

WACHOVIA: THE MATURING OF A COMMUNAL SOCIETY

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THE UNITAS FRATRUM

The "Renewed Church of the Unitas Fratrum" (Unity of Brethren), otherwise known as the Moravians, trace their beliefs back to Protestant traditions developed in Bohemia during the fifteenth century by followers of John Hus. They have no formal creed aside from the Holy Scripture. The main tenets of their faith are recognition of the total depravity of human nature, God's love, the humanity of Christ, the importance of the sacrifice of the Cross, justification by faith, good works as an expression of faith, and the fellowship of believers. Sixteenth and seventeenth century religious persecutions dissipated the Unitas Fratrum to the point of extinction. Its regeneration began in 1722 when fugitives from religious persecution sought refuge on the estate of Count Nicholas Ludwig von Zinzendorf, at Bethelsdorf in Saxony. The protection and leadership which Zinzendorf offered enabled the Moravians to develop the "Renewed Church."¹

A complex communal society emerged under the influence of Zinzendorf. The promotion of religious fellowship and spiritual growth as well as societal persecutions produced this communal structure. It rested upon "choirs," -- groups based on sex, age, and marital status. The Moravian community, called Herrnhut ("Under the care of God" or "Standing guard for the lord") followed traditions and practices that became synonymous with the United Fratrums. The "lovefeast," decision making and marriage by lot, the love of music and education, and a sobering propensity for labor, piety, and thrift made them distinctive.²

The Brethren, as the Moravians were known, also had an intense interest in missionary work. This longing to plant colonies abroad came from a desire to teach others the ways of eternal salvation. The group's communal tendencies aided such plans, and they transplanted completely organized communities to the English colonies in North America. The Moravian settlements at Bethlehem and Nazareth (1741), Pennsylvania, developed in this manner.³

The Moravians met with some suspicion and hostility because they objected to war, stood against taking oaths, and practiced a distinctive religion.⁴ Their communitarian practices were reinforced by the opposition of prevailing sociocultural environments in Europe and the colonies. One such clash of

cultures was referred to by the Moravian diarist for Wachovia (Western North Carolina) in 1762. The Brethren's Easter observance included a graveyard procession to announce Christ's resurrection. The diarist related:

Then an explanation was given in English, to the strangers present, telling them the ground and reason for our procession to the graveyard and our liturgy there; for certain remarkable reports have been spread about it, for instance that we open graves and wake the dead with our trumpets.⁵

That such distortion could produce suspicion and tension within the general community and a resultant tendency on the Moravians' part to withdraw was logical. Yet, despite these difficulties, the Brethren made considerable contributions to the growth and development of some American colonies during the first half of the eighteenth century.

The Wachovia settlements in Western North Carolina have been examined by scholars; yet comparatively little attention has been paid to the Brethren's relationships with their neighbors and the area's colonial government. Since the Moravians were in the area during the French and Indian War, examining their contacts with government and the general community offers a unique opportunity to study the Brethren's communal practices and approach to civil government under the dual pressures of constructing a frontier community and coping with the threat of war. The Moravians' ability to deal with such stress and the part they played in the war crisis constitutes part of the subject matter of this investigation.

THE WACHOVIA TRACT

Moravian interest in establishing a colony in western North Carolina began during the late 1740's. Brethren spokesmen from Herrnhut were in England negotiating with the government for relief from persecutions which the Unitas Fratrum had encountered in His Majesty's North American colonies. The Moravians were considered an industrious, hard-working people by many English officials. Thus a 1749 Act of Parliament, in an attempt to encourage these sober, orderly people to settle in the North American colonies, recognized the United Brethren as members of "an antient [sic] Protestant Episcopal church" and relieved them from taking oaths or serving in the military.⁶

The president of the Privy Council, John, Lord Carteret, Earl of Grenville, impressed by the Moravians, offered to sell them some of his land in North Carolina about the time of the 1749 legislation. Bishop August Gottlieb Spangenberg was sent to explore the area and pick out an appropriate tract for settlement.⁷ His diary and other records show the care with which the Brethren approached the project. This source also

expresses concern about the poor character of the area's inhabitants:

Sept. 25, 1752 -- . . . Trade and Business are poor in North Carolina . . . The inhabitants of North Carolina are of two kinds, some have been born in the Country and they bear the climate well, but are lazy, and do not compare with our northern Colonists . . . Many of the first comers were brought by poverty . . . Others [are] . . . refugees from debt, or had deserted wives and children, or had fled to escape punishment for evil deeds . . . Whole bands of horse thieves had moved here. . . . 8

Coloniel William Byrd and Governor Alexander Spotswood of Virginia held similar opinions. Byrd believed the people "intolerably lazy" and Spotswood thought criminals lived in North Carolina.⁹ This situation combined with the frontier Indian danger led the Brethren to abandon their initial "Patriarchal Plan" because it was based on individual family farms. The "Patriarchal Plan" was a communitarian system called the "General Economy" (oeconomie) in which "the community took care of all the material needs of a member in return for his labor and the fruits of his labor."¹⁰

The land acquired for the proposed settlement consisted of almost 100,000 acres located in the vicinity of today's Winston-Salem, North Carolina. Bishop Spangenberg suggested the tract be named "'die Wachau' or 'the Meadowland of the Wach' -- because . . . its watercourses made it resemble an ancestral estate of the Zinzendorfs in Austria. The name became anglicized as 'Wachovia.'¹¹

BRETHREN IN THE WILDERNESS

Only the strong and those possessing essential talents were sent to Wachovia, because it was clear that the initial effort at settlement would be arduous. The original party consisted of 15 men, four of whom were escorts who would return to their homes in Pennsylvania. The 11 permanent settlers possessed considerable talent. They included a physician, two ministers, several carpenters, mill-wrights, and some with abilities in various handicrafts like tailoring and shoemaking.¹² Such talents were sorely needed in western North Carolina. According to Bishop Spangenberg, "Of handicrafts I have seen practically nothing . . . Almost nobody had a trade . . . In 140 miles I saw not one wagon or plough, not any sign of one."¹³ These comments also define the poverty of the area's inhabitants.

The group reached their destination on November 17, 1753, after a difficult journey of five weeks. They set to work immediately clearing land for the first village which they

christened Bethabara. In keeping with their predilection for organization, the settlement founders maintained an orderly routine by delegating responsibilities and considering procedures in "house conference."¹⁴

The new settlers conducted daily religious activities with little deviation from their standard practices. Missionary zeal was a strong factor in establishing Wachovia; yet, in the early years, there is little evidence that this urge took priority over other matters. The Brethren, preoccupied with establishing a basis for their settlement, even showed irritation at strangers' visits. There was probably some mutual suspicion involved in these early contacts. The diary of the Reverend John Friis, one of the original party, expresses a hint of such apprehension:

May 12, 1754, We have a Meeting every Sunday morning wherein a Sermon is read; if any Stranger comes it is well. But I have settled no Meeting on purpose for Strangers.

May 19, 1754 -- Some Strangers came to us. I am not pleased to see them come to us on Sunday for that is our only time for leisure; they are in our way, and their visit has no important end.¹⁵

The reasons for such an "un-Moravian" attitude can be attributed to tension between the settlers and their visitors as well as the immense pressures which the untamed frontier placed upon the Brethren. Once the community was established more firmly and the two groups got to know one another, the missionary spirit revived.

The Moravians attracted attention immediately. Their skills constituted welcome additions to a region lacking many of the basic elements of civilization. Brother Kalberlahn, the physician, found his services in immediate demand, since there was no doctor within miles. The news of his presence brought people in search of aid and advice from considerable distances.¹⁶ Some of the group's artisans exhibited their skills to travelers and neighbors. In the fall of 1755, the completion of a mill near the village represented yet another contribution to the community.¹⁷ These developments no doubt brought the Brethren and their neighbors to a better understanding of each other.

The Brethren Unity in Wachovia began to grow in 1755. Several parties arrived that year including the first women settlers. On November 4, 1755, a group of 29 newcomers reached Bethabara. Seven of these were married couples.¹⁸ The community had grown to sixty communicants by the end of 1755. Children of the married settlers often remained in Pennsylvania for schooling and protection against frontier hardships in the early period.¹⁹

The Brethren's business ability, in addition to their hard work and craft skills, constituted another contribution they made to life on the colonial frontier. Records indicate the Moravians were careful with their money and reluctant to give credit. Though there was considerable bartering, monetary dealings were not infrequent, and the Brethren kept close account of the exchange rates for the various currencies in circulation.²⁰ Occasional references to the area's economy give some indication of the Brethren's business capabilities. For example, an advisory concerning buying cattle stated:

If one wishes to purchase cattle in this neighborhood it usually costs forty or fifty shillings a head, therefore it is cheaper to buy in South Carolina, if one wishes enough to make the trip the trouble. But if one can wait for an opportunity, and especially if one can pay in silver, which is scarce, cattle can sometimes be secured for half price here . . . 21

Trade was initiated with eastern North Carolina and southern Virginia during the first year of settlement but it was not until the community became firmly established that these contacts were put on a regular basis and expanded. The advent of the French and Indian War accelerated this commerce.

Small independent farmers comprised the bulk of western North Carolina's population during the 1750's. This led many people to rely upon the Moravian settlements (a second settlement called Bethania was started in the summer of 1759) for protection. Moravian products and services became widely known as a result of this situation. Militia activity also gave the Brethren exposure. Although they were exempt from regular military service, they had occasional contact with the military. These encounters were disturbing to the Moravians, yet they found some profit in them. The Moravian Diary explained:

. . . there was this much benefit, the neighboring people have found out that we have all sorts of things to sell, that we know exactly what we have, and that we will sell only for immediate payment.²²

The prominent Charlestown merchant, Henry Laurens, visited the Brethren, early in 1761, and provided them with another important contact. Laurens had heard much about the Moravians. His visit was motivated by interest in their religious ideas and business.²³ Laurens, who had great admiration for the Moravians, became the Brethren's agent in a new commercial liason with Charleston.²⁴ Wachovia was also trading with Cape Fear by this time. Goods the Moravians offered included pottery, flour, corn and skins. They sought iron, salt, tools, and goods for their store.

The Brethren's predilection for order aided their early business success. Their community's vocational activities were closely regulated according to its needs. When an important vacancy arose, they endeavored to fill it quickly. If the settlement could not supply the skill required, a call went out to the other Moravian communities for aid. Bishop Spangenberg's letter of June 11, 1760, to Count Zinzendorf spoke of such a transaction:

I am sending two married couples from here [Bethlehem] to the Wachau, Jacob Van der Merk and his wife for the mill, and Dixon and his wife for the store, so that Schaub and his wife can take charge of the Tavern.²⁵

The religious practices of the Unitas Fratrum attracted a number of visitors. Before the Moravians' arrival, the area was almost devoid of religious activity. The first group to visit Wachau met a man who told them that "the people lived like Wild men, never hearing of God or His Word."²⁶ This situation combined with the Brethren's preoccupation with settlement and the mutual suspicion between them and the area's inhabitants probably explained the lack of religious contact between them and their neighbors during the early settlement period. An August, 1754, communication to the Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, settlement stated that:

no one has yet come on purpose to attend services, though some who were here over night have been present at their evening meetings and two or three have welcomed conversation on religious matters.²⁷

Strange as it may seem, Wachovia played an important role during the French and Indian War. Though no major fighting occurred in the area, rumors and threats caused extensive activity. Betharbara was used frequently as a refuge. Indian activity in the north drove many people into the region. The Brethren, a non-aggressive people, maintained until 1759 good relations with the Cherokees, the principal Indian group in the region. Both they and the colonial Government sought to keep the peace with the Cherokees as long as possible through friendly actions. The Moravians fed large groups of Indians on several occasions, while the colonial government supported their efforts financially by reimbursing them for the food.²⁸

Some misunderstandings developed regarding activities of the community during the war years. The conflict brought to the Moravian settlements large numbers of refugees who were unfamiliar and unsympathetic with the Brethren's practices. The latter were very unconscious of law and order; their whole approach to community life required such an attitude. Wartime contacts with outsiders disrupted the regimen of the community. Records for the era reveal increasing problems with neighbors and

outsiders who passed through the area. The "Memorabilia" (summary of the past year) for 1762 declared, "He [God] has defended us against the evil people of the neighborhood, who sought to give us trouble and do us harm, especially in Bethabara."²⁹ A frontier area like eighteenth century western North Carolina also was subject to lawless elements. Moravian accounts refer to several incidents in their tavern when unruly non-residents created disturbances.³⁰ The Brethren were apparently able to control their own communicants, but had difficulty with outsiders. Some attempted to pass counterfeit money at the tavern.³¹ Others started drunken brawls. The trouble makers were always neighboring folk or travelers.³²

The French and Indian War, though it created problems, occasioned more contact with people outside the community and broke down barriers of mistrust. Many soldiers marching against the Indians attended religious services in Bethabara and Bethania. On Easter Sunday, 1760, about 400 were present in Bethania.³³ When Indians threatened, the Brethren gave hospitality to large numbers of refugees whom they tried to proselytize. Spangenberg recorded:

. . . more than 220 persons have taken refuge with the Brethren, fleeing from the terrible hand of the Wild Men. They are living among the Brethren, but in separate houses and huts. The Gospel is diligently proclaimed to them, and not without results.³⁴

Spangenberg was referring to new converts who joined the Brethren and formed a Society (Society Bretheren) connected with the Unitas Fratrum. This organization was a step toward gaining full membership in the community of Brethren. Thus, the war had positive results for both the Moravians and their neighbors. The need for safety further diminished tension.

The community, faced with the reality of war, took precautions to prevent a surprise attack. Palisades were built around the village and eventually around the mill. Trees and bushes were cleared from near the stockade.³⁵ The night-watch was reorganized so that two men would divide the duty instead of one working the entire night as had previously been the case.³⁶ These precautions proved valuable later. Though the community was never attacked, Indian scouts were seen in the palisades area, and large bands were occasionally spotted nearby. The Indians usually assaulted isolated farms and small groups of travelers; but in the spring of 1760, according to a report the Brethren received later, they came close to attacking the Wachovia itself. After the war, Indians stated:

. . . that they had very often come to the towns of the Brethren, and having heard that a very strong fort of

men lived there, they had a mind, for the thirst of glory, to try their strength with them too. They often came so near in the night, that they could look into their fortress (palisades). But when they were on the point of attacking, they heard the sound of a kettle (the bell of the church) and directly many people (those who had the watch by night) had sounded an alarm called to one another (cried the hour) and struck up the warsong (an enlivening verse out of an evening hymn). They had been constantly deterred from an assault.³⁷

An interesting relationship existed between the Brethren and the colonial government. A state church system existed in North Carolina during the 1750s. The parish of Dobbs was located in the region of the Wachovia tract.³⁸ A parish was required legally to have an English minister and to hold church services four times a year. The Brethren, therefore, were obliged to issue a call for an English minister. However, they restricted him to the minimum four services required by law. Such were their instructions to Reverend Jacob Rogers, who was informed:

. . . our Brethren's congregation shall go on its independent way; it is a theocracy, and he [Jacob Rogers] shall not interfere with it. In his own person he is a brother. . . with no authority therein because he is the English minister.³⁹

The English had allowed Moravians considerable freedom of action following the legislation of 1749 which freed the Brethren from oath-taking and military service. The fact that the preceding instructions to Jacob Rogers were accepted is evidence of that freedom. English governmental support after 1749 explained why Wachovia experienced less hostility than earlier efforts at settlement in Pennsylvania and New York.

The governorship of Arthur Dobbs spanned the Moravians' first decade in Wachovia. Dobbs apparently held the Brethren in high esteem. His contacts with them resulted in mutual respect. Moravian records praise Dobbs for considerations and courtesies he extended to them.⁴⁰ This positive relationship also was characteristic of the lesser officials who visited and worked with the Brethren. Chief Justice Hasel, for example, was impressed by their organization and displayed a willingness to help them with problems.⁴¹

The Moravians were to avoid some local regulations because of the congenial relationship they enjoyed with the colonial government. For example, under the Vestry Act of 1754, vestry were to be elected by the freeholders of a parish. The law defined a freeholder as an adult male possessing fifty or more

acres of land in the parish.⁴² The Moravians held their land in common. In order to meet the freehold requirement, twenty Brethren were assigned, as a subterfuge, fifty acres of land each, although they never claimed the land as their own. So by creative legal action, the community met the law's requirements.⁴³

Governor Dobbs worked diligently to defend the Moravians against "a perfidious Enemy who are determined to deprive you of your religion, liberty and possession"⁴⁴ during the French and Indian War. The Western settlements were important because they served as remote outposts in the struggle against the Indian. Some, including the Wachau, bordered on the Cherokee lands. Since these frontier areas were sparsely settled they represented a point of special concern to the government. For this reason, authorities exempted the counties of Rowan (Wachovia was included in this county) and Anson from the military draft. The Brethren were much relieved. Although they had received special dispensation exempting them from regular military service, they feared their neighbors, especially the Society Brethren, might be drawn for service.⁴⁵

The Brethren defined their special relationship with the government further by refusing to sign petitions about military matters on several occasions. In each case officials seemed satisfied with their position, that although they were exempted from such affairs by a special act of Parliament, they were willing to contribute monetary assistance.⁴⁶ The Brethren, however, did not expect others to defend them. On the contrary, they wished to defend themselves and petitioned Governor Dobbs for support. On May 17, 1757, their request was granted and Jacob Loesch was appointed "Captain of an Independent Company to consist of the Inhabitants of the said Parish [Dobbs] for their defense from the French and their Indians."⁴⁷ Throughout the war, the Moravians refused the protection of regular troops and provided for their own defense, making it possible for governmental forces to be used elsewhere.⁴⁸

The Brethren were not anxious to have elements in their midst which they could not control. Their inpiety and soberness produced a natural revulsion toward the crudities and sins which outside social and political contact might produce. The Betharba Diary gives some hints of this attitude. On one occassion, the serious Moravian diarist, apparently finding a neighbor disorderly and wasteful, declared his distaste: "... more time is spent in drinking brandy than in working."⁴⁹ A notation for October 23, 1762, recorded the thoughts of some of the Brethren upon returning from Salisbury where court was held: "... it is always unpleasant for the Brethren to have business at Court, because conduct there is so ungodly."⁵⁰

The communicants generally maintained order with little difficulty. Yet, prosperity, social contact, and a natural desire for greater individual freedom were bound to cause problems within the congregation, especially as the community began to grow. Early settlement records rarely reveal problems or disciplinary actions among the membership. In the last two years of the first decade, however, several communicants were dismissed from the community. In only one case was any explanation given:

H. Feldman left today with many tears. He had put our brewery and distillery into the best order, but yielded to carnal desires and fell into all kinds of sin and shame, so that we could not longer keep him here. The refugees have done us much harm.⁵¹

The last sentence indicates much about the situation. Rigid Moravian policies faced a serious challenge from outsiders.

The "oeconomie" or communitarian structure of the Wachovia settlements eventually became a problem. It had been employed as a temporary measure to insure early development. As the community stabilized and the surrounding area matured, the outside socio-cultural environment and the Moravians were slowly meshing into a somewhat homogeneous whole as far as social and religious understanding was concerned. Thus, the "oeconomie's" collectivism was no longer needed. Additionally, social intercourse with non-members began to effect community practices. Supervision over younger members was strict. Contact with outsiders, especially those of the opposite sex, was not sanctioned, while marriage to a non-member was discouraged. Yet, some mingling occurred. Such activity resulted in a runaway marriage during the summer of 1762.⁵² This was also a sign of the breakdown of earlier social tensions between the Brethren and the outsiders.

Another village, Bethania, was started in 1759, largely because outside friends and members of the congregation expressed a desire for individual housekeeping, independent of the "oeconomie."⁵³ This marked the beginning of the "oeconomie's" decline in Wachovia. Indeed, the system's rigidity seemed to be starting to deteriorate as the first decade of settlement came to a close.

The Moravians established themselves as an important element in the growth of eighteenth century western North Carolina between 1753 and 1763. Their communal society was effective in taming a rugged frontier region and resisting threats from outsiders. Barriers of suspicion and mistrust gave way to understanding. The skill, industry, and culture which the Brethren brought to the wilds of North Carolina proved invaluable. They became known for their products and services

while their medical practice aided people. Moreover, Moravian religious ideas attracted interest. Their orderliness advanced good citizenship though they themselves refrained from active politics. The French and Indian War revealed the Brethren's determination to defend Wachovia; an action which strengthened the colonial government's defenses and provided security to a sparsely settled frontier area. Yet the Moravians, for all their contributions, also benefited from their North Carolina experiment. The Unitas Fratrum's history is spotted with suffering and mistreatment. The Wachovia tract proved to be not only a missionary enterprise but also a haven from persecution. Following the Parliament Act of 1749, the Government's attitude toward the Brethren was one of positive support. Colonial authorities as well as individual citizens not only displayed interest but extended the hand of fellowship. Despite some lawless and unsympathetic elements, the vast majority of those who came into contact with the Brethren were friendly and law-abiding. Thus the success of Wachovia was, in part, due to the cooperation of the Moravians, their neighbors, and the colonial government. Undeniably, Brethren talents and accomplishments enhanced the development of western North Carolina, yet the Brethren owed part of their success to others.

1Adelaide L. Fries, "The Moravian Contribution to Colonial North Carolina," The North Carolina Review, VII, No. 1 (January, 1930), 4-11; Eugene A. Bestor, Backwoods Utopias: The Sectarian and Owenite Phases of Communitarian Socialism in America 1663-1829 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1950), 23-24; Jacob John Sessler, Communal Pietism Among American Moravians (New York: H. Holt and Co., 1933), 7-19. See Gillian L. Gollin, Moravians in Two Worlds: A Study of Changing Communities (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967), for an excellent work on Moravian beliefs and practices. See Edward M. Holder, "Social Life of the Early Moravians in North Carolina," The North Carolina Historical Review, XI, No. 3 (July, 1934), 167-184 for Moravians in North Carolina.

2Ibid., 67, 88.

3Bestor, Backwoods Utopias, 24. Although the particular slant of this paper is toward the relationship of the Moravians to their neighbors and the Colonial government, some general comments are made about the "Economy." Nevertheless, its primary focus deals with a later period. See Jerry Lee Surratt, "From Theocracy to Voluntary Church and Secularized Community: A Study of the Moravians in Salem, North Carolina, 1772-1860," (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Emory University, 1968.)

4Marie J. Kohnova, "The Moravians and Their Missionaries, A Problem in Americanization," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, XIX, (1932), 349-353.

5Adelaide L. Fries (ed.), Records of the Moravians in North Carolina (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton Printing Co., 1922-1954), I, 245. (Cited hereafter as Moravian Records.) Fries also wrote in "story form" a history of the early Moravians in North Carolina. See Adelaide L. Fries, The Road to Salem (University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1944).

6Great Britain. Laws, Statutes, etc. George II (1727-1760) An Act for Encouraging the People Known by the Name of Unitas Fratrum or United Brethren, to Settle in His Majesty's Colonies in America (London: Thomas Baskett, Printer, 1749), 635-636; also see Great Britain Parliament. Report from the Committee to whom Petition of the Deputies of the United Moravian Churches in Behalf of themselves and their United Brethren was Referred (London, 1749).

7David Cranz, The Ancient and Modern History of the Brethren, Translated by Benjamin La Trobe (London: W. and A. Strahan, 1780) 427; Kenneth G. Hamilton, "The Moravians and

Wachovia," The North Carolina Historical Review, XLIV, No. 2 (Spring, 1967), 144-145. For a short general history see Chester S. Davis, Hidden Seed & Harvest: A History of the Moravians (Wachovia Historical Society, Winston-Salem, North Carolina, 1973).

8Moravian Records, I, 30-64; II, 515-516; Golin, Moravians in Two Worlds. 218.

9Pierre Morambaud, William Byrd of Westover, 1674-1744 (University of Virginia Press, Charlottesville, 1971), 122.

10Moravian Records, I, 48-50; Bestor, Backwoods Utopias, 24; Surratt, "From Theocracy to Voluntary Church."

11Hamilton, "The Moravians and Wachovia," 145-146.

12Moravian Records, I, Editor's Historical Sketch, 66.

13Ibid., I, 39, 73-74.

14Ibid., I, 85.

15Ibid., II, 530.

16Ibid., I, 85, 93, 95, 99, 124.

17Ibid., I, 149.

18Ibid., I, 139.

19Fries, "The Moravian Contribution to Colonial North Carolina," 13.

20Moravian Records, I, 263.

21Ibid., I, 111.

22Ibid., I, 110.

23Ibid., I, 234-236.

24Philip M. Homer and George C. Roberts, Jr., (Eds.), The Papers of Henry Laurens (University of South Carolina Press, Columbia, S.C., 1972), Vol. 3, Jan. 1, 1759 - August 31, 1763, 92-95, 148. Letters to John Ettwein dated April 7, 1762 and November 3, 1762.

25Moravians Records, II, 54.

26Ibid., I, 78.

27Ibid., I, 106.

28Ibid., I, 184, 189, 214; Levin T. Reichel, The Moravians in North Carolina (O.A. Keehlin, Salem, N.C., J.B. Lippincott and Co., Philadelphia, 1857), 44-45. See Glenn Weaver, "The Moravians During the French and Indian War," Church History, 24, (Sept., 1955), 239-256, for summary account of Moravians and the French and Indian War.

29Ibid., I, 240.

30Ibid., I, 247, 252, 268, 274.

31Ibid., I, 243. 271.

32Holder, "Social Life of the Early Moravians in North Carolina," 179.

33The Colonial Records of North Carolina (Raleigh: Josephus Daniels, Printer to the State, 1877), V, 1149.

34Moravian Records, II, 539.

35Ibid., I, 159, 181, 188.

36Ibid., I, 134-135.

37Cranz, The Ancient and Modern History of the Brethren, 540-541. This account is more colorful but may not be as accurate as Moravian Records, I, 233.

38Ibid., I, 152-153.

39Ibid., I, 196-198.

40Ibid., I, 150, 170, 207, 209, 214. See Desmond Clarke, Arthur Dobbs, Esquire 1689-1765 (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1957), for a good biography of Arthur Dobbs.

41Ibid., I, 189, 209, 214.

42Ibid., I, 113-118.

43Ibid., I, 158.

44The Colonial Records of North Carolina, V, 520.

45Moravian Records, I, 214-215.

46Ibid., I, 159-170.

47The Colonial Records of North Carolina, V, 810.

48Moravian Records, I, 96.

49Ibid., I, 96.

50Ibid., I, 251.

51Ibid., I, 247.

52Ibid., I, 247.

53Ibid., I, 206; John Henry Clewell, History of Wachovia in North Carolina (New York: Doubleday, Page, 1902), 64-65.