cultures and social settings, and they play a significant role in shaping how individuals experience and express their emotions.

In the context of code-switching, which is the practice of alternating between two or more languages or varieties of language in conversation, the norming of emotions plays a crucial role. When people switch between languages, they are often also switching between cultural contexts and the emotional norms associated with those contexts.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> This can have several implications:

- Cultural Context: Different cultures have different emotional norms, so when a person code-switches, they may also switch to the emotional norms of the culture associated with the language they are using. For example, some cultures may encourage more expressive emotional displays, while others may value more reserved expressions.
- Emotional Expression: The language a person chooses to express an emotion can be influenced by the emotional norms associated with that language. Some emotions might be more easily or appropriately expressed in one language over another due to cultural connotations or personal associations with that language.
- Identity and Relationships: Code-switching in emotional expression can also be a way to navigate personal identity and relationships. For instance, an individual might use one language for expressing affection within the family (adhering to the emotional norms of that language) and another in a professional context.
- Understanding and Empathy: The norming of emotions in different languages can impact understanding and empathy in cross-cultural communication. Misunderstandings can occur if the emotional norms of one language are misinterpreted when expressed in another language.

Thus, the norming of emotions is an integral aspect of code-switching, affecting not just linguistic choices but also the cultural and emotional nuances of communication

## Introduction to computational analysis of text corpora

The methodology used in the analysis of the current corpora of Methodist application letters and Moravian memoirs from Fetter Lane, London is best described as a mixed methods emotion analysis that goes beyond traditional sentiment analysis. Whereas the latter focuses primarily on categorizing text into positive, negative, or neutral sentiments, the current method of emotion analysis aims to detect and classify specific emotions expressed in granular text data, going down to the lemma or phrase level of a sentence. (McGuire 2021 PhD). This method provides a far more nuanced understanding of the emotional states described by individuals in their texts.

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Here are some key aspects of emotion analysis:

**Emotion Classification:** Emotion analysis involves classifying text into a range of emotional categories, such as joy, anger, sadness, fear, surprise, disgust, and more. Some models even differentiate between subtle emotional states, like contentment, frustration, or amusement using Plutchick's emotion wheel.

**Fine-Grained Emotion Analysis:** Researchers have developed fine-grained emotion analysis models that can distinguish between closely related emotions within a broader category. For example, within the joy category, a model might differentiate between happiness, excitement, and ecstasy.

**Emotion Lexicons and Datasets:** Emotion analysis often relies on emotion lexicons and datasets that provide labeled examples of text associated with specific emotions. These resources help train and evaluate emotion analysis models. Researchers have developed lexicons and datasets in multiple languages to support cross-lingual emotion analysis.

**Contextual Understanding:** Emotion analysis considers the context in which emotions are expressed. The same words can convey different emotions depending on the surrounding text. AI Models like BERT and GPT-4, which capture contextual information, have improved the accuracy of emotion analysis.



Emotion Intensity: Some emotion analysis approaches aim to measure the intensity or strength of an emotion expressed in text. This can provide a more nuanced view of emotional content, distinguishing between mild and intense emotions.

Challenges in Emotion Analysis: Despite significant progress, emotion analysis still faces challenges, including ambiguity in emotional expressions, cultural differences in emotional expression, and the need for larger and more diverse emotion datasets to improve model performance.

## VII. Case Study: Methodist and Moravian Churches in 18th-Century Northern England

As mentioned at the outset, comparative studies of communities of emotion are to date few. One very relevant one is that by Bruce Hindmarsh where in Chapter 5 of his work on Evangelical Conversion narratives he draws on the manuscript memoirs of two 18th century British sisters, Susanna and Betsy Clagget to deepen his examination of the fault lines or differences between the experiences of conversion in Methodist and Moravian written culture. The Claggetts provide an excellent point of comparison as, like quite a few other men and women in 1740s London they were shopping around for a church, chapel, community or preacher that best suited their spiritual and emotional needs. (Hindmarsh 166) According to Hindmarsh, Charles Wesley was in frequent contact with the Clagget family between 1739 and 1740 when Susanna would have been between 15 and 16 and came up with a series of texts by *sortes Biblicae* that led her through a conversion experience. (Hindmarsh 166, citing CWJ i 97-8.) However shortly after this acquaintance with Wesley, Susanna also came across the Moravians in England, Molther, Boehler, and even Zinzendorf himself. Hindmarsh quotes Susanna's memoir to describe the experience of awakening, This was a new awakening of an evangelical kind, differing entirely from the former, which was legal: now I was in a quite particular leading of the holy Spirit.--I felt my deep depravity, but not with fright and terror. Floods of tears streamed from my eyes, and

in a tender godly sorrow and contrition my heart was day and night sighing soft for the Beloved.  
(Hindmarsh 167, citing Susannah Clagget (c. 1723- c. 1802) memoir MCH)

To be able to find first person accounts that compare the experience of spiritual awakening is quite rare, even if many Moravian memoirs from the British corpus do mention encounters with other groups and movements. And it is even more rare to find a writing subject who uses the exact official wording that differentiates the two movements' understanding of internal awakening; legal. Given that Susanna's memoir was completed later in life, it is very possible that she had internalized the vocabulary of differentiation the Moravians employed to separate themselves from the Methodists. However, this may also be an accurate description of her emotional experience with the two groups. Hindmarsh's arguments have dominated comparative studies—his emphasis on the dichotomy between Methodist enthusiasm and Moravian stillness . (p. 163) His claim that two narrative cultures of conversion had formed in the early revivals in England. But can we show this? Can we test his claim? Are Moravians yielding to the Savior and the Methodists actively fighting with the Devil? Can this methodology be extended to the Halle Pietists conversion narratives again testing Hindmarsh's claim that Zinzenrdorf rejected the Pietist Busskampf? (p. 164)<sup>4</sup>

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### Corpus Context and background

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<sup>4</sup> “The divergence between Moravian and Methodist in their understanding of conversion involved not only a difference regarding the place of the law in inducing a psychological crisis prior to conversion, but also extended to the issue of how far one might take any initiative to use means towards ones own conversion—means such as going to church, hearing sermons, praying, and taking the sacrament. How far was one to remain still ?” (p. 168)

The Methodist texts that form part of this comparative corpus come from the collection housed at the Rylands Library. The testimonies form part of the archive of [The Methodist Church in Britain](#) deposited in the University of Manchester Library (Special Collections). Written in response to the request from the Revival leadership for accounts of conversion for use in sermons and publications, they span the first 50 years of Methodism's existence, with many dating to the formative period 1739 to 1745. In 2015 the University of Manchester Library [Heritage Imaging Service](#) digitised the manuscript testimonies and placed the [collection](#) online together with [transcripts](#) of fifty-five of the testimonies with modernized spelling and punctuation made available courtesy of the American scholar Tom Albin. The Methodist Church in Britain recruited a team of volunteers who completed the work of transcribing the entire collection in September 2018. These transcripts retain the original eighteenth century spelling, punctuation and syntax to ensure textual accuracy and allow linguistic analysis. From this collection I have selected letters of petition that are a) in the first person, b) contemporaneous with the Fetter Lane Moravian congregation and c) describe emotional states of conversion. In this corpus there are 7 male authors and 13 women. The marital state of the authors is yet to be determined. The texts by male authors vary in length from 801 to 5149 words, The texts by female authors range from 307 to 2002 words.

The corpus of Fetter Lane Moravian memoirs is also selected for first-person authorship and time period contemporaneous with the Methodist corpus. They consist of 3 memoirs by men, ranging in length from 2424 to just under 10000 words. There are 6 women's memoirs, ranging in length from 2206 words to 11314 words.

There are of course significant generic differences between letters of application and memoirs; however, both sets of documents reveal shared and distinctive emotional vocabularies for both groups. I will return to this generic difference later.

#### Slide 10 devil in Methodist men's memoirs

In the Methodist corpus we find the language of the Devil and temptation, perhaps indicating the struggle or *Busskampf* that Hindmarsh mentions. There is no mention of the Devil in the Moravian corpus, however there are instances when the author sees an angel or Christ in a dream state or awake.

#### Slide 11 devil in Methodist women's memoirs

#### Slide 12 MFW

The most frequent words in the Methodist men's corpus are god (134); lord (129); time (69); went (66); thought (48). In the Methodists women's corpus they are lord (180); ye (165); god (131); thought (119); self (98). In the Moravian corpus the MFW in the men's texts are saviour (88); time (76); heart (69); great (68) and in the women's texts are heart (112); time (98); lord (96); dear (80); love (72). Just from this, we might say that a clear distinction between the two corpora is the prevalence of "thought" in the Methodist texts and "heart" in the Moravian texts. Another interesting finding is that both the male Methodists and male and female Moravians mention "time" which is absent in the Methodist women's texts.

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Extracting the emotional vocabularies from both corpora we find the Methodist texts cite

Gratitude, Joy, Hope, Mourning, Uneasiness, Doubt, Surprise, Temptation, Despair,  
 Confusion, Regret, Repentance, Love, Fear, Trust, Sorrow, Peace, Longing, Rejoicing,  
 Conviction

Extracting the emotions from the Moravian corpus we find:

Happy, weep, wept, tears , fear, afraid, full of fear, joy, concern, love, grieved,  
 chearfull, desire, gratitude, anguish, misery, distress, pleasure, miserable, blessed,  
 blessing,

Move through slides 14-17

Slide 18 LIWC findings

Given the issues mentioned above about code-switching which entails a hyper-conscious use of language and lexica can we turn to **the analysis of function words to produce a more accurate comparison?** Psychologist James Pennebaker has developed a methodology that relies not on the “content words” (such as nouns, verbs and names) of what we say but on the “function words” or stop words. These function words--the articles, prepositions, pronouns, negations, auxiliary verbs, conjunctions, quantifiers, common adverbs--are those parts of speech that we use unconsciously; they are used a very high rates, they are short and hard to detect, they are processed in a different part of the brain than content words, and they are very social.

So can this method overcome the problems I outlined above with other computational (and non-computational) methods in the analysis of Moravian emotions? Can we access subconscious psychological states through the application of Pennebaker’s methods? He has developed a digital tool (Linguistic Inquiry and Word Choice) which is used for psycholinguistic analysis,

quantifying various components of texts such as emotional, cognitive, and structural components. According to Pennebaker, when we are happy, we tend to use we-words at a higher frequency. When we are sad, we tend to use I-words more. When we are happy, we tend to use more specific concrete nouns for times and places. When we are sad or depressed, we tend to use more past tense and future tense verbs. When we are angry, we tend to use more second-person focussed pronouns and think in the present.

Running the Methodist and Moravian texts through the LIWC program and using a Python script to interpret correlations between significant dimensions, we find:

In the Methodist women's texts, the correlation between negative emotions and the usage of 'I' pronouns in the dataset indicates a moderate positive relationship, suggesting that there is a tendency for increased usage of 'I' pronouns to be associated with an increase in the expression of negative emotions. This correlation is stronger than the one observed between positive emotions and 'I' pronoun usage. The dimension that correlates most strongly with a sad emotional state is that of conversation. This strong correlation indicates that texts with more conversational content tend to have higher expressions of sadness. Is this a product of both the gender of the author and this genre? As we know, the epistolary form in the 18th century allowed women to write in a more conversational and confessional style and therefore perhaps invite expressions of sadness.

For Methodist men, the dimensions that correlate most strongly with a sad emotional state are shown linguistically through the use of verbs rather than adjectives. A correlation of around 0.825, indicates that the usage of verbs is strongly associated with expressions of sadness. Most interestingly, there is a strong correlation of about 0.786, which indicates a relationship between

spatial language and expressions of sadness. These correlations suggest that in the texts by Methodist men, sadness is closely linked with verb usage, and spatial references. The extremely high correlation with negative tone is particularly noteworthy.

The two corpora by Methodist men and women show similarities: Both show strong correlations between sad and positive emotional dimensions and other linguistic features. In both datasets, there appears to be a notable relationship between emotional expressions and the use of certain types of words (verbs, affective language) and punctuation. In terms of differences: The specific linguistic features that correlate with sad and positive emotional dimensions differ between the two datasets. For instance, in the men's dataset, sad correlates highly with linguistic indicators of negative emotion and tone, whereas in the women's dataset, correlations with dimensions like 'Conversation' and 'Quantity' were more prominent. Given that these texts are letters, the findings from the LIWC analysis of both datasets (Methodist men and women) can be interpreted within the context of personal and perhaps emotional communication.

In the texts by Fetter Lane Moravian women, the dimensions that correlate most strongly with positive emotions are: Affect, Certainty, Tone and, interestingly, Achievement. These correlations suggest that in this dataset, expressions of positive emotions are closely linked with affective content, expressions of certainty, overall positive tone, references to achievements, and motivational language. For the Moravian men from Fetter Lane, the dimension that correlates most strongly with positive emotions is: Work: The strong correlation between 'posemo' and references to work reflects the religious and spiritual significance of labor or vocational duties in the Moravian community during the 1740s.

### **Comparing the results for Moravian and Methodist women**

Similarities: in Emotional Tone and Affective Language: Both datasets show a strong correlation between positive emotions and overall emotional tone and affective language. This indicates that for both Methodist and Moravian women, emotional expressions, whether positive or negative, play a significant role in their written communication.

Differences: The Moravian dataset shows strong correlations of positive emotion with certainty, achievement, and motivational language. These specific correlations reflect specific positive aspects of Moravian religious or cultural practices.

Comparing the LIWC analysis results of the spiritual memoirs by Moravian men in the 1740s with those of the Methodist men from the same period, particularly in terms of correlations with 'posemo' (positive emotions), we can note several key similarities and differences:

Similarities:

Emotional Expression:

- Both datasets show strong emotional content in their writings, as indicated by the correlation with 'posemo'. This reflects the importance of emotional expression in religious and spiritual contexts for both Moravian and Methodist men.

Differences:

Specific Correlating Features:

- The Moravian men's memoirs show extremely strong correlations with 'posemo' in dimensions like 'work', prepositions, and articles, indicating a unique style or thematic focus possibly related to their vocational and spiritual duties.



In summary, while both Moravian and Methodist men in the 1740s emphasized emotional and spiritual expression in their writings, the specific ways in which they conveyed positive emotions and the thematic focuses of their texts likely differ, reflecting their unique religious identities and cultural contexts.

## **Conclusion**

When thinking about comparativity whether in terms of religion, emotions, music, text, one has to decide what the terms of comparison will be, what is your tertium comparationis? In translation theory we can divide between signifiers and signified assuming that the signified is somehow constant. Is that true with emotions? Given the subjective embodied experience of emotion, what is that constant? Both signified and signifier are inconstant. This paper has tried to explore how applying computational analysis of both the conscious and unconscious use of language to express emotion can help identify distinctive and parallel vocabularies and lexica. Thinking about Scheer's application of practice theory outlined above, where emotional responses are communally ratified through a system of norming, then perhaps turning to the unconscious use of function words in texts can reveal similarities and differences between emotional communities.

The LIWC tool with its sophisticated analysis of frequencies of those parts of speech we use most and think consciously about least, processed in a different limbic part of the brain might reveal emotional states that are correlated with other drives. In this preliminary analysis, the most interesting difference is the way in which the Moravian men's texts clearly indicate a correlation between positive tone and work. For women, happiness lies in connection and achievement. Much more analysis needs to be done on these comparative corpora to link indicators of class/agency to happiness – a task I began in my earlier paper on race and sentiment.

How might this methodology be applied to Halle pietist texts? I have not yet begun this work and intended to work in Halle next semester on creating a corpus of pietist texts. However, my job changed at Bucknell as did my sabbatical schedule. But as I move forward with this project, it will be interesting to see how language choice affects emotional expression. Scholars in bilingualism have done fascinating work on the choice of language and emotion - do we feel different emotions in different languages? Again, in my work as a translator of Moravian texts by authors from multiple cultural ethnic and linguistic backgrounds, I have been fascinated to see when a diarist or memoir writer not only code switches but switches language and to ask the question, Why?

## Corpus

### Methodist men

Samuel Webb.txt	
William Barber.txt	Discussed in Mack, p. 71
Thomas Cowper.txt	
Nathaniel Hurst.txt	Discussed in Mack pp. 5, 16, 29

James Flewitt.txt	
Taverner Wallis.txt	Discussed in Mack, p. 186
Joseph Carter.txt	Discussed in Mack, p. 62

#### Methodist women

Elizabeth Bristow.txt	
Sister Iberson.txt	
Katherine Gilbert.txt	Discussed in Mack, p. 68
Sarah Barber.txt	
Mary Ramsey.txt	
Mariah Price.txt	
Sarah Middleton.txt	
Margaret Austen.txt	Discussed in Mack, p. 68
Mrs Platt.txt	
Ann Martin.txt	
Elizabeth Hinsom.txt	
Martha Jones.txt	
Martha Clagget	Discussed in Mack

#### Moravian women Fetter Lane

EleanoreFrancke.txt
JohannaBenade.txt
Karen Borg.txt
Mary Startin.txt
SarahNichols.txt
SarahVerney.txt

#### Moravian men Fetter Lane

ThomasMoore.txt
GeorgFrancke.txt

PlantaMemoir.txt
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## Single Sisters Fulneck

Allot_Mary_Ful_SS_12.txt
Anderson_Anna_Rosina_Ful_SS_8.txt
Bentley_Abigail_Ful_SS_58.txt
Bradley_Rachel_Ful_SS_44.txt
Calvert_Martha_Ful_SS_45.txt
Cennick_Sarah_Ful_SS_68.txt
Clagget_Elizabeth_Ful_SS_57.txt
Clark_Elizabeth_Ful_SS_81.txt
Craven_Sarah_Ful_SS_41.txt
Dyson_Hannah_Ful_SS_75.txt
Gledhill_Mary_Ful_SS_4.txt
Gurney_Sarah_Ful_SS_72.txt
Hunt_Hannah_Ful_SS_16.txt
Luty_Eleanor_Ful_SS_70.txt
Metcalf_Sarah_Ful_SS_32.txt
Oates_Mary_Ful_SS_77.txt
Peel_Mary_Ful_SS_79.txt
Render_Isabel_Ful_SS_67.txt
Robinson_Sarah_Ful_SS_78.txt
Rogers_Anna_Ful_SS_59.txt
Skelton_Sarah_Ful_SS_37.txt
Taylor_Mary_Ful_SS_61.txt
Tordoff_Hannah_Ful_SS_34.txt
Whitehead_Mary_Ful_SS_25.txt
Wilson_Elizabeth_Ful_SS_62.txt
Wilson_Grace_Ful_SS_33.txt

Woodhouse_Margaret_Mary_Ful_SS _66.txt