

THE CHURCH SQUARE JOURNAL

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Lititz Archivers Visit Bethlehem and Nazareth

On September 14, 2017, a group of Lititz Moravian Archive Committee members ventured north to visit the Moravian Archives in Bethlehem and the Moravian Historical Society in Nazareth. For some, this trip, coordinated by Kim Barabas, was a return visit, and for others it was a first time exploration. Upon our arrival at the archives building we were greeted by both Paul M. Peucker, Director and Archivist, and Thomas McCullough, Assistant Archivist.

As our group gathered in the meeting room, Paul and Tom explained some basics of the on-going digitalization of church records. These digitalized records allow for research into pastors or church members by name using Church registers with births, deaths, marriages, and attendance records. As of September, the information from 50 of 240 church registers had been transferred using a customized database created for the Archives. Paul and Tom demonstrated the research system's capabilities using the name "Oehme," and over 30 references were found in seconds!

Our hosts then shared with our group several important artifacts from the collection. It was a thrill for all to see and to photograph a 1724 bible owned by Nicholas Ludwig von Zinzendorf! The Bible was given to him by Brother Johann David Stöhr in 1745. The Bible contains what some believe are daily text notations. The archivists also shared an architectural drawing of the Lititz Moravian church steeple. Another interesting item shared with our group was an example of the archival boxes used to store various items. These boxes are handmade by a volunteer who has been training others to make them, as well.

Tom McCullough then gave us a tour of the 65° climate-controlled archive vault equipped with halogen gas rather than sprinklers for fire suppression purposes. Here we were treated to the collection of oil paintings stored in specially designed art racks. But the highlight of this room was the collection of Lititz Congregation related records. These include congregational records, Elders Conference records, and Linden Hall Boarders Cash Books, and Indian Mission diaries.



Tom McCullough points out part of the Lititz collection in the Archives vault.

~ photo by Maryann Richmond



Title page of Zinzendorf's Bible

~ photo by Maryann Richmond

Upon leaving the Bethlehem Moravian Archive building, we gathered at Hotel Bethlehem for a lovely luncheon. Tom and Paul joined us for the meal and fellowship, as did Sister Mandy Mastros.

Continuing our journey back into Moravian history, our next stop after lunch was in Nazareth to tour the Moravian Historical Society whose mission is to present the story of the Moravian Church and its contributions to American history and culture. The Society and museum, established in 1857, is housed in the 1740 George Whitefield house. The house stands on the Ephrata tract of the original 5000 acre property called Nazareth. This is the oldest existing Moravian site in North America. Over the years, the Whitefield House has served as a place of worship, a boarding school for Moravian girls, a nursery for the children of missionaries, and as the Moravian Theological Seminary.

The Church Square Journal

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From the Chair:

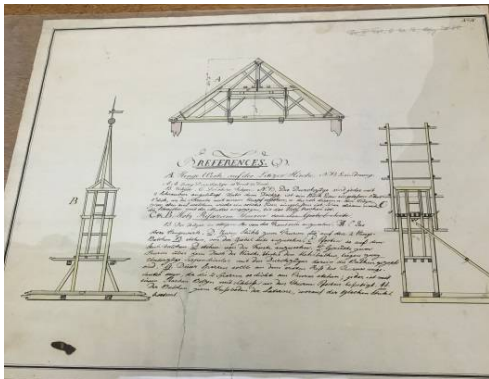
Welcome to the 2018 Spring edition of the Church Square Journal. The archive committee is pleased to continue a tradition started by current member Wayne B. LeFevre in 1976, restarted after 10 issues in 2008, and again resurrected once more in 2017 after another 10 issues. Issue # 23 has articles detailing our history, articles on current activities of the committee, and some things that are planned for the future.

Since about 2006 the committee has been looking at ways to better climate control our museum. In the spring of 2013 we had an architectural assessment done. We have implemented some of the recommendations already (repairing roof, new spouting) and are taking steps to finally overhaul the HVAC system. Stay tuned for updates.

~ John Clark, Archives Committee Chairman

Continued from Page 1:

Working with Suzanne Keller, Administrative Assistant and Operations Manager of the Moravian Historical Society, Kim Barabas was able to set up an informative visit to this property.



Tannenberg's architectural drawing of the steeple for the Lititz church, constructed 1787, destroyed by fire 1957.
~ photo by Maryann Richmond

After introductions, we were presented an overview of the collection by Megan van Ravenswaay, Museum Director. Members of our group visited the various exhibits, including the music room. One of the most interesting instruments on display is John Antes' earliest dated instrument, a violin from 1759. A viola made by Antes in 1764 is believed to be the earliest extant viola made in America and is housed in the Lititz Congregation Archives museum. Additionally, we were able to view a 1776 pipe organ made by David Tannenberg.

Another artifact displayed is a rare 18th-century rifle made by Andres Albrecht at the Moravian settlement of Christian Springs. Further artifacts included paintings by John Valentine Haidt, textiles, furniture, photographs, maps, guns, tile and iron stoves, case clocks, and much more!

In addition to these items in the permanent collection, we were able to experience the special exhibit, **Diverse Voices: Three**

Perspectives of Early Bethlehem. This exhibit, created using period diaries, records, and other primary materials, allowed us to get a peek into the lives of three colonial residents of Bethlehem – a White woman, a Black man, and a Native American woman.

After our tour of the museum, Megan van Ravenswaay gave us a wonderful chance to see Gray Cottage, the oldest American Moravian building still standing. It is a one-and-a-half story log house built at Nazareth in October 1740 by the Moravians to shelter themselves during the winter. The building has been used as a boys' and girls' school, a choir house for widows, a nursery, and, until very recently, a rental property. The historical society is now in the process of refurbishing the Cottage to be used as a multimedia visitors' area. As the group wandered through this building, we were inspired to think of those weary early Moravians arriving by ship from Georgia, hoping to find a place to continue their missionary activities. Quite an experience for them and for us!



Gray Cottage, Nazareth, PA

~ photo provided by Moravian Historical Society

~ Maryann Richmond

The Archives Committee encourages readers to visit Nazareth and Bethlehem to see these and other examples of our earliest Moravian roots in Pennsylvania. The Whitefield House is open year round. The Archives is open to the public for special events and by appointment for scholarly research. Check out the websites of each for details.

The Westhafers of Muddy Creek

Editor's Note: As the manager of on-line access to the translations of the Mattheaus Hehl History, I periodically receive from the church office referral of a request from someone researching family history. Such a request arrived last April from Sharon Beach, who with her two sisters was engaged in tracing their Westhafer ancestors, mid-eighteenth century immigrants from Germany who had become "Society" members of the Moravian community at Muddy Creek (near present-day Adamstown) which was later absorbed into the Lititz Moravian Congregation. We exchanged numerous emails over the succeeding months, with Bill Oehme also drawn into the conversation, as Lititz archivers worked to answer questions and fill in details of the Westhafer saga.

A few weeks before Christmas Bill and I each received a packet in the mail containing the results to date of the sisters' efforts. The manuscript comprises sixty-some pages, plus indexes and an extensive list of sources and references. We here in Lititz are most

familiar with the lives of those who lived within the Settlement community. This meticulously researched and richly illustrated volume provides a glimpse into the life of Society members, who lived and worked on their own lands outside the boundary of Lititz proper yet worshiped regularly with the congregation and strove to the best of their ability to live in accordance with Moravian principles.

With the permission of the three sisters – Donna Fulton Boyles, Linda Fulton McKay, and Sharon Fulton Beach – we are pleased to reproduce here brief excerpts from the volume "Our Fulton and Westhafer Ancestors Who Came to America and Thrived, Part Two of Two, the Westhafers", the authors' maternal line. Plans for publication of the research are now in the works. If any reader wants to be placed on a list for notification when the two chapters excerpted here are completed and available for purchase, please email to ChurchSqJnl@gmail.com.

From Chapter One: The Journey Begins

The plan was to set sail during the summer of 1731 when the seas were calm, the winds favorable, and the sun bright. Yes, the voyage could be difficult as some had written; but the Newlanders promised passengers would be safe on British-built ships. Valentine Westhafer and family certainly must have gathered with family and church friends to say their last farewells. They likely left home in March to begin the first leg of the four to six week journey via river barge down the Rhine River to Rotterdam. Carts, loaded with possessions, were pulled from home to paths along streams and canals that fed into the river system. There, possessions were loaded onto animal-towed or poled flat bottom barges.

The Rhine River has its source in Switzerland and flows three hundred and eighty miles until it reaches the Port of Rotterdam. River progress was slow and uncertain, and travelers were required to comply with regulations of the existing principalities along the route. They were also required to pay tolls at thirty-six custom houses en-route and on occasion to pay bribes for permission to leave certain regions.

Each family provided for their own sustenance. With great good fortune, the Valentine Westhafer family reached Rotterdam by mid-April where they were met by crowds of Germanic emigrants also waiting over-booked ship passage.



Jongkind Johan Berthold
The Port of Rotterdam

~ permitted use from Wikimedia Commons

Booking could take weeks. Tired after the long river journey, the family once again provided for its own sustenance and retired to a reed-covered shack in an encampment provided by the city.

In May 1731, the Valentine Westhafer family boarded the British ship *Love & Unity* under the command of Captain Jacob Lobb with great expectations of setting sail for Philadelphia. They were joined by one hundred and fifty-six (sources vary) unnamed religious exiles as they set sail, not for Philadelphia, but for the port of Falmouth, England where they remained another four weeks taking on ship supplies. As required of all non-English emigrants, and in spite of Valentine's inability to speak, read, or write English, he pledged his allegiance to the British ruler, disavowed ties to other monarchs, and renounced any previous connections to the Pope. Following the pledge, Captain Lobb read the Transportation Rule in English to Valentine that explained full payment in silver for the ocean journey for the family [if they died after he announced the half-way mark] would be required upon arrival in Philadelphia. The ship did not set sail for Philadelphia until 12 Jun 1731. The Westhafers had already spent three months

on their journey and the ocean voyage was just beginning. They had gotten off to a disappointingly slow start.^(1,2)

After surviving the notorious disaster aboard the Love and Unity, by the mid-1730s Valentine and Christina Westhafer had settled at Muddy Creek in Cocalico Township (now East Cocalico Township), Lancaster County, established a homestead, and begun to raise a family.

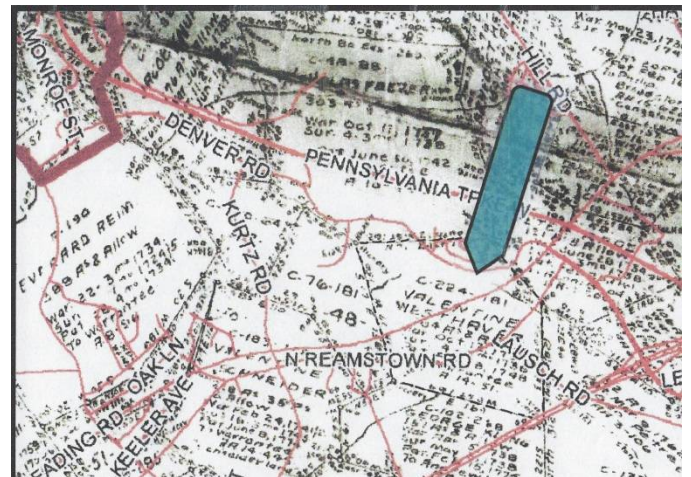
From Chapter One: The Westhafers Join the Moravian Congregation

During the “*First Great Religious Awakening*” that spread through Colonial America in the 1740s, congregations and parishioners sought ministers who would respond to their emotions and promise Salvation. (It is possible that Valentine met Count Zinzendorf on a religious pilgrimage to Herrnhut in Saxony prior to his coming to America.) Valentine and Christina Westhafer were among those in Lancaster County who sought to join a denomination that would lead them to live a more perfect life. Ordained ministers of the Lutheran and Reformed faith were few in number and had many congregations in Pennsylvania and surrounding states to monitor. They had to rely on those uneducated in official church doctrine, such as non-ordained lay leaders, self-appointed teachers, and roving ministers, to minister to church members country-wide, often causing trouble and strife.

This was the case in 1734 when Rev. John Peter Mueller, itinerate preacher at Muddy Creek, came under the influence of Seventh Day Dunker doctrine and was forced to leave Muddy Creek because of his contrary beliefs. His exit was dramatic as he gathered adherents to the home of a sympathizer and publicly burned thirty-six Lutheran and Reformed devotional books. The congregation sent pleas for help through Rev. Boehm to the Dutch Reformed Church in Holland as Muddy Creek was under their jurisdiction as a mission church. In 1742, Rev. Boehm and Rev. Weiss again appealed to the Church in Holland concerning confusion arising from the many sects with competing beliefs which were leading Lutherans and Reformed members astray.

This was especially true of Count Zinzendorf of the Moravian faith. Confusion continued in 1743 as Rev. Jacob Lischey (1719-1780), our sixth great-grandfather, was called to the pulpit to preach at Muddy Creek and to eighteen other “preaching places.” Some in the congregation called him a “Zinzendorfer” with Moravian beliefs, and he was asked to leave in 1745. After he left, Rev. John Conrad Templeman was called to stabilize the congregation; to have the “Moravian Schoolhouse” (built during Rev. Lischey’s ministry) returned to Union Church ownership; and to initiate the building of a second church at Muddy Creek to be made of stone with tile floor. Throughout the next decade, the Moravian Church, under the charismatic leadership of Count Nicholas von Zinzendorf of Saxony (Germany), grew in membership and began to establish communities in England and America.

Although early records of settlement are often scarce and conflicting, the record is clear that Valentine and Christina Westhafer joined the Moravian faith in 1746. It seems likely that the Westhafer home was a “preaching station” where Moravians living in Muddy Creek, or in the surrounding settlement, received church services. Valentine and Christina transferred membership from Muddy Creek to the newly formed Warwick Country Congregation in 1749. That Congregation merged with the Lititz Moravian Congregation in 1759. Those members who chose to remain on their own lands, outside of the Lititz Moravian Congregation closed settlement, were regarded as “society members.”.... Valentine and Christina, along with hundreds of their friends, family and neighbors were “awakened” by Count Zinzendorf’s dynamic oratory and by his message of “Christians living together in love and harmony.”⁽³⁾



Valentine and Christina Westhafer’s original tract,
with an overlay showing current roads.

~ provided by Historical Society of
Cocalico Valley, Ephrata, PA

Chapter Two recounts the life of Valentine and Christina’s son Conrad, a master wheelwright who served the Continental Army as quartermaster for nine years during the Revolutionary War. Details of his Last Will and Testament witness to his faith and his deep concern for his family.

Conrad’s Last Will and Testament (copy archived) gives insight into his devotion to the Moravian faith, to his beloved wife and to his family. Recognizing that his health was failing (and that his wife could lose her rights to property ownership, and his underage children might lose their inheritance), Conrad Westhafer wrote his Last Will and Testament in German on 30 May 1804, six months before his death. Also, he wanted to make certain that all his children were treated equally. Knowing

that he was in poor health, yet sound of mind, Conrad affirmed his Moravian faith in recognizing God's creation of his Soul, and placed his body in the hands of God to be buried in a Christian Manner.

He further directed that all outstanding debts and funeral expenses be paid by his estate; that his beloved wife Catharina would not "*lose her Widow's Seat in my House...as long as she remain my widow;*" that grandchild Elizabeth (daughter of Jacob) care for his widow in her home for a sum of thirty-three pounds fifteen shillings money; and that for his underage children, William (age 19) and Sally (age 16), each get a "*good bed as all my other children have gotten theirs.*" Conrad further ordered that after Catharina's death his estate should be sold at public venue, and that the earnings were to be divided in nine equal parts for his surviving eight children (Leonard, Abraham, Conrad, Jr., Gottfried, William, Elizabeth (now Kreiter), Catharina (now Oppelt), and Sally) with the ninth part paid to the four grandchildren of his deceased son Jacob after each came of age.

At his death, it would appear that Conrad was financially comfortable with sixty acres of land, a barn and stable, a home, a spring house, a wagon shop, and an outhouse. The Pennsylvania, U.S. Direct Tax Lists of 1798 from Warwick Township shed light on the improvements Conrad had made on his plantation. His earlier log dwelling gave way to a two-story stone dwelling (30x26) with twelve glass-paned windows and a ten-plate wood stove for cooking and heating. The addition of a stone spring house (14x12) for cooling of perishable foods and the addition of an outhouse to cover his cesspool were great modernizations at the end of the 18th Century. The value of Conrad's plantation had risen from 170 pounds sterling in 1783 to a value of \$600 (and a one-time tax of \$690.30) in 1798. [*U. S. Currency was changed from being based on the British pound sterling to United States dollars and cents in 1793.*]

It is interesting that Conrad specified in his will that Catharina should have ownership of a number of valuable household objects, new to the period, but of great use. The "*ten-plate iron stove*" was a 1769 upgrade from the six-plate iron stove produced by Baron Heinrich Wilhelm Stiegel at Elizabeth Furnace (where Conrad did his apprenticeship). The four additional plates inside the stove's exterior structure housed the first oven that made baking and roasting indoors possible. It led to the demise of the outdoor bake oven. Modifications to the stove's top surface allowed stove-top cooking for the first time. The stove warmed the first floor living areas, and it was a more economical use of firewood. With stove pipes running through to the roof, the second story was heated as well....

Conrad gave Catharina "*two beds and bedsteads*" and he gave a "*bed*" to each of his children when they came of age. The gifting of beds (feather mattresses) and bedsteads (bed frames) seemed to be a strange gift for one's family until it was realized how important comfortable and warm bedding had been for our ancestors, and how difficult it was to obtain even before they emigrated to America. If you were not fortunate enough to inherit one, you needed to buy fifty pounds of hand-plucked goose or duck down and a linen bag to make one yourself. The bed cover, rubbed with wax or soap, made it impermeable to moisture. For added comfort, this bed was placed on top of a bottom straw mattress. Beds, blankets (known as duvets), and pillows stuffed with down, took long to fashion, were very expensive, required diligent care, and were expected to last for generations....⁽⁴⁾

Conrad Westhafer died on 25 Oct 1804 and was buried in God's Acre [behind the Moravian Church] in Lititz, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania.... Anna Catharina Heil Westhafer lived another ten years and was cared for by her granddaughter, Elizabeth Westhafer (1797-1888), daughter of Catharina's deceased son, Jacob Westhafer (1767-1800). Catharina died on 4 Feb 1814 and also was buried in God's Acre.

~ Donna Fulton Boyles, Linda Fulton McKay, and Sharon Fulton Beach



Conrad Westhafer's grave stone in
God's Acre

~ photo by William J. Oehme

⁽¹⁾EyewitnesstoHistory.com. *Passage to America*, 1750.

⁽²⁾National Archives. Founders Online. *The Palatines' Appeal*, 15 February 1732.

⁽³⁾Wright, F. Edward. Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. Church Records of the 18th Century. Volumes 4 & 5. Colonial Roots - Lewes, Delaware. 2011.

⁽⁴⁾Lancaster County Archives, Lancaster, PA. *Conrad Westhafer German Will and Translation, Probate, and Letters Testamentary for Conrad Westhafer and Letters of Administration for Anna Catharina (Heil) Westhafer*. Brian Klingner, researcher.

“What Would Zinzendorf Do?”
Newly Re-Discovered Treatise Offers Suggestions
Regarding Musical Performance

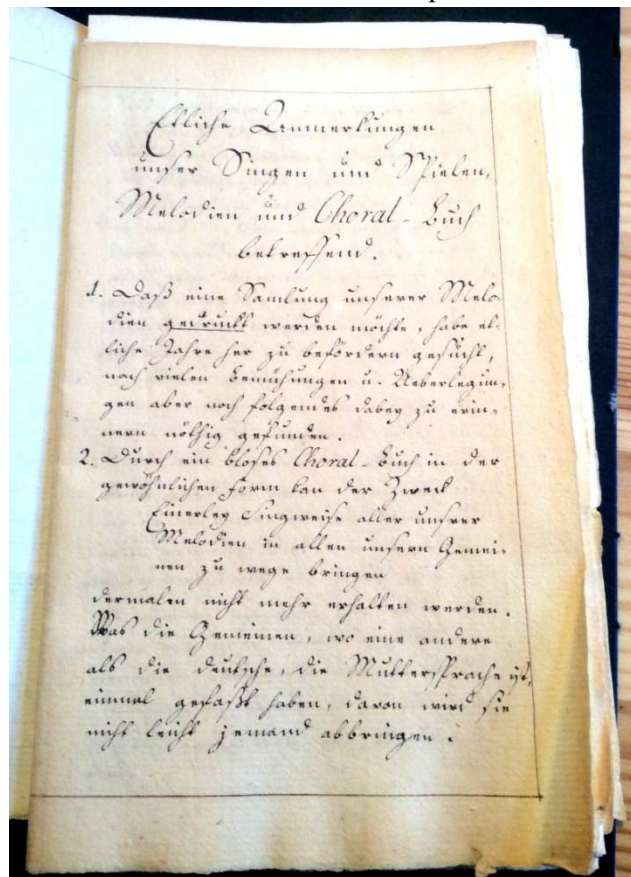
Part I: Introduction of Franke’s Remarks and Discussion of Points #1-6

As reported in the last issue of this publication (see “Learning German Script: Deciphering the Code to Discover Historical Treasures”), a small innocent-looking beautifully handwritten document, displayed for years in a glass case in the Music Room of our museum, has recently been re-discovered, transcribed, and translated. Through the generous support of the Lititz Archives Committee, a full academic translation of this document was completed in December by Rev. Dr. Roy Ledbetter, familiar to our congregation through his work on our Hehl “History of Lititz” (Ed.: referred to in previous issues of the CSJ as the Hehl Diaries). As of now, this rare document, entitled *Etliche Anmerkungen unser Singen und Spielen, Melodien und Choral-Buch betreffend* (Several Remarks Concerning our Singing, Playing, Tunes, and Chorale-Book), hereafter simply referred to as *Remarks*, is seemingly a one-of-a-kind find! Even after extensive international searching, another copy of this treatise is yet to be found.

How this document from Herrnhut, Germany, arrived in Lititz is still a mystery. The author, Johann Friedrich Franke (1717-1780), never visited here; most likely, an early pastor probably brought this document from Europe. Franke joined the Moravian community in Marienborn, Germany, in 1739 and, in March 1746, became *Schreiber* [secretary] for Count Ludwig von Zinzendorf, a position he held for seven years. After an approximate three-year hiatus, Franke worked for Zinzendorf again in 1756, as *Schreiber...und bedient den Gemeingesang und die Musik* [secretary and a director of sorts for the singing choir and the music]. Just over four and a half years later, on May 9, 1760, Zinzendorf died. Given Zinzendorf’s prominence as a Moravian bishop and his tremendous influence in shaping the practices of the renewed 18th-century church, Franke’s special position within Zinzendorf’s inner circle is noteworthy. The year after Zinzendorf’s death, in April 1761, Franke arrived in Herrnhut; and, in March 1763, wrote the *Remarks* treatise featured in this article. The manuscript’s distinguished author and his unique perspective, the detailed description of music education and church music performance during and immediately after Zinzendorf’s influence, and the specific nature of the inherent musical content make this a very significant document indeed.

Remarks entails a list of twenty-one points presented in Franke’s distinctive voice and is meant to remind Moravian congregations how to encourage and achieve greater uniformity in the singing of chorales

(*Melodien*). His words are intended to augment the recent printing of chorale-books and other means to notate and publish music used for services, including Johann Daniel Grimm’s manuscript chorale book



First page of J. F. Franke’s “Remarks”

~ photo by Jeffrey S. Gemmill

compiled in 1755, the London hymnal(s) printed in London in 1754-55, and Christian Gregor’s work to arrange “Psalms” begun in 1754, eventually resulting in his 1784 *Choralbuch*. The physical size of the original pamphlet is small and unimposing. The old German script is meticulously written and very clear, as one would expect from a professional scribe. Yet the content is voluminous, rich and full in meaning, and requires fourteen double-spaced pages to accommodate the English translation.

The purpose of this article is to share an accessible, reader-friendly summary of the main issues addressed by Franke in his *Remarks*, to be offered in installments over the next few issues of *CSJ*. Plans are underway for a formal, academic publication in a scholarly journal of the entire translation *verbatim*, but

until then, all are invited to peruse Ledbetter's translation in our museum and archives. As Director of Music Ministries, I am intrigued by Franke's suggestions and have certainly taken his recommendations to heart in how I currently minister to our congregation musically. Even though Franke's words are 255 years old, and

common sense is required in balancing his performance suggestions with our modern sensibilities, especially regarding articulation, tempo, dynamics, and timbre, it is refreshing how instructive and inspiring Franke's words are today.

Points #1 & 2 explain the purpose for Franke's "memo" as paraphrased above: mainly to promote a more unified performance of church music among Moravian congregations. I believe this document was meant to provide solid musical guidance at a critical time of the renewed Moravian Church. There seems to have been a crisis of leadership within the church, and serious questions were considered about how the church would proceed after the death of its most prominent leader, Count Nicholas von Zinzendorf, referred to as "Disciple Z" by Franke. Point #3 explores the role of the *Vorsänger* [fore-singer] in teaching German congregations various versions of the chorales, a problem he believed was only partially solved by the publication of chorale-books. Inherent problems in creating artistic unity, i.e., lack of expertise among fore-singers or that organists *could only do it with difficulty or slowly*, suggests to Franke that

another method must be found to produce relief and help for our Congregations, so that the precious gift that God has granted to us to sing and play to Him may be preserved in the future with thanksgiving and made secure from loss and harm according to the nature and dignity of the matter.

Point #4 addresses those who might consider themselves to be non-singers and how one should still participate wholeheartedly in services. He emphasizes that as

With all memoranda about singing, I take for granted that the voice of a Child of God, no matter how bad it is and not suitable to singing alone, if a person is aware of his shortcoming, it will certainly not ruin singing in a service. For if everyone is aware of his own shortcoming, than it can not be otherwise, than to sing more simply and softly. And then the least humming from such hearts will certainly contribute as much to the quiet and soft murmur to the chief part of our liturgy, as the smallest little lamp helps to make [the darkness] bright. [Underlining is as in original.]

Point #5 continues with

All disharmony or dissonance in singing comes only from the failure to recognize shortcomings or even the conviction of just the opposite. In this it is difficult to act with grown-ups but, conversely, easier with children....

He suggests this will be demonstrated in the points that follow. Such an emphasis on educating children and youth, in musical matters and otherwise, is a very Moravian concept and a regular priority in all the early communities. In Lititz, for example, this practice is reflected in the founding of the Boarding School for Girls in 1746, later renamed Linden Hall, and the highly successful Beck School for Boys, competently led by John Beck from 1813-1865. The role of music education will be a common theme in future installments of Franke's *Remarks*.

Point #6 again addresses the *Fore-singing Brethren*, a term which in this context suggests that these individuals were responsible for leading the congregation through their own singing. Perhaps they would sing a line of a chorale first and have the congregation echo them; this was a common practice in the American colonies at that time and is known as "lining out." Whatever the case, it is these singers to whom Franke is addressing in his *Remarks* in an attempt to establish a consistent way of singing chorales.

If in the meantime all of the Fore-singing Brethren would agree together never to sing too loud or too fast, they will find that this is the only means infallibly to prevent all the otherwise unavoidable and prevailing shortcomings and defects. They would make this thus to be the rule and anything else would be the exception, e.g., when the Liturgist sings something which is unknown to the Congregation or changes the words or even sings by himself. [Underlining is as in original.]

Thus, hymns were to be sung at a moderate dynamic (volume) and tempo (speed), unless the worship leader was presenting something unfamiliar, or singing different words to a familiar tune, or singing a solo, in which cases, perhaps, a louder voice would be necessary or a somewhat slower tempo would be used.

Our discussion of Franke's *Remarks* will continue in the next issue of the *CSJ*.

Runaways: Marriage and the Lot in Lititz, 1793

The Fall 2017 issue of *The Church Square Journal* published a letter that Andreas Albrecht, Jr. in Lititz wrote on October 4, 1793, to John Gambold in Salem, North Carolina. In his gossipy letter, Albrecht reported that two men, Conrad Bremer (1774?-1830) and Christoph Koenig (1745-1805), were unhappy in the single brothers' house. Albrecht did not specify the source of Bremer's dissatisfaction but noted that Koenig was upset that "he can't get a wife." At this time marriages in Moravian communities had to be approved by the lot, a process that made individual choice—or even parental choice—largely irrelevant. The diary of the Lititz single brothers' choir, excerpts of which we print below for the first time, confirms that Koenig's complaint centered on the marriage lot. Indeed, the diaries reveal that several single men chose to ignore the strict control that church authorities tried to exercise over the sexual lives of all church members, in particular over *when* they could marry and *whom* they could marry.

Bremer was a young man in 1793, probably not yet twenty; Koenig was nearly fifty and had never married. Yet it seems that they had shared their complaints and arrived at a common solution. The two men left the choir house together one night, traveled to Lancaster, and got married. Koenig married a Lancaster widow, but Bremer—more problematically—married a woman from Lititz, Magdalena Cassler (1763-1799).

Bremer's marriage troubled authorities most because it indicated that an improper familiarity had existed between the two while both were living in Lititz. This impropriety, moreover, implicated Cassler's family, since authorities believed that the Casslers had welcomed Bremer into their home and thus encouraged the relationship. Authorities decided to exclude the Casslers from the congregation (a serious step that would require them to reapply for membership in the church) until they expressed heartfelt regret—and they threatened that they would force the family to leave the community altogether if the parents permitted their daughter, or her new husband Bremer, to visit their home in Lititz.

The diaries give some sense of Moravian authorities' intelligence networks. Authorities in Lititz—Johann Andreas Huebner (1737–1809), the bishop in Lititz, and Ludwig Strohle (1767-1827), who had taken up his position as supervisor of the single brothers only a few weeks earlier—may have been surprised when Bremer and Koenig disappeared: but they were not surprised by the illicit activity itself. Authorities were aware that Bremer had been visiting the Cassler home and had warned both parties to stop. Authorities knew as well about another illicit relationship and decided that,

given the recent events, they would issue a stern warning to the single brother at risk—who happened to be Andreas Albrecht, Jr. (The diarist stated that Albrecht's connection was with a daughter of Ludwig Gutjahr [1757-1804], a farmer, but he had married only in 1784 and his daughters were not yet five years old in 1793. Perhaps the diarist meant Elisabeth [1774-1846], a daughter of Gottfried Frederick Gutjahr [1753-1815], or Elizabeth [1776-1835], a daughter of Johann Georg Gutjahr [1751-1837]) Other single men seem to have transgressed as well, since authorities expected not just Albrecht but also John Phillips (b. 1769) to refrain from communion due to "objectionable conduct." The diaries reveal, above all, that individual brothers were finding ways to break the rules that everybody understood clearly.

The single men in Lititz were not the only ones frustrated by the marriage lot at this time. Elisabeth W. Sommer has found the same resistance in Herrnhut and Salem in the 1780s and 1790s (see *Serving Two Masters: Moravian Brethren in Germany and North Carolina, 1727-1801* [2000], 95-109). Several synods during these decades debated whether to insist upon the marriage lot, recognizing that, especially in American congregations, it was causing difficulties. Yet each synod reaffirmed that the lot must be used to sanction all marriages. The 1789 synod did allow exceptions to the process in town and country congregations, but settlement congregations such as Bethlehem, Nazareth, Salem, and Lititz were required to continue to use the marriage lot. These decisions, as Paul Peucker has shown, drove many young people away from the



Coconut shell with goose quills, believed to be used for the lot in the Lititz Moravian Brothers' House

~ photo by Tom Wentzel

congregation. In Nazareth from 1809 to 1817, for instance, "twenty individuals le[ft] the Nazareth congregation because they could not get church approval of their marriage. During the same period, nineteen church marriages were performed" ("The Haube Revolt:

Conflict and Disagreement in the Moravian Community of Nazareth, Pennsylvania, 1815," *Journal of Moravian History* 15, no. 2 [2015]: 155). The use of the lot persisted in these settlement communities, including Lititz, until 1818.

Finally, it is worth noting that these diary entries reveal that tensions over the marriage lot disrupted the community in diverse ways. Christoph Koenig's departure, for instance, meant that authorities had to find somebody to take over the several roles (including night watchman and medical helper) that he played in Lititz.

Desperate inquires to Bethlehem and Christiansbrunn turned up no eligible candidate.

The Diary of the Lititz Single Brothers' Choir is at the Moravian Archives, Bethlehem (Lit SB 1-3). The entries should require no annotation (except the few glosses in brackets) beyond what this short introduction has offered. The diary entries below have been translated by Edward Quinter, who has worked extensively with *Kurrentschrift* (the German script that eighteenth-century Moravians employed) and taught Pennsylvania German at Kutztown University.

Excerpts from the Lititz Single Brothers' Diary

Tue 15 October 1793. Waking up this morning we learned to our disappointment that Single Brother Conrad Bremer and Christoph Koenig left here last night in secret without informing anyone of their plan. Lately, they both had been exhibiting worrisome tendencies, especially Br. Bremer. He has now left with Magdalena Cassler from here and their whereabouts are unknown. Bremer has spent much time as of late at the Casslers, establishing an acquaintance with their daughter. We have spoken earnestly with him about this, and also with her parents, as recently as last week. It was made clear to him that if he didn't give up this relationship and behavior, he would receive the *consilium abeundi* [order to leave the community]. But now since he has gone too far in this affair to give it up, and hasn't turned to the doctor to be healed with grace from the deeply-rooted damages he has undertaken, he has apparently decided it was more expedient to simply leave than to be sent away. This will likely also be damaging to poor Koenig.

Oh, have mercy on them, Jesus, dear Jesus! Search for them, these lost and confused sheep, as their good shepherd, until they are found!

At 11 o'clock Brothers Hübner and Strohle had a discussion with Andreas Albrecht. He had recently begun a relationship with Ludwig Gutjahr's daughter. Albrecht was seen with her on several occasions of late. He was implored in the strongest terms to give up this connection. This matter certainly cannot be considered of some minor significance due to the events that have already taken place earlier today, this flirtation with sin. He promised to do the right thing.

This evening we heard from Charles Chitty, who was in Lancaster, about the runaways. Bremer has married Magdalena Cassler and Koenig married a widow from the area by the name of Müller.

Wed 16 October 1793 The *Aeltesten* [Elders' Conference] held an emergency meeting in order to decide the fate of the Casslers. These parents bear much responsibility for what happened with their daughter and Bremer. In addition, over the past 20 years they have been consistently disobedient and have disregarded any and all reminders and warnings from the *Arbeiter* [worker, the Moravian term for pastor]. It was unanimously decided to exclude them from the congregation until such time when they can proclaim heartfelt regret and confess in a sincere manner. The situation was presented this evening before all the adult members at the *Versammlung* [service]. This was a deeply emotional moment. It was also decided that neither Bremer nor Koenig nor Cassler's daughter would be permitted for whatever reason to visit their *Chor* houses. And if Casslers allow Bremer or their daughter to visit at their house, they could also expect to receive the *consilium abeundi*.

Fri 18 October 1793 Jacob Busch left with his brother from York to visit his friends and relatives in Bethlehem and Nazareth. Brothers Eggert and Strohle gave him letters to deliver for Christiansbrunn and Bethlehem. In those communications was the request for a possible replacement for Koenig's position within the community. Br. Strohle spoke for the first time today to the Single Brothers and the boys regarding Holy Communion. Many of them were enthusiastic about this, some even more than expected, but then there were some who unfortunately had little connection to God and love for the Savior. Brothers John Philips, Andreas Albrecht, Jacob Busch and Joh. Holder did not wish to participate this time. The first two would have been recommended not to join in due to their recent objectionable conduct, had they not been conscientious enough on their own to exclude themselves.

Fri 25 October 1793 Br. Busch came back from his visit to Nazareth and Bethlehem. He brought along some letters. We learned to our dismay that no one was located in Christiansbrunn nor Bethlehem who could come and assume Koenig's position here as night watchman, medical attendant, and so on.

Stille Nacht

The final notes of the prelude fade into silence. The lights, already dim, are darkened. The whole sanctuary is suspended for a moment in quiet anticipation. Then from the choir loft come the soft organ notes of introduction, and a solo voice sings out the familiar words, “Stille nacht! Heilige nacht! Alles schläft, einsam wacht/Nur das heilige Elternpaar, Das im Stalle zu Bethlehem war/Bei dem himmlischen Kind! Bei dem himmlischen Kind!” The Christmas Vigil service at Lititz Moravian has once again begun, as it has for nearly one hundred years, with the beloved Austrian carol evoking the stillness and holiness of the night of Christ’s birth.

Except that, as someone is sure to note every year, the words sung by the Lititz choir are not entirely familiar to those who know the carol in its original German. And the question is asked: Where did Lititz get the verses that open the Vigil services? Thanks to the many resources that now exist on line, this question can finally be answered with some clarity.

Joseph Mohr wrote “Stille Nacht” as a poem in 1816 while he was living in Mariapfarr, Lungau region of Austria. Two years later Mohr, by then assistant priest at St. Nicholas parish, Oberndorf, asked the parish organist Franz Xaver Gruber “to write a fitting melody for 2 solo voices together with choir and for accompaniment by guitar.” The first performance occurred on Christmas Eve of that year, with Mohr singing tenor and Gruber singing bass.⁽¹⁾

The poem consists of six verses, each of which begins with the words “Stille nacht! Heilige nacht!” Each verse contains six lines, with the sixth being a repetition of the fifth. By contrast, only the first of the three-verse version sung in Lititz begins with the “Stille nacht” text. All three verses do maintain the pattern of repeating line five as line six. In comparing the Vigil version with the original, we find that for verse one, lines one and two are alike while the remaining lines share a few words in common. Verse two of the Vigil version is, except for the first line, substantially the same as verse six of the original. The third verse in the Vigil ode has no equivalent in the original.⁽²⁾

When I first researched the history of the Lititz Christmas Vigil almost ten years ago, sourcing our version of “Stille Nacht!” proved to be impossible. Thanks to the numerous resources that have been scanned and uploaded to the internet in the intervening years, it is now possible to show that the verses we sing date back at least to mid-nineteenth century Germany. The earliest reference I have so far discovered is *Kinderbuch: für Kinder bis zum achten Jahre* [Children’s Book: For Children up to Age Eight], published in Tübingen in 1853. This hymnbook contains only two verses, but those texts correspond exactly to the first two verses as we know them. A decade later *Zions-lieder Zum Schul- und häuslichen Gebrauche* [Zions Songs for School and Home Use], printed in Munich, includes all three verses.

The Sunday School movement, which had begun in Britain in the 1780s as an effort to teach reading and writing to working children on Sunday, their only free day of the week, had by the middle of the nineteenth century become very popular in the U.S., where it was primarily focused on religious instruction. Sunday School materials, including specifically youth-oriented hymnals, were prepared and used widely both in denominational institutions and in independent Sunday School chapels. For German-speaking Protestants in the U.S., the three-verse version of “Stille Nacht” appears to have become the preferred text for inclusion in Sunday School hymnals.

The earliest found indexed in Hymnary.org was published in 1866 by the Amerikanischen Traktat-Gesellschaft [American Tract Society] for the Evangelical Church (now by multiple mergers part of the United Church of Christ). Both the German Reformed and the German Lutheran churches included it in their Sunday School hymnals of 1876, and the German Baptists picked it up for their 1898 songbook *Frohe Lieder: eine Sammlung von Liedern für Sonntagschulen und Jugendvereine* [Joyful Songs: A Collection of Songs for Sunday Schools and Youth Clubs]. In 1901 the General Conference Mennonites published *Kleiner Liederschatz für die Schule und den Familienkreis* [Little Treasury of Songs for School and Family]. During the intervening years several other youth hymnals also included what had obviously become the standard version of “Stille Nacht!” in German-language Sunday Schools of the day.

The most recent in this series is *Heils-Lieder, eine Sammlung Geistlicher Lieder für Sonntagschulen, Jugendvereine* [Salvation Songs, a Collection of Spiritual Songs for Sunday Schools, Youth Clubs]⁽³⁾, brought out by The

“Stille Nacht! Heil’ge Nacht!
from the 1866 American Tract Society hymnal
~ scanned image from hymnary.org

Lorenz Publishing Company of New York in 1904. If I had to hazard a guess, it would be that this hymnal was the most likely source for the Lititz Vigil text. While the other hymnals in the index were all denominational publications, Lorenz was and continues to be a major source of printed music for the choirs and congregations of many different Christian denominations and thus would be more readily available to local Moravians. “Stille Nacht!” is not included in the 1896 Vigil ode but makes its first appearance in the undated ode which is calculated to have first been used during the second decade of the 20th century. Thus for a century or more what started as a children’s version of “Stille Nacht” has called worshippers at Lititz Moravian to celebrate the birth of the Christ child.

~ Marian L. Shatto

⁽¹⁾http://www.stillenacht.at/en/origin_song.asp

⁽²⁾http://www.stillenacht.at/en/text_and_music.asp

⁽³⁾My thanks to Anne and Tom Wentzel for translations of the titles.

Continued from back page:

Gold might have helped some miners, but the revelation drove Sutter into poverty, as thousands of people swarmed over his land, stole his livestock, tools and supplies, and ruined his ranch.

So in 1871, Sutter and his wife moved to Lititz with their three grandchildren, whom they promptly enrolled in the fine schools of Lititz. He also wanted to be near Washington, DC, as he fought with Congress for some type of compensation for his ruined lands and for the considerable expense that he had incurred while quartering U.S. troops at his fort. At his death a special exception was made for Sutter to be buried in God’s Acre, since he was not a Moravian. Eventually, he was honored by the U.S. government with a stone memorial. The marble supplied by the government for Sutter’s memorial came in seven-foot slabs. Sutter’s granddaughter adamantly protested that Sutter would not have wanted his memorial to interfere with the lovely, peaceful resting place of God’s Acre, as all the other stones were lying flat. A compromise was reached so that six feet of the stone was buried below ground, leaving only a one-foot-high marble perimeter surrounding his grave. The actor portraying Sutter (Tim Hartel) said he was pleased by his granddaughter’s decision, since his California land had been shamefully overrun by trespassers. Some things do live on. “They named a hotel after me,” he said. “It’s still standing in the center of town at the corner of Main and Broad Streets.”

The guides (Cory Van Brookhoven, Bob Turgyan, and Ann Watson) related the history of The Brothers’ House, built in the late 1750s. During the Revolutionary War the building was commandeered as a makeshift hospital for Colonial soldiers, by order of Gen. George Washington. Wounded soldiers from the Battle of Brandywine soon filled the house, which became overcrowded and prone to unsanitary conditions, leading to camp fever which caused many a soldier’s demise. Between December 1777 and August 1778 more than 100 soldiers died in the temporary military hospital. In the present day, groundskeepers, guards, and others have reported seeing and hearing strange occurrences and sounds coming from the Brothers’ House. According to former sextons at the church, “There are a lot of tales having to do with the Brothers’ House.” The third floor is said to be especially haunted. Electric candles put in the windows of the third floor during the Advent Season get moved or flicker or have even been unplugged by unseen hands.



Surprise!

Lastly, the group was escorted to a most unusual place to finish the tour, a place where a lot of “business” is finished, the privy behind the Moravian Mission Gift Shop. The guides explained to the group that outhouses were a common sight in early Lititz and that sometimes families would actually share one with the neighbors. When the guide opened the door to show the inside, they were surprised to see Mammy Schroeter (portrayed by Janet Smedley) using the facility. She let out a scream, then talked to the group about how the neighborhood children had a nickname for her: “Two-story Mammy.” She was so big that she had to have the town carpenter cut the seat a little bigger to accommodate her larger size.

Scripts and stories for the “departed souls” were researched and written by Bill Oehme, Cory Van Brookhoven, Donna Olah, and Tom Wentzel. A shorter version of this report was prepared by Marylouise Sholly and appeared in the November 8, 2017, issue of the Lititz Record Express. Photos are by Donna Olah and Cory Van Brookhoven. The Lititz Moravian Archives Committee and the Lititz Historical Foundation thank all who attended for their support of Lititz History.

~ William J. Oehme

2017 Departed Spirits and Souls Tour

The Moravian church bell tolled four times, then six more. It was 6:00 PM and time for another group to begin the 2017 Departed Spirits and Souls Tour. Following lantern-carrying guides, the group walked from the Archives Building to the corner of Church Square and East Main Street. From there, looking through a candle-lit window of the Johannes Mueller House, they could see the image of Johannes (portrayed by Paul Miller) rocking in a chair. More than 200 years ago, Mueller had been the town's clothing dyer. He enjoyed his beautiful home so much that, apparently, he never left. A few years back, a Lititz woman was out walking her dog late one evening and saw a man in the first floor window, rocking in a chair. She waved to the gentleman and he waved back. The next day, the woman told a Historical Foundation member how impressed she was that their security guard was on duty so late. But the foundation didn't have a guard on duty and the house was empty, she was told. Mueller sightings continue to occur from time to time.



Donna Olah portrays
Mary Dixon

With the dimly-lit Mary Dixon Memorial Chapel looming in the background, the silent girl who wanders through Linden Hall told her story. Born in 1863, Mary Dixon (portrayed by Donna Olah) had a happy childhood in Bethlehem, Pa., until her mother died when she was only 13. Sent by her father to Linden Hall in Lititz, Mary enjoyed her time at the school, where she majored in music. She returned home when she was 19. However, she soon fell ill with tuberculosis and died. Her grief-stricken father, a wealthy man, spent \$25,000 to build a chapel in her memory at Linden Hall. Many girls who have attended the school over the past 100 years report seeing Mary walking through its halls.

Next the group visited the *Leichenkapellchen* or Corpse House, built of stone in 1786 and the only Moravian corpse house remaining in the nation. While Tom Wentzel, Moravian Archivist, was explaining the features of this architectural gem, the grave digger approached, pushing a wheelbarrow containing the tools of his trade. He told a story about "Sarah" (portrayed by Kim Stoner), an old woman who observed Joe Sturgis "pre-digging" her grave in God's Acre. By keeping in contact with the town doctor, Joe would learn in advance who was on the critical list, a system not very popular with the local folks. So Joe, (portrayed by Bill Oehme) the gravedigger, began digging Sarah's grave in advance. Sarah confronted Joe about it, gave him a royal scolding, and chased him into the corpse house. It made Sarah so angry that he didn't have the decency to wait

until she actually died that she experienced a resurgence of good health and lived for another two years.

Then Joe invited the group inside the corpse house, where he related the saga of Tom Utley, a young shoemaker who died of tuberculosis in 1770. As soil was being shoveled on his coffin, a "knocking" was heard. The gravedigger ran to the church elders, and Utley's coffin was brought back to the surface to check on his condition. Upon the opening of the coffin, he was found to be indeed very dead. The craftsman who built the coffin rationalized that it was the ground pressure against the 'green' wood of the coffin that caused the creaking when dirt was thrown on it. Still, the gravedigger devised a plan to tie a string around one of Tom's fingers, and connect the string to a small bell located above the grave – just in case. The expression "Saved by the Bell" was believed by some to be connected to this narrative.

Next the group ascended the short hill to God's Acre, when they saw a dark, shadowy figure holding a lantern emerge from behind the arch. It was the departed spirit of Margaret Oehme (portrayed by Elaine Stolp). In her 18th year she moved from Maryland to Lititz and served as a cook in the single sister's house until she was 21. She married Christian Oehme and was the mother of eleven children, and grandmother to twenty-eight. In the last decade of her life, she made herself useful by laying out the dead and in this time helped to care for and prepare 104 corpses for burial.

Heading west, the group paid a visit to the grave of General John Sutter. The spirit of the stately gentleman, dapperly decked out in a dark overcoat and a top hat, came out of the darkness to tell his story. Sutter is considered to be the founder of Sacramento, California. In 1848, one of his workers observed a bright yellow object in the water, which turned out to be gold. Word of the find spread like wildfire and before long, gold-mad crowds swept across the country.



Ghosts and Guides gather
on the Museum steps

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