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The Early Moravian Settlement in Bartholomew County, Indiana

Vernon W. Couillard

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THE EARLY MORAVIAN SETTLEMENT IN BARTHOLOMEW COUNTY, INDIANA

By

Vernon Williams Gouillard
THE EARLY MORAVIAN SETTLEMENT IN BARTHOLOMEW COUNTY, INDIANA

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Vernon Williams Couillard

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts

College of Liberal Arts and Sciences

Division of Graduate Instruction
Butler University
1939
This thesis represents an effort to record, consecutively, a hitherto unpublished narrative of the part which the Moravian immigrants from North Carolina had, in the early settlement of Bartholomew County, Indiana. A previous study of some of the manuscript materials of this thesis, created in the writer, an admiration for the early leader of these Moravians, Martin Hauser. Consequently the work of narrating the happenings and affairs of the community in which he held such a central place, was not a boresome one. The wealth of manuscripts from Hauser's own hand, as well as from other writers, made easier the obtaining of the information.

Gratitude is expressed to the Rev. Ernest Drebert, present pastor of the Moravian Congregation, Hope, Indiana, for freely supplying me with all of the Hauser manuscripts, together with all of the old records of the Hope Moravian congregation. Likewise thanks are due to Mr. V.C. Davis, Land Clerk in the State Auditor's Office at the State House, Indianapolis, to Mrs. U. R. Fishel of Hope, Ind., and to Judge Charles F. Remy of Indianapolis.

If any degree of interest in the story of these Moravians shall be aroused, and if students of this period of early Indiana
history shall be assisted in becoming acquainted with facts not consecutively related previously, the writer shall feel repaid for his efforts.

Vernon Williams Couillard
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The Moravians.

Several religious groups and denominations had a part in the early settlement of the state of Indiana. The Roman Catholics were the earliest to send clergy among the settlers; in fact, some of the Roman Catholic clergy were among the earliest explorers and settlers. Other groups called in their religious teachers when a number of their own denomination had settled and felt the need of religious ministrations. Certain sects established communities of their own, such as the Shaker community in Knox County. All of these various denominational emphases, whether in their churches only, or in the sectarian communities, had an influence on the institutions, economic status and thought life of the state.

It seems necessary, if we are to describe the part which the Moravians had in the early settlement of Bartholomew County, Indiana, to know something of this religious group itself. What is its origin? What is the significance of its name? From where did it come, and through which lands did it extend its influence, congregations and message? How and when did it come to America? How did it come to play a part in the establishing of a county in south central Indiana?
The story of the Moravians really begins with John Hus, of Bohemia, the reformer before the reformation. Of course there was then no Moravian Church, nor any religious sect called Moravians. Hus protested against the abuses he found in the Roman Catholic Church, of which he was a monk, fearlessly and with great eloquence, and called on all about him to turn to righteousness and live godly lives based on the doctrines found in the Holy Scriptures. He was then rector of the University of Prague and preacher at Bethlehem Chapel. His message of truth carried conviction to many lives, but earned for him also the fierce wrath of the Roman Catholic hierarchy, and a martyr's death at the stake, at Constance, Switzerland, July 6, 1415.

Though the voice of Hus was silenced, the message which he had delivered was not. Civil and religious strife followed. A Hussite League was formed by his followers; a Catholic League by his enemies. The Hussite Wars followed. Finally a group of earnest men, perceiving that war accomplished little for religion, united to try to put the teachings of Hus into their lives.

Near Lititz, an estate constituting a part of the Barony of Senftenberg, which stretches to the Silesian frontier, resolutions were drawn up containing principles for regulation of the doctrine and practice of these Christian brethren. They agreed to keep them unknown unless it became imperatively necessary to reveal them. Of these principles we know nothing except that they were based on the Bible and the Articles of Prague. "The name which they first assumed was 'Brethren of the Law of Christ' -- Fratres Legis Christi; in as much, however, as this name gave rise to the idea that they were a new order of monks, they changed it simply into 'Brethren'. When the organization of their church had been completed, they assumed the additional title of Jednota Bratstva, or Unitas Fratrum, that is 'The Unity of the Brethren', which has remained the official and significant appellation of the Church to the present day."

The organization of the Unitas Fratrum took place in 1457. The date usually celebrated is March first, although there is no authority for celebrating that particular date. "This was

2. Ibid, Pp.107,108. For the statement concerning the name, he cites from Jo.Amos Comenii Historia Fratrum Bohemorum. Halae. 1702. The first edition of this work appeared at Amsterdam in 1660, the edition of 1702 was edited by Buddens. The citation is Sec.51, p.15.
3. Ibid, p. 109. This gives the year with certainty, but says there is no authority for the date of the month. Cf. Hutton, op.cit. p.47, footnote:"For many years there has been a tradition that the Moravian Church was founded on March 1st,1457; but this date is only a pious imagination. We are not even quite sure of the year, not to speak of the day of the month. ... the truth is that on this point precise evidence has not yet been discovered."
sixty years before Luther began his reformation, and more than a century before the Anglican Church, from which the Protestant Episcopalians are descended, was fully established. The Moravian is, therefore, by far the oldest Protestant Episcopal Church that exists."

"Four principles were adopted by its members as the basis of their union: namely, first, the Bible is the only source of Christian doctrine; second, public worship is to be administered in accordance with the teaching of the Scriptures, and on the model of the Apostolic Church; third, the Lord's Supper is to be received in faith, to be doctrinally defined in the language of the Bible, and every human explanation of that language is to be avoided; and fourth, godly Christian life is essential as an evidence of saving faith, and is of greater importance than the dogmatic formulation of creed in all details and so as to be binding upon the consciences of all."

The area in which the Unitas Fratrum was organized became a rallying point for awakened persons throughout Moravia and Bohemia. A rapid growth of the church was experienced. But likewise there was persecution, one persecution following another through the years. Both the Roman Catholic and the National Church persecuted the Brethren. However the blood of the

martyrs was again the seed of the church. By the time that Martin Luther had begun his reformation in 1517, despite the merciless assaults made against it, the Unitas Fratrum had grown to be a Church of Reformers before the Reformation, numbering at least two hundred thousand members, counting over four hundred parishes, using a hymn book and catechism of its own, proclaiming its doctrines in a confession of faith, employing two printing presses, and scattering Bohemian Bibles broadcast through the land. In the course of time a friendly correspondence was opened up with the reformers of both Germany and Switzerland.

"The fourth persecution, which broke out in 1547, led to the spread of the Brethren's Church to Poland, where it grew so rapidly that in 1557, its Polish parishes were constituted a distinct ecclesiastical province." The Unitas Fratrum was now divided into three such Provinces, namely, the Bohemian, the Moravian, and the Polish, and increased more than ever, founding colleges and theological seminaries, translating the Bible from the original into Bohemian, and sending forth many other important works. Religious liberty having been proclaimed in Bohemia and Moravia in 1609, it became one of the legally

1. Schweinitz, Schultz, and Hamilton, op.cit. p.6. Cf.: Schweinitz, op.cit. pp.225-227; also on the correspondence with the reformers, pp. 229-251; 253-255. See also: Fisher, op.cit. pp. 294,297; Mumford, op.cit. pp. 83,84,85, especially on p.84 "In his lectures, Luther said: 'Since the time of the Apostles no church has so nearly represented the Apostolic Churches as the Bohemian Brethren.'"

acknowledged churches of these lands, and exercised a very pow­
erful influence in national affairs.

But this position of influence was not for very long to be
held by the Brethren. The war broke out between the Catholics
and Protestants -- the "Thirty Years War" of history -- and mem­
ers of the Unity took up arms in defense of the Faith. Early in
the War the Protestants were defeated at the battle of the White
Mountain, in 1620, and soon thereafter the Emperor Ferdinand II
inaugurated the so-called Counter-reformation with the avowed
purpose of crushing evangelical religion in Bohemia and Moravia.
This purpose was achieved in 1627. Only a hidden seed of the
Church of the Brethren remained in these lands; the majority of
its members, as well as other protestants, were driven into exi­
2 le. "Thirty-six thousand families are said to have emigrated
from Bohemia and Moravia, Protestant churches were seized, the
clergy banished, all religious books that could be found were
burned, and the Jesuits ruled over a land in which education
and freedom had been crushed to earth."

Amongst the many exiles was the renowned Bishop John Amos
Comenius. He had prophetic vision concerning his beloved church

and Pfohl, op.cit. p.6
Pp.6,7; Schweinitz, op.cit. Pp.499-556.
Pp.7,8; Jakubec, Jan, Johannes Amos Comenius, Pp.24,25; Schwein­
itz, op.cit. p.555. Comenius has been called the first modern
educator. In The Orbis Pictus, by John Amos Comenius, 1687,
and believed that the Faith and Discipline of the Brethren were as seed hidden in the earth and destined to bud once more; he believed that fathers would secretly transmit to sons a love of the Unity for which they had suffered. He believed that the Unitas Fratrum would be renewed and would have need of its Episcopate, and he provided for the consecration of new bishops who should preserve the Episcopate of the Ancient Unity against that day.

Eventually the hidden seed began to germinate. In Bohemia and Moravia there were many men, outwardly Catholic, who secretly held to the doctrines and ideals of the Brethren as they had

Syracuse, N.Y. on the title page is the following quotation from the Encyclopaedia Britannica, 9th edition, VI, 182: "This work is, indeed, the first children's picture." Also note in the same publication, page ii: "I may not be generally known that Comenius was once solicited to become President of Harvard College. The following is a quotation from Vol II, p. 14, of Cotton Mather's Magnalia: "That brave old man, Johannes Amos Comenius, (sic) the fame of whose worth has been trumpeted as far as more than three languages (whereof everyone is indebted unto his Janua) could carry it, was indeed agreed withal, by one Mr. Winthrop in his travels through the low countries, to come over to New England, and illuminate their College (sic) and country, in the quality of a President, which was now become vacant. But the solicitations of the Swedish Ambassador diverting him another way, that incomparable Moravian became not an American." This was on the resignation of President Dunster, in 1654 -- Note of Prof. Payne, Compayre's History of Education, Boston, 1886, p. 125. Cf.: Schweinitz, op.cit. p. 580 it speaks of the same offer. Mention of it is also made in Bat tershell, C.S., and Svarc, Ven. The Moravians and the Czech Contribution to the Early History of Ohio, p.15. Graves, Frank Pierrepont, A Student's History of Education, writes as follows about Comenius: "He may in the fullest sense be considered the greatest educational theorist and practical reformer of the seventeenth century." See also p.175: "And the principles of Comenius were at the time unconsciously taken up by others and indirectly became the basis of modern education. His spirit appeared not only in the ideas of subsequent theorists--Francke, Rousseau, Beadow, Pestalozzi, Herbert, Froebel--but even in the actual curricula and methods of educational institutions."
been handed down by sorely oppressed but inwardly loyal members of the Ancient Unitas Fratrum.

Among these was one George Jaeschke, an aged patriarch of Moravia, descended from the Brethren. In 1707 he spoke on his death-bed with great assurance of the speedy renewal of the Brethren's Church, and fifteen years later two of his grandsons, Augustine and Jacob Neisser, with their families, followed Christian David, "the servant of the Lord", who had been instrumental in promoting a revival of religion in certain Moravian villages, to Saxony, where on the 17th of June, 1722, they began to build the town of Herrnhut, on the estate of Count Zinzendorf, who had offered them an asylum.

"Shortly before meeting Christian David, the young Count Zinzendorf (Nicholas Lewis, Count Zinzendorf) attained his majority, and bought the estate of Berthelsdorf in Saxony, about forty-five miles east of Dresden. . . . In September of the same year the young Count married Erdmuth Dorothea, Countess Reuss, and built for her the manor house of Berthelsdorf, about one mile from Herrnhut."

Herrnhut soon became the rallying place for the descendants of the Brethren, and the village grew steadily. Some who came with motives similar to the Neissers faced great risks at the hands of a government that denied them religious liberty and also denied them the right to emigrate. Some were captured;

1.Fries and Pfohl, op.cit. p.11
others went through dramatic experiences of imprisonment, torture and escape. "When residents on estates near that of Zinzendorf questioned: 'Who are these people?' the reply was 'the Moravians', and that name continued to be applied to their organization even after it contained many persons native in other kingdoms and provinces."

In the new settlement they introduced their ancient discipline handed down by Comenius, and to them, in 1735 their venerable episcopate was transmitted from its surviving representatives, Daniel Ernst Jablonski and Christian Sitkovius. But Zinzendorf became the real leader and a leading bishop of the resuscitated church. Others than Brethren found Herrnhut a refuge and soon the community, with conflicting influences at work, was split into factions. With great skill and tact the Count managed to get them to draw up a set of Rules and Regulations to which they could all agree. This "Brotherly Agreement" was signed by the men and women of Herrnhut on May 12, 1727. Soon after, on August 13 of the same year, at a celebration of the Lord's Supper, so great a blessing was received,

Ibid. p.12. Cf.: Schweinitz, Schultze and Hamilton, op.cit. p.3 who offer this explanation: "The members of this old Protestant Episcopal Church are known as Moravians, because Moravia, a part of the present Czecho-Slovakian Republic, during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries constituted one of the chief seats of their Church, and because it was renewed, in the eighteenth, by refugees from that country who fled to Saxony for the sake of religious liberty." Pfohl, J. Kenneth, The Moravian Church, Pp. 2,3. (pamphlet) has still another theory: "The name 'Moravian' was not the original name of the Church. Her founders chose to be known by the name 'The Unity of the Brethren' or, in Latin,
and the harmony and accord of the congregation was so great —
in marked contrast to the previous dissension — that the date
is often called the "Birthday of the Renewed Church."

After this renewal the Unitas Fratrum developed along many
lines. It was however of a different sort from that of former
times. The Count, now the leading spirit of the church, strove
to build it up in such a way as not to interfere with the rights
and privileges of the State Church, in the communion of which
he had been born and to which he was sincerely attached. In
carrying out this principle he did not allow the renewed Unitas
Fratrum to expand as other Churches expand, but established on
the Continent of Europe, in Great Britain, and in America, ex-
clusively Moravian settlements, from which the follies and tem-
tations of the world were shut out, and in which was fostered

'Unitas Fratrum', a name which far more truly represents
the spirit of the founders and better interprets her history. But
in 1749, when the British Parliament, in view of the activity
of the Church in her possessions, examined into her origin and
history and recognized her as an 'Ancient Episcopal Church',
the official act referred to her members as 'Moravians', in rec-
ognition of the fact that Moravia had been one of the ancient
seats of the Church." Undoubtedly all of these explanations
are true; the general acceptance of the name derived from not
a single situation or event but from widespread use of the des-
ignation in the ways suggested by these explanations.

192; Hamilton, A History of the Church Known as the Moravian
or The Unitas Fratrum, or The Unity of the Brethren, during
the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Pp.38, 39; The Memorial
Days of the Renewed Church of the Brethren, translated from the
German, London, 1895, Pp.79-110.
the highest form of spiritual life. At the same time the members of the church undertook such extensive missions in heathen lands that, by common consent, the Moravians became recognized as the standard bearers in this work. They established many schools for young people not of their communion, and began the so-called Diaspora or Inner Mission among nominal members of the State Churches of Europe. This Mission has in view their conversion and edification without drawing them away from their own communion.

The success of Herrnhut aroused jealousy and antagonism. Zinzendorf's idea was that the Unitas Fratrum should be limited to those who were desirous of active service in the cause of Christ. The opposition of enemies seeking to crush the organization forced it to take definite shape as an independent Church. Also just as opposition in the Ancient Unity had driven its adherents to Poland and Germany where its churches were established, opposition now led to the spread to other lands. Missions were begun among the slaves of the West Indies in 1732, and among the Eskimos of Greenland in 1733. In 1735 a company went from Herrnhut to Georgia, with the two-fold purpose of establishing a settlement and of preaching to the Indians. However war broke out between that Province and the Spanish in Florida, and the Brethren sacrificed everything they had earned by five years of ardu-
ous toil rather than be drawn into military service. The estab-
lishment of this mission in what later became the United
States made the Brethren acquainted with the Wesleys, led to
the establishment of the church in England and marked the be-
inning of work in what later was to become the United States.

The Brethren who left Georgia in 1740 went to Pennsylvania
and were thereafter soon joined by large additional groups from
Europe. They established centers at Bethlehem, Nazareth and
Lititz in Pennsylvania, and carried on mission work among the
Indians, together with extensive evangelistic work among white
settlers.

In 1752 plans were made for beginning a settlement in North
Carolina. In August of that year a party led by Bishop August
Gottlieb Spangenberg set out to explore the area and choose a
location for a settlement. In January, 1753 they chose a tract
of 98,985 acres in the three forks of the Yadkin River. Because
the hills and streams of the place reminded Spangenberg of the
"Wachau", an estate in southern Austria formerly belonging to

Winchester, C.T. The Life of John Wesley.
Also on the Indian missions see: Schweinitz, Edmund de, The Life
and Times of David Zeisberger; Stocker, Harry Emilus, A History
of the Moravian Mission Among the Indians on the White River in
Indiana; A True History of the Massacre, a pamphlet compiled by
the Rev. S.S. Wolle.
the Zinzendorf family, the tract was given that name. It was bought for the Unitas Fratrum. Possibly because "Wachau" was difficult for any but Germans to pronounce, perhaps because of a scholarly liking for a spelling which harmonized with the English language, Wachovia was the form used from the beginning in all documents written in English.

A settlement was begun in November 1753, and as they had decided to defer the locating of a central site to some more convenient season they named their settlement Bethabara ("House of Passage"). After twelve years at Bethabara, and having built a village there and at Bethania, the Brethren chose a site for the proposed town in the middle of the tract on February 14, 1765; and the town was named Salem almost a year later, upon the arrival of a company from Europe just after the beginning of the actual construction of the town.

Bethlehem in Pennsylvania and Salem in North Carolina became prominent centers for the work of the Brethren in America and eventually the actual headquarters for the church, north and south, respectively. From the latter came the immigrants to Bartholomew County whose story is the occasion for this writing.

Chapter II

Origin of Moravian Immigration to Indiana

A variety of motives actuated the Moravian settlers who made the arduous journey, with primitive means of transportation, from Salem, North Carolina, to the Moravian settlement in Bartholomew County, in Indiana. Probably the most prominent were three, the economic, -- to leave the worn-out fields of North Carolina for the fertile and well-watered fields of the west; the religious, -- to join with some of their fellow denominationalists already settled in the west, minister to their spiritual needs and conserve them for the church which they loved; and the moral, -- to settle in a state where slavery was not tolerated. An early publication indicates clearly the two dominant aims of these immigrants:

Previous to 1830 the 'western fever' had spread among many of the settlers on the Wachovia tract. Hearing of the rich soil of the far west and looking upon their own poor, worn-out fields and the innumerable gullies washed out by the rains, gradually over-spreading the arable land, many desired to better their temporal condition, and forgetting for a while the higher wants of the soul, sold their plantations and bent their steps to the untrodden wilderness of the far west. Thus, especially the congregations of Hope and Friedland were considerably reduced in numbers. Among the wanderers was Br. Martin Hauser, a descendant of the first settlers of Bethania, hence often called Hausertown. After five weeks toilsome journey he reached Bartholomew County, in Indiana in 1829, and found there some of his former neighbors, who, settling near each other, naturally desired to hear the preaching of the Gospel again, now more valuable to them than formerly when within the sound of a church bell. After some correspondence with the Provincial Helpers Conference at Salem, Br. Hauser was appointed to hold meetings for the settlers. 1

We shall learn, both from Hauser's own writings as well as from records of the North Carolina Moravian congregations, more about the place of origin of these immigrants as well as the place of destination and about the motives which actuated their migration. We shall also discover just who some of them were.

After commenting on his own marriage, Hauser writes about the poverty of his North Carolina land: "We set out for making an honest living, but we soon became convinced that we had a hard road to travel. The old farm & worn out fields were not very encouraging, a prospect for a numerous family was better. Principle and poverty forbid the benefit of slave labour. We sighed and groaned to see the day when we were to leave this Egypt." This of course, sets forth the moral motive of principles against slavery which prevented the settling in another place. In another instance he reveals this principle when commenting on a trip in 1828 he writes: "In the summer of 1828 I made a trip to the West in order to seek a new home. Had west Tennessee (sic) not been a slave state, it would have been my first choice, . . . ."

Another instance of the economic urge that impelled the North Carolina Moravians to migrate is revealed in Hauser's report of a visit which he made to the area about the Tuscarawas River, in Ohio, and of his feelings thereafter: "The fertile soil of the Tuscarawas bottom and other sections of the country through which I..."
had passed made me feel more & more dissatisfied (sic) to remain on my poor farm." Later he writes: "I longed for the West, the new country where I 'could eat bread without scarceness'. . . .

The outworking of the religious motive is also made evident from statements in Hauser's recordings. On his first visit to Indiana in 1820 he notes the presence of former Moravians: "We arrived in Washington County, where we made our first halt in a settlement of immigrants from North Carolina some of whom had formerly & formally been members of the Moravian Church." On the same trip after having reached the Haw Patch he states: "Here we found a family of Moravians formerly from N.Carolina, in quite destitute circumstances yet in good spirits, & possessing and enjoying 'squatter sovereignty'. The father was absent on a trip to mill in Washington County some 60 miles(away). This dear family afterwards became a worthy acquisition to the Congregation at Hope. (Such scattered Moravians are to be found all over the west)."

The opportunity to place before the authorities of the Moravian Church at Bethlehem, Pa., Hauser's hopes for gathering together the Moravians settling in Bartholomew County, Indiana, into a Moravian Church, of ministering spiritually unto them, settling there himself and guiding others to the same place, came. His

1.Diary and Reminiscences of Martin Hauser, p.5
2.Ibid. p.6
3.Hauser: A History of our Moravian Churches in the States of Indiana and Illinois, p.5 (original number 2)
4.Ibid. p. 5 (original number 2)
friend Lewis David de Schweinitz not only presented his cause to the governing board of the church but also gave to Hauser detailed instructions, which were written out, indicating how to proceed in forming a congregation. The way was opening for the supplying of the religious needs of the Moravian emigrants from North Carolina, and also for conserving them for the church of their youth and of their training.

And who were these settlers and how do we know that they were North Carolina Moravians and that they settled in Bartholomew County, Indiana? From Notes in the Church Registers and Catalogs at Salem, N.C. regarding members who "moved to Indiana" we have the following:

Anna Elisabeth, maiden name Hauser, wife of Frederic William Eldridge. Married Jan.2, 1802 by John Hauser, Esq. She had six children. The Friedland Catalog of 1827 says that 'in October, 1828, she moved to Indiana with her three younger children, and Paulina, (who was married) and has deserted her husband. Children:

- Johanna Paulina b. Aug. 19, 1806
- William Henry, b. Sept. 2, 1808
- Levi Erington, b. Oct.26,1810
- Solomon, b. Jan.4,1813
- Emmanuel, b. Dec. 22, 1815
- Anna Charlotte b. July 10, 1818

Christian Ludwig Reid, b. April 16, 1785, Friedland, N. C.,m. Rahel Charles, May 25, 1809. They had six children:

- Elize, b. June 15, 1810
- Levin Charles, b. November 4, 1811
- Jacob, b. August 31, 1813
- Christian Ludwig, b. April 3, 1819
- Maria, b. June 2, 1816
- Elijah Jefferson, b. Jan. 25, 1821

'Oct. 17, 1830, they moved to Indiana,' Friedland Cat. 1827. (Apparently the entire family) A.L.F.

Scheider, Johann, b. Dec. 23, 1778, Friedberg, N.C. m.Dec. 20, 1803, Janna Kestner, b. Feb. 11, 1784, Friedland, N.C. They had eight children:

- Catharine, b. Sept. 12, 1804
Susanna, b. Aug. 24, 1806  
Justina, b. Nov. 3, 1807  
Cornelius, b. March 5, 1810  
Jeremias, b. Feb. 2, 1813  
Anna Maria, b. Jan. 6, 1818  
Elize, b. May 26, 1821  
Johann Gottlieb, b. Jan. 25, 1824

'Moved to Indiana'. -- Friedland Catalog of 1827.  
(Apparently the whole family) A.L.F.

David Schneider, born, m. Feb. 8, 1825, Mary Knoy, b. Oct. 18, 1807. Three children are recorded:  
Elisabeth, b. March 30, 1826  
Salomon, (sic), b. Dec. 10, 1827  
Henry Washington, b. Oct. 11, 1829

'They moved to Indiana in Oct. 1830.' Ed. Cat. 1827.  
(Apparently the entire family) A.L.F.

Eva Knoy, maiden name Crumm, born April 22, 1779.  
The Friedland Catalog of 1827 says she is a widow, and gives the names of ten children, of whom two had already died, and adds the note 'She moved to Indiana in October, 1830', but does not say whether the children went or not; except that the entry above shows her daughter, Mary.

The Friedland Catalog of 1827 gives the names, dates and children of various others, with the note 'moved away', but does not say where they went. The names of the heads of families are given.

In the material furnished by Miss Adelaide L. Fries is the following apparently in answer to a question asked her by some one in the Historical Society working on the Moravian materials:

Wachovia Records do not show who the John Leinbach was who moved to Hope, Ind. So far as the Leinbach line is concerned there are three who disappear from the Wachovia Records:  
John, b. Oct. 2, 1772; son of Abraham, who was a son of Johannes.  
Johann Heinrich, b. Sept. 30, 1781; son of Joseph by his first marriage; Joseph being the son of Johannes.  
Johann Adam, b. Jan. 20, 1788; son of Joseph by his second marriage.

It is interesting to notice that the land office records, at Indianapolis show a John Linebach (sic) purchasing the west 1/4 of the SE quarter of Section 20, 80 acres, December 3, 1832.
This is the area settled by the Moravian immigrants and is further described as Township 10 north, Range 7 east 2nd mer.

Miss Fries record continues:

The death record of Johann Valentine Boeckel, who died at Friedberg, N.C. Nov. 4, 1828, gives the names of his ten children, with various notes. Two are mentioned as having 'moved to Indiana':

Johann Friedrich Boeckel, b. Aug. 18, 1792
Elisabeth, b. Sept. 7, 1802; married Solomon Eber; had children.

The death record of Sarah (Douthit) Elrod, (wife of Christopher Elrod) who died at Hope, N.C. Nov. 12, 1821, gives the names of her nine children, and states that three were then 'in Indiana State'.

John, b. Dec. 22, 1783; married to Anne Miller
Jacob, b. Dec. 24, 1799; married to Milly Cooper
Thomas, b. June 23, 1792

The death record of Jacob Hauser, who died at Hope, N.C. Oct. 23, 1823 says that he was married five times; that he had six children by his first marriage, and thirteen children in all. The note is added 'His children of the first marriage have married . . . some have moved to Western Countries.'

The following items are taken from a Salem Congregation Catalog, dated about 1830-1836:

Johann Philip Blum, born Feb. 15, 1792, near Salem, married July 11, 1816, Salem, to Johanna Elisabeth Chitty, b. March 30, 1796 near Bethabara. '1834 to Indiana'.

William Henry Clayton, b. Oct. 24, 1798, Rowan County; m. Mary Chitty. 'To Indiana'.

Johann Philip Rominger, b. May 1784, Friedland, N.C. m. Dec. 22, 1807, Elisabeth Grete, b. Jan. 15, 1787, Friedberg, N.C. They had five children. '1831 to Indiana'.

Peter Rothrock, b. Aug. 15, 1798, Friedberg, N.C. m. April 10, 1823, Jacobina Reich, b. Mar. 27, 1798. They had two children. '1830 to Indiana'.

"Indianapolis, Mar. 2, 1838. The Tract Book for the Indianapolis (Brookville) District has been revised, corrected, and filled to January 1, 1836, (appears) on the Records on file in the Land Office, and made to correspond therewith. Joshua Soule, Jr." This is found in the Land Office of the State Auditor's office, Indianapolis.
Magdalena Hauser, maiden name Strub, b. Dec. 26, 1761
Bethania, N.C. widow of Abraham Hauser. (mother of Martin Hauser) 'Sept. 6, 1836, to Hope in Indiana'.

William Henry Chitty, b. Dec. 17, 1804 near Bethabara, N.C. 'To Indiana'.

Johann George Froake, b. Sept. 6, 1794, Christiansbrunn, Pa. 'Was for some years at the Indian Mission in Goshen on the Muskingum, and among the Cherokees. To Indiana'.

Charles Renatus Frohl, b. April 30, 1815, Bethania. '1836 to Hope in Indiana'.

Samuel Rominger, b. July 6, 1811, Friedland, N.C. 'To Indiana, 1831'. (Son of Joh. Phil. Rominger)

Edwin Theodore Hauser, b. Feb. 2, 1823, near Salem, N.C. '1829 to Indiana'. (Son of Martin Hauser)

Granville Theodore Rominger, b. Mar. 17, 1825, near Salem, N.C. 'To Indiana, 1831'. (Son of Joh. Phil. Rominger)

Eliza Lydia Rominger, b. August 4, 1816, near Salem, N.C. 'To Indiana, 1831'. ( dau. of Joh. Phil. Rominger)

Mary Ellen Rothrock, b. Feb. 7, 1824, near Salem, N.C. '1830 to Indiana'. ( dau. of Peter Rothrock)

Susanna Elisabeth Hauser, b. June 9, 1825, near Salem, N.C. '1829, moved to Indiana with her parents.' ( dau. of Martin Hauser)

Antoinette Rebecca Rothrock, b. August 6, 1825, near Salem, N.C. '1830 to Indiana'. ( dau. of Peter Rothrock)

Mary Ann Paulina Hauser, b. Nov. 26, 1826, near Salem, N.C. '1829 moved to Indiana with her parents.' ( dau. of Martin Hauser)

From closing personal notices for Salem, N.C. 1835: 'The widowed sister, Anna Rosina Gambold, to Indiana'.

Same, 1836: 'The married Br. and Sr. Charles and Ruth Levering and seven children to Hope in Indiana'.

Same, 1837: 'The single sister Maria Magdalena Folz, to Indiana'.

Mary Ann Hauser, b. Oct. 26, 1827, near Salem, N.C. '1830 to Indiana'.

Sister Anna Rosina Edgell, b. May 26, 1828, near Salem, N.C. '1830 to Indiana'.

Sister Maria Magdalena Folz, b. June 9, 1829, near Salem, N.C. '1830 to Indiana'.

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Sana, 1838: 'The Married Sister Dorothea Bauer, to Indiana'.

Same, 1840: 'The Married Brother, Carl Renatus Pfohl, to Hope, Indiana'.

Same, 1843: 'John Benjamin Chitty, Sophia Therese Hauser, Malvina Louisa Hauser, to Hope, Indiana'.

From the Salem, N.C. Diary of 1829: 'Sunday, Sept. 27, 1829. The interested prayers of the congregation were asked for the Brother and Sister Martin and Susanna Hauser, and their four children, who have been living outside Salem, and tomorrow begin their journey to Indiana, intending to settle there.'

From the Personal Notes at close of the month November, 1829, from Salem to Indiana, 'The married Br. and Sr. Joseph and Elisabeth Spach with five children, Gottlieb Wilhelm, Timotheus Emmanuel, James Robert, Alexander August, and Henrietta Paulina.'

From the Personal Notes at close of the month, October, 1830, Left Salem for Indiana on Oct. 3rd: 'The Married Br. and Sr. Peter and Jacobina Rothrock and their three daughters, Mary Ellen, Antoinette Rebecca, and Lauretta Louisa'.

From a Salem Congregation Catalog, dated about 1830-1836: Sophia Theresia Hauser (daughter of Martin) b. Nov. 17, 1828 near Salem, N.C. '1829 to Indiana'.

Rothrock, Lauretta Louisa, b. April 18, 1829, near Salem, N.C. '1830 to Indiana'. (dau. of Peter Rothrock)

Jacob Christmann, b. Nov. 28, 1798. m. Sept. 16, 1828, Maria Magdalena Philips, b. May 28, 1800, near Bethania, N.C. '1831 to Indiana'.

Carolina Lucinda Christmann, b. Oct. 28, 1829, Salem, N.C. '1831 to Indiana'. (dau. of Jacob Christmann)

Calvin Cornelius Blum, b. Jan. 12, 1820 near Salem, N.C. son of Philip. 'To Indiana 1834'.

Blum, Emilia Belinda, b. April 17, 1817, near Salem, N.C. daughter of Philip. 'To Indiana 1834'.

Blum, Cornelia Aurelia, b. Jan. 12, 1820, near Salem, N.C. daughter of Philip. 'To Indiana 1834'.

Friedberg, N.C. Diary, Nov. 13, 1826, 'Philip Rothrock
(son of Philip) and his entire family left for the west without saying goodbye'.

A Catalog of 1811-1818 shows that Philip Essig, born Feb. 22, 1798, at Friedberg, N.C. was a son of Johann Essig and Catherine maiden name Rothrock.

The same Catalog, in the Friedberg list, shows Johann Daniel Ziegler and his wife Anna Maria (Rominger) born Sept. 11, 1785, at Friedland, N.C. No date is given for Ziegler. 1

Others in these lists are given, particularly from a Salem N.C. Catalog begun about 1849 showing their removal to Indiana, but for dates from 1849 on. Apparently the migration continued for some years. However our intent is to confine ourselves largely to the "early settlement" and therefore not to cite many events or incidents beyond the first fifteen years of settlement, except as these show the results of the work done, or reflect the spirit or attitudes of these earlier settlers. We will cite one name, however, both as a matter of personal interest, because the immigrant is still living, and because it reveals another instance where the rather indefinite statements like "to Indiana" or "to the west" really referred to the Bartholomew County settlement.

"Amos Benjamin White, born Dec.11, 1849, Clemonsville, N.C. son of W.H.J.White. 'To the West in 1852'".

To show that many of these came directly to Bartholomew County and took out government land, that therefore in the Moravian Colony of North Carolina was the source for Moravian Immigrant.

1. Notes in the Church Registers and Catalogs at Salem, N.C. This information and these copies of records are in the Indiana State Library, Manuscript section, Indianapolis. They were supplied to the Indiana Historical Society by Miss Adelaide L. Fries, Archivist of the Moravian Church, South. Comments with initials A.I.F. are hers.
2. Ibid. Mr. Amos White is still alive (Dec. 5, 1938) and is a mem-
grants to Indiana, I will cite from the land office records, not all, but a number of instances where these named above as migrating, have entered their land at an early date. I will confine these citations also to the area of Bartholomew County with which we are concerned, chiefly Haw Creek Township, described as Township 10 north, Range 7 east 2nd mer., and in a few instances to Flat Rock Township, described as Township 10 north, Range 6 east 2nd mer.

Philip Essex, cited above, according to the land office record took 74.06 acres in Haw Creek Township Dec. 14, 1831. Daniel Zeigler (sic) entered land in the same township, Oct. 27, 1826. Martin Hauser took out land in the same township, two eighties on November 3, 1829 and another eighty acres on Feb. 11, 1831. For the others I shall, for the sake of brevity merely cite the name, and the date of entry and indicate the township. Entered in Haw Creek Township are the following: Lewis Reed, Dec. 16, 1830; his son, Jacob Reed, Oct. 16, 1833; John P. Blum, Aug. 4, 1830; Henry Clayton, May 5, 1830; Samuel Rominger, Aug. 4, 1830 and May 8, 1834; Peter Rothrock, April 22, 1831; William H. Chitty, June 20, 1831; in Flat Rock Township, the following: Philip Essex, Oct. 31, 1832; John Essex, Feb. 11, 1828;

member of the writer's congregation in Indianapolis, coming to it from the Hope Moravian congregation. He is residing with a daughter at Muncie, Ind.

1-p.22. Note the difference in spelling. Originally spelled Essig, the spelling was changed to Essex. Judge Charles Remy of Indianapolis verified the variation of spelling citing Essig as the original, in an interview on Nov. 9, 1938. Thos. Essex, Philip's brother was Judge Remy's grandfather and John Essex and Catherine Rothrock Essex his great-grandparents.

Lewis Reed, Dec. 16, 1830; John Froste, June 20, 1831. These indicate that many of those who left the congregations in North Carolina came to the Moravian settlement in Bartholomew County, Indiana, and bought government land. Doubtless others bought claims already entered by others; some did not choose to buy land at once.

The signatures to the first rules of the congregation signed October 2, 1837 include other names from the list of those migrating from North Carolina, names which were not found on the land office records. For instance there are the names of Joseph Spech, Christian Butner, David Snyder, and Phillip Rominger. In one of the partial records from the hands of Hauser, there is this record written about the period 1833-35: “During these years there were numerous accessions to our Congr., from N.C.”

Sufficient has been shown from these various records to indicate that the Moravian settlers in Haw Creek and Flat Rock Townships, Bartholomew County, Indiana came to Indiana from the Moravian congregations in and about Salem (now Winston-Salem) North Carolina. At least several dozen families came before 1840; and since families were large this represents quite a constituency. Some years later Moravians from eastern Pennsylvania joined the community, but the beginners of the community, the church and the various early institutions were from North Carolina.

1. First Rules and Regulations of Hope Moravian Church with signatures dated Oct. 2, 1837. Secured from Hope Moravian Church, from the Rev. Ernest Drebert present pastor. This manuscript is the possession of the church there.
2. Journal by Hauser, being a partial record of the Early History of Hope, Ind., beginning with page 5. A manuscript furnished by the Rev. Ernest Drebert of the Hope Moravian Church.
Chapter III

Moravian Exploratory Trips to Investigate the New Purchase

The choice of the area in Bartholomew County, by the Moravians, was not a haphazard one. The opening of the area through the "New Purchase" supplied the need for government land both plentiful and at a cheap price. The manner in which the land was purchased from the Indians is revealed in the following:

Two years later (i.e., 1818) Governor Jennings, Benjamin Parke, then federal judge of the district of Indiana, and General Lewis Cass, governor of Michigan territory, met the tribes at St. Mary's Ohio, and succeeded in purchasing nearly all the Indian land south of the Wabash. The Delawares agreed to take a grant of land beyond the Mississippi, and the Weas, Kickapoos, Pottawatomies and Miamis, all having claims on the ceded territory, agreed to withdraw to the north of the Wabash. This ceded land was commonly known in Indiana as the 'New Purchase'.

The reports from the fore-runners who had entered the area as squatters before the land was opened for purchase, brought some information to their North Carolinian friends concerning its fertility. The trips of both Jacob Hauser, in 1819 and 1820, and of Martin Hauser in 1820, 1828 and finally his settling there in 1829 awakened wide interest among North Carolina Moravians, and supplied additional information about the nature of the country, its fertility and its opportunities for farming. Thus the immigrants knew much about the area to which they were coming.

The squatters referred to above, the Hauser brothers and others were but part of a large influx of immigrants to Indiana between 1816 and 1825. Something of their discoveries concerning the land, and of the comparisons which must have been made in their own minds, with the worn-out farms in North Carolina, can be inferred from glancing over the record of their trips.

In 1820 I made a trip to the West to see a little more of the world. My brother Jacob had the year before gone to Indiana and returned for funds to buy land at the great land sale in July. I traveled over a good part of the 'New Purchase' where Bartholomew and Johnson County are laid off, but being young and unexperienced I returned home in the fall & labored where I could earn a dollar. 2

In July, 1820 my brother who had the previous fall of the year went to the west, returned quite unexpectedly in order to procure means to purchase land at the approaching sale in the new purchase in Indiana including that section of country where Hope is now located. I immediately resolved to accompany him on his return. We left about the last of July, in order to reach the country in time to be present at land sale. After a few days rest, one of those citizens (of Washington County) and myself set out for the new purchase 60-80 miles north. We traveled on foot through Brownstown Jackson County following the trail in the vicinity where Seymour stands, on the east side of Driftwood or Eastfork of White River to the junction of Flat Rock river & Haw Creek, Columbus not then being laid out. About every ten to fifteen miles we found a squatter, who had erected a cabin & cleared a few acres of land on which he raised some corn and potatoes to keep himself & family from starvation during the next winter. At last we reached the long looked for & renowned 'Haw Patch'. This is a tract of land between Clifty creek & driftwood river (sic), including the bottom of flat rock river (sic) with its bottoms

1.Ibid. p.271.
2.Diary and Reminiscences of Martin Hauser, p.3
containing many thousand acres of the richest & most productive land in the state. 1

Of Hauser’s trip to the Tuscarawas Valley we have already written. It was another outlet for exploration and viewing of other areas with an eye to possible settlement. In 1828 he made another trip to Bartholomew County, Indiana. Two references to it in his manuscripts are revealing:

In the summer of 1828 I resolved to make a trip to Indiana where I had a brother residing in the renowned Haw patch in Bartholomew County. I had several offers of a small farm of eighty acres for $300. The rich fall in temptation but it is hard to be poor. I had not the amt., at my command & so returned without making any purchase. About Christmas I sold my old farm. The question of moving to the west was decided. 3

---but as it was I went to Indiana, where I had a brother residing, who had lately joined the Campbellite denomination. I & my fellow traveler (Lewis Rominger) arrived at my brothers (Jacob) in the famous Haw patch, Bartholomew County. We were highly delighted with the country, but made no purchase & returned home with the full determination to move West. 4

On September 28, 1829 Hauser and his company left Salem, N. C. for Indiana, this time to settle there. His family consisted of five persons beside himself, the youngest child being only eight months old. Besides there was a young man Samuel Rominger, not quite 21 years old and driver of the two horse wagon, “in which were closely packed beds, clothing, eatables, tools, tents, &c. &c.” In the other one-horse wagon were the children and their clothes together with medicine, and eatables for the pur-

2. Pp. 15, 16
3. Diary and Reminiscences of Martin Hauser, p. 6
5. Ibid, p. 17, original number 5.
pose of pacifying the children in case of disquietude. Also of Hauser's group was a William Eldridge, whose wife and family left him because of his intemperance, had preceded him west and subsequently refused to receive him when arrived with Hauser. Of his company, but as a distinct family, were Brother and Sister Clauder and also Brother J.P.Blum.

On October 28 they arrived at the house of Martin Hauser's brother, Jacob, in Bartholomew County, Indiana.

With these exploratory trips reported to the Moravians in North Carolina, they became more and more acquainted with the area in Indiana to which some of their brethren had gone, and favorably impressed with it. When Martin Hauser went with the avowed intention of organizing a congregation among the settlers, interest in the place and his project extended quite generally among Moravians in all parts of the south and east.
Chapter IV

The Moravian Settlement -- Martin Hauser, its leading Spirit.

As previously noted from the Tract Book of the Indianapolis Land Office many of those listed in congregational records of Salem N.C. and vicinity, as having moved to Indiana, took out government land in Haw Creek and Flat Rock townships, and chiefly in Haw Creek.

Old records from a different source, verify this.

The township where most of the brethren and sisters who have moved here from North Carolina have settled, and where a considerable number still seem to wish to follow, is called Haw Creek Township from the two creeks uniting in it, which flow into the Driftwood Fork at Columbus, and is located in the northeast corner of Bartholomew County. It is bordered by Shelby County on the north and by Decatur County on the east; on the south, it is adjoined by Clifty Township, and on the west, by Flatrock, both of which are in Bartholomew County. Some of the brethren and sisters are living in Flatrock. 1

The description of the three tracts of land originally entered in the name of Lewis David Schweinitz for the Moravian Church, follows: West $\frac{1}{2}$ of the North-east quarter of section 20, (eighty acres) of Township 10 north, Range 7 east 2nd mer; East $\frac{1}{2}$ of the North-west quarter of section 20, (eighty acres) of Township 10 north, Range 7 east 2nd mer; and the tract entered just after Schweinitz' visit in 1831 is East $\frac{1}{2}$ of the North-east quarter of section 20 (eighty acres) of Township 10 north, Range 7 east 2nd mer. The first three tracts of land originally entered in the name of Martin Hauser have the following

descriptions: West $\frac{3}{4}$ of the Southeast quarter of section 17 (eighty acres) of Township 10 north, Range 7 east of 2nd mer; and East $\frac{1}{2}$ of the Southwest quarter of section 17 (eighty acres) of Township 10 north, Range 7 east 2nd mer; and the third tract entered about two months after the first two eighties, East $\frac{3}{2}$ of the Southeast quarter of section 17 (eighty acres) of Township 10 north, Range 7 east 2nd mer. These descriptions are here repeated that we may fix in our mind the exact location of Hauser's and the church's original tracts. They will be seen to be abutting one another, the Hauser land being on the south border of section 17 and immediately north of the Church's land, the Church's land being on the north border of section 20. The maps placed here will show that, at the time of this atlas, the village of Hope covered what had been the church land. The map of Flat Rock Township is attached also that the small area of Moravian settlement there may be noted also. It is described as Township 10 north, Range 6 east 2nd mer. The sections in which Moravians located and took out government land, are sections one, two, twelve, thirteen, twenty-four and twenty-five. By consulting a map of the whole county it will be found that these sections adjoin the sections of Moravian settlement in Haw Creek Township.

1.Ibid, p. 247
2.These maps are photographs of maps in Atlas of Bartholomew County, Indiana, Chicago, (1879) J.H. Beers & Co., Pp.45 and 46. The scale mentioned on the maps is therefore not correct here, though the scale for the maps from which taken may be correct; the photographs were made of a size to suit the paper, not to conform to scale. However they are valuable for locating the Moravian settlement.
As good a description of the actual founding of the settlement as any is the following:

Several years ago, following the example of other Carolinian neighbors who thought themselves unable to live in the comparatively unfertile state of North Carolina, Brother Martin Hauser turned toward the state of Indiana and naturally cast his eye by preference on the part where his brother, Jacob, together with other Carolinians had settled for more than seven years. Since that time he has cherished the desire to arrange his settlement in such a manner that those North Carolinian emigrants, who, like him, were quite anxious to retain their connection with the Moravian Church, might settle in the same vicinity, and form a congregation. On the occasion of a visit to Pennsylvania four years ago, hope was extended to him that a helping hand might be given by the purchase of a suitably located piece of land which some time might serve as an endowment for the support of a laborer and the establishment of a congregation. On this land a church and school-house might stand, and around them, perhaps, also a little town. When, therefore, over two years ago, he actually moved to Indiana with his family, he selected for himself here in Haw Creek Township a very suitable location in a most extraordinarily wooded region, to be sure, but exceedingly fertile; rather rolling, healthful, and abundantly supplied with the best spring water: a place where an unusually desirable opportunity for such a settlement presented itself. On his representation it was first decided to purchase for the above purpose 160 acres, or two half-quarter sections, along the south side of his three lots (a tract of 240 acres) to which now, during my presence, it was deemed proper to add another eighty acres to prevent the intrusion of a stranger. Scarcely had this become known when the emigration from Carolina, and particularly from the country congregations, took this direction and already a considerable number of the half-quarter sections located in the neighborhood have been purchased by brethren and sisters who are gathering here in ever larger numbers.

On the piece they called Goshen, which I purchased, they have now jointly cleared five acres around the schoolhouse, erected a year ago, in such manner as clearing can be done in the beginning, and they have provided them with a good fence. On this five-acre lot, also, Brother Hauser has commenced to build a house for Brother John Leinbach who wants to exercise his trade as a cooper there, and Brother Proske is building next to him, but clearing an additional separate acre. A couple of other brethren who have moved here, Daniel Ziegler and Ludwig Ried, have bought a couple of older plantations which were commenced before Brother Hauser's
arrival, and therefore have considerable land under cultivation. 1

The reader will have been impressed with the prominence given to Martin Hauser in this record of the early Moravian settlement. Doubtless it is now necessary to explain this prominence and to acquaint the reader with Hauser himself, who more than any other was the leading spirit of the settlement, and whose life and activities are henceforth, in most particulars, related to the development of the Moravian Church and community in Bartholomew County.

It is written concerning Hauser, "from 1829 to 1847, he was the most prominent figure in the secular and religious affairs of Hope. In the year last named he emigrated to Edwards County, Illinois, there laid out the town of West Salem, organized a Moravian Congregation and built several churches. In 1868, he returned to Hope, and there spent the remainder of his days."

Martin Hauser was born near Salem, N.C. September 23, 1799. It was after his visit, with his brother Jacob, to the New Purchase, in 1820 that he united with the Moravian Church in Salem. That was in 1821 and in the following year he married Susanna Chitty. He made three trips west, as already indicated, before he settled in Haw Creek Township. Following his settling there in November 1829, after he had entered his land and constructed

1. Schweinitz, Lewis David von, op.cit. Pp.239-241. Cf: Diary of Sanford A. Rominger, an extract in the Manuscript section, State Library, Indianapolis, which gives in briefer form substantially the same story. Also Hauser's: Diary and Reminiscences; A History of our Moravian Churches in the States etc., more details of the erecting of the school house in his Journal of the Early History of Hope, Ind., beginning with page 5 (previous pages missing).
2. History of Bartholomew County, p.607
his home, he became the leading influence working for the organization of a congregation, the building of a church and school and later for the building of a town. On January 2, 1830, he held a meeting as an initiatory step to the organization of a congregation. The persons present at this meeting were: Martin Hauser, Daniel Ziegler, John Essex, Samuel Rominger and Joseph Spaugh. It was agreed that, the Lord willing, they would at once begin efforts to found a church. With $200 sent from Lewis de Schweinitz, they entered 160 acres of land, as already indicated, as a resource for the maintenance of a congregation.

On April 5th preparations for the building of a log building were begun. Since all those who worked on the building had also to work their own farms, attempt to clear off the timber from their own land and somehow to care for their families, progress was naturally slow. In the meantime services were held in Hauser's home in the nature of Sunday School.

Desirous of turning our meetings into a more regular course it was resolved to keep them in the Schoolhouse, & the first on some memorial day of the Brethren Church, it was agreed to meet on the 17 June. 1 On the previous day we met to arrange seats & as the house was not yet covered we laid bushes across the joist to screen us from the scorching sun. At noon while taking our lunch one of the party said he would try & kill a deer while the others were taking their noon's rest so that we might have fresh venison for our feast on to morrow, in a few minutes we heard the report of his gun, and calling for us we hastened to the spot, and found he had killed a large buck, this was on the knoll where the graveyard is located. Next day the 17th was fair, at 9, o'clock we were all present, the morning prayer was opened with singing our german hymn ' Nun danket.
A truly Brotherly Spirit prevailed, in the afternoon a lovefeast was kept, & as we had no cups each family brought their tin cups according to their number in family. Thirty five were present. The Congregations anniversary has ever since been kept on this day. During the summer our meetings were kept regularly, but when cold weather commenced, we were often prevented, not having been able to furnish the house with stove or fireplace. Nothing worthy of notice took place till summer of 1831. On the 2 day of June my very dear & worthy Friend & Brother Schweinitz & his Nephew E.A.F. arrived & there was little unoccupied space in my one room we stretched our wagon cloth across the room to make a separate apartment for Br. S. & F. the rest of us had to make out with the best way we could device. (sic) On the 17th we celebrated our first Congregations anniversary. I kept the Morning prayer. Br. Schweinitz preached & confirmed 4 persons. In the afternoon a lovefeast & holy Communion was kept, the first since we left our former Congregations, several Friends being present the day was fair & the peace of the Savior was felt among us. Next Day our dear Brrn. left us again. The work advanced and Hauser was the leader of it. In March 1833 he was ordained a deacon of the Moravian Church at Bethlehem, Pa. He made collections among the congregations both east and south for the benefit of the building projects at Hope. In 1838 he resigned his charge in Hope, but continued to visit Moravian groups at Enon, Tough Creek, New Holland, Coleman's and Warren's schoolhouses in the area about Hope, and in Hendricks County. In 1846 he was finally granted permission to organize a society at Enon, five miles south of Hope. He was sent to Edwards County, Illinois in 1847, where he founded New Salem (later West Salem), and was a factor in the founding and work at Olney. He preached also at Woods Prairie, Wannboro, and Albion. His wife died May 2, 1867. On June 21, 1868.

1. Hauser: A history of our Moravian Churches in the States of Indiana and Illinois, Pp.41,42 (original numbers 25, 26)
he married Eliza Speugh, a widow, at Hope, Indiana, and he spent most of the rest of his life there. He died on October 25, 1875.

In 1831, at the time of Lewis von Schweinitz' visit, he writes of Hauser that he "possessed more land than he and his family could use for the present." and he had therefore let out several tracts to several of the brethren as improving lease tenants. (seven year grants) Apparently he secured not only ample land but of the best, for Schweinitz writes of Hauser's splendid wheat field of the good black soil four feet deep over lime stone; of the land yielding 100 bushels to the acre of corn. Likewise he writes of the good water, of the springs, and especially of Hauser's "which is one of the finest I ever saw and which has delicious water."

Because of Schweinitz' keen observation it is interesting to note statements which he placed in his Journey etc., concerning Hauser himself. "It pained us this first evening to notice the serious eye trouble with which Brother Hauser is afflicted and which we greatly hope may not deprive him of one of his eyes."

Concerning his opinion of Hauser the following is apropos: "May he continue to bestow grace upon Brother Martin Hauser as heretofore, that he may do what he can to keep the little congregation

1. Hauser: Diary and Reminiscences. All of the facts concerning his life can be found in this, except of course the date of his death. The latter is found in Hamilton, op.cit. p. 485; he also gives the ordination, p. 359. The second marriage date is given also in Diary of the United Brethren's Congregation at Hope, commencing September 2, 1849, under the date.
2. Schweinitz, Lewis David von. op.cit. p.244.
3. Ibid. p. 242
4. Ibid, p. 239.
together and to build it up. He appears to me to be an exceedingly loyal brother, caring above everything for the service of the Lord."

He likewise answers a question that arises in one's mind when reading Hauser's journals and manuscripts, for there are frequent references to German hymns, and Hauser's work was done in English. This seems to be the answer:

As is well known, Brother Martin Hauser was given a written commission from Salem to take care of the brethren gathering here as an adviser; and he also at times holds prayer meetings and gives short exhortations. With others, especially with dear young Brother John Essig, he first established a Sunday School at the schoolhouse in co-operation with the Sunday School Union. The children of the whole neighborhood and of all denominations attend this in large numbers, and on this day, that is the 5th, (June 5, 1831) they were present, soon after nine o'clock, together with most of the brethren and sisters. • • • • We opened the meeting with the German verse: 'So weit hast du um bracht, Lamm sei gepriesen', which Brother Martin Hauser intoned with great warmth of heart. (It is customary to sing a German hymn, but all other proceedings are in the English language). • • • • Thereupon Brother Martin spoke briefly and cordially to the numerous Sunday school scholars, and then knelt in prayer. 2

Further interesting revelations as to both the nature of the work in the new community, and as to the place in it which Hauser had, is to be found in other comments from Schweinitz' work. "Several reported for confirmation, several desired to partake of communion, as they had all previously said they would to Brother Martin." "At the Church council on Saturday afternoon June 11, 1831 after expressing a desire for at least an an-

1. Schweinitz, Lewis David von. op.cit. p.238
2. Ibid, p. 259.
nual visit from an ordained Brother who can administer the sacraments, they express the hope to find an able Brother willing to earn a considerable part of his living teaching school and willing to put up with privations to become their own minister."

Then we learn of their attitude toward Hauser:

In the meantime they are well satisfied with the service of Brother Hauser, who seems to possess their confidence and affection in a high degree. At his suggestion, they all agreed to the proposition to choose two brethren to help him—the election to be held annually at the festival—who for the present with him should form a committee and with whom he should first take counsel about everything to be undertaken, principally about the reception of new members in the little band." 1

For a description of Hauser's physical appearance note the following: "He was a rather heavy man, average height, round faced, not so portly but not so slim—inclined to be stout; what you'd call a big man." This conforms rather well with Hauser's account of a period of illness in which he lost weight: "On the 26th of October (1870) I was taken with chills & fever, which changed to the 'third day ague' & continued for eight months, at times it seemed as if my days were out, life had become a burden, my weight decreased from 230 to 189 lbs." 2

1. Ibid, pp. 251, 252.
2. Ibid, pp. 251, 252
3. The description of Hauser was furnished by Judge Charles F. Remy, in an interview at his office, Nov. 9, 1938, at 10:15 A.M. He remembered Hauser, remembered his own great-grandfather, John Essex, Thomas Essex, his grandfather, Peter Rothrock (Judge Remy's great-grandmother's half-brother) Eli Reed, William Chitty, Samuel Ringer and others.
Although in referring to Martin Hauser, the pronunciation given is commonly How' ser, it is interesting to learn that during the early days of the Moravian settlement, and in fact during Hauser's lifetime his name was pronounced as if Hoo ' ser.

Thus, under his guidance and leadership, Hauser saw what had been virgin forest develop into a community with farms and in the midst a church and school to care for spiritual and intellectual needs of the settlers.

Information supplied by Judge Charles F. Ramy in the interview noted above. The Judge says he is positive of this pronunciation.
Chapter V

The Moravian Village of Goshen (later Hope)

It had been Hauser's intention to establish a town as a center for the Moravian settlement. Not only so but he very much desired that the community be of the nature of the other Moravian settlements in the east and south, where a system known as the "economy" was in use, wherein land and lots owned by the church were leased to the members, thereby assuring that outsiders should not obtain a permanent hold in their settlement. A picture of what the "economy" was, is given clearly by Hamilton. After relating about the missionary and evangelistic work carried on by the Bethlehem, Pennsylvania community of Moravians he writes:

Evangelistic and missionary activity so extensive, and carried on by settlements which together did not number more than six hundred people, could have been maintained by no ordinary methods. Capacity to support this work is explained by the adoption of a relico-communal system of life, which was, however, not based upon communist convictions as usually understood by political economists. These arrangements arose gradually, and took special form after 1744. They were not adopted with the design of retaining them permanently, or from the notion that they were ideal for normal Christian society. They were rather conceived with a view to develop as quickly as possible the resources of the new settlement in a manner coordinate with the utmost employment of the latent power of the congregation for evangelism. Partly from lack of house-room in the beginning, and partly from the necessity of self-dependence in relation to the church in Europe at the commencement of pioneer life, the family as an institution was made secondary to the requirements of the congregation. This tendency was strengthened by the choir-system which coincident with the colonization in Pennsylvania began throughout the Unity to take the place of more customary provisions for the close care and cure of souls. A community of labor rather than of property, coupled with an extreme application of the division of the members according to age, sex and condition in life as
married or single, each choir living apart, was funda­mental. He who had property retained it if he chose; but all placed their time, talents and labor at the disposal of the church. No private enterprises were carried on. Every business and manufacture, and all real estate belonged to the church. Every branch of industry came under the supervision of committees responsible to a board of direction, the Aufseher Collegium, of which Spangenberg was chairman. The result was the establishment and successful prosecution of at least thirty-two industries, apart from a number of farms, by the year 1747. The duties of each person were assigned to him by the central committee of managers, who made a study of his capacities. In return each person received the necessaries of life and a home. With all its defects, chief of which was its overlooking the fact that the family is a divine institution even more ancient than the church, this 'Economy' in its day served its purpose remarkably. No town in the interior of Pennsylvania could at this time so efficiently minister to the varied wants of travelers or of neighboring settlers. About fifty evangelists and ministers were supported, and about fifteen schools maintained, and the traveling expenses provided for missionaries to the West Indies and Surinam. Instead of requiring grants from Europe as a missionary province of the church, after the financial embarrassments in Germany, Holland and England in the fifties Pennsylvania could send money to help to make good the losses. And, not the least, a race of men and women was nurtured who did not count their lives dear, but held themselves in readiness for any arduous undertaking that would further the kingdom of Christ. Spangenberg testified that, when word reached Bethlehem concerning the death of the missionaries on St. Thomas, if he had called for volunteers, twenty or thirty would have been willing to set out at once for that pestilential spot.

Hauser, after commenting on the arrival of some single brethren from Salem, N.C. at the time of Lewis David von Schweinitz' visit, writes:

One of those single Brethren who had come from Salem concluded to settle in 'Goshen' as the place was called, no lots having been laid out, he held his title by a lease from Br.

Schweinitz which was my favorite scheme, as I was very partial to the lease system as instituted in our older Place Congregations & it was with some difficulty I could be persuaded to yield, and even at this present day (Dec. 1st, 1855) I would go with my whole heart for the system & consider our Town Congregation as one of the wisest and best arranged since the Apostolic days. Though I may be ridiculed for such an idea, yet these are my candid convictions, yet I admit its impracticability on account of the depravity of man, who, under false colours called Liberty, have abolished it. Though I might in these degenerate days oppose its reintroduction, yet it leaves my opinion unchanged.

In Schweinitz' Journal he makes clear also, the plan to found a town when the settlement was planned, or at least when Hauser's plan to establish a congregation was formulated, which, of course, coincided with Hauser's determination to settle in the region. In discussing the plan for the church to buy land he writes: "On this land a church and schoolhouse might stand, and around them, perhaps, also a little town... On the piece (of land) they called Goshen, which I purchased, they have now jointly cleared five acres around the schoolhouse, erected a year ago." Otherwise he speaks of Martin Hauser's design to see Goshen becoming a little town with the most necessary artisans at hand. He also designed to arrange the leases in Goshen in such manner that, as in community settlements, no stranger can intrude or maintain himself. On Schweinitz' visit he can write further of the proposed town: "On this five-acre lot, also, Brother Hauser has commenced to build a house for Brother John

3. Ibid. p. 245.
Leinbach who wants to exercise his trade as a cooper there, and
Brother Proske is building next to him, but clearing an additional
separate acre."

The actual beginning of the village could probably be placed
as April 5, 1830 when the first tree was cut down by Henry Clayton.
This was felled at about the center of Lot No. 3. The erection of
the log meetinghouse which served for church and school has al­
ready been related. At the opening of the church the following
were present: Martin and Susanna Hauser with their four children,
Edwin Theodore, Susanna Elizabeth, Marianna Paulina and Sophia
Theresa. Daniel and Mary Ziegler, with their ten children, Deli­
lah, Matilda, Melvina, Florina, Alexander, Caroline, Melinda,
Daniel, Marianna and Solomon. Joseph and Elizabeth Spaugh with
their five children, Timothy, William, Henriette, Alexander and
Robert. Henry and Mary Clayton, with their two children, John
and Margaret. In addition to these families there were also pres­
ent, Matthew Chitty, Margaret Chitty, Nathaniel Snyder and John
Essex, Jr., in all, thirty-three souls.

The name of Goshen was given to the town from the first al­
though it was not laid out as a town until some time after the
beginning of the church. In 1831, when Schweinitz visited, Hau­
suer he made a statement which reveals that the town was already
known as Goshen. "There lodged with them, Brother John Proske,

1.Ibid, p.240
2.Hauser: Diary and Reminiscences, p.8; also Hauser: History of
our Moravian Churches in the States of etc., p.40 (original number 24
3.History of Bartholomew County, Pp. 629,530
formerly employed with the Indian mission, who had also bought land here and at the same time leased a lot in the little town of Goshen which is being laid out around the schoolhouse, where he is building a house to start his shoemaker's trade."

According to the History of Bartholomew County: "Hope was not surveyed and platted until November 17, 1836, when it was laid out by John Essex, Henry Clayton, and William Chitty, into thirty-seven lots and a public park 330 feet square; the streets surrounding the park were sixty feet wide, elsewhere forty feet wide." Thereafter periodically additions were made to the town.

Action by the congregation to lay out the town occurred on May 12, 1836. "Congregation council passed a resolution that Br. Martin Hauser should have a free deed made from the trustees for one Lot on which the dwelling house of Br. Hauser is erected as soon as a deed is made to them, and determined to sell lots."

On October 15 of the same year we read:

Congregation council met and agreed by a majority of the members of the congregation that the trustees shall lay off a town and sell the lots to the highest bidder; the church at that time consisted of twenty-nine members who had subscribed to our rules; Chas. Levering was re-received today; of these Seventeen signed their names to the instrument of writing annexed below on the same day, by which it may be seen who was in favour of selling; by this it appears that a majority was in favor and the trustees fully ordered and empowered to sell. We the undersigned members of the congregation of the United Brethren or Moravians at Hope constituting a majority of

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2. p.611
3. Copy of Early Business of Moravian Church, Hope, Ind., Indiana State Library, Manuscript section.
all the members of said church do hereby certify that we authorize the trustees of our church to lay out a town on the land belonging to our Society in Raw Creek township, Bartholomew County and state of Indiana to make sale of such town lots and to make and deliver a good and lawful deed to the purchaser in the name of our Society according to the laws of the state of Indiana made and provided in such cases. In witness whereof we have set our hands this 15th day of October, 1836.

Chas. J.Levering  Thomas Essex  William Holder
Peter Rothrock  Martin Hauser  Christian Miller
Wm. H. Chitty  Peter Fetter  Henry S. Holder
Joseph Holder  Charles Sowers  Alfred Sowers
John Woehler  Ebelius D.Spaugh  August Heilman
Henry Woehler  Jesse Rominger  L.O Miller
John F. Blum  John H. Hackstein  Charles S. Ruede
Wm. Vogler  William Hackstein  Hugh Mc Neligh
Abraham Butner  Jas. G. Weinland
Joseph Spach  H.M. Swain
Philip Bermes  George M. Bruner

A later council decided to put out the money at interest, derived from the sale of lots and use the income for the support of a minister. On June 16th, 1838 "Council unanimously resolved to request Br. And. Benade to effect a loan of $600 at Bethlehem, for the purpose of building a parsonage house." Up to this point all the council meetings are signed by Martin Hauser as president, thereafter by the ministers who succeeded him. Another authorization for sale of lots and land by the trustees is contained in resolutions of the council of the congregation on March 30, 1844.

The need for sale of additional lots and additional authorization for it is evidence of the growth of the town. When the need for a post office was felt, to facilitate receipt and sending out of mail, a request for one was made and it was discovered that

1.Copy of Early Business of Moravian Church, Hope, Ind. State Library
2.Ibid.
already there was a community in the state which possessed a post office and was called Goshen, in Elkhart County. It was then determined to name the Moravian Village, Hope. "In this year (1833) a Post Office was established by the name Hope and the name of our place was changed to suit it, from Goshen to Hope. I was appointed Post Master which office I held for eleven years."

On June 17th, 1837 the corner-stone of a new church was laid, the growing congregation having outgrown the little log meeting place. On July 22nd the building was raised. On June 17th, 1838 the newly erected Church was consecrated. On November 18th, 1838, Brother William Eberman arrived in Hope as the new pastor of the congregation and the successor of Martin Hauser. The following Sunday he was introduced to the congregation.

The way that the village of Hope grew did not destroy the original plan for the community. It is therefore interesting to view the attached photograph of a map of the village as it appears in the Atlas of Bartholomew County, Indiana.

1. Hauser: History of our Moravian Churches in the States of etc., p. 45
2. Ibid, p. 47 (original number 31) This building still stands in Hope on Main Street and is known as the old chapel. It is used by the Moravian Congregation for social and recreational purposes. The third church was erected and dedicated to the worship of God, June 17, 1875, the Rev. Martin Hauser, founder of the church participating in the services of that occasion. See: History of Bartholomew County, p. 533.
3. p. 54
Chapter VI

Moravian Educational Efforts

It was inevitable, or almost so, that a church, which had soon after its organization in the fifteenth century sought ways and means of educating its clergy and extending educational advantage to others of its membership, should provide for the education of its young people in the new Moravian settlement at Hope. The educational traditions of the Ancient Brethren's Church had been transmitted to the Renewed Church largely through the instrumentality of the great educator, Bishop John Amos Comenius. The new settlements in America in the eighteenth century made one of their first aims the education of the young. Thus schools had been established in Bethlehem, Nazareth and Lititz in Pennsylvania and at Salem, North Carolina as well as at many mission stations. Parochial and boarding schools were also established.

Soon after the establishment of the church at Hope the subject of education claimed the congregation's attention. In 1841 it was determined to do something about it. The decision was to establish a parochial and boarding school. "An acre of ground opposite the church was cleared for this purpose, and a school on the plan of Moravian institutions of the kind, provided for in the buildings the congregation owned, (was attempted) but ow-

2. Shields, R.E. History of the Moravian Seminary for Young Ladies, Hope, Bartholomew County, Indiana, p.7.
ing to lack of encouragement, failed." This acre was from a tract of forty acres set apart for educational purposes. It may have been partly because of their interest in education that Martin Hauser and Daniel Ziegler frustrated the efforts to sell the school section in 1831, (i.e. the section 16 of the township set apart by the government for school purposes) an effort put forth by one John Jones who held a lease on a part of the school land. His enmity was so aroused that he attempted to persuade people to believe that Lewis David von Schweinitz brought with him $60,000 to purchase a large tract of land and that the Moravians intended to surrender the land thus acquired to the British king.

But these congregational efforts to establish a parochial school were not the first schools.

The first school at Hope was taught by L.J.Levering, about the year 1830. The Hon. Thomas Essex, . . . . began teaching in this township soon after the last date, and continued for a number of years. . . . . Philip Essex, one of the early settlers and teachers in this part of the country, no doubt taught in this township previous to 1840, but we do not know the exact date. Sandy Spaugh taught several schools in this township along in the 40's and later. Robert Spaugh taught near old Saint Louis about 1845-47, and Rev. Albert Carter taught in the same neighborhood from 1847-50. Prof. Henry J. Kluge (other authorities give the name John Henry Kluge) was one of the earlier teachers in Hope and vicinity. He was a fine scholar and an enthusiastic educator. 4

1. History of Bartholomew County, p. 532
2. Shields, op. cit. p.7
4. History of Bartholomew County, p.553.
In the same work we read of the teaching in the neighboring township, Flat Rock, where a few of the Moravians had their farms.

Philip Essex, father of Mrs. Albert Carter and Wells Essex, taught a school in a cabin near the Owens School house in Hawpatch about 1830. Thomas Essex, a brother of Philip and of the late Hon. Lewis Essex, of this county, taught near the south line of the township in 1829-30, in a cabin on the Jesse Ruddick farm. He was educated in North Carolina and was said to be the best scholar in the county at that time. Sandy Speagh taught a school in the northeast part of the township in 1844-45. The families of Philip Reed and John Essex attended this school. Rev. Amos Essex, now in Cherryvale, Kan., taught in the Quick school house about 1866. 1

It is very interesting, and a commentary on the Moravian interest in education that every one of these teachers mentioned in these two townships, with the exception of Rev. Albert Carter (who had a Moravian wife) were themselves Moravians. Another exception is of course the Rev. Amos Essex who was a Baptist clergymen, but whose parents were Moravians.

After the clearing of the one acre in Hope in 1841 under the pastorate of the Rev. H. J. Titze, much preliminary work was commenced. Some materials for building were collected and other labor performed, when it became apparent that the time for the accomplishing of the design had not yet arrived. "The efforts of the people to open farms and earn a living, together with various hindrances and privations incidental to a new settlement, compelled the postponement of the enterprise." 2

1. Ibid. p.554
However true the last statement may be with reference to a boarding school or seminary, it cannot rightly refer to the postponement of any school effort whatsoever. For I have before me as I write the financial accounts of the School near Hope, Ind., beginning with November 10, 1841 and continuing until June 25, 1847. Much of it is for lumber and building materials, purchased largely from various members of the congregation. However some of the items reveal that school was actually held and tuition received for individual scholars whose term of attendance is listed, as well as teachers paid for services. Some of these individual items may serve to illustrate the fact that school was actually held. Furthermore this assertion does not seem to be made by Shields or others writing on the early Moravian schools.

Dec. 30, 1841 Herman Titze
by cash laid out for advertising Hope Boarding Sch in Columbus Advocate $2.00

Jan. 3 (1842) by cash laid out for advertising the same in a Madison paper & Louisville Journal $4.00

March 31 (1842) Herman Titze
by cash paid to Miss Anna Ladders for 1 quar. salary 14.00

April 2 (1842) Herman Titze
Dr. To cash received fr. Mr. Phil. Blum for order to Phil. Goeppp 205.00

April 5, (1842) Herman Titze
Dr. To cash received fr. Mr. Phil. Blum for order to Ph. Goeppp 95.00

These last two items show that the school effort probably received some assistance from the Moravian Church at large, for Philip Goeppp had succeeded Lewis David von Schweinitz on the Provincial Board of the Church, after Schweinitz' death.

1. These records are bound with the Diary of the United Brethren's Congregation at Hope, Ind., beginning September 2, 1849. They were supplied to me by the Rev. Ernest Drebert of the Hope Moravian Church.
April 8, (1842) Herman Titze Cr.
by cash paid for 1 small iron stove for schoolroom $6.00. $5.00 by honour an order in fav. of Martin Hauzer 37¢ by a German text-book. The balance of 1.62¢ credit him on his Acct for Louise W. schooling

July 8 (1842) Herman Titze Cr.
by paying out the teacher wages for 3 months to Miss Anna Liders at the close of the 2d qutr 1842 14.00

July 8 Herman Titze Cr.
by find the board for 6 months fr. Jan 1842 - July 42 for the teacher of the Day school at 87¢ p.week 22.75

July 25 Herman Titze Dr.
To cash pd. by Mr. Th. Liders for 9 months schoolg of his 2 daughters at $2.50 pr.qutrs. 15.00

Jan. 2 (1843) Herman Titze Dr.
To School money paid by Br. Levering for his daughter's Mary attending school for 1 month .83

"In December, 1856, under the pastorate of the Rev. E. P. Greider, the congregation resolved to sell a portion of the land 'for the purpose of establishing a first-class day school, which is designed ultimately to be converted into a Female Boarding School.' From the record it appears that it was the intention of the Church council as "soon as circumstances prove favorable for changing this day school into a boarding school," to place it under the auspices and control of the Synod, or its Executive Board. By the end of the year 1858, there had been erected a two-story brick building, fifty feet by thirty feet, for the school. A dwelling house, also of brick, thirty feet by thirty-two feet and two stories in height, had been erected for the principal.

These buildings were situated across the road from the second church-building. The land was very fertile, the farmers industrious and in twenty-five years the community had grown prosperous. They had placed the school on rising ground overlooking the broad campus, while to the rear stretched the farm which was to help support the project soon to be launched.

1.Ibid. Dates indicate succession; no page numbers.
2.Shields, op.cit. p.7
The buildings housed a day school, which was soon opened with Mr. J. Henry Kluge as the principal. The following year it became a girls school with Eugene P. Greider as Principal. This in turn gave place to the Moravian Seminary for Young Ladies which was opened in November 1866 under the principalship of Francis R. Holland, and no longer a congregational institution, but an institution of the Northern Province of the Moravian Church. This institution continued to exist, flourishing for some years, but finally succumbing to financial stringencies of the Moravian Church at large, closed its doors on June 28, 1881. "It is well here to remark that many of our best lady teachers have been pupils of this seminary. Prof. Holland served several years as a member of the School Board of the town of Hope, and one term of two years as Trustee of Haw Creek Township. In all these positions he was a good counselor and an ardent supporter of the common school system of his adopted state."

This record has been traced beyond the limitation set for the "early settlement" of the county, because the influence of the Moravian educational efforts could only be understood by carrying the narrative beyond the earliest years. When we remember that previous to 1852 educational facilities were very meagre in most sections of the state, it is not an exaggeration to say that the Moravians of Bartholomew County did not depart from the ideals which they had as a heritage of their church, in the field of education.

2. History of Bartholomew County, p. 553
Chapter VII

Other Moravian Contributions and Influences in the Affairs of Early Bartholomew County

The educational contribution was not the only one which the Moravians made to the early life of Bartholomew County. Another was, of course, the religious. The second twenty years of the nineteenth century was not only the period in which the different denominations which entered the state effected their denominational state organizations, but also marked the beginnings of intra-denominational separations and doctrinal debate. The Christian Church, or Disciples of Christ, began its protest against creeds and its emphasis on immersion as the only valid baptism. Joint debates by ministers took place from the pulpits and similar debates by laymen in their places of meeting. It was a time of Bible study to discover proof texts to prove the points of controversy. Denominations divided on not only doctrinal differences but on differences of government, as government by bishops or not, on attitudes toward political and economic issues, such as slavery, and on degrees of austerity in personal conduct. Much of the emotional extremes of the earlier years of the century continued, though somewhat abated.

It is not an exaggeration to say that the Moravian contribution to the religious life of the period was religious sanity in a day of revivalistic and denominational extremes. It's her-

1. Esarey, op. cit. I, 316-326; II, 573-575
2. Ibid, II, 574
itage had been an emphasis on life, on unity, on freedom to differ. Zinzendorf had even attempted to prevent the Renewed Church from becoming more than a fellowship of those who would serve the cause of Christ; just as the unique Diaspora work indicates the effort to evangelize, without disturbing the status in the state church, of those won to Christ. The Moravian Church has never issued a creed in the sense of a denominational confession of faith. The beginning of the denomination had been a protest against unholy living, particularly on the part of religious leaders. Luther had likened the Moravians to the Apostolic Church, in their living. Though evangelical and missionary they had never associated extreme emotionalism and hysteria, created by protracted service, with the effort to share the gospel. Something of their attitude can be discovered by two references to the reactions, over against such emotionalism in a religious service, of two of their leaders in Indiana, in this period. The first will reveal Lewis David von Schweinitz' experience at Madison where he was awaiting the first stage coach of the spring to go to Bartholomew County in late May, 1831.

In the course of the forenoon, I delivered to Mr. (William) Hendricks, senator of the United States, my letter of introduction addressed to him, whereupon he informed us that, at ten o'clock that morning, there commenced a so-called four days' 'meeting' of the Presbyterians and took me to church with him at once. Such 'meetings' are held everywhere to produce revivals and were continued daily during our entire stay here without interruption, save for meals and short intermissions, from nine o'clock in the morning until after eleven o'clock at night. After a very brief address several members of the church were asked to offer prayer, and hymns were sung in the intermission. Sometimes, also, members of the congregation were asked to sing

a hymn, which they did, but it was always the same, 'Alas! and did my Savior bleed.' Then the various ministers present likewise offered long prayers, sang hymns, and delivered very eloquent sermons. After the first prayer meeting, at which, among others, a venerable old man offered a touching evangelical prayer in simple, heart-felt language—which unfortunately he repeated just the same way every day—Mr. Hendricks introduced me to Mr. Johnston, the Presbyterian minister here, and several other gentlemen, all members of the church, the ones to whom I had my letters of introduction to deliver. They expressed themselves pleased to see me here, but could not take any other notice of me under the circumstances.

Owing to my misunderstanding a question which Mr. Johnston asked me, I had the terrible experience at the close of the sermon, when it was already two o’clock, to hear announced from the pulpit that a Moravian preacher present would preach at three o’clock in the afternoon. I felt entirely unable to do so, particularly after a sleepless night, without any preparation and without knowledge of the spirit reigning here, of which so far I had received the impression that, though it aimed at the Good, it sought to force it and bring it about in a manner with which I could by no means agree. I therefore felt obliged to correct this error in public and to allege among other reasons the state of my health, which forbade me to preach in public at the time—and it certainly would have had the most injurious consequences to me on account of the inevitable great uneasiness in which I should have been. This reason had to be accepted, but it also necessarily precluded my mounting the pulpit on any of the following days, when it might have been possible. However, Mr. Johnston very kindly took me to his small dwelling with him and kept me for dinner, where also Mr. Cushman, the delegate of the Society from Cincinnati which is carrying on these efforts, was staying. Although when I left his house, Mr. Johnston invited me to call often—since it was impossible for me to remain the whole time at the church—I could not make up my mind to inconvenience him again, especially since more and more ministers arrived and over-crowded his house. Furthermore, I could not possibly feel called upon to take part in these proceedings, as oftentimes I could not have done so without denying my convictions.

Upon the whole, I cannot deny, indeed, that the teachings propounded contained the gospel, and some of the discourses heard during that time—for I spent all the forenoons at the church—were truly evangelical and edifying. Others, to the contrary, which were intended to arouse sinners, either wholly kept from them Him who has come to seek and save what is lost, or else put Him in the background.
The angry Jehovah, however, represented as an avenger was described in fearful manner as endeavoring to strike them down before they reached refuge. The love of Jesus for the repenting sinner, which attracts him and encourages him when he is weary and heavily laden, to seek refuge with Him, was not mentioned at all or only quite incidentally. From Sunday on, when those in whom the Spirit was manifest, were repeatedly asked to come forward in public, the prayers and discourses were most eagerly directed at producing expressions of revival. Some young women had finally stepped up in the evening and were worked upon, in public and in private, with indescribable zeal. During the whole time the church was crowded. 1

The second will be the reaction of Martin Hauser when he visited a camp meeting on his first visit to Indiana.

During my stay in Washington County I had an opportunity to be present at a Meth. Camp meeting. I staid on the camp ground on saturday night witnessed the exercise of the mourners bench, but could not relish this mode of worship. A number of us left as soon as it was daylight & walked some 5 miles to a Baptist prayer meeting, 2

Only in their exclusive system by which others than members of the Moravian Church would not have been able to live in their settlements, did the Moravians take a stand that was unbrotherly toward others, and, in this their intent was to shut out worldliness and to build economic stability in their community, that missionary and evangelistic effort might be supported more effectively. Since the exclusive system was not introduced in the Hope settlement, although we have seen that Hauser favored it, this influence was not felt in Indiana.

1 Schwenklev, Lewis David von. op.cit. Pp.227-230
2 Hauser: History of our Moravian Churches in the States etc., p.21

original number 5.
There was an economic contribution to the community. Already we have quoted from Shield’s book concerning the prosperity which the community experienced and concerning the fertility of the soil and the industry of the people. Benjamin Remy, who had lived at Brookville moved to Hope and attempted to manufacture threshing machines, the cylinder for which—now used universally—was his own invention. He later returned to Brookville.

Very early Samuel Rominger and “his cousin A.S. Rominger put up a steam flouring mill.” The divisions of the town in lots, the investment of the money derived from their sale, for ministerial support, the building and maintenance of a church, parsonage, and the successive schools, the laying out and financing of a cemetery, the early business such as the cooperage, the cobbler shop etc., and Hauser’s early effort to bring together a large group of artisans to meet the varied needs, all these, added to the industry and prosperity of the farmers, were factors in making of the Moravian settlement a center of economic stability which had its effect in the county.

Moravians, with their emphasis on Christian life, made a contribution to law and order. Very early they had a part in the efforts to cope with the problem of intemperance and the drink evil. In one instance they bought out the license and stock of the owner of a notorious drinking center to try to keep the place

2.From interview with Judge Chas. F. Remy
3. Hauser: History of our Moravian Churches in the States etc., p. 49
closed, and though their efforts were in this instance ineffectual, it does illustrate something of the genuineness of their desire to keep the community temperate and orderly.

Reference has already been made to the list of early teachers, and to how that practically all of those listed in the History of Bartholomew County were Moravians. Likewise quotation has shown the further fact that many of the best teachers of the county were products of the Moravian Young Ladies Seminary. Martin Hauser was the town's first postmaster which position he held for eleven years. Among the early County Commissioners are the names of John Essex, Thomas Essex, Lewis Essex; among the largest tax payers in the first assessment for taxation is the name of Daniel Ziegler. In a list of early attorneys is that of N.T. Hauser; Thomas Essex was an early County Recorder; Lewis Vogler a County Treasurer; Thomas Essex was an early surveyor of the county also; Thomas Essex served in the State House of Representatives. Add to this the part played by the various ministers of the early church there, and also the Moravian teachers in the day school and the seminary. Certainly, it is evident that a contribution of the Moravian settlement to early Bartholomew County was a number of its civic leaders.

Should we take the time to turn to the succeeding generations of these early Moravian settlers, we would find leaders in business and public affairs both in the county itself, and throughout the state in various places. Sufficient has been told to portray an

2. Ibid. p.7
interesting narrative of early pioneers, battling the adversity of a new country, struggling for a livelihood for themselves and children, and in it all dominated by an idealism generated by a Church of ancient origin, the sharing of whose message and extension of whose organization, were as earnestly sought as their own economic welfare.
APPENDIX

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