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The Planning and Development of Two Moravian Congregation Towns: Salem, North Carolina and Gracehill, Northern Ireland

Christopher E. Hendricks

College of William & Mary - Arts & Sciences

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THE PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT OF TWO MORAVIAN CONGREGATION TOWNS:
SALEM, NORTH CAROLINA AND GRACEHILL, NORTHERN IRELAND

A Thesis
Presented to
The Faculty of the Department of History
The College of William and Mary in Virginia

In Partial Fulfillment
Of the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts

by
Christopher Edwin Hendricks
1987
APPROVAL SHEET

This thesis is submitted in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

[Signature]
Author

Approved, May 1987

[Signature]
James Whittenburg

[Signature]
James Axtell

[Signature]
Thad Tate
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ABSTRACT

As an outward manifestation of their missionary activity, the Moravians developed the concept of the Gemein Ort or Congregation town. Planned around a village square, these communities contained a church or congregation house, a community store, an inn, schools, and various choir houses. These elements were arranged in a town plan that varied according to local conditions and the individual taste of each congregation. As the Moravians took their mission out of central Europe into new regions and continents, the plans of Congregation towns diversified. This is not the case, however, for two towns established during the middle of the eighteenth century.

The villages of Salem and Gracehill were planned and constructed independently of one another, by two very different segments of the "renewed" Moravian church. Salem was built with the full cooperation and involvement of the church hierarchy, on land which had had little or no previous occupation. Gracehill was built as an afterthought by converts of a renegade missionary, with limited aid from the church leaders. Although separated by an ocean, the Moravians in Ireland and colonial America unknowingly built two strikingly similar towns.
THE PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT OF TWO MORAVIAN CONGREGATION TOWNS:
SALEM, NORTH CAROLINA AND GRACEHILL, NORTHERN IRELAND
INTRODUCTION

The Moravians are members of a pre-Reformation church known as the Unitas Fratrum. During the eighteenth century, the church in the German States experienced a spiritual reawakening. One of the manifestations of this revival was a tremendous emphasis on mission work. As a result, Moravian communities were built in several European countries and their colonies. The towns were all similar in their composition, but two villages, both established in mid-century, bear striking resemblance, even though Salem (1766) was built in colonial America and Gracehill (1764) was erected in the north of Ireland.

The ultimate purpose of a Congregation Town or Gemein Ort was to create an atmosphere of family. The Moravians felt that the physical appearance of the town played a role in creating this atmosphere, so much so that how a town looked was regulated by church elders. The towns tended to be planned using a familiar Germanic grid road system with the larger public buildings set around a central square. The buildings were usually quite substantial structures, built when they were required to serve a specific function, but only after a lengthy process of discussion, thought and planning.

The homes in a Gemein Ort were carefully thought out as well.
They usually fronted streets, allowing ample space for a work yard and garden or orchard behind the house. The center of the community was the town square. The square could serve a variety of purposes: market, public park, meeting place, or if needed, extra farmland. The square, and thus the town, was dominated by the Gemein Haus or church, which served as the religious and secular center of the community. The plan of a Gemein Ort, because of its central square and radiating streets, may be a physical illustration of the Moravians' emphasis on missionary activities. It is far more likely that they were attempts to organize the elements of the theology of eighteenth-century German Pietists in familiar forms. The communities understandably shared common elements in terms of what buildings stood in the village, and what basic form the village would take, which could be replicated anywhere in the world.

Salem and Gracehill are two examples of such Germanic villages erected on foreign soil. They were built concurrently by two segments of the larger church. But, they were constructed independently of one another, with little exchange between their respective builders. Understandably, some of the details of the towns differ. Yet, the plans of Salem and Gracehill resemble each other quite closely, more so than other Moravian Congregation towns. The amount of planning involved in the creation of each town, the actual building process they underwent, and the common heritage they shared worked together to assemble sister communities related in form and intent. The plans of Salem and Gracehill reflect the influence of eighteenth-century ideas, though elements in their designs developed over a span of centuries.
CHAPTER I
The Beginning

The Moravian church is a mission.¹ Beginning in fifteenth-century
Bohemia, the Moravians faced adversity and persecution to the point of
extinction. By the eighteenth century, the center of Moravian activity
had shifted to Saxony, where the church experienced a spiritual
reawakening. Soon, overtaken by enthusiasm for mission work, the
Moravians spread over the globe. The church's enormous growth and
amazing success during the eighteenth century was due largely to the
emphasis placed on the role of the laity and their position in the
church community. This, coupled with tenacity and a bit of luck,
enabled the Moravians to build colonies based on a German model in
several areas, including Ireland and colonial America. What began as a
nationalistic reform effort within the Roman Catholic Church, spread
across five continents. The expansion occurred over a twenty-five year
period, but the events that made the gains of those years possible
occurred over three centuries. The mission began in Bohemia, with
people who inherited the tradition of the reformer and martyr John Huss.

Huss was a powerful man, confessor to the Queen of Bohemia, and
reector of the university in Prague. He was a reformer who was influenced
by the ideas of John Wycliff, who led him to speak out against a corrupt
clergy and the sale of indulgences. For his reforming enthusiasm he was reprimanded, yet Huss continued to speak out on various issues. Finally, after protesting the burning of Wycliff's writings, he was summoned to defend his actions. In 1415 Huss was tried, condemned and then burned alive as a heretic by order of the Council of Constance.² His followers continued his efforts throughout Bohemia and Moravia, but in 1419 the Holy Roman Emperor began a crusade against them. The bloody conflict that resulted continued until 1432 when Pope Eugenius IV signed an agreement with the largest Hussite group. A faction of the Hussites, known as Taborites, were not satisfied with the agreement and in 1457 split from the main group to begin training their own ministers and preaching their own theology. Initially they called themselves "Brethren of the Law of Christ" but they eventually became known as the Unitas Fratrum or Unity of the Brethren.³

The Brethren flourished and their numbers grew, so that by 1517, when Martin Luther nailed his theses to the Wittenberg door, the Unity had some 400 churches and 200,000 members.⁴ For a century the Unity continued to work unmolested, but in 1621 the Brethren faced renewed persecution with the Catholic Reformation. Seven years later the nonconformists were given a choice - to pledge their loyalty to the Roman Catholic Church or face exile. John Amos Comenius, a bishop in the Unity, and "the father of modern education," led large numbers of the Brethren to safety in Poland, the German States, and the Netherlands.⁵ At the Bohemian border he said a small prayer: "May yet the merciful God not allow his word to perish in Bohemia with this exile, but may leave behind a seed."⁶ The next years, the period of
the "Hidden Seed," were hard for the Brethren, as Comenius tried to keep
the spirit of the church alive through the Unity's printing presses in
Poland, and the Netherlands. Despite his efforts, the Unitas Fratrum
slowly faded into obscurity.

The seed Comenius nourished began to come to life with the aid of a
new leader, Christian David. A Lutheran minister, David met five
brothers living in Moravia in 1719. The Neisser brothers had been
inspired by their grandfather to renew the faith of the Brethren. They
related this desire to David and asked him to seek out a place of refuge
for them in a Protestant nation. For three years David worked to
locate a refuge. In 1722 he met a man interested in starting a program
of religious activities for the tenants on his new estate in Saxony -
Count Nicholas Ludwig von Zinzendorf. The count was interested in
helping the Neissers, but not in the rebirth of an old church. Not
prepared to offer his own manor to the refugees, he planned to shelter
them on an estate owned by his brother-in-law, Count Reuss of
Kostritz. However, David evidently misunderstood Zinzendorf's
intentions and immediately returned to Moravia to lead two of the
Neisser brothers and their families to the count's estate. Zinzendorf's
grandmother, Lady Gersdorf, received the travelers coldly in
Zinzendorf's absence at court in Dresden. But finally she decided to
grant them land at the base of the Hutburg, a small hill on the estate.
On June 17, 1722 they began to build a town which they named Herrnhut,
or "the Lord's watch."

David made ten trips to Moravia to lead refugees to Herrnhut,
against the count's wishes. The refugees were not all members of the
Unity; several were Lutherans and still others were Calvinists. The diversity led to disputes over religious practices and doctrine. By 1727 there were three groups living in Herrnhut: those who wanted to join the Lutherans outright; those who wanted to become a sect of the Lutheran church; and those who wanted to revive the ancient Unity. Zinzendorf resigned his posts in the government and traveled to Herrnhut to help heal the rift. Initially, he wanted the refugees all to join the Lutheran church. Then he came across some copies of Comenius' work on the Unitas Fratrum. Using Comenius' writings, he developed "The Brotherly Agreement of the Brethren from Bohemia and Moravia," which outlined rules for the community. A compromise agreement, the doctrine essentially created a church within a church, allowing the Brethren to worship according to their traditions, if they met within Lutheran guidelines. As long as he lived, Zinzendorf considered the Brethren a sect of the Lutheran Church.

Zinzendorf's idea of a Christian society within a greater church structure, developed into a new concept - Diaspora. Diaspora allowed the count and the Brethren to minister to Christians at large, working within the realm of the state church. With this in mind, the Brethren sent deputations to several countries: Denmark in 1727, Sweden and Britain in 1728, Livonia in 1729, and Switzerland in 1730. In their mission work, they never sought converts, always insisting that the people in these lands remain in the state church. The Diaspora concept was very successful, so successful that local clergy often grew suspicious of the Brethren. The unrest was strongest in the German states where Lutheran leaders clamored for government intervention. As
a result, the Unity's establishment at Herrnhut was investigated on three separate occasions. The first Commission of Inquiry met in 1732. Their report to the government affirmed the Brethren's orthodoxy to the Lutheran church. Nevertheless, Zinzendorf was directed to sell his estates, which he promptly sold to his wife.\textsuperscript{15} The Commission of 1736 ordered the count's banishment but again found the Brethren innocent of any heresy. Finally, a third commission met the next year and proclaimed by royal decree that "As long as the church at Herrnhut continues in the confession of Augsburg, it may enjoy in peace the constitution and discipline it has hitherto maintained."\textsuperscript{16}

Much of the controversy about the practices of the Brethren grew from their lifestyle in Herrnhut. Under the Brotherly Agreement of 1727, the people of Herrnhut were governed by a board of elders which regulated both the spiritual and secular lives of the community. The congregation was divided into groups called choirs, determined by age, sex, and marital status: little boys, little girls, Single Sisters, Single Brothers, Married Sisters, Married Brothers, Widows, and Widowers. Members of the unmarried choirs lived together communally, including children after about the age of fourteen:

This Way of Single people's living in separate Houses, rather than intermixed with Families where frequently, proper lodgings could not be afforded, has by Experience been found to be the most suitable for the Decorum of the Brethren's Settlements tho' they are employed in different Families and Trades. They board in these Houses at a very moderate rate. Some few of them also carry on their Trades, and the Wardens who take care of these Things, as well as of the Order to be observed in the House, are also of their number.\textsuperscript{17}

The choir houses, which were often mistaken for religious orders, as well as other traditions of the Brethren, including the Lovefeast or
service of thankfulness, footwashing, and the use of daily texts, also helped to spread the rumors of heresy.

Despite the Commissions of Inquiry, the Brethren continued to expand their spiritual work into new areas. At the coronation of the Danish king Christian VI in 1731, Zinzendorf met a slave from the West Indies, Anthony Ulrich. Ulrich traveled to Herrnhut and spoke to the congregation about the spiritual needs of his fellow slaves. In less than a year, two Brethren left for St. Thomas to begin a mission. Other missionary efforts quickly followed. In 1733 several Brethren established a community in Greenland among the Eskimos. A year later, they began to work among the Swedish Laplanders, but withdrew when they discovered that another church was already working there. By 1740 the Brethren were also working in Surinam, Ceylon, British Guiana, and South Africa.

New communities were established in Europe as well. As Zinzendorf's banishment from Herrnhut was not rescinded until 1747, he decided to start work in nearby Wetteravia. There, in 1736, the count leased the estate of Marienborn and bought the adjacent estate, Ronneburg. The area quickly developed into an evangelical center, and the Brethren built a new town. Herrnhaag, the "Lord's Grove," was planned as a place of refuge similar to Herrnhut. Within fifteen years, the new town included the Brethren's theological seminary, a boarding school, a church, an orphanage, and a home for Zinzendorf. Unfortunately, Herrnhaag also developed into a center of religious fanaticism; various segments of the Brethren experimented with the concept of childlike faith, a morbid concentration on the wounds of
Christ, and the use of strong sexual imagery as a part of the religious experience. Ironically, these movements were led by the count's son, Christian Renatus. The excesses of the people of Herrnhaag greatly strained relations with the ruler of Wetteravia. Count Gustov Frederick Budingen demanded the Brethren pledge an oath of allegiance and renounce both Zinzendorf and the Unity, or emigrate within three years. Since the community numbered over a thousand persons who had put much time and money into building their town, Budingen undoubtedly thought the Brethren would comply with his demands and pledge the oath. But in March 1750, they chose to leave. Within three years, Herrnhaag was completely deserted. The evacuation was costly, but it helped restore the Unity spiritually.

The Unity of the Brethren was not the only religious group being persecuted in Europe during the eighteenth century. In 1733 members of another German sect, the Schwenkfelder, met with Zinzendorf to ask for his help in securing a home for them in the British colony of Georgia (see Map 1). The British were happy to allow Protestant colonists in Georgia, to serve as a bulwark against the Spanish in Florida. However, at the last moment, the Schwenkfelder decided to settle in Pennsylvania, so Zinzendorf met with General James Oglethorpe to secure the land in Georgia for the Brethren. The count had great plans of using the colony as a place to begin mission work among the Creek and Cherokee Indians. In 1734 the Brethren took possession of land in Savannah. Unfortunately, the Brethren faced problems in Georgia. By 1740, just as they had cleared themselves of debt, war broke out
MAP 1

EASTERN UNITED STATES
between England and Spain. As pacifists, the Brethren refused to bear arms and were resented by the other colonists. They chose to leave Georgia and moved the colony to Pennsylvania. There they built the villages of Bethlehem, Lititz, and Nazareth.26

Despite the trouble in Georgia, the Brethren had made many friends in Britain, including John and Charles Wesley, John Potter, the archbishop of Canterbury, and the two most prominent figures in Georgia and Pennsylvania, James Oglethorpe and Thomas Penn. With the help of these men, Zinzendorf appealed to Parliament for official recognition of the United Brethren. On June 6, 1749, Parliament passed into law the *Acta Fratrum Unitatis in Anglia*, which declared the Brethren to be members of an "antient Protestant and Episcopal Church."27 The act allowed them to worship outside the auspices of the Anglican Church, recognized their constitution, and freed them from military service.

Actually the Moravians, as they were called by the English, had worked in the British Isles several years before they gained the formal recognition of Parliament. They began the Fetter Lane religious society in London in 1739. By 1746, the Brethren had expanded their work from the capital into Yorkshire and across the Irish sea to Dublin. After the official recognition of Parliament, Great Britain became an important center of Moravian efforts - a second capital for the church that grew to rival Herrnhut. Zinzendorf spent much of his time in London, so in 1750 he bought Lindsey House, an ancient mansion in Chelsea. The building was renovated in the latest taste, a clergy house and chapel were added to the property, the grounds were landscaped, and a cemetery was laid out, all at enormous expense.28 Lindsey House
became the headquarters of the Moravian church in Britain.

Much of the work in England and Ireland was accomplished through the efforts of several leaders, English as well as German. Probably the most colorful of these figures was a maverick evangelist by the name of John Cennick. Working first with the Wesleys, and later with George Whitefield, Cennick did not join ranks with the Moravians until 1745.

His meteoric career with the Brethren began a year later when he traveled to Ireland. His success in Dublin was nothing short of amazing as literally hundreds of people flocked to hear the young preacher speak. He was quickly invited to travel to the province of Ulster, where after initial resistance by the Presbyterian clergy he successfully set up several religious societies, mostly centered around Lough Neagh (see Map 2). Cennick was slightly unorthodox in that he did not approve of Diaspora. On the other hand, though he was a great evangelist, he had little talent for organization. He wrote Zinzendorf:

"I am not clear that in any places I ought to have to do with the awakened souls, than to waken them and neither have a mind or gift to rule the societies or govern such little flocks as may be gathered. For the present it would be my happiness to have others do such business." Despite his misgivings, Cennick worked nine years in Ireland with considerable success. His health failing, he returned to London in 1755 where he died at the age of 37.

By the middle of the eighteenth century, the Moravian church had accomplished a great deal. The "renewed church" was less than twenty-five years old, yet there were Brethren throughout Europe, in Asia, and in America. Having faced persecution and adversity from other
MAP 2
IRELAND
churches for centuries, the Brethren were finally recognized by a sovereign state. The Unity had been successful, but not without a price. If its work was to continue, the leadership of the Unitas Fratrum would have to guide the church past more established institutions that felt threatened by its enormous popularity. Many of the church's accomplishments had come through a mixture of chance and coincidence - Christian David meeting Zinzendorf, Zinzendorf meeting Anthony Ulrich, the Schwenkfelder's plea for assistance, Cennick's desire to join the Brethren. Any future success lay in a careful balance of hard work and subtle diplomacy. Further progress would depend on the Brethren's ability to plan.
NOTES FOR CHAPTER I


5 Weinlick, 46.

6 Ibid, 51.

7 Sessler, 5-6.

8 J. Taylor Hamilton, A History of the Church Known as the Moravian Church (Bethlehem, Pa.: Times Publishing Company, 1900), 14.

9 Weinlick, 66.


11 Hamilton, 34.

12 Langton, 71; and Davis, 12-13.

13 Davis, 15.

14 Langton, 78. For more on Diaspora, see Weinlick, 80-9.

15 Langton, 83.
16 Bost, 336.


19 Davis, 24-5; and Weinlick, Zinzendorf, 96-7.

20 Langton, 92, 97.

21 Weinlick, Zinzendorf, 142.

22 Ibid, 198-201.

23 Ibid, 205-6.

24 Hamilton, 78.

25 Langton, 93.

26 Davis, 26.

27 Langton, 133.

28 Hamilton, 146.


31 Langton, 132.
CHAPTER II
And Will You There a City Build:
Salem, North Carolina

When John Carteret approached the leaders of the Unitas Fratrum with an offer of land in North Carolina, in 1749, they were facing a financial crisis which threatened the very existence of their church. The crisis had been long in coming and was largely a result of the leadership of Count Zinzendorf. He was a man of great means, but his personal accounts were hardly distinguishable from those of the Unity. His large land investments, extensive travel, publishing, the building projects of the church, as well as several delegations to governments, stretched the count's resources to extremes. Then the 1740's brought even greater expenditures. The removal from Herrnhaag and the massive renovations at Lindsey House left the church's British and Dutch creditors anxious about their investments. Finally, a Portuguese banker involved with church finances went bankrupt, leaving the Moravian church facing a total debt of 130,000 pounds.¹

Unfortunately, the period of economic instability also coincided with a wave of anti-Moravian sentiment across Europe. But Carteret, Lord Granville, was a friend of the Brethren, having worked for their acceptance as "an antient Protestant Episcopal Church."² The success
of the Moravian colonies in Georgia and Pennsylvania was brought to his
attention by General Oglethorpe and Thomas Penn, and he was immediately
impressed with the thrift and industry the Moravians had shown in their
colonizing efforts. These were exactly the type of people he sought to
colonize his large tract of land in North Carolina, the last land held
by a descendant of Carolina's original eight Lord Proprietors. To
attract the United Brethren, Granville offered extremely liberal terms
on a maximum of 100,000 acres of land. The offer was discussed
thoroughly, and at a meeting at Lindsey House on November 29, 1751, the
Brethren accepted.³

The Moravians were themselves skeptical of making such a large
investment "at a time of our greatest [financial] distress."⁴ They
decided, however, that the benefits of such an endeavor would far
outweigh any chances of failure and bankruptcy. Indeed, confidence in a
business venture is often regained if more capital is invested.⁵ Two
practical motives for the land purchase were mission related.
Zinzendorf's personal idea for the future of such a colony was to
continue the Diaspora work begun in Europe where the Moravians would
conduct spiritual work within the rules of the state religion without
seeking converts to Moravianism. As well, mission work with the
Cherokee, Catawba, Creek, and Chickasaw Indians was inviting to the
count.⁶ A third motive was a search for peace. On the continent the
Brethren were discriminated against as heretical troublemakers by
Lutheran rulers. Zinzendorf's banishment, the evacuation of Herrnhaag,
and the troubles in Savannah had left the Moravians tired of the
intervention of governments in their affairs. The settlements in
Pennsylvania had flourished unmolested by government officials, but the tracts available were simply not the size the Brethren envisioned. They decided to "seek an estate where we can worship God without restraint, and where we will be able to use our lives and our means to promote his glory." They decided to look in North Carolina.

A survey party was sent to North Carolina in 1752 under the direction of Bishop August Gottlieb Spangenberg. His party met Francis Corbin, Lord Granville's land agent in the colony. The bishop began his exploration of the land by first obtaining assurances of a clear title to the tract and investigating government laws and tax policies. The group then moved into the backcountry and explored and surveyed for five months. The practical Spangenberg sought the best land available and surveyed ten small tracts of land before encountering "a 'body of land' which is probably the best left in North Carolina." The tract lay on the banks of three forks of Muddy Creek. It had numerous springs and creeks, pasturage, meadowland, and stone for building. The report sent to London described the acreage as one half good, one quarter poor, and one quarter middling. This eleventh tract reminded Spangenberg of Zinzendorf's ancestral estate in Austria, so he asked, "Why should we not call it Wachau, and so renew that name?"

Spangenberg returned to London and reported his findings. The task appeared destined to fail for it seemed impossible to raise the funds necessary to purchase the land, much less settle it. Ten of the tracts were scattered across the backcountry and at least one quarter of the eleventh tract was deemed useless. The Brethren asked Granville to release them from their contract. He refused, not wanting to lose them
as settlers and agreed to draw up an even more advantageous contract. The Moravians chose to drop the smaller tracts and add land to the north and south of Der Wachau, bringing their purchase to a total of 98,985 acres. The land was divided into nineteen deeds to assure that the Moravians would not lose all of the land should they not be able to meet the terms of the contract. On August 7, 1753, the deeds were signed, transferring title of the land to an English trustee, James Hutton "in trust and for the Use, Benefit and Behoof of the said Unitas Fratrum."12 Five hundred pounds were given as a down payment, with an annual quitrent of three shillings for each hundred acres. In 1754 two of the discarded tracts was added to make good the unusable land in Der Wachau at no extra expense. To pay for the tract, a land company was established with Spangenberg and Cornelius van Laer as directors. Der Nord Carolina Land und Colonie Etablissement sold land to twenty-six investors. In 1755, the tract was organized under the name Dobbs Parish after the colonial governor. However, the land was most often referred to as Der Wachau, or its anglicized form, Wachovia.13

The plan for the development of Wachovia required the sale of two thirds of the land to people friendly to the church, saving the remaining acreage for church members. In this remaining land, the Brethren would build thirty-five "villages of the Lord" as centers of agriculture, functioning like the village system in central Europe.14 A Congregation town, or Gemein Ort, was planned as the political, economic, and spiritual center of Wachovia. The town had been a concern of Spangenberg during his explorations. He noted in a letter that "in the Center [of Wachovia], also the Town or Orts Gemeine could be
built, and so the Inhabitants of the farthest Limits of that Land would not be above 2 Hours moderate Walk, and one Hours moderate Ride from the Orts Gemeine."\(^{15}\) The land surrounding the Gemein Ort would be held for townspeople for farming.\(^{16}\) This plan for a central town with surrounding villages seemed suited to the wilds of backcountry North Carolina, providing a sense of community as well as protection from Indian attack which was needed if the colony was to survive.\(^{17}\)

Colonization of Wachovia began with the selection of fifteen Single Brothers from Pennsylvania to make the trip to North Carolina. Of the fifteen, eleven men were to remain in the tract, the other four were to return to Pennsylvania to serve as advisors and guides to the colony.\(^{18}\)

The eleven Brothers who were to remain were chosen for their talents and professions. The group included two leaders who were both ministers, a doctor, a shoemaker, a millwright, a carpenter, a tailor, a baker, and three farmers.\(^{19}\) The fifteen men left Pennsylvania in October with the wishes of the Congregation at Bethlehem traveling with them:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Will this little caravan of the cross,} \\
\text{truly from us depart,} \\
\text{According to appointed plans,} \\
\text{for North Carolina start?} \\
\text{Will you then in this land rejoice,} \\
\text{with soul and body give a voice;} \\
\text{And will you there a city build,} \\
\text{According to His plan fulfilled?}^{20}
\end{align*}
\]

The party arrived in Wachovia November 17, 1753. They stopped at the only known building on the tract, a trapper's cabin, and began the village of Bethabara.

Bethabara by its very name, Hebrew for "House of Passage," suggests
that it was never planned to become a permanent settlement. It was located near the edge of Wachovia, and was hardly the central town the leaders of the Moravians had in mind (see Map 3). At best, it was meant to become one of the "villages of the Lord." Yet, Bethabara was to serve as the center of affairs for thirteen years until the construction of the Gemein Ort began. The delay was primarily caused by the Seven Years' War (1755-1763) in which fear of the Indians motivated the Moravians to fortify their village. Bethabara was soon overrun by other settlers in the area who flocked to the stockade. The sudden influx of people cause manifold problems - overcrowding, food shortages, and diseases such as the "bloody flux" and, in 1759, typhus. Spangenberg, who was visiting from Pennsylvania at the time, suggested that a new village be built to help solve the problems. He and his wife chose the site for Bethania, or the "House of the Poor," which was begun as a refugee colony. Bethabara and Bethania would eventually be followed by other villages: Friedberg, 1769; Friedland, 1772; and Hope, 1775.

The plans for building the Gemein Ort were delayed but by no means forgotten. However, by the time the Indian troubles ebbed, the Moravians had been settled in Bethabara for more than a decade and the town was flourishing. Many began to wonder if a central town was necessary at all. The central portion of Wachovia lacked timber needed to build a new town and the colonists lacked the money and manpower to build and transfer to a new town. As well, questions existed as to the effects of a move on the flourishing trade. But, a new town did have advantages: a central town would be easily accessible
MAP 3

WACHOVIA TRACT - 1766
to all people living in Wachovia; a new location would end the troubles of living in a disease-ridden flood plain; and a new community would be fully planned. Bethabara had grown haphazardly without any plan to guide it. In fact, its very location had been left to chance:

Bethabara has not had the same appointment from the Saviour [as the primary town of Wachovia], and happened accidentally, because of the wretched hut which was found, and which could not well be left because of the lateness of the season. For His people's sake the Saviour [Jesus Christ], indeed, has not left it without His blessing; but all circumstances indicate that, at least for the present, He does not desire it to grow, for it looks as though it would die out.24

The matter was left with the Unity leaders who met in Herrnhut.

The leaders discussed various possibilities for Wachovia's Gemein Ort in a joint committee meeting of members from the Directorium and the Unitaets Vorsteher Collegium, the highest authorities in the church hierarchy. There were several options: Bethabara could be maintained as the central town; a town could be built in the southern portion of the tract and serve as the Congregation town for that section, leaving Bethabara Gemein Ort for the northern portion; or the town could be built in the center of the tract as originally planned.25

After much discussion the conference decided to seek God's thoughts on the future of the town.

Moravians of the period felt that after a period of discussion and prayer, an important matter could be brought to God through the use of the Lot. The custom was to discuss a question and then pull the Lot from a bowl. In the bowl would be three pieces of paper - one which read "Yes," one which read "No," and one that was blank. If the blank Lot was chosen, the Moravians felt that God was indicating that the
matter was not ready for the question or that a better question could be found. When referring to the use of the Lot, the Brethren usually recorded that the Saviour had decided the matter. Whatever the answer, God's will was final. When the question was called, the Saviour told them to build only one town and that it should be located somewhere near the center of Wachovia.

In 1763, Friedrich Wilhelm von Marshall was placed in charge of the planning and construction of the Gemein Ort, serving in the official capacity as Oeconomus or chief officer of Wachovia. He was assisted by Johann Ettwein, the minister at Bethabara and Philip Christian Gottlieb Reuter, the surveyor and cartographer for Wachovia. The search for a site for the new town began. It had to be located near the center of the tract, so their efforts were concentrated there. Possible sites had been noted as early as 1759, but an active search did not begin until November 1763. Several sites were selected, discussed, and then put to God's approval through the Lot. Four of the first choices received a "No," and another received a blank. At this point frustration began to set in and the Brethren decided to try a new approach. "The Lord advised us to select a site between the Petersbach and the Lech," so they picked three sites between the two creeks. Instead of discussing each one separately and asking God's will, they placed each of three sites and a blank Lot in the bowl to allow God to choose from among the collection. The blank was drawn. Finally, they chose two more sites and on February 14, 1765 after placing these two sites and a blank in the bowl, a location for the town was chosen. They were especially delighted because the text for that day was from
1 Kings VIII, 16, "Let thine eye be opened toward this house night and
day, even toward the place of which thou hast said, My name shall be
there."29

Unfortunately, choosing a town plan for the Gemein Ort would
prove to be just as frustrating as choosing the site had been.30 The
first plan was for a town to be named Unitas (see Map 4). Designed by
Zinzendorf, the plan called for a circular city with an octagonal green
and eight streets radiating from the center, on the angles of the
octogon. These streets were to be linked by a two beltways - one set
approximately halfway between the square and the edge of town and the
another on the town's perimeter. The Gemein Haus, or church and
government center, was to be located in Unitas' square surrounded by the
major structures of the community: the six choir houses, an apothecary,
and a tavern. Private residences were planned down each of the avenues,
the lots used in the Germanic tradition - houses set on the street with
a workyard behind and space for gardening. To the east lay the cemetery
or Gottesacker.31 The plan arrived in America late in 1755.

The plan for Unitas is the design of an ideal city, a perfect
"marriage of mathematics and art".32 Circular town plans were nothing
new and were frequently designed, though they were rarely constructed.
Round cities are often associated with the Roman architect and town
planner Vitruvius, who around 30 B.C. wrote a work proclaiming the
circular plan to be the perfect form for a city.33 While Zinzendorf's
designs for Unitas could have been influenced by Vitruvius, it is far
more likely that the thoughts behind the plan were the result of the
construction of Karlshrue, a city begun in 1715. Designed after the
famous Italian radial city of Palma Nova, Karlshruhe was built to be the capital for one of the neighboring German princes. Certainly as a member of the German nobility, Zinzendorf would have been aware of the much-heralded construction of the city.

The count presented the plan for Unitas to Van Laer who passed it on to Spangenberg in Bethlehem. The reaction to the Vitruvian city was mixed. Spangenberg wrote Van Laer: "the plan of the Lord's city is certainly very pretty. If only one saw first how it is suited to the place? Because I would gladly alter the plan to the site. Otherwise one must cut the foot to fit the shoe if one makes the plan before one knows the site." Spangenberg had seen first-hand how instructions from the trustees of a colony who did not understand the land had caused problems in Savannah. He adamantly objected to choosing a town plan before a site was selected, much less before knowing exactly how the land lay on the site. Nevertheless, he showed the plan to Reuter in 1759, when he went to Wachovia to begin the construction of Bethania. Reuter had several objections to the plan. He reported that the design was impractical because the city would have a diameter almost a mile wide though "one will find no square mile in Wachovia in which there are not at least 20-30 hills and dales." Reuter also argued that Unitas would require 380 acres of cleared land while a traditional rectilinear plan could take up half the space. In short, Unitas would take extra time, manpower, and money which were all sorely lacking.

Alternative designs for the Gemein Ort were drawn once the site was chosen. Reuter, who was to become a central figure in the surveying, designing, and construction of Wachovia's central town,
suggested using a grid system of streets and a town square typical in central Europe. Marshall returned to Pennsylvania to make observations on the plans for Moravian towns there. He was concerned that a strict grid plan would totally ignore the topography of the site. He sent his findings in a letter July 1765, in which he stressed the importance of remembering the spiritual aspects of a Gemein Ort when a town plan was being developed. The town of Lititz, Pennsylvania was especially helpful in making plans for the new town. The size of house lots had worked well in Lititz, so the new town lots would be the same - 66 feet by 200 feet. On the other hand, the main street through Lititz was forty feet wide and usually congested. The new town's main street would be sixty feet wide. Marshall was busy in producing sketches: "I have made several plans, partly like Niesky [Germany], with one main street running across the middle of the Square, partly like Gnadenburg [Germany], with cross streets. Of them all the enclosed has received the most approbation." 

Marshall's drawing was in fact three alternative plans laid on top of one another so that they could be compared. Reuter took the one he approved of the most and attached it to a site map (see Map 5). Ettwein described the design chosen as the map "which follows Gnadenburg instead of Niesky because it fits the ground better." This was essentially the plan that was approved for the new town. Suggestions were sent back to Marshall in a letter from Ettwein and the plan was altered accordingly:
MAP 5

PLAN OF SALEM - 1765
Regarding the plan of the town, we in the Conference are agreed how it should be. (Br[other] Reuter will give you his thoughts on your letter separately.) Regarding the Square, we all thought it too long; because none but two-story houses will be built on the Square, the place in the middle is made to appear so much larger than if three- or four-story houses were built around it. Besides, if it were shorter it would be more even and level. It is not only for lack of lime [for mortar] that we do not wish to build high houses, but I do not regard it as advisable because of the high wind-storms in this country.43

Apparently the committee did not like the suggestion of an alley running through the square either, for that was altered as well. Marshall made a sketch of the map and sent it to Herrnhut for final approval. Meanwhile, building began in North Carolina.

Work began on January 6, 1766 when a dozen men left Bethabara to clear the road to the new town. The official word of approval had not yet arrived from the joint committee sitting in Herrnhut, but the future looked bright for the new town: "Our Text for the day was beautifully appropriate: 'I will defend this city.' (Isaiah XXXVII:35)"44 The next days were spent erecting shelters for the workmen. Word from the Directorium and the Unitaets Vorsteher Collegium arrived in Wachovia on January 30. The joint committee had met August 16 of the previous year: "Furthermore it was determined by lot that we are to let our Brethren and Sisters in America know that the Saviour wills that Salem is to be the place in Wachovia for commerce and the professions, and they are to be moved thither from Bethabara."45 The plan approved, construction was to begin immediately. Salem, the name chosen for the town, had been suggested by Zinzendorf shortly before his death in 1760. Derived from Jerusalem and translated from both the Arabic greeting
salaam and its Hebrew counterpart shalom as "peace," Salem seemed an appropriate name for the town.46

Besides the change in the shape of the town and streetscape, the accepted plan for Salem is not significantly different from that of Unitas. Both designs are built around a central square with the major buildings located around it. The private house lots are similarly designed, with the houses sitting flush on the street, a workyard, and space for a small garden. Changes were made, however, in the placement of structures around the square. Unitas had the Gemein Haus sitting on the green, surrounded by the choir houses, the apothecary, and the tavern. Salem's design called for an empty green surrounded by the Gemein Haus, the choir houses, the schools, the apothecary, and the community store. The tavern was taken off the square and placed on the main street on the edge of town.47 The placement of God's Acre, the cemetery, changed in the Salem plan as well. Instead of being planed as a part of the town, as it had been in Unitas, it was to be located just north of the village.

With the plan accepted, construction began in earnest on February 19, 1766.48 Discussion took place about the effect of the square's placement on the town's appearance. Reuter ran the two main streets through the site and staked off several 400 x 300 squares. Salem was always designed to have a water supply system, one of the earliest in America - the first water works having been built in Bethlehem in 1754.49 Reuter ran a level from the springs that were to supply the town to determine the best location for the green (see Map 6, lots 46-52 Hereinafter all lot numbers will refer to this map). As it was
MAP 6

PLAN OF SALEM, STOKES COUNTY, NORTH CAROLINA - 1805
completed in 1778, the water system consisted of spring water flowing by gravity a mile and a half to the main street. From there the water was distributed to a cistern at either end of the square, into the tavern, into the Single Brothers' House kitchen, and into the ironing room of the Single Sisters' House. This system provided Salem with running water for fifty years.\textsuperscript{50}

The first permanent building in Salem, a one-story family dwelling, was constructed on the second lot (lot 31) diagonally across from the square's northwest corner. The following year the second house was built on the corner, a two-story building which would serve temporarily as the \textit{Gemein Haus} (lot 30). That block was completed with four more one-story homes begun in 1767 (lots 32-35).\textsuperscript{51} As lumber was scarce at the building site, the Moravians decided not to build log structures as they had in Bethabara. Nor could they build brick structures initially, due to the lack of lime. Instead, the early buildings had half-timbered frameworks filled with mud and straw, or brick laid in clay, giving the village a medieval appearance.\textsuperscript{52}.

Construction of the major buildings was delayed while the Brethren waited for experienced builders to arrive in Salem.\textsuperscript{53} Since, they deemed it appropriate for their \textit{Oecomomus} to choose the locations for the major structures, building was postponed further until Marshall could return from Bethlehem. The delay was actually a fortunate turn of events for the Brethren. A letter to Ettwein, dated May 9, 1768, described the situation: "It appears now that the location of the main Square will be changed to Br. Reuter's first plan, the main reason being that one could get water to all the houses."\textsuperscript{54} The Brethren had
decided that the springs chosen to supply the town were not sufficient. New ones were found, but they lay lower than the first, forcing the movement of the square seven building lots to the south, down the slope of the hill. It was moved accordingly, not only throwing off the symmetry of Salem, but also leaving the first six structures, including the Gemein Haus, well out of town.55

The first major public structure to be built in Salem was the house for the Single Brothers' Choir. As the Single Brothers were providing much of the manpower to build Salem, it made sense to build their choir house first. But in order to avoid delay in constructing the rest of town, the Brothers' House was completed in two phases.56 The first half was built in 1769 (lot 22). A half-timbered structure, it was by far the largest building in town with two stories, a double attic, and a full cellar. The second half of the building was a brick wing added on the south end in 1786. The half-timbered portion was plastered in 1800 to prevent the brick nogging from washing out.57

The permanent Gemein Haus was built directly across the square from the Brothers' House in 1771 (lot 2). It was half-timbered, though the first floor was constructed out of field stone set in clay. Until the church was built, this building housed the religious activities of the community. Living space was provided in the building for the minister and his family. It was also the government center, housing the administrative offices for Marshall and the various governing boards. Temporary quarters were provided here for members of the Single Sisters Choir and it later housed the girls school.58

Several attempts were made to move away from the half-timbered
construction of the earlier buildings. The 1774 Community Store, for example, was built out of fieldstone laid up in clay, like the first story of the Gemein Haus (lot 21). Its walls were covered with a thin layer of lime plaster with lines scribed into the stucco to simulate cut stone blocks. The style was adopted for other structures in town, including the 1787 Bagge house, built to house the assistant storekeeper (lot 11). Another structure on the square to move away from half-timbering was the 1785 Gottlieb Shober House (lot 10). This building was one of the first brick structures in the community, and served as Salem's first post office as well as a residence. A larger structure to be built of brick was the Single Sisters' House (lot 4). Construction of the choir house was delayed initially by the American Revolution, but the plans for it were approved immediately after peace was declared. Again construction was delayed, this time in favor of the 1784 tavern. It was finally built in 1786.

The town planners designated the lot between the Sisters' House and the Gemein Haus for the church building (lot 3). In this location the church would have dominated the square and been the focal point of Salem. But when the building was to be begun in 1798, the Single Sisters protested. They were using the lot as their bleaching green, claiming that the land was ideal for bleaching linen. As was appropriate in such situations, God was consulted through the lot and an alternative location was found. The church was relocated off the square completely and was finished in 1800 (lot 1). The building that would eventually inhabit the Single Sisters' bleaching green was the Girls' Boarding School, completed in 1805. The other two buildings around
the square were the 1794 Boys' School and the Inspector's House, built in 1810 to house the Headmaster for the Girls' School (lots 51 and 52). The only public building to stand on the square itself was built in 1803. The Market-Fire House served as a public market and home for Salem's fire-fighting equipment.

Certain patterns are visible in the placement of buildings around Salem square, possibly as a result of Marshall's planning. The Single Brothers' and Single Sisters' houses sit diagonally across from one another (lots 22 and 4). Similarly, the Gemein Haus, the religious center, is located diagonally across from the economic center, the Community store (lots 2 and 21). Education dominates the northern end of the square with the Boys' School and the Inspector's House (lots 51 and 52). Conversely, economics dominates the southern end with the Post Office and the Storekeeper's house (lots 10 and 11). Residences were primarily built along the street east of the square while shops and craftsmen dominated the main street, located west of the square. If the plan had been followed, the entire town would have been dominated by the church building.

The only major public building absent from Salem square was the tavern (lot 15). The Moravians needed an inn for people coming into town to trade, but as a rule they were suspicious of outsiders and fearful that their children might observe and adopt inappropriate behaviour. It was completed in 1771 on the southernmost edge of town, and like many of the other early structures was a half-timbered building. The only major fire in Salem's history destroyed the tavern in January 1784: "This morning in the third hour, we had no small
fright, for our tavern broke into flames and in an hour and a half it and the kitchen had been reduced to ashes." In an emergency measure, the Aufseher Collegium, or board of supervision, decided to divert the building materials designated for the construction of the Single Sisters' House in order to rebuild the inn. The 1784 tavern was the first brick building in Salem. It was unique in that it was built without windows on the front portion of the ground level - to prevent children from looking in.

Fire was not a new concern for the Moravians. As early as 1759, fire inspectors had been appointed in Bethabara. The same care was taken for Salem by 1773 when annual fire inspection and monthly fire drills were instituted. Two fire engines were ordered from Germany in 1784 soon after the fire, and lightning rods were added to the buildings in 1787. Quite simply, the tavern fire convinced the members of the Aufseher Collegium that further legislation was required, so a building code was drawn up and adopted in 1788, "because it often happens that through unfitting way of building the neighbours are molested, sometimes even the whole community feels a disadvantage." The code required all building plans to be approved by the Aufseher Collegium. Chimney construction and maintenance was a primary concern as was the use of clay tiles for roofing, the fire having started in the tavern's chimney and spread to the roof. The code also dealt with general construction safety requirements, gutter repair, water drainage, and sidewalk maintenance. It was amended in 1793 when further construction material requirements were outlined, and provisions made for fire buckets and maintenance for fire ladders.
The 1788 building code typifies the planning involved in the Moravians' attempt to build a town in the backcountry of North Carolina. They arrived in Wachovia with a preconceived notion of what they wanted their town to be - "more like one family." A design for the town was developed incorporating instructions from Europe, extensive survey of the site, and practical experience taken from previous efforts. The architecture in the building design reflected Germanic construction techniques, creatively adjusted to fit the limitations of local building materials. Account was taken for zoning and architectural review.

Often considered foreigners in their new land, the Brethren continued to plan and build through conflicts which they chose to ignore. The Seven Years War, the Regulator Movement, and the Revolution directly involved the Moravians with opposing forces demanding their allegiance. Through it all, they quietly continued to build their town, dealing with situations as they arose while diligently praying for peace. Indeed, prayer had a great part in the building of the town. A constant faith and belief in their God's guidance enabled the Moravians to attempt what many deemed impossible, including their Oeconomus, Marshall: "The present building of Salem is an extraordinary affair which I would not have undertaken had not the Saviour Himself ordered it."
NOTES FOR CHAPTER II


6 Reichel, 15.

7 Clewell, 3.


10 Ibid, I, 62.


Clewell, 3.

Thorpe, 23.


Archives, Historic Bethabara Park.

Davis, 55.


Adelaide I. Fries, The Road to Salem (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1944), 111-13. The work is based on the manuscript autobiography of Anna Catherina Antes Kalberlahn Reuter Heinzmann Ernst.


Thorpe, "Moravian," 81.


"Minutes of Helfer Conferenz," RM, I, 310.


Gottesacker is usually translated into English as "God's Acre," though a more accurate interpretation would be "God's Field."

For the implications and symbolism behind a circular town plan see Norman J. Johnston, Cities in the Round (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1983), 3-12.

34 Johnston, 88-9.

35 Thorpe, "City," 55.


40 Fries, *Road*, 121.


44 "Bethabara Diary," *RM*, I, 323.


46 There is question as to who named Salem. Fries in *Town Builders*, 6 (1915), says "tradition" gives Zinzendorf credit. Earlier sources crediting Zinzendorf include: Clewell (1902), 86; Reichel (1857), 67; and Ludwig David von Schweinitz, *History of the Building of the Place Congregation Salem*, Unpublished manuscript: Moravian Archives South, 1816, 1.


49 Murtagh, 73.

50 Clewell, 262-63.
52 Murtagh, 115.
53 Fries, Town, 11.
54 Letter, Bagge to Ettwein, Unpublished translation: Old Salem, Inc.
59 Campbell, 140-44.
61 Ibid, 22.
62 Ibid, 17.
63 Ibid, 96.
65 Spangenberg explained in a letter, "if only we can keep our children from being hurt by wicked Examples, and our young People from following the foolish & Sinfull ways of the World." Letter, Spangenberg to ?, Unpublished manuscript: Moravian Archives South, 1754.
67 Building Rules, 22 June 1788, Unpublished translation: Old Salem, Inc.

68 Building Rules, 10 July 1793, Unpublished translation: Old Salem, Inc.

69 "Remarks concerning the laying Out of the new Congregation Town in the center of Wachovia," RM, I, 313.

70 The Moravians even continued to pay their quitrents to Britain through the Revolution until they bought them in 1788 for one thousand pounds. Davis, 38. For information on the Moravians during conflicts see: Hendricks, 30-49; and Hunter James, The Quiet People of the Land (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1976).

CHAPTER III

And Also Raise Thy City Dear:
Gracehill, Northern Ireland

John Cennick saw his work in the north of Ireland come to fruition a few short months before his death on July 4, 1755. The religious societies he formed at Ballymena, Gloonen, Grogan, and Doagh had grown to serve over six hundred people. If the Moravian Church was to survive in County Antrim, the societies would have to be organized into the regular structure of the Church. Accordingly, the members of the General Elders Conference decided that it was time to establish a congregation. On March 25, 1755, Bishop John de Watteville organized 24 men and 22 women from the four societies into a congregation at the village of Gloonen. Gloonen was the first of several planned 'villages of the Lord' which would serve the societies located around them, organizing Moravian efforts throughout the area. Gloonan was built to serve most of County Antrim though the Brethren could not get an extended lease on the property. Unfortunately, this system of villages, which had been very successful in Saxony, would prove to be unsuited to Ireland.

The Gloonen Brethren had been making excellent progress. A chapel and Single Brothers' House stood in the village, and though the Single
Sisters were still located in Grogan, it was only a matter of time before a choir house would be constructed for them. Yet, less than a year after its organization, the new congregation was faced with a prejudiced landlord and a short-term lease. They were informed that in order to keep the land which Gloonen occupied, they would have to bid competitively for the lease each time it came up for renewal. On March 11, 1756, fourteen days before their first anniversary, the people of Gloonen began looking for another site for their town.

The Moravians faced serious obstacles in their quest for a new town site. They were looking for a large plot which they could hold on an extended lease in an area that had been well-populated for generations. The search around Lough Neagh was extensive but fruitless. The Balloo Farm was investigated and rejected, Hope's Orchard and Hill Head were both desirable sites, but they were already taken. By May 1758 the Brethren were beginning to feel discouraged. Then John Toeltschig, who had been helpful in establishing Congregation Towns on the continent, in England, and in America, and who was currently busy with the Moravian community in Dublin, suggested that the Brethren in Antrim "might think on it in stillness & yet maturely ab[ou]t a proper place for a Cong[regatio]n Settlement in the North." They thought on the matter and decided it was time to let God direct their moves through the Lot.

It seemed that since no land was available, they should push forward with one of the towns they already occupied. God apparently did not agree, and through the Lot, rejected the idea of making Grogan the Congregation Town. Furthermore, God managed to convey his wishes that none of the schools for the children's choirs should be built at
Gloonen, a clear sign that it was not a suitable site for the new town. The search continued.

Having heard that Lord Charles O'Neill "had respect for them," the Moravians decided to inspect any land he might be willing to lease them. William Horne, the minister at Gloonen, led a group to inspect Piedmont, a mansion house that O'Neill advertised along with a large farm. They eventually decided that the farm was too small, but O'Neill, who was looking for reliable tenants, offered to lease the Brethren any of the townlands he also had for rent. Horne investigated the townland of Ballykennedy in July and decided it was the land they sought. Ballykennedy was ideal for several reasons: it was a large piece of land, over two hundred acres; it was located near Ballymena, where a sizable Moravian community already existed; it had a good water supply, the river Maine; O'Neill was willing to give the Brethren a permanent lease; and it was the only tract that the Lot allowed them to investigate. On September 18, 1758 a letter from the Elders Conference in Dublin arrived. The Elders were excited about Ballykennedy and approved of it wholeheartedly. They were, however, aware of their northern Brethren's hardships in finding the land and added in the letter, "but if that can't be had, then [lease] the next Farm by the Riverside."

The Elders were right in being anxious about Ballykennedy, for although leasing the townland was not a problem, leasing all of it was. O'Neill informed the Brethren that he was in a position to lease only three-quarters of Ballykennedy to them, and that a Mr. Leslie held the remaining portion under contract for another sixteen years. Leslie's
tract was a choice piece of land bordering the river, and O'Neill doubted if he would give up his lease. The Moravians began negotiations with Leslie to buy the lease, or at the very least "have the priviledge to bring it [water] to the Buildings for the benefit of the Families," and "to get leave for a Mill Race." The negotiations were postponed by the death of Leslie's wife, but began in earnest during November 1758. Leslie wanted eighty pounds for the lease, but O'Neill was able to acquire it for sixty, and offered to lease the entire townland to the Brethren February 4, 1759.

Leslie was only one of the tenants occupying Ballykennedy when O'Neill offered it to the Moravians. Twelve people occupied the remaining three-quarters of the townland but O'Neill did not treat them as well as he had Leslie. He set about evicting them immediately. Not surprisingly, the twelve were not pleased by their landlord's actions and vented their rage on the Brethren, especially, Brother Horne. He and two others were walking the land on February 12, when "many Women came running down the Hill towards them with their Aprons full of stones, and also some great Boys with clubs crying out most hideously." Fortunately, the mob's aim was poor, and most of the rocks missed the Brethren while they tried to mollify the crowd. The incident was only one of several which prevented the Moravians from taking possession of the land or for that matter even surveying it. They did take possession of Leslie's quarter and broke ground in March. Horne met with the other tenants and even petitioned O'Neill to return half a year's rent to them, but they continued to cause trouble. They cut timber on the property, took windows out of the standing
houses, set fire to a barn, and even cut the tail off one Brother's horse. O'Neill offered a reward to anyone who could help prosecute the tenants and the Brethren were forced to begin a watch to help stop the violence. The incidents slowly subsided, and the two first Moravian families moved onto the townland on December 4, 1759.

The Brethren's first concerns were financial. Toeltschig and Horne contacted Jonas Paulus Weiss, a member of the Directorium and financial manager of the Unity. He gave permission for a letter to be drafted and sent to Moravian congregations across Europe asking for financial support. Weiss created a Board of Administration in London to guarantee loans, and mounted a campaign to raise funds through subscription. In the meantime, the Brethren decided to move ahead with their plans for Ballykennedy. They farmed the land as it was laid out by the previous tenants until a long range plan was developed by Henry Jorde, General Labourer of the Single Brothers, and Mark Berry.

The existing houses were repaired and occupied, and a barn on the site was converted into a temporary meeting house. In March, after two months of hard work and extensive planning, the Moravians held a service of thankfulness where they reflected on "the remarkable circumstances belonging to our coming into Possession of B.k.y. [Ballykennedy]:"

This I wish! That Day & Night,
The Lord himself may be the light
  Thro' all this Land and Border.
And Guide each one who's to come here,
And also Raise thy City dear,
  And bring all things in order.
And rule each Soul
  Who inherits of thy Spirit
With Compassion
  Give them Joys foreverlasting.
The next step was to build a town.

In planning their town, the Moravians of Ballykennedy chose a design based on the topography of the land. They literally chose a site and then tailored the plan to it. The obvious choice for the town site was Hock Farm, "which Johannes [Weiss] seemed to like when he was Here, where [the town] can be well supplied with water from the River." Located at the foot of a small hill, the town would overlook a bend in the river. The General Elders Conference of the North met several times to discuss the site. Finally, on February 5, 1761, after almost a year of discussion, the Conference members "spent some hours on B:k:y, & came to a final Determination where the place of the Cong'n Hall & House shall be fixed and likewise the Burying Ground." The proposed plan was drawn up by John Zander, General Labourer at the nearby village of Cootehill, and sent to Herrnhut for approval (See Map 7).

The town plan is interesting in that it combines many characteristics of the traditional Moravian Gemein Ort and the topography of Ballykennedy. The Brethren designed the town around a line drawn from the top of the hill to the River Maine. As planned, avenues of trees planted on the riverbank would open onto the town square. The square would be surrounded by public buildings on the remaining three sides, dominated visually by the Congregation House. An unusual feature in Moravian town planning, God's Acre, usually referred to by Irish Moravians as the "Burying Ground," was placed on the slope of the hill behind the Congregation House, incorporating it into the overall design. The square would be created by two main streets
MAP 7

GROUND PLAN BALLYKENNEDY - c. 1761
through the town, crossed by alleys leading to the cemetery. The existing roads were incorporated into the design by running them parallel to the alleys. The plan was simple and efficient, yet the symmetry was a visual coup in its creation of a vista. From the river, a traveler would have an uninterrupted view of the town square, crowned by the Congregation House, with the Burying Ground rising in the background.

The Moravians built several farm homes to house the ten families who were living in Ballykennedy at the start of 1761. The Single Brothers took over a barn in Ballykennedy and gave their house in Gloonan to the Single Sisters, who were more than delighted to evacuate their humble lodgings in Grogan. In February 1761 the Brethren marked out and "ditch'd" the Burying Ground. That task completed, they proposed to start working on the town itself by building a workshop for the Single Brothers. However, they were delayed by the Lot. After waiting patiently for three months, they consulted God again on May 26, 1761. Once more, the "no" was drawn. Just in case God should change his mind, they began to collect building stone.

Meanwhile, the already strained relations in Gloonan worsened and it became apparent that despite their substantial investments, the Moravians would be forced to leave the village when its lease came up for renewal. Plans were made for the transfer of the residents to Ballykennedy when the time came, but an interesting problem developed. The bodies of three children lay buried in front of the Congregation House at Gloonan. Not wanting to leave the "sleeping" children behind, the Elders "concluded that the Children buried before the Gloonen Chapel
should be taken up in Stillness and brought into the burying Ground in B:kenedey.' The bodies were moved to Ballykennedy and reinterred August 24, 1761. The move took place at night, so that the Brethren could avoid any unfortunate confrontations with unsympathetic neighbors.

This problem resolved, the Elders turned their attention once again to the matter of building. They spent the spring of 1762 creating a list of qualifications for town membership. Through the winter of 1763, they argued over specific aspects of the plan itself, including a seemingly endless debate about the proper width of various walks. This issue took up several Conference meetings and eventually had to be resolved by the Lot. When asked, the Saviour decreed that

the Avenues, according to the Plan of the place, given at a proportion of forty feet wide and the same at the foot of the Burying Ground are not heedful in leaving so much Ground and will not look well. Therefore they should be twenty-eight feet between the Congregation House and the Brethren's House and eighteen feet at the head of the Garden.

Questions about the terms of the lease, specifically the matter of royalties, caused more delays. Horne contacted Spangenberg in Pennsylvania, who recommended caution in dealing with the matter. Then news arrived that "Br. Reinhard is now in London on his Way to the North, who brings further Instructions on that Head from the Directorial College." John Reinhard was appointed by the Directorium to serve as the new town's Vorsteher or business manager and treasurer, and arrived in Ballykennedy on August 31, 1763.

Reinhard's first action as Vorsteher was to set up a small town-planning committee, and let the larger Elders Conference deal with other matters. The new committee was made up of himself, Horne, Jorde,
Toeltschig, Peter Syms, and John Browne. (Syms was a Labourer at Gloonan and Ballymena, Browne at Listenmara.) This committee, once the terms of the lease were discussed with O'Neill, met weekly to finish developing the plan. By the end of the year, they had materials ordered, and consulted with a "proper Master Builder" about construction of the Congregation House. The extra funds needed to begin construction came from Weiss, who was given "Authority from the Directory to borrow in the Name of the Unity for the Sole use of the Building of a Cong'n House, a S:Brn's & S:S's Choir House in B:kenney, w'ch is to be call'd Grace Hill." On April 3, 1764, the final plans for the town were approved by the Unitaets Vorsteher Collegium. The approved design was reminiscent of a Gemein Ort in Lower Silesia, so the new town was named Gracehill - an English translation of Gnadenberg.

Despite the indebtedness of the Church, the Irish Brethren raised £2000 within six months and construction began April 1764. A house for Reinhard was built outside the town to enable him to supervise construction closely (see Map 8, letter A). The Planning Committee wanted the first building in Gracehill to be the Congregation House, but God, through the Lot, had other plans. Instead, on April 26, 1764, they laid the cornerstone to the Single Brothers' Workshop (Map 8, # 7). The Single Brothers were given priority by the Planning Committee, because they provided much of the construction labor, and their linen industry generated badly-needed revenue for the community. The building was a two-story structure of local dark-gray stone. The Brethren spared little expense in building materials, going as far as acquiring Norwegian
MAP 8

GROUND PLAN BALLYKENNEDY - detail
lumber, and created a building that set the standard for town structures to follow.\textsuperscript{35} Since the Planning Committee wanted to get on with the rest of the town, they delayed construction of the Brothers' choir house, so upon its completion, the Manufactory also served as their sleeping quarters. The Brothers waited another three years to move into their choir house at the top of the square (Map 8, # 3).\textsuperscript{36} After 1770, the building also served as the Boys' Day School.\textsuperscript{37}

Each time a date to start the Congregation House was proposed, the Lot was not cooperative. The frustration of the Planning Committee mounted throughout 1764 until they accepted the inevitable: "We are not likely to build this year. There are still obstacles."\textsuperscript{38} Finally, a date to begin the Congregation House was approved, and the foundation stone was laid with much festivity on March 12, 1765, the date accepted as Gracehill's anniversary (Map 8, # 1).\textsuperscript{39} The building was designed by Anton Seiffert, Gracehill's \textit{Oeconomus} or warden. It consisted of a central hall for the church, a wing on the south end built as the Warden's House, and a matching wing on the north end, which served as the Parsonage (Map 8, # 1). The Congregation House was a stone structure, covered with a lime wash. Dyed gray to match the other buildings, the stucco had lines scribed into it to give the more finished appearance of cut stone. The building was completed when the town clock and bell tower were added to the structure in 1798.\textsuperscript{40} The Brethren used the Congregation House for the first time on November 6, 1765, and considered it the finest building in the community, even though it had a packed clay floor until 1842.\textsuperscript{41}

Most members of the Single Sisters choir were living in the old
Brothers' House at Gloonen. The building was small and in bad need of repair, but the Elders felt that money spent for repairs would be wasted since the building was to be abandoned. Instead, the Planning Committee was asked to schedule construction of their choir house in Gracehill. As had happened with the Congregation House, the Sisters' House was repeatedly delayed by the Lot. Finally, a date was approved and construction began July 15, 1765. The date was a little disturbing in that the Congregation House was being built at the same time and there was a shortage of manpower. Nevertheless, fifty Single Sisters moved into their choir house in Gracehill December 26, 1765 (Map 8, # 2). However, the building proved to be too small for the Sisters and it was enlarged in 1798. The Sisters needed the extra space because the building was also used as the Girls' Day School.

The center of Gracehill's economic life was the Congregation Store, begun in 1767, but not completed until the following year (Map 8, # 8). Located next to the Manufactory along the south side of the square, the building resembled the other Gracehill structures in its masonry and symmetrical facade. However, as the building contained the store, the post office, and living quarters for the storekeeper, it proved to be too small and additions were added on either end of the building, throwing off the building's symmetry. The 1787 addition added a second entrance for the storekeeper's family.

The completion of the Congregation Store marked an end to the first wave of building. The community had been provided with the essential components of a Congregation Town - Gemein Haus, Brothers' House, Sisters' House, schools, store, and several homes. The south side of
the square was finished by a private residence in 1769. However, the
town was far from being complete. Indeed, the north side of the square
was empty, and as yet there were no finished roads. Nonetheless, the
townland of Ballykennedy in 1770 little resembled the mismanaged acreage
of a decade earlier (see Map 9). The Moravians had worked hard to
survey, divide, and work the land efficiently. Unfortunately, that work
was delayed by an Irish rebellion and men calling themselves the "Hearts
of Steel."\(^45\)

The Hearts of Steel, or Steel Men, were members of a group angered
by the ever-increasing numbers of landholders who dispossessed their
 tenants in order to move from crop production to animal husbandry.
Apparently urged on by some of the Ballykennedy tenants that had been
dismissed eleven years earlier, the Hearts of Steel felt the Moravians
were a prime target for retribution. They threatened the community of
Gracehill to frighten the Brethren into returning the land to its
"rightful" holders and building work came to a standstill: "We were
unfit to do anything but pray and comfort each other as much as we
could."\(^46\) The threats continued for two years. Then, on March 4,
1772, the Steel Men attacked. They surrounded and fired on the
Brothers' House and then, oddly enough, stopped to explain the meaning
of their attack to Gracehill's warden, Daniel Gottwald. Their captain
explained:
MAP 9

MAP OF THE TOWNLAND OF BALLYKENNEDY - c. 1810
You have taken away the Land from its former possessors and we are come to lay everything waste with Fire and Sword and drive you away. But as you are a man of some Consideration, whose Words have much weight, we thought it right to acquaint you with our intention.47

Gottwald explained that O'Neill had already given the tenants their twelve-month notice and advertised the availability of the townland before the Brethren were even approached. He explained that the Moravians had even helped the tenants recoup their losses and that if he could get a reprieve, proof of the townland's purchase could be obtained from Dublin. The captain agreed and the Steel Men withdrew. Gottwald contacted Dublin, and O'Neill, sitting in Parliament, quickly arranged for government intervention. The Moravians quickly and gratefully forgot the incident.48

In 1775 work began again in Gracehill. Between 1775 and 1785 some twenty residences were raised either privately or with financial aid from the congregation.49 The square was leveled and planted in 1776, and a year later a pond was dug in its center (see Map 10. Hereinafter all references will be to this map). The pond was part of Gracehill's water system which was fed by a stream located northwest of the village. In 1758, before the Moravians leased Ballykennedy, they had the water rights cleared in the capital: "an enquiry should be made in Dublin if there may not arise difficulties with regard to the right of the river, it being a Royalty...."50 The work on the system began on January 5, 1764, but a neighbor held up the work: "Difficulties about our water course have risen...Adair will have the water, cost what it may, taken
MAP 10

MAP OF THE TOWNLAND OF BALLYKENNEDY - detail
off above."^1 After obtaining legal counsel, the Brethren continued the work. The system consisted of large stones laid in the ground to create channels leading to each house and feeding the fish pond in the square. The water course seems to have been meant to provide water for washing and irrigation, with wells providing drinking water.\textsuperscript{52}

Construction on the north side of the square began in 1778 with the raising of the Congregation Inn (Building I). Absent from the original plan, the Inn was built primarily to serve the merchants coming to Gracehill to purchase Moravian goods. Like other buildings, it proved too small and was enlarged the next year.\textsuperscript{53} A Ladies' Boarding School was constructed next to the Inn in 1797 (Building H). The Boys' Academy, part of the Brothers' House complex, was started in 1805 (Building E).\textsuperscript{54} Finally, Gracehill was completed with choir houses for the Widows and the Widowers - located on opposite sides of town (Building G, and unmarked building south of E).\textsuperscript{55}

As it stood in 1805, Gracehill consisted of forty cottages in addition to the public buildings, each one's design approved by the General Elders Conference. The town developed similarly to Niesky with the unmarried choirs divided by sex.\textsuperscript{56} The placement of the choirs mirrored one another using the Congregation House as a dividing point - Single Sister/Single Brother, Widow/Widower. The square was occupied by the Manufactury, Store, Inn, Ladies' Academy, and a private residence. The lot next to the Ladies' Academy was left empty, though a home had been planned there originally. In Moravian tradition, God's Acre sat just outside of town on the slope of a hill. It differed somewhat from other local burying grounds in that "each grave had only one occupant, a
most excellent custom, but a lesson unfollowed in [County] Antrim, as elsewhere." Gracehill was an anomaly in the north of Ireland, with its neat cottages fronting streets, and large workyards complete with running water. Most cottages in the area were rough buildings made of turf, sod, clay, or field stone. The homes in Gracehill were built of large cut stone set with lime mortar, and had straw-thatched roofs. The structures were similar in color and building material, but several buildings were creatively individualized. Some buildings had brick window sashes and others were covered with stucco, like the Congregation House. A few Gracehill structures differ from the rest in their incorporation of small pebbles placed in the mortar joints between the building stones. The technique was purely decorative and was useful in squaring off odd sized building stone.

The layout of Gracehill shifted during the early years of the nineteenth century when a colorful woman, Eliazabeth Mary Bates, literally stumbled into a Moravian church. In bad health, Mrs. Bates, a wealthy widow, quite by chance entered a Moravian chapel in Bristol to rest. Attracted by the "mild preaching and sweet soft singing," she became a society member, retaining her membership in the Anglican Church. She moved to an English Moravian settlement, Ockbrook, and then took a two-year trip to Gracehill in 1817. Needing a place to stay, she paid for a three-story addition to the Warden's House and had the warden and minister switch homes (Buildings C and D). As long as she stayed in Gracehill, she lived in the Manse with the minister and his family. Before she left in 1819, she financed the demolition of the by-then-decrepit house on the square and had a new choir house built for
the Single Brothers, allowing the old Brothers' House to be taken over by the Boys' Academy. Mrs. Bates returned to Gracehill in 1821 and again in 1824. Finally, during a fourth trip in 1829, the crossing from England was so bad that she swore never to set foot on a ship again, leaving herself stranded in Ireland to live in Gracehill until her death in 1835. She left her property in two trusts to the Church. Mrs. Bates' work in Gracehill not only removed the only private residence from the square, but also disrupted the separation of the unmarried choirs by moving the Single Brothers.

Despite the move of the Brothers' House to the square, Gracehill remained a remarkable well-ordered, well-planned town. Based largely on ideals of the Moravian Church, the town understandably has a Germanic flavor. Yet, because of the Brethren's insistence on the use of topography in planning, as well as native materials and building eccentricities, Gracehill has a distinctively Irish character as well. The Brethren of Gracehill had a great deal of time to discuss and determine each detail of their new village in the north of Ireland. Often caught in the middle of political and religious strife from which they tried to remain free, the Moravians set about building a sanctuary for themselves and, during trying times, for others. They expressed this purpose in their constitution, "The Brotherly Agreement and Declaration Concerning the Rules and Orders of the Brethren's Congregation at Gracehill," adopted on July 7, 1773: "The Aim in erecting this Village, was, that we might dwell together in the true Fellowship of the Faith, in brotherly Love & Simplicity of Heart...and lead a quiet & peaceable Life in all Godliness & Honesty."
NOTES FOR CHAPTER III

1 Gloonen & Ballym. Diary for the Years 1755, 56, 57, 58, & 59 (Unpublished manuscript: Gracehill), March 25, 1755.


3 Notes on Elders Conference Meetings (Unpublished manuscript: Gracehill), May 15, 1756, September 20, 1757, May 30, 1758.

4 General Conference Book (Unpublished manuscript: Gracehill), May 30, 1757.

5 The Irish Brethren appear to have based many more of their decisions on results of the Lot than other branches of the Church. See Hanna, 93-108.

6 Notes, May 30, 1758, July 25, 1758.

7 Gloonen & Ballym. Diary, June 10, 1758.

8 Notes, July 25, 1758.

9 General Conference Book, September 18, 1758.

10 Ibid, October 16, 1758.

11 Hanna, 38.

12 Gloonen & Ballym. Diary, February 12, 1759.

13 Ibid, November 4, 1759.

14 Ibid.


16 Hanna, 39-40.

17 Ballymena Cong. Diary of the Years 1760, 61, 62, 63, 64 (Unpublished manuscript: Gracehill), January 5, 1760.
18 Ibid, March 6, 1760.
20 Ballymena Cong. Diary, February 5, 1761.
21 General Conference Book, March 4, 1760.
22 Ibid, February 5, 1761.
23 Ibid, February 13, 1761, May 26, 1761, and Ballymena Cong. Diary, March 30, 1761.
24 Ballymena Cong. Diary, July 15, 1761.
26 Ibid, February 25, 1764, and Hanna, 66.
27 General Conference Book, August 16, 1763.
28 Ibid, June 21, 1763, and Ballymena Cong. Diary, August 31, 1763.
29 Conferences Relative to the Townland of Ballykennedy and Building of Grace Hill (Unpublished manuscript: Gracehill), September 4, 1763. Hereinafter noted as Townland.
30 Ibid.
31 Ibid, January 3, 1764.
32 Hanna, 65.
33 Ibid, 66.
34 Gracehill Diarys of the Years 1765.66.67.68.69.70. (Unpublished manuscript: Gracehill), April 26, 1766. Hereinafter noted as Diary vol. I.
35 Townland, September 4, 1763.
36 Diary vol. I, February 8, 1768.
38 Townland, May 25, 1764.
40 Ibid, March 8, 1765, November 6, 1765.


42 Diary vol. I, December 26, 1765, and Hanna, 70.

43 Gracehill Village Conservation Area.

44 Ibid.

45 Ingham, 23.

46 Gracehill Diarys of the Years 1771.72.73.74. (Unpublished manuscript: Gracehill), March 4, 1772.

47 Ibid.

48 Ingham, 23-4.

49 Hanna, 76.

50 General Conference Book, October 16, 1758.

51 Ibid, December 10, 1765.

52 Gracehill Village Conservation Area.

53 Gracehill Diarys of the Years 1775.76.77.78.79. (Unpublished manuscript: Gracehill), Memorabilia 1779.

54 Ingham, 24-8.

55 Gracehill Village Conservation Area.

56 Ibid.

57 Ingham, 31.


60 Ingham, 50.

61 Gracehill Village Conservation Area.

62 Ingham 50-4.

63 The Brotherly Agreement (Unpublished manuscript: Gracehill).
CHAPTER IV  
The Two Together

An obvious difference between Salem and Gracehill is that one was built in colonial America by Germans while the other was built in Ireland by Irishmen. But because the towns were both built by Moravians as Congregation towns, they had to include certain common elements in their designs. The prototype of all Congregation towns was Herrnhut, begun in 1727. Herrnhut reflects the evolution of the "renewed" Moravian church and its unique qualities, including the development of a theocracy and the choir system. Here the Moravians adopted a common Germanic town form of a gridiron road system and a town square, and shaped it to meet their special requirements:

Such a settlement consists, besides family houses, of the following public buildings: a chapel, with adjoining dwellings for the minister and elders; a single brethren's house, and a single sister's house; frequently, also, a house for the widows of ministers and others; schoolhouses for boys and girls; and an inn for the accommodation of travellers.¹

But while Herrnhut and towns that followed shared these characteristic qualities, their town plans differed. Bethlehem (1741), Nazareth (1741), Bethabara (1753), and Klein Welke (1756), for example, were all planned Moravian communities, yet their designs were irregular and diverse.² Towns such as Lititz (1742), Bethania (1757), and Emmaus

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(1760) reflect a greater sense of order and symmetry, but their plans have little else in common. The plans for Salem and Gracehill closely resemble one another because they were designed using the same models - Niesky and Gnadenburg.

Niesky and Gnadenburg are early examples of attempts to arrange Congregation towns within well-ordered, symmetrical confines. Niesky, built in Saxony in 1742, was designed around the main road running through the community. This road served as an axis for the design, dividing the square, and the entire town bilaterally. The town square was devoid of any structures, except for the community's firehouse. It was a pleasantly landscaped garden for the village, divided into quadrants by the road and a walkway. The walkway led to the Gemein Haus, which sat on one wide end of the square. The choir houses for the Single Sisters and Widows were located north of the church. The Single Brothers' and Widowers' houses sat south of the building. The other buildings located around the square included two schools, an apothecary, the community store, and the tavern. God's Acre was located outside of the community, though it sat parallel to the main road.

Gnadenburg, the town Salem and Gracehill copied more directly, was built in Lower Silesia in 1743. Gnadenburg's square was bounded on four sides by roads, creating a uniform grid pattern (see Map 11). As it was drawn by Reuter in 1761, Gnadenburg's square was not divided by any thoroughfares, like Niesky, but it was still divided into quadrants by walks, with a well located in the center (Map 11, # 8). As was the case for Niesky, Gnadenburg's Gemein Haus occupied a wide end of the
square (Map 11, # 1). The Single Sisters' and Widows' House sat next to the church (Map 11, # 3), while the Single Brothers were located diagonally across the square from them (Map 11, # 5). However, this separation was somewhat curtailed when the Single Brothers moved into larger quarters in 1759 (Map 11, # 10a). The village tavern was located just off the square (Map 11, # 9). Finally, God's Acre was located on the edge of the village, though within the town's borders. However, the cemetery lay out of line with Gnadenburg's streets (Map 11, # 4). Instead, it was shifted to face compass directions so that the graves would lie with the face of the person looking directly east.

Niesky and Gnadenburg had an advantage over older Congregation towns in that the former were built quickly with a population awaiting their completion. Instead of growing organically like the older communities, these towns were given a design which was executed immediately. The attempt at order in these town plans was replicated in various forms in other communities such as Lititz, Bethania, and Emmaus. But the organic growth pattern of Herrnhut was still evident in communities after the founding of Niesky and Gnadenburg. Two such towns, Bethabara and Nazareth were established as small communities and grew unchecked, without a plan. However, both of these towns had symmetrical plans imposed on them at later dates. In 1760 Reuter drew a "dream map" for the future development of Bethabara, trying to create order out of the haphazard building that had occurred to that point. Nazareth received much more drastic treatment when it was scrapped completely in 1771 and "New Nazereth" was built beside the older site.

Moravians saw the order in Niesky and Gnadenburg and copied it in
these other towns, but the Brethren in Wachovia and Ballykennedy followed the two models much more closely.

Niesky and Gnadenburg are both mentioned during the planning of Salem. After Zinzendorf's radial plan had been rejected, Marshall created designs based on Niesky "with one main street running across the middle of the square" and others "with cross streets" using Gnadenburg as their model. Reuter created a site map and then placed the different plans on it. He probably tried the Niesky example first, because the road system is visible underneath the plan ultimately glued to the map, explaining the roads which appear askew in the final product (see Map 5). Obviously familiar with Gnadenburg, having mapped it four years previously, Reuter tried the second model. This was the plan ultimately chosen.

Reuter took great care to include all of the buildings appearing in the Unitas plan. Salem was designed with the Gemein Haus dominating a wide end of the square after both European models. The Widowers' house and the boys' school were situated along the road north of the Gemein Haus; the girls' school, Widows' house, and Single Sisters' house were aligned south of the structure, like Niesky. The Single Brothers were located diagonally across the square from the Single Sisters, following the Gnadenburg design. The main difference in the design adopted for Salem, is the placement of the tavern. Possibly due to their experiences in Savannah, the American Brethren greatly distrusted outsiders. This wariness became apparent when the tavern was banished from the town square to the periphery of the community. The tavern was
first moved in the design of Bethlehem, again when the Moravians traveled to Bethabara, and was ultimately adopted in the plan for Salem. The need to shift the tavern's position is unique to the American Congregation towns and is not apparent in European designs. The taverns in Herrnhut, Niesky, Gnadenburg and Gracehill were all placed on the town square.

Because Gracehill was planned using the topography of its site, the people of Ballykennedy took greater liberties with the plan of Gnadenburg, but still retained many of its characteristics. In the plan for Gracehill, the square was shifted so that the Congregation House occupies a narrow end of the square (see Map 8). This shift allowed for the view of the river while using less land than if a wide end were left open. The division created by drawing a line from the river to the Congregation House readily lent itself to the division of choir houses along the lines of those in Niesky. Unique to Gracehill was its use of God's Acre in the town plan. The European prototypes, Niesky, Gnadenburg, Herrnhut, as well as the colonial town Salem, all leave God's Acre outside the plan. Only Zinzendorf's plan for Unitas incorporates the cemetery in the town design. But the burying ground at Gracehill was unique in another respect. If the graves at Gracehill had been oriented towards the river, they would have been aligned in the traditional east-west direction. For some reason, contrary to the town plan as well as Moravian tradition, the graves at Gracehill were aligned in a north-south direction.

In addition to the similarities in their design, Salem and Gracehill were similar in their physical development. The Brethren in
North Carolina arrived in 1753, funding for the effort having been provided by the central church government through an elaborate land company. Once on the new tract, the Brethren built a temporary community to serve their needs until they were able to survey their land and choose a site for their main town. Construction of this Gemein Ort was delayed initially by the Seven Years' War. By the time this conflict was over, the people of Wachovia had become well-established in their not-so-temporary village, and some Brethren wondered whether a new town was needed or even desirable. Then an elaborate town plan drawn by Zinzendorf arrived, spawning more delays while the plan was analyzed, rejected, and a new one created to replace it. With a plan chosen, construction was postponed due to God's reluctance to approve a town site through the Lot. The delays continued until the Directorium sent Marshall to serve as the Oeconomus for the community. Construction of Salem finally began in 1766, thirteen years after their arrival.

Meanwhile, the Moravians in Northern Ireland began to build a community in 1755. Forced to evacuate the town, the Brethren had difficulty in finding available land. When they located a site, they were unable to take possession of it due to rival claims, which would return to haunt them. Once in Ballykennedy, the Moravians designed a site plan, the details of which caused seemingly endless debates. After the plan was finished, construction was delayed by lack of funds. In a precarious position financially, the central church government was not anxious to accept extra burdens, though they finally gave the Irish Brethren permission to obtain loans. Work proceeded apace, once
Reinhard arrived to serve as the community's Vorsteher. However, God, through the Lot, delayed construction two years. Gracehill was started in 1764, after a nine-year delay.11

The finished communities of Salem and Gracehill were remarkably similar in appearance. Essentially Germanic villages in character, they were something of an anomaly in Ireland and colonial America. The people of these communities were innovative, designing and implementing complex water systems. The buildings they constructed reflect careful consideration and regulation. The architecture in Salem was diverse, reflecting several building styles: half-timbering with brick or plaster in-fill, field stone set in clay, stucco-covered masonry, frame, log, and brick. The architecture in Gracehill was quite similar due to the scarcity of basic materials including lumber, and as a result, the structures were all made of stone. However, though the builders at Gracehill used the same material, and strove to create buildings with symmetrical facades, they employed several finishing techniques to create variety, including the amount of shaping in the stone, pebbles in the mortar-joints, the use of brick in door and window casements, and the shape and size of the doors and windows. The buildings in both communities were built for practical purposes. They were functional but visually appealing, offering clues to the inhabitants' "ideas of simplicity, function, and piety."12

The genesis of two towns where the inhabitants might live together as "one family" and "lead a quiet & peaceable Life" lay in the amount of careful thought spent in their creation.13 In order to be successful in their mission, the Moravians created communities to serve as physical
manifestations of their beliefs. Salem and Gracehill were created independently of one another, by two different branches of the Unitas Fratrum. But these two segments of the church shared a common heritage which stretched three centuries. Because of this heritage, the resulting theology, and a naive trust in their mission, the people of Wachovia and Ballykennedy created sister communities, related by spiritual as well as physical appearance. The Brethren composed hymns asking for God's blessing before the towns of Salem and Gracehill were built. Another Moravian hymn explains why they were built:

Builder of mighty worlds on worlds,
How poor the house must be,
That with our human, sinful hands
We may erect for Thee.

O Christ, Thou art our Cornerstone;
On Thee our hopes are built;
Thou art our Lord, our Light, our Life,
Our Sacrifice for guilt.

In Thy blest Name we gather here,
And consecrate the ground.
The walls that on this rock shall rise
Thy praises shall resound.
NOTES FOR CHAPTER IV


3 Maps of the towns can be found in Murtagh: Lititz, 16; and Emmaus, 17. A map of Bethania is included in RM, I, 375.

4 A map of Niesky can be found in Murtagh, 8.

5 Archives, Historic Bethabara Park

6 Murtagh, 95-100.

7 "Remarks concerning the laying Out of the new Congregation Town in the center of Wachovia," RM, I, 314.

8 As Oeconomus, Marshall chose the final locations of the public buildings. RM, I, 374.

9 An extensive history of Bethlehem can be found in Murtagh, 23-93.


11 Work in Gracehill actually began with the construction of the Single Brothers' Manufactury, April 26, 1764, but the date usually given is March 12, 1765 - the date the cornerstone of the Gemein Haus was laid.


14 Hymnal and Liturgies of the Moravian Church, (Elk Grove, Indiana: The Moravian Church in America Northern and Southern Provinces, 1979), # 297.
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VITA

Christopher Edwin Hendricks

Born in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, November 6, 1963. Graduated from R. J. Reynolds Senior High School in that same city, May 1982. Received Bachelor of Arts from Wake Forest University, 1986.

In July 1986, the author entered the College of William and Mary in Virginia as M.A. candidate and an Historical Archaeology apprentice.