

PLURALISM IN HEAVEN: RELIGION IN PRUSSIAN MILITARY OF 18TH CENTURY

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- I. Introduction
- II. Religious pluralism in the army
- III. The chaplains' negotiation of power
- IV. Religious norms versus practices
- V. Summary

I. *Introduction*

The Prussian military ecclesiastical establishment has been of research interest since the end of the 19th century.¹ Political history and social history were replaced by cultural history in the 20th century. Both historical directions — the political and cultural — have researched the structural political change concentrating on the monarch. This article aims to establish the discussion about the relationship between religious norms and actual practices by examining a case study from the second half of 18th century Berlin. The concept of absolutism linked the monarch to absolute power and a unified society.² In this regard the study interrogates the strength of the military chaplaincy for kingship, the royal rules and enforcement in respect of religious norms.

There has long been the idea that all subjects were obedient to the monarch, so the king appeared to control both the state and the army. The historical canon seems to accept that the army was very well controlled and disciplined. The military writer Johann Friedrich von Flemming, a contemporary of the 18th century, described “disciplined people”.³ A great deal has been written and said about discipline and power. Gerhard Oestreich developed Max Weber writings about “social disciplining” (*Sozialdisziplinierung*) in early modern history.⁴ It was

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¹ Erich Schild, *Der Preußische Feldprediger*, 2 volumes, Eisleben 1888 and Halle 1890; Hartmut Rudolph, *Das evangelische Militärkirchenwesen in Preußen. Die Entwicklung seiner Verfassung und Organisation vom Absolutismus bis zum Vorabend des Ersten Weltkrieges*, Göttingen 1973; Benjamin Marschke, *Absolutely Pietist. Patronage, Factionalism, and State-Building in the Early Eighteenth-Century Prussian Army Chaplaincy*, Tübingen 2005.

² Nicholas Henshall, *The Myth of Absolutism. Change and Continuity in Early Modern European Monarchy*, London 1992; Ronald G. Asch and Dagmar Freist (eds.), *Staatsbildung als kultureller Prozess. Strukturwandel und Legitimation von Herrschaft in der Frühen Neuzeit*, Köln 2005.

³ “diszipliniertes Volk”, Johann Friedrich von Flemming, *Der vollkommene deutsche Soldat*, Leipzig 1726, Part III, Cap. 21, § 2, p. 260, quoted in the article “Armee” in *Johann Heinrich Zedlers Grosses vollständiges Universallexikon aller Wissenschaften und Künste*, Bd. 2, Leipzig/Halle 1730, p. 1530.

⁴ Gerhard Oestreich, *Strukturprobleme des europäischen Absolutismus*, in: *ditto, Geist und Gestalt des frühmodernen Staates. Ausgewählte Aufsätze*, Berlin 1969, pp. 179-197, Winfried Schulze, “Gerhard Oestreichs Begriff ‘Sozialdisziplinierung’ in der frühen Neuzeit”, in: *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung* 14 (1987), pp. 265-302; Michael

accepted that society was transformed through social discipline.

Within the research fields of absolutism and social discipline there is a third approach which has influenced ideas according to the interaction between religion and power in the military; confessionalization, a term used for the parallel rise of denominations and the political and cultural developments which came out of it, emerged within the German history community in the 1970s. The different church denominations that were generated in the Reformation later competed with one another. Each sovereign gained new power for the Church in his territory, and the Church in turn became dependent on the king. Confessionalization therefore promoted state building in early modern European history.⁵ The authors of more recent studies have proposed that the subjects did not do only what they were supposed to do; people acted independently. This should be taken into consideration within the macro-narratives of history.⁶

Against this background there is still the question: where did the impulse for transformation or modernisation come from. Religion was seen as one factor for the development of modern society as discussed about by Gerhard Oestreich, Max Weber, the theologian and philosopher Ernst Troeltsch.⁷ The Prussian army is understood in modern German military history as a judicial and social group directly controlled by the king, especially because many historians were fascinated by the Prussian Kings Friedrich Wilhelm I and Friedrich II. My purpose is to contribute to a fuller understanding of actual practices of subjects in the Prussian army. In accordance with microhistory, it will be focused on historical subjects⁸, in this case on soldiers in the Prussian army and their families. All of subjects acted and made decisions in questions of religion that formed in a nexus between authoritarian attempts to regulate and actual practices within the church. The religious practices of the military members did not prove the absolutism, but rather show that authoritarian control was limited. Religious practices were possible because of the denominational pluralism — some of which this study will evidence.

Two brief aspects might clarify this cultural historical concept: on the one hand there was denominational pluralism in general in the Brandenburg-Prussia territory as well as the Prussian

Prinz, "Sozialdisziplinierung und Konfessionalisierung. Neue Fragestellungen in der Sozialgeschichte der frühen Neuzeit", in: *Westfälische Forschungen* 42 (1992), pp. 1-25.

⁵ Representative of many other studies: Heinz Schilling, "Confessionalism and the Rise of Religious and Cultural Frontiers in Early Modern Europe", in: Eszter Andor and István György Toth (eds.): *Frontiers of Faith. Religious Exchange and the Constitution of Religious Identities 1400- 1750*, Budapest 2001, pp. 21-35; Heinrich Richard Schmidt, "Sozialdisziplinierung? Ein Plädoyer für das Ende des Etatismus in der Konfessionalisierungsforschung", in: *Historische Zeitschrift* 265 (1997), pp. 639-682.

⁶ Joel F. Harrington and Helmut Walser Smith, "Confessionalization, Community, and State Building in Germany 1555-1870", in: *The Journal of Modern History* 69 (1997), pp. 77-101.

⁷ Stefan Breuer, "Sozialdisziplinierung. Probleme und Problemverlagerungen eines Konzepts bei Max Weber, Gerhard Oestreich und Michael Foucault", in: Christoph Sachße and Florian Tennstedt (eds.), *Soziale Sicherheit und soziale Disziplinierung. Beiträge zu einer historischen Theorie der Sozialpolitik*, Frankfurt am Main 1986, pp. 45-69; Hartmann Tyrell, "Worum geht es in der 'Protestantischen Ethik'? Ein Versuch zum besseren Verständnis Max Webers", in: *Saeculum* 41 (1990), pp. 130-177.

⁸ The question is how people conducted their lives. Giovanni Levi, "On Microhistory", in: Peter Burke (ed.), *New Perspectives on Historical Writing*, Cambridge/Oxford 1991, pp. 93-113; Magnússon, Sigurður Gylfi, "The Singularization of History. Social History and Microhistory within the Postmodern State of Knowledge", in: *Journal of Social History* 36 (2003), pp. 701-735; Hans Medick, "Quo vadis Historische Anthropologie? Geschichtsforschung zwischen Historischer Kulturwissenschaft und Mikro-Historie", in: *Historische Anthropologie* 9 (2001), pp. 78-92.

army; on the other, the Prussian army chaplaincy held an important position within society. Both aspects limited the permeation of power — from the perspective of subjects: pluralism and the chaplaincy afforded military members the opportunities to act independently. It opened up options for them. My intention is to compare the practice of religion with its regulation.

The pluralism of church denominations and the competition between military chaplains and civilian pastors promoted the negotiation of power. The military members practiced their religion in churches, within the framework of a given liturgy, but they also investigated alternative situations, places and spaces for religious practices. To search and to find alternatives seemed to be behavioural strategies in the *Sattelzeit* (saddle periode), as Reinhard Koselleck defined the period between 1750 and 1850, when society changed from a traditional structure to a modern one.⁹ Religious pluralism continued in this period. The change of religion in Europe is commonly understood to have begun with the formation of religious denominations through the 16th century Reformation. The idea of religion changed in response to the plurality of denominations. This article addresses the denominational pluralism through examining the religious practices of members of the Prussian army.

The religious pluralism within the military will be highlighted through examination of a conflict in 1787. This case study gives information about cavalry soldiers' religious practices.¹⁰ Two pastors in Berlin called Conrad and Gebhard contacted the Prussian King Friedrich Wilhelm II in autumn 1787. They wanted to inform him that the soldiers, who were of the Reformed faith had reduced their worship more and more. The subjects the pastors mentioned were members of the Reformed Church and soldiers in *Garde du Corps* squadron (13th Cuirassier Regiment), which was based in the residence and garrison in Berlin.

The pastors Conrad and Gebhard from Berlin were Reformed clerics (Calvinists). They criticised the Lutheran pastor Johann David Cube, whom they declared to be wrong in undertaking religious activities for Reformed soldiers, for example by allowing to marry in church.

We could not hold our tongues, because Reformists from Garde du Corps Squadron in our parish and the church for Reformed soldiers should be restricted here [in Berlin].¹¹

There are four aspects in the letter about the two Reformed pastors who worked in “Jerusalemkirche und Neue Kirche” (also called the Jerusalem Church): First, problems arose owing to the soldiers' different denominations. Secondly, the soldiers seemed to belong to one parish only, and this was seen as a symbol of power, because the parish informed the Prussian

⁹ Reinhart Koselleck, *The Practice of Conceptual History. Timing History, Spacing Concepts*, Stanford (Calif.) 2007; Jörn Leonhard, *Bellizismus und Nation. Kriegsdeutung und Nationsbestimmung in Europa und den Vereinigten Staaten 1750-1914*, München 2008.

¹⁰ The source material is deposited in The Secret State Archives Prussian Cultural Heritage (Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz); in this article abbreviated as GStA PK.

¹¹ “Wir haben, weil die Reformierten von dem alhier [in Berlin] liegenden Esquadron Garde du Corps sich gerade zu unsere Gemeinde halten, und auch diese Kirche der reformirte Soldat immer mehr eingeschränkt wird, das Königl. Reglement auch dahin gar nicht gehet, nicht hizu schweigen können”, GStA PK, I. HA Geheimer Rat, Rep. 76 alt, V, Nr. 412 — in a document called “Parochial-Streitigkeiten der evangel [isch] -reformierten Prediger mit den Militairpredigern”, Conrad and Gebhard to the Prussian King Friedrich Wilhelm II, 20 June 1787, pp. 27-28; about Johann David Cube (1724-1791) and his writings see *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 4, Berlin 1876, p. 637. When Cube started as the third Lutheran pastor at Jerusalem Church in Berlin he wrote in his sermon because of his start on 4th February 1759 a biblical description about a reasonable service.

administration about this case. The information went from the bottom to the top. Thirdly, all the people inclined towards the monarchical laws when they argued in this conflict. They referenced the norms for their practices. Fourthly, all those people who were involved in the communication about this conflict noted the relationship between norms and practices according to the role of the Church.

I will look closely at the case study to demonstrate the denominational pluralism and the pastors within the process of power (*Herrschaftsprozess*) and the protagonists' behaviour. To begin I will explain the religious situation in Brandenburg-Prussia as well as in the Prussian army, after which I shall introduce the attempts made to regulate, and finally return to the conflict in 1787.

The sources for this case study have been found in written records from the Department for Spiritual Affairs (*Departement für geistliche Angelegenheiten*).¹² That means that the subject of "religion in the military" does not only depend on military records and the "Heeresarchiv", the archive for documentary evidence from the army, which was destroyed in the Second World War.¹³

The interaction between religion and war is an important issue for historical research. Nevertheless the war can be omitted in this case study, because there were new circumstances: the standing army brought the military within society, aside from war. The research interest for daily routines in a garrison deserves as much attention as everyday life during war.¹⁴

II. *Religious Pluralism in the Army*

Pluralism in Christendom was reflected in the Prussian army. There were members of the three main church denominations in the army: Lutherans, Reformists — often called Calvinist — and Catholics.¹⁵ In the 13th Cuirassier Regiment there were soldiers who came from all parts of the Prussian army; therefore the *Garde du Corps* offers a good reflection the army's disposition.¹⁶

The denominational structure in the army was related to the spread of denominations in the

¹² Reinhold August Dorwart, "Church Organisation in Brandenburg-Prussia from the Reformation to 1740", in: *The Harvard Theological Review* 31 (1938), pp. 275-290.

¹³ GStA PK, I. HA *Geheimer Rat* (Privy Council), Rep. 47 Geistliche Angelegenheiten and Rep. 76alt Ältere Oberbehörden für Wissenschaft, Kunst, Kirchen- und Schulsachen; Files about the Prussian military are conveyed in the civil administration. The military written records are no longer available because the army archive was destroyed in the Second World War. In 2002-2004 an inventory was established about military information in civil administration, supported by the German Research Foundation. Refer Ralf Pröve, *Cives ac Milites. Konzeption und Design des Militärinventars Brandenburg-Preußen im 18. Jahrhundert*, in: *Militär und Gesellschaft in der Frühen Neuzeit* 12 (2008), pp. 96-109.

¹⁴ Bernhard R. Kroener, "Militär in der Gesellschaft. Aspekte einer neuen Militärgeschichte in der Frühen Neuzeit", in: Thomas Kühne and Benjamin Ziemann (eds.), *Was ist Militärgeschichte?*, Paderborn 2000, pp. 283-299; criticism on a military history without war, see Marian Füssel, "Der Wert der Dinge. Materielle Kultur in soldatischen Selbstzeugnisse des Siebenjährigen Krieges", in: *Militär und Gesellschaft in der Frühen Neuzeit* 13/1 (2009), pp. 104-121.

¹⁵ I disregarded other religious minorities such as Muslim Riders, which consisted mainly of Bosniaks.

¹⁶ Compare *Stammliste aller Regimenter und Corps der Königlich-Preußischen Armee für das Jahr 1806*, reprint Osnabrück 1975, pp. 220-223.

Brandenburg-Prussia territory and the confessionalization in the Holy Roman Empire as well as in territories outside the Empire. Officers, non-commissioned officers as well as enlisted men in the Prussian army came from all those different areas. Half of the army came from the “canton system” (*Kantonsystem*), which was similar to a conscription system, directly from Brandenburg-Prussia. The other half of the army was recruited from other territories.¹⁷ These different ways to enlist in the army, together with the regional provenance from different religious areas, generated the pluralism of Christian denominations in the Prussian army. It is important to understand immigration in Brandenburg-Prussia and the denominational situation in the provinces.

Lutheranism affected the Brandenburg-Prussian territory after the Reformation in the 16th century. A so-called second Reformation started when John Sigismund, Elector of the Margraviate of Brandenburg and Duke of Prussia, converted from Lutheranism to Calvinism in 1613. It would have been common for the population to convert to Calvinism, in the sense of *cuius regio eius religio*. It did not, however, owing to the confessional freedom granted by the Augsburg Religious Peace treaty of 1555. The sovereign usually chose the denomination for himself and the sovereignty, but in Brandenburg the majority of the population continued to remain Lutheran. The king and court depended on the Reformed Church in the 17th and 18th centuries, and therefore supported members of the Reformed Church, and a Reformed elite developed consequently.¹⁸ Reformed officers also belonged to this Reformed elite.¹⁹ Members of the *Officierkorps* came from Reformed nobles such as the von Dohna and Finck von Finckenstein families.²⁰

Denominational pluralism is also a result of migration. There was the French-Reformed Church as well as the German-Reformed Church. The members of French-Reformed Church emigrated to Brandenburg-Prussia. These religious refugees were called Huguenots. Some of the Huguenots entered the army immediately after their migration; some French-Reformed in the army came from French-Reformed families and were born in Brandenburg-Prussia.²¹

¹⁷ Martin Winter, *Untertanengeist durch Militärflicht? Das preußische Kantonsystem in brandenburgischen Städten im 18. Jahrhundert*, Bielefeld 2005; Curt Jany, “Die Kantonverfassung des altpreußischen Heeres”, in: Otto Büsch and Wolfgang Neugebauer (eds.), *Moderne Preußische Geschichte 1648-1947. Eine Anthologie*, Berlin 1981, pp. 767-809, first printed in: *Forschungen zur Brandenburgischen und Preußischen Geschichte* 38 (1926), pp. 225-272.

¹⁸ Bodo Nischan, *Prince, People and Confession. The Second Reformation in Brandenburg*. Philadelphia 1994; Willerd R. Fann, “Foreigners in the Prussian Army, 1713-56. Some Statistical and Interpretive Problems”, in: *Central European History* 23 (1990), pp. 76-84; Erich Opgenoorth, “Die Reformierten in Brandenburg-Preußen. Minderheit und Elite?”, in: *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung* 8 (1981), pp. 439-459; Alexander Schunka, “Konfession und Migrationsregime in der Frühen Neuzeit”, in: *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 35 (2009), pp. 28-63.

¹⁹ Peter-Michael Hahn, “Calvinismus und Staatsbildung. Brandenburg-Preußen im 17. Jahrhundert”, in: Meinrad Schaab (ed.), *Territorialstaat und Calvinismus*, Stuttgart 1993, pp. 239-269, especially pp. 254-255.

²⁰ See article “Forcade, Friedrich Wilhelm von Ernst Graf zur Lippe-Biesterfeld” in: *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 7, Leipzig 1878, p. 154; Leopold Zedlitz-Neukirch, *Neues Preußisches Adels-Lexicon oder genealogische und diplomatische Nachrichten [...]*, vol. 2, Leipzig 1836, pp. 179-180; in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* articles f.x. about Wilhelm Alexander von Dohna (Prussian General; 1695-1749) und Friedrich Wilhelm Graf Finck von Finckenstein (Adjutant General, Gesandter; 1702-1741) sowie Friedrich Ludwig Graf Finck von Finckenstein (Lieutenant General; 1709-1785).

²¹ Helmut Schnitter, “The Refugees in the Army of Brandenburg-Prussia: ‘Those Unfortunate Banished People from France’”, in: Matthew Glozie and David Onnekink (eds.), *War, Religion and Service: Huguenot Soldiering, 1685-1713*, Aldershot 2007, pp. 145-159; Matthias Asche, “Kirchliches Leben und Identitätskonstruktion von ländlichen Réfugiés und Schweizerkolonisten in der nördlichen Mark Brandenburg”, in: Joachim Bahlcke and Rainer Bendel (eds.),

Reformed members, as well as Catholics, were in the Prussian army as a result of migration and recruitment in foreign countries. Both denominations were a religious minority in the army. The majority were Lutherans recruited through the *Kantonsystem* from the Brandenburg Lutheran population. The Berlin publisher Friedrich Nicolai described how the denominations lived together at the end of the 18th century:

There are truly Christian tolerant attitudes especially in more recent times [...] The Protestants here have, to some extent, joint churches, they participate in their worships; they marry each other.²²

The religious situation was more problematic, as Friedrich Nicolai, a man of the Enlightenment, described. This article will deal with the difficulties of pluralism and will be revealed through a case study of the Reformed soldiers. The pastors Conrad and Gebhard thought that tolerance was not realised, as they wrote in their letter to the king. All subjects should have the same legislation on religion and enjoy the same freedoms in the opinion of the Reformed soldiers in the *Garde du Corps* squadron in Berlin. This seemed not to be the case.

The conflict arose even though, or maybe because all the clergymen — Conrad, Gebhard and Cube — in this case all worked in one church, the “Jerusalemkirche und Neue Kirche”. The Jerusalem Church was not a military church. There was indeed a military or garrison church in Berlin, but the military members did not only use this one. The Jerusalem Church was a joint church (*Simultankirche*) from the beginning of the 18th century, which means it was used for services by both Reformed and Lutheran worshippers.²³ The elector Friedrich III — later King Friedrich I — tried to combine the Reformed and Lutheran churches in the “Gewissenhaften Glaubensbekenntnis” in 1694. There have been joint churches since that time, where the two Protestant denominations could use the same building, and through this they might be brought closer together.²⁴ Some of the contemporaries hoped that the Reformed and Lutheran Churches would sooner or later become a Protestant union. The Reformed and Lutheran Churches had different ideas about liturgy and sacrality. These religious ideas were too different until the foundation of the Old Prussian Union in 1817. Church history had an influence on the military because the military was a part of early modern society, which was

Migration und kirchliche Praxis. Das religiöse Leben frühneuzeitlicher Glaubensflüchtlinge in alltagsgeschichtlicher Perspektive, Köln 2008, pp. 19-38; Detlef Harms, “Das Edikt von Potsdam vom 29. Oktober 1685. Die Integration und der soziale Aufstieg von Ausländern in der preußischen Armee des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts”, in: Bernhard R. Kroener (ed.), *Potsdam. Staat, Armee, Residenz in der preußischen-deutschen Militärgeschichte*, Berlin/Frankfurt am Main 1993, pp. 159-171.

²² “Es sind wahrhaft christliche tolerante Gesinnungen besonders in neueren Zeiten [...] Die Protestanten haben hier zum Teil gemeinschaftliche Kirchen, sie wohnen wechselweise ihren Gottesdiensten bei, sie verheiraten sich untereinander.”, Friedrich Nicolai, *Beschreibung der königlichen Residenzstädte Berlin und Potsdam aller daselbst befindlicher Merkwürdigkeiten und der umliegenden Gegend*, vol. 2, Berlin 1786, p. 602.

²³ Compare research results about France, Benjamin J. Kaplan, *Divided by Faith. Religious Conflict and the Practice of Toleration in Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge (Mass.) 2007, especially pp. 199-234, Joint churches were often found in the second half of the 18th century; the church was joined, but not always in the same hour.

²⁴ Otto Eissfeldt, *Die Einführung der Reformation und der Union in der Jerusalemkirche. Festschrift zum Jubiläum der Reformation und der Union*, Berlin 1917; Friedrich I found supporter for an approach of the Reformed Church and the Lutheran Church in Daniel Ernst Jablonski (1660-1741, Cathedral preacher in Berlin) and Philipp Jakob Spener (1635-1705, preacher at St. Nikolai Church in Berlin) see Thomas Klingebiel, “Pietismus und Orthodoxie. Die Landeskirche unter den Kurfürsten und Königen Friedrich I. und Friedrich Wilhelm I. (1688 bis 1740)”, in: Gerd Heinrich (ed.), *Tausend Jahre Kirche in Berlin-Brandenburg*, Berlin 1999, pp. 293-324.

unthinkable without church and religion.

The conflict in the Jerusalem Church was promoted even though, or perhaps because, the norms already existed. The norms were actually law. The Revised Military Consistorial Order (*Renovierte Militair-Consistorial-Reglement*) was the norm for the military members' religious practices. This law was first enacted in 1711 in order to stop and to avoid harmful riots.²⁵ The law was drawn up to ensure military discipline: this law was a new form of fixed norm. Religious practices had previously been regulated in articles of war.²⁶

The Reformed pastors Conrad and Gebhard accused the Lutheran pastor Cube of not observing the *Militair-Consistorial-Reglement*. In his report, Cube in turn accused Conrad and Gebhard of not following the law. The ambivalence between religious norms and actual practices is a well-known phenomenon in early modern history.²⁷

There are several explanations mentioned within the historical discussion of the implementation policy. One explanation was that the large number of laws was the reason for the lack of compliance with the law. The laws were constantly reissued, because it was believed that nobody knew about them and therefore did not follow them. Another explanation was that the laws were a means of communication that evidenced the implementation of norms.²⁸ There was a great deal of information to disseminate in order to enforce the Military Consistorial Order and the consistories (church council or court) were responsible for this at a local level. The Lutheran superior consistory (*Oberkonsistorium*) province asked the military consistory (*Militärkonsistorium*) for some copies of the laws, which was officially called "Renovirtes Militair-Consistorial-Reglement und Kirchen-Ordnung des Feld-Ministerii"²⁹. The reissued law should have been forwarded from the Kurmark consistory to the inspectors who controlled church practices including the pastoral care in the Prussian army. The military consistory finally sent 60 copies after the president of Kurmark consistory asked for copies for a second time in 1752.³⁰ It is remarkable that the delivery took such a long time. Furthermore, both institutions called the law "Feldpredigerreglement" (Military Chaplains

²⁵ "schädliche Unruhen zu verhüten und abzustellen"; Militärkonsistorialreglement vom 29. April 1711, p. 2 with a link to an order from 7. April 1692 "dem Consistorio Militari Castrendi gewisse Instructions-Puncte vorgeschrieben", printed in *Corpus Constitutionum Mar-chicarum*, 3. Theil Erste Abtheilung von Kriegs-Sachen, so die regulirte Troupen im Lande betreffen, Nr. XCVI — on the web: <http://web-archiv.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/altedrucke.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/Rechtsquellen/CCMT31/start.html> [04.02.2010].

²⁶ Friedrich Karl Scheel, "Die Militärkirchenordnungen in Deutschland als Vorläufer des Militärseelsorgevertrages von 1957", in: Evangelisches Kirchenamt (ed.), *'Ein Kriegesmann und guter Christ...'* Historische Skizzen aus der Soldatenseelsorge, Hannover 1990, pp. 19-54, especially pp. 24-33.

²⁷ Stefan Haas and Mark Hengerer, "Zur Einführung: Kultur und Kommunikation in politisch-administrativen Systemen der Frühen Neuzeit und der Moderne", in: dito (eds.), *Im Schatten der Macht. Kommunikationskulturen in Politik und Verwaltung 1600-1950*, Frankfurt am Main 2008, pp. 9-22; André Holenstein, "Die Umstände der Normen — die Normen der Umstände. Policeyordnungen im kommunikativen Handeln von Verwaltung und lokaler Gesellschaft in Ancien Régime", in: Karl Härter (ed.), *Policey und frühneuzeitliche Gesellschaft*, Frankfurt am Main 2000, pp. 1-46.

²⁸ Jürgen Schlumbohm, "Gesetze, die nicht durchgesetzt werden - ein Strukturmerkmal des frühneuzeitlichen Staates?", in: *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 23 (1997), pp. 647-663; Achim Landwehr, "Absolutismus oder 'Gute Policey'. Anmerkungen zu einem Epochenkonzept", in: Lothar Schilling (ed.), *Absolutismus, ein unersetzliches Forschungskonzept? Eine deutsch-französische Bilanz*, München 2008, pp. 205-228.

²⁹ GStA PK, X. HA Provinz Brandenburg, Rep. 40 (Ober-) Konsistorium, Nr. 1942, p. 2, *Kurmärkisches Konsistorium* to the *Kriegskonsistorium* 10 February 1752.

³⁰ GStA PK, X. HA Provinz Brandenburg, Rep. 40 (Ober-) Konsistorium, Nr. 1942, p. 3, from Pawlowsky to Carl Ludolph Dankelmann (President of the Department for Spiritual Affairs and the Consistory), 24 September 1752.

Regulation) instead of the complete and aforementioned formal name. This shows how important the military chaplains were. There were several institutions which participated in regulating religious practices. In addition to the inspectors, consistories, colonels-in-chief (*Regimentschefs*) the military chaplains also took an active part.

The *Militair-Consistorial-Reglement* focused mainly on the military chaplains. The law is structured in three sections: (1) military chaplains' vocation, (2) their duties as clerics and (3) career advancement. The section about the duties defines religious practices in general and pastoral acts in church. Baptisms, weddings and funerals had to be conducted "without exception, by the Lutheran preacher, who is the proper military pastor or garrison chaplain"³¹. Other pastors were not allowed to perform official acts as baptisms and weddings for military members.

In this case study about the Reformed soldiers in Berlin the inspector Kuester, who was supposed to solve the Jerusalem Church conflict, received information — based on the Military Consistorial Order — that all army members belonged to the garrison parish, especially if there is no military chaplain, as was the case for the *Garde du Corps*.³² All pastors of the Jerusalem Church, the Reformed pastors Conrad and Gebhard, as well as the Lutheran pastor Cube, wanted to perform the pastoral acts. This conflict was caused by the lack of clarity of responsibilities and showed that problems arose because of this religious pluralism.

The Reformed pastors Conrad and Gebhard argued in their letter to King Friedrich Wilhelm II:

It is against the intention the most blessed King, who otherwise was very attentive, that all subjects share the same religious rights and freedoms. The foreigner does not suspect that one part of the population is restricted or forced in this tolerant country.³³

The reference to religious tolerance in the 18th century follows in the tradition of that from the 17th century. Then in 1785 the Huguenots began to write their history about the Reformed self-awareness.³⁴ The Reformed pastors like all clerics negotiated their interests within the process of power.³⁵ In the second half of the 18th century the situation of pluralism of church denominations was the background for the negotiation of religious practices.

³¹ "ohne Unterschied von den lutherischen Predigern, als dem ordentlichen Feld- und Garnisonsprediger verrichtet werden.", *Militair-Consistorial-Reglement und Kirchen-Ordnung des Feld-Ministerii, samt einigen Beylagen derer Bey dem öffentlichen Gottesdienst, Taufe, Beicht, Abendmahl und Trauung zu gebrauchenden Gebethe und Formularien*, Berlin 1750.

³² GStA PK, I. HA Geheimer Rat, Rep. 76 alt, V, Nr. 412, p. 31, duplication of a edict to the *Oberkonsistorium* (in persona Spalding, Teller, Silberschlag) and the inspector Küster, 29 January 1778.

³³ "Es ist dadurch, wiewohl gemäß wider die eigene Intention des höchstseeligen Königs welche sonst sehr darauf gehalten haben, daß alle Ihre Untertanen gleiche religions-Rechte u[nd] Freyheiten genießen! dem Einen Theil von Erl. König. Majestaet Unterthanen eine Einschränkung u ein Zwang aufgelegt worden, den Auswärtige ohne Zweifel nicht in Erl. Königl. Majestaet toleranten Landes vermuthen."; Conrad and Gebhard, 27 October 1787, GStA PK, I. HA Geheimer Rat, Rep. 76 alt, V, Nr. 412, p. 34.

³⁴ Etienne François, "Die Traditions- und Legendenbildung des deutschen Refuge", in: Heinz Duchhardt (ed.), *Der Exodus der Hugenotten. Die Aufhebung des Edikts von Nantes 1685 als europäisches Ereignis*, Köln 1985, pp. 177-193, especially pp. 178-181.

³⁵ For example Markus Meumann and Ralf Pröve, "Die Faszination des Staates und die historische Praxis. Zur Beschreibung von Herrschaftsbeziehungen jenseits teleologischer und dualistischer Begriffsbildung", in: dito (eds.), *Herrschaft in der Frühen Neuzeit. Umriss eines dynamisch-kommunikativen Prozesses*, Münster 2004, pp. 11-49.

III. *The Chaplains Negotiation of Power*

Clergymen in early modern history — referred to, as preachers, pastors and priests in sources — have been a topic of investigation in Europe in recent years.³⁶ If one compares all the studies about clergymen, one can see that clerics behaved very differently, though they were described in those studies as one homogenous group. The clergymen seemed to be very different in their behaviour towards the population. In his long-term study for Great Britain, William M. Jacob writes that the clerics connected the regions with the centre of power because they were involved in rural society.³⁷ Historians generally agree about the clerics influence within the process of power. Clerics were not only responsible for the performance of religious rituals but affected public opinion through the parish as well.

Military chaplains were agents in the process of power. They communicated between the authorities and members of the military. They were a social elite and therefore were both agents for the authorities as well as lobbyists for military members.³⁸

Contemporaries of the 18th century — especially followers of the Enlightenment — expected the clerics to do a lot in this sense to influence society. Most of the time, the clerics' expectations came from the clerics themselves. The pastor George Friedrich Treumann, who was related to the Enlightenment, wrote about the clerics behaviour in his book (*Bemerkungen über das Verhalten der Geistlichen*): “Away with this ridiculous idea about a special divine profession; how it has misled so many clerics in the past and even today”.³⁹ Treumann explained the situation of pastoral care because of his own experience.⁴⁰ There was self reflection within the clerical profession, which aimed at a standardisation of the pastoral acts as part of a professional process.

One can also find this development with Prussian military chaplains who also aimed to perform their work professionally. This enabled them to form a collective identity with similar

³⁶ See, for example, Luise Schorn-Schütte, “Priest, Preacher, Pastor. Research on Clerical Office in Early Modern Europe”, in: *Central European History* 33 (2000), pp. 1-39; especially about Brandenburg-Preußen Gerd Heinrich, “Amtsträgerschaft und Geistlichkeit. Zur Problematik der sekundären Führungsschichten in Brandenburg-Preußen 1450-1786”, in: Günther Franz (ed.), *Beamtenum und Pfarrerstand 1400-1800*, Limburg an der Lahn 1972, pp. 179-238; Rudolf von Thadden, *Die Brandenburgisch-preußischen Hofprediger im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der absolutistischen Staatsgesellschaft in Brandenburg-Preußen*, Berlin 1959.

³⁷ William M. Jacob, *The Clerical Profession in the long Eighteenth Century 1680-1840*, Oxford 2007, especially pp. 304-315; also Wolfram Pyta, “Die Kanzel als Mittelpunkt des Dorflebens? Überlegungen zum Ansehen katholischer und evangelischer Landpfarrer in Deutschland 1800 bis 1850”, in: Ruth Dörner et al. (eds.), *Lokale Gesellschaften im historischen Vergleich. Europäische Erfahrungen im 19. Jahrhundert*, Trier 2001, pp. 399-417.

³⁸ See *Eigensinn*-concept: Alf Lüdtkke, “Einleitung. Herrschaft als soziale Praxis”, in: dito (ed.): *Herrschaft als soziale Praxis. Historische und sozial-anthropologische Studien*, Göttingen 1991; Alf Lüdtkke, “Geschichte und Eigensinn”, in: Berliner Geschichtswerkstatt (ed.), *Alltagskultur, Subjektivität und Geschichte. Zur Theorie und Praxis von Alltagsgeschichte*, Münster 1994, pp. 139-153; pp. 9-63; Alf Lüdtkke, “Eigensinn”, in: Stefan Jordan (ed.), *Lexikon Geschichtswissenschaft. Hundert Grundbegriffe*, Stuttgart 2002, pp. 64-67.

³⁹ “Weg mit der lächerlichen Einbildung von einem eigenen göttlichen Berufe, die so viele Geistlichen der Vorzeit, und zum Theile noch itzt, irre geführt hat”, George Friedrich Treumann, *Bemerkungen ueber das Verhalten der Geistlichen*, Berlin/Stettin 1799, p. 30.

⁴⁰ Frank-Michael Kuhlemann, “Die evangelischen Geistlichen. Berufliches Selbstverständnis und gesellschaftliche Handlungsmuster im badischen Protestantismus des 19. Jahrhunderts”, in: Frank-Michael Kuhlemann and Hans-Walter Schmuhl (eds.), *Beruf und Religion im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, Stuttgart 2003, pp. 51-70.

biographies and joint collective statements.

The Prussian military chaplains, within the professional process, wrote and published books about religious practices by reflecting on their own experiences and giving each other advice. These books defined a collective identity. Almost all military chaplains studied at University of Halle so a community spirit was established. They completed studies in theology and all took several exams up to their ordination as military chaplains. The military chaplains of the first half of the 18th century were networked through Pietism.⁴¹

The military chaplains were very important; hundreds of them were in active the army at the end of the 18th century. Johann Gottfried Kletschke, the *Feldpropst* (field provost), listed 93 clerics in 80 regiments, nine garrisons and four institutions in the journal of military chaplains (*Feldprediger-Magazin*) in 1792. On average there was one military chaplain per regiment.⁴² Many military chaplains became Prussian clergymen after some years in the army. Many Prussian clergymen were in the army for some years. There were many military chaplains and former military chaplain.⁴³ The large number of clerics, who once served in the Prussian army, stood between the military and society. That means that the Prussian chaplaincy was important for early modern society. There were not only Lutheran, but also some Catholic and Reformed chaplains in the Prussian army.⁴⁴

The Reformed soldiers of the *Garde du Corps* in Berlin had neither a Reformed nor a Lutheran military chaplain. The Lutheran civil pastor Cube explained that in his report for the consistory. Cube arranged with the former commander von Posadowsky in 1763 that he was responsible for the “divine business” (*geistliche Geschäfte*) for the *Garde du Corps*, because there was no chaplain. Johann David Cube mentioned the circumstances in his report. He did not get money for his pastoral work, but instead he received the “military chaplain’s rights in the army”⁴⁵. He believed he could perform weddings and baptisms for all army members, no matter which denomination.⁴⁶ At the beginning of his long report he wrote that he thought when he spoke with Posadowsky⁴⁷ that the *Garde du Corps* only consisted of Lutherans. At the end of his report, Cube wrote that he had performed marriages for soldiers of the Reformed Church in the past when women belonged to Reformed denominations.⁴⁸

⁴¹ For example Benjamin Marschke, “Vom Feldpredigerwesen zum Militärkirchenwesen. Die Erweiterung und Institutionalisierung der Militärseelsorge Preußens im frühen 18. Jahrhundert”, in: Michael Kaiser and Stefan Kroll (eds.), *Militär und Religiosität in der Frühen Neuzeit*, Münster 2004, pp. 248-275.

⁴² Alexander Lyncker, *Die altpreußische Armee 1714 - 1806 und ihre Militärkirchenbücher*, Berlin 1937.

⁴³ The clerics were in the army for an average of four years. Refer Benjamin Marschke, “Die Sozial- und Alltagsgeschichte der preußischen Feldprediger im frühen 18. Jahrhundert”, in: Manfred Jakubowski-Tiessen (ed.), *Geistliche Lebenswelten. Zur Sozial- und Mentalitätsgeschichte der Geistlichen in Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*, Wachholtz 2005, pp. 225-252 and pp. 231-233.

⁴⁴ The father of the popular theologian Friedrich Schleiermacher was a reformed military chaplain. His name was Johann Gottlieb Adolph Schleyermacher (1727-1794); he worked in Breslau. See Kurt Nowak, *Schleiermacher. Leben, Werk und Wirkung*, Göttingen 2001, pp. 16-17.

⁴⁵ The pastor Johann David Cube to the *Oberkonsistorium*, 15 December 1787, a duplication of Cubes letter, GStA PK, I. HA Geheimer Rat, Rep. 76 alt, V, Nr. 412, pp. 46-48, here p. 46.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ About Christian Wilhelm Sigmund to Posadowsky, Freiherr von Postelwitz (1725-1791) see Anton Balthasar König, *Biographisches Lexikon aller Helden und Militärpersonen, welche sich in preußischen Diensten berühmt gemacht haben*, vol. 3, Berlin 1790, pp. 198-199.

⁴⁸ GStA PK, I. HA Geheimer Rat, Rep. 76 alt, V, Nr. 412, Johann David Cube to the *Oberkonsistorium*, 15 December 1787, pp. 46-48, here p. 46; it seems that Cube gained status as military chaplain, because in 1788 it was

The background to this is that: The King's Guard (*Königliche Leibgarde*) — later the *Garde du Corps* — was a respectable regiment of the Prussian cavalry; their barracks were located in Berlin-Friedrichstadt.⁴⁹ This suggests the conflict between Conrad, Gebhard and Cube was not only a discussion about religious competence: it also illustrated how important one of the denominations was and how much prestige one of the pastors had.

Cube held the view that the distinction between the Lutheran Church and the Reformed Church was unimportant as he wrote in his book about the Last Supper. (*Lehre der reformierten Kirche von dem heiligen Abendmahl*). He thought conflicts between Lutheran and Reformed clergymen concerning the Last Supper did not make sense.⁵⁰ He had never argued with pastors of other denominations in the past, as he pointed out in his report, but had started in the summer of 1787 when Conrad read the banns and married a woman of the Reformed Church to a soldier from the *Garde du Corps*.⁵¹ Cube argued with the Reformed pastors because he lost his fees from performing the wedding ceremony. Conflicts about religious practices broached the issue of fees (*Stolgebühren*). The fee was the same for all clerics only after 1780.⁵² The conflict at Jerusalem Church started shortly after fee regulations were imposed.

Likewise, it must be mentioned that Cube — from the perspective of the Reformed pastors Gebhard and Conrad — did not properly account for pastoral acts in lists or church registers. Chaplains were supposed to register baptisms, weddings and burials every year, and inform the *Feldpropst* about the numbers, but they often carelessly registered the names and dates. A large number of files can be found about the conflict of recording in the church register; Jerusalem Church was not a special case.⁵³ There was both a civil church register and a military church registers, however one could find members of the military listed in the civil church register and vice versa.

Religious pluralism was therefore often expressed in mutual recriminations concerning bureaucratic rather than theological questions. The case study about religious practices of Reformed members in the military in the Jerusalem Church is about the practices and laws, which will be considered in the next chapter.

written: “der Cube dadurch ein gleiches Recht, als es andre Feldprediger über die Soldaten Reform, Confestion ausüben, erhalten hat, und da beydes des Commandeurs so wie der Predigers Rechte in den Miitair Consistorial Reglement und älteren Ordres gegründet sind” the *Oberkonsistorium* (in persona Dörnberg and Lipten) to Conrad and Gebhard, 2 April 1788, GStA PK, I. HA Geheimer Rat, Rep. 76 alt, V, Nr. 412, p. 53.

⁴⁹ Entries in church registers for garrison church Berlin, Jerusalem Church and for Luisen Church in Charlottenburg see Alexander Lyncker, *Die altpreussische Armee 1714-1806 und ihre Militärkirchenbücher*, Berlin 1937, p. 172.

⁵⁰ “Niemals wird Zeit, Tinte, Galle und Gemüthsruhe, unnützer und unbelohnter, verschwendet.”, Johann David Cube, *Anmerkungen über Doct. C. A. Heumanns Erweis, daß die Lehre der reformirten Kirche von dem heiligen Abendmahle die rechte und wahre sey*, Leipzig 1764, p. 5, quoted in Mark Pockrandt, *Biblische Aufklärung. Biographie und Theologie der Berliner Hofprediger August Friedrich Wilhelm Sack (1703 - 1786) und Friedrich Samuel Gottfried Sack (1738 - 1817)*, Berlin 2003, p. 383 and Johann David Cube, *Bei dem Antritt der dritten evangelisch[-]lutherschen Predigerstelle an der Jerusalems- und Neuen Kirche in Berlin, entwarf [...]*, Berlin 1759.

⁵¹ The pastor Johann David Cube to the *Oberkonsistorium*, 15 December 1787, GStA PK, I. HA Geheimer Rat, Rep. 76 alt, V, Nr. 412, pp. 46-48, here p. 47.

⁵² Eduard Hegel, “Zum Verhältnis der Konfessionen in Deutschland am Ende des 18. Jahrhundert”, in: Georg Schwaiger (ed.), *Zwischen Polemik und Irenik. Untersuchungen zum Verhältnis der Konfessionen im späten 18. und frühen 19. Jahrhundert*, Göttingen 1977, pp. 11-28.

⁵³ The pastor Johann David Cube to the *Oberkonsistorium*, 15. December 1787, GStA PK, I. HA Geheimer Rat, Rep. 76 alt, V, Nr. 412, pp. 46-48, here p. 48.

IV. *Religious Norms versus Practices*

The Prussian military chaplains had to face accusations from authorities such as the king, colonels-in-chief and consistories as well as officers, junior officers, soldiers and their wives, within the process of power, as sources show. In addition to these people, the chaplains were confronted by reproaches from the civil clerics, in that town or rural preachers were also often in opposition to the military chaplains.

Civil clerics also undertook religious practices in the military. Conflicts were not only found between civil and military clergymen, but also between Lutheran and Reformed civil clerics in towns. There had already been discrepancies concerning the soldier's religious practices in the Jerusalem Church twenty years before the Cube case. In the 1760s the garrison chaplain in Berlin criticised civil clerics in the Jerusalem Church, saying that they performed pastoral acts for military members and breached the Military Consistorial Order. At that time the town preachers (*Stadtprediger*) justified themselves by explaining that they did not know the law.⁵⁴ In reality, new orders and reissued laws always followed in response to conflicts.

Simultaneously the civil clerics in Brandenburg-Prussia repeatedly criticised military chaplains in that they baptised, married and buried citizens. The civil pastors wanted to remove this “disorder” (*Unordnung*), as a complaints transcript 14 February 1765 illustrates:

I cannot refrain from reminding your highly commendable consistory of the disorder which has existed in this [Berlin] garrison church for some years, relating to the marriage announcements and weddings [...] the military chaplains accept all townspeople including those who are not under magistrates justice or do not have citizenship — in the military chaplains' opinion. All those will be understood by the term *Eximirte* which is mentioned in the Military Consistorial Order.⁵⁵

The Pietism preacher Johann Peter Süßmilch turned this complaint against the Lutheran Consistory for the Kurmark and asked to restrict the Berlin garrison parish.⁵⁶ Together the civil clerics criticised the military chaplains for incorrectly performing the pastoral acts.

The military chaplains set the same arguments against the Prussian civil clerics. The civil clerics were accused of unjustly baptising, marrying and burying military members, or of

⁵⁴ GStA PK, X. HA Provinz Brandenburg, Rep. 40 (Ober-) Konsistorium, Nr. 1942, p. 252, Extracts of the garrison chaplain's report from 11 December 1761.

⁵⁵ “Ich kann nicht unterlaßen bey einem Hochlöbl. OberConsistorium die Unordnung [...] wieder in Erinnerung zu bringen, welche sich in hisiger [Berliner] Garnison Kirche seit einigen Jahren in Ansehung der Proclamationen und Vertraungen [...] allein die Herrn Feldprediger nehmen vom Bürgerstand alles an, was ihrer Maynung nach nicht unter der Jurisdiction des Magistrats stehet, oder noch nicht das Bürgerrecht gewonnen hat. Das alles verstehen sie unter dem Wort *Eximirte*, welches im Militair Consistorial Reglement enthalten ist.”, GStA PK, X. HA Provinz Brandenburg, Rep. 40 (Ober-) Konsistorium, Nr. 1942, pp. 69-70, here p. 69, duplication, *Kurmärkisches Konsistorium to Kriegskonsistorium*, 12 February 1765.

⁵⁶ The councillor of the consistory Wilhelm von Irving wrote that “alle Tagelöhner, Handwerkerleute und fremde Gesellen die nicht das Bürgerrecht gewonnen, als *eximirte* zu betrachten, und zur Garnison Gemeinde gezogen werden könnten.”, 21 February 1765, GStA PK, X. HA Provinz Brandenburg, Rep. 40 (Ober-) Konsistorium, Nr. 1942, p. 68; about Süßmilch see Wolfgang Neugebauer, Johann Peter Süßmilch. Geistliches Amt und Wissenschaft im friderizianischen Berlin, in: Berlin in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Jahrbuch des Landesarchivs Berlin 4 (1985), pp. 33-68.

performing services incorrectly from the military chaplains' perspective. For example, in 1784 Berlin garrison chaplains complained about soldiers from the artillery, who would not baptise their children in the garrison church.

The Berlin garrison chaplains became aware that several artillerymen who belonged to garrison church pretended to be craftsmen and citizens; in church they were dressed and behaved like civilians. The soldiers seemed to present themselves as townspeople and had their sons baptised in town churches. The consequences might be that one could distinguish between soldier's sons and citizens' sons through their baptism certificate. The garrison chaplains thought that the civil clerics at the St. Sophien Church gained their agreement and checked the status of people who wanted to be baptised before performing the act.⁵⁷

In 1788 Wolfgang Ferdinand Freiherr von Dörnberg, president of the Department for Reformed Spiritual Affairs, made a suggestion to the War Consistory (*Kriegskonsistorium*) that military members' denominations could be registered, so that the Reformed soldiers could prove their belonging to the Reformed Church in their baptism or marriage certificate and thereby gain advantages from the Reformed Church.⁵⁸ The *Feldpropst* Johann Gottfried Kletschke agreed with Dörnberg's suggestion for "good order and completeness"⁵⁹.

Although the military chaplaincy had become an institution from 1692 through the foundation of the war consistory, the case of the Jerusalem Church makes clear that at the end of the 18th century it was not obvious to which church the soldiers and their families belonged. Although the Berlin garrison Church was built in 1703 and the Potsdam garrison Church in 1721, members of the Prussian army hardly ever went to a garrison church.

Pastoral acts were in theory related to a specific church or a specific pastor. Churches and parishes (*Parochie*) were marked off from each other because of the parochial rights and were within parishes, which was a pastor's administrative district. Everyone from such a district had to go to this district pastor to have their pastoral acts performed. The point is that there was a *Parochialzwang* (parochial force) for everyone — including military members, but they did not bow to the pressure. The members of the Prussian army asked military chaplains as well as civil clerics to undertake pastoral acts; actually they seemed to prefer clerics who had the soldiers' denomination. The Lutheran pastor Cube justified his responsibilities by emphasising that the Jerusalem Church in Lindenstraße was very close to the *Garde du Corps*' barracks. The 13th Cuirassier Regiment had its barracks on the corner of Lindenstraße and Feilnerstraße, therefore the soldiers of the 13th Cuirassier Regiment belonged to Cube's parish and administration district.

⁵⁷ "Zu diesen Unordnungen geben lediglich die Bitter bey den Kirchen, besonders bey der Sophien-Kirche des Werden Anlaß da es ihre Sache ist, die Leute welche taufen laßen wollen, genau zu examiniren und dem Prediger davon richtige Anzeige zu thun; welches sie aber sorgfältig unterlaßen und wohlgemeint den Soldaten colludiren." The garrison church patrons Moellendorf, Braun and Poschel to Berlin Magistrate 9. March 1784, Landesarchiv Berlin, A Rep. 004, Nr. 20, p. 21.

⁵⁸ Dörnberg to the *Kriegskonsistorium*, 28. April 1788, GStA PK, I. HA Geheimer Rat, Rep. 76 alt, IX, Nr. 12, p. 1, in the Cube case after a cooperative advice in the war consistory sent to the Prussian field provost (Feldpropst).

⁵⁹ "der guten Ordnung und Vollständigkeit", *Feldpropst* Kletschke to the *Oberkonsistorium*, 4. Jun 1788, GStA PK, I. HA Geheimer Rat, Rep. 76 alt, IX, Nr. 12, p. 3.

Finally in the case of the Jerusalem Church, the Reformed soldiers seemed to be unburdened from parochial force,⁶⁰ although the Reformed consistory had already claimed in 1781:

We noticed first of all that it could not be unreasonable if the military chaplains who baptised and married Reformed soldiers were also obliged to offer their services to Reformed soldiers during their common visits to military hospitals [... and] would it not be reasonable and easy to initiate that each regiment in this garrison pays for a company per month four *Groschen* to support a common Reformed garrison priest?⁶¹

The Reformed soldiers from the 13th Cuirassier Regiment made use of the unclear pastoral responsibilities; they practised their religion where they preferred the clerics, often clerics of their own denomination. The military members behaviour produced a new kind of reality on the ground; their religious practices did not conform to the Military Consistorial Order and other regulations. Clerics, inspectors and consistories negotiated pastorals acts of the Reformed soldiers from the *Garde du Corps*. At least there was the decision that Reformed clerics were not allowed to baptise, marry or bury Reformed soldiers. However, it seems that the Reformed soldiers got a Lutheran military chaplain, but no sources explain whether or not the Reformed Soldiers kept going to Reformed civil clerics.⁶²

V. Summary

The present study makes several noteworthy contributions to the topic of religion in the military concerning denominational pluralism and clerical influence. Both aspects concern the process of power (*Herrschaftsprozess*); the military members had room to manoeuvre (*Handlungsspielräume*) because of the pluralism, as Alf Lüdtke mentions in his concept of *Eigen-Sinn*.⁶³

The denominational pluralism in the Prussian army and competition between civil pastors and military chaplains enabled differences in religious practices. The Reformed soldiers from the *Garde du Corps* — presented in the case study from 1787 — did not have contact with the Lutheran civil pastor, who substituted as the military chaplain. Indeed they contacted the

⁶⁰ Department for the Reformed Spiritual Affairs (in persona Dörnberg) to the *Reformierte Ministerium* der *Jerusalem- und Neuen Kirche Berlin*, 10. July 1787, GStA PK, I. HA Geheimer Rat, Rep. 76 alt, V, Nr. 412, p. 37; already 29 January 1778 to the *Oberkonsistorium* and the inspector Küster “sich überhaupt kein StadtMinisterium dem Krieges Consistorial Reglement zuwiderer eines Exercitii actum Ministerialien bey Militair Persohnen, anmaßen kann”, GStA PK, I. HA Geheimer Rat, Rep. 76 alt, V, Nr. 412, p. 31.

⁶¹ “Wir bemerken zuförderst, daß es wohl nicht ganz unbillig seyn könnte, wenn die Regiments-Prediger welche sich die Taufen und Trauungen der reformirten Soldaten zugeeignet haben, auch dafür angehalten würden, bey ihren häufigen Besuchen in den Lazarethen, den reformirten Soldaten ihre Dienste anzubieten [... und] ob es nicht der Billigkeit gemäß und sehr leicht in die Wege zu leiten wäre, daß ein jedes hier in Garnison liegendes Regiment per Compagnie monatlich vier Groschen, zur Unterhaltung eines allen Regimentern gemeinschaftlichen reformirten Garnisonspredigers zahlten?”; 5. September 1781, GStA PK, I. HA Geheimer Rat, Rep. 76 alt, V, Nr. 416, pp. 10-11, there is also a list giving details about which regiments got pastoral care, particularly the artillery.

⁶² 1806, salary for military chaplain 13th Cuirassier Regiment, GStA PK, II. HA Generaldirektorium, Abt. 4 Generalkassensachen, 101 Besoldung der Geistlichen beim Militär, Nr. 3.

⁶³ See footnote 37.

Reformed civil pastor from Jerusalem Church in Berlin and thereby questioned the current laws of the Military Consistorial Order.

The first major finding suggests that members of the military in the Prussian army were of different Christian denominations. The majority of the Lutheran denominations arose through (a) the conscription system in the Brandenburg-Prussia territory, where a Reformed and Catholic minority also lived and (b) recruitment from territories outside Brandenburg-Prussia. The three religious denominations provided the background for conflicts with the military church.

Secondly, there was a lack of clarity of responsibilities. It was not clear to which parish the soldiers belonged or which cleric was responsible for their pastoral acts. This case study has found that the Reformed pastors Conrad and Gebhard negotiated for the Reformed soldiers and their interest — ultimately unsuccessfully.

Thirdly, this article has explained the central importance of the relationship between religious norms and actual practices. The religious practices again breached the Military Consistorial Order. It would be insufficient to state that the relationship between norms and practices was only one-dimensional; all persons in this case study of the Jerusalem Church referred to the Military Consistorial Order.

Returning to the question posed at the beginning of this study, it is now possible to conclude that religious practices influenced communication about the law and religious regulations. There was communication among the protagonists about the relationship between religious norms and actual practices. This communication through words and behaviour was important for the process of power and the soldiers therefore took part within this process. The soldiers were not the disciplined objects of the authorities. These mechanisms in the military, which could be called negotiation, questioned — once again — the concept of absolutism. The Prussian King as sovereign and head of the territorial church could not direct prevailing orders, regulations or laws. The king did not achieve more power because of the denominational pluralism, in contrast to the research interest concerning confessionalization in the 16th and 17th centuries.

These findings enhance our understanding of the process of power by analysing religious practices in military society. This research has raised many questions about the clerics which are in need of further investigation. The military chaplaincy and the civil clerics involved in the military church were agents between the authorities and military members and participated in communication about power. One could for example research letters, church registers and laws. Even if these sources appear to be authorities' evidence, one could gain information about the soldiers as active protagonists in society.