William E. Petig

The First Moravian Missions in the Midwest

The Moravian Church, the oldest Protestant denomination after the Waldensians, was founded in 1457 by the followers of John Hus, the reformer and rector of the University of Prague.[1] Accused of heresy and tried at the Council of Constance, Hus was burned at the stake on July 6, 1415. The founding of the Moravian Church, or *Unitas Fratrum* (Unity of Brethren) as it is officially known, took place 60 years before Martin Luther formulated his 95 theses in Wittenberg, Germany, in 1517.[2] The adherents of Hus survived years of oppression and persecution and for many years were forced to hold their religious services in secret.[3] In 1722 the Moravians were expelled from their native Bohemia and were invited by Count Nicholaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf to settle on his estate Berthelsdorf in Saxony.[4] Here on June 17, 1722, they established the community Herrnhut, which was to become both a religious as well as an industrial center.[5] From there the Moravians embarked in 1732 for St. Thomas in the West Indies to minister to the black slaves, their first mission endeavor in the New World.[6]

Through Zinzendorf the Moravians were heavily influenced by the movement of German Pietism.[7] Pietism stressed a more inward, heartfelt religious experience that was less dependent on theological reasoning and that was the result of "being born again" or the "Wiedergeburt." Second, there was a greater emphasis on a practical Christianity that was to express itself in good works and the disciplined practice of piety (*praxis pietatis*), e.g., prayer, Bible study, attendance at worship services, establishment of charitable organizations, and worldwide missionary work. Third, Pietism renewed the emphasis of the Reformation on the Scriptures as the sole source of doctrine, as the instrument through which the Holy Spirit worked repentance and conversion, and as the moral guide for the life of the reborn Christian. Pietism was responsible, therefore, for popularizing the Bible among the laity through its emphasis on Bible study, and the publication of inexpensive editions made possible the wide distribution of the Bible.[8] Fourth, the Pietists opposed the religious establishment of their day and felt their mission was to complete the second stage of the Reformation in the realm of Christian life.[9]

After the mission effort on St. Thomas in 1732, the Moravians established settlements in Georgia, Pennsylvania, and North Carolina. In 1735 ten Moravian men, including their leader August Gottlieb Spangenberg, established the first Moravian settlement on the North American continent in Savannah, Georgia, on five hundred acres secured from the trustees of the English colony of Georgia. The following year twenty-five more Moravians, this time including women and children, arrived with David Nitschmann, who became the first bishop of the Moravians in America. The original purpose of this colony was twofold: first, to provide a refuge for the Moravians if they were ever expelled from Saxony, and second, to begin missionary work among the Creek and Cherokee Indians.[10]

Among the passengers on board the ship *Simmonds* that brought this second group of settlers to Georgia was General James Oglethorpe, the founder of the Georgia colony, and the brothers Charles and John Wesley. When a severe storm struck during

the voyage, and most passengers feared for their lives, John Wesley was impressed by the calm and lack of fear of the Moravians as they continued to sing hymns during their *Singstunde*.[11] The tranquility they derived from their deep personal faith was at that time still unfamiliar to the newly appointed minister of the Anglican Church in Savannah and the future founding father of Methodism. John Wesley followed the missionary work of the Moravians with the local Indians with great interest and was so taken with his new Moravian friends that at one point he even wanted to join their membership. In order to converse with the Moravians, he took up the study of German and also tried to teach the Moravians English. He carried on extensive theological discussions with Spangenberg and sought personal counsel from him, often in university Latin, and later carried on dialogues with Bishop Nitschmann and Tölschig, the leader of the Savannah Moravians after Spangenberg and Nitschmann left. On his arrival in Georgia, Wesley lived and worshipped with the Moravians, and it was through this contact that he developed a deep appreciation of their hymns, which he began to translate from German into English.[12]

While Zinzendorf was visiting in London in 1737, he heard of the sorrowful plight of black slaves in Carolina who had just arrived from Africa. With financial support from Thomas Bray's society to propagate the gospel in the English colonies and with the backing of General Oglethorpe, he sent the missionaries Peter Boehler and George Schulius to Georgia in 1738 to start a mission with the slaves in neighboring Carolina. The following year Boehler and Schulius started holding religious services in Purisburg and established a school for black children and one for the children of white settlers. Their mission effort, however, was short-lived when both men came down with a fever that resulted in the death of Schulius and left Boehler too weak to continue his work with the black slaves.[13] Although there were further attempts over the years to minister to the black slaves in the south, none of them proved to be successful.[14]

The second major Moravian settlement was founded in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. A few individual Moravians had arrived as early as 1734. That same year the Moravian evangelist George Böhnisch accompanied a group of Schwenkfelders, who had found refuge on Zinzendorf's estate, but who were now asked to leave Saxony, to Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. Originally they planned to go to Georgia, but in Holland they changed their minds and instead set sail for Pennsylvania. In 1736 Spangenberg left the Georgia colony to minister to the Germans in Pennsylvania and to assess the possibility of organizing congregations in the area. By the time Zinzendorf visited Bethlehem in 1741, he was able to live in the *Gemeinhaus* and officially named the settlement Bethlehem at the Christmas Eve service that year.[15]

The third major Moravian settlement in America was established on land in North Carolina owned by Lord Granville of London. In 1752 Spangenberg and five men from Bethlehem rode on horseback to North Carolina to survey the land, and in 1753 they purchased 100,000 acres with funds raised by Moravians in England. Named Wachovia by Spangenberg, this tract was officially recognized as a Moravian district by the governor of North Carolina and is the site today of Winston-Salem, North Carolina.[16] While the settlements in North Carolina and Pennsylvania prospered, the Moravians left Savannah, Georgia, after five years because of the unhealthy climate and their unwillingness to take up arms to defend Savannah against the Spanish in Florida.[17] The settlement in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, eventually became the administrative

headquarters for the Northern Province of the Moravian Church in America, and Salem, North Carolina, which was founded in 1766 near the center of the Wachovia tract, became the administrative center for the Southern Province.

From the time the Moravians arrived in Georgia in 1735, one of their major objectives was to carry out missionary work among the American Indians. As the Indians were pushed westward, the Moravian missionaries followed; but as a result of these many moves, many of the Indian missions never became permanent settlements or organized congregations. When the Cherokee Indians were forced to leave Georgia in 1838 and move to what is now Oklahoma, their lands as well as those of the Moravian mission were taken over by Georgia and the neighboring states. After the long journey to the Indian Territory west of the Mississippi, during which thousands died, the Cherokees established a new nation, and the Moravian missionaries were permitted to organize several congregations for them. However, missionary work became difficult during the Civil War as lawless bands roamed the Indian Territory in Oklahoma, and in 1862, Henry Ward, a native minister, was shot to death as a Southern sympathizer. Churches in Springplace and Canaan, Oklahoma, were plundered or destroyed. A church was built in the Cherokee capital Tahlequah, but was sold to the Presbyterians when the mission effort there failed. In 1886 the Cherokees themselves provided funds for a church in Woodmont. When total membership declined to less than 200 and the government reduced mission farms to no more than four acres, the Moravians in 1899 decided to end their mission endeavor with the Cherokees.[18]

The Moravian missionaries who worked with the Delaware Indians in Pennsylvania similarly traveled about extensively as the Delaware tribe was forced to relocate. The most famous Moravian missionary to minister to the Delaware Indians was David Zeisberger, who in 1765 helped found the Indian village of Friedenshütten, Pennsylvania, for his Delaware converts.[19] However, when white settlers encroached on the settlement, he moved the Delawares to Ohio. Here they established the mission stations of Schönbrunn, Gnadenhütten, and Salem.[20] While most of the Indian tribes joined the British during the American Revolution, the Moravian converts among the Delaware remained neutral. In 1781 Zeisberger and his family and the other missionaries were accused by the British of being American spies and summoned to Detroit, Michigan. At the same time about 400 Indians were forced to abandon the mission station and the crops that had not yet been harvested. When a group of 150 Moravian Indians returned in March 1782 to Gnadenhütten to salvage some of their corn, 90 Indians were brutally massacred by an American militia force that had set out to avenge the mass murder of the William Wallace family by a different tribe of Indians. Deeply saddened by this loss, the missionaries, who had been acquitted of being spies, gathered their flock of converts north of Detroit, but the Indian mission never recovered from the Gnadenhütten massacre.[21] In 1787 Zeisberger and his group founded New Salem on the Huron River in Ohio, but because of renewed threats of Indian hostilities, they moved to Canada where they established the settlement Fairfield on the Thames River. Although the Moravian Indians prospered in Fairfield, many longed to return to their mission on the Tuscarawas River in Ohio, and in 1798 Zeisberger and seven Indian families returned to a new site near Schönbrunn, which they named Goshen, on land granted to the Moravian Indians for their losses during the Revolutionary War. In the spring of 1799 Moravians from Gnadenhütten, Pennsylvania, moved to Gnadenhütten,

Ohio, and founded the first congregation in Ohio. Later congregations were organized in Sharon (1817) and in Dover (1844). In 1824, however, the Delaware Indians at the Goshen station decided to move westward in search of new hunting lands, and their property at Goshen reverted to the United States.[22]

The Fairfield, Canada, mission station was destroyed during the war of 1812, but rebuilt as New Fairfield in 1815. As white settlers encroached on the New Fairfield reservation, two-thirds of the Fairfield Delaware moved in 1837 to the area where the Kansas River flows into the Missouri and founded Westfield. In 1853 they moved to what is now Fort Leavenworth and six years later to New Westfield. By 1905 the mission in New Westfield, Kansas, had declined to sixty-nine members and was closed. In 1903 the Methodists took over the mission in New Fairfield, Canada.[23] Mission work among immigrants in Michigan was not resumed until 1870, when a congregation at Unionville was organized.

The second Moravian mission effort in the Midwest came about in 1825 when a group of Moravian settlers from North Carolina moved to what is now Bartholomew County, Indiana.[24] Martin Hauser, a farmer and brick maker from Salem, North Carolina, who had already made two trips to Indiana to check out land, felt called to minister to the Indiana Moravians who were without a pastor and a church. After receiving official approval from Church authorities in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, to proceed with his project of establishing a congregation in Indiana, Hauser sold his farm and in 1829 set out with his wife Susanna and their three children for Indiana. With $200.00 forwarded by Ludwig David von Schweinitz, the administrator of Church property in Pennsylvania, Hauser was able to purchase 160 acres of Church land in the New Purchase on which to build a town. The New Purchase was a large territory of rich farmland in central Indiana that had been ceded to the United States at St. Mary's, Ohio, on October 3, 1818, by the Delaware, Wea, Kickapoo, Miami, and Potawatomi Indians. Work commenced immediately on the construction of a church in Goshen, which was later renamed Hope, and on June 17, 1830, the log church, still without a roof, was dedicated. Hauser began to conduct regular worship services there and soon had established a number of preaching stations in the surrounding area, but as a lay pastor he was unable to baptize, confirm, and marry members. Although he had received only about 18 months of formal education in the German school in Salem and to a large extent was self-educated, Hauser was officially called as pastor to Hope in 1832 and ordained as a Moravian minister in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, in 1833.[25]

Hauser's community in Hope, Indiana, was unique among Moravian settlements established in the Midwest since it was built on land owned by the Church and closed to non-Moravians until 1836. Non-members were welcomed to attend services, but they could not own or lease property in Hope. This exclusivity resembled the Moravian "Economy" or communal system of life that the Moravians brought with them from Herrnhut and that existed in the settlement congregations in Bethlehem and Nazareth, Pennsylvania, until 1762 and in Salem, North Carolina, for almost a decade longer. The Economies, in which the Church owned all property and businesses, had been a practical means for settlers on the frontier to combine their resources in order to feed, clothe, and shelter the members of their community and to produce sufficient funds to carry on the missionary work of the Church. According to the Hamiltons, the Economies were more a "community of labor rather than of property" and were not considered

a permanent institution.[26] Biggs states that the settlement of Hope was a Moravian Economy in all but name until 1836, when the town was platted and lots were sold. Although Hauser continued to believe until as late as 1860 that the Economy system could be used by the Church to help congregations become self-sufficient, he never used the term "Economy." Biggs speculates that Hauser may not have used the term Economy because it was no longer in use by the early nineteenth century and because there may have been some negative associations with a social concept that originated in Europe.[27] Hope developed into a Moravian stronghold and from 1866 to 1881 was also the site of a Young Women's Seminary.[28]

In 1843 Church officials in Bethlehem asked Hauser to visit Moravians from North Carolina who had settled in New Salem, Illinois. After visits there in 1844 and 1845 to preach and provide the sacraments, he was officially called to become their pastor in what was now called West Salem in 1847. In 1849 this settlement was strengthened by a contingent of Moravians from Gersdorf near Herrnhut, Germany, but controversy developed between the Germans and the original English-speaking members on how to run the church. A new pastor was called, and Hauser resigned so he could devote his energies to other preaching stations, especially to Olney, located 17 miles from West Salem. In 1854 Hauser supervised the construction of a church in Olney while still living in West Salem. In 1857 the division between the Germans and English became so great that it was decided to split the congregation, and with the approval of the provincial synod of 1858 Hauser raised funds to construct a new church in West Salem for the English members. In 1860 he became the pastor of this new church.[29]

In 1861 the Civil War broke out and not only cut off all communication between the Northern and Southern Provinces of the Moravian church, but also pitted brother against brother. Martin Hauser's diaries give us a first-hand account of how the Civil War affected one Midwestern Moravian community in particular. Whereas during the Revolutionary War, many Moravians adhered to their pacifistic principles and refused to take up arms or to take sides in the conflict, this was not the case during the Civil War. Hauser reports that the loyalties of the Moravians in West Salem were with the North and against slavery, and over fifty men from the community volunteered for the Union Army. Some of the young men even took along their musical instruments so they could celebrate Easter in the Moravian tradition. Three of Hauser's own sons-in-law fought for the North; one served under General Grant at Vicksburg and another under General Sherman. During their three-year absence, Hauser and his wife helped to care for their three daughters and twelve grandchildren. Although Hauser's three sons-in-law returned home safely, many of West Salem's sons were wounded, died on the battlefield, or were never heard from again. Towards the end of the war, he recounts that a company of Union soldiers hunted down and unceremoniously shot a band of Southern guerillas who were active in the area and who had committed murder in Kentucky.[30]

Hauser expresses his strong opposition to slavery and support of Lincoln in an essay on "Slavery and the Rebellion" that he wrote for his diary. He sees the hand of God at work in Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation and considers his second inaugural address so important that he inserts a copy of it in his essay and deems it worthy of being placed among the canonical books of the Bible.[31]

As German immigration to the United States, especially to the new western states, continued to increase, reaching a high point of 215,000 in 1854,[32] Moravian officials

in Bethlehem received numerous requests for pastors from Moravian settlers on the frontier or from German-speaking settlers who had been acquainted with the Moravians in Europe, but these requests often could not be filled. Until the establishment of Moravian Theological Seminary in 1807 in Nazareth, Pennsylvania, the Moravians had to depend on ministers and missionaries trained primarily in Germany, who were unfamiliar with the problems confronting the Church in America and ways of handling them.[33] It is not surprising, therefore, that untrained men such as Martin Hauser were called to serve as lay pastors and that Church authorities appointed pastors from Europe of other denominations, especially of the Lutheran Church, who were willing to join the Moravian fold. Additional support for the growing need for pastoral care was also provided by home mission societies. The Home Mission Society of the United Brethren's Church of New York was founded in 1833, the United Brethren's Home Missionary Society of North Carolina in 1835, the Bethlehem Home Mission Society in 1849, and the Home Mission Board in the Northern Province in 1855. Many congregations also established their own home mission societies. These societies undertook the personal and financial assistance of missionaries and missions in certain places and thereby assisted church extension.[34]

The first Moravian missionaries in Wisconsin were Andrew Michael Iverson and Nils Otto Tank, who both arrived in Milwaukee from Norway in 1848 and began to work among the large number of Norwegian and Swedish immigrants there. Tank had served as a Moravian missionary in Surinam, and Iverson had become acquainted with the Moravians as a student at the Stavanger Mission Institute in Norway. Iverson now wrote to Church authorities in Bethlehem to ask permission to establish a Moravian Church in Milwaukee for his followers and to request ordination.[35]

In 1849 the Home Mission Board in Bethlehem sent the Rev. John Frederick Fett to the Midwest to interview Iverson and to explore the possibility of establishing mission places in the area around Milwaukee, Wisconsin, and Quincy, Illinois. Born in 1800 to Lutheran parents near Nuremberg, Germany, Fett first studied law and then theology at the University of Erlangen. After joining the Moravians, he worked in missions in Switzerland and Southern Germany. In 1848 he traveled to America and ministered to the German immigrants in Philadelphia until he was asked to go to Wisconsin. On October 22, 1849, Fett organized Iverson's followers into the first Moravian congregation in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, and served as its pastor until Iverson was ordained in Bethlehem in 1850. When Iverson returned to Milwaukee, he moved the congregation to Green Bay, where Tank had rented space in an Indian Mission School for the colony. In 1853, however, Iverson, had a falling out with Tank and led his followers to Door County, Wisconsin, where they founded the community of Eagle Harbor, which later became Ephraim. As a home missionary, Iverson continued to minister to Scandinavian immigrants in Wisconsin and Illinois, and the last congregation he organized was at Fort Howard, which became Green Bay, West, Moravian Church. Since their parishioners spoke Norwegian, they at first had to call pastors from Scandinavia.[36]

In the meantime, Fett turned his attention to missionary efforts among the growing number of German immigrants in the area, most of whom had left Germany because of poor economic conditions and political unrest. In 1851 Fett organized a German church in Green Bay with a flourishing day school, in which both he and his wife taught.[37]

While serving as a Moravian missionary in Surinam, Nils Otto Tank had discovered

gold fields and acquired considerable wealth. Later in New York City, he had become acquainted with William B. Astor, the son of the wealthy German immigrant and fur trader, John Jacob Astor. The younger Astor was interested in setting up businesses in northern Wisconsin and offered Tank land in Green Bay for a settlement church. By 1850 a plan for selling shares to investors was developed to raise funds for members who wanted to purchase lots and form a colony. Support for the venture, however, faded among Church authorities in Bethlehem, who were still dealing with complications of previous settlements in Pennsylvania and North Carolina. In addition, the lack of support of Iverson and Fett for the settlement concept and their distrust of Tank led to the demise of the plan. At one time Tank also hoped to establish a Moravian College in Wisconsin and on May 15, 1858, was granted a charter by the State of Wisconsin. However, the Provincial Elders' Conference in Bethlehem declined his generous offer of land, $10,000 dollars in bonds, and his extensive library, since the Church had recently established the Theological Seminary in Bethlehem. At his death, Tank's library of 5000 volumes was given to the Wisconsin Historical Society.[38]

On the basis of Fett's report of his travels through Wisconsin and Illinois, the Home Mission Society was persuaded to send in spring 1853 a second missionary, the Rev. Johann Gottlob Kaltenbrunn, to minister to the German immigrants in Jefferson County, Wisconsin. Born in Kammelwitz, Silesia, on March 20, 1805, Kaltenbrunn worked as a teacher and pastor in Germany before coming to America to serve as a home missionary to German-speaking immigrants in New York City. In the spring of 1853 Kaltenbrunn and some of his followers from New York traveled to Watertown, Wisconsin. On June 17, 1853, only a month and a half after his arrival he dedicated the Ebenezer Moravian Church, located four miles south of Watertown and one mile east of the Rock River on land that was still largely covered by virgin stands of elm, basswood, oak, and maple trees. Like many frontier pastors, he founded a German day school that continued to hold classes until 1925. While serving as pastor at Ebenezer, he organized the Watertown congregation and served as its pastor from 1854 to 1864. With horse and wagon he traveled the surrounding area and established numerous preaching places, some of which eventually became organized congregations, e.g., Watertown (1854), Lake Mills (1856), and DeForest (formerly Windsor, 1885). In view of Kaltenbrunn's incredible outreach and achievements, he has often been referred to as the "Father of the Moravian Church in Wisconsin." He died in Watertown, Wisconsin, on August 24, 1895.[39]

The third field of missionary activity in Wisconsin occurred in the area around Wisconsin Rapids in Wood County, then known as Centralia. A German congregation was organized in 1889 to serve members from Centralia and Grand Rapids, and the Scandinavian Moravian Church, later renamed Trinity Moravian Church, was founded in 1897.

Although four more attempts were made to organize a congregation in Milwaukee, none were successful. However, today there are two Moravian congregations in Madison, Wisconsin, Glenwood (1948) and Lakeview (1954).

The first German immigrants arrived in Jefferson County, Wisconsin, in the early 1840s. Like the Moravians, many came from Brandenburg and Pomerania, Germany, and were attracted to the area by the enthusiastic letters and reports of good land that they received from friends and relatives.[40] By 1846, two years before Wisconsin

joined the Union, Watertown with a population of 2362 was the second largest city in Wisconsin, although it was not officially incorporated as a city until 1853.[41] By that time Germans were arriving in large groups and soon outnumbered the English and Irish inhabitants of the city. In 1855, two years after Kaltenbrunn arrived in Watertown, Carl Schurz, one of the Forty-Eighters who was forced to flee Germany, brought his family to Watertown. In 1856 his wife, Margarethe Meyer Schurz, founded the first American kindergarten there. During the Civil War Schurz was appointed U.S. minister to Spain by Lincoln, but resigned to take a commission as a brigadier general in the Union Army. Later he was elected senator from Missouri and served as U.S. Secretary of the Interior under Rutherford B. Hayes.[42]

By 1856 the Moravians had established sixteen home mission places in the northern Midwest with about 850 members. In addition to preaching places in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Wisconsin, missions were established in Iowa, Kansas, Oklahoma, Minnesota, and North Dakota.[43] Mission work began in Iowa in 1854, and at one time there were preaching places in Richland, Moravia, Victor, Blairstown, and North English. Congregations were organized in Gracehill (1866), Harmony (1869), and Blairstown (1878), but none of these exist today.[44] In 1877 a congregation was organized in Osborne, Kansas, but ten years later it was disbanded when the parishioners, discouraged by the severe drought, left the area. Missions were established in Mount Carmel, Kansas, among the Scandinavian settlers and in Oakland and Spring Grove, Missouri, but none of these survived as organized congregations. It was difficult to maintain these small mission churches when families consolidated their farmland or they acquired new land elsewhere and moved.[45]

Moravian missions in Minnesota and North Dakota tended to be more stable, and many became self-reliant congregations that still exist today. In 1857 Martin Adam Erdmann was sent as the first missionary to Minnesota to minister to Moravians who had moved there from Hopedale, Pennsylvania, and soon preaching places were established in Laketown (Lake Auburn), Zoar, and Henderson. In 1867 George Henry Reusswig was sent to Winona, Minnesota, to work with families who had moved there from Ebenezer, Wisconsin. Here they established the congregations of Bethany in 1867 and Hebron in 1868, and in 1874 the settlers across the valley from Bethany founded the Berea congregation. In 1878 families from the Bethany and the Berea congregations moved to Cass County in North Dakota, where they organized the Goshen and Canaan congregations. In 1891 several more families from the Berea congregation moved to North Dakota and started the Bethel and Casselton churches.[46]

While the Moravians founded numerous preaching places and mission congregations throughout the Midwest, many had to be abandoned or were turned over to other denominations when settlers moved westward in search of more or better farmland. In some instances pastors accompanied settlers to the new territory, but in most cases families, once they were settled, would write to Church officials to request a pastor who could fill the dual role of spiritual leader and schoolmaster.

In view of the large number of Moravian missions and preaching stations begun in the Midwest, one would expect a much larger number of organized congregations in the area. However, church extension was hampered for several reasons. First, there was the fact that for over a century after establishing settlements in the New World the American Moravians were not an autonomous organization, but continued to be governed by the Unity Board in Herrnhut, Germany. The General Synod of 1849 finally

passed resolutions that allowed American Moravians to develop a church polity that conformed to American needs and conditions. As a result the American congregations were organized into Northern and Southern Provinces with constitutional authority to manage their own affairs.[47] Second, the primary focus of the Moravian Church in Europe from early on was on missionary work among the unchurched, and as a result they were not accustomed to proselytizing among members of other denominations. Traditionally Moravians considered themselves an "*ecclesiolae in ecclesia*" within the established church, and many continued to maintain their membership in the Lutheran Church or State Church. Zinzendorf had urged the Moravians in the New World to form a union with other Christian churches, a move strongly resisted by Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, the father of Lutheranism in Pennsylvania.[48] Third, there was still a debate about which model of church life to follow: the settlement church or the diaspora model of organizing a congregation made up of colonists who were acquainted with the Moravian Church or had been members of the Lutheran Church in Europe. Since Lutheran and Moravian pastors often sought out members from the same group of settlers, hostility between the competing pastors developed.[49]

Confronted with denominational lines reflecting those of Europe, the Moravians soon realized that their own survival depended on church extension and their own uniquely American administrative structure. The last half of the nineteenth century, therefore, saw major church expansion, especially in the Northern Province. By 1877 the Northern Province had over 14,144 members as opposed to only 1936 in the Southern. By 1927, however, the Southern Province had increased to 10,504 members.[50]

As Moravians established missions and eventually organized congregations in the Midwest, they generally set up schools for all children in the community. Until a schoolhouse could be built, the parsonage or church usually served as the classroom, and the language of instruction was most often German. Although enrollment in German declined sharply in schools in the Upper Midwest after World War I, German continued to be the language of the worship services well into the 1940s in Moravian congregations. For example, at the Ebenezer Moravian Church near Watertown, Wisconsin, church services and confirmation instruction were conducted in German even after many of the young people attended local public schools where English was the language of instruction. From 1900 to 1925 Ebenezer's German day school became a German summer school so that young people in the congregation who had learned to speak German at home could also learn to read and write in German. After a transitional phase of two services a month in German and two in English, it was decided in 1943 to conduct services entirely in English. Several Lutheran Churches in Watertown, Wisconsin, however, continued to conduct services in German until well into the 1960s.[51]

Today the Moravian Church in North America has congregations in seventeen states and two Canadian provinces. There are thirty-four congregations in Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Minnesota, North Dakota, and Wisconsin with 7,406 members.[52] Total membership in the Northern Province in 2006 was 23,780 and in the Southern Province 17,294 for a total of 41,074 members in North America. Worldwide membership stands at well over 825,000 members spread over five continents.[53]

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Notes

[1] This paper was presented at the 28th Annual Symposium of the Society of German-American Studies, New Ulm, MN, 23 April 2004.

[2] The best history in English of the Moravian Church is by J. Taylor Hamilton and Kenneth G. Hamilton, *History of the Moravian Church: The Renewed Unitas Fratrum 1722-1957* (Bethlehem, PA: Interprovincial Board of Christian Education, Moravian Church in America, 1967).

[3] For an overview of these years, see also Amedeo Molnár, "Die böhmische Brüder-unität: Abriss ihrer Geschichte," and Adolf Vacovsky, "History of the 'Hidden Seed' 1620-1722," in *Unitas Fratrum*, ed. Mari P. van Buijtenen, Cornelis Dekker, and Huib Leeuwenberg (Utrecht: Rijksarchief, 1975), 15-54.

[4] The standard English biography of Zinzendorf is by John R. Weinlick, *Count Zinzendorf* (New York: Abingdon Press, 1956). The three-volume definitive biography in German is by Erich Beyreuther, *Der junge Zinzendorf* (Marburg: Francke-Buchhand-lung, 1957), *Zinzendorf und die sich allhier beisammen finden* (Marburg: Francke-Buch-handlung, 1959), and *Zinzendorf und die Christenheit* (Marburg: Francke-Buch-handlung, 1961). Arthur J. Freeman provides an excellent overview of the life and theology of Zinzendorf in *An Ecumenical Theology of the Heart: The Theology of Count Nicholaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf* (Bethlehem, PA: Board of Communications Moravian Church in America, 1998). The first biography of Zinzendorf was written by August Gottlieb Spangenberg, *Leben des Herrn Nicolaus Ludwig Grafen und Herrn von Zinzendorf und Pottendorf*, 3 vols. (Barby: Zu finden in den Brüdergemeinen, 1772-75). More recent publications dealing with the life and work of Count Zinzendorf, especially on the occasion of the 300th anniversary of his birth, are: Dietrich Meyer, *Zinzendorf und die Herrnhuter Brüdergemeine 1700-2000* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000) and his anthology of Zinzendorf's writings and hymns, *Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf: Er der Meister, wir die Brüder* (Gießen: Brunnen-Verlag, 2001); Dietrich Meyer et al., eds., *Graf ohne Grenzen: Leben und Werk von Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf: Ausstellung im Völkerkundemuseum Herrnhut, Außenstelle des Staatlichen Museums für Völkerkunde Dresden, und im Heimatmuseum der Stadt Herrnhut, vom 26. Mai 2000 bis zum 7. Januar 2001* (Herrnhut: Unitätsarchiv in Herrnhut im Verlag der Comeniusbuchhandlung, 2000); and Martin Brecht and Paul Peucker, *Neue Aspekte der Zinzendorf-Forschung. Arbeiten zur Geschichte des Pietismus*, Bd. 47 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006).

[5] The Moravians were soon referred to as "Herrnhuter" or residents of Herrnhut, which means "in the protection of the Lord." The official German name of the Moravians is the "Brüdergemeinde" or "Brüdergemeine."

[6] Hamilton, 34-51; Weinlick, 93-101.

[7] For a concise overview of Pietism, see "German Pietism and Theological Anti- pietism" in William E. Petig, *Literary Antipietism in Germany during the First Half of the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Peter Lang, 1984) 10-40. The most extensive treatment of Pietism in English is the two volumes by F. Ernest Stoeffler, *The Rise of Evangelical Pietism* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1965) and *German Pietism during the Eighteenth Century* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1973). The most comprehensive history of Pietism in German is the four volumes edited by Martin Brecht et al., *Geschichte des Pietismus*, 4 vols. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993-2004), which replace the dated history by Albrecht Ritschel, *Geschichte des Pietismus*, 3 vols. (Bonn: Adolph Marcus, 1880-86).

[8] By the end of the eighteenth century the Canstein Bibelanstalt in Halle, founded by August Hermann Francke and Carl Hildebrand von Canstein in 1712, had distributed over two and a half million copies of the Bible or sections thereof; see Stoeffler, *German Pietism*, 36.

[9] Stoeffler, *Evangelical Pietism*, 22-23. See also Philipp Jacob Spener, *Pia desideria*, ed. Kurt Aland (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1940); here Spener describes the prevailing conditions in the church and offers specific suggestions for improvement.

[10] James Nelson, "John Wesley and the Georgia Moravians," *Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society* 23.3-4 (1984): 17-47. See also Hamilton, 82-83; Vernon Nelson, "The Moravian Church in America," in *Unitas Fratrum*, 145-46.

[11] James Nelson, 23-25. The *Singstunde*, a devotional service originally instituted by Zinzendorf, consisted of the singing of hymns that were related thematically to the Old Testament watchword (*Losung*) of the day.

[12] James Nelson, 22-43. See also Henry D. Rack, *Reasonable Enthusiast: John Wesley and the Rise of Methodism* (London: Epworth Press, 1989), 114-15, 122-23.

[13] Adelaide L. Fries, *The Moravians in Georgia, 1735-1740* (Raleigh, NC: Edwards and Broughton, 1905; reprint, Baltimore, MD: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1967), 201-20.

[14] In 1822 a separate congregation for blacks was organized in Salem, North Carolina, and in 1847 a mission to black slaves in Woodstock, Florida, was begun. Some Moravian farmers in the South owned slaves

and sanctioned the system. Even after emancipation, repressive laws made association between blacks and whites difficult and resulted in segregated congregations; see Vernon Nelson, 161.

[15] Hamilton, 82-93; Weinlick, 158-63.

[16] Hamilton, 140f; Vernon Nelson, 149-51. Wachovia is the anglicized version of Wachau, the name of Zinzendorf's Austrian estate.

[17] Hamilton, 84-85. Moravians had a long tradition of being pacifists, which caused them considerable difficulties later during the Revolutionary War.

[18] Hamilton, 291-94, 512-13; Vernon Nelson, 164-65.

[19] Hamilton, 144, 288-89; Vernon Nelson, 153; and Carola Wessel, "'We Do Not Want to Introduce Anything New': Transplanting the Communal Life from Herrnhut to the Upper Ohio Valley" in *In Search of Peace and Prosperity: New German Settlements in Eighteenth-Century Europe and America,* ed. Hartmut Lehmann et al. (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000), 246-62. Zeisberger spoke Delaware, Mohawk, and Onondaga languages fluently and was familiar with other Indian dialects. In addition to his *Iroquois Grammar* and *Iroquois-German Dictionary*, he translated the Bible and the Moravian Hymnbook into Delaware and wrote a history of the Indian nations.

[20] Gnadenhütten, Ohio, was named after Gnadenhütten, the mission station in Pennsylvania, where during the French and Indian War a band of Indians set fire to the mission house and killed most of the inhabitants.

[21] Hamilton, 282-86; Vernon Nelson, 154-55.

[22] Hamilton, 286.

[23] Vernon Nelson, 163-65.

[24] For an introduction to church extension into the Midwest, see David A. Schattschneider, "Moravians in the Midwest—1850 to 1900: A New Appreciation," *Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society* 23.3-4 (1984): 47-69.

[25] Earl R. Shay, ed., *The Old Pioneer of the New Purchase,* unpublished manuscript, 1991, 10-94; this is an edited and harmonized version of Martin Hauser's four unpublished diaries that Shay discovered in the attic of the parsonage of the Hope Moravian church when he served as pastor there. See also Earl R. Shay, "Martin Hauser: The Old Pioneer of the New Purchase," *Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society* 23.3-4 (1984), 79-99; and Charles T. Biggs, "Martin Hauser and the Moravian Economy at Hope, Indiana, 1829-36," unpublished MA thesis, Indiana Central College, 1972, 13-40; Hamilton, 235-38; Vernon Nelson, 158.

[26] Hamilton, 137-38, 144-45. For a thorough discussion of the Economy in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, and its system of choirs for all members of the community, see Gillian L. Gollin, *Moravians in Two Worlds: A Study of Changing Communities* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967). See also Beverly Prior Smaby, *The Transformation of Moravian Bethlehem* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988) for a discussion of the choir system, 10-11, 81-83; the Economy and its dissolution, 30-33, 92-93; and the different types of Moravian congregations, 25-26.

[27] Biggs, 41-60.

[28] Vernon Nelson, 158.

[29] Shay, 70-186; Shay, "Martin Hauser," 89; Hamilton, 205, 404.

[30] Shay, 178-79.

[31] Shay, 225-28.

[32] For an overview of German immigration to the United States, see Walter D. Kamphoefner et al., eds., Susan Carter Vogel, trans., *News from the Land of Freedom: German Immigrants Write Home* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), 1-26.

[33] In 1858 the seminary was moved to Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, where it is located today as part of Moravian College and Theological Seminary.

[34] Vernon Nelson, 158; Schattschneider, 54-56.

[35] The Historical Records Survey, Division of Women's and Professional Projects, and Works Progress Administration, *Inventory of the Church Archives of Wisconsin: Moravian Church* (Madison, WI: The Historical Records Survey, 1938), 2; Schatt- schneider, 57-58.

[36] Schattschneider, 57-59.

[37] The Historical Records Survey, 3, 5.

[38] The Historical Records Survey, 4-6; Schattschneider, 59-62, 67.

[39] The Historical Records Survey, 6, 20-21; William E. Petig, "History of Ebenezer Moravian Church: 1853-2003," in *Ebenezer Moravian Church: 1853-2003: 150th Anniversary Commemorative Booklet* (Fort Atkinson, WI: Ebenezer Moravian Church, 2003), 9-22.

[40] W.J. Wesenberg, "Brief History of the Ebenezer Congregation: 1853-1928," unpublished manuscript, 1928. See also Elmer C. Kiessling, *Watertown Remembered* (Milwaukee, WI: Watertown Historical

Association, 1976), 72-76.

[41] W.F. Jannke III, *Watertown: A History* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2002), 38-39.

[42] Kiessling, 77-78, 90-92. See also Joseph Schafer, *Carl Schurz: Militant Liberal* (Evansville, WI: Antes Press, 1930), 76-115, for his years in Wisconsin.

[43] There were many preaching places that had a very short existence; only the major preaching places are mentioned here.

[44] Hamilton, 242, 244, 403, 407, 409.

[45] Hamilton, 413, 416.

[46] Hamilton, 415-16.

[47] Hamilton, 184-85, 238ff.

[48] Hamilton, 91, 138-39; W. R. Ward, *The Protestant Evangelical Awakening* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 254-55. For an extensive discussion of the Zinzendorf and Muhlenberg confrontation, see W. H. Wagner, *The Zinzendorf-Muhlenberg Encounter* (Nazareth, PA: Moravian Historical Society, 2002).

[49] Schattschneider, 62-64.

[50] Vernon Nelson, 173.

[51] Petig, "History of Ebenezer," 15.

[52] See the appendix for a list of congregations in the Midwest taken from "Statistics of the Moravian Church US & Canada," *The Moravian* 38.9 (2007): 39-40. These statistics are as of 31 December 2006, and included thirty-five congregations. The Watertown, Mamre, congregation became a fellowship on 9 September 2007 due to declining membership.

[53] Over half of the worldwide membership of the Moravian Church is in Tanzania, a former German colony. Since 1999 the Moravian Church has been in full communion with the Evangelical Lutheran church of America (ELCA), and it is in a continuing dialogue with the Episcopal Church.

Appendix

	(total membership)
Illinois	
West Salem	303
Indiana	
Hope	487
Michigan	
Daggett	48
Unionville	244
Westland, Grace	93
Minnesota	
Altura, Our Savior's	171
Chaska	128
Maple Grove, Christ's Com.	152
Northfield	109
St. Charles, Berea	152
Victoria, Lake Auburn	122
Waconia	389
North Dakota	
Davenport, Canaan	195
Durbin, Goshen	139
Fargo, Shepherd of the Prairie	62
Leonard, Bethel	95
Wisconsin	
Appleton, Freedom	216
Cambridge, London	101
DeForest, Christian Faith	155

Ephraim	148
Green Bay, East	72
Green Bay, West	269
Lake Mills	895
Madison, Glenwood	115
Madison, Lakeview	186
Pittsville, Veedum	63
Rudolph	33
Sister Bay	182
Sturgeon Bay	554
Watertown, Ebenezer	156
Watertown, Mamre	23
Watertown	396
Wisconsin Rapids, Kellner	83
Wisconsin Rapids, Saratoga	145
Wisconsin Rapids	387

Taken from "Statistics of the Moravian Church US & Canada," *The Moravian* 38.9 (2007): 39-40.