

EARLY BLACK-ATLANTIC CHRISTIANITY IN
THE MIDDLE COLONIES: SOCIAL MOBILITY
AND RACE IN MORAVIAN BETHLEHEM

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*I*n 1736, an unlucky eight-year old Igbo boy named Ofodobendo Wooma found himself in the pestilential hold of a European slave ship on its way to the West Indies. In his West African homeland, he had been pawned to a local merchant or other rich man by his uncle who needed a loan, perhaps to buy food for his family during one of the ongoing droughts that struck this region in the eighteenth century. Another possibility is that the uncle was a slave supplier who pawned his nephew to local Aro slave traders as security for a promised shipment of captives. When he could not produce slaves to the traders, Ofodobendo was sacrificed. As the brother of Ofodobendo's mother in this matrilineal society, his uncle was the head of the family and had ultimate power over him. The patriarch probably had every intention of repaying the loan and retrieving his nephew, but somehow he failed to do so and Ofodobendo fell into the hands of local Aro slave traders. They took him to a port on the Atlantic coast, perhaps Elem

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Kalabari, Old Calabar, or Bonny, directly south of his Igbo homeland where the Niger River delta meets the Gulf of Guinea.¹

Two years later another young West African, this time a girl from Little Popo living close to the Atlantic littoral along what Europeans called the Gold Coast, also found herself thrown into the maw of New World slavery. Though it is not known why she was sold into bondage, warfare between Little Popo and expansionist Dahomey raged throughout the 1730s, so it is likely that she was taken prisoner as a spoil of war and traded to an English ship captain in exchange for Indian textiles, knives, or even more importantly for the warrior Dahomeans, European firearms.²

Both West Africans were quite young when they were torn from their families; the boy, who would later become known as York and then Andreas, was only eight; and the girl, later known as Beulah and finally Magdalene, was six. European slave traders usually shied away from buying young boys, and certainly young girls, because they could not be readily put to work in the fields and therefore did not command as high a price at American slave markets as did able-bodied adults. As often happened, however, children were thrown in with adults even though European slavers did not want them. They usually had no choice in the matter; their African trading partners often controlled the supply and forced white ship captains to take less desired human "cargo" so that the ships would be as full as possible for the Middle Passage. It is possible that, as mere children, Ofodobendo and Beulah did not suffer as much as older Africans during the Atlantic crossing. Sometimes young slaves were adopted by the crew, working as personal servants and thus eating somewhat better than the average captive, as well as having more freedom of movement around the ship. Both young captives were probably in better health than their fellow slaves since they had been taken from regions close to the African coast, whereas the majority of slaves were taken from areas deep within the African interior and were debilitated by the journey to the sea. Children were not immune, though, to suffering and abuse aboard slave ships; captive girls as young as eight were routinely raped by captains and crew.³

However they were treated on the journey to America, Ofodobendo was first sold to a master in Antigua, who three years later resold him to another who then transported him to New York City. He was one of roughly 1.5 million Igboes forcibly taken from the Bight of Biafra during the era of the transatlantic slave trade. Some of the immigrants were transported directly to North America, but the vast majority ended up in the British

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West Indies, mostly in Jamaica. A smaller number, like Ofodobendo, made a second middle passage from the Caribbean to the mainland colonies. As the eighteenth century progressed, slaves sold to North American buyers increasingly came directly from Africa, as a partial list of the slaves owned by German Moravians in Philadelphia in 1766 reveals. John Rebo, who was born in Angola in 1721, was taken to Jamaica when he was only twelve years old, but was then relocated to New York four years later before finally being sold to a Moravian in Philadelphia in 1747. Woodbridge, whose birthplace was only identified as "Guinea," was taken first to Barbados when he was only six before being sold eight years later to a new master in Philadelphia in 1764. But four other Moravian-owned slaves in Philadelphia were imported to the City of Brotherly Love directly from Africa: Tobias, who was born an Igbo in 1721, came to America in 1763; Dinah, who was shipped in chains from Guinea, debarked in Philadelphia in 1756; Flora, an Igbo born in 1725, came to the Quaker City in 1735; and Rose, born the following year in Guinea, also ended up in Philadelphia one year after Flora. Of the six captives mentioned, five were very young, less than twelve years old.⁴

It is not known if Beulah spent any time in the West Indies because the first evidence we have of her is when she was bought by Charles Brockden, at the time the Recorder of Deeds for Pennsylvania.⁵ Trafficking in human beings was big business in the Northern colonies during the eighteenth century and was a prime source of wealth for many of early America's most prominent families. The Igbo Ofodobendo and many other African captives were sold in New York through the efforts of the well-connected Livingston and Schuyler clans. In Pennsylvania, slave women like Beulah were marketed by the Morris family whose patriarch, Robert Morris, used his fortune to help finance the Patriot cause and was the Superintendent of Finance during the American Revolution. New England and the Middle colonies' shipbuilding and insurance industries grew and thrived in the eighteenth century on the profits of the slave trade. So even though slavery was not economically viable in most of the North, the slave trade became a major catalyst for the region's prosperity.⁶

In a remarkably short period of time, both young Africans found themselves in a strange land among an unknown people. Everything about their new homes was alien. Instead of a small village filled with relatives who spoke the same language, ate familiar foods, and worshipped ancestral gods, Ofodobendo in New York and Beulah in Philadelphia were thrust into two of the largest cities in eighteenth-century North America. Suddenly they were

surrounded by people they did not know who spoke unintelligible languages, ate strange foods, and prayed to a foreign white god. In order to survive, they would have to adapt to their new environments, though some parts of the culture which they eventually joined shared much with their natal cultures. Being slaves, they had to negotiate the hazards of bondage in Britain's Northern colonies, which though generally less brutal than in the Southern colonies, still offered African Americans little hope of social autonomy or economic advancement. Both became devout Christians and therefore seemingly assimilated into white culture. They did not lose their Igbo and Papaw identities and African consciousness entirely, but incorporated other identities including being laborers, slaves, Afro-Christians, and in their later lives, freed people. Ofodobendo and Beulah accepted and used Christianity to blur the lines between slavery and freedom—a practice which ultimately led those who successfully became “Afro-Moravians” to enjoy greater economic mobility, autonomy and, often, to obtain their freedom.⁷

Both West Africans eventually moved on to the religious community of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, built by German-Moravian immigrants. While Bethlehem was a small place, the existence of rare, first-hand memoirs, diaries, and other documents permits us to explore individual life stories (including those of a number of African-born individuals) to understand the complex blend of motivations, strategies, and religious impulses in the African-American embrace of Christianity. In microcosm, Bethlehem represents the coming together of black Atlantic people from many points of origin who found in this particular version of Christianity a common reference for cultural re-formation and for new spiritual and social identities. Bethlehem was an important and influential point in a multi-sided series of Atlantic connections, and even exchanges, between Europe, Africa, the Caribbean, and the mid-Atlantic.

The world that Ofodobendo and Beulah stepped into, rough and tumble like most societies just emerging from their frontier stages, was particularly hazardous in the 1730s and early 1740s. New Yorkers, especially, were well aware and nervous about a recent spate of slave conspiracies and rebellions afflicting many New World colonies. They read with horror about the slave revolt which rocked the Danish West Indian island of St. John in 1733, where the rebels maintained control of the colony for six months. Equally troubling was the slave conspiracy in Antigua three years later, and the slave rebellion outside of Charleston, South Carolina in 1739. They also knew about Jamaica's Maroon Wars of the 1720s and 1730s, where slaves actually

took legal possession of 1,500 acres of territory in a settlement with a British government unable to crush them. New York had its own slave rebellion in 1712 in which twenty-five to fifty African men and women, many of them Coromantees, killed nine whites and wounded six others. This disquieting episode was followed in 1741 by the discovery of an alleged plot by New York City's slaves and some lower-class whites to burn the town and kill its wealthy white inhabitants. It was never entirely clear whether this plot really existed, but given the fear engendered by the recent slave revolt in South Carolina and the ongoing War of Jenkins Ear (1739–1744) against Spain, most official and upper-class New Yorkers were prepared to think the worst. In the ensuing trial, thirteen black men were burned at the stake and seventeen more were hanged. Two of the men who were hung were then cut down from the scaffolds, chained to posts close to the city's Negro Burial Ground, and left to decompose as a warning to other nascent conspirators. Another eighty-four black New Yorkers were sold to masters in the Caribbean, which for many of them was a death sentence given the crushing labor they would be forced to endure in the West Indies.⁸

The object of this gruesome display of punishment in 1741 was to impress upon New York's remaining slaves the terrible consequences of planning, much less physically attempting, a revolt against white authority. The bloody executions must have terrified young Ofodobendo, who by coincidence came to live in New York the same year that the slave plot and trial occurred, and who could have looked on the decaying bodies of the alleged conspirators as a warning that he needed the protection only a strong master could afford him. Upon arriving in New York he was sold to Thomas Noble who as a successful merchant did business throughout the British Atlantic world and was closely associated with some of the city's most powerful business and political leaders. Noble was also a deeply religious man whose friends included Presbyterian preacher Gilbert Tennent of New Jersey and British Anglican evangelist George Whitefield. Though he was Presbyterian, the religious revivals of the era's Great Awakening caused Noble to be open to other Protestant denominations, and he subsequently lent assistance to a small group of Moravians who came to New York from Germany in 1740. Noble led his family to church every Sunday and sponsored prayer meetings in his house during the week. He also expected his new slave Ofodobendo, now renamed York, to learn the fundamentals of Christianity, which meant learning to read so that he could understand the Bible.⁹

York's decision to convert to Christianity may have been purely a matter of self-interest and self-preservation, though he may also have been following the dictates of Igbo social tradition. Sold into slavery at age eight, he would have been old enough to have undergone initiation rites to become an adult member of his clan. Most Igbo were considered as twice-born, the second birth allowing the individual to graduate from childhood into adult status. Without this ritual coming of age, an individual was either relegated to permanent infantilism, or was not considered a full clan member. For slaves like York, transportation to America meant being severed from their clan affiliations, leaving in doubt their adult status. In slave colonies with large African American populations, regaining at least fictive clan relationships and adult status through African religious ceremony or conversion to Christianity was eminently possible.¹⁰

New York City in 1740 had a population of roughly 10,000 people, 2,000 of whom were black. Though Afro-New Yorkers made up a substantial portion of the city's population, they were dispersed throughout the town, individual slaves and freemen generally living with their owners or employers. There were opportunities for some social interaction by the city's blacks, but not enough to develop fictive kin networks. York, looking for an alternate source of security, may have tried to attach himself to his owner's family. His initial position in the Noble household was tenuous since Thomas Noble had little use for such a young slave and had only taken him in on a trial basis. His age, however, was probably the reason York was bought by Noble. It was important for Northern slave buyers that their new captives be children since most captives lived in their master's homes. Discontented adult slaves, especially ones from the Caribbean who may have been involved in the region's numerous slave rebellions, posed potentially grave risks to owners' families; children could be more easily controlled. Even as a child, York knew that he needed to find a way to more firmly bind himself to his new ruling clan. Embracing its religion was one way to gain a quasi-acceptance, giving him claim to at least some rights, the most important of which was not being sold away to an unknowable fate. The Noble family treated him fairly well, fed him, and even promised, as events transpired, a limited sense of belonging. Accepting their Presbyterian and later Moravian Christianity, whose requirements for attaining full communicant status were stringent, might have represented as well a substitute for a West African coming of age ritual. Becoming a Moravian offered York a chance at second birth and a path to adulthood.¹¹

Part of the initiation process for becoming a priest among many West African peoples was to be given a new name. Slaves were, moreover, accustomed to being renamed by white masters who usually could not pronounce their African names and used renaming as a way to assert their power over their bondsmen and women. Upon baptism, Afro-Moravians were renamed yet again, signifying their new identification with the martyred Christ. For York, who might have already harbored an ambition to become a missionary, receiving his new name probably did not represent a ritual detachment from his Igbo culture. He needed the new name to become an adult member of the community so that someday he could attain some level of spiritual leadership and power.¹²

Given New York's political instability and York's personal insecurity, the young Igbo was eager to become a member of a Christian "clan." Thomas Noble had opened his home to the Moravians for weekly prayer meetings but he became unsure about the denomination when it came under criticism by Gilbert Tennent, local ministers, and even Atlantic-world evangelist George Whitefield for its allegedly unorthodox religious views. Noble was ready to withdraw his support from the Moravians when his wife stepped forward, boldly defying both her husband and local religious opinion. Admiring the Moravians' religious principles and strict moral code, Mrs. Noble convinced her husband to continue aiding the Brethren and even goaded him into attending the Moravians' weekly prayer meetings with her. He soon came to share her admiration for the Moravian faith, so much so that when his wife died in 1745, Noble decided to move his entire family to the Moravians' new community of Bethlehem in northeastern Pennsylvania.¹³

By 1746, York had learned how to read the Bible and prayed with the Noble family regularly, but had still not been baptized. That Thomas Noble hesitated to take this next step may have stemmed from concern that once baptized York would think himself free. As a deeply religious man, Noble may also have questioned York's commitment to living a Christian life. For a young man, New York City offered a multitude of temptations that had to be mastered before baptism could be conferred. It is also likely that York, as a teenager, showed little interest in or understanding of Christianity, and he may also have clung to his childhood Igbo beliefs. He understood, however, the importance of pleasing his owner and began visiting Bethlehem, one hundred miles west of New York, with him in early 1746.¹⁴

What York discovered when he visited the Brethren in Bethlehem must have startled him. Though clearly not free of racial prejudice, the

mostly German-speaking Moravians appeared far more concerned about the young Igbo's soul than the color of his skin. On three of his visits in early 1746, he was invited to "lovefeasts," so-called because the Brethren celebrated their love of God and one another in a communal ceremony in which they broke bread and prayed. York had probably not experienced this type of unconditional acceptance since he left West Africa. As early as the end of January, 1746, a Moravian chronicler noted that "York, the Negro, . . . longs for baptism." York must have convinced the Brethren of his devotion to and knowledge of Christianity, because in quick succession he was "baptized by Br. Rauch and called Andreas" in mid February and one month later "had permission to go to communion for the first time," thus indicating that he had become a candidate for full membership in the church. Several days later he returned to New York with his master Thomas Noble, but then we find that he was back in Bethlehem two months later. His reemergence at the Brethren's town in Pennsylvania in mid May was certainly the result of the Noble families' move there, but it may also have been a matter of choice for the newly-baptized Andreas. Given Thomas Noble's religious commitment, he would probably not have forced a non-Christian slave to accompany him to a forthrightly religious settlement. He could easily have sold him in New York if Andreas had requested to stay there. It seems likely that the young Igbo voluntarily chose to accept Christianity and to live on the frontier among this new band of religious zealots. New York offered access to greater numbers of people of color, but it could also be a dangerous place. Bethlehem offered security, psychic well-being, and, given the Brethren's penchant for missionary work, the possibility of a new profession; for Andreas, the decision may not have been that hard to make.¹⁵

For the young female slave from Little Popo named Beulah, her master's suggestion that she move from Philadelphia to Bethlehem in 1743 was greeted with much less enthusiasm. Her owner, Charles Brockden, sent her to the Moravian settlement so that she would be "protected from the temptations of the world." Beulah was so unhappy at the prospect of going to live in Bethlehem that, according to her memoir, she "begged him [Brockden] to sell me to another person; as I was too much attached to the world and its enjoyments." In this last sentence Beulah may have been referring to the natural desire of teenage girls to be free to experience the social and sexual delights of young adulthood, though it is also possible that she was using the conventional language of many Moravian memoirs which used this standard

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device of saying how worldly they were before finding Jesus Christ. Her resistance to moving from Philadelphia may also have been fueled by her desire to continue to enjoy the city's African-derived celebrations. Pinkster and Negro Election Day both offered people of African descent an occasion to gather for ethically-based merrymaking. At these large outdoor events, which took place in many Northern cities, groups separated by African ethnic affiliation sang songs in their native languages and danced in Old World styles. Black kings and queens were elected who "ruled" over the festivals' participants, and gave a temporary respite from the tedium of slavery and the tyranny of white hegemony. Beulah probably took part in these festivals as well as other opportunities for socializing in Philadelphia's small but growing black community.¹⁶

Despite informing Brockden that she "desired to enjoy fully" her life in Philadelphia, he asked Beulah to at least try living in Bethlehem; if she did not like it there, he promised, she could return to her former life in the city. She arrived at the Brethren's settlement in November 1743 to what she later described as a friendly reception. Beulah was understandably one of the only people of color there since Bethlehem operated under a communal economy from 1741-1761, making private property in slaves illegal. All of the settlement's early slaves were owned by the church, which was generally suspicious of slavery in "God's community," or at least too much slavery. Pennsylvania had always had slaves, but their numbers had remained small until 1754, when the beginning Seven Years' War abruptly cut off the supply of European indentured servants to the province and local farmers and artisans turned to Africa to fill their desire for cheap labor. Mirroring the rest of the Quaker colony, the number of blacks in Bethlehem rose considerably in the following half-century, eventually comprising some five percent of the town's working population. Beulah, though, must have initially been quite lonely until she learned how to speak German and other people of color, such as Andreas, came to the Moravian enclave. Beulah was so dissatisfied with her new living arrangements that she purposely misbehaved, hoping to be sent back to Philadelphia. This attempt failed, either because her labor was too desperately needed or the Brethren were truly committed to her salvation. After several years she finally became reconciled to living with the Moravians, her owner having given his permission for her to remain in Bethlehem. In 1748, Beulah was baptized and received her new Christian name, Magdalene; seven months later she became a communicant.¹⁷

Religion and Equality in Bethlehem

The Bethlehem that Andreas and Magdalene stepped into was a very new settlement. It had been established several years before in the winter of 1741 as a refuge for German Moravians fleeing religious persecution in Europe. Like many frontier communities, Bethlehem's social and economic structures were not fully formed for several decades, providing even African American newcomers like Andreas and Magdalene unprecedented opportunities. They still had to live with the restrictions put upon them by slavery, but Bethlehem's frontier status and religious mission allowed them considerable room to maneuver. Living as full members of a religious settlement considered by most other white Americans as "unorthodox" could, besides offering fulfillment, also have its dangers. The Moravians of Bethlehem, as a German-speaking, radical pietist sect were looked upon with considerable suspicion by both "old stock" English colonists and more recent settlers from Germany of more orthodox religious views. African Americans had to weigh the benefits of the greater social and economic freedom they might enjoy as Moravians against the potential costs in persecution for being not only part of a religious minority, but also a racial minority isolated from other people of color.

When Ofodobendo came to Bethlehem, the exclusivity of the Moravians' religiously-based commune and the strict rules for admission to full communicant status, though, would have been familiar to him and other transplanted Igbo. Between 1650 and 1850, the Igbo created or expanded secret societies in response to pressures put upon their cultures by the Atlantic slave trade. As the Igbo attempted to create stable social conditions by instituting secret societies which strictly regulated the personal behavior of its members, the Moravians also fostered social harmony by separating themselves from an evil world and instituting a highly regimented social structure in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania.¹⁸

By the middle of 1741, the Brethren in the new town of Bethlehem and later its sister town of Nazareth were well on their way to building substantial communities based on strict religious moral codes, Christian brotherhood, and missionary outreach.¹⁹ It was vitally important to the Brethren that they choose a suitable site for their new home in North America. The Moravians who settled on the Lehigh River in 1741 came there to find a better life, but an even greater concern was that the new community should further their religious goals. From the beginning, the Moravian settlements in North America, including Bethlehem and Nazareth and those which

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joined them later were organized as religious communes whose purpose was to provide the people and means by which missions to the larger world could be undertaken.²⁰

The Brethren's commune, or General Economy (1742–1762) as it was known in Bethlehem, was centrally organized, with representatives from each industry and dormitory-style house reporting to a central board under Moravian Bishop Augustus Spangenberg. Committees were established whose responsibilities included the growing and procurement of food, building, education and sanitation, as well as bookkeeping and general administration. All Moravians in Bethlehem during the period of the General Economy lived in dormitories segregated by age, gender, and marital status. Children under the age of eighteen months lived with their parents, but then were given over to the Nursery. At age four, they were sent either to the Little Girls' Choir or the Little Boys' Choir until they turned twelve, when they joined either the Older Girls' or Older Boys' Choir. At age eighteen, young Moravians graduated to choirs for Single Sisters or Single Brothers. Upon marriage, they became members of the Married Peoples' Choir, and if one of the spouses died, the survivor joined either the Widow's or the Widowers' Choir. Bethlehem's regimented segregation by age and gender mirrored in many ways the structure of many Igbo villages. Towns in the eastern sections of Igboland were split into groups according to age. Boys over the age of five or six usually left their parent's home and moved to so-called boys' houses in the village. Female children also lived in gender exclusive compounds, though usually with their mothers.²¹

Moravian Bethlehem's pre-modern communal organization also prompted a thorough-going egalitarianism among its members that extended to its people of color. Almost everyone was housed in large stone dormitories and ate at communal dining halls. New recruits deposited what money they had with the community treasury for as long as they remained residents. Their clothes and tools were supplied by the Gemeine, or congregation organization, and all land was held in trust for the church. To a greater degree than anywhere else in Anglo-America, the Brethren had instituted a program of equality of condition. As church members who were also the property of the congregation rather than private owners, Andreas, Magdalene, and other Afro-Moravians shared all the benefits and obligations of the Gemeine, substantially blurring the line between slavery and freedom. There were still obvious differences, of course: whites could leave at anytime, whereas the mobility of enslaved blacks, including the possibility of being sold away involuntarily,

continued to be controlled by their masters. On a day-to-day level, however, the restrictions that circumscribed the lives of Afro-Moravians in Bethlehem were no more or less harsh than the ones which bound whites.²²

Attempting to gauge how harsh or benign slavery was in the North in general and in Moravian Bethlehem in particular is complicated by a number of factors. Slavery in 1750 in rural Pennsylvania was quite different from that, for example, on an Alabama cotton plantation in 1850. Further complicating the issue of the relative treatment of slaves is the very definition of treatment. When analyzing the quality of a slave's life in any given place or time, three meanings of "treatment" need to be kept in mind. The first is day-to-day living conditions: did slaves receive adequate food, clothing, and shelter, and how long and how hard did they have to work? Second are the general conditions of life: how secure were slave families, and were they able to develop independent religious, cultural, and social lives? And third was the slaves' access to freedom and citizenship: did slaves have the chance to become free men and women?²³

Using the above mode of analysis to measure the treatment of slaves in Moravian Bethlehem and the North as a whole helps to remove the discussion from one of mere romantic speculation. Slaves and free people of color in eighteenth-century Bethlehem were, as we shall see, treated well in terms of day-to-day living conditions and the eventual possibility of freedom. Applying the second definition of slave treatment, determining whether slaves like Andreas and Magdalene really had true freedom of choice, however, becomes more difficult given the social and religious missions of the Moravians.

When Andreas and Magdalene moved to Bethlehem in the mid 1740s from New York and Philadelphia, they probably had little idea of how their lives would change. In many ways they continued to experience all the hardships and joys of most blacks in the Northern colonies, but in other ways their lives changed radically. Magdalene was immediately placed in a dormitory with five other girls who, because their races were not mentioned, were probably white. Andreas was assigned to "company 6" in the Single Brethren's Choir dormitory in September 1746. He shared his "company" with nine other young men, three of whom, Joseph, Joachim, and Johannes, were Native Americans. Though his other five choir mates were white, none of the other five companies had any non-whites.²⁴

The Moravians, with this early example of segregation in sleeping arrangements, appeared to be conforming to the racial attitudes then common among

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white Americans. Whatever the reasons were for this sort of separation in 1746, by the spring of 1749 another policy was instituted. In March of that year the Single Brethren's Choir was split into three classes: the first was made up of recent European immigrants; the second were those born in Europe but who had lived in America for some time; and the third class was made up of the native born, "whites, brown ones, blacks . . ." This later segregation appears to have been more practical and logistical than racial, allowing the newest immigrants to enter the Gemeine more slowly, while at the same time preventing the disruption of already formed classes.²⁵

In the years after 1746, most segregation by race seems largely to have disappeared. As of April, 1748, a "Pockon Mulatto boy, named Johann, who had been with our Brethren in Berbiza [in what is now the South American country of Guyana] several years" was "put in our Boys' Choir." In December 1748, the "Small Candidates" for a newly-constructed Single Brethren's dormitory included two people of color: Sebastian the Negro and Owen the Negro. As late as 1781, "the mulatto boy Titus . . . was "received into the Boys' Choir." Whether Bethlehem's dormitories were fully integrated or not, the living conditions they afforded to the Afro-Moravians were far better than those of the vast majority of black slaves on Southern plantations or even Northern households and farms. Even slaves who lived with their masters' families in the plantation "big house" or in a city usually lived in crude outbuildings or underneath the stairs; some were forced to lie down at night looking up at the stars. The German and Anglo Moravians of Bethlehem were clearly not free of racial prejudice, as their use of suffixes like "negro" and "negress" to differentiate Afro-Moravians attests. Their commitment to religious and social equality, however, meant that the physical lives of blacks in Bethlehem were undoubtedly more comfortable than those of other people of color elsewhere. It also brought them closer than any other group in the eighteenth century to realizing true Christian brotherhood.²⁶

Of greater importance to the Moravians than an individual's physical well-being was his or her ability to know and love God. Though most of the Brethren had only modest educations, Church leaders firmly believed that all communicants should know how to read the Bible. With that goal in mind, the Brethren instituted their first schools shortly after they settled in Bethlehem, opening classrooms to all baptized Moravians free of charge and without racial distinction. A young Afro-Moravian named Abraham, who had been living with some Moravians in Friedrichstown, Pennsylvania, was brought to the Brethren's "Little Boys' Boardingschool" in early 1750.

He was probably a slave, but because the Moravians believed so strongly that literacy aided salvation, Abraham was relieved of his usual work responsibilities and at considerable expense sent to Bethlehem's seminary. He was followed there by Wilhelm Beverhaut, identified as "a negro from St. Thomas" who was placed in the "Children's Boarding school" in 1756. Wilhelm was likely part of the household of Adrian Beverhaut, head of one of the leading families of the Danish West Indies at the time and a supporter of the Moravian mission in St. Thomas. Sending a slave or even a free person of color to North America to get an education was unusual, indicating how intelligent and pious Wilhelm must have been as well as the close ties the two regions had with one another.²⁷

Moravian boarding schools were also open to young African American women. Two black girls, Magdalena the Negro and Hanna the Negro, show up on the rolls of Bethlehem's anstalt (school) in 1766. The curriculum at the Brethren's anstalten became famous for the breadth and quality of their instruction. Missionaries and their children from throughout the Moravian world came to the school at Nazareth Hall to learn Latin, Greek, Hebrew, French, German, English, mathematics, history, and the mechanical arts. Learning there was far more advanced than most other institutions open to young women. Most women in eighteenth-century America received what schooling they could from tutors who came to the private residences of the wealthy. The Brethren's commitment to broader-based education without regard to gender anticipated later efforts by decades and those without regard to race by considerably more. Afro-Moravian Peter Titus was one who benefited from the Brethren's educational system. He was initially sent to a school in New York City by his owner, Moravian Christian Frohlich, but merely to "sing and play" a musical instrument. He received a more formal education between ages ten and thirteen in the mid 1780s when Frohlich moved to Bethlehem, taking his slave with him. Titus attended the Brethren's school for two years where he acquired enough learning to allow him to prosper, as we will see.²⁸

For the Brethren of Bethlehem, the entire point of promoting education was to bring people closer to God. This goal was on the minds of many in North America and Europe in the 1740s and was responsible for a new outpouring of religious enthusiasm known as the Great Awakening. Renewed interest in Christianity among whites in the North during this era also opened up new spiritual opportunities for people of color, though their choices remained limited until the end of the century. Blacks in Philadelphia,

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New York, and other Northern cities were first exposed to Christian preaching in large numbers when transatlantic Anglican evangelist George Whitefield traveled through the region in 1739. Though his message was avowedly non-denominational, Whitefield seems to have persuaded many of Philadelphia's people of color to join the Church of England. Out of the Quaker city's roughly 1,400 black residents, more than 250 were baptized at Anglican Christ Church between 1745 and 1776. Some Anglican priests were genuinely interested in converting African Americans, though many did so merely to keep them from running after what they referred to as "vagrant factious preachers" like Gilbert Tennent and James Davenport who sometimes espoused dangerous ideas about freedom and equality.²⁹

The seemingly radical hyperbole of Tennent and Davenport was less a concern for established clergymen than another group of preachers who first appeared in the area in the 1740s. Itinerant black exhorters began passing through eastern Pennsylvania, New York, and New Jersey on the coattails of their more famous white colleagues. Unattached to any church, they still gathered numerous and large audiences to hear them preach. They were viewed with suspicion and sometimes as threats to the prevailing social order by many whites because they tended to preach to their "own color," and often did it well. One black itinerant in New Jersey was described by a worried white observer as "a great Doctor . . . and says he is a Churchman." For all their efforts, it was not until the 1780s that blacks in the North began to frequent Christian churches with regularity. Richard Allen's "Mother Bethel" church and Absalom Jones's St. Thomas African Episcopal Church both attracted people of color because they were independent of white control.³⁰

While most Protestant congregations in the Northern colonies kept their doors closed to people of color in the eighteenth century, the Moravians in Bethlehem accepted all who were determined enough to join. And many African Americans, either voluntarily or because their owners compelled them, did go to Bethlehem to become Brethren. Part of the attraction was the Moravians' style of preaching, which like most other evangelical sermons was done in the simple language of the people. Few being university-trained intellectuals, Moravian ministers usually restricted themselves to simple narrations of Christ's atonement and personal salvation. The Brethren's faith was centered on Christ's sacrificial death and his Passion. As an exclusively Christo-centric belief, knowledge of other facets of Christianity, even the Old Testament, was peripheral. For the Brethren, faith meant internalizing the blood, wounds, and agony of the Crucifixion. By feeling Christ's agony, white

and black Moravians hoped to become more like Jesus. Graphic descriptions of the Crucifixion were presented in sermons and hymns and in the paintings of Moravian artist John Valentine Haidt. For the illiterate and barely literate whites and blacks of Bethlehem, the use of songs and pictures greatly increased their understanding of the Christian message.³¹

Many people of color who lived in Bethlehem went there because they were compelled by their owners. Some of them joined the church, became communicants, and left memoirs, while others never became part of the *Gemeine* and appear only on the congregation's account books when they were bought or sold. Still others wanted to live in Bethlehem and aggressively solicited the Brethren for the right to do so. Thomas the Negro was first brought to Bethlehem by his Moravian master, Brother Edmunds, in 1748. He came to love "the Brethren very much," noted a Moravian chronicler, "and is glad to remain here." Later that same year a "mulatto named Antoni came for a visit" and "if allowed, would like to remain with the congregation." Antoni was a free person of color who came to Bethlehem of his own free will, though economic need may have played a part in his recurring presence among the Moravians. In May, 1748 Antoni again came to Bethlehem, but this time he "requested the Brethren ... give him several pounds in gold to pay his debts ..." Apparently he was able to convince the Moravians of his trustworthiness, because they "let him feel our hearts' sympathy for his poor soul, and let him take the gold along" since "one felt the Savior was desiring to win his heart." Antoni later returned to Bethlehem to work off the debt, so the Brethren were not engaging in a completely selfless act of charity. Nevertheless, lending money to a stranger, and a black man as well, with little guarantee of repayment is a testament to the Moravians' commitment to Christian brotherhood. White Moravians were not untainted by racial bigotry, as evidenced by the fact that they held slaves. Still, the group demonstrated some exceptionally progressive ideas about race relations. The fact that blacks and whites lived in integrated quarters is extraordinary; even early Quakers relegated blacks to separate seating for church services.³²

Another indication that people of color had become fully integrated members of Bethlehem society was the large number who became communicants. Being allowed to take communion put Afro-Moravians on a level of spiritual equality with white Brethren, especially since the requirements for such status were quite stringent. The first step for a non-Moravian to achieve communicant status was to ask church officials for the right to live in the *Gemeine*. If permission was given, then the applicant, depending on his or her behavior,

joined the circle of candidates. Membership was granted by the *Gemeine*, whose decision was determined by a casting of lots. Moravians believed the “lot” was the judgment of God, so if it was negative, the applicant was turned away. If accepted as a member, the next stage for the neophyte was to become a communicant. Candidates were allowed to observe communion celebrations, but only after a long period in which their personal and spiritual characters were scrupulously examined could they finally become full church members. The whole process acted as a system of social control, since candidates only progressed to the next level if they behaved acceptably. The system, moreover, was a never-ending process, since even communicants could slide backwards, losing their full church membership status if they behaved in a manner deemed improper.³³

How far people of color progressed in Bethlehem’s Moravian Church depended on a number of factors, including their personal spirituality and the needs of the *Gemeine*. A native of West Africa named Coriton was brought to Bethlehem from New York in 1747 as the slave of a white Moravian. He was lodged in the Big Boys Choir dormitory and received the same religious instruction as the white boys. He did not appear to have much interest in becoming a Moravian, though, until he was close to death from tuberculosis just a year later. Coriton then “got a feeling of the Lamb and His wounds into his heart, and asked to be baptized.” His request was granted just in time because “a few hours later all unexpectedly the Lamb took him to Himself into His side hole.”³⁴

Titto, another Afro-Moravian slave, followed a similar, if less abbreviated, trajectory. Born an Igbo in the late 1730s, he was made a prisoner of war at age fourteen and sold into slavery. Initially kept as a slave in Africa, Titto was eventually sold to a trader who transported him to Jamaica. He must have shown unusual intelligence because instead of being put to work in the sugarcane fields, he spent six years as a house servant before moving with his owner to New York. In 1743 his Jamaican owner died and Titto became the property of a Moravian living on Long Island. Titto visited Bethlehem for the first time with his new owner, Moravian businessman Timothy Horsfield, in 1749. Brother Horsfield liked Bethlehem so much that he moved his family and Titto there by the end of the year. Three months later, Titto was baptized, given the name Josua, and sent to live in the Single Brothers’ House. He later moved to the nearby Moravian town of Christiansbrunn. During his time with the Brethren, Josua gained some economic success and achieved communicant status before he died of smallpox in 1761.³⁵

Many blacks who came to Bethlehem in the eighteenth century were baptized, became communicants, and lived there for the rest of their lives. Some, though baptized and made members of the church, still found themselves subject to the harsh requirements of the slave system. Thomas the Negro came to Bethlehem from New York with his Moravian owner, Brother Edmunds, in early 1748. He was apparently a spiritual person, because by as early as June of that year it was already noted that "our Negro Thomas . . . had long asked and requested to be baptized . . ." By July, he had been baptized (Andreas being his sponsor) and was a communion candidate, finally receiving "permission to partake for the first time" as a communicant in November. Thomas's spiritual fealty did not, however, save him from being taken away from Bethlehem. In what was probably a strictly economic decision, he was sold by Brother Edmunds in 1755 to another master in New York "with permission from the Brethren." Notwithstanding Thomas the Negro's fate, the people of color who came, forcibly or not, to Bethlehem from various points in Africa and the Americas, were beginning to coalesce, become Christians, redefine themselves, and form a new sense of community. It is clear that black Christianity, when and where it happened, was an emerging, multicultural, and fecund product of the Atlantic system.³⁶

Slavery and Freedom in Bethlehem

As the example of Thomas the Negro illustrates, the Brethren in Bethlehem were clearly not averse to buying and selling human beings and in some cases even made a handsome profit from the practice. Sarah, a thirty-nine-year-old slave from Connecticut, was sold to the Moravian Gemeinde in 1773 for fifty pounds "New York currency." She was put to work at the Sun Tavern in Bethlehem where she shows up as an asset in the tavern's account books. In the middle of 1774, Sarah contracted smallpox, so her value declined to only thirty pounds. With the help of Magdalene (from Popo) who charged three pounds for her services as a nurse, she regained her health. She must have recovered fully, because by the end of the year a Moravian accountant noted that the "Neger Wench Sarah" was sold by Sun Tavern innkeeper Just Johnson for one hundred pounds.³⁷

Not all Moravians thought that the enslavement of fellow human beings was an acceptable practice, though most of these individuals kept their opinions to themselves and certainly never advocated for abolition. Moravian Bethlehem's administrative leader, Augustus Spangenberg, was

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ambivalent about slavery, stating in 1760 that the Brethren “managed to do without them [slaves] in the beginning, but the good Lord saw us through.” Spangenberg felt pressure to allow slavery because labor markets were tight in the 1750s and the expanding economy of Bethlehem needed workers. Slavery had been an important source of labor in Pennsylvania and the other mid-Atlantic colonies since the late seventeenth century, but between 1730 and 1754 heavy German and Scots-Irish immigration served to lessen reliance on African labor. Fully fifty-eight thousand Germans and sixteen thousand five-hundred Irish came to the Delaware Valley in that period, many of whom indentured themselves to local mechanics, merchants, and farmers to pay for their passage from Europe. The supply of Germans slowed precipitously, though, beginning in 1756 with the onset of the Seven Years’ War, forcing local employers to return to African sources of bound labor. Between 1757 and 1766, some 1,290 African and Caribbean slaves were sold to buyers in Philadelphia and across the Delaware River in West Jersey. When peace was declared in 1763, Germans again began coming to Pennsylvania, effectively putting an end to the continued importation of African slaves.³⁸

The Moravians held people of color as slaves in Pennsylvania, but even the Christian denomination most closely associated with the early abolitionist movement, the Quakers, were hardly united on the issue and took decades to finally outlaw slaveholding among its members. Though individual Quakers lobbied forthrightly against allowing church members to buy and sell human beings, the most that the Quaker Yearly Meeting would do before 1758 was caution members against the practice. In that year, however, under pressure from abolitionists such as Anthony Benezet, John Woolman, Benjamin Lay, and Ralph Sandiford, the Yearly Meeting finally outlawed the buying and selling of slaves by Quakers. Even then it was not until 1776 that Quakers were prohibited from owning slaves they already possessed. It can be said, then, that the Moravians were merely following a well-accepted practice laid down by the region’s most influential group.³⁹

The Brethren also followed the Quakers’ example when they freed their slaves. In some cases they allowed slaves to buy their freedom, in others the Moravians paid the owner to set a slave free, and in still others they manumitted those they believed had served the church well. In 1762, freedman Christian Anton negotiated with the Gemeinde to buy the slave Ann Cherry so that they could get married. Like most former slaves, Anton was not a wealthy man and so was forced to borrow from the Bethlehem congregation to buy his wife. This seeming act of largesse by the Brethren was,

nevertheless, still a business transaction. His wife Ann remained a slave until the loan was paid, and if Christian defaulted, a slave she would remain. It is not known if he was able to earn the needed cash, but if he did it probably took him five to ten years of hard labor to raise the money.⁴⁰

The path to freedom for Joseph, an Afro-Moravian born in 1715, was also long but ultimately successful. Joseph probably did not know where in Africa he was born, since Moravian chroniclers identified his birthplace merely as "Guinea." He was sold when he was twelve years old along with three hundred others to slave traders, who shipped them all to Charleston, South Carolina. Because he was very young and "very good looking," Joseph was first taken to England for five years, then spent one year on the West Indian island of Montserrat, before being sent to Durham Furnace, Pennsylvania, in 1733. Since Durham Furnace was only two miles from Bethlehem, he became acquainted with the Moravians when they came to the area in 1741. Perhaps looking for some stability in his life, Joseph pleaded with the Brethren to accept him as a church member, though for unknown reasons they turned him down. In 1748, he married Anna Caritas, a Shawnee woman from North Carolina then living in Bethlehem, but then he was then taken away to Maryland by his masters. For the next three years Joseph remained in Maryland until he was finally allowed to return to Durham Furnace to be close to his children and his wife, who had in the interim been baptized by the Brethren. He must have proven his spiritual, and perhaps, economic worth (he appears to have been a blacksmith), because in 1752 Joseph was baptized and had his freedom purchased by the Moravians for fifty pounds. From then on, Joseph, Anna, and their seven children lived in the Moravian towns of Bethlehem, Gnadenenthal, and finally Christiansbrunn, enjoying a mobile but remarkably stable family life.⁴¹

Freedom was not always unconditional for people of color in the Northern colonies and states. Pennsylvania passed a gradual emancipation law in 1780, followed by New York in 1799, and New Jersey in 1804. Pennsylvania's law was the first of its kind in the Western world, though it did not free a single slave by its passage. Children of slaves born before March 1, 1780 remained in slavery for the rest of their lives. Those born after that date were forced to serve as indentured laborers for twenty-eight years, ultimately meaning that the last slave was not set free in Pennsylvania until 1847. New York's emancipation law was more progressive, though the Empire State's last slaves had to wait until in 1827 to gain their freedom.⁴²

For some Afro-Moravians the choices between slavery, freedom, and indentured servitude were complicated by geography, gender, and family. Rebecca the Negro was born in 1809 in Bethania, North Carolina, which was part of the Moravian settlement of Wachovia where she was a domestic servant for the Kummer family. When the Kummers decided to move to Pennsylvania in 1819, they gave Rebecca the option of staying in North Carolina where she would remain a slave, or moving to the North and becoming free. As easy as this decision appears, it was a difficult one for Rebecca to make. In 1819 she was only ten years old, both her parents still lived in Bethania, as did all her childhood friends. And as we have seen, the supposed freedom that awaited her in Pennsylvania was less than straightforward, though as a child Rebecca may not have fully understood this. Despite all these complicating factors, she nevertheless decided to move north with the Kummers. By Pennsylvania law she was bound to the Kummer family as an indentured servant until she was twenty-four, though, as it turned out her indenture lasted the rest of her life. In 1830, the Kummers' two daughters contracted influenza, and as the house servant, Rebecca was responsible for nursing them. Up to that point she was reportedly "favored with a strong constitution, and always enjoyed good health," but in October of that year, at the tender age of twenty-one she succumbed to the disease, never having experienced what it was like to be truly free.⁴³

The Igbo Andreas and Magdalene of Little Popo both lived long enough to be manumitted by the Brethren after many years of hard work and loyal service. Magdalene was freed in 1758, though it is not clear why. Her owner, Charles Brockden, as an official of Pennsylvania's colonial government, may have been influenced or pressured by the Quakers' decision in that year to end the buying and selling of slaves. Magdalene may also have played a role in her own manumission. As an episode that occurred years later illustrates, she was a smart and determined woman who took every available opportunity to stand up for herself. In 1784, a dispute arose between Magdalene and Moravian Church authorities over monies paid for house rent by Magdalene's husband, Andreas (they married in 1762). She contended that since Andreas was a slave, he should have been exempt from paying the rent. As a result, she demanded reimbursement totaling fourteen pounds, ten shillings. Answering the complaint, a church administrator countered that Andreas had been declared free in 1771, with the responsibilities to earn a living and pay his own expenses "like another Brother." Magdalene and Andreas had lived in "the Upper S.E. Room in the Family House, No. 25," along with other

couples. Magdalene's claim, in the administrator's judgment, had no merit, but it was decided to award her the fourteen pounds, ten shillings anyway "to make her easy and to get rid of her." Perhaps it was this type of grit and determination, as well as an unwillingness to submit to negative white stereotypes about black women, that led to her early manumission; her Moravian owner may have been happy to make her easy and get rid of her.⁴⁴

All Moravians in Bethlehem, slave and free, lived under a set of rules that mandated and maintained obedience to a strict moral code of behavior. The Brethren had to submit to the regulation of almost every aspect of their daily lives, including when they got up in the morning, what they wore, who they socialized with, what work they did, and when they went to bed. Should they transgress the Gemeine's rules, they faced humiliating punishments. For Bethlehem's Brothers and Sisters, the day began at five in the morning when bands of singers walked through the village singing hymns to awaken the residents. Morning benediction and breakfast started at six and everyone was expected to be at work by seven. Children had a *Kinderstundt*, or Children's hour, at nine to sing more hymns. At twelve, a noon meal was eaten where hymns were sung both before and after the meal, then they returned to work by twelve-thirty. The Brethren labored until dinner at six p.m., which was followed at seven by *Gemeinestundt*, or Congregation's hour when the entire Gemeine gathered for devotional services. At eight, each choir observed *Viertelstundt*, or Quarter hour meeting, followed at nine by *Abendstundt*, or Evening hour, when the entire Gemeine met again. The day ended at ten with the Evening benediction.⁴⁵ Though not as uniform in their dress as Catholic monks, the Brethren were almost monastically organized, and were indeed a holy brotherhood.⁴⁶

The social control that Bethlehem's choir system attempted to maintain did not always work, or perhaps took longer to work on certain individuals. Many young men and women, although accepted as communicants, suffered relapses of "wild," "confused," and even "filthy" behavior that caused them to be banned from communion. If the wrongful behavior persisted, the malefactor might be banished entirely from the Bethlehem commune. They could be readmitted, though only after a lengthy period during which they were observed by church officials to see if they had undergone a sincere change of heart and come to realize their sinfulness and complete dependence on Christ.⁴⁷

For Bethlehem's Afro-Moravian slaves, banishment could be disastrous, possibly leading to their sale out of the region, perhaps as far away as to the

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rice plantations of low country Georgia and South Carolina. For Moravian masters, banishment was one of their only effective forms of punishment, given that whipping appears not to have been used to coerce Bethlehem's slaves. Lacking options, however, meant that any infraction was ultimately dealt with in the same manner. Jacob the Mulatto, a resident of Bethlehem since at least 1758, found himself in trouble with the Brethren in 1767 because he repeatedly threw trash out his dormitory window. His bad behavior may have been fueled by a lingering resentment, for although Jacob had been accepted as a communion candidate, there is no record that he ever became a full church member. Church leaders decided to send him to live with "a friend of the Brethren" in New York, but at the last minute Jacob repented. That he promised to pick up the garbage and receive counseling from Bethlehem's shoemaker meant that he probably realized how limited his life options were away from the Brudergemeine.⁴⁸

Another Afro-Moravian appears to have faced a punishment similar to Jacob's. Given the name Titus by his original owner, he was baptized by the Brethren and re-named Petrus in 1785. In 1786, he was "not allowed in the Choir House for the time being on account of bad behavior and leading others astray." We can only speculate about what kinds of activities Petrus was engaged in that caused the Brethren such concern; anything from smoking or drinking in the dormitories to socializing with women (and perhaps white women) were all forbidden. Whatever the problem, Church leaders apparently forgave Petrus, because three weeks later he was allowed to return to the Single Brothers' house. He later married a black Moravian woman named Mary from Christiansbrunn, meaning he was accepted as a communicant since only full church members were allowed to marry.⁴⁹

Though both Jacob and Petrus integrated within Bethlehem's larger white community, there are some indications that they and other Afro-Moravians never completely identified with their white co-religionists. Josua the Negro, mentioned earlier when he came to Bethlehem in 1749, remained a slave all his life. Though to all outward appearances he enjoyed a rough equality with white Moravians, his inferior status was made obvious by his lack of a surname. Being branded as a lesser being must have grated on Josua's pride, especially since he was tri-lingual and equipped with an active intelligence. He may have found some comfort from his relationship with fellow Igbo expatriate Andreas. Removed as they both were by thousands of miles of ocean and barriers of culture from their natal country, Josua and Andreas perhaps found solace in each other's company. Both spoke English and German,

though they probably fell back into their native Igbo in unguarded moments when reminiscing about West Africa or telling a joke. That Josua enjoyed a good joke is evidenced by the numerous occasions when his "coarse ways and arrogance kept him a few times" from being allowed to take communion. The desire to return to his West African home burned brightly in Josua, who had been enslaved at age fourteen and was said to be "much attached to his nation." He lobbied the Brethren for the chance to establish a mission in Igboland, but perhaps because of his less than perfect record as a communicant, and his obvious love for his homeland (which may have overshadowed his love of the Moravians) he was never given the opportunity. Josua, like Andreas and numerous other Afro-Moravians, remained an Atlantic African.⁵⁰

The working lives of blacks in Bethlehem paralleled those of other people of color in the Northern colonies, though some important differences existed which allowed some Afro-Moravians greater economic opportunity. Slaves in the rural North, like their free white counterparts, had to be skilled in multiple disciplines. Working on a small farm, a slave might, for instance, need to know how to shoe a horse, make barrels, do carpentry, and fish. Work on Northern farms demanded versatility. The first three months of the year were taken up slaughtering animals and curing their meat, cutting wood, quarrying limestone, and splitting rails. When spring arrived, the planting of potatoes and corn commenced, along with the castrating of lambs, mending of fences, and clearing land of trees, stones, and brush for future cultivation. During the summer, pumpkins were planted, the corn was harrowed and dressed, and wheat was put in. In the fall, the potatoes, rye, corn, wheat, and apples were all harvested. November was hog slaughtering time, followed by a short slack period in December when shoes were repaired before the cycle began again in January.⁵¹

Work for African Americans in Northern cities could also be long, arduous, and require multiple skills. Slaves in Philadelphia and New York performed a wide variety of jobs, including being barbers, masons, coopers, butchers, mariners, tanners, distillers, carpenters, shipbuilders, and blacksmiths, though they could also be transferred to the country in the autumn to help harvest crops. Many of New York City's male slaves were owned by white artisans who needed the cheap labor they provided. Black women on Northern farms were also quite versatile, mostly performing domestic labor, but they too were sometimes called upon to join the men doing field labor as conditions dictated. Slave women had to know how to cook, make soap, wash and iron clothes, clean the house, and sew and spin cloth. Female slaves

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in colonial New York were usually employed as maids in the city's wealthier households.⁵²

Many of the same conditions that dictated work regimes on other Northern farms held true in Moravian Bethlehem, but the sheer size and breadth of the Brethren's operations and its religious component meant that there were significant differences as well. In the twenty years following first settlement in 1741, the Moravians of Bethlehem turned five thousand acres of forest into incredibly productive farm land with orchards, gardens, and hundreds of acres of wheat and corn, along with creating some fifty industries. A building campaign, instituted in 1746, eventually constructed seventeen congregation and choir houses, five schools, twenty buildings for industrial pursuits, five mills, two inns, and forty-eight farm buildings. Made from stone, a large number of these structures are still standing and being used in Bethlehem to this day.⁵³

In Bethlehem's other Pennsylvania colonies of Nazareth, Christiansbrunn, Gnadenthal, and Friedensthal, another five thousand acres came under cultivation and another fifty buildings were erected. Visitors in the 1750s and 1760s were astonished at the Brethren's industry, remarking that even North America's largest cities did not have a greater variety of mechanical arts being practiced. In 1759, Bethlehem had thirteen shoemakers, five physicians, four nail smiths, four carpenters, three stocking makers, as well as one silk manufacturer, one gunstock maker, one glazier, and one waiter among many other professions.⁵⁴

The large size and occupational diversity of the Moravians' holdings in Pennsylvania made slavery economically feasible, and ultimately quite profitable. The Brethren, like other affluent farmers in the region, owned mills, forges, and tanneries, farmed large tracts of land, and therefore utilized laborers year round. Because of this, they were more likely to own slaves than their poorer neighbors who only needed part-time workers. Most black Moravians toiled at unskilled jobs, such as wood-cutting and field work, but others learned skilled and semi-skilled jobs in the Brethrens' mills, tanneries, and blacksmith shops.⁵⁵

Peter Titus, the Afro-Moravian who first came to Bethlehem from New York in 1779 as a nine-year-old slave, is a good example of how many skills Northern blacks learned over their lifetimes. He was, also, a beneficiary of the Brudergemeine's more liberal policy for people of color regarding upward mobility. After completing two years of school at the Moravians' Anstalt, Peter Titus was put to work at Bethlehem's tannery at age thirteen. After

laboring there for seven years, he was then transferred to one of the two inns that the Brethren maintained for non-Moravian visitors. He did not care for that sort of work, however, and was allowed to move to the community oil mill, where he stayed for one year until he moved to Gnadenthal to farm. He stayed there until 1796, when he relocated yet again, this time to Nazareth where he again worked as a tanner as well as becoming a mail rider for the Brethren between Bethlehem and Nazareth; on Sundays he pumped the church organ. When he died in 1843 at the age of seventy-three, Peter Titus owned seven acres of land near Nazareth, which was enough on which to build a house, plant a large garden, and perhaps run a few head of cattle or sheep. He had to work his entire life and could never have been considered a wealthy man, but owning a piece of land and holding a responsible office in a white-dominated church was clearly an indication that he was a person worthy of respect in Moravian society.⁵⁶

Another example of the upward mobility available to Afro-Moravians is the work experience of Titus, who when he came to Bethlehem in 1749, was baptized with the name Josua. He was initially set to work in the fields as a farm laborer. As arduous as this sort of labor was, the Moravians never utilized the gang labor system where slaves worked from sun up to sun down. He was probably employed in a variety of tasks on the farm and maintained the same work regime as white labors. Sometime in the mid 1750s, Josua became the chief butcher for the "Upper Places," a clear promotion from the unskilled and semi-skilled work he had been doing up to that point. Unfortunately, his life was cut short by smallpox in 1761, so it will never be known how far he could have risen.⁵⁷

Enslaved Missionaries in the Mid-Atlantic Colonies

The Moravians who settled in Bethlehem went there for two principal reasons, the first being to secure a refuge from the religious persecution they were experiencing in Europe, and the second to develop a community that could serve as home base for, and to help fund, the Church's missionary activity. Beginning in the 1740s, missionaries from Bethlehem evangelized the unchurched in Africa, the Americas, Europe, and Greenland, bringing tens of thousands to the "true faith" and making the Brethren the most successful Protestant missionary organization of the eighteenth century. The West Indies, with its overwhelmingly large black population, yielded

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the most converts, contributing almost as many new church members as the rest of the Brethren's mission stations combined. Connections between Bethlehem, Pennsylvania and the sugar islands of the British and Danish Caribbean were extensive, aided by the continual movement of missionaries between the two locales. The transfer of Anglo-German culture to the West Indies through these men and women was an obvious byproduct, though the influence of black culture in the opposite direction was also apparent. People of color in Bethlehem felt that influence and were inspired; one of them was so inspired that he became the first church-sponsored African American missionary in North America.⁵⁸

Missionary work was integral to the functioning of the Moravian Church, not just a subsidiary part. Virtually every Moravian was involved in some aspect of the missions, either as supporters or as missionaries. It was a "cardinal principle," wrote a Moravian bishop, that "to be a Moravian and to further foreign missions are identical." Most Moravians agreed. The Brethren's enthusiasm and sense of duty were such that it was not until 1780 that a general call for volunteers to serve overseas was deemed necessary. The Moravians' beliefs about the relationship between salvation and work also played a role. Like most evangelicals, the Brethren emphasized that personal salvation depended upon the individual's own efforts. Hard work by itself did not ensure salvation, but salvation could not be achieved without hard work. As such, the Moravians' work ethic was an important impetus for their missionary activities, since "good works," more than work undirected to right purposes, led to salvation.⁵⁹

Putting faith into action took a great deal of organization, something at which the mostly German Moravians excelled. Bethlehem's inhabitants were divided into two groups: one was called the *Pilgergemeinde* or "Pilgrim congregation," whose task was to evangelize the heathen and other colonists; the other was the *Hausgemeinde* or "House congregation," who remained in Bethlehem tending the farms and working in the artisan shops to support their brothers and sisters in the missionary field. Beyond providing material support, Bethlehem acted as a home base where weary or discouraged members of the *Pilgergemeinde* could find refuge, rest, and encouragement before heading out again to do the Lord's work. By 1759, missionaries accounted for thirty-six percent of Bethlehem's male labor force. This one profession, which included missionaries, teachers, bishops, deacons, and ministers, did not produce any salable items and were therefore wholly dependent on Bethlehem's non-missionaries for their subsistence. Added to the Moravian "dole" were the

male missionaries' wives and children who were expected to accompany them to their mission stations and who also had to be supported by Bethlehem's artisans and farmers. In 1760, only five hundred people worked in jobs that produced income for the Gemeine. They supported another eight hundred people engaged in evangelization.⁶⁰

Of those eight hundred mission workers who called Bethlehem home, a large number were sent to evangelize the Caribbean's people of color. In doing so, they became agents of cultural exchange, bringing European Christianity to the West Indies and carrying back Afro-Caribbean influences to the mainland. While quantifying that influence is difficult, it is worth noting that the Moravian Church in the twenty-first century is, with its congregations in the West Indies, Africa, and South America, an overwhelmingly black church noted for its racial inclusiveness.⁶¹

Communication between Bethlehem and the Brethren's Caribbean congregations was continuous, facilitated by the constant stream of missionaries who moved between the two locales. Each time a missionary returned from St. Thomas, Suriname, or Antigua, a special meeting of the Gemeine assembled to hear news from the field. The missionaries' reports were usually filled with the ever-increasing progress of the work among the "heathen," and the suffering of the Brethren while doing the Lord's work because of tropical diseases and persecution by local white authorities. Some of the correspondence, though, told of day-to-day operations of the mission stations. One letter from St. Thomas included an entry about Afro-Moravians "Moab and Manasse" who "were excluded from the congregation," though "two children were blessed. Brother Brucker held choir quarter-of-an-hour services and they closed with Prostration."⁶²

Surviving written correspondence by Native Americans and African Americans in the early eighteenth century is rare. Even more unusual are letters between them that spanned thousands of miles of ocean. Here again, the communications network established by the Moravians between Bethlehem and their West Indian mission stations proved unique. In 1749 for example, the "brown Northern Indians" of Pennsylvania sent messages of greeting to Afro-Caribbeans at the Brethrens' mission in St. Thomas. The black Brethren of St. Thomas must have been intrigued by the letter, because later that year at a lovefeast the Afro-Moravians in attendance were merely "pleasantly entertained with news from the Brethrens' communities in Europe and North America," but were "especially" interested about news "from the Indian congregation."⁶³ Their mutual interest may have been

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the result of intra-American slave trading which made Native Americans and Afro-Caribbeans aware of and intensely interested in those far-distant regions. Large numbers of male North American Indians had been enslaved and exported to the West Indies in the previous one hundred years. It would be only natural that those left behind would be curious about the land where their grandfathers lived, hoping perhaps to rekindle old family relationships.⁶⁴

Black Moravians from the Caribbean returned the Indians' correspondence. Afro-Moravians Maria Magdalena and Priscilla, both "helpers" at the St. Croix mission, gave letters to north-bound white missionaries to forward to those whom they considered their Indian sisters in Pennsylvania. In the letters, both women proved humble servants of the Lord, though they made no reference to being slaves or of owing deference to anyone but God. The existence of a Moravian intellectual network that connected common and oppressed people from widely scattered parts of the world is remarkable and perhaps unique. It also raises some intriguing questions for the twenty-first century reader. What did they know of each others' lives, livelihoods, and social conditions? They shared the Moravian faith, but did they also share a brother and sisterhood of the oppressed, and were they conscious of their similar relationship with whites? Though the evidence is not specific, that both the black Moravians in the Caribbean and the Indians in North America specifically addressed their correspondence to each other is a clear indication that they thought of themselves as distinct from their white co-religionists, while still part of the larger Moravian spiritual community. They considered themselves part of an Atlantic-world system whose organization fostered unity between all people of color and led to cultural interpenetration.⁶⁵

Besides establishing missions in far-flung locations such as Suriname, Greenland, St. Thomas, and Antigua, the Brethren evangelized extensively in North America. After failing in their first missionary efforts in Georgia and South Carolina in 1735, the Brethren tried to evangelize Georgia's people of color a second time in 1774. They sent three missionaries to Knoxborough and Silkhope plantations, but one soon died from yellow fever, and the other two were forced to flee the violence of the American Revolution.⁶⁶ After 1753, North Carolina also became a major center of Moravian mission work when Church leaders bought one hundred thousand acres of land in the central part of the colony in the area which is now Winston-Salem. There the Brethren establish the colony of Wachovia, named after one of Moravian Bishop Nicholas von Zinzendorf's estates in Austria. Bethlehem supplied

both the model and the resources for the new community, which became the base for the Moravian's mission to evangelize the Southern backcountry, particularly the region's Native Americans. Wachovia's African Americans enjoyed many of the same living, working, and religious freedoms as their counterparts in Bethlehem during the colony's first years. As slavery became more firmly entrenched in North Carolina in the decades following the American Revolution, though, this alternative model of Southern race relations faded.⁶⁷

From their very beginnings in the 1740s, Moravians from Bethlehem evangelized African Americans in the Mid-Atlantic colonies. For a variety of reasons, including that New York, New Jersey, and Philadelphia had large concentrations of people of color, that many of the area's slaves were newly imported Africans, and because the area was in close contact with the religious excitement of the Great Awakening swirling through the Atlantic world, all three regions appeared to have great potential as places to bring new souls to God. Nevertheless, the Brethren encountered numerous impediments to this mission, including distrust of the supposed radical nature of the Moravian Church, white fears of slave revolt that led to legal restrictions on proselytizing blacks, and, perhaps most significantly, resistance by the recently displaced Africans themselves.

One of the Moravians' first attempts to bring the Gospel to black Northerners occurred in the early 1740s in New York and was led by a black man from the West Indies. Andreas had been, according to a white Moravian observer, a particularly valued and effective "helper" and class leader at the Brethren's mission in St. Thomas, having "led many souls to Christ . . . strengthened the weak, and showed the right path to those who had gone astray." Because of his reputation for godliness and his skills as an evangelist, it was decided in 1742 to take Andreas to Europe for further training, stopping off in Bethlehem along the way.⁶⁸

Though only in Pennsylvania for half a year, Andreas took part in many church activities and fully integrated himself into the church community as an equal member. Part of the Moravians' religious practice in these early years was to maintain a twenty-four hour prayer vigil, where individual Brethren took turns saying prayers for one hour each around the clock. One of the hours of prayer was observed by Andreas. He also held several positions of responsibility over the following months, including being part of the Diener Collegium in July, being assigned along with four other men as Postilions also in July, and being named the sacristan for a week in August. Andreas

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was an honored guest and fellow Moravian in Bethlehem; his race may have played a pivotal role in his position among the Brethren, but rather than being a handicap, his African descent gave him added status.⁶⁹

Arriving several months after Andreas on a separate ship, but closely connected to Andreas's mission, was another West Indian named Maria. She had been the vice-eldress of the "Negro sisters" on St. Thomas, and came to Bethlehem as a replacement bride for Andreas because his original spouse, another Afro-Moravian woman from St. Thomas named Anna Maria, had died in Germany while awaiting his arrival. Maria had been allowed to bring her two children with her, which was surely a gesture of humanity on the Brethrens' part, though the fact that her West Indian family may have been disrupted is a possible sign that they were still slaves with little choice in the matter. The opportunity to go to Germany with Andreas for missionary training and perhaps thereby to better her children's lives may have been sufficient inducement for Maria. Whatever her possible misgivings, her reception in Bethlehem was much like that which Andreas had enjoyed. She took communion with the Brethren as a full member of the Church for the first time in October 1742. Her enhanced position within the Gemeine was such that, upon the leave-taking of white missionaries to their various stations, Maria participated in the ritual "laying on of hands," done to give the protection and love of the congregation. While a white Moravian man laid his hands on the male missionaries, "Sr. Maria of St. Thomas" did the same for the white female missionaries.⁷⁰

The greatest indication of the Brethrens' high esteem for their Afro-Caribbean guests was not how they treated them in Bethlehem, as respectful as it was. In December of 1742, Andreas, in the company of a white Moravian, left Bethlehem "to itinerate among the Negroes in the New York countryside," thus becoming the first church-sponsored black missionary in Britain's North American colonies. Extant records do not specify where in New York he went, but given Bethlehem's position in eastern Pennsylvania, the large number of slaves then employed as field workers in the Hudson River valley, and the short time Andreas had to evangelize, the latter region, perhaps including Long Island with its large black population, were likely destinations. Because he was only in the field for a month before setting sail with his new wife and children for Europe, it is hard to tell how much success he enjoyed. His knowledge of the creole languages spoken by many African slaves which he had learned after years in the West Indies surely gave him advantages, though his importance was more as the pathfinder who opened

the way for others who followed in his footsteps than as the catalyst of a religious revival among the North's people of color.⁷¹

The precedent Andreas set for evangelizing people of African descent by an organized church was revolutionary, though its full effects would not be felt for many years. In the years that followed his first efforts, white Moravians continued to try to bring black Northerners into the "true" church. Counting Andreas, a total of seven Brethren, including: Valentin Lohans in 1742; Christian Rauch between 1742 and 1753; Christian Frohlich in 1745, 1747, and 1752; Jasper Payne in 1745 and 1747; an unnamed pastor on Staten Island; and the second Andreas from Igboland between 1748 and 1753, specifically targeted blacks for evangelization in Pennsylvania, New York, Maryland, and Virginia. That is not a large number compared to the total number which the Moravians sent into the Middle colonies as missionaries, but it did represent a far greater effort than any other church at the time was making to convert African Americans. Other denominations such as the Baptists, Presbyterians, Lutherans, and Reformed generally allowed people of color to attend their church services, but did not actively seek them out. The Moravians were merely following the mission set for them by Church leaders of bringing Christianity to the heathen and unchurched, regardless of race or condition of servitude.⁷²

The relationship between white and black Moravians in the Northern colonies was complicated. On the one hand, white Brethren welcomed people of color into the Bethlehem Gemeinde and actively evangelized them elsewhere. That they were not completely free of contemporary ideas about race may perhaps be illustrated by their giving the Igbo Ofodobendo Wooma, alias York, the same name of the last black man of note in Bethlehem, Andreas. It is also possible, however, that Church leaders meant to inspire him to become a missionary like the Andreas from St. Thomas, since he had shown himself to be a devout person, as well as being tough both physically and intellectually.

Whatever plans his white brethren may have had for him, the second Andreas appeared to have had his own particular agenda from a very early date. Though he only arrived in Bethlehem in January of 1746 and became a communicant several months later, by December of that year he had already let it be known that he wanted to be a missionary. In a discussion with another slave then visiting Bethlehem, Andreas proclaimed his intention "to go as a witness to his people in Africa." Though never allowed to go that far afield, it was not long before he became part of the Pilgergemeinde, beginning

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his missionary work in Philadelphia in May of 1748 from which he returned in “good spirits and well,” followed shortly thereafter by a second itineration to the Jerseys in December. By then he had firmly established himself as a missionary, being officially known and referred to by Moravian Church leaders as “Andres the negro . . . Messenger to the Negroes.” Andreas’s career as a missionary also had parallels in Igbo culture. Igbo diviners, medicine men, and priests were known to travel in regular circuits over extensive distances to dispense efficacious cures, foretell the future, and remove cures. It was only natural that Andreas would follow Igbo cultural imperatives when looking for a meaningful job in his new home.⁷³

Andreas’ mission to the slaves of Philadelphia, while never easy, was made more difficult by restrictive laws passed by Pennsylvania’s colonial legislature. Concerned about the seemingly large numbers of blacks crowding into Philadelphia beginning in the 1720s, colonial lawmakers passed a battery of so-called “black codes” restricting the actions and movement of people of African descent. A 1726 law placed heavy fines on free blacks who entertained slaves without the consent of their masters or who consorted with slaves in any way. Enforcement of this and other slave statutes was given to special courts which operated without juries and could, at their discretion, impose heavier fines than those specified by the law. The 1726 statute was reprinted in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* by Benjamin Franklin in 1751 by popular demand, proving that it was not a dead letter. That the 1726 law had to be reprinted twenty-five years later is, however, an indication that it was not always observed in practice. Slaves and freemen in the Delaware Valley managed to maintain a degree of freedom of movement for themselves throughout the era. For their masters, it was often a matter of economic necessity. They relied on slaves to pick up goods and make deliveries throughout cities and towns and to local farms or regional general stores. These short shopping or delivery trips afforded enslaved Africans the opportunity to gather with other people of color to exchange information about the wider world, and perhaps to listen to itinerant black preachers like Andreas, without exciting the fears of suspicious whites.⁷⁴

Andreas made numerous trips from Bethlehem to Philadelphia between 1748 and 1753 to evangelize his fellow people of color. Some of his missions lasted less than a month, while on others he remained in the field for up to four months acting largely on his own. He never brought large numbers of blacks into the Moravian Church in Philadelphia, partly because the Brethren never wanted to be in direct competition with other Protestant denominations

for new members, partly because the requirements for becoming a Moravian communicant were so demanding, but perhaps mostly because many of the newly-imported Africans who crowded the streets of Philadelphia in the middle of the eighteenth century had little interest in converting to any Christian sect. However, if promoting Christianity among people of color can be counted as his overall goal, then it can be said that the second Andreas was successful. Philadelphia became a center of black Protestantism later in the century under black pastors Richard Allen and Absalom Jones, some of whose congregants must have heard Andreas preach.⁷⁵

Twenty-five black men and women show up in Philadelphia's Moravian Church registers around the time that Andreas did his mission work. Of those included, only six were identified as slaves, indicating that a large majority came of their own free will, and were not coerced into attending Moravian services by pious masters. One church registrant was an "Ibo," another came from St. Croix, while the provenances of the others were more generic, noted as being either from the "West Indies," "Africa," or "Guinea." Another five who were baptized or married by the Brethren were classified as being of mixed race. The professions of two of Philadelphia's Afro-Moravians are listed in the registers, one of whom was a shoemaker. The other, Francis Labbadie, was one of the mulattoes from the Caribbean. Born in 1774, he had probably been a privileged slave in his youth, because he is listed as being a skilled carpenter who probably practiced that trade when he first arrived in Philadelphia. He is also described as a "seafaring man," a trade he may have been forced to adopt because many white artisans forced their black fellow craftsmen out of skilled positions after emancipation in the 1780s and 1790s. When Labbadie married in 1802, the only work he could find was as a "footman in the city." Since many of Philadelphia's Afro-Moravians were free men and women, but did not have their professions stated in the register, they were probably day laborers if they were men and domestic servants if women. Although certainly poor, their prospects for the future were better than those of many other people of color because as Moravians they had been taught how to read.⁷⁶

In between his mission work in the Jerseys and Philadelphia, Andreas found time to make several trips to evangelize people of African descent in New York City. New York was a natural mission ground for Andreas; having lived there for five years, he undoubtedly enjoyed reinvigorating old friendships and being a part of all the excitement an Atlantic seaport town had to offer. The city was also alluring for Andreas because of its large African

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American population. Black slaves made up more than fourteen percent of New York's population in 1771. Some regions in its immediate hinterland were over thirty percent black, a figure that compared favorably with many parts of the slave South. New York City employed so many African American slaves in the 1790s that it was second only to Charleston, South Carolina in the number of slaves it held.⁷⁷

Thirty people of color considered themselves part of New York's Moravian Church between 1744 and 1800. Though some of them died over the years or moved away, it can still be reasonably estimated that Afro-Moravians constituted a steady five to ten percent of the Brethren's New York congregation, which on the eve of the American Revolution numbered some two hundred members.

The Afro-New Yorkers Andreas evangelized in the 1740s and 1750s lived precariously, enduring the cruelties, uncertainties, and unequal treatment of slavery, obliged to find what happiness and security they could through their faith. New York could be a hazardous place for all its inhabitants, but its African Americans usually suffered more than other groups. As a seaport, it was continually exposed to exotic microbes and diseases brought by ships, travelers, newly imported slaves, and sailors from foreign lands. Added to this problem was the general lack of concern and knowledge about the importance of sanitation in America's growing urban centers, which became a recipe for disaster for New York in the second half of the eighteenth century. A series of yellow fever epidemics plagued the city in that period, one of the worst outbreaks occurring in August 1798. During that plague New York was virtually shut down, leaving some one thousand dead, including nine Moravians. The 1798 epidemic was followed by another the next summer, and a third outbreak in 1803. More prosperous citizens could afford to leave the unhealthy city in such emergencies, but the poor, which included most of Gotham's blacks, had no choice but to remain and try to survive such outbreaks of death. Eleven Afro-Moravian New Yorkers died between 1766 and 1807, some no doubt of infectious diseases, and even in death they encountered discrimination. Of those who died, nine were "buried out of town" presumably so as not to be buried in the same cemetery as whites, one was laid to rest at the Fresh Water burying ground, while only one, the still born child of Afro-Moravians Phoebe and Peter McLean, was "buried in the burial ground behind the chapel."⁷⁸

Black women Moravians in New York could find some security in marriage, though it did not always guarantee contentment. Phoebe King

was born in Senegal, but by 1762 she had been enslaved and transported to New York where she was baptized a Moravian in that year. Her first husband apparently died young or was sold away to another colony, because she remarried, becoming Peter McLean's wife sometime in the 1770s. Phoebe's second marriage, perhaps haunted by the death of a son in childbirth, made "her life very unhappy." As Kathleen M. Brown has argued, black women like Phoebe were doubly degraded because not only were they slaves, but they also had to struggle against eighteenth-century requirements about what constituted being a woman. As white women were forced to become more genteel, black women, unable to fulfill this requirement, were de-feminized. Phoebe McLean died in 1781, far away from Senegal with a husband who made her life unbearable and with no children to love.⁷⁹

What connected Phoebe McLean's tragic life to those of Andreas, Magdalene, Josua, Peter Titus, Titto, and many other Afro-Moravians and to the larger currents of Atlantic-world history was their movement, and their acceptance of the inevitability of movement, within that world. As forced migrants, slaves' lives were unstable, governed by the requirements of their masters, though perhaps only a little less stable than the lives of their white counterparts who were also constantly moving, usually several times during their lifetimes. The lives of the North's black Moravians may have been in constant flux, but they always managed to maintain a sense of identity separate from their white co-religionists. Phoebe McLean identified herself as a Senegally on church documents, Andreas and Josua identified themselves as Igbos, while Magdalene always thought of herself as a Papaw from the Gold Coast. They could not recreate their natal cultures and were forced to adapt to, if not wholly accept, white norms of behavior and Christian modes of spirituality. Afro-Moravians' separate and collective sense of themselves may have been demonstrated by their near total abandonment of the Moravian Church during the early years of the nineteenth century. By the 1820s, the Moravian churches in New York and Philadelphia could not count a single African American as a member. The lure of black churches in those two cities, independent of white control, proved far more attractive than the fading social, spiritual, and economic equality that had once been a hallmark of Moravian Bethlehem.⁸⁰

Andreas appears to have ended his missionary work in 1753, six years after he began to evangelize his fellow people of African descent. Why he stopped going to Philadelphia, New York, and New Jersey as a preacher is not clear, though he may have been prevented from continuing his mission

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by the initial clashes of the Seven Years' War that began one year later. In this conflict that pitted the British against the French for dominance in their colonial possessions, the Moravians were initially suspected of conspiring with the French since the Brethren's missionary work extended to Native Americans on the frontier. Though the Native American groups associated with the Moravians were not French allies, most Anglo-Americans either could not tell the difference or did not care. The Brethren were forced to curtail their evangelical work for a time, though their loyalty became less suspect when Moravians in a frontier village were massacred by a war party of hostile Indians. During the war, many non-Moravians streamed into Bethlehem for protection, putting considerable strain on the community's resources, but allowing the Brethren to prove that they were loyal citizens. When the war ended, Bethlehem's General Economy was dissolved, bringing an end to the town's position as the administrative center of the Moravian's missionary activity. The Brethren still sent out missionaries, but from then on direction and money came from Europe, not from the Bethlehem Gemeine. As Pennsylvania's Moravians began to concentrate on individual fulfillment, rather than the collective needs of their community, the impulse to evangelize local African Americans slowly lapsed.⁸¹

Even when the General Economy operated and Andreas was a missionary, he and other Afro-Moravians tried to maintain some of their natal cultures. Andreas and Magdalene, he an Igbo and she a Papaw, had three children, making the continuance of at least a hybrid African culture possible. All three children died young, though, thus foreclosing that hope, however slim it may have been in the first place. Further hope for cultural continuity through Andreas, once the young Igbo Ofodobendo, ended, as well, when he died in 1779 at age fifty. His wife, once the unnamed six-year old Papaw girl later known as Beulah and finally as Magdalene, lived on until she was eighty-nine, making a home for herself in Bethlehem at the Widow's choir house until she died in 1819. Both were buried in the Moravians' cemetery in Bethlehem called God's Acre, next to white and Indian Moravians without regard for class or race.⁸²

As African migrants, Andreas and Magdalene accepted what parts of the new culture they had to in order to survive, attempting to use it for their own ends. To a degree unmatched by other African Americans, Bethlehem's Afro-Moravians secured economic and social mobility which improved their lives in concrete ways. West Africa's attachment to Atlantic-world commerce had brought them to the Americas, while their embrace of a Christianity shaped

by Atlantic-world influences in Pennsylvania, New York, and New Jersey allowed them to forge links across the boundaries of slavery. Never able to fully identify with white America or the Igbo and Papaw cultures they had left at such young ages, they likely thought of themselves as Atlantic-world Afro-Christians, enjoying short and long-distance fellowship with fellow Afro-Moravians and other people of color in Africa, Europe, the West Indies, and throughout eastern North America. Looking east to Africa and south to the Caribbean, they and others like them used religion to create a new and cosmopolitan world.⁸³

NOTES

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1. Daniel B. Thorp, "Chattel With a Soul: The Autobiography of a Moravian Slave," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 112, no. 3 (1988): 435. Many Igbo were enslaved by the warrior/trading Aro people. The Aro dominated the internal slave trade in Igboland in the eighteenth century, supplying European traders with captives for the transatlantic market. For the role of the Aro, see Douglas B. Chambers, *Murder at Montpelier: Igbo African in Virginia* (Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 2005), 15. A series of droughts struck the Igbo heartland in the first half of the eighteenth century, causing horrible suffering. Rather than see their children die of malnutrition, many Igbo parents sold or pawned them into slavery hoping that their masters could feed them. It is no coincidence that when Igboland experienced famine and drought it also experienced a massive increase in slave exports. See Chambers, *Murder at Montpelier*, 28–29. On matrilineality in African culture see Claire Robertson, "Africa into the Americas?: Slavery and Women, the Family, and the Gender Division of Labor," in Darlene Clark Hine and David Berry Gaspar, eds., *More Than Chattel: Black Women and Slavery in the Americas* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996), 9. For pawning in African slavery see Paul E. Lovejoy and David Richardson, "Trust, Pawnship, and Atlantic History: The Institutional Foundations of the Old Calabar Slave Trade," *The American Historical Review* 104, no. 2 (1999): 336; Toyin Falola and Paul E. Lovejoy, eds., *Pawnship in Africa: Debt Bondage in Historical Perspective* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1994); Suzanne Miers and Igor Kopytoff, *Slavery in Africa: Historical and Anthropological Perspectives* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1977), 10. For work on the Igbo and what is now southeastern Nigeria in the eighteenth century, see Robin Horton, "From Fishing Village to City-State: A Social History of New Calabar," in Mary Douglas and Phyllis M. Kaberry, eds., *Man in Africa* (London: Tavistock Publications, 1969), 37–61; A. J. H. Latham, *Old Calabar, 1600–1891: The Impact of the International Economy upon a Traditional Society* (Oxford, U.K.: Clarendon Press, 1973); David Northrup, *Trade Without Rulers: Pre-Colonial Economic Development in South-Eastern Nigeria* (Oxford,

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2. *Lebenslauf* [memoir] of Magdalena—Beulah, Moravian Archives, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania; Katherine Faull Eze, "Self-Encounters: Two Eighteenth-Century African Memoirs From Moravian Bethlehem," in David McBride, Leroy Hopkins, and C. Aisha Blackshire-Belay, eds., *Crosscurrents African Americans, Africa, and Germany in the Modern World* (Columbia, S.C.: Camden House, 1998), 29; John Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400–1800* (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 44, 113; Patrick Manning, *Slavery, Colonialism and Economic Growth in Dahomey, 1640–1960* (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 11; A. I. Asiwaju and Robin Law, "From the Volta to the Niger, c 1600–1800," in J. F. A. Ajayi and Michael Crowder, eds., *History of West Africa, Volume One*, 3rd ed. (Harlow, England: Longmans, 1985), 453. On the import of Western arms into eighteenth-century West Africa, see J. E. Inikori, "The Import of Firearms into West Africa, 1750–1807: A Quantitative Analysis," *Journal of African History* 18 (1977): 339–58; W. A. Richards, "The Import of Firearms into West Africa in the Eighteenth Century," *Journal of African History* 21 (1980): 43–59.
3. On children and the slave trade, see Stephanie E. Smallwood, *Saltwater Slavery: A Middle Passage from Africa to American Diaspora* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2007), 75; Audra A. Diptee, "African Children in the British Slave Trade During the Late Eighteenth Century," *Slavery and Abolition* 27 (2006): 183–96; and Paul E. Lovejoy, "The Children of Slavery—The Transatlantic Phase," *Slavery and Abolition* 27 (2006): 197–217.
4. Elizabeth Donan, *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade to America, Volume III: New England and the Middle Colonies* (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution, 1932), 459.
5. For the relative health of captives before they left Africa, see Lovejoy and Richardson, "Trust, Pawnship, and Atlantic History," 336. For the sexual abuse of captive women on slave ships, see Marcus Rediker, *The Slave Ship: A Human History* (New York: Viking Penguin, 2007), 241–42; Thorp, "Chattel With a Soul," 439; Chambers, *Murder at Montpelier*, 23; *Lebenslauf of Magdalena*.
6. James Oliver Horton and Lois E. Horton, *In Hope of Liberty: Culture, Community, and Protest Among Northern Free Blacks, 1700–1860* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 4–5. For the slave trade's impact on the North's economy, see Anne Farrow, Joel Lang, and Jenifer Frank, *Complicity: How the North Promoted, Prolonged, and Profited From Slavery* (New York: Ballantine Books, 2005); Cynthia A. Kierner, *Traders and Gentlefolk: The Livingstons of New York, 1675–1790* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1992).
7. For the relative brutality of slavery in the North, see Gary B. Nash, *Forging Freedom: The Formation of Philadelphia's Black Community, 1720–1840* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1988), 11; Shane White, *Stories of Freedom in Black New York* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2002), 19; and Graham Russell Hodges, *Slavery and Freedom in the Rural North: African Americans in Monmouth County, New Jersey, 1665–1865* (Madison, Wisc.: Madison House, 1997), xii.
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- For the New York City slave plot of 1741 see Daniel Horsmanden, *The New-York Conspiracy; or, a History of the Negro Plot, with a Journal of the Proceedings, 1741-1742* (Negro Universities Press, 1969); Thomas J. Davis, *A Rumor of Revolt: The "Great Negro Plot" in Colonial New York* (New York: Free Press, 1985); Horton, *In Hope of Liberty*, 47. For an account of New York City's recently rediscovered African Burial Ground, see Ira Berlin and Lelie M. Harris, "Uncovering, Discovering, and Recovering: Digging in New York's Slave Past Beyond the African Burial Ground," in *Slavery in New York* (New York: The New Press, 2005), 1-28.
9. Thorp, "Chattel with a Soul," 440.
 10. Mechal Sobel, *Trabelin' On: The Slave Journey to an Afro-Baptist Faith* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), 15; Toyin Falola, ed., *Igbo Religion, Social Life and Other Essays by Simon Ottenberg* (Trenton, N.J.: Africa World Press, 2006), 117.
 11. Shane White, *Somewhat More Independent: The End of Slavery in New York City, 1770-1810* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1991), 14; Horton, *In Hope of Liberty*, 12, 16; Lepore, *New York Burning*, 6. For how Afro-New Yorkers built community consciousness to a greater extent at the end of the century around black churches and, just as importantly, around black controlled schools, see Robert J. Swan, "John Teasman: African-American Educator and the Emergence of Community in Early Black New York City, 1787-1815," *Journal of the Early Republic* 12, no. 3 (1992): 331-56.
 12. Sobel, *Trabelin' On*, 15.
 13. Harry Emilius Stocker, *A History of the Moravian Church in New York City* (New York: Harry Stocker, 1922), 38, 43; Aaron Spencer Fogleman, *Jesus is Female: Moravians and the Challenge of Radical Religion in Early America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 9; Thorp, "Chattel with a Soul," 41.
 14. Thorp, "Chattel with a Soul," 449; *Single Brethren's Diary, 1744-1752* (Bethlehem, Pa.: Historic Bethlehem Partnership, 1996), 1/9/1746.
 15. *Single Brethren's Diary, 1744-1752*, January 1, 1746, January 29, 1746, March December 1746, March 15, 1746, May 8, 1746. For the power that renaming slaves gave to white masters, see Orlando Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative Study* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1982).
 16. *Magdalene's Memoir*; Horton, *In Hope of Liberty*, 31-36; David Waldstreicher, *In the Midst of Perpetual Fetes: The Making of American Nationalism, 1776-1820* (Chapel Hill: Published for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Va., by the University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 210, 325.
 17. *Magdalene's Memoir*; Gary B. Nash and Jean R. Soderlund, *Freedom by Degrees: Emancipation in Pennsylvania and its Aftermath* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 16. A list of African Americans in Bethlehem, Pa., was compiled by Jon Sensbach and the author.
 18. Falola, *Igbo Religion*, 53.
 19. Fogleman, *Jesus is Female*, 107; Jacob John Sessler, *Communal Pietism Among Early American Moravians* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1933), 72.
 20. Sessler, *Communal Pietism*, 80.
 21. Sessler, *Communal Pietism*, 81; Beverly Prior Smaby, *The Transformation of Moravian Bethlehem: From Communal Mission to Family Economy* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988), 10; Horton, *In Hope of Liberty*, 43; Falola, *Igbo Religion*, 110, 310; Olaudah Equiano, *The Interesting*

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22. Smaby, *Transformation of Moravian Bethlehem*, 95.
 23. Laura Foner and Eugene D. Genovese, eds., "The Treatment of Slaves in Different Countries: Problems in the Applications of the Comparative Method," *Slavery in the New World: A Reader in Comparative History* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1969), 203–4. For comparing slave systems in the Americas, see Roderick A. McDonald, *The Economy and Material Culture of Slaves: Goods and Chattels on the Sugar Plantations of Jamaica and Louisiana* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1993); Gwendolyn Midlo Hall, *Africans in Colonial Louisiana: The Development of Afro-Creole Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1992); Herbert S. Klein, *Slavery in the Americas: A Comparative Study of Cuba and Virginia* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1967).
 24. *Single Brethrens' Diary, 1744–1752*, September 24, 1746; *Single Sisters' Diary, 1748*, Moravian Archives, Bethlehem, Pa.
 25. *Single Brethrens' Diary, 1744–1752*, March 8, 1749.
 26. *Single Brethrens' Diary, 1744–1752*, April 16, 1748, December 4, 1748, January 11, 1781. For studies of the working and living conditions of American slaves, see Edward Ball, *Slaves in the Family* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1998), 142; Ira Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America* (Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1998), 113, 114, 131–33, 155, 162–63, 197–98; McDonald, *The Economy and Material Culture of Slaves*, 92–166; Robert William Fogel and Stanley L. Engerman, *Time on the Cross: The Economics of American Negro Slavery* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1974), 107–57; John W. Blassingame, *The Slave Community: Plantation Life in the Antebellum South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), 154–83.
 27. *Single Brethrens' Diary, 1744–1752*, March 9, 1750; *Single Brethrens' Diary, 1753–1804*, July 14, 1756 (Bethlehem, Pa.: Historic Bethlehem Partnership, 1996); C. G. A. Oldendorp, *History of the Mission of the Evangelical Brethren on the Caribbean Islands of St. Thomas, St. Croix, and St. John*, Johann Jakob Bossard, ed., Arnold R. Highfield and Vladimir Barac, trans. and ed. (Ann Arbor, Mich.: Karoma Publishers, 1987), 699n.
 28. *Bethlehem Single Sisters*, box 1, 1744–1799, folder 1764–1767, Catalogue of the Girls at the School (Anstalt) in Bethlehem, November 27, 1766, Moravian Archives, Bethlehem, Pa.; Lindt Gollin, *Moravians in Two Worlds: A Study of Changing Communities* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967), 83; Peter Titus, 1770–1843, *Memoir Box III, Nazareth*, Moravian Archives, Bethlehem, Pa.
 29. Nash, *Forging Freedom*, 18–23.
 30. Hodges, *Slavery and Freedom in the Rural North*, 78; Ira Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone*, 247–48.
 31. Sessler, *Communal Pietism*, 121, 140; Smaby, *Transformation of Moravian Bethlehem*, 8.
 32. *Single Brethrens' Diary, 1744–1752*, January 22, 1748, March 22, 1748, May 8, 1748, May 24, 1748.
 33. Smaby, *Transformation of Moravian Bethlehem*, 22.

34. *Bethlehem Church Register*, vol. 1, 1742–1756; *Tauf* (baptism) *Register*, 194, Moravian Archives, Bethlehem, Pa.; *Single Brothers' Diary*, 1744–1752, December 4, 1747, December 7, 1748, August 30, 1748.
35. *Single Brethren's Diary*, 1744–1752, January 16, 1749, November 8, 1749, February, 21, 1750; *Single Brethren's Diary*, 1753–1804, May, 11, 1761; *Memoir for Josua, a negro*, Memoirs, box 2, 1761, Moravian Archives, Bethlehem, Pa.; *Josua the Negro Lebenslauf*. Bethlehem Digital History Project, transcription and trans. Katherine E. Carte, Moravian Archives, Bethlehem, Pa..
36. *Single Brethren's Diary*, 1744–1752, January, 22, 1748, June 16, 1748, July 6, 1748; *Single Brethren's Diary*, 1753–1804, April 10, 1755.
37. *General Diacony Journal* 1, 1771–1780, Moravian Archives, Bethlehem, Pa.
38. *Letter from August Spangenberg to Brethren in St. Thomas*, 1760. Box marked West Indies, Miscellaneous Letters, 1739–1769, Moravian Archives, Bethlehem, Pa.; Nash and Soderlund, *Freedom by Degrees*, 16; Nash, *Forging Freedom*, 10; David Hackett Fischer, *Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 429–34; A. G. Roeber, “The Origin of Whatever Is Not English among Us: The Dutch-speaking and German-speaking Peoples of Colonial British America,” and Maldwyn A. Jones, “The Scotch-Irish in British America,” both in Bernard Bailyn and Philip D. Morgan, eds., *Strangers within the Realm: Cultural Margins of the First British Empire* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Va., by The University of North Carolina Press, 1991), 220–83, 284–313; David Galenson, *White Servitude in Colonial America: An Economic Analysis* (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 179.
39. Nash, *Forging Freedom*, 26; Nash and Soderlund, *Freedom by Degrees*, x. For works which discuss Quaker attitudes about slavery, see Jean R. Soderlund, *Quakers and Slavery: A Divided Spirit* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985); Thomas E. Drake, *Quakers and Slavery in America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950).
40. Box marked *Slaves*, June 8, 1762, Moravian Archives, Bethlehem, Pa.; Hodges, *Slavery and Freedom in the Rural North*, 63.
41. *Nazareth Death Notices in Nazareth Church Book*, Moravian Archives, Bethlehem, Pa., 330–31; *Single Brethren's Diary*, 1744–1752, November 26, 1748. For an analysis of the practice of allowing black slaves to marry Native American women, see Gary B. Nash, *Red, White and Black: The Peoples of Early North America*, 4th ed. (Upper Saddle River, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 2000), 308–14; and Horton, *In Hope of Liberty*, 38. For an examination of slave families, see Herbert G. Gutman, *The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom, 1750–1925* (New York: Vintage Books, 1977).
42. Nash and Soderlund, *Freedom by Degrees*, 111; White, *Stories of Freedom in Black New York*, 13.
43. *Rebecca the Negro Lebenslauf*. Bethlehem Digital History Project, Moravian Archives, Bethlehem, Pa. For an example of how some willful slave women were able to control where they lived, see Norton, *Liberty's Daughters*, 33.
44. *General Diacony Journal*, 1780–1788, November 20, 1784, Moravian Archives, Bethlehem, Pa.; Eze, “Self-Encounters,” 35, 42. For an example of the ability of slave women to bargain with white masters over property rights, see Norton, *Liberty's Daughters*, 32. Deborah Gray White, in *Ar'n't I*

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- A Woman?: Female Slaves in the Plantation South* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1999), argues that the stereotype of black women as promiscuous and as mammies is incorrect.
45. Smaby, *Transformation of Moravian Bethlehem*, 14.
 46. Sessler, *Communal Pietism*, 87, 97.
 47. Smaby, *Transformation of Moravian Bethlehem*, 153.
 48. *Single Brethrens' Diary*, 1762–1767, Moravian Archives, Bethlehem, Pa., 245–46; *Single Brethrens' Diary*, 1753–1804, October 28, 1758.
 49. *Single Brethrens' Diary*, 1753–1804, March 28, 1785, July 9, 1786, May 7, 1792.
 50. *Josua the Negro Lebenslauf*. For a discussion of the difference between “Atlantic Africans” and Ira Berlin’s concept of “Atlantic creoles,” see Chambers, *Murder at Montpelier*, 13. Chambers states that in the second quarter of the eighteenth century, the slave trade to North America was at its height. As a consequence, a large portion of the slaves were native Africans rather than creoles born in America. As “Atlantic Africans” rather than Atlantic Creoles,” many captives retained their native cultures and passed them down to the next generation. This transatlantic transference of intact culture was made possible by a large concentration of, in Chambers study of backcountry Virginia, Igbo peoples or at least Igbo cognates familiar with Igbo culture and language. Though in much diluted form in Pennsylvania, Igbo identity was still maintained.
 51. Hodges, *Slavery and Freedom in the Rural North*, 45.
 52. Nash and Soderlund, *Freedom by Degrees*, 21, 49; White, *Somewhat More Independent*, 11; Hodges, *Slavery and Freedom in the Rural North*, 49; Horton, *In Hope of Liberty*, 14.
 53. Smaby, *Transformation of Moravian Bethlehem*, 86; Sessler, *Communal Pietism*, 89. Visitors can take guided tours of Bethlehem’s historic district, which has preserved the town’s colonial-era tannery, blacksmith shop, forge, oil mill, and gristmill.
 54. Smaby, *Transformation of Moravian Bethlehem*, 86; Sessler, *Communal Pietism*, 89.
 55. Nash and Soderlund, *Freedom by Degrees*, 32.
 56. *Memoir Box III, Nazareth, Peter Titus*, 1770–1843.
 57. *Memoir for Josua, a negro*. Memoirs, box 2, 1761; *Josua the Negro Lebenslauf; Single Brethrens' Diary*, 1753–1804, May 11, 1761.
 58. J. Taylor Hamilton, *A History of the Church Known as the Moravian Church, or the Unitas Fratrum, or the Unity of the Brethren, during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (Bethlehem, Pa.: Times Publishing Company, Printers, 1900), 50, 264.
 59. J. C. S Mason, *The Moravian Church and the Missionary Awakening in England*, 1760–1800 (Woodbridge, U.K.: The Boydell Press, 2001), 24; Gollin, *Moravians in Two Worlds*, 17.
 60. Fogleman, *Jesus is Female*, 113; Gollin, *Moravians in Two Worlds*, 159, 196.
 61. Jon F. Sensbach, *A Separate Canaan: The Making of an Afro-Moravian World in North Carolina*, 1763–1840 (Chapel Hill: Published for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Va., by the University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 302.
 62. Vernon H. Nelson, Otto Dreydoppel Jr., and Doris Rohland, YOB, eds., *The Bethlehem Diary Volume II, January 1, 1744–May 31, 1745*, Kenneth G. Hamilton and Luthar Madeheim, trans. (Bethlehem, Pa.: The Moravian Archives, 2001), 301, 306, 284.
 63. Oldendorp, *History of the Mission*, 443, 449.

64. Horton, *In Hope of Liberty*, 38.
65. Oldendorp, *History of the Mission*, 517, 518. For how biracial congregations in the colonial era influenced each other's culture, see Mechal Sobel, *The World They Made Together: Black and White Values in Eighteenth-Century Virginia* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987).
66. Fogleman, *Jesus is Female*, 107; Hamilton, *History of the Moravian Church*, 80, 242; Marie J. Kohnova, "The Moravians and their Missionaries: A Problem in Americanization," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 19, no. 3 (1932): 353; Margaret Washington Creel, "A Peculiar People": *Slave Community and Religion—Culture Among the Gullahs* (New York: New York University Press, 1988), 72; Adelaide L. Fries, *The Moravians in Georgia, 1735–1740* (Raleigh, N.C.: Printed for the author by Edwards and Broughton, 1905), 201–20.
67. Hamilton, *History of the Moravian Church*, 171; Sensbach, *A Separate Canaan*.
68. Oldendorp, *History of the Mission*, 320.
69. Kenneth G. Hamilton, trans. and ed., *The Bethlehem Diary Volume I, 1742–1744* (Bethlehem, Pa.: The Archives of the Moravian Church, 1971), 25, 39, 40, 89.
70. Hamilton, *Bethlehem Diary, Volume I*, 98, 101, 110; Oldendorp, *History of the Mission*, 402.
71. Hamilton, *Bethlehem Diary, Volume I*, 121, 134, 135; Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone*, 95, 208–9. For work on black itinerant preachers in the North who followed in Andreas's footsteps during the early national period, see Graham Russell Hodges, ed., *Black Itinerants of the Gospel: The Narratives of John Jea and George White* (Madison, Wisc.: Madison House, 1993).
72. Fogleman, *Jesus is Female*, 231–35; Stocker, *History of the Moravian Church in New York City*, 53; Hamilton, *History of the Moravian Church*, 292.
73. *Single Brethren's Diary, 1744–1752*, December 14, 1749, May 14, 1748, December 4, 1748; Falola, *Igbo Religion*, 56.
74. Nash and Soderlund, *Forging Freedom*, 35; David Waldstreicher, *Runaway America: Benjamin Franklin, Slavery, and the American Revolution* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2004).
75. *Single Brethren's Diary, 1744–1752*, January 16, 1749, February 19, 1749, May 6, 1749, September 19, 1749, August 3, 1753, August 8, 1753.
76. *Register Book of the Brethren's Church in Philadelphia, 1742–1843*, Moravian Archives, Bethlehem, Pa.
77. *New York City Diary, 1748*, Moravian Archives, Bethlehem, Pa.; White, *Somewhat More Independent*, 3.
78. Stocker, *History of the Moravian Church in New York City*, 188, 197; *New York (First) Church, Church Register, 1744–1890*, Moravian Archives, Bethlehem, Pa. For relations between blacks and whites in colonial New York, see Thelma Wills Foote, *Black and White Manhattan: The History of Racial Formation in New York City* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004).
79. *Church Register, New York (First) Church, 1744–1890*; Kathleen M. Brown, *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches and Anxious Patriarchs: Gender, Race and Power in Colonial Virginia* (Chapel Hill: Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture in Williamsburg, Va. by the University of North Carolina Press, 1996).
80. Alison Games, "Migration," in David Armitage and Michael J. Braddick, eds., *The British Atlantic World, 1500–1800* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2002), 44; Stocker, *History of the Moravian Church in New York City*, 219.

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81. Stocker, *History of the Moravian Church in New York City*, 188; Smaby, *Transformation of Moravian Bethlehem*, 40.
82. Eze, "Self-Encounters: Two Eighteenth-Century African Memoirs from Moravian Bethlehem," 30; Gollin, *Moravians in Two Worlds*, 108; *Magdalene's Memoir*.
83. For how African slaves used evangelical religion to forge a black consciousness, see James Sidbury, *Ploughshares into Swords: Race, Rebellion, and Identity in Gabriel's Virginia, 1730-1810* (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 35.