

Women on the Trail in Colonial America: A Travel Journal of German Moravians Migrating from Pennsylvania to North Carolina in 1766

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British North America was to a large extent an immigrant society in the eighteenth century. The large-scale internal migrations of many of these immigrants and their descendants, especially from Pennsylvania to the southern backcountry, are an important yet little-studied component of early American demographic and cultural history. Tens of thousands of migrants spoke little or no English, and we have few records of their travels. In particular, we have practically no journals describing internal migrations by women. In fact, a recent bibliography of published diaries and letters on all subjects by American women contains only one entry for non-English speaking women in the colonial period.¹

A travel journal written in 1766 by a sixteen-year-old German Moravian young woman named Salome Meurer offers valuable information on the lives of early American women and migrants, and helps fill the gap in our knowledge of internal migrations. Meurer's journal is a tale of a long overland migration lasting thirty days and covering 450 miles through the backcountry from Pennsylvania to North Carolina. But the most fascinating aspect of this migration is that it was undertaken by eighteen women and older girls and only two men.²

Meurer's journey was part of a series of migrations to and within British North America organized and financed by the Moravians, a German, radical pietist religious group centered in Herrnhut, Saxony. Beginning in 1734 and especially in the 1740s, large numbers from both Saxony and the new settlements in Wetteravia began moving into Pennsylvania. By 1775 over 800 members, including at least 265 women and girls, had emigrated to the colonies. Only one of this number had died during the trans-Atlantic passage. No other German or non-German migration of the colonial period was as successful as the Moravians in this respect.³

The Moravians were also well-organized when settling and migrating internally within the colonies. They established closed communities in Bethlehem (their North

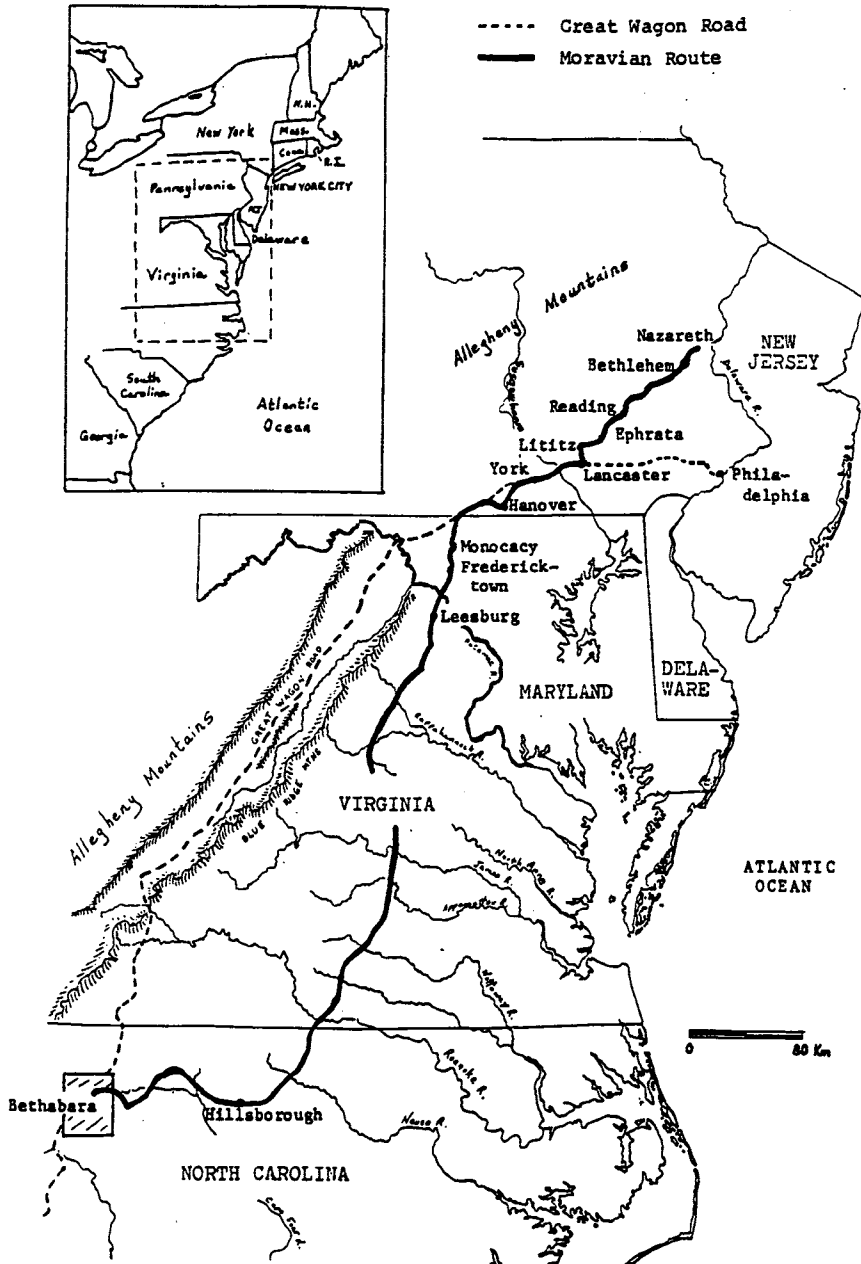
American headquarters), Nazareth, Lititz, and Emmaus, all in Pennsylvania, as well as in Graceham, Maryland. Within a few years, they built numerous congregations and Native American missions throughout New York, Pennsylvania, western Maryland, and several other mainland colonies, as well as Greenland and the Caribbean. In 1753 the Moravians sent the first party out from Pennsylvania to settle their newly acquired 100,000-acre tract called Wachovia (*die Wachau*), deep in the backcountry of North Carolina. They established Bethabara as the headquarters community. In the next eighteen years more than two hundred church members, including 74 women and girls, migrated to the southern colony, mostly from Pennsylvania.⁴

Women played important social, economic, and religious roles in shaping Moravian communities in Wachovia, Pennsylvania, and elsewhere. Moravian women contributed to the prolific output of community records and other writings for which the group is renowned. The Moravians divided their closed communities into "choirs," or living groups, determined by gender, age, and marital status. Members of each choir met regularly and provided each other with spiritual support and assistance in personal matters. Women supervised the social, economic, and religious life of the younger girls, older girls, single women, married women, and widows choirs, and kept diaries for each of these groups. As they approached death, Moravian women (as well as men) wrote personal memoirs, which were made public and served as guides for better living to those left behind.⁵ Occasionally, Moravian women migrants, missionaries, and other travelers kept journals of their experiences.

Salome Meurer's journal reveals important ways in which women's experiences in overland migration may have been different than men's. Most of the diaries of Moravian men traveling from Pennsylvania to North Carolina during this period present detailed accounts of mileage and landmarks—essentially navigational guides for future travelers. But Meurer's journal provides guidance for navigating the spiritual rather than physical landscape. (This is especially true for Virginia, where it was very difficult to plot her trail. See Map 1.) Moreover, Meurer's tale reveals the additional dangers women and girls endured when not escorted by large numbers of men.⁶

But many aspects of Meurer's journey were shared by all Moravian migration parties—men and women alike. When the Moravians migrated overland, or overseas for that matter, they received a great deal of support from their fellow members

Sources: Fogleman, "Hopeful Journeys," 285.



Map 1 The Primary Moravian Migration Route from Pennsylvania to North Carolina

who lived along the trail. After leaving Bethlehem—the starting point for virtually all migrations southward—they passed through Emmaus, Lititz, Lancaster, and York in Pennsylvania, and Fredericktown and Carroll's Manor in Maryland, all communities where Moravians lived. From them they received material and spiritual support, as well as directions to the next settlement. The Moravians in Maryland often provided a guide to the Potomac River and a few miles beyond. After traversing Virginia and crossing the Roanoke River into North Carolina, they again received support from Moravians coming to meet them from Wachovia.

One aspect of Meurer's journey shared by most other Moravian travelers was her extremely negative view of Virginia, which reflects a long history of the religious group's struggles there. Moravian itinerant missionaries had tried to establish congregations in the Shenandoah Valley in the 1740s, but encountered such hostility from the German Lutheran population that they were never able to build communities there. Consequently, with the exception of the first migration to North Carolina in 1753, the Moravians did not travel on the Great Wagon Road through the Shenandoah Valley, but instead stayed to the east of the Blue Ridge Mountains. This was the only stretch of the journey on which Moravians were unable to sleep in or near the homes of their fellow church members. The absence of the extensive support networks in Virginia, together with stories they may have heard from the earlier itinerant missionaries, may account for the distaste that Meurer and many other Moravian travelers expressed for the colony.⁷

Moravian failures in Virginia were exceptions, however, to their history of successes in North America, based to a large degree on the extraordinary measures their leaders took to plan and finance migrations. They sent instructions in advance to the communities along the trail, telling them when and how many travelers to expect, as when they migrated within the European continent or to England. They often met other Moravians on the trail heading in the opposite direction, in which cases they exchanged greetings, mail, news, supplies, and if necessary gave directions. When the migrants finally reached Bethabara, or later Salem, a brass choir greeted them and the entire community celebrated their safe arrival. These migration networks were central to building and maintaining Moravian communities throughout North America, the Caribbean, and Europe in the eighteenth century.⁸

Salome Meurer's journey of 1766 was part of two planned migrations that year from Bethlehem, Pennsylvania to Bethabara, North Carolina, which together

illustrate the organization and conditions of Moravian migrations. In April, the Elders Conference of Bethabara, the most important community in Wachovia at the time, wrote to the Provincial Synod in Bethlehem, asking for a half-dozen boys and two more men with a taste and aptitude for farming. They also asked for a dozen older girls, some craftsmen (e.g. a hatter, a dyer, a turner, and several carpenters and masons), and a surgeon (to replace Dr. Schubert, who had become fed up with life in Bethabara and left). Bethlehem should not send the new settlers until the autumn, however, because the necessary guides, food, or other necessities were unavailable before then.⁹

In June Frederic Wilhelm Marschall, a Saxon aristocrat who had been appointed *Oeconomus*, or executive coordinator of all conferences and committees in Wachovia (though he had not yet taken up residence there) replied to Bethabara's request for help. He informed the North Carolinians that Jacob Bonn (a resident of Wachovia since 1758) had been selected to become their new surgeon. Furthermore, two large companies would travel from Bethlehem to Bethabara to meet their requirements. The first choir would be a group of boys completing their apprenticeships. The second, consisting of an English preacher and his wife, an older single woman, a bride for Jacob Bonn, and a group of some fourteen older girls with three single sisters to supervise them, would come separately.¹⁰

On September 16, 1766 a group of eight boys and five men departed Bethlehem. They arrived in Bethabara October 11 and received a warm greeting from the brass choir ("*unter fröhlichen Schall der Trompeten*"). Only one boy had misbehaved and he was admonished. Two days later at a meeting, the Elders decided to put the newcomers to work in the kitchen. On October 15 they visited Salem, and shortly thereafter each received his permanent assignment.¹¹

Two and one half weeks after the departure of the boys and their supervisors, the girls and women left Bethlehem. On October 2, 1766 Meurer and eleven other girls (aged 13 to 17 years), four single women, one married woman whose husband was already in North Carolina, and an English preacher and his wife bade an emotional farewell and departed Bethlehem with a large wagon, tents, supplies, and nine horses. Another man, Brother Holder, accompanied the group at the last minute—perhaps even secretly.¹²

It did not take long for people in the surrounding countryside to realize that this was a very unusual party of migrants—eighteen women and teenage girls and

only two men. Meurer's descriptions of their encounters with local populations along the way reveal a great deal about conditions under which women traveled and the character of the males they encountered on the trail. In nearly every town through which they passed, from Pennsylvania to North Carolina, crowds of men gathered to watch, crack jokes, make passes at them, demonstrate their talents for consuming alcohol, or provide gentlemanly assistance. Sometimes their encounters were serious. Drunks hung around their tents at night, whistling and hooting. In the Virginia wilderness, some of the girls strayed off the trail and stumbled onto some "bad company"—six men who tried to kidnap them.

By the mid-1760s, Moravian prejudices against Virginia had become well-entrenched. Meurer herself despised the colony, and several other incidents there did nothing to change her mind. The river crossings were frequent and dangerous, and torrential downpours often kept the party drenched for days on end. Wild geese and sometimes aggressive, unenclosed pigs running through the forest disturbed their camps and ate or destroyed their provisions. One night three Irishmen came to their camp and harassed them. One insisted that he be allowed to take a wife from the group and was chased away only with great difficulty. Meurer expressed intense dislike for the slaves she encountered, especially those who ferried them across the rivers, until one night six came to their campfire and visited with them for awhile. Thereafter, her references to slaves became more positive.

While the colony of girls and women made its way south, the Moravians in Bethabara prepared for their arrival. On October 6, a relief wagon went north to meet them.¹³ After dropping off some supplies and exchanging mail, it continued on to Bethlehem. On October 24, Matthaeus Schrobb and Gottfried Grabs rode to meet Schrobb's wife coming down the trail. They met in Corbintown (Hillsborough), North Carolina, and an emotional scene followed, which Meurer describes. On October 31, the main party reached Bethabara as the band played "God Bless Thy Arrival" ("*Euren Eingang segne Gott*"). A "love feast"¹⁴ and singing followed and the girls were shown their new quarters in the congregation house "*Gemeinhaus*."

The 1766 women's migration contained a mixture of European-born and second-generation Americans. Some of the older members of the group were born in Germany or England, but most of the younger ones, including Meurer, were born in Pennsylvania. Salome's father, Johann Philipp Meurer, was an Alsatian

shoemaker who in 1740 journeyed to Herrnhag in Wetteravia to join the Moravians. He emigrated to Pennsylvania in 1742 with the so-called "First Sea Congregation." Johann Philipp Meurer wrote a fascinating account of his travels as well, a talent his daughter seems to have inherited. Table 1 is a list of migrants in Salome Meurer's party, along with their age in October of 1766, date and place of birth, and date and place of death:¹⁵

Table 1
Members of the Moravian Women/Girls Party
Migrating to Wachovia in 1766

Name	Age	Born		Died	
Richard Utley	46	Yorkshire/Engl.	1720	Salem/NC	1775
Sally Utley	59	Shropshire/Engl.	1707	Salem	1791
Anna Maria Schrobb	47	Basel/Switz.	1719	Nazareth/Pa.	1786
Anna Maria Kraus	45	Otlendorf/Saxony	1719	Salem	1798
Anna Marie Brendel	27	Muddy Creek/Pa.	1739	Salem	1815
Elisabeth Biehler	25	Warwick/Pa.	1741	Bethabara	1815
Catharina Beroth	24	York/Pa.	1742	Salem	1802
Elisabeth Oesterlein	17	Bethlehem/Pa.	1749	Salem	1802
Magdalena Hirt	16	Gnadenthal/Pa.	1750	Bethabara	1801
Salome Meurer	16	Bethlehem	1750	Salem	1821
Johanna Elisabeth Colver	16	Dansbury/Conn.	1750	Salem	1797
Dorothea Schütz	16	Bethlehem	1750	Bethabara	1816
Maria Elisabeth Engel	16	Bethlehem	1750	Salem	1821
Maria Magdalena Höpfner	15	Bethlehem	1750	Salem	1803
Anna Elisabeth Werner	15	Gnadenthal	1751	Salem	1818
Maria Schneider	14	Nazareth/Pa.	1752	Salem	1801
Anna Rosina Böckel	14	Christiansbrunn/Pa.	1751	Bethlehem	1817
Maria Elisabeth Kraus	14	Nazareth	1752	Salem	1788
Maria Christina Jorde	13	Nazareth	1753	Salem	1838

Information on Brother Holder, who seems to have secretly accompanied the party, is not available.

All but three of the migrants were German-speakers. The minister, Richard Utley, and his wife, Sally, the leaders of the party, were English. Johanna Elisabeth Colver's parents came from Connecticut.

Salome Meurer's journal, presented here in English translation, is filled with youthful enthusiasm, piety, and insight into an eventful migration of German-speaking women in colonial America. It is a rare source for studying non-English-speaking women and internal migrations in eighteenth-century British North America.

The method I employed in rendering the text from German into English was to translate as literally as possible, but as freely as necessary to provide a clear and understandable English text. The sometimes stiff nature of the translation reflects a similar style in the original. Meurer's writing style reflects not only normal eighteenth-century conventions, but also certain peculiarities which reflect her religious piety and that of the entire Moravian movement. At times Meurer uses the same religious vocabulary in different contexts which, in order to come as close as possible to the real meaning in English, requires different translations. In general, I have translated the text into modern English, making slight adjustments where the context seemed to warrant it. Some words, such as *Losung*, are explained briefly and then left untranslated, as they had peculiar significance to the Moravians which is difficult to convey in one English word or expression. Following Meurer's journal is a brief description of the party's arrival in Bethabara, written by the local minister, Johann Michael Graff, and entered in the community diary. Finally, an epilogue explains what happened to the migrants in the years after their arrival.

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Travel Journal of the Party Consisting of Brother and Sister Utley, Sister Schrobbin, 4 Single Sisters, and 12 Girls from Bethlehem to Bethabara in Wachovia, from October 2 to October 31, 1766¹⁶

October 2nd. We began our journey early, at 7:30, with the *Losung*,¹⁷ "Moreover concerning a stranger, that is not of thy people Israel, but cometh out of a far country for thy name's sake . . . do according to all that the stranger calleth to

Courtesy Moravian Archives, Bethlehem



The Single Sisters' House Complex in Bethlehem (1744-1773). Salome Meurer and many others in her party lived here before migrating to Bethabara in 1766.

thee for." "Thou hath died not only for our children, who are gathered with us here, but for all the children of God scattered over the face of the earth." ¹⁸

After walking the first two miles, escorted by many of the brothers and sisters from Bethlehem, we climbed onto the wagon. At 12 o'clock we arrived at Georg Leibert's place, where we ate our midday meal. Afterwards we bade a sad, tearful farewell with our dear Sisters Susel, Anna Salome, and Esther. It troubled us greatly because we realized that we may never see them again in our life. Brother Etwein tried all means to comfort us. He said, among other things, that he had always wished to hear us singing like children, as we go from place to place—like pilgrims.

But he had never had the chance until now. Then he began to sing, "O let thy sufferings go with us every step of the way. Tell thine angel to come and watch over thine own." Then he asked if anyone was without silver in their purse. There were five who had none, each of whom he gave each a shilling.

Sister Kraußin and Jordin were not feeling well that afternoon. A man approached us and asked the brothers, "Why are you sending all your pretty young girls from their home? Bethlehem is going to become deserted." As we passed by the Treksler's¹⁹ Dorel Schitzin²⁰ fell off the wagon, but escaped injury. The sisters took turns riding on the wagon. That evening we stopped by Antoni Fischer's, where we stayed overnight. As we sat down together to eat, the woman of the house asked us to sing a verse. We then sang, "With all my heart I love thee, O Lamb," and after eating, "Now we thank thee God, for thou doest such great good." Then she said that never in her life had she heard such beautiful singing as that of the young girls from Bethlehem. They do not wail but sing so clearly and gently. That made us feel good. Sister Katharina Berothin was not well. She could not hold up her head.

As Sister Brentlin and Liesel Bühlern went into the barn to make places for us to sleep a drunk sprang upon them. They quickly called to Jacob Blum for help, who had to save them. Thus we went into the barn. We did not think it possible that we could sleep here, for the sides were open and full of holes. Sister Kraußin stuffed some of the holes with turnip greens,²¹ but then the pigs came and ate them all up. They stuck their heads through the holes the whole night. As we lay down to sleep Brother Etwein sang "Take us into thy Grace." It was very drafty and extremely cold. We could not get enough covers to stay warm and we didn't sleep the entire night. At first we thought it was exciting to be sleeping in a barn, but eventually we were so aching and stiff that we could hardly move. We were also very scared.

October 3rd. Brother Etwein and the brothers who were our drivers got up and made us a good breakfast. At 4 o'clock Brother Etwein awakened us with a couple of verses. At 5 o'clock we continued our journey, cheerfully and in good spirits. But our feet were so swelled up that we couldn't put our shoes on. We had to use a lantern since it was still quite dark. Brother Etwein entertained us with all sorts of charming (*niedliche*²²) discourses. We ate our noon meal by a mill next to the road. As we were finishing Brother Holder came back from his parents. He was very worn out. As he saw that we had made it this far he decided to take us on to

Lititz.²³

In the afternoon we went through Reading.²⁴ There our numbers seemed to increase: The people all came out of their houses and stood watching on the streets, saying, "God almighty! Where are so many women going?" There must have been nearly a hundred people who gathered around us. We could hardly even turn the wagon. Sister Brentlin's brother came from Heidelberg²⁵ and rode a couple of miles with us. He was very cheerful and charming. At 7:30 in the evening we arrived at Sinking Spring, where we stayed overnight. We drank chocolate together and then lay down to sleep on the bare ground, since the people there had no straw. But we didn't get any sleep. Those people were drunk and were yelling and whistling until two in the morning. Brother Etwein had to get out of bed and quiet them down. It was very unpleasant to hear. We girls and Sister Brentlin slept in a room that was about as large as Sister Anna Salome's. The other sisters and brothers slept above us in another room. They couldn't sleep either though, for their beds were full of fleas.

October 4th. We got up at 5 o'clock and thanked God that that night was over. Brother Etwein gave the morning blessing. After that we were feeling a lot better and continued our journey cheerfully and in very good spirits. We were feeling exhausted though, since we had not slept for two nights. After traveling seven miles we arrived at an inn called Viehof. There we took something warm to drink. In the afternoon we arrived at Henrich Miller's. Two nuns from the cloister²⁶ visited us. The mother of one lived in Bethabara. She gave us some letters to deliver. We laughed and laughed at their costumes, for their hoods had long tails that extended in the front and rear down to their shoes.

In the afternoon, full of bliss and cheer, we all sang as we covered six miles. It seemed like only a mile—until we were crossing a stream and Sister Katharina Berothin fell off her horse into the mud. At 5 o'clock we arrived in Lititz.²⁷ It was raining very heavily. Sisters Mari Magdalena and Magdlenel welcomed us at the door and led us to the sickroom, where we were to stay, and then they made tea. In the evening we ate in their dining room. It tasted very good. Several girls had blisters on their feet. The sisters lent us all beds. The singing hour was canceled because of the rain. We went to the choir's evening blessing. It seemed like we were in Bethlehem.

October 5th. We got up at 7 o'clock in the morning, all of us having slept

Courtesy Moravian Archives, Bethlehem



A young Moravian woman during the colonial period, painted by Johann Valentin Haidt. Although she was not in the party which migrated to Bethabara in 1766, she is wearing the typical costume of those who did.

well, and the sisters made breakfast. Liesel Bühlern rode off very early with Brother Franke to see her parents. During the litany Brother Grubi prayed for our dear Carolina Society (*Gesellschaft*). Today we were all very homesick for Bethlehem, especially for our choir.²⁸ Sister Brentlin's parents, two of her sisters, and one of her brothers came during the sermon. At first her mother didn't see her—just as she looked in that direction her daughter's back was turned. After the sermon her mother and her sisters cried out loudly. Her father and her brother were quite charming and her mother quite sad. In the afternoon they visited us, and as they saw that we were all happy and cheerful, they said to their daughter, "Now my dear child, go then in God's name." They stayed until noon the next day. Before leaving the mother was in good spirits (*niedlich*) too. Sister Brentlin's father gave her a present.

October 6th. We slept well again last night, but it rained so hard that we couldn't leave until midday. We ate here again and thereafter continued our journey well-rested. Sister Mari Magdalena would have liked to go with us to Yorktown but she couldn't get the wagon. As we passed through Lititz we stopped at the Tannenbergs. Brother Grubi played the organ for us, then Brother Erwein said we should be sure to enjoy it because we would not hear any more organ music until

we reached Carolina.²⁹ We went into an inn as well and there bade farewell to our dear Brother Etwein. We left not without tears, because he had made things so wonderful for us, as only he knew how. He had shown real fatherly loyalty to us. He and Brother Grubi went with us a little ways further.

As we left Lititz it began to rain. The walkers went three miles in the wrong direction and passed through a little town, but couldn't find out what it was called. Today was the first night we slept in the bush. The brothers put up the tents and we gathered firewood for cooking and pulled off leaves to lie down on, since the ground was soaked. Sister Liesel Bühlern and her brother arrived just in time. It was a great pleasure for him to see us all so happy and cheerful. He told his sisters that he wanted to ride with us once during the night so he could see what our company looked like. We were very glad that things went so well with Liesel and her parents. They were happy to let her go because it was our dear Saviour's will. Sisters Brentlin and Berothin did the cooking. As we went into the tent we found that there wasn't enough room for us all. We thought, if patient, many sheep can fit into a stall. The brothers chopped up some trees and made a big fire between the tents.

October 7th. We got up at 4 o'clock, but had never really slept. It had been very cold and the wind was blowing the smoke from the fire into our tents. Almost everyone had either the sniffles, a toothache, aching joints or something. Brother Utley gave the morning blessing and read us the *Losung*. At 10 o'clock we reached the Susquehanna. After making it about half-way across the river we had to turn back. The wind blew so strongly that the waves were lapping onto the raft. The ferry people were afraid because the boat was so full—22 people and 9 horses were riding on it. We thought constantly about the *Losung*: "The LORD shall command the blessing upon thee . . . in all that thou settest thine hand unto." "Thus I reach out and take up the task HE has given me with the joy."³⁰ After a couple of hours we risked crossing again. Sisters Schrobbin and Utley remained on the wagons. After much anxiety and work we finally made it.

The wagon from Yorktown met us on the trail. Six persons could sit on it. We encountered a man who said, "I believe that's a whole regiment of women folk going to Carolina!" At 4 o'clock we arrived at Yorktown and Annel Herrin made tea. Many girls and children came from as far away as three or four miles to see us. Our room was full the entire evening and many wanted to go with us. Samuel Herr and his wife made everything just wonderful for us. They set the table as if we were

the grandest of all people. During the seventh hour the wagon arrived. They were just crossing the water as we arrived here. At 8 o'clock we went to bed.

October 8th. We got up at 6 o'clock, having all slept well. Our room was full again with people from the town. After breakfast we marched on. Sister Catharina's parents were also very dear and with all their hearts were happy to let her go in the name of the Saviour. Today we were all happy and blissful, having charming conversations with each other. That evening there were strangers everywhere. Several girls did chores, namely Dorel Schitzin helped with the cooking, Sister Höpfner handed out spoons, Sister Jördin picked up the bowls and carried them to the kitchen, the Schmids distributed the plates, Sister Oesterlein took up the pilgrim staffs, and Hirtin and Johanna Liesel Culvern unpacked and repacked the beds. Tonight we slept better in the bush than the first night. Brother Utley said the evening blessing.

October 9th. We got up at 4 o'clock, all of us having slept well. Then we had our morning blessing. By midday we had traveled 16 miles. Half of us walked, for the wagons were so heavily laden than only three people could ride. And the horses could hardly make progress. In the evening we went through Hanover. As soon as we reached the town a drunk began to play the drum and sing. He was yelling so that we were afraid to go by. You could hear him throughout the entire town. Our feet were full of blisters again. Because of all the strangers present we couldn't have the evening blessing.

October 10th. At 5 o'clock we had our morning blessing. At midday a man came and said, "Where are you going with this herd of sheep?" Answer: "To Carolina!" Several others came and wanted to talk all kinds of nonsense with us. But we said we didn't understand English. We had our noon meal on the street in Frederickstown.³¹ Brothers Mathäus, Krobstruk, and Paul joined us there and we were very happy to see them. They wished us luck and many blessings for every day and hour of our journey. They asked us to greet all the brothers and sisters in Bethabara and Bethania, and then marched back to Monocacy (Maryland). There were strangers with us every evening. Brother Utley had the opportunity to tell one man about the Saviour.

October 11th. At 8 o'clock in the morning we reached the Potomac. The Negro that got us across the river didn't know what he was doing. He fell in the water four times and left us stranded three times. In the afternoon we traveled

through Leesburg (Virginia). The people all came out of their houses and said, "Where did you leave all of your men?" Some said they thought we were a bunch of Zinzendorfers.³² We would rather not have stayed too long in this country. All week long, but especially today, our thoughts and feelings were in Bethlehem. The congregation was celebrating the Sacrament (communion) and we were not able to enjoy it with them. But our Saviour comforted us greatly with His dear presence. We spent our time talking with Him. In the evening we sang until our heads were full of blood and wounds.³³ Then we lay down to bed and went blissfully to sleep.

October 12th. We held our Sunday activities in the bush. Sister Schrobbin was sick and Sister Utley didn't feel well either. After breakfast we did some washing. Every stranger who rode by came to see us. In the afternoon we took a nap and just relaxed. In the evening we had a singing hour.

October 13th. Today we continued our journey cheerfully and in good spirits. The strangers were always saying that we were sure a nice company of travelers. We all seemed so happy and cheerful that they wouldn't mind going with us. That afternoon it was very warm. We didn't come to a creek for eight miles and were soon very thirsty. Virginia's reputation as a dry country is well-deserved. In the evening we were cheerful and in good spirits.

October 14th. In the afternoon we came to a river called the Rappahanock.³⁴ Only four persons could ride in the canoe. Brother Holder³⁵ paddled us across. On the other side were some completely naked Negro children. Every day we realize more and more how very lucky we are to have been born and raised in our congregation (*Gemeine*). It was very hot again.

October 15th. At the morning blessing we sang for Sister Kraußin's birthday, "He soothes and renews her. Bless her, God our God." Then we marched on singing,

Little creatures are given birth,
 Given birth by Immanuel.
 O creator of their souls,
 Let their souls go step for step
 In goodness and charity.
 Father help our sister please Christ.
 Thine as if thou were steel and brass,
 We commend her thine soul.
 Whenever thy heart is with her,
 Be for her to this end

In every hour a healing salve
On her hands.

As soon as we went in our tent that evening six Negroes came. As they left three Irishmen came who insisted on sleeping with us. They tried everything to see if we would give in. One of them said that he had never seen so many beautiful ladies. He thought he would have to take one of us for his wife. We pretended that we could neither see nor hear them and bade the Saviour to stop up our ears and close our eyes when such people were around us. Brother Utley needed quite a while to get rid of them. Then we lay down to bed near a bubbling stream.

October 16th. Early in the morning we noticed that a half sheep and a quarter of beef had disappeared, probably eaten by the pigs,³⁶ for the sack which held the meat was found lying in the bush. At nine o'clock we met Jacob Miller and another man coming from Bethabara. They informed us that we could expect to meet the wagon tomorrow at midday or in the evening. Everyone was happy and healthy in Bethabara and Bethania except Jacob Lösch, who had the fever. The brothers and sisters there send us their warmest greetings.

In the afternoon we went with Brother Schnepf a ways ahead of the others and asked him everything about what it was like in Bethabara. He answered us simply and thoroughly. Just as we were going to bed that evening the wagon arrived quite unexpectedly. When it was still a mile from here we could hear the cracking of their whips. Our brothers then took up their whips and began cracking them in return. The drivers of the relief wagon, Brothers Heinrich and Johannes Schoes brought us letters from Bethabara. Everyone sent their warmest regards. Brother Schrob wrote his wife that he expected to join us on about the 23rd or 24th. He was worried that we had not left on the correct day, as the boys had.³⁷

October 17th. We remained here until noon. The brothers unpacked and repacked while we wrote letters to Bethlehem. In the afternoon we bade Ernst and Marcs Kiefer a tearful farewell. We could have easily gone with them—we were so homesick for Bethlehem. We held an endearing discussion. Salome Meurer³⁸ rode four miles behind Sister Catharina on the trail. We had to make it to Normen(?) Court House, where we stayed overnight.

October 18th. We got up at four but hadn't slept well. There were some geese running around on top of our tent the entire night. We had to constantly get up

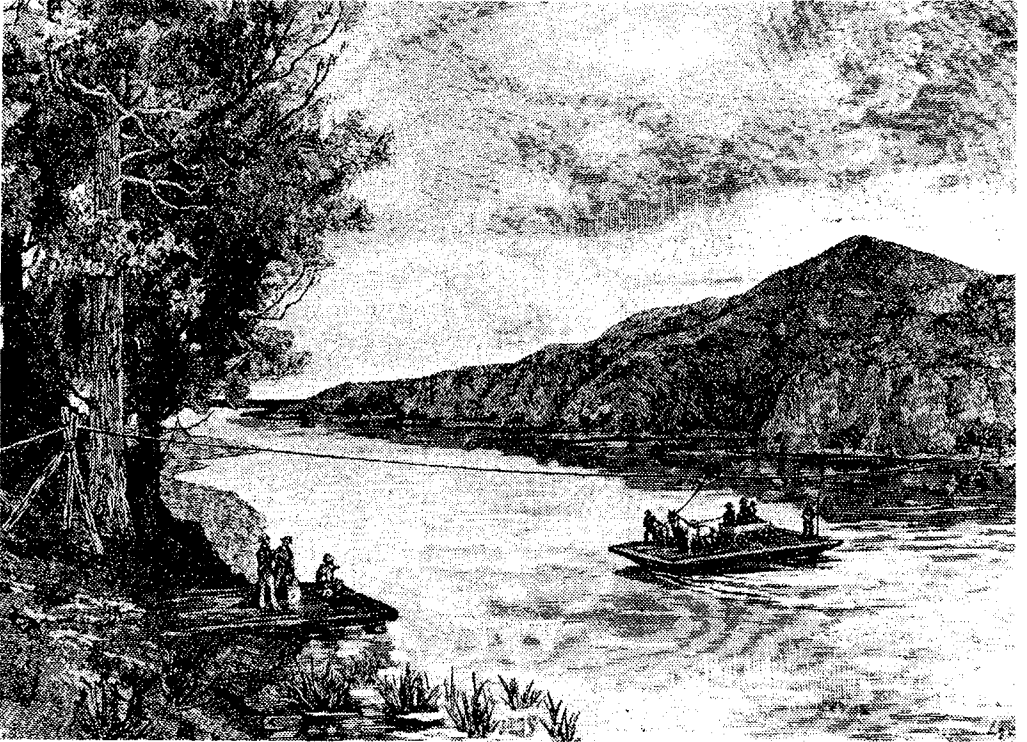
and chase them away. As soon as we lay back down they came back. A black pig came as well and nearly bit off Sister Brentlin's hand. The dogs were running around by our feet the whole night too. At five we continued our journey by moonlight and passed the entire morning with singing. By midday we had covered sixteen miles. In the afternoon we went a half mile off course and met some bad company. There were six men, one of whom stood up as soon as he saw us and began to grab several of us by the hand. Apparently they expected to pack us up and take us with them, and grabbed Magdalena Hirtin by the waist. But our dear Saviour was watching over us, keeping us from harm. When we began to resist their advances they laughed at us. Then Brother Holder called out that we should turn around. We waved our arms to get him to come help us. He kept them at bay until we passed.

In the evening we passed by a court house. More than thirty people stood outside, talking loudly amongst each other. We couldn't understand very much. Unfortunately we were for the moment without a brother nearby. But we went on past them very quietly. For those who were afraid to pass through such company we said that our dear Saviour would not let us be harmed. We were his people. Nothing could happen that was not His will. It was very hot again. We didn't reach any water for twelve miles. Today was the first day that we covered so much ground—thirty miles. A 1/2 mile before making camp we passed a house where we could hear a lot of music. It was very late before we reached the James River and made camp. Our feet were full of blisters.

October 19th. Early in the morning two Negroes ferried us across the river. They did a good job. We were only supposed to travel until 9 o'clock but couldn't find any water until we had covered sixteen miles. It was so hot that we nearly quit. We passed the evening singing. We could hardly stop, for the feeling that the Saviour was in our presence was overwhelming. Brother Utley held the evening blessing, then we went to bed.

October 20th. In the morning it began to rain a little bit but soon stopped. A family with two children approached us. The man said, "It is so nice to see young people making their way so peacefully. You don't even worry about what is behind you. You don't even yell and make a fuss like most young people would be doing." In the afternoon we encountered two thunderstorms. It poured as it only can from heaven, but the rain didn't bother us as much as the thunder and lightning.

Courtesy of the Virginia State Library and Archives.



A river ferry crossing in the Virginia backcountry. The Moravian women's party made several such crossings during their journey to North Carolina.

Sometimes it looked like fire was coming down right before us. We all became soaking wet, without a dry thread on us. As soon as we stopped for the day the brothers began chopping down trees for a big fire. We were not allowed to do anything but stand in front of the fire and warm ourselves. The brothers warmed us up some rum and pitched the tents. We lay down to bed but didn't think we would sleep a wink. We put our clothes on the tent to dry.

October 21st. We got up at six, having slept very well. At 7 o'clock we continued our journey, but we all had to walk, for two horses were sick—they could hardly move. Brother Utley wasn't feeling very well. He caught a chill yesterday. It was misty the entire day but it didn't rain until nightfall, when it poured. We had to get up and move, and we thought of Brother Nathanael. If we had not lain on the slope we would have been bailing water out of the tent.

October 22nd. At 7 o'clock we marched on and were in good spirits the whole day. We were very weary though, since we had been walking for three days. We cared too much for the horses to want to ride in the wagons. We also thought we would get cold and sick if we rode, for everything in the wagon was soaked. We passed the evening singing and were feeling very well.

October 23rd. We sang throughout the morning. The weather was bad, which made us think of the verse, "So goes thy traveling vessel—it first rises, then sinks in the sand." It was pouring rain and we were soaked. At noon Brothers Utley and Schnepf went ahead to make a fire for us to warm ourselves, for we were stiff and frozen. We received a drink of warm rum and then marched on. The rain fell on us like someone was pouring it out of a barrel. The entire trail was covered with water. At one point the water looked deep. But we didn't think we could get any wetter than we already were so we went right on through and found ourselves standing knee-deep in it. Normally, we would have all sat in the wagon. We often thought of the poor pilgrims.³⁹ Then we went two miles off course. Brother Utley went ahead to try and find a house where we might stay over night.

In the afternoon we only made three miles, for we were constantly stuck in the mud. We were also completely exhausted. Here we stayed, five miles from the Roanoke. The brothers had worked so hard. They made a big fire so we could dry ourselves, and didn't pay any attention to the rain. As soon as we were dry, everything was wet again. We made our beds but couldn't sleep because our joints ached so much. First we would lay by the fire, then in the tent. So it went back and forth the whole night. Another big storm came.

October 24th. In the morning we were just as wet as yesterday and had nothing dry to put on. We covered five miles by 10 o'clock, when we reached the Roanoke. Brother Utley had slept a mile from here in a house, making a fire in the Negro's house while he waited. We and the horses crossed the Roanoke with no problems, but the wagon was in great danger. The Negro, who had been drinking too much, had only one pole and was pushing the raft toward a large cliff. Just before we hit the cliff Brother Holder quickly made an oar and paddled toward us in the canoe. There was a brother, a sister, and a young girl on the raft. In the meantime Sisters Brentlin and Liesel Bühlern took care of the horses. The brothers said later they see our prayers and exhortations to our dear Saviour when they were on the water. The *Losung* was remarkable. It said, "The Lord God of Israel, hath given rest unto his

people." "Now we shall endeavor to rejoice in Him every hour!" ⁴⁰ Luckily everyone made it across the river, except for one of the dogs, who was still on the other side. It took us from 10 until 1 o'clock to finish. The brothers were completely exhausted.

The Saviour gave us good weather in the afternoon. We went another three miles and then stopped for the day. The wagons were unloaded and everything hung out to dry, for it was all thoroughly soaked. We went to bed early and thanked the dear Saviour for his grace in watching over us on the river and for the good weather. Sister Kraußin was a bit sick.

October 25th. We all slept well. The brothers had worked so hard yesterday that they couldn't eat or sleep. Brother Holder's arm was hurting him again. We crossed into Carolina for the first time and rejoiced that our dear Saviour brought us so happily through Virginia. The brothers even said they would have never taken this route if they had known how difficult it would be. Once again we took turns riding on the wagon. At midday a woman came with her son and daughter. She was very nice to the brothers and sisters and gave us some provisions. She even said that if any of us should ever return that we should visit her. She wanted to give us a couple of days worth of provisions. Sister Brentlin taught her daughter how to make bandages, for which her mother was very grateful. Also, a man came who was a wagon master in Carolina. He spoke piously with Brother Utley, who showed him the way of the poor sinner to the Saviour. The man listened very attentively and then asked if he could visit us if he ever came to Bethabara. The people in Carolina are no doubt very different and much better than in Virginia. In the evening we were very happy and blissful.

October 26th. We got up early and traveled ten miles until we came to Fisher's Creek. Then we had our Sunday service and rested. In the evening, during the usual time of the community meeting we held a charming liturgy with one another. Brother Utley gave the evening blessing. We were all feeling quite content.

October 27th. In the morning we continued our journey happily and cheerfully, singing the verse, "Thus we begin our work." We came to several creeks without bridges and had to climb on the wagon. Sometimes we just hung onto the sides. The brothers tied together the girls with thick ropes in groups of four so that none would fall under. Sometimes they took us up behind them on their horses. In the evening Brother Jacob Blum rode ahead to buy some meat and slept in Corbintown.⁴¹

October 28th. We began our journey again at 5 o'clock. At 10 o'clock we went through Corbintown and began buying all kinds of things. A woman told us that she had had a great misfortune seven years ago, namely her daughter drowned two miles from here. Then she began to sob loudly and said she had to tell everyone about it so that they would be careful there. Her husband is 98 years old. At 3:30 in the afternoon Brothers Schrobb and Grabs met us with a wagon, coming from the other direction. Sister Schrobbin had had a feeling we might see them. She wanted us to go all afternoon on foot ahead of the others so that she could find her husband first. Brother Grabs took Sister Schrobbin alone on the wagon and rode ahead a ways. There stood her husband with Brothers Utley and Schnepf in the bush. There followed incredible rejoicing and we all drank together to his health. Then Brother Grabs took Brother and Sister Schrobb and Brother Utley onto the wagon. Brother Schrobb held the evening blessing.

October 29th. We got up cheerfully and were feeling well. Brother Schrobb held the morning blessing. We had all slept well. Then we began our journey. But it was so cold that everything was frozen by noon. We ate in Peter Noi's house. He lent us two horses and a small wagon. In the afternoon the brothers and sisters rode ahead and slept in a house four miles from us. Sister Kraußin held the evening blessing.

October 30th. We continued our journey feeling quite refreshed and passed the time in charming conversation. We reminded ourselves of everything that we liked about Bethlehem, and of how our Saviour is often with us. In the evening Brother Jacob rode in advance to build a fire for our last night in the bush. We spent the entire evening in song, praise, and thankfulness and were very happy.

October 31st. We got up early and Sister Kraußin held the morning blessing. During our last night we slept well. On the trail we talked about what all our Saviour had done for us during the entire journey and how He had seen us and our brothers safely through. We remembered what the dear Sisters Susel and Anna Salome told us before we left Bethlehem. We had a lot to talk about and did so in charming conversation until noon. We covered sixteen miles and wondered what happened to the time. We didn't want to ride in the wagon, for we thought we would reach Bethabara sooner if we all walked.

In the afternoon we encountered a man with two horses. He told us that the other brothers and sisters arrived in Bethabara safe and sound in the evening at the

twelfth hour. In the afternoon we still had seven miles to cover. At 3:30 we reached Bethabara happily, safe, and sound with the *Losung*, "Now write ye this song for you and teach it the children of Israel: put it in their mouths, that this song may be a witness for me against the children of Israel . . . for it shall not be forgotten or out of the mouths of their seed." "In singing 'Jesus is arisen!' our voices shall never grow weary." ⁴²

Brother Graf and Schrobb met us as we entered Bethabara and the band played "God Bless Thy Arrival." Then we were led to the congregation house (*Gemeinhaus*) and had a small love feast. We could not thank our LORD enough for bringing us here so safe and sound. His greatest and most important deeds were: His grace and protection of us while on the Susquehanna, His watchful eye over us day and night as we passed through Virginia, His protection of us on the Roanoke when some of the brothers and sisters nearly went under with the wagon, and that He kept us and our brothers so healthy during such bad weather. We give thanks and praise for the peace of God, which grew with each day during the trip, our love amongst each other, and much more. In short, the journey was very endearing. It lasted 29 1/2 days and we slept 25 nights in the bush. The trip lasted 704 hours altogether. Praise, glory, and power be to Him, our Redeemer, from us poor sinners!

* * * *

Brother Graff wrote the following at the end of the Bethabara community diary for October 31st: ⁴³

The arrival of the sisters and young girls in Bethabara on the afternoon of October 31st was extraordinarily charming and moving (*afficiend*). Tears were flowing down everyone's cheeks, including the brothers and sisters of Bethabara who could not hold back during the reception. The entire party was lodged in two rooms in the *Gemeinhaus*. Above these rooms was a pretty sleeping room, over which they rejoiced like children because they had expected nothing but small huts here.

During the singing hour our community, which now has a complete set of choirs, gave childish, joyful thanks for the happy arrival and gracious protection of this party from the many difficulties and dangers which they encountered in body and soul. We concluded by asking for His blessed presence for the new arrivals and

those already living here. At the end of this month we must indeed confess—our faces must be flushed with the joy and thanks we owe our God. Since we have been here he has dealt with us very graciously, in view of all the sickness that had been prevalent and has ensured that we have not suffered too much. For this our thanks are in accord with the collects of today's *Losung*: "In singing 'Jesus is arisen', our voices shall never grow weary." "To the Lamb, from whom all good things come, through His blood, we respectfully give thanks."

* * * *

Epilogue

On November 1, the day after the migrants arrived in Bethabara, the *Ältesten Konferenz* convened to discuss how the new inhabitants would be employed. They read aloud a letter that the migrants had brought with them from Bethlehem, which instructed them to place Anna Maria Schrobb in the *Ältesten Konferenz*. The Utleys became *Helfer*—Richard became a pastor, and began preaching that very day in English and German, while Sally became a supervisor of a choir. Anna Maria Kraus joined the *Ältesten Konferenz* and became the primary supervisor and *Vorsteherin* for the older girls choir. The next day the community announced Anna Maria Brendel's engagement to Jacob Bonn, and they married soon thereafter. On November 3 Brother Schrobb led all the new arrivals to nearby Bethania, where they spent the day meeting the inhabitants of that Moravian community, before returning to Bethabara in the evening. On November 4 the *Helfer-Konferenz* assigned everyone their work duties. Before the end of the year, however, Brother Schrobb died, and his wife, Anna Maria Schrobb (one of the migrants) returned to Bethlehem.⁴⁴

"Now Bethabara is a complete community with all its choirs," proclaimed the minister who kept the community diary when the girls and women in Meurer's party arrived.⁴⁵ This statement reveals the design and priorities in building the Moravian community. It was not enough to have skilled craftsmen, farmers, businessmen, housewives, children, and ministers in the community. Nor was it enough to achieve economic self-sufficiency, for Bethabara had accomplished this by 1758.⁴⁶ To build a "complete community" one had to construct and compartmentalize it the correct way—"with all its choirs." This the Moravians did by planning and organizing a series of migrations which, one after another,

systematically provided the components of their community. At the close of the year 1766, 130 Moravians inhabited Bethabara. The minister who kept the community diary, Johann Michael Graff, listed the 130-member community by its components⁴⁷:

Table 2

The Community of Bethabara in 1766

Choirs	Total Persons
18 Married Couples	36
Widowers	3
Widows	4
Single Sisters	3
Older Girls	12
Younger Girls	5
Single Brethren	36
Older Boys	20
Younger Boys	11
Total	130

Soon the new town of Salem would replace Bethabara as the focal point of Moravian society in North Carolina. They placed it in the middle of their large tract so that it would be roughly equidistant to all the other communities and act as a centripetal force, attracting the inhabitants inward among themselves, as opposed to outward toward the non-Moravian community. By 1772, the entire Wachovia project was complete.⁴⁸

Salome Meurer, the author of the diary, began working for the *Oeconomus* (the primary directory of the settlement) after arriving in Bethabara. In 1768 she was accepted into the single sisters choir, and in 1772 she moved to the new Moravian town of Salem. In 1775 she married Tycho Nissen, a wagoner who had come from

Holstein to Salem five years earlier. They then moved to the Moravian agricultural community, Friedland, further south in Wachovia. In 1780 they returned to Salem, and shortly thereafter Nissen became sick. Meurer had to work as a tailor to support them, a trade she had learned in Bethlehem. After her husband's death in 1789 she married Abraham Hessler, an American-born minister, and moved to Bethabara. He died four years later. She then returned to Salem, where she helped in the community girls school (*Orts Mädchenschule*).⁴⁹

In 1821 Salome Meurer died of breast cancer in Salem, leaving behind three children (one having preceded her in death) and twelve grandchildren. Her diary, filled with youthful enthusiasm and insight into an eventful German migration in America, is a fascinating and extremely rare source for studying non-English women and internal migration in eighteenth-century British North America.

Notes:

1. See Joyce D. Goodfriend, ed., *The Published Diaries and Letters of American Women: An Annotated Bibliography* (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1987). The only entry for non-English speaking women in the colonial period is the diary of a Pennsylvania German woman from 1765 to 1796, which contains only a few brief entries for the years before independence (see "Selections from the Diary of Christiana Leach, of Kingsessing, 1765-1796," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 35 (1911), 343-349).

2. The original manuscript of Salome Meurer's journal can be found in the Moravian Archives in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. See "Diarium der Reiß Gesellschaft von Geschwister Uttlis, Schwester Schrobbin, 4. Ledige Schwestern, und 12. Mädchen von Bethlehem bis nach Bethabara in der Wachau vom 2ten Octob., bis 31. Octob. 1766," JF II 1b. Meurer was born in Bethlehem on January 20, 1750.

3. The mortality rate of Moravian immigrants during the Atlantic crossing was one tenth of one percent—38 times less than that of all German-speaking immigrants who arrived in Philadelphia. For a thorough treatment of Moravian migrations to and within North America during this period see Aaron S. Fogleman, "Hopeful Journeys: German Immigration and Settlement in Greater Pennsylvania, 1717-1775," (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1991), 238-294, esp. 269-270.

4. Most of the literature on the Moravians in North America is in English. See Daniel B. Thorp, *The Moravian Community in Colonial North Carolina: Pluralism on the Southern Frontier* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1989); Beverly P. Smaby, *The Transformation of Moravian Bethlehem: From Communal Mission to Family Economy* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988); John R. Weinlick, "Moravianism in the American Colonies," in F. Ernest Stoeffler, ed.,

Continental Pietism and Early American Christianity (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1976), 123-163; Gillian L. Gollin, *Moravians in Two Worlds: A Study of Changing Communities* (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1967); Jacob John Sessler, *Communal Pietism among Early American Moravians* (New York: Holt, 1933); Joseph M. Levering, *A History of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, 1741-1892, with Some Account of its Founders and their Early Activity in America* (Bethlehem: Times Publishing Co., 1903). Georg Neisser, one of the early immigrants, wrote a contemporary account, "Kurzgefasster Aufsatz von der Mährischen u. Brüder anfänglicher Ausbreitung in den Nord-Americanischen Colonien u. Missionen vom Jahr 1734 bis 1741," which was published in English translation. See William N. Schwarze and Samuel H. Gapp, trans. and eds., *A History of the Beginnings of Moravian Work in America*, vol. 1, *Moravian Archives Publications* (Bethlehem: Archives of the Moravian Church, 1955). Most recent literature in German on the Moravians tends to concentrate on their early leader, the Count of Zinzendorf, and not on their activities in North America. An important older work, however, is Hellmuth Erbe, *Bethlehem, Pa., Eine kommunistische Herrnhuter-Kolonie des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart, 1929). A denominational history by J. Taylor Hamilton and Kenneth G. Hamilton, *History of the Moravian Church, The Renewed Unitas Fratrum, 1722-1957* (Bethlehem: The Moravian Church, 1967), is still the standard work on the Moravians' world-wide activities. For the settlement of Wachovia, see Adelaide L. Fries, *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina*, (Raleigh: Edwards & Broughton Printing Company, 1922), 1: 484-492.

5. See e.g. Smaby, *Transformation of Moravian Bethlehem*.

6. For Moravian overland travel journals published in translation see William J. Hinke, and Charles E. Kemper, trans. and eds., "Moravian Diaries of Travels through Virginia," *Virginia Magazine of*

History and Biography, v. 11, n. 2 (Oct., 1903), 113-131, v. 11, n. 3 (Jan., 1904), 225-242 and 370-393, v. 12, n. 1 (July, 1904), 55-82, v. 12, n. 2 (Oct. 1904), 134-153, v. 12, n. 3 (Jan., 1905), 271-284. Most of the originals are in the large, mostly unpublished collection of Moravian travel journals in which Salome Meurer's journal is located, e.g. JB I 5a and JB I 5d, Moravian Archives, Bethlehem. 7. On the difficulties the itinerant missionaries encountered in the Shenandoah Valley see the published diaries in note 6. For other accounts of Moravian travelers expressing negative views of Virginia see e.g. "Br Sauters Nachricht von seiner Reise nach North-Carolina...vom 3then Jul. bis 29thens Aug. (1755)...," S 743:5, Moravian Archives, Winston-Salem; "Kurze Nachricht von der Reise...von Bethlehem, d. 30. May bis zu ihre Ankunft in Bethabara, d. 28. Jun. 1771," JE S II 3, Moravian Archives, Bethlehem; "Travel Diary of Bishop and Mrs. Reichel and Their Company from Lititz to Salem in the Wachau (Wachovia) from May 22, to June 15, 1780," in Newton D. Mereness, ed., *Travels in the American Colonies* (New York: Macmillian, 1916), 586-599, and their return trip (603-613).

8. See Fogleman, "Hopeful Journeys," 238-294. Instrumental and vocal music was very important to the Moravians. In at least one case, the migrants themselves carried instruments. In 1755 a group of Moravians traveling through Virginia on their way to North Carolina began playing their trumpets at their night's camp. Soon a crowd of laughing and joking onlookers formed around them. Upon arrival in Bethabara, both the community and its new arrivals were able to greet each other with music. See "Diary of the Little Pilgrim Congregation" (1755), *Records of the Moravian Church*, 1: 140-147. 9. Ettwein to *Vorsteher Collegium*, February 1766, Box 4, Folder 30, Official Correspondence, and *Ältesten Conferenz* to Provincial Synod, 14 April 1766, Folder 31, Moravian Archives, Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

10. Marschall to *Ältesten Conferenz*, June 24, 1766,

Folder 33, Moravian Archives, Winston-Salem.

11. Matthaeus Schrobbs to ?, November 20, 1766, Box 5, Folder 1, Document 7, Official Correspondence, and October 11-20, 1766, *Diarium von Bethabara u. Bethanien in der Wachau auf das Jahr 1766*, Moravian Archives, Winston-Salem.

12. Authorship of the diary is attributed to Salome Meurer in *Geschw. Schrobbs to ?, Bethabara, November 20, 1766*, General Early Correspondence, Moravian Archives, Winston-Salem. Brother Holder was supposed to have led the group only as far as Lititz, Pennsylvania (see Meurer's entry for October 3), but entries from October 14, 18, 24, and 25 suggest that he probably made the entire trip. There are several indications that he may have done so without permission, perhaps even secretly. For instance, Meurer lists members of the party on the title page of her journal, but Holder's name is missing. As her journal was later read by church officials she may have been trying to conceal Holder's presence in the group as much as possible. Also, none of the records in Wachovia indicate that Holder arrived with this group on October 31, 1766 (see *Moravian Records*, 1: 490-491). It is possible that he turned back after October 25 (the last time Meurer mentions him in her journal) and before October 31.

13. October 31, 1766, *Diarium von Bethabara u. Bethania*.

14. In the love feast Moravians gathered together and celebrated special events with tea, the breaking of bread, and hymns. Today Moravians have coffee and a pastry at their love feasts.

15. Johann Philipp Meurer's story is told in two sources, both written by himself and now located in the Moravian Archives in Bethlehem. The first is his life-long diary—377 pages in length ("Johann Philipp Meurer von Ingweyler aus dem Elsa, Anno 1742, *Diarium von 1708*," JC IV 1). The second is a translation of a letter to his aunt and uncle in Germany, which he wrote on board the *Catherine*, while anchored in Long Island Sound, and later

updated in Philadelphia ("Br. Jn. Philipp Meurer's Journal to Pennsylvania from Febr. 25 - June 15th, A. 1742," JC IV 2a). For a translated summary of the part of Meurer's diary dealing with the voyage see "From London to Philadelphia, 1742," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 7 (1913), 94-106. Information on births and deaths come from the Moravian burial records, located primarily in Winston-Salem.

16. The translation includes some minor alterations of the original text. For example, some commas were changed to periods and paragraph divisions were made to facilitate easier reading. Bible and hymn verses and other quotes in quotation marks, and some abbreviations were omitted. Occasionally, I have added words in parentheses to further clarify and original. "Sister Schrobbin" refers to Anna Maria Schrobbs. The "-in reflects the feminine ending quite commonly used in the 18th century.

17. The *Losung* was a daily text, which contained a Bible verse and a hymn verse. Each day Moravians came together for morning and evening devotions, during which they read and discussed the text. Throughout the day they reflected upon the meaning and importance of the text. In 1731 they began binding and printing them in yearly editions—one *Losung* per day. Although the format has changed, the Moravian Church still publishes the *Losungen* in several languages.

18. The first quote is from 1 Kings 8:41 and 43. (I have used the King James Version in all Bible quotes.) The second is from selection 2396 in the Moravian Hymnal.

19. Now called New Trexlertown.

20. "Dorel Schitzin" is an alternative spelling for Dorothea Schütz.

21. Meurer uses the term *Riebe Kraut*, which literally means the leaves of a root vegetable, in this case probably turnip greens.

22. *Niedlich* - literally cute or charming - is a term Meurer uses often. It was a part of the peculiar speech associated with the period of intense, emotional piety from which Pennsylvania

Moravians were just emerging in the 1760s. It is difficult to translate, and I have chosen different ways to do so, based on the context.

23. This is the first mention of Brother Holder, one of only two men who made the trip. He is not mentioned in the title of Meurer's journal and appears in this entry to be acting as a temporary escort—one of many—which indicates that he may have accompanied the group by his own spontaneous decision, perhaps even secretly, as opposed to being a part of the elaborate planning process described earlier. Holder may have been from nearby Oley. Meurer does not mention him again until October 14.

24. Reading was the seat of Berks County, Pennsylvania. The population of the town was about 85 percent German. See Laura Becker, "The American Revolution as a Community Experience: A Case Study of Reading, Pennsylvania," (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1978).

25. In 1743 the Moravians established a congregation at Heidelberg, in western Berks County.

26. This refers to the cloister at Ephrata in Lancaster County. It was founded by Conrad Beissel, around whom a splinter group from the Church of the Brethren, or Dunkers (a German radical pietist group) began to gather in the 1730s. The description of the nuns' habit is extremely rare for this early period. See E. G. Alderfer, *The Ephrata Commune: An Early American Counterculture* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1985).

27. Lititz, also in Lancaster County, was one of the closed Moravian communities in Pennsylvania.

28. Here *Sahl*, which is the meeting room of the choir. The context suggests that they miss the people who met in the room, not the room itself.

29. Here Meurer refers to the famous Moravian organ builder, David Tannenberg (1728-1804). Tannenberg immigrated in 1749 on a Moravian ship and settled in Bethlehem. He learned to build organs in Pennsylvania, working with Johann Gottlob Clemm. In 1765 he moved to Lititz and began

working on his own. Thus Meurer heard one of his first organs. Tannenberg eventually became the most influential Pennsylvania German organ builder of the second half of the eighteenth century, building nearly fifty for Moravian, Lutheran, and German Reformed congregations as far south as Salem, North Carolina. He built harpsichords and clavichords as well. See Raymond J. Brunner, "*That Ingenious Business*": *Pennsylvania German Organ Builders* (Birdsboro, Pa.: The Pennsylvania German Society, 1990), vol. 24 in *Publications of the Pennsylvania German Society*, esp. 68-97.

30. From Deuteronomy 28:8 and Hymn 1770.

31. Now Frederick, Maryland.

32. Many Germans had an extreme dislike for Moravians, whom they sometimes called "Zinzendorfsians," after the name of their early leader, Count Zinzendorf.

33. This may be an example of Moravian spiritualism and mystical piety during the so-called "Sifting Period," during which the "Litany of Blood and Wounds" dominated Moravian speech, hymnology, and practice. However, Meurer may also be referring to a specific German hymn, "O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden" ("*O Head Filled with Blood and Wounds*"), a Lutheran hymn composed in the early 17th century by Hans Leo Haßler.

34. Meurer writes "Mekehenic," which does not seem to have existed. Given their approximate location at the time, she very likely meant the Rappahanock River (see Map 1).

35. This is the first indication that Brother Holder accompanied them not only to Lititz (see entry for October 3), but, indeed, throughout the entire journey.

36. Pigs were not yet enclosed in this part of colonial Virginia.

37. Meurer is referring to the groups of men and boys who migrated to Wachovia the previous month.

38. Here Meurer refers to herself in the third person, probably because she intended her journal to be read by other members of the community. That she is,

indeed, the author of this journal is noted in the following letter: Geschw. Schrobb to?, Bethabara, November 20, 1766, General Early Correspondence, Moravian Archives, Winston-Salem.

39. The "poor pilgrims" may refer to the first Moravian settlement party to move from Pennsylvania to North Carolina in 1753. For an English translation of their difficult journey see "Moravian Diaries of Travels through Virginia," v. 12, n. 2 (Oct., 1904), 134-153 and v. 12, n. 3 (Jan., 1905), 271-284.

40. From 1 Chronicles 23: 25 and Hymn I: 1838.

41. Called Hillsborough after 1766. It was an remains the county seat of Orange County.

42. From Deuteronomy 31:19 and 21 and Hymn 2171,1.

43. This addition, with the above title, was attached to Meurer's diary. Johann Michael Graff, pastor in Bethabara, wrote these lines in the official community diary. See Lititz Records, Wachovia

Memorabilia of 1766, Moravian Archives, Bethlehem.

44. November 2-4, 1766, Bethabara Diary; November 1, 1766, Minutes of the Ältesten Conferenz, Moravian Archives, Winston-Salem. On Anna Maria Schrobb, see her burial record in "The Moravian Graveyards at Nazareth," *Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society*, v. 7, pt. 3, 85-207, here 111.

45. "Nun ist in Bethabara eine Complete Gemeinde nach allen Chören." 31 October 1766, Diarium von Bethabara u. Bethania.

46. Thorp, *Moravian Community*, 107-147.

47. *Moravian Records*, 1: 323.

48. Thorp, *Moravian Community*, 33.

49. Biographical material on Salome Meurer comes from her *Lebenslauf* (memoir). Most Moravians wrote one as they neared death. It can be found in the memoir collection of the Moravian Archives in Winston-Salem.