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ABSTRACT: This article explores the wide-ranging and complex relationships in the lives of children based on Moravian records of the 1740s and 1750s. Childrearing in Moravian settings involved integrating children into a web of connections with people both nearby and far away. Long-distance communication and mobility shaped the world of eighteenth-century Moravians and contributed to the complexity in children's relationships. These relationships are studied within three settings—boarding institutions where European American, Native American, and African American children were educated; rural, predominantly European American communities in Pennsylvania where Moravians operated day schools; and Native American mission communities, which also included day schools. This essay examines family relationships between children and adults, noting variations in parental influences and highlighting the role of the Delaware Indians' matrilineal social structure; however, it also devotes significant attention to the topic of child-to-child relationships, which represented both local and distant connections.

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In June 1752, Barbara Göpfert Baumgärtner, age twenty-eight, gave birth to a daughter in Donegal, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. This was certainly not an unusual occurrence. The Baumgärtners, immigrants from Switzerland, had other children, and several of their neighbors had reasonably large families. Barbara, a native of Merishausen (near Schaffhausen), and her husband, Matthæus, a native of the Zürich region, eventually would be the parents of thirteen children. But the timing of the baby's birth may have seemed remarkable because it coincided with the arrival of some special visitors, the married team of Johann Michael and Gertrud Graff, sent out from Bethlehem, the North American headquarters of the Moravian Church, to check on Moravian children to the west. Donegal (later known as Mount Joy) was one of their stops on their tour, which included the present Lebanon area, the town of Lancaster, and York County across the Susquehanna River.[1]

The Graffs' visit shaped the circumstances of the newborn's baptism, which occurred on a Sunday when about forty children and their parents met with Gertrud and Johann Michael at Donegal's new Moravian

AUTHOR'S NOTE: Part of this essay first appeared in a paper that I presented at the Bethlehem Conference on Moravian History and Music in October 2010. I am grateful for the comments that I received at that conference, particularly from the session commentator, Sarah Eyerly. I am also grateful for funding that I received for a trip to the Moravian Archives in Bethlehem, allowing me to expand my research on the history of Moravian children. This funding included a History Department Research Enrichment and Development Initiative Award from SUNY Cortland, a Cortland College Foundation Research Travel Grant, and an Individual Development Award from United University Professions. I also appreciate reviewer commentary I received, and I thank Paul Peucker and Lanie Graf for help with locating sources and other advice.

1. "Diarium u. Nachricht von der Geschwister Graffs Besuch unter die Kinder der Geschwister u. Freunde im Lande," May 29–July 18, 1752, vol. 11, pp. 1307–54, Bethlehem Diary, Moravian Archives Bethlehem (hereafter cited as MAB), see especially June 22 and 25; Catalog from Donegal, folder DoA I, MAB, dated on first page in upper-right-hand corner as "late 1754," under "E. Familien-Verzeichniß von unsern Geschwistern," No. 7 (Baumgärtner family); Lebenslauf of Barbara Baumgaertner, Feb. 3, 1810, vol. 43, pp. 27–31, Bethlehem Diary, MAB; John Mortimer Levering, *A History of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, 1741–1892 with Some Account of Its Founders and Their Early Activity in America* (Bethlehem, Pa.: Times Publishing Co., 1903), 261 and 261n; "Verlaß des Synodi der vereinigten Brüder in Pensylvanien gehalten in der Olyer Kirche," Nov. 3–5, 1752, vol. 11, p. 1167, section 6, Bethlehem Diary, MAB. Unless otherwise noted, Moravian manuscript records are in German and translations are my own. On family size at Donegal, see, for example, the "late 1754" catalog noted above, which lists the Etter family having six children, the Kapp family with eight (from the father's first and second marriages combined), the Tschudy family with five, and one of the Schneider families with five. This catalog also lists some families with just three or four children; however, in the case of a few of these, the parents' ages suggest that they could have had more children later. One of the thirteen Baumgärtner children was Catharina, from Matthæus's first marriage. Abraham Reinke Beck, "The Moravian Graveyards of Lititz, Pa., 1744–1905," *Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society* 7 (1902–1906): 237.

FIG 1. Gertrud Graff (1721–84), oil on canvas by Johann Valentin Haidt (Moravian Archives, Bethlehem)

FIG 2. Johann Michael Graff (1714–82), oil on canvas by Johann Valentin Haidt (Moravian Archives, Bethlehem)

schoolhouse.[2] Baptismal ceremonies added to the stock of memories that families collected over the years. Family conversations helped maintain memories, as did Moravian church records, which often named the minister performing particular baptisms.[3] Their sister's birth prompted the Baumgärtner children to discuss their own baptisms (or what they had heard about them); Catharina, Matthæus's ten-year-old daughter by a prior marriage, sadly noted that she was the only Baumgärtner child not baptized by a Moravian but instead by Reverend "Tympelmann" (the Reformed minister John Conrad Templeman). The Graffs tried to ease her mind on this matter by downplaying this difference. As the Baumgärtner baby grew up, she would be able to participate in such conversations, telling perhaps how Johann Michael Graff had baptized her on a special day in June, a day on

2. "Diarium Geschwister Graffs Besuch," June 25, 1752.

3. See, for example, Catalog from Bethel, 1754, folder BeA I, MAB; "Catalogus der Anstalten von Betlehem wie auch der Nurserie in Nazareth . . .," BethCong 485; register of baptized Indians, records of the Moravian Mission among the Indians of North America (hereafter cited as MissInd), no. 313.1.3 (numbers refer to box, folder, and item), photographed from original materials at the Archives of the Moravian Church, Bethlehem, Pa., microfilm, 40 reels (New Haven, Conn.: Research Publications, 1970).

which the visitors had gathered Donegal children for a lovefeast (a small, shared meal promoting spirituality) and had spoken to their parents "about raising children for the Savior." The name given to her, "Gertraut," probably reinforced the Baumgärtner family's recollections of this day, reminding them of their appreciation for Gertrud Graff.[4]

The Baumgärtner story hints at the interwoven relationships shaping children's lives in the eighteenth-century mid-Atlantic. This region was a complex place. Not only were its peoples ethnically diverse, but they were also part of numerous transatlantic relationships. Face-to-face connections within villages, towns, and rural areas intersected with connections to people and places far and then farther off.[5] This complexity could result in "tensions between cosmopolitanism and local attachment," as was the case for the Presbyterian diarist Philip Vickers Fithian. According to historian John Fea, Fithian had intense bonds with his home area of Cohansey, New Jersey, but was also part of "a transatlantic community of scholars sustained through sociability, print, and the pursuit of mutual improvement."[6] Moravians constructed varying attachments that were meant to be mutually reinforcing. The Donegal example reveals face-to-face relationships while pointing to connections children formed within a wider evangelical community. Helping the Donegal children make these broader links, the Graffs shared news about other children in Pennsylvania and noted that

4. "Diarium Geschwister Graffs Besuch," June 25 ("die Erziehung der Kinder vor dem Heiland") and June 22, 1752; Catalog from Donegal, "late 1754," Folder DoA I, MAB. In addition to Catharina, born Sept. 18, 1741, this catalog lists four other Baumgärtner children: Anna, born June 1747; Maria, born September 1748; Matthæus, born June 16, 1750; and Gertraut, born June 22, 1752. On Templeman, see Charles Henry Glatfelter, *Pastors and People: German Lutheran and Reformed Churches in the Pennsylvania Field, 1717–1793*, vol. 1, *Pastors and Congregations* (Breinigsville, Pa.: Pennsylvania German Society, 1981), 149–51. On the history and development of the lovefeast (*Liebesmahl*), see C. Daniel Crews, "Moravian Worship: The Why of Moravian Music," in *The Music of the Moravian Church in America*, ed. Nola Reed Knouse (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2008), 35–36.

5. Liam Riordan, *Many Identities, One Nation: The Revolution and Its Legacy in the Mid-Atlantic* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007); Ned C. Landsman, "Roots, Routes, and Rootedness: Diversity, Migration, and Toleration in Mid-Atlantic Pluralism," *Early American Studies* 2 (Fall 2004): 267–309; Rosalind Beiler, *Immigrant and Entrepreneur: The Atlantic World of Caspar Wistar, 1650–1750* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008), 136–53; John Catron, "Early Black-Atlantic Christianity in the Middle Colonies: Social Mobility and Race in Moravian Bethlehem," *Pennsylvania History* 76 (Summer 2009): 301–45.

6. John Fea, *The Way of Improvement Leads Home: Philip Vickers Fithian and the Rural Enlightenment in Early America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 2 (quotations), 211, 156–69.

children from as far away as Europe kept their rural counterparts in mind, for they "rejoiced that there are yet so many little children in the bush who love the little Lamb [Jesus]."[7] Given that the Graffs had arrived from Europe just the previous September, they represented a connection to happenings abroad.[8]

In Moravian settings, children formed associations in multiple ways, and Moravian education tried to integrate them into a complex of relationships with persons both near and far. For a long time historians of families and children have focused on the parent-child relationship. Scholarly attention to this relationship reflects how frequently parents expressed anxieties about their children and how child-rearing advice tended to focus on parental practices. Surveying the history of children, Steven Mintz notes a "pattern of recurrent moral panics over children's well-being." How parents felt (and worried) about their children, what their hopes for them were, and what role advice-giving played in the parent-child relationship are important areas addressed by historians.[9] Moravians, however, are known for using communal rather than parental child-rearing arrangements. This de-emphasis on the parents' role certainly occurred, but I will show that some qualifications of this point are in order. My essay also contributes to the expansion of understandings of other relationships involving children. Like C. Dallett Hemphill and Lorri Glover, historians who explore the topic of siblings, my work illuminates relationships *among* young people. Some were actual siblings, but many were connected through religious rather than nuclear family bonds. To this extent, Moravians shared some characteristics with the Methodists, who formed a kind of "extended kinship network" consisting of people "in Methodist associations in different

7. "Diarium Geschwister Graffs Besuch," June 25, 1752 ("die sich freueten, daß noch so viele Kinderchen im Pusch wären, die das Lämmlein liebhaben").

8. Levering, *History of Bethlehem*, 261 and 261n.

9. Steven Mintz, *Huck's Raft: A History of American Childhood* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2004), ix. For some works that stress the roles and expectations of parents, see Barry Levy, *Quakers and the American Family: British Settlement in the Delaware Valley* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988); Philip Greven, *The Protestant Temperament: Patterns of Child-Rearing, Religious Experience, and Self in Early America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1977), 22–61; Linda A. Pollock, *Forgotten Children: Parent-Child Relations from 1500 to 1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983). See the discussion by C. Dallett Hemphill on the stress in much of the relevant literature on relations between parents and children. C. Dallett Hemphill, "Sibling Relations in Early American Childhoods: A Cross-Cultural Analysis," in *Children in Colonial America*, ed. James Marten (New York: New York University Press, 2007), 77–78.

geographical areas." Part of my study examines how children formed connections with distant persons in this larger Moravian network.[10]

My focus is on the 1740s and 1750s. In this time period, Moravians established Bethlehem and embarked on missions to the German-speaking population of Pennsylvania as well as to Native Americans in the region. By 1755, however, the Seven Years' War was taking a toll on the operations of the Moravian Church, also known as the Renewed Unity of the Brethren, with headquarters in Herrnhut, Saxony. As a result, the Moravians underwent major social and economic changes, which then led to alterations in the rearing and education of children at Bethlehem during the 1760s. At that time the Bethlehem Moravians, under pressure from Unity leaders in Europe facing a debt crisis, began the process of dismantling communal arrangements, which led to a shift toward more privatized, household-based child-rearing practices. My study examines the period before this shift occurred.[11]

The 1740s and 1750s were a particularly interesting time of Moravian experimentation with childrearing and education in diverse settings within Pennsylvania. During this dynamic period, Moravian adults reported on the actions and words of children under their care. Although these records do not come directly from the hands of children themselves (an important fact to remember), they offer significant details about children's activities and conversations. The diversity of educational settings in this period had important implications for the formation of children's relationships. For example, differences in Moravian child-rearing arrangements affected the relationship between parents and children. In these decades, Bethlehem's children were reared in boarding institutions, which limited daily contact

10. Hemphill, "Sibling Relations," 77–89; Lorri Glover, *All Our Relations: Blood Ties and Emotional Bonds among the Early South Carolina Gentry* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), chap. 2; Anna M. Lawrence, *One Family under God: Love, Belonging, and Authority in Early Transatlantic Methodism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), 5 (quotations). Lawrence sees a difference between Moravians and Methodists, though, in the Moravians' placement of greater importance on identification with "local communities" while "the Methodist family pulled people out of their identification with local communities" (5, 4). On the diminishing of parents' roles after children reached a certain age, see Beverly Prior Smaby, *The Transformation of Moravian Bethlehem: From Communal Mission to Family Economy* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988), 11, 148–49. Also on the separation from parents, see Pia Schmid, "Moravian Memoirs as a Source for the History of Education," in *Self, Community, World: Moravian Education in a Transatlantic World*, ed. Heikki Lempa and Paul Peucker (Bethlehem: Lehigh University Press, 2010), 172–74.

11. Katherine Carté Engel, *Religion and Profit: Moravians in Early America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 1–7, chap. 3 and 5; Smaby, *Transformation*, 30–36.

with parents. Nearby Nazareth, part of the same communal economy as Bethlehem, was also the site of such boarding institutions.[12] Other affiliated boarding schools opened during the 1740s at Oley, Germantown, Maguntsche (Emmaus), Frederickstown, and south of the Lehigh at a place known as the Ysselstein House.[13] Most of the children in the boarding institutions were Euro-Americans; however, some Native American and African American children also resided in them. At the same time, Moravians were opening day schools in a variety of locations away from Bethlehem. In these settings, the daily presence of parents would have had impacts on children. Day schools enrolled Euro-American children from Moravian congregations farther south and west, such as Donegal, Warwick, Muddy Creek (later Reamstown), Quittapahilla, Bethel (Swatara), Heidelberg, York, and Lancaster.[14] In these areas, non-Moravians, which might include Mennonites, Reformed, Lutherans, or Baptists, were among the Moravians' neighbors.[15] Other day schools also operated at Moravian Indian missions, such as Shekomeko in New York and Gnadenhütten on the upper Lehigh. These mission schools represented one aspect of Moravian work among Mahicans, New England Algonquians (called "Wompanosch"), and Delawares.[16]

Although Euro-American Moravians provoked suspicion among Native Americans, they began to find increasing numbers of Mahicans, Wompanosch, and Delawares willing to listen to them during the 1740s. Survival was an ever-present concern for Native American families living through years of being dispossessed of lands and suffering from famine and disease. Already skilled at building alliances, some saw benefits in befriending these newcomers from Europe. When some of them joined Moravian missions, these Indians constructed their own versions of Christianity that

12. Engel, *Religion and Profit*, 35–36.

13. Mabel Haller, "Early Moravian Education in Pennsylvania," *Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society* 15 (1953): 126, 155–56, 162–166, 168–174, 47–48.

14. Haller, "Early Moravian Education," 138–42, 84–87, 142–44, 150–51, 120–22, 180–82, 132–135; Engel, *Religion and Profit*, 80–81.

15. Smaby, *Transformation*, 25–26; "Diarium Geschwister Graffs Besuch," June 11, 27, 30, 1752.

16. Shekomeko Diary, Nov. 19 and 20, Dec. 2, 1742, MissInd 111.1.1, MAB; Gnadenhütten, Pa., Diary, Jan. 2, 5, 6, 10, 1750, MissInd 116.7.1, MAB; Amy C. Schutt, *Peoples of the River Valleys: The Odyssey of the Delaware Indians* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 98–103; Rachel Wheeler, *To Live upon Hope: Mohicans and Missionaries in the Eighteenth-Century Northeast* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008); Jane T. Merritt, *At the Crossroads: Indians and Empires on a Mid-Atlantic Frontier, 1700–1763* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003).

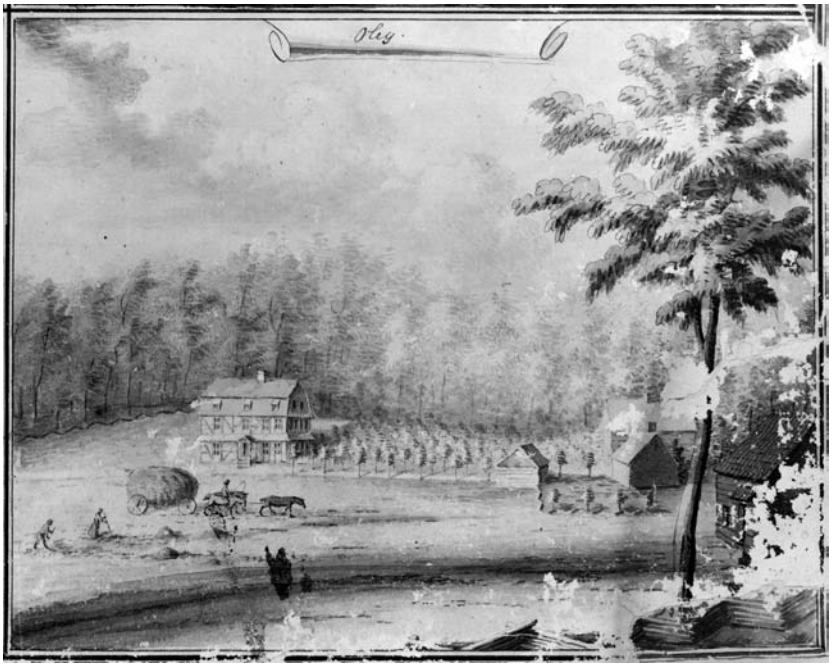

FIG 3. Moravian buildings in Oley, Pennsylvania, ink drawing by Nicholas Garrison, 1757 (Moravian Archives, Bethlehem)

reflected their concerns for the material and spiritual well-being of their children.[17]

In this era of evangelical revivalism, known as the "Great Awakening," there were many, often competing, versions of Christianity. Moravians broadly shared in the period's evangelical spirit but also experienced its divisiveness. Early on in North America, Moravians had a falling out with the famous revivalist preacher George Whitefield over their refusal to accept the doctrine of predestination. A plan of the Moravian leader Count Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf to unite Christians in Pennsylvania fell apart quickly when members of other religious groups saw Zinzendorf as domineering. "The Moravians became," historian Katherine Carté Engel writes,

17. Schutt, *Peoples of the River Valleys*, introduction, 100–101, and passim; idem, "'What Will Become of Our Young People?' Goals for Indian Children in Moravian Missions," *History of Education Quarterly* 38 (Fall 1998): 268–86; idem, "From *Anstalt* to Academy: Moravian Boarding Education for Native American Children in the Eighteenth Century," in *Chartered Schools: Two Hundred Years of Independent Academies in the United States, 1727–1925* (New York: RoutledgeFalmer, 2002), 44–63; Wheeler, *To Live upon Hope*, 157–60.

"the lightning rods of the Great Awakening among German-speakers in the Mid-Atlantic." Anti-Moravian publications spread hostility, as the Moravian John Okely discovered on an August 1742 trip through the lower Delaware Valley. A saddler, upon meeting Okely and learning that he was a Moravian, behaved "like one that had burnt himself, & sought to get away." "He said he believed there would not be many come to hear me If I preach'd there," Okely wrote, "& . . . he believed all those things that were alleged against us by such Worthy Men, Experienced Christians, & Walkers with God could not be false."[18]

In this context, Euro-American parents did not initially rush to send their children to the Moravians. A circular aimed at Euro-American parents to attend a meeting in April 1742 at Germantown got little response. In July, Moravians abandoned another attempt at one such meeting, especially since parents in the countryside would have been heavily occupied in agricultural work at that season. But Bethlehem expanded in population, growing from 131 residents in 1741 to a population of 744 a decade later, and the children's boarding facilities eventually faced overcrowding. Rather than wait for parents to show up, Moravians went directly to them, sending preachers and teachers throughout the countryside and towns of the region. No doubt their flexible approach to institution building, with its combination of boarding and day schools, helped them adapt to local conditions and parental interests. Also important was the establishment of Bethlehem as a *Pilgergemeine* (pilgrim congregation) so that all work done there was aimed at supporting missionaries, serving as a base of economic, administrative, and spiritual support for the missions.[19]

For Moravians the relationship between children and parents required consideration, but there was a higher bond: the relationship between the child and Jesus. "Parents are no more than Nurses of the Children," they stated. "We do hold, that the Children are our Sav[io]r's, because he has

18. Engel, *Religion and Profit*, 72 (quotation), 22–23, 27–28; "Br. Jn. Okely's Journal of his Journey thro' the Lower-County's of Pennsilvania to Lewis Town" (English), Aug. 4, 1742, JD II 1, MAB (abbreviated words in the original have been expanded here); Aaron Spencer Fogleman, *Jesus Is Female: Moravians and the Challenge of Radical Religion in Early America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 3–9, 106–110.

19. Haller, "Early Moravian Education," 168–70, 17–18, 34; Kenneth G. Hamilton, ed., *The Bethlehem Diary*, vol. 1, *1742–1744* (Bethlehem, Pa.: Moravian Archives, 1971), 68; Engel, *Religion and Profit*, 35 (population), 29–32 (on *Pilgergemeine*). On the "flexibility" of the Moravians' approaches, see Engel, *Religion and Profit*, 19, 47.

bought them as his property not with Gold or Silver; but with his precious Blood."[20] Children in the *Pilgergemeine* moved into a communally operated nursery at about eighteen months of age. This transition stressed the child's link to Jesus via the *Pilgergemeine* and downplayed the parents' role. Many of the children had parents who were out in the field as "pilgrims," and the boarding of their children had the practical effect of freeing up parents' time for mission work. The nursery was part of the Bethlehem/Nazareth "choir" system, which segregated community members into residential groupings. At about age four, children moved into gender-divided boarding institutions, those for the little girls' choir and the little boys' choir. Then at approximately age twelve, children entered the older girls' and older boys' choir. In their later teen years, youth joined choirs for single women and single men. A married people's choir as well as widows' and widowers' choirs rounded out the groups for the adults who did not remain in the single choirs.[21]

Despite the *Pilgergemeine*'s de-emphasis on the nuclear family, parents still played a role in the success of the boarding institutions. Simply put, without the support of parents, Moravians had little hope of educating substantial numbers of children. One day in December 1744 at Bethlehem, parents appeared able to accept an impending separation from their little ones, even though "as the mothers left, most of the children wept." A preparatory meeting and a lovefeast seemed to help mothers with the transition as their children moved into a boarding institution.[22] Those parents traveling as missionaries to far-off places would not be able to see their children for a long time. Although the *Pilgergemeine* with its boarding schools reduced the number of face-to-face contacts between parents and children, it is important to note that students were not always cut off from their parents. Two Moravian mothers, Susanna Nixdorff and Christiana Vetter, "went to Nazareth to visit their children . . . in the school."[23] One reason that David Wagner's mother had traveled to Bethlehem from Germantown in 1742 was probably to see her son; at the time of this visit, the Moravian record refers to her twice in connection with this child—first, simply as

20. "Result of the Synod of the United Brethren, held in Gnadenhütten," Aug. 6–11, 1754 (English), article 17, American Provincial Synod Collection, MAB.

21. Smaby, *Transformation*, 10–11, 25–26.

22. Kenneth G. Hamilton and Lothar Madeheim, trans., *The Bethlehem Diary*, vol. 2, *January 1, 1744–May 31, 1745*, ed. Vernon H. Nelson, Otto Dreydoppel Jr., and Doris Rohland Yob (Bethlehem, Pa.: Moravian Archives, 2001), 192. On Native American parents, see Schutt, "*Anstalt* to Academy," 44–56.

23. Hamilton and Madeheim, *Bethlehem Diary*, 2:223.

"little David's mother'; then, as "the mother of little David in our boarding school."[24] On another occasion, the Jungmanns, a missionary couple, left their post at Gnadenhütten to travel to their sick child at Bethlehem.[25]

Coping with serious childhood illness was a regular part of eighteenth-century parenting. Some parents likely were looking for help with this challenge when they turned to the Moravians. They may have taken comfort in the fact that among the first caretakers of schoolboys at Bethlehem was a physician, Johann Adolph Meyer.[26] Some may have heard the medical success story of a seemingly stillborn baby who survived after Moravian women "took him, kept him warm and massaged him, and so he came to himself."[27] Nevertheless, children died at Bethlehem—a reminder that coping with death or the threat of death was also a common part of parenting. What historian Rachel Wheeler notes for Native Americans, whose mortality rates were especially high, also seems true for Euro-Americans—that when medicine failed, some appreciated the Moravians' joyful approach toward death, which promised a glorious union with Christ.[28] Michael Schäfer of Tulpehocken "dreamed that he should send his [young] children to Bethlehem." "Onward! Onward!" was the divine message he said he had heard. Schäfer and his wife expressed satisfaction that they had followed this directive, even though their youngest son died soon after arriving in Bethlehem. If they had postponed sending the boy, who was perhaps already sickly, they seemed to think he would have missed out on "a very blessed death in Bethlehem."[29] A desire that her children be on the path to a blissful eternity motivated the mother of a young boy, Johannes Bürstler, from Oley. As she delivered him to Bethlehem, "she declared that it was a great concern to her that all her children might be saved."[30]

Moravian reports on school-going among the German-speaking rural population offer some views of how parents and children related to each other. One Mennonite man, named Wohlgemuth, seemed frustrated over his previous failed attempts at educating his daughter as he checked on the availability of the Moravian school at Donegal.[31] Parents made decisions

24. Hamilton, *Bethlehem Diary*, 1:41, 52.

25. Gnadenhütten diary, July 27/Aug. 7, 1750, MissInd 116.7.1, MAB.

26. Hamilton, *Bethlehem Diary*, 1:42; Levering, *History of Bethlehem*, 121, 148–49.

27. Hamilton and Madeheim, *Bethlehem Diary*, 2:261–62; Merritt, *At the Crossroads*, 117–21 (on Indians' possible perceptions of Euro-American Moravians' medicinal practices).

28. Wheeler, *To Live upon Hope*, 155–57.

29. Hamilton and Madeheim, *Bethlehem Diary*, 2:271.

30. Hamilton and Madeheim, *Bethlehem Diary*, 2:272.

31. "Ein Man ist der etwan 1 Meyl von hier wohnt, er heißt Wohlgemuth," Donegal Diary, Feb. 10, 1755, Folder DoA V, MAB (author for this portion is Philip Meurer).

about when it was time for their children to help with more of the family's workload. Moravian records suggest the ages at which rural parents increasingly identified their children as workers. In 1754, Abraham Etter, nearly ten years old, was "to learn the tailoring profession from his father" and thus infrequently attended the Moravian day school.[32] Johannes Göpfert, age nine, apparently attended school just in winter, a time when he would not have been needed in the fields.[33] Absences because of farm chores did not please Moravian church leaders, although they understood it occurred because of "poverty . . . in the Country," which kept parents from "sending their Children to School in Harvest-Time, because they want their assistance every where." "When they keep them the whole Summer at home," the leaders worried, "it often happens, that they in that Time forgot all the Br[ethre]n [their teachers] with much pain have taught them."[34]

An April 1755 record for Quittapahilla offers insights into German and Swiss parents' expectations for their children's school attendance, showing some comparisons among siblings. Of the children aged fourteen through seventeen of Peter and Barbara Kucher, immigrants from Brandenburg, all had stopped coming to school because of work responsibilities. The two younger children, Barbara (age ten) and Peter (age twelve), were only able to go to school "sometimes." When Susanna Küntzle, a native of the canton of Bern, married Daniel Heckendorn, each brought along children from previous marriages. In this family, the five-year-olds, Catharina Küntzle and Daniel Heckendorn, both attended school, as did six-year-old Rudolf Küntzle and seven-year-old Maria Heckendorn. The ten-year-olds, Jacob Küntzle and Johannes Heckendorn, stayed away from school because of work. Anna Küntzle and Erhard Heckendorn, both age eight, attended school just "sometimes." These examples suggest rural parents may have seen schools as increasingly conflicting with work schedules when children reached the age range of eight to twelve; however, for Jacob Küntzle and Johannes Heckendorn, the end of schooling came earlier than for the

32. Abraham Etter was born Oct. 17, 1744, so he was about two-and-a-half months away from his tenth birthday; "Er wird Jezo bey seinem Vater die Schneider Profession lernen darum kommt er nicht ofte in die Schule," Catalog of Children in Donegal, July 29, 1754, folder DoA I, MAB.

33. I write "apparently" because there is only a mention of Göpfert's winter attendance; "geht fleißig im Winter in die Schul," Catalog of Children in Donegal, July 29, 1754, folder DoA I, MAB. On this individual and the Göpfert family, see also Catalog from Donegal, "late 1754," folder DoA I, MAB.

34. "Result of the Synod of the United Brethren, held in Gnadenhütten," Aug. 6–11, 1754, article 26.

Kucher children within the same age range. In part, the difference may be explained by the availability, or lack of availability, of older children as workers. Ten-year-old Barbara Kucher and twelve-year-old Peter Kucher had three older siblings, but ten-year-old Jacob Küntzle and Johannes Heckendorn did not. The lack of teenage workers in the family may have influenced the Küntzle-Heckendorn parents to place greater work demands on Jacob and Johannes, while, in contrast, the Kucher parents continued to send Barbara and Peter to school "sometimes."[35]

Family relationships between Indian adults and children need to be considered in light of traditional Native American kinship structures, particularly the matrilineage, a special source of strength among Delawares. The matrilineage was an extended family group related through the mother. When we try to understand parent-child relationships in Moravian Indian missions, we need to pay special attention to the roles of mothers and the relationships formed through the mother's line, including siblings.[36] For example, children living in the home of the Delaware woman Marie at Gnadenhütten in 1749 were living in a household structured around matrilineal relations. Euro-American Moravian missionaries did not approve of the arrangement and worked to change it—the house, they complained, was overcrowded, with "so many children." Even though, from a patriarchal

35. Portion headed "Schull Kinder waren im Monat April 1755," within list titled "Catalogus von Libanon," Jan. 1, 1756, folder LeA I, catalogs from Lebanon (Quittapahilla, Hebron), MAB. The 1755 list includes the following: "Catharina Kucherin kombt nicht mehr muß arbeiten"; "Christoph Kucher kombt nicht mehr muß arbeiten"; "Rossina Kucherin kombt nicht mehr muß arbeiten"; and under "in die Schull kombt," it states: "Barbara Kucherin manchmal" and "Peter Kucher manchmal." To determine these children's ages, I used "Cattalogum derer Geschwister in Quittopehille und Schwattarer," Oct. 25, 1752, folder LeA I, MAB. This 1752 catalog lists for the Kucher family: Anna Catharina, born Jan. 12, 1738; Joh. Christoph, born Mar. 15, 1739; Rosina, born Mar. 20, 1741; Joh. Peter, born Jan. 12, 1743; and Eva Barbara, born Jan. 19, 1745. The April 1755 catalog mentioned above states: "Jacob Küntzle kombt nicht mehr muß arbeiten"; "Johannes Heckendorn muß arbeiten kombt nicht mehr"; "Erhard Heckendorn manchmal"; "Rudolf Küntzle" "in die Schull kombt"; "Daniel Heckendorn" "in die Schull kombt"; "Anna Künzlin kombt manchmal in die Schull"; "Maria Heckendorin kombt in die Schull"; "Catharina Künzlin kombt in die Schull." To determine the ages of these children, I used Catalog accompanying Melchior Schmidt's "Nachricht von denen Kindern unserer Geschwister und Societäts-Leute in Libanon und Swatara," Aug. 2, 1754, folder LeA I, MAB. Heckendorn children: Johannes, born Nov. 12, 1744; Erhard, born Sept. 9, 1746; Mar. Magdal., born Jan. 22, 1748; Daniel, born Oct. 21, 1749. Künztle children: Joh. Jacob, born Sept. 29, 1744; Anna, born Mar. 1747; Rudolph, born Jan. 1, 1749; Sus. Catharina, born, Mar. 31, 1750. Susanna and Daniel Heckendorn had another child, Christian Gottfried, born Oct. 20, 1753, but presumably he was too young to appear on the April 1755 school list.

36. Amy C. Schutt, "Female Relationships and Intercultural Bonds in Moravian Indian Missions," in *Friends and Enemies in Penn's Woods*, ed. William A. Pencak and Daniel K. Richter (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2004), 98–99.

orientation, the missionaries viewed this house as belonging to Marie's Delaware husband, Gottlieb, it actually revolved around Marie's extended family. A bond between sisters shaped this household. Marie's sister Beata had come to live here with her Wompanosch husband, Zachaeus. That Beata was about to give birth surely made the help of her sister welcome at this time.[37]

The story of a boy named Jamy, who was seriously injured from a falling tree, illustrates the role of extended family relations in a Delaware child's life. Like other Delaware children, Jamy could expect special care from his mother's siblings. In 1752, Jamy was living with his mother's brother, Petrus (also known as "young Captain Harris"), while he attended school at Gnadenhütten and became "one of the best students." His relatives were desperate about the injured child's dire condition and convinced a Moravian missionary to send a letter to Bethlehem for medical assistance. Jamy was still an outsider at Gnadenhütten when he had his accident; he was a fairly new arrival and he had not been baptized by the Moravians but rather by the Presbyterian missionary David Brainerd in New Jersey. It was important to Jamy that he be officially accepted at Gnadenhütten, a step known among Moravians as the *Aufnahme* (reception), which candidates underwent on their way to becoming full communicant members. Jamy did not want to die an outsider. That close kin were part of this congregation surely added to his desire for belonging. Jamy received his acceptance at Gnadenhütten, survived the injury, and lived at the mission town with his uncle and others from his matrilineage. This uncle took on a father's role for the boy, whose own mother and stepfather lived elsewhere.[38]

Kinship relations affected patterns of mobility among the Delawares at Gnadenhütten. While Euro-American missionaries assumed that their religious teachings were the main draw, Indians showed that the desire to see kin was an important factor affecting visits to the mission. The Moravian record for 1750 indicated that many Indians had visited Gnadenhütten that year, coming from homes along the Susquehanna, the Minisink (in the northern Delaware Valley), and "the Jerseys" (probably referring to the area

37. Gnadenhütten, Pa., Diary, Jan. 7, 1749, MissInd 116.5.1, MAB ("so viele Kinder"); catalog of baptized Indians, MissInd 313.4.1, MAB. For more on the impact of matrilineal relations on residence patterns, see Gunlög Fur, *A Nation of Women: Gender and Colonial Encounters among the Delaware Indians* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 61–63.

38. Gnadenhütten, Pa., Diary Feb. 16, 17, and 18, 1752, MissInd 117.3.1, MAB; Smaby, *Transformation*, 22–23.

of the Presbyterian mission).[39] Two recent visitors from the Minisink were an Indian girl and the mother of Elisabeth, a Delaware Moravian convert.[40] Three visitors from Cranbury, New Jersey, a couple of years later were cousins of the wife of Jamy's uncle Petrus.[41] The mortal illness of a man named Gottlieb, whom the Moravians considered "the first Delaware Brother" among the converts, brought his mother from Nescopeck on the Susquehanna to join Gnadenhütten residents at his deathbed.[42] In these examples, we see the role of female relatives—in two cases, mothers—shaping patterns of travel and visiting.

A sense of extended kinship was embedded in the world of Euro-American Moravians as well. Theirs was not a matrilineal orientation, although their organizational structure included roles for women in leadership, primarily in guiding and overseeing other women. With some parallels to the Methodists, Moravian adults used familial language, referring to each other as "Sister," "Brother," or *Geschwister* ("siblings"), underscoring their inclusion in the church's extended relationships. This approach probably seemed familiar to Native Americans, who also employed fictive kinship terms, often in diplomacy. Augustus, a Delaware leader, stated that during an early encounter with Moravians, he sensed he "belong[ed] to them" as a "blood relative." This feeling of belonging was perpetuated through the Moravian choir system, which aimed at creating close-knit, spiritually supportive relationships among people in similar stages of life.[43]

The child-to-child relationship was one of the types of associations that received much attention among the Moravians. Especially in the boarding institutions, children were taught to prize bonds with other children and to guard against actions undermining group cohesion. At two sets of meetings in 1758, Moravian adults received instruction to prevent children under their care from gossiping, an act disruptive of group harmony.[44] Adult caregivers for the nursery choir were no doubt delighted when their young charges were helpful to one another, as in the case of "Little

39. Gnadenhütten, Pa., Diary, Dec. 31, 1750, memorabilia, MissInd 117.1.1, MAB.

40. Gnadenhütten, Pa., Diary, Dec. 6/17, 1750; Catalog of Baptized Indians, MissInd 313.3.1, MAB.

41. Gnadenhütten, Pa., Diary, Nov. 11, 1752, MissInd 117.3.1, MAB.

42. Gnadenhütten, Pa., Diary, July 31, 1753, MissInd 117.4.1, MAB.

43. Smaby, *Transformation*, 11–13; Lawrence, *One Family under God*, chap. 3; "Diarium des Indianer-Gemeinleins in Bethlehem," June 6, 1756, Bethlehem Diary, vol. 16, p. 462, MAB (microfilm): "das sind meine rechte verwandten und Blutts Freunde, und ich gehöre zu ihnen"; Fur, *Nation of Women*, 184–188.

44. "Conferenzen der Kinder-Geschwister 1758," July 24 and Aug. 1, 1758, BethCong 483, MAB.

Abraham Leimbach." Abraham benefited from an informal lesson from another child, Adolph Hartmann. Adolph succeeded in getting Abraham to name letters of the alphabet when he, Adolph, made "some Strokes upon the Benche with a little piece of wood," and Abraham was "asked, what Letter is this?"[45] A tearful parting signified the bonds that had formed among Moravian children. Tears were shed when nine-year-old Elisabeth Stöhrs said goodbye to the other girls in the community as her family moved from Heidelberg to Quittapahilla.[46] Two Indian girls expressed anxiety that they might have to leave their friends in the little girls' choir. Although both expressed happiness at their upcoming baptisms, "they feared one Thing thereby, that when they were baptis'd they wo[ul]d be put to stay with the great Girls in Beth[lehem], [that is, moved into the older girls' choir] & wish'd heartily that they were somew[ha]t less, that they might stay among the little Children." One of the girls, Maria, had seen recent tragedy in her life—her mother had died of a stroke before Maria came to Nazareth—which may partially explain why she clung tightly to these new friendships among the little girls.[47]

Within the boarding institutions, adults encouraged children to listen to, but also instruct and discipline, other children. Moravians wanted people to be "open-hearted," sharing their spiritual journeys toward a closer relationship with Jesus, whom they usually referred to as the *Heiland* (Savior).[48] Girls at Nazareth in 1746 were urged "to ask the Savior, that He should make it so that they could lay their hearts on the table." "When a person lays it on the table," they were told, "so one sees whether it [the heart] is pure or impure."[49] Among these children at Nazareth, Mary Rose and Polly Price were placed in leadership roles, as "little children's workers." One of the faults that they were supposed to guard the children against was

45. "Some Remarks out of the Journal of the Little Children in Bethlehem" (English), Jan. 5, 1747, BethCong 467, MAB.

46. Heidelberg Children's Diary, May 28, 1755, folder HeB I, Heidelberg and Tulpehocken, MAB; Heidelberg Children's Catalog, July 1754, folder HeA I, indicates "Anna Elisabeth Stör," was born Aug. 17, 1745. Anna Elisabeth was still living at Quittapahilla in 1757. "Catalogus des Gemeinleins in Libanon an der Quittoppehille," Nov. 27, 1757, folder LeA I, MAB. The family name was spelled "Stöher" in this record.

47. Nazareth Children's Diary (English), Apr. 20/May 1, 1746, BethCong 477, MAB. These two girls, Maria and Martha, appear on the *Kinderanstalten* list under Nazareth, June 7/18, 1747, BethCong 410, MAB; Catalog of Baptized Indians, MissInd 313.3.1, MAB; Schutt, "*Anstalt* to Academy," 55; Hamilton and Madeheim, *Bethlehem Diary*, 2:268; Wheeler, *To Live upon Hope*, 158.

48. Smaby, *Transformation*, 8–9,18.

49. Nazareth Children's Diary, Nov. 24, 1746, BethCong 478 ("den Heyland bitten, daß ers ihnen so machte, daß sie ihre Hertzen könten auf den Tisch legen"; "Wenn man was auf den Tisch legt; so sieht man, ob es rein oder unrein ist").

being *leichtsinnig*, "lightminded" or having a frivolous attitude. Children were also expected to report on their own failings. When a little girl named Rachel confessed that she suffered from "lightmindedness," Polly Price, age six, instructed her, "Go only to our d[ea]r Sav[io]r with it, he has spilt much Blood, & pray him to wash your Heart with his Blood, afterwards you will not be troubled with lightmindedness."[50] In the boarding institution setting, children's emotional states were contagious. On another occasion, the tears of Polly Price over her young charges' "lightmindedness" stimulated weeping from the other girls and led to a serious discussion about baptism.[51] These young supervisors reported to the adults on which children had "a longing for the Savior" and desired baptism.[52]

Whether or not conversations were recorded with precision, the nursery choir diary suggests that Moravians expected even very young children to begin to take on leadership roles. Ludwig Meinung, nearly age four, led the children in singing hymn verses at supper one January evening in 1747. When Samuel Nixdorff, not yet age two, broke into tears, Ludwig led the children in prayer, saying "My d[ea]r Children, Samuel weeps. We must pray to our Sav[io]r that Blood may come into his heart." Another nursery child, "little Abraham Hasler[,] went in a Corner; some of the Children stood round him" as he sang, "O Dearest Wounds of Jesu! and repeated it several times." In small initiatives of praying and singing, children showed they were absorbing and passing on Moravian teachings that stressed the blood and wounds of Jesus.[53]

These examples come from the boarding institutions; however, rural Euro-American children also picked up the Moravian emphasis on children disciplining and instructing other children. An especially pious girl at Bethel, named Anna Marie, scolded "other children" for "improper talk" and "when they still did not stop, she said with weeping that she would tell the Brother [the Moravian minister in charge]."[54] At Donegal, Johannes

50. Nazareth Children's Diary (English), June 8/19, 1746, BethCong 477, MAB; Ledger of the Germantown School: 1746–1748, p. 16, vol. 1 Schools in Pennsylvania, SCH, MAB. This ledger indicates "Mary Price" was born Feb. 16, 1739/40.

51. Bethlehem Diary, Mar. 4/15, 1746, vol. 4, pp. 30–31, MAB (microfilm).

52. Bethlehem Diary, Feb. 21/Mar. 4, 1746, vol. 4, p. 7, MAB (microfilm): "ein Verlangen nach dem Heyland."

53. "Some Remarks out of the Journal of the little Children in Bethlehem" (English), Jan. 2, 1747, BethCong 467, MAB (punctuation added for clarity). Ludwig Meinung was born Feb. 20, 1743, in Oley, and Samuel Nixdorff was born April 18, 1745, in Bethlehem. "Catalogus der Anstalten von Betlehem wie auch der Nurserie in Nazareth . . .," BethCong 485.

54. Bethel Children's Diary, Sept. 19, 1755, folder BeA III, MAB ("wen die andern Kinder was unrechtes reden"; "wen sies noch nicht lassen, so sagt sie mit weinen, sie wills den [dem?] Bruder sagen").

Etter, nearly age four, was already said to be "a preacher among the children," who "talked gladly about the Savior."[55] The Moravian schoolteacher at Heidelberg expected his male pupils to help discipline a fellow student for a rule infraction, and the students decided the boy should "sit alone" for a while.[56]

Moravian records are not especially revealing about resentments that this child-to-child policing may have caused, but there are hints of conflicts within the system. Being "fretful" or "fussy" (*kricklich*) was mentioned as a fault boarding school children needed to overcome.[57] Although she had good memories of being raised in Moravian institutions, Anna Rose Boehler later also recalled some "very hard and strict treatment" there.[58] Some children were troubled with a sense of inadequacy in spiritual matters, perhaps relative to peers. On one occasion, a little girl "looked very unhappy" during school. When she was asked "what was the matter," "she began to cry and said that she had not felt close to the Savior."[59]

Moravian children celebrated one another's birthdays, which promoted peer bonding along with attention to the individual's spirituality. Historian Susannah Ottaway notes a trend in the eighteenth century toward birthday commemorations, as seen by English diarists who marked their own birthdays as "important days for reflection as well as celebration."[60] Moravians participated in this same trend. In 1745, children at Nazareth celebrated "a lovefeast on the occasion of the birthday of little Dan[iel] Vetter." There was a meditative quality to the event, which fits with the reflective tone that Ottaway finds in her sources. The Moravian writer noted that the children "were quiet and calm and we could tell them something about the child Jesus with deep feeling."[61] At bedtime on her birthday, Juli Bader's thoughts turned inward toward her own relationship with Jesus: "She wanted to get undressed and go to bed," she said, "and the dear Savior should sleep

55. Catalog of Children in Donegal, July 29, 1754, folder DoA I, MAB ("ist ein Prediger unter den Kindern u. redt gern vom Heyl.").

56. Heidelberg Children's Diary, Feb. 2, 1756, folder HeB I, Heidelberg and Tulpehocken, MAB.

57. Nazareth Children's Diary, Jan. 14, 1748, BethCong 480, MAB; Nazareth Children's Diary, Apr. 22, 1747, BethCong 478; Nazareth Children's Diary, Feb. 16, 1747, BethCong 479, MAB.

58. Katherine M. Faull, *Moravian Women's Memoirs: Their Related Lives, 1750–1820* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1997), 70.

59. Bethlehem Children's Diary, Feb. 4, 1760, BethCong 474, MAB ("daß sahe sehr unvergnügt aus"; "da rufte die Schwester, sie zu sich und fragte: was ihr fehlte, sie sähe so unvergnügt aus? Sie fing an zu weinen, u. sagte: Sie hätte den Heiland nicht nah gefühlt").

60. Susannah R. Ottaway, *The Decline of Life: Old Age in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 47–48 (quotation on 48).

61. Hamilton and Madeheim, *Bethlehem Diary*, 2:245.

with her in her heart."[62] At Heidelberg in 1755, Christoph Weiser provided "something for a lovefeast" to mark the birthday of his son Friedrich, who also received "beautiful verses" from Moravian boys.[63]

Moravian relationships constructed through daily interpersonal interactions were embedded in larger evangelical developments involving children in the eighteenth century. Mintz argues that Puritans, even by the 1720s, were targeting youth for conversion, which became "a new strategy to instill discipline."[64] The Puritan revivalist Jonathan Edwards was moved to record the words of a four-year-old girl calling for God's mercy.[65] An abundance of evidence shows the participation of children in evangelical revivals, not only among New England Puritans, but also in Pietist circles in Europe.[66] Pietism was a late seventeenth-century and eighteenth-century movement aimed at finishing what the Reformation had started. Lutheran Pietists pushed for stricter morality, for participation in small groups that assisted religious growth, and for the need for each person to undergo the *Busskampf*, or a spiritual struggle leading to conversion.[67] There was an important youth revival in Silesia in 1707, and, according to historian W. R. Ward, in the 1730s there occurred "an almost endless series of children's revivals all over Protestant Europe."[68] Besides a concern for discipline out of a sense of "moral panic," as Mintz writes, there were other reasons that adults paid close attention to children's religious life in this era. Conversion was equated with being child-like among a variety of Pietists. Historian Philip Greven states that evangelicals viewed conversion as "a new beginning, a second chance to become a perfect child again."[69]

Moravians valued what they saw as child-like traits. The minutes from a 1758 meeting among Moravian adults who cared for children recorded the following instruction: "A principal matter among the children is to maintain

62. Bethlehem Children's Diary, Jan. 5, 1760, BethCong 474, MAB ("sie wolte ausgezogen seyn und den zu bette gehe, und der liebe Heiland solte bey ihr schlafen, in ihr Herz").

63. Heidelberg Children's Diary, May 30, June 1 and 2, 1755, folder HeB I, Heidelberg and Tulpehocken, MAB.

64. Mintz, *Huck's Raft*, 29.

65. Frank Lambert, *Inventing the "Great Awakening"* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), 72.

66. Craig D. Atwood, *Community of the Cross: Moravian Piety in Colonial Bethlehem* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2004), 26; W. R. Ward, *The Protestant Evangelical Awakening* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 42–44.

67. Jeff Bach, *Voices of the Turtledoves: The Sacred World of Ephrata* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003), 10–11; Atwood, *Community of the Cross*, 30.

68. Ward, *Protestant Evangelical Awakening*, 44.

69. Greven, *Protestant Temperament*, 63.

their simplicity, childlikeness, and openheartedness."[70] Dependence, trust, simplicity, and openheartedness were seen not just as characteristics to preserve in children but also as traits to encourage in any faithful Christian. They were signs that a person, whether a child or an adult, depended completely on God and not on his or her own personal actions.[71] In the Moravians' view, faithful children exemplified a religion that focused on the heart not the head because children did not rely on complex theological arguments but rather relied on an emotional bond with Jesus.[72] Remembering her early years, Juliana Parsons Horsfield felt that *as a child* she received special support in her time of need. "I was always sure that He [Jesus] would hear me," she stated, "for I have often experienced the fact that children are His special concern."[73]

Moravian adults sought to connect children with an evangelical worldview intently focused on discerning God's actions in history, one that would help children link with other Moravians, not just across space, but also across time. Moravians wanted children to look to children of the past as an inspiration for the present. Children were reminded of their link, *as children*, with the awakening that had occurred at Herrnhut in 1727, when the renewal of the Unity of the Brethren had taken place. This sense of children's place in the larger whole was underscored when a "commemoration day" was held for Bethlehem children in order to recall that a great religious revival had occurred among the children of Herrnhut. Starting with the religious turmoil and conversion of an eleven-year-old girl, the 1727 Herrnhut revival spread to other children and to adults, and it helped heal community divisions. Indian Moravian children living in the Bethlehem area during the Seven Years' War received some information about the celebration of this event: "In the afternoon the children had a small service, where Br. Grube told them about these great children's days."[74]

70. "Conferenzen der Kinder-Geschwister, 1758," June 12, 1758 ("Die Kinder in der Einfalt u. kindlichkeit offenherzigkeit zu erhalten, ist eine Haupt-Sache bey den Kindern.")

71. Colin Podmore, *The Moravian Church in England, 1728–1760* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 16–17, 31.

72. Atwood, *Community of the Cross*, 6, 72; Gillian Lindt Gollin, *Moravians in Two Worlds: A Study of Changing Communities* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967), 9–12.

73. Faull, *Moravian Women's Memoirs*, 95.

74. Bethlehem Diary, Aug. 17, 1755, vol. 14, pp. 715–16, MAB (microfilm); Ward, *Protestant Evangelical Awakening*, 127; "Diarium des Indianer-Gemeinleins in Bethlehem," in Bethlehem Diary, Aug. 17, 1756, vol. 16, p. 583, MAB (microfilm): "Nachmittags hatten die Kinder eine kleine Versamlung, da ihnen Br. Grube etwas von diesen großen Kinder Tage erzehlte."

Adults tried to make far-off church leaders familiar to children. As Craig Atwood notes, "The Bethlehem leaders felt it was particularly important for the children to learn about the leaders in Europe, as they would have little or no opportunity to see them." The celebration of Zinzendorf's birthday offered one major opportunity. On one such occasion in 1755, the Moravian administrator Joseph Spangenberg used this day to teach children at Bethlehem about who Zinzendorf was and why he received the name "Disciple" (*Jünger*). A variety of Moravian leaders' birthdays became occasions for educational moments, perhaps with some parallels to the recognition of authority that accompanied birthday celebrations of royal monarchs in Europe during this time period.[75]

Although their contacts were carefully monitored, especially in the boarding institutions, Moravian children were exposed to widening horizons, as they received frequent reports about people and places beyond their immediate surroundings. At a Sabbath lovefeast, Bethlehem children learned about the upcoming travels of Moravian missionaries to the island of Saint Thomas and to Berbice in South America, where Moravians preached among the enslaved populations.[76] In 1755, they received a report about the arrival of missionaries in Jamaica. Adults tried to instill feelings of affinity among children living in disparate places. Their actions meshed with the peer-oriented spirituality of the choir system. On one occasion, Bethlehem children were read an address that Zinzendorf had delivered to children in Yorkshire, England, thus promoting a sense of a shared experience with their English counterparts.[77] At a children's service (*Kinderstunde*), Spangenberg told Warwick children about "the black children in [Saint] Thomas."[78] Euro-American children could also have gained more awareness of the West Indies through the presence of Afro-Caribbean children in the Pennsylvania Moravian communities.[79] John Ettwein informed children at Bethlehem how Indian children at Gnadenhütten had recently

75. Bethlehem Children's Diary, May 26, 1755, BethCong 470, MAB; Bethlehem Children's Diary, May 26, 1760, BethCong 474, MAB. On Moravian leaders' birthday celebrations, see Atwood, *Community of the Cross*, 136–37. On royal birthdays, see Ottaway, *Decline of Life*, 47.

76. Bethlehem Children's Diary, Feb. 8, 1755, BethCong 470, MAB; Catron, "Early Black-Atlantic Christianity," 313, 326–29.

77. Bethlehem Children's Diary, Feb. 23, 1755, BethCong 470, MAB. The address was at Lamb's Hill (Fulneck). Podmore, *Moravian Church in England*, 98.

78. "Kurzer Extract aus den Land Diariis," Oct. 7, 1754, Bethlehem Diary, vol. 13, p. 1038, MAB (microfilm). On Warwick, see Engel, *Religion and Profit*, 80.

79. Catron, "Early Black-Atlantic Christianity," 313–14, 317, 331.

celebrated a children's prayer day with a lovefeast; and at the Bethlehem celebration of the prayer day, children heard a reading of Zinzendorf's address to the children of Ockbrook (Derbyshire, England) and of a report that included information on children in the Netherlands and perhaps Latvia; later that same day they received news about Moravian children of Saint Thomas and Greenland.[80]

Closer to home, but still at some remove, children from different parts of Pennsylvania learned about one another. On one of their special prayer days in 1747, Nazareth children received an update on other Pennsylvania children and their schools. They learned that the teachers Martha and Abraham Büninger on the Codorus, west of the Susquehanna, "have a little house, where the children come to them during the day and learn to read." Across the Lehigh at Maguntsche, the day schoolers were said to "cry when they have to leave" their teachers "and the other children" in the evening. This comment perhaps was meant to encourage the Nazareth children to consider themselves fortunate to be boarders and not day students. Children also learned that Sarah and Abraham Reincke, who had been at Nazareth previously, were now keeping a day school at Philadelphia. And the Nazareth children found out that an outbreak of measles had struck children at Bethlehem and Oley.[81] Children living toward the Susquehanna learned about happenings in eastern Pennsylvania, as when a children's service (*Kinderstunde*) at Warwick included a story about the Bethlehem children's celebration of Michaelmas (the "Angel's Festival").[82] Friedrich Weiser of Heidelberg got to discover firsthand about life at Bethlehem through his own travels, when he and his father paid a short visit there in October 1755.[83]

80. Children's Diary, Bethlehem, June 24 and 28, 1755, BethCong 470, MAB ("Lettl." may indicate Latvian); Podmore, *Moravian Church in England*, 98. On Moravian practices of reading news, see Robert Beachy, "Manuscript Missions in the Age of Print: Moravian Community in the Atlantic World," in *Pious Pursuits: German Moravians in the Atlantic World*, ed. Michele Gillespie and Robert Beachy (New York: Berghahn Books, 2007), 33–49.

81. "Kinder Bethtag in Nazareth," Dec. 12/23, 1747, BethCong 479, MAB ("Geschw. Büningers an der Catores haben ein kleines Häusgen, wo die Kinder zu ihnen kommen des Tages, u. lernen lesen"; "In Macuntsche weinen die Tage Kinder, da sie des Abends von den Geschw. Wagners, Münsters u. Heynens u. von den andern Kindern weggehen müssen"); Beylage zum Nazaretschen Kinder Bethtag am 12/23 Dec. 1747: "Geschwister Brockschens und Husseys Brief aus Oley," Dec. 4/13, 1747, BethCong 479, MAB.

82. "Kurzer Extract aus den Land Diariis von Monath," Oct. 7, 1754, pp. 1038–39, Bethlehem Diary, MAB (microfilm).

83. Heidelberg Children's Diary, Oct. 16 and 22, 1755, folder HeB I, Heidelberg and Tulpehocken, MAB.

Writing letters was one way that children could participate in constructing and strengthening long-distance connections. In January 1755, Bethlehem children were writing "to Europe partly to their parents, and partly to several children there."[84] John Heckewelder, who became a famous missionary to the Delawares later in life, was about age twelve at this time. Approvingly, the Bethlehem recorder noted that without any prodding from his elders, Heckewelder had decided to write to Zinzendorf to show his gratitude for a book recently received.[85] Children from Heidelberg and Lancaster wrote letters to the Bethlehem children, which were read at the same Sabbath lovefeast in which they heard news about the Saint Thomas and Berbice missions.[86] Even little children who had not learned to write had absorbed expectations that they would grow into writers whose letters would serve mission work. One of the girls in the nursery used a pin to pretend to make strokes as if she were writing to an Indian girl living at Nazareth. "I will write," she said, "Lamb, Lamb, then tendrest Lamb! . . . and would let her know . . . that our Saviour was born a Child in a stable."[87]

Eighteenth-century Moravians, like others in the colonial era, tended to separate the teaching of reading from the teaching of writing. Writing instruction came later, but it was still important, as Moravians sought to maintain their far-flung connections through active correspondence.[88] A young Indian woman named Martha, who had grown up in Moravian boarding institutions, had developed her skills considerably so that by 1757 she was a writing school teacher.[89] Perhaps because of the disruptions of the war years, though, some children living in Bethlehem in the later 1750s had fallen behind in their alphabetic literacy skills. The goal was for

84. Bethlehem Children's Diary, Jan. 8, 1755, BethCong 470, MAB ("nach Europa theils an ihre Eltern, theils an einige Kinder da").

85. Bethlehem Children's Diary, Jan. 8, 1755; John Heckewelder, *History, Manners, and Customs of the Indian Nations* . . ., ed. William C. Reichel (Philadelphia: Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1876), vii.

86. Bethlehem Children's Diary, Feb. 8, 1755.

87. "Some Remarks out of the Journal of the Little Children in Bethlehem" (English), Jan. 10, 1747, BethCong 467, MAB.

88. E. Jennifer Monaghan, *Learning to Read and Write in Colonial America* (Worcester: University of Massachusetts Press, 2005), 25, 367–68, 373–74.

89. Nazareth Children's Diary (English), Apr. 30/May 11, 1746, BethCong 477, MAB; Catalog of Teachers, Students, etc. (Boys and Girls), Apr. 1757, Bethlehem Schools, Lists, Memoranda, Accounts, etc., 1757–1853, MAB. See this catalog both for Martha's position and as an indication of the separation of reading and writing instruction.

children to be able "to spell and read perfectly before they were age eight, that they then could begin to write."[90] Moravian records indicated, however, that some boys and girls were already past the expected age for starting to learn how to write. Certain girls had not received writing instruction, though they were "already ten years old."[91] One teacher took on the task of teaching a few older boys how to write, although they had not yet learned "to read well," suggesting flexibility in the Moravians' approach.[92]

Creating this world of long-distance communication interwoven with localized associations was a Moravian approach that encouraged, and even celebrated, mobility. This approach was at the heart of the *Pilgergemeine*, with its focus on supporting missions and itinerancy. Moravian children of the 1740s and 1750s received many lessons preparing them to become "pilgrims" and to help the work of missions.

Spinning was a particular task assigned to boarding school girls as a way that they could assist missionaries. One lovefeast for youthful spinners in 1747 served as "an opportunity to talk about the pilgrims."[93] On this occasion, the Indian girl Maria at Nazareth said, "I believe that the pilgrims are truly dear hearts. It is truly a great mercy that I am allowed to spin for them."[94] Her classmates added, "We want to spin a very big amount for the pilgrims, so that they get many shirts."[95] When children went on walks, they were encouraged to imitate, and identify with, their pilgrim elders. One January day, Nazareth children acted out being "pilgrims," "and as they had to come through snow, they said, 'Oh, how it must be with the poor pilgrims, who have to go so far through the snow.'"[96]

The goal was for children to grow in a desire to spread the Moravians' emotional message about the power of the crucified Christ to all parts

90. "Conferenzen der Kinder-Geschwister, 1758," Jan. 2, 1758 ("Es solten alle Kinder in den Anstalten perfect buchstabieren u. lesen lernen, ehe sie 8. Jahr alt werden, daß sie als denn daß schreiben anfangen können.")

91. "Conferenzen der Kinder-Geschwister, 1758" ("schon 10 Jahr alt u. sind noch nicht in der Schreib-Schule").

92. "Conferenzen der Kinder-Geschwister, 1758," May 1 (quotation), Jan. 21, and Mar. 20, 1758.

93. Nazareth Children's Diary, Jan. 14, 1747, BethCong 479, MAB ("Gelegenheit von den Pilgern zu reden").

94. Nazareth Children's Diary, Jan. 14, 1747 ("Ich glaube, daß die Pilger rechte liebe Herzel sind. Es ist mir eine rechte große Gnade, daß ich vor sie spinnen darf").

95. Nazareth Children's Diary, Jan. 14, 1747 ("Wir wollen den Pilgern ein rechtes großes Stück spinnen, daß sie viele Hemden kriegen").

96. Nazareth Children's Diary, Jan. 17, 1747 ("und da sie in den Schnee kamen, sagten sie: Ach wie muß es doch denen armen Pilgern gehen, die so weit in Schnee gehen müßen").

of the world. The adult diarist for the Nazareth little girls' choir seemed amused at a discussion among the children, one that showed the girls' dawning awareness of the financial cost of missions and the expectation that they contribute to them. When two new girls were added to their house, the others began to have high hopes for an influx of many more children. Their teacher said to them, "My d[ea]r Children! you talk indeed of having a great many Children, but if you will have Children you must build Houses for them, otherwise you won't know where to put them." Referring to a Moravian carpenter, the children responded, "We can't build Houses for them: but O! Br. Hirte can." Offering a lesson in practicalities, their teacher told them: "Br. Hirte can't do much alone, except [if] you get some Money." Then, the girls began to imagine how they could pool their resources. Their comments show that these girls understood that Moravians had disparities of wealth among them. A little girl with the last name of Lock said, "I have got 2 Pence left." Mary Rose said, "My Mother has got many Pennys I will pray her to send them to me." For her part, Betsy Horsfield, the daughter of one of the Moravians' wealthier members, added, "My Father is rich, he will certainly send me something towards it."[97]

While Betsy Horsfield's remark about her father's wealth underscored class differences, slave-holding in Moravian communities was yet another sign of an acceptance of the construction of social hierarchies. Euro-American Moravians began to show an interest in employing slave labor for Bethlehem very soon after the town's founding. According to historian Jon Sensbach, "During the next two decades, the Moravians bought perhaps three dozen or more enslaved laborers to supplement their work force in Bethlehem and in the nearby Moravian settlements of Nazareth and Gnadenthal."[98] A number of the Afro-Moravian children living in the boarding institutions probably came from families with backgrounds in the Caribbean. Their presence reminds us that uprooting and disconnection were also a part of the story. One such child, named Emanuel, came from Saint Thomas and had entered the Fredrickstown school in 1745.[99] Another

97. Nazareth Children's Diary (English), June 20/July 1, 1746, BethCong 477, MAB; Engel, *Religion and Profit*, 58–60; A. Schultze, "The Old Moravian Cemetery of Bethlehem, Pa.," *Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society* 5 (1896–1899): 100.

98. Jon F. Sensbach, *A Separate Canaan: The Making of an Afro-Moravian World in North Carolina, 1763–1840* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 52–53 (quotation on 53).

99. A. Reincke, "A Register of Members of the Moravian Church and of Persons Attached to Said Church in this Country and Abroad, between 1727 and 1754," *Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society* 1 (1868–1876): 402; Catron, "Early Black-Atlantic Christianity," 304, 313–14.

Afro-Moravian child, called Bastian, may have had family in Saint Thomas, though he was born at the Ysselstein house "across the Lehigh." When the children in the Bethlehem nursery imagined themselves undertaking a mission trip, Bastian expressed his interest in going to Saint Thomas.[100] He and Ludwig Meinung shared an interest in this island, where Meinung's parents were missionaries. On one occasion, Ludwig thought Bastian might want to go to Saint Thomas. "Where will you go today?" Ludwig said to Bastian. "Will you go to Saint Thomas?" Bastian answered, "I will go to my black children and to my black Brethren. I will say something to them about the Savior and [his] red blood."[101]

Despite the de-emphasis on parental childrearing, some Moravian boarding students seemed to identify with mission work through the example of their own parents. When little Ludwig Meinung talked about missions, he made a point of mentioning his own personal connection: "he told the Children that his Father and Mother were in St. Thomas, and that many Children were there." Then, as if to imitate his missionary parents, he shared a little religious lesson, saying: "our Sav[io]r was born in a Stable, and had been laid in a Manger, that he had many Wounds and a thorny Crown, and that nails had been driven through his hands and feet; and a great Hole in his Side, out of which much Blood did flow."[102] Parents' examples as workers in far-off places influenced children's thoughts and actions. Little Anna Maria Almers thought about her father, who was working in Germany and wanted to send him a verse she had learned.[103] Peter Rice, age three, met with his father, Owen Rice, before the latter headed out on a mission trip. Their conversation helped Peter imagine he was going into "the bush," like his father. Owen asked Peter "what he would say to the children in the bush." Peter said simply, "About the wounds."[104]

100. "Diarium der kleinen Kinder in Bethlehem," Nov. 25, 1746, in Bethlehem Diary, vol. 4, p. 582, MAB (microfilm); "Catalogus der Anstalten von Betlehem wie auch der Nurserie in Nazareth . . .," BethCong 485 (for Bastian's birthplace: "im Eiselsteinischen Haus bey B:hem über der lecha").

101. Bethlehem Children's Diary, Jan. 5, 1747, BethCong 467, MAB ("wo wilt du heute noch hin gehn"; "wilt du nach Sanct Thomas gehn"; "ich will zu meinen schwartzen Kinder gehn, u. zu meinen Schwartzen Brüdern ich will ihnen was sagen von Heyland und von rothen Blut"); Reincke, "Register of Members," 362.

102. "Some Remarks out of the Journal of the Little Children in Bethlehem" (English), Jan. 2, 1747, BethCong 467, MAB.

103. Bethlehem Children's Diary, Jan. 19, 1747, BethCong 466, MAB; Catalog "Das Haus Bethlehem," June 7/18, 1747, BethCong 348, MAB.

104. Bethlehem Children's Diary, Jan. 19, 1747, BethCong 466, MAB ("fragte ihn was er

This conversation seemed to stick with Peter because about three weeks later "after breakfast, he went round the room and sang little verses and spoke also after that about the Lamb [that is, Christ]." He talked of traveling "into the bush" and sharing a verse with the children there.[105]

Children living in Moravian settings formed relationships locally, regionally, and internationally. Intense relationships among children developed in day-to-day interactions. But child-to-child connections also developed over long distances as children were encouraged to remember their peers in far-off locations. Daily work schedules kept parents and children in close contact in rural areas, especially when children were judged able to contribute to the household economy. In boarding institutions, children had less contact with parents, though visits did occur. In some cases, these children may have developed an idealized notion of their parents as missionaries to be emulated. Kinship structures, particularly the matrilineage, shaped Native American children's associations strengthened through travel and residential patterns.

Moravian records are unusual in the amount of detail they provide about children's lives and about children's connections; however, we should keep in mind that Moravians were enmeshed in developments that went beyond their own religious group. These broader processes included transatlantic evangelical communications and itinerancy and the creation of Native American networks that pre-dated Moravian mission sites.[106] Interestingly, the Moravian story offers counterexamples to Greven's comment that "for many evangelicals, migration often served as an initial step in the process of cutting ties to other people and places."[107] In many cases Moravians used their mobility to extend and even strengthen connections over long distances. This study presents important evidence of how family and peer relationships, formed through daily interactions, intersected with some larger processes that included expansions of the range of mid-Atlantic children's relationships.

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solte den Kindern in Busch sagen Peter antwort, von wunden"); Levering, *History of Bethlehem*, 121–22. Peter Rice was born Oct. 20, 1743, in Philadelphia. "Catalogus der Anstalten von Betlehem wie auch der Nurserie in Nazareth . . .," BethCong 485, MAB.

105. Bethlehem Children's Diary, Feb. 7, 1747, BethCong 466, MAB ("nach den Früstück geth Peter Reiß in der Stube rum und singt verßgen und redt auch hernach von Lam"; "in Pusch").

106. Timothy D. Hall, *Contested Boundaries: Itinerancy and the Reshaping of the Colonial American Religious World* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1994), 1–5, 28–31, 36; Lambert, *Inventing the "Great Awakening,"* 11–12, 22, 54; Ward, *Protestant Evangelical Awakening*, 2–3; Schutt, *Peoples of the River Valleys*, chaps. 1–3.

107. Greven, *Protestant Temperament*, 25.