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CHURCH CONTROL AND FAMILY STRUCTURE IN A MORAVIAN  
COMMUNITY OF NORTH CAROLINA: 1753-1857

*The University of North Carolina at Greensboro*

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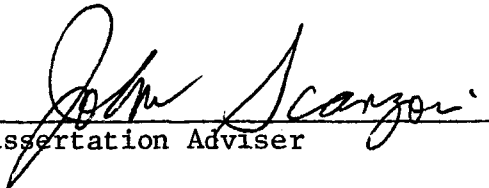
by

Jo Ellen Patterson

A Dissertation Submitted to  
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PATTERSON, JO ELLEN. Church Control and Family Structure in a Moravian Community of North Carolina: 1753-1857. (1980) Directed by: Dr. John Scanzoni. Pp.135.

The purpose of the present study was to examine the relationship of church authority and family structure in the Moravian Communities of Salem, Bethabara, Bethania, Friedberg, Friedland, and Hope, North Carolina, during the years 1753 until 1857. A time line indicating changes in church control was developed. Events, including changes in church controlled resources such as military policy, land ownership, social customs, and economic conditions, were depicted on the time line.

Family structure was measured using demographic data, including age at marriage, lifespan, number of children, number of marriages, and marital status, for each Moravian. Individual Moravians were stratified by time period and community in which they lived. Analysis of variance was used to compare differences between Moravians in each time period and/or community for each demographic variable. Chi-square tests were used to compare proportions of Moravians in marital status categories for each time period and community. Data were obtained from the records kept by Moravians which were stored in the State Archives of North Carolina in Raleigh, North Carolina.

Results indicated a relationship between high degrees of church power and late age at marriage or never marrying at all, fewer children and higher probability of remarriage. These results were explained in terms of the costs and rewards of decisions regarding their families for individual Moravians.



## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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## CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

Explanation of Social Historical Research

An interdisciplinary program has the option of viewing a particular subject from several different perspectives. Scholars who have been interested in the family have drawn primarily from sociology and psychology, the result being many studies (both descriptive and inferential) on contemporary families. Although we now have a plethora of research dealing with families, recent scholars have noted an important absence. Philip Greven noted this absence by stating:

The nature and functions of modern families have preoccupied the attention of many sociologists, anthropologists, and psychologists whose theoretical and empirical studies have laid the basis for our understanding of contemporary families. Yet their work has been carried out in a historical vacuum, owing to the dearth of reliable information and useful assessments of families in the past. Although we now know in considerable detail how the modern family in the United States and Western Europe is structured and how it functions, we cannot yet determine the extent to which such forms of family life and experience are unique to our particular social, economic, and cultural circumstances. We cannot be entirely certain, therefore, about the correlations of family forms with other determinants of behavior. The only way to establish what is unique about modern families is to compare them with families in the past. For this reason, the history of the family is of fundamental importance if we are to understand ourselves and our societies. (1970, p. 283)

One reason that family scholars have overlooked an historical perspective for so long is the lack of methodology. How does one collect a sample of individuals who have been dead for hundreds of

years? Through the development of new methodology, family scholars are now able to investigate families of the past and to arrange the data on those families so that they parallel major events of a particular era (Wrigley, 1966). Thus, one is able to trace connections between global historical events and the more private aspects of family life (Wrigley, 1966).

Isolated research on specific communities during a specific era may not provide much relevant information for current family scholars. But an assimilation of research done on all geographic locations over different time periods will give family scholars important information in understanding contemporary families.

This study is one more contribution to the assimilated information known at the present about families of the past. The focus of this study will be a religious sect, the Moravians. This study will deal specifically with the Moravian settlements in North Carolina, which included Salem and five farming communities during the years 1753 to 1857.

### Glossary

The following terms are used throughout this study. They are defined here for the information and convenience of the reader.

Aeltesten Conferenz: Literally, "The Conference of Elders." This board was charged specifically with the oversight of the spiritual affairs of a congregation or of a district. It also had responsibility to see that all other boards and officials within its jurisdiction functioned harmoniously. Prior to 1859 the congregation

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had no voice in determining the membership of this board, it being composed of church officials who served on it ex officio or others appointed to it (see Appendix C) (Fries & Rights, Vol X, 1922-1969, p. 5645).

Aufseher Collegium: Literally, "The Board of Supervisors." In Salem the board long retained its German title; in the other congregations the local "Committee" carried on its functions. It administered the material and financial interests of the congregation, aided in maintaining "good morals" within the community, acted as arbitrator in cases of dispute, and had a part in approving applications for admission to the congregation (Fries & Rights, Vol. X, 1922-1969, p. 5645).

Auswartige: A term used to designate persons who worshiped with the congregation although they did not live in town, subscribe to the rules and regulations, or vote in congregational matters (Surratt, 1968, p. 353).

Choir: This was a religio-social segment of the congregation determined by age, sex, and marital status. Some choirs lived, worked, and worshiped together in their respective choir houses. Others were informal religious divisions (Surratt, 1968, p. 353).

Chor Pfleger: Literally, "The One Who Fosters the Choir." This was an individual entrusted with responsibility for the spiritual life of a choir. The term might perhaps be freely translated as "the Choir Chaplain" (Fries & Rights, Vol. X, 1922-1969, p. 5646).

Communicant Member: Full member of the Moravian Church with all responsibilities and privileges of membership. For many years only Communicant members could live in Salem.

Congregation Place (Gemein Ort) (e.g., Salem): Communities among Moravians whose civil and ecclesiastical life were managed by church authorities. The congregation place was carefully planned and only communicant members could live in the congregation place (Surratt, 1968, p. 353).

Diacony, Diaconie: The financial organization of the community as a whole or of some choirs which carried on businesses (Surratt, 1968, p. 353).

Lot: Moravians sought the guidance of God through the Lot when human reason was insufficient to determine the answer to an important question. It was employed only by the Elders' Conference and only in a spirit of prayerfulness (Surratt, 1968, p. 354).

Memorabilia: A review of important events of the year read by the pastor of the congregation each December (Surratt, 1968, p. 354).

Oeconomie: A communal organization which included common house-keeping in the early days of Bethabara (Surratt, 1968, p. 354).

Received, Reception: An intermediate level of congregational membership prior to the status of Communicant. It was important during the period when the approval of the Lot was required for confirmation and admission to Holy Communion (Surratt, 1968, p. 354).

Society (i.e., Friedberg, Friedland, and Hope): An association affiliated with the Brethren, and served by a Moravian minister, but not fully organized as a Moravian Congregation. Society members did



not sign the community regulation or participate in Holy Communion (Fries & Rights, Vol. XI, 1922-1969, p. 5646).

Speaking: A personal interview between each member and his pastor or choir leader concerning the condition of the member's spiritual life. It preceded each celebration of Holy Communion (Surratt, 1968, p. 354).

Vorsteher: Literally, "The Superintendent," i.e., the warden or business manager and treasurer of a congregation or a choir (Fries & Rights, Vol. X, 1922-1969, p. 5652).

Wachovia: The tract of land in North Carolina comprising approximately 99,000 acres which was owned by the Moravian Church and its members. On this tract all early congregations of the Brethren in North Carolina were constructed (Surratt, 1968, p. 354).

CHAPTER II  
REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The Moravians

During approximately a hundred-year span the Church of the Unity of the Brethren, known as the Moravians, and the communities in Wachovia, North Carolina, which had been settled by the Moravians, changed from being synonomous to being two unique institutions (Mitchell, 1961). This change had important implications for the structure of the family.

When examining Moravian archives, one notes a decline in church authority in all areas of life as time passed. Initially, the church stood at the center of community life controlling both spiritual and economic aspects. With the passing of time new developments emerged which instigated a decline in church control (Rights, 1955).

The degree of church control varied between the urban community, Salem, and the five farming communities, Bethabara, Bethania, Friedberg, Friedland, and Hope--a difference arising because Salem as the congregation place served as the center of church authority. There church control was more carefully maintained during a time when the other communities began to grow restless under close church regulation.

The purpose of the present study was to examine how the decline in church authority affected family structure in the Moravian

communities of Salem, Bethabara, Bethania, Friedland, Friedberg, and Hope during the years 1753 until 1857.

### Historical Background

#### European Heritage

The Moravians who came to North Carolina from Pennsylvania in the 1750's brought with them beliefs and traditions of the Ancient Unitas Fratrum, forerunner of the Protestant Reformation, and of the Renewed Unitas Fratrum under the Saxon Count Nicholas Ludwig von Zinzerdorf. Moravians had found refuge during the Counter Reformation on the estate of von Zinzendorf, a Pietist. There, in the village called Herrnhut, rigorously disciplined Christian community life fused with German Pietism to form the Renewed Unity of the Brethren or the "Moravians," as they are now called (North, 1972, p. 2).

Members living in Herrnhut were expected to maintain fervent religious commitment and were expected to lead a life well-disciplined by adherence to communal standards.

On August 13, 1727, the residents of Herrnhut shared a spiritual experience which brought a new spirit of unity to the congregation. This date was to be remembered as a time of consecration. Similarly, in 1741, the Brethren shared a second significant religious experience which led them to believe that Christ Himself wished personally to be the Chief Elder of their Church, leading it in all important decisions (Mitchell, 1961). From this date forward the Unity leaders began to depend upon the drawing of lots as the revelation of the Chief Elder's will.

### Moravians in America

As a refuge from persecution in Saxony and as a mission effort to the American Indians, the Moravians migrated to Georgia in 1735. In 1739 the Moravians in Georgia were told to send two men to fight in the Spanish Wars. The Moravians, who were pacifists, refused to do so, and subsequently migrated from Georgia to Nazareth and Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. By following a communal lifestyle during the early years in Pennsylvania, the communities prospered. As they prospered they gradually returned to an economic system in which individuals could own and operate their own businesses.

In the 1740's the Unity leadership departed from their traditional style of government by synod and bestowed upon Count Zinzendorf unlimited powers as absolute general administrator and executive (Hamilton, 1967). Within a decade the Unity was on the verge of bankruptcy. But even more damaging to the Brethren were the theological changes that occurred under Zinzendorf's leadership (called the Sifting Period). Zinzendorf emphasized a religion which focused on the wounds of Christ, emotional experiences, and childlike faith (Hamilton, 1967). As the results of these changes became apparent, Zinzendorf realized his mistakes and deferred to other Moravian leaders, such as August Spanenberg, who began to guide the church back to its former theological beliefs. In an attempt to renew the energy of the Brethren, to expand the financial resources, and to enlarge their mission effort, the Brethren made plans to undertake a new settlement. In 1752 a surveying party investigated

the proprietarial lands of Lord Carteret, Earl of Granville, in Western North Carolina, and in 1753 they bought almost 100,000 acres. In memory of their homeland in Germany the area was named "Wachovia" or "well-watered meadow lands" (Hamilton & Hamilton, 1967, p. 140).

### Structure of Moravian Communities

In the early years the first Moravian community, Bethabara, was based on a communal lifestyle, the Oeconomie, an economic system of common ownership of property, equal division of labor, and profit sharing among community members (North, 1972). This communal lifestyle, viewed as temporary, was thought to be the solution to the practical problems associated with starting a self-supporting colony in North Carolina, and had its historical precedent in the Moravian colony founded in Pennsylvania (Hamilton & Hamilton, 1967). Although the Oeconomie proved to be an economic success, Moravian historians noted that its major defect was the submergence of the divine institution, the family, during the years it was in effect (Hamilton & Hamilton, 1967).

If the family were submerged during the time, the primary institution was the church. North (1972) noted:

All of life was permeated by religious motivation and stewardship, and the Church dominated civil and secular affairs (by a religious governing board known as the Aufseher Collegium) as well as religious affairs (a separate board, the Aeltesten Conferenz). " (p. 8)

When the Moravians moved from Bethabara to Salem in 1765, the Oeconomie was disbanded and the choir system was fully developed.

The choir was a way of organizing Moravians according to sex, age, and marital status. The choir served spiritual and, in the case of the Single Sisters and Single Brothers, economic purposes. The Diaconie, which was a fund receiving the profits of the church-owned businesses, was used to support the church (Holder, 1929). The church owned five major businesses in Salem--the tavern, tannery, pottery, store, and mill (Fries & Rights, Vol. I, 1922-1969). Individuals owned and operated other businesses, but they leased the land for their shops and homes from the church and retained it only so long as they maintained life worthy of a brother. Thus, the Elders of the Church had a major source of power in controlling the Brethren, because they could banish unworthy citizens from the town by taking their land.

In practice, though individuals could own, operate, and profit from their own businesses, economic life in Salem was closely regulated by the church leaders. Competition in economic affairs was considered unbrotherly; thus, the opening of a new business, the addition of different stock, and the pricing of services and goods were carefully controlled by the Aufseher Collegium. Economic freedom was subordinated to the authority of the community leaders, whose task it was to balance individual economic interests and needs with those of the whole community in accordance with the community's purpose to serve as an example of virtuous and brotherly Christian living (Mitchell, 1961). These community leaders were expected to be governed by the same motivation and ideals regardless of whether the issue was secular or spiritual.

Spiritual affairs, such as the admission of new members to the communion service, the activities of the choirs, and marriages, were supervised by the Aeltesten Conferenz, or Board of Elders, which was composed of the clergymen of the community, their wives, and their "helpers" in the choirs (Fries & Rights, Vol. I, 1922-1969). All areas of life were evaluated in terms of spiritual consequences for the community.

### Moravian Traditions

Two Moravian traditions provide insight into the impact of religion on daily life--the implementation of the choir system and the use of the lot in decision making.

Members of the congregation were divided into choirs, or groups based on marital status, age, and sex (Fries & Rights, Vol. III, 1922-1969). Thus, there were choirs for single sisters, single brothers, widows, widowers, married couples, and girls and boys, respectively. The Pfleger, or spiritual helper, was placed over each choir (Fries & Rights, Vol. I, 1922-1969). The Single Sisters and Single Brothers both owned and lived in their own choir houses in Salem (Fries & Rights, Vol. I, 1922-1969).

The lot was another Moravian tradition that helped maintain church control. Following the religious experience of 1741, the Unity leaders depended on the lot as a means to know the Chief Elder's will when making decisions. The lot, which could be cast only by church officials, served as a unifying factor, making dissent not only

disruptive but even sinful. Use of the lot was regulated by several stipulations, including thoughtful discussion preceding the lot, careful wording of questions, and prior agreement to obedience to the results of the lot once it had been cast (Mitchell, 1961). The lot could indicate three decisions--yes, no, or blank, which indicated that the lot could be cast again at a later date (Fries, 1922).

### Areas of Church Control

#### Use of the Lot

The degree to which the individuals subordinated themselves to the authority of the church can be seen in their willingness to marry only the person whom Christ approved through the lot. The use of the lot to select a marital partner illustrates the Moravian conviction that marriage and family life must be subordinated to the will of God for the greater good of the community as a whole. Marriage was viewed as a means to serve the community rather than as a personal decision between two people (North, 1972). In fact, in 1782 the Congregation Council of Salem noted that if one married according to personal preference, "It would be a backward step for us" (Fries & Rights, Vol. IV, 1922-1969, p. 1804). But as time passed, more young people began to want to choose their own spouses; accordingly, there was an increase in secret engagements, non-approved marriages, and marriage to non-Moravians (Fries & Rights, Vol V, 1922-1969, p. 2330). Thus, policy regarding use of the lot for marriage was modified as time passed to allow freedom for personal choice.



### Land Policy

Marriage was not the only area that entailed a constant struggle between church and individual forces. As the Brethren became restive under the close supervision and domination of their lives by Moravian leadership, they pressed for changes with regard to land policy. From the beginning there had been common ownership of land, because in planning for the North Carolina settlement, a Moravian leader, Spanenberg, had stated that there should be common housekeeping under which all settlers would eat from one kitchen and live together in one or two houses. The land was owned by the Unity of the Brethren, held in trust by a proprietor, and administered by the Unity Administrator, who rented the kind to members (Mitchell, 1961). This system of land ownership was incongruous with the abundance of virgin land in America. Furthermore, ownership of the land by the church made obedience imperative, because an unworthy brother received the consilium abeundi, an official command to leave the community. With increased land resources outside the community and increased pressure to acquire private possession of land within the community, the church eventually allowed private ownership of land.

### Military and Political

Although the Moravians were a self-contained group, both socially and economically, it became increasingly difficult for the Brethren to ignore the circumstances of the new country in which they had settled. The Brethren were a peaceful group who considered it a violation of their beliefs to bear arms or take oaths of allegiance. The

significant privileges of religious freedom and exemption from military service and the taking of oaths accorded them by the English Parliament inspired a sincere gratitude and loyalty to the English, which reinforced their attitude of obedience to their government leaders (Fries & Rights, Vol. I, 1922-1969). Moravian theology taught that authority was ordained by God; thus, submission to government leaders was viewed as a religious duty.

The Moravians' attitudes and behavior toward their government and military service were also subjected to the influence of outside sources. The Revolutionary War and the coming of outsiders into the Moravian settlements meant that "associations and impressions that could not be avoided had left their mark on the young men in particular, in ways that caused the fathers of the village grave concern" (Fries & Rights, Vol. IV, 1922-1969, p. 1865). In examining the Brethren's policy with regard to military and political participation, once again one observes the change of control from the elders of the church to individual choice.

#### Trade and Slaves

All Moravians were expected to live a virtuous and blameless Christian life; thus, it followed that economic and trade regulations be subordinated to the well-being of the community as determined by the church elders. In a pragmatic sense this meant submission by the Brethren to the policies of the Aufseher Collegium. Included in the list of economic areas were policies prohibiting competition, permission to open and close a business, addition of stock, price control,

buying and selling of land and slaves, and almost any other area influencing trade (Fries & Rights, Vol V, 1922-1969). Often the cost of living rose at a quicker rate than the Collegium's scale, a fact which resulted in the businessmen simply disregarding the scale. Such economic independence was condemned as "unplanned thinking and doing which might bring the displeasure of the Saviour upon our commerce, so that His blessing would be removed from it" (Fries & Rights, Vol. III, 1922-1969, p. 1177). In spite of the reprimands of the Collegium, the Brethren pressed the leaders for more economic independence; thus, economic and trade regulations were another area which exhibited change from church control to individual control.

Policy regarding trade, marriage, land, and military involvement were all areas that indicated a decline of church control over time. There were also isolated incidents of disobedience that served as the stimuli for growing conflict between the church and individual Brethren. Examples of the Brethrens' unwillingness to adhere to policies of the church included failure to make adequate contributions to the Unity, permitting private sale of houses without the knowledge and approval of the Collegium, rebellion of young people against the communal discipline, growing independence in marrying, unauthorized competition in business, dissatisfaction with the land-rental system, decline of personal discipline in drinking, growing need and willingness to take legal action, and social intercourse with members of the opposite sex (Fries & Rights, Vol V, 1922-1969; Holder, 1929). Thus, though the Moravians remained a religious people, their burgeoning worldly interests, which in practice if not in theory rivaled their

religious concerns, led to the decline of church control in community affairs.

### Church Control by Settlements

When the Moravians came to Wachovia in 1753, they established an initial settlement, Bethabara. As time passed, six Moravian communities emerged, each with its own unique heritage. Each community dealt with church control in a different way, and the strength of church control varied from community to community (see Appendix B).

#### Bethabara

The first community, Bethabara, was based on a communal lifestyle in which all ate from one kitchen and lived together in two houses. All gave to the common fund the profits of their work, and all received their needs from the congregation store (North, 1972). This common sharing helped the settlers survive the first difficult years in which they were plagued by disease, war, and economic deprivation (Fries & Rights, Vol. I, 1922-1969). By 1759 Bethabara was an economically prosperous town of 49 men and 17 women (Fries & Rights, Vol. I, 1922-1969). After 1762 Bethabara abandoned the communal lifestyle, and by 1765 Bethabara had become a farming community like the other outlying Moravian communities of Wachovia (Holder, 1929; Surratt, 1968).

### Bethania

Although the Oeconomie was successful, a few families in Bethabara became discontented and sought a more individualistic lifestyle. In 1759 eight refugee families from the French and Indian War and eight families from Bethabara began the new village of Bethania, located in Black Walnut Bottom, three miles north of Bethabara (Davis, 1959). Eventually, there were twelve northern lots and eighteen southern lots along a central street. The land was leased for the lifetime of the residents and their children, with "each to pay a yearly rent for the twon lot garden and farm land" (Fries & Rights, Vol. II, 1922-1969, p. 909). The founding of Bethania as a farming community with both original Moravian settlers and new refugees who had requested membership and without the communal economic organization was the first step to incorporate individual freedom into a communal lifestyle. Before a decade had passed, Bethania became a thriving farming community of 37 adults and 50 children (Fries & Rights, Vol. I, 1922-1969).

### Salem

By 1765 Bethabara was a prosperous religious, trading, and farming center. But the leaders of the Unity in Europe were ready to begin with plans for the central Gemein Ort, the religious and commercial hub. The decision to move from Bethabara and the selection of the site for Salem were decided by the use of the lot (Mitchell, 1961). Businesses and craftsmen were transferred to Salem beginning in 1772. Life in Salem offered both communal and individualistic

elements. The church retained control of civil and secular affairs through land ownership, ownership of major businesses, and control of the choirs; but individuals could own and operate other businesses and lease land for their homes and shops from the church as long as they maintained a life worthy of a Brother (Mitchell, 1961).

Salem was unique in that it was to be a "congregation place" and the center of Moravian life. The governing boards were located in Salem, and only members of the congregation were allowed to live in Salem unless one had received special permission (Holder, 1929). Single men and women lived in separate choir houses and held special choir services. Restrictions were more rigid and more carefully enforced in Salem than in the other communities.

#### Friedberg, Friedland, and Hope

In 1754 Adam Spach settled three miles south of Wachovia. He requested that services be held in his home. When several other families came from Pennsylvania in 1769, the church authorities set apart 34 acres for the new congregation. By 1772 there was a total of 81 acres, and a schoolhouse was built. This settlement, Friedberg, consisted of 19 families in 1772 (Fries & Rights, Vol. I, 1922-1969).

Friedland was established near the eastern border of Wachovia by six German families in 1769. These settlers had emigrated from Broad-bay, Maine. With the addition of eight other families, the cornerstone for the church was laid in 1772 (Fries, Wright, & Hendricks, 1976).

The first English settlement, Hope, was located in the southwestern corner of the tract. The settlers had originally participated in the Friedberg congregation, but began to desire an English-speaking church. They completed their meetinghouse around 1780 (Fries, Wright, & Hendricks, 1976).

Friedberg, Friedland, and Hope began as preaching-places and later became "country congregations." Members were scattered on nearby farms, gathering in the schoolhouses for meetings. In the farming communities, residents were often affiliated with the Unity, but they were not yet full members or "communicant members."

Unlike individuals in Salem, individuals in the five farming communities might not be full members of the Moravian Church. They might be members of the "Society," which meant that they were to be in sympathy with the views of the Moravians, willing to follow the rules of the Brethren, and living with, but not considered members of, a congregation (Fries & Rights, Vol. I, 1922-1969, p. 265).

Because of the differences in membership, church restrictions, and lifestyle, the five country congregations were especially susceptible to change. Especially from the young people came indications that the established order of community discipline and spirituality would not be continued without conflict. Those perennial agents of change, the country congregations, and the young people of Wachovia reinforced each other; for the settlers of the country congregations, whose economic life was less tightly controlled and whose marriages were earlier, had always borne more children than the Brothers and Sisters of Salem (Mitchell, 1961).

The non-Moravian background of some of the settlers in the country congregations, and the fact that religious life there could not be so easily scrutinized by church leaders as in Salem, meant that the majority of the young people in the country congregations had been reared in an atmosphere in which traditional Moravian beliefs were not so firmly entrenched as they were in Salem.

In Salem rules could be maintained and offenders forced to leave the community; but, beginning with Bethania in 1770, the Moravian leaders lost their major means of demanding discipline by permitting the Brethren to own their own land instead of leasing it from the church.

The Aeltesten Conferenz recognized this trend toward individualistic control in 1785 by noting:

In the congregation a spirit has become evident which seeks to have American freedom. This should be taken up in the Congregation Council and thoroughly investigated, so that so dangerous a thing may be put away from us. (Fries & Rights, Vol. V, 1922-1969, p. 2096)

As time passed the country congregations moved from being theocratic communities, in the late eighteenth century, to being moderately progressive and essentially secular communities in which the church was only one institution among many, by the eighteen-fifties (Surratt, 1968). These changes occurred more rapidly in the country congregations than in Salem. Even in Salem, the desire for individual freedom emerged, and in time the Salem Brethren followed their country Brethren in seeking more individualistic control in all areas of their lives.



### Implications for Family Structure

As has been noted by historians (Hamilton & Hamilton, 1967; Surratt, 1968), the family was subordinated to the church in the early years of the Moravian settlement, especially when the Oeconomie was in effect. The traditions and policies of the church had an important impact on the functions and roles of the family.

As church control declined, individuals were able to make decisions regarding their personal lives without interference from church leaders. Surratt (1968) identified a change in attitude regarding personal decisions. He defined this change as an orientation away from community (or Gemeinschaft) to a focus on individual, personal goals (or Gesellschaft) (Surratt, 1968, p. 336). Thus, family life would no longer be sacrificed for the good of the community. Instead, decisions influencing the family would be made by the individual and determined by what was best for their own personal growth.

By maximizing the allegiance of its members to the goals of the community, as Gollin (1969) pointed out, the Moravian settlement greatly enhanced its economic and social development. The primary means of maximizing allegiance would be the use of the choir system as a surrogate family. Within the choir all major decisions were made for the individual by the choir supervisor, the Pfleger (Gollin, 1969). There were also opportunities for a weekly counseling session, speakings, between the choir member and the Pfleger which served to strengthen the bond to the choir. Thus, in Salem, where the choir system was used most extensively, the family would be of secondary

importance. In the country congregations the choir system was not as well developed, and parents retained control of areas controlled by the choirs in Salem (Holder, 1929).

Another tradition that would have an impact on family life was the use of the lot. Mitchell (1961) noted that the lot was not used as extensively in the farming communities as it was in Salem. The conflict over the use of the lot for selecting a marriage partner became so serious that by 1787 the Conferenz seriously considered rejecting the requests of young people to be received into country congregations, because experience had taught them that the single members gained often had to be excluded from the congregations later on account of their unwillingness to submit to the lot in the matter of marriage (Fries & Rights, Vol. V, 1922-1969). In Salem rules pertaining to young people could be maintained and offenders forced to leave the community (Fries & Rights, Vol. II, 1922-1969).

As a result of tighter control at Salem, the Brothers and Sisters married later and had fewer children (Fries & Rights, Vol. II, 1922-1969; Holder, 1929; Mitchell, 1961). The youth in the country congregations who were reared in a less restrictive atmosphere formed a burgeoning majority of nonconformists. For example, in Bethania after the harvest of 1775, Brother Ernst lamented:

Fewer outsiders were employed than usual, but in spite of this things went disorderly enough with the young people of the upper town and the worst of it was that one knew it was done with the knowledge and consent of their parents. (Fries & Rights, Vol. II, 1922-1969, p. 909)

On this occasion "things went disorderly" because the young people worked in mixed couples.

The church's control of land and economic resources also influenced the family. Gollin (1969) stated that economic reasons served as an incentive to postpone marriage. In Salem a Single Brother could remain in the Single Brothers' house and continue his trade, but once he married, he had to move out and establish his business to support his wife and any children they might have. In trying to establish his business, he must recognize the important limitations placed on him by the rules of the Collegium. In the country congregations, these restrictions were not as easily enforced, and the transition from being single to being married would not involve a loss of economic security, since the young people had to come to Salem to live in the Single Sisters' or Single Brothers' house (Holder, 1929).

Church policy had important implications for family life. Single Brothers and Single Sisters were to be kept entirely separate until marriage (Holder, 1929). Marital status was considered a prerequisite for the fulfillment of many occupational duties. Thus, the Brethren were under strong pressure to marry if they were to continue to carry out their daily lives in a way pleasing to the church (Gollin, 1969). If one's spouse died, too, there was encouragement to remarry, with the new match also being confirmed by the lot. Thus, although the restrictions of the church discouraged early marriage, one would expect to find a high incidence of remarriage when a theocratic government prevailed.

The Moravian communities were designed to be relatively self-contained and socially isolated. Control of the land within the

communities provided the power to maintain the isolation during the early years. As time passed, increased contact with outsiders began to slowly erode the isolationism that had characterized the early Moravian communities. This change had important implications for family structure.

Count Zinzendorf, the Moravian general administrator and executive during the Sifting Period (1740 to 1750), had opposed the founding of Bethania, because "a mixture of Brethren and Friends" did not conform to the idea of the Unity of Brethren being an ordained company of workers (Fries, Wright, & Hendricks, 1976, p. 19). The mixture of Moravians and non-Moravian neighbors in the country congregations influenced courtship, marriage, and everyday family life. During the seventeen-eighties many of the complaints about the behavior of the young people focused on their participation in amusements considered "worldly" or wasteful by the Elders. Attendance at dances, canoeing, playing jews-harps, and Sunday ridings were all condemned (Holder, 1929). These social activities led to an increase in the number of non-Moravians brought into the communities through marriage, and their presence accelerated the demise of religious exclusivism (Gollin, 1969; Hamilton & Hamilton, 1967; Holder, 1929).

#### Critique Regarding Moravian Research

The literature reviewed thus far was descriptive in its examination of Moravian life. Researchers have attempted to piece together from the diaries, memorabilia, minutes of church board meetings, church registers, and biographies the sequence of events which

portrayed the development of the Moravians in North Carolina. The result is a description of the change from the theocracy to a secular community with a religious affiliation to the Moravian Church.

Historiography on the Moravians became more sophisticated in its analyses as historical methodology improved. Literature in the early nineteen-thirties focused on description of various aspects, such as economic or social, of Moravian life (Holder, 1929). By the nineteen-sixties researchers began identifying underlying motifs and organizing their explanation of Moravian life around themes such as freedom and authority, or sacred and secular (Mitchell, 1961; Rights, 1955; Surratt, 1968; Woosley, 1956).

Researchers who have examined changes in the North Carolina Moravian communities have focused on the motif of increased secularization over time. That theme was present in every source examined. What were not universally agreed upon were the causes for secularization and its temporal order. Surratt (1968) stated:

To be sure, political, social, and economic factors were involved in Salem's transition; but until changes in the religious dimension occurred among the Brethren, significant influences from other dimensions were seemingly precluded. (p. 340)

Surratt (1968) differentiated between the immediate consciousness of religious experience and formalized external expressions of religion, and it is in the change of consciousness that he found the impetus for change in the Moravian communities.

This perspective was in sharp contrast to that of Gollin (1969), who stated that religious beliefs and ethics alone failed to yield an

adequate explanation as to why social change occurred, because ". . . the content of these religious values did not change significantly" (p. 220). Instead of religious changes serving as the impetus for secularization, Gollin (1969) said, the source was the ". . . interaction between religious and the economic, political, and social conditions" (p. 220). Indeed, Gollin (1969) continued by stating that the economic, political, and social changes ". . . altered the . . . religious values of the Moravians" (p. 225).

Rights (1955) labeled the process of change as "the process of natural evolution" or, simply, the passing of time (p. 69). This perspective presented changes which were attributed to environmental changes over time, and went on to present the Moravian leaders as recognizing these evolutionary changes and making accommodation for them as necessary. Mitchell (1961) stated that the Moravian leaders recognized:

. . . the problem of accepting needful changes within the community without destroying it . . . by recognizing the inevitability of changes in human affairs and approaching these changes cautiously but fearlessly. (p. 118)

To illustrate this attitude toward change, Mitchell quoted a Moravian leader, Marshall, in response to the criticism of some Brethren concerning the rebellion of the young people against the lot as the revelation of God's will for a marriage partner. Marshall, the Unity Administrator in Wachovia, responded by stating:

For well nigh twice forty years He had led the Unity of Brethren, making known His will for it through the lot, but that method too will cease. When a high privilege becomes merely a Church rule then it dare no longer be called imperative. You have seen changes made in its

use, and you will see more, but be not affrightened; God will find other means whereby to make known His will to those who seek it. (Fries, 1944, pp. 308-309)

Although a consensus was never reached regarding the causes and ordering of changes, historical scholarship on the Moravians agrees that changes occurred which indicated a decline of church control and an increasing secularization.

Changes indicating increased secularization could be explained using a theoretical perspective. Theory provides an explanation of changes by identifying underlying themes regardless of the situation. These underlying themes served as a source of explanation when interpretation of the family structure means was made.

Presentation of a statistical picture of changes in family structure would illuminate the work of past historians on Moravian families. Speculations have been made in past historical scholarships regarding changes in the Moravian family. Through implementation of recently developed methodology, it is now possible to identify specific changes in Moravian family structure. This can be done by employing methodology that will quantify demographic variables of families in different eras (i.e., age at marriage), and then comparing the resulting quantities.

#### Theoretical Perspective

In providing an explanation of the changes that occurred in the Moravian communities, one could employ theoretical axioms. Historians have primarily drawn upon two theoretical approaches. The developmental or family-cycle approach has been used by some (Berkner, 1972;

Demos, 1970; Elder, 1979; Mitterauer & Snieder, 1979); they have deviated from traditional developmental theory in that they viewed the life course in terms of transition instead of stages, attempting broadly to encompass individual development, collective family development, and historical change (Elder, 1977). The second approach used has been exchange theory (Anderson, 1971; Smith, 1979). This approach attempts to tap the processes of power, conflict, and compromise, power being defined as the ability to control one's own life-changes and increase the attainment of one's goals (Anderson, 1971).

The present study will employ exchange theory, because it is most useful in answering questions regarding the relationship between the church and individual Moravians. In this study one is not only looking at how Moravian life changed over time (family cycle), but also seeking explanations of why it changed. Exchange theory seems to be the best perspective, because it examines the interaction between groups (in this case, the church and Moravian Brethren), and provides an explanation of changes from that interaction. Anderson (1971) provided a model in applying exchange theory to social-historical work on the family.

Anderson (1971) conducted a study on a nineteenth-century Lancashire community in which he examined the exchanges that took place between kin. By examining resources in the environment, such as family incomes, urban population growth, savings, and mortality, Anderson demonstrated that the exchanges were a result of needs of Actor for the resources of kinsmen. By examining occupational status, age, and residence, he went on to show that when Actor could become



independent from his kin by obtaining his own resources, the exchanges between kin and Actor would break down. This breakdown would, in turn, affect norms regarding kin ties, which Anderson measured by looking at variables such as coresidence and deliberate propinquity.

On the basis of this study, Anderson (1971) proposed that each Actor was seeking self-reliance and independence from kin. Lack of resources maintained Actor's dependence on kin. As Actor was able to increase his resources, he simultaneously decreased his involvement with kin. The more alternative ways of gaining resources there were for Actor, the greater the possibility of reduced kin influence.

Actor's relationship to his kin, in Anderson's (1971) perspective, was analogous to the individual Brethren's relationship to the church. In the early years of the Moravian settlement, the church had control of all resources that were desperately needed for survival against famine, disease, and Indians. Assistance from others by combining resources through the Oeconomie was the key to solving problems and maximizing rewards until more individual rewards became available. Conflict occurred when outside resources provided competition for the resources which had originally been controlled by the church. These outside resources provided opportunity for growing autonomy from the church as Moravians began to trade with non-Moravians, Single Brothers married non-Moravian women, and Moravians became aware of the abundant land supply that they could own instead of lease. These outside resources were more readily available to the farming communities at an earlier date, because there was less church control. Thus, for a period of time the competition between reward sources resulted in

conflict for the individual Moravian who wanted to maximize his own personal gain but maintain a life "worthy of a Brother." Eventually, the individuals who were experiencing conflict combined to form an impetus for social change which resulted in a redistribution of church power.

The struggle between personal gain and church commitment was intensified by the common values (or historical norms) which served as the background for the decisions that were to be made. These values, which were derived from performance of other relationships in the past, not only provided a structure for the exchange between the church and the individual, but also furnished an identity for the individual within the community, clear role expectations, and a clear hierarchy of authority within the community. Thus, to deviate from those values was to risk uncertainty and loss.

By using exchange theory to conceptualize the descriptive literature of past research, one is able to provide an explanation of the changes in the Moravian communities. This conceptualization will be based on several assumptions regarding power, conflict, and exchanges, including the following:

1. All Actors are reward-seeking.
2. All Actors in a society are sometimes faced with impediments in the environment which must be overcome if their rewards are to be attained.
3. Any society has only a limited number of known ways to solve these problems.

4. Other alternative sources of assistance exist which may be available to Actor to help him attain rewards and which may belong to Other.
5. Choices are made in such a way that in the long run Actor (he hopes) will maximize his goals and minimize his losses within the limits imposed by his resources and by others.
6. Ongoing voluntary social relationships are most often maintained when exchanges are reciprocal.
7. Often when exchanges are no longer perceived as fair by one or both parties, the structure of the exchange will be modified or discontinued.
8. Exchange relationships take place against a background of shared values which lay down the rules to be followed by each party.
9. These shared values perform the function of convincing both parties that reciprocity will occur to the extent, in the manner, and at the time expected by each (Blau, 1964).
10. If alternative sources offer better exchanges to one or both parties, then in the long run the old values (or norms) will break down as new optimal exchanges emerge.

#### Methodological Perspective

Demos (1968) stated that no other aspect of American history has been more badly served by unsystematic, impressionistic methods than the area of family life. Historical demography now provides a

solution to this problem by furnishing a methodology to confirm speculations about the lives of early families (Greven, 1967).

Historical demography can provide analyses of trends of population growth and decline. Factors such as parents' age at birth, age at marriage, and age at death provide useful indices of economic, civic, and social change (Shorter, 1971). By arranging the demographic data so that they parallel major events, one is able to examine the relationship between events and demographic changes (Wrigley, 1966). In this study, by arranging the demographic changes of the Moravian families in relation to changes in church policy on issues that were sources of conflict and tension, one is able to obtain a precise picture of the relationship between church policy and family structure during a specific time period. By combining the general trends of family structure provided by demographic analysis with specific details about areas of conflict from sources such as personal diaries and church minutes, one is able to obtain a more complete understanding of Moravian life during a particular era.

#### Research Questions

In obtaining an overview of the history of the Moravian settlement in North Carolina, one might consider several hypotheses. The purpose of this study was to examine the relationship between church control and family structure. Thus, in communities where church control was strongest, was family subordinated to the church and communal life (Holder, 1929; Mitchell, 1961)? One is able to answer this question by looking at demographic factors. Did the Moravian Brothers and

Sisters marry later in Salem than in the farming communities? Was there a higher remarriage rate in Salem than in the farming communities which was possibly influenced by the church's position that marriage was a prerequisite to many positions in the community? Were more children born to couples of the farming communities than to couples who lived in Salem? How did these elements of family structure change over time?

The relationship of church control and family structure as one aspect of the personal lives of Brethren was not unilateral. Through theoretical axioms, one can also explore the impact of changes in the availability of outside resources on church control. Anderson (1971) stated that, if the environment offered better exchanges, then in the long run the old values (or norms) would break down as new optimal behavior patterns were adopted. As time passed the availability of alternative resources that were not under church control stimulated conflict between the church and individual Brethren. A consequence of this conflict included a secularization of community life, a process which can be understood by examining the conflict and exchanges that led to the decline of church control.

## CHAPTER III

## PROCEDURES

Design

The purpose of this study was to examine the relationship between church control in community life and family structure. From past research, which has been reported in the review of literature, it has been established that church control varied by time period and community (Holder, 1929; Mitchell, 1961; Rights, 1955; Surratt, 1968). Demographic variables were used to measure family structure. Wrigley (1966) and Demos (1968) were two social historians who used demographic data as indicators of historical family structure.

In deriving results from the analysis, a statistical picture was sought to describe aspects of Moravian family structure during the hundred-year period from 1753 to 1857. The hundred-year time span makes it possible to identify trends and changes in Moravian family life over time. The wholistic statistical picture and the statistical trends were the unique contribution of this study to the literature already accumulated on the Moravians.

It is important to note that this study was correlational; thus, one cannot infer cause and effect (for example, church control caused the decline in number of children). What one can obtain from this study is a statistical presentation of family structure and a verbal description of community life during a given time period. By

examining the trends in the family structure and changes in community life, inferences can be made concerning the relationship of circumstances in the community and family structure.

### Church Control

An important factor affecting the structure of the Moravian family was the degree of church control over Moravian daily life. Two factors were employed to measure church control operationally: (1) the time period during which the Moravian was an adult, and (2) the community in which the Moravian lived, i.e., Salem versus other communities.

From earlier descriptive research, a time line (see Figure 1) was developed indicating changes in regard to decline of church power in areas of conflict (Holder, 1929; Mitchell, 1961; Rights, 1955; Surratt, 1968; Woosley, 1956). The latter included policy regarding military and political involvement, use of the lot, land ownership, and economic and trade regulations. By placing changes in church policy on a descriptive time line, a graphic picture was obtained of changes that occurred as the Moravian communities evolved from a single theocracy to several secular communities.

As may be seen in Figure 1, the time line was divided into specific periods, in each of which there was a clustering of policy changes indicating a decline in church control. By examining individual occurrences on the time line, one notes either a relinquishing of an area of control by the church (e.g., moving from communal ownership of land to leasing land to private ownership of land) or an

Figure 1  
Time Line Indicating Decline of  
Moravian Church Control

Bethabara Bethania				Salem		Friedberg Friedland		Hope											
1753*		1759		1765		1770*		1772											
Period 1 1753-1769 (16 Yrs)						Period 2 1770-1794 (24 Yrs)													
1749	1750					1760	1771	1772	1775	1776	1778	1779	1780	1781	1782	1787	1790*	1792-1794	1800
(1c)						(1d)	(1a)	(1b)	(3c)	(2a)	(5c)	(6c)	(7c)	(8c)	(2b)	(3b)	(2d)		
								(2c)	(4c)										
Period 3 1795-1813 (18 Yrs)					Period 4 1814-1836 (22 Yrs)					Period 5 1837-1857 (20 Yrs)									
1800	1801	1805-1808		1810	1814	1815	1818*	1820	1823*	1825	1830	1831	1836*	1840			1849*	1850	1857
	(4b)	(3a)			(4a)	(9c)	(5b)	(5a)	(3d)	(6b)		(11c)	(7a)			(8a)			(6d)
							(10c)		(4d)								(5d)		

\*Events indicating significant change.



Figure 1 (Continued)

Changes Regarding Trade and Slave Policy

- 1772 (1a) - Transfer of businesses and crafts to Salem; change from total communal lifestyle to communal and individualistic interests; i.e., individuals can own home and business but lease land from church and must follow church regulations.
- 1778 (2a) - Conflict between Collegium and merchants over prices and wages; Single Brothers go on strike for more wages; reprimanded by Collegium and the Brothers apologize a few days later.
- 1805 -
- 1808 (3a) - Single Sisters buy machinery for spinning cotton, and Brethren invest in Bank of North Carolina (1805), which leads to movement away from self-contained agrarian life.
- 1814 (4a) - Policy by Aufseher Collegium which stated that owned slaves could not be kept in Salem except with special permission (but left up to individual choice in country congregation).
- 1820 (5a) - New slave policy by Aufseher Collegium stating that teaching trade to slave is forbidden and bonds must be posted for slaves; not enforceable, and Brethren disobey.
- 1823 (6a) - Close Single Brothers' house.
- \*1836 (7a) - Salem citizens open cotton mill with land in fee (not leased) and employ non-Moravians to work machines; new businessmen (instead of clergy) elected to Collegium.
- \*1849 (8a) - Abolish monopolies of the church; establish free trade; thus, significant increase in competition among Brethren; first American Synod (not European).

Figure 1 (Continued)

Changes Regarding Use of the Lot

- 1775 (1b) - Unity Synod policy stating no marriages should occur without use of the lot (although Brethren in the country congregations had been marrying without lot).
- 1787 (2b) - Aeltesten Conferenz consider rejecting requests of young people to become members for fear of their unwillingness to accept the choice of marriage partner by use of the lot.
- \*1790 (3b) - Unity Synod policy stating that the lot only has to be used on congregation place (Salem).
- 1801 (4b) - Unity Synod refuses request of Brethren to disregard use of lot for residents in congregation place.
- \*1818 (5b) - Unity Synod abolishes use of lot for laity.
- 1825 (6b) - Unity Synod states policy that lot obligatory for missionaries only.

Changes Regarding Political and Military Policy

- 1749 (1c) - Act exempting Moravians from taking of oaths and military service by English Parliament.
- 1775 (2c) - Brethren adopt Bethlehem Declaration, which states their opposition to British colonial government, but affirms their loyalty to the King; states that the Brethren will share burden of physical goods, but will not do military service.
- 1776 (3c) - Brethren pay taxes instead of bear arms for colonial powers.
- 1778 (4c) - Official policy of non-partisanship, but permission for Brethren in country congregations to "act on their consciousness;" thus, some Brethren enlist and take Oath of Abjuration; some Brethren begin voting in state politics.
- 1779 (5c) - North Carolina Assembly exempt Moravians from military service in return for three-fold tax; Moravians become important suppliers of provisions, housing, and credit to Patriot forces.
- 1780 (6c) - Bishop Reichel visits North Carolina Moravians and urges non-partisanship (although many members of country congregation have taken oaths and some have enlisted).

Figure 1 (Continued)

Changes Regarding Political and Military Policy (Continued)

- 1781 (7c) - Traugott Bagge becomes first Moravian elected to the North Carolina House of Commons; North Carolina Assembly meets in Salem to hold legislative session.
- 1782 (8c) - Bagge obtains protection from Assembly with regard to Act of Confiscation which threatened Moravian land; he is also defeated for reelection.
- 1815 (9c) - Brethren placidly accept State Assembly's repeal of their military exemption, but many Brethren hire substitutes.
- 1818 (10c) - Unity Synod changes policy to permit Brethren to do military service.
- 1831 (11c) - Repeal of military exemption completed by North Carolina Assembly; thus, Salem organizes its own militia company.

Changes Regarding Land Policy

- 1771 (1d) - Bethania Brethren receive permission from European Moravian leaders to purchase and manage their own land with certain stipulations.
- 1792 -
- 1794 (2d) - Bethania Brethren prepare new land contract because of Brethren's unwillingness to lease land only to Moravians; many Brethren reject the contract, and the issue is finally taken to court; court rules Brethren must sign contract or leave Bethania.
- \*1823 (3d) - Total abrogation of lease system in Bethania; thus, Brethren now permitted to sell to non-Moravians; Bethabara soon afterward abolishes land lease; major loss of power to keep towns exclusively Moravian.
- 1825 (4d) - Permission obtained from Synod to place land in Salem under control of Aufseher Collegium for Salem Congregation Diaconie results in much local controversy over requests for additional land.
- 1849 (4d) - Moravians sell land to new county, Forsyth, for beginning of a new county seat, Winston.
- 1857 (6d) - Land-lease system abolished; thus, citizenship in Salem becomes unrestricted.

individual's obtaining more resources independent of church control (e.g., Single Sisters buying machinery). These combined changes illustrate loss of church control over time. Thus, the resulting line defines periods among which change in church control can be compared. In examining the time line, one notes that period two and period four appear to be eras of significant change. Period two includes the Revolutionary Period, during which the self-contained autonomy of the Moravians was invaded by outsiders for the first time. Period four was noted to be an era of social and economic transition for the Moravians (Mitchell, 1961). Period one contains the origins and development of the Moravian settlement in North Carolina. During this time Bethabara operated under the Oeconomie system of communal living. Period five contains the results of the changes that had taken place during earlier periods, with the church finally relinquishing its control of business enterprises and land.

In noting changes in church policy, it is important to remember that many of these changes were ex post facto. That is, many of the Brethren began to act out their individualistic goals, and after a period of conflict, church policy was subsequently changed. For example, Brethren began choosing mates without consulting the elders or implementing the lot. Subsequently, pressure was exerted on the elders to change the marital policy, since it was already being ignored in some cases. This relationship was especially true for the country congregations.

Salem has been separated from the farming communities (or country congregations), because Moravian historians have stated that decline of church control came earlier in the country congregations than in Salem. Thus, one would expect to find significant differences in demographic variables measuring family structure between Salem and the farming communities. The farming communities have been combined so there would be adequate sample size, and because one would expect more similarity of demographic variables in the farming communities where there was less church control (Holder, 1929; Mitchell, 1961).

#### Family Structure

In measuring family structure, one has several sources of information. One might examine biographies of physical relics which can lead to speculations about family structure. But to support those speculations, one would use demographic data (Wrigley, 1966). The measures of demographic characteristics provide indices of change and a comparative standard for features of family structure today.

A limitation of social-historical research is that the social historian can work only with a predetermined set of data. No new information may be collected part way through the study and only certain questions may be raised. In determining measures of family structure for this study, all aspects of family structure that could be ascertained from the available data were included.

Initial analysis of family structure was done to obtain differences in means of demographic variables from a sample of married Moravians. The demographic variables measuring family structure were:

(1) age at first marriage, (2) number of marriages, (3) number of children, and (4) life span. The individual served as the unit of analysis for each demographic variable. All units of time were measured in years. These characteristics were matters of personal choice as opposed to characteristics controlled by circumstances, except for the life span (age at death) variable.

It is possible that differences in the dependent variables across time periods and/or communities were confounded by the effects of differences in the life span of individuals in different communities and in different time periods. To account for these possible differences, the variable of life span was included and considered when interpretation was made of the family structure variables.

Further analysis of family structure was done by obtaining frequencies of the population for whom data were available according to marital status. Marital status was classified as: (1) never married, (2) married once, and (3) married more than once. By examining marital status for the entire population, one obtains, first, a broad picture of the importance of family life within the community, because marriage was the beginning of a new family. Then, a more microscopic look at the families that existed can be obtained by examining the means of the demographic variables measuring family structure.

Finally, the mean life span of the never-married population was obtained. Perhaps the reason that some Moravians never married was that they did not live long enough to marry. By obtaining the mean life span for the never-married population, and comparing it with the mean life span of the married sample, one can discern whether Moravians did not marry because they died at an early age.

### Hypotheses

The following hypotheses regarding church control and family structure were tested. These hypotheses are listed in terms of the two following categories of (1) family structure means and (2) frequencies of the population by marital status.

#### Family Structure Means

Hypothesis 1. It is expected that there will be a significant difference in mean age at marriage by time period, by community, and by time period and community.

1a. For males.

1b. For females.

Hypothesis 2. It is expected that there will be a significant difference in mean life span by time period, by community, and by time period and community.

2a. For males.

2b. For females.

Hypothesis 3. It is expected that there will be a significant difference in mean number of children by time period, by community, and by time period and community.

3a. For males.

3b. For females.

Hypothesis 4. It is expected that there will be a significant difference in mean number of marriages by time period, by community, and by time period and community.

4a. For males.

4b. For females.

As time passed many changes occurred in the Moravian communities. When church control was strong, family life was subordinated to the interests of the community (Hamilton & Hamilton, 1967). One of the most significant changes was the unwillingness of the young people to submit to the Elders, and the use of the lot in determining a marriage partner. Another important change was that many of the young people were reared in homes that were not strict in following Moravian traditions (North, 1972). The result of this more permissive attitude on the part of the parents was that young people experienced few negative sanctions for disobeying church policy on such issues as use of the lot for marriage. Thus, one would expect that as time passed and new generations grew into adulthood, there would be significant differences in family-structure means.

Salem was the congregation place, and only communicants or full members could live in Salem. Furthermore, Salem citizens leased their land from the church, while Brethren in the country congregations could own their own land and might not be full members of the church.

In Salem the choir system was used, and often served as a substitute for the family. Brethren in Salem were not only identified as members of a distinct choir, but for a period of their lives they might



live and work in the choir house (Single Sisters' house, Single Brothers' house). This was in contrast to the country congregations, where there were no choir houses and no heritage of a choir system. Since church control was less in the country congregations than in Salem, one would expect to find significant differences in family structure means.

In testing for interaction between the time and community, we were testing whether or not the effects of one (for example, time) would hold true even when the effects of the other were held constant or controlled statistically, and vice versa.

If it were found, for example, that women's age at marriage differed significantly across time periods, perhaps that women married at younger ages during successively later periods, and that women's age at marriage differed significantly across communities, perhaps that women in non-Salem communities married earlier than Salem women, then the F-test for the interaction tests the following:

Does the difference across time hold true for both communities?

And does the difference across communities hold true for all time periods?

Salem was founded earlier than three of the country congregations (Friedland, Friedberg, and Hope), at a time when church control was strongest. Because Salem was a planned town of only communicant members, many restrictions limited outside influences affecting church control in Salem; e.g., the church owned land surrounding the settlement of Salem, so that there would be no non-Moravians living in close proximity. Thus, changes indicating a decline in church control came

more slowly in Salem than they did in the country congregations. Many of the country congregations were made up of settlers with diverse religious backgrounds, who initially attempted to adhere to Moravian traditions. As time passed, these individuals pressed for changes or disobeyed Moravian policy, and because church control was not as strong, the country congregations were able to obtain autonomy from the church more rapidly than were Salem citizens. Such changes might have an impact on family structure (such as longer childbearing span due to early marriage, and thus more children). One could, therefore, predict interaction between time and communities for family structure means.

#### Frequencies by Marital Status

Hypothesis 5. It is expected that there will be a significant relationship between time period and marital status (never married, married at least once) for the Moravian population.

Hypothesis 6. It is expected that there will be a significant relationship between community and marital status (never married, married at least once) for the Moravian population.

Hypothesis 7. For each time period, it is expected that there will be a significant relationship between marital status (never married, married at least once) and community for the Moravian population.

Hypothesis 8. It is expected that there will be a significant relationship between time period and number of marriages (married once, married more than once) for the Moravian population.

Hypothesis 9. It is expected that there will be a significant relationship between community and number of marriages (married once, married more than once) for the Moravian population.

Hypothesis 10. For each time period, it is expected that there will be a significant relationship between number of marriages (married once, married more than once) and community for the Moravian population.

When church power was strong, a sense of community was an integral aspect of daily life. During this time, Moravians might never marry because most of their needs could be met by the community. At the same time, Moravian historians have documented the fact that if a Moravian did marry and his spouse died, the church would encourage the Moravian to remarry, many times because of occupational requirements (Gollin, 1969; Surratt, 1968). The wife was regarded as a "helpmate" for her husband in his career and actively took part in his vocational responsibilities (Fries, 1944). Thus, one would expect a significant difference in percentages of the population who never married, married once, and married more than once as church power varied by time and community.

## Data Analysis

### Analyses of Family Structure Means

Two-factor analysis of variance was employed to test for differences in the family structure variables over time period and/or community for the sample of married Moravians. The advantage of using two-factor analysis of variance was that the interaction between time and community effects could be determined. If, for example, an interaction effect of time and community when considered together was present, conclusions based simply on either time alone or community alone would not fully describe the Moravians' family structure. In that case, the effects of each factor would be interpreted with the level of the other variable considered in the interpretation (Keppel, 1973).

Since there were only two levels of the community factor (Salem and non-Salem), no post-hoc comparisons of the group means on the dependent variables were necessary. Simply observing the values of the groups' means, if there were a significant difference reported, would allow the determination of the direction of the relationship. Because there were five levels of the time factor, however, post-hoc multiple comparison tests of pairs of means were necessary if significant overall effects of the time factor were found. The following procedure was used in that case.

If the effect of time were statistically significant, but the interaction between time and community were not significant, post-hoc comparisons were done using Scheffe's multiple comparison test of significant differences between pairs of means for time. If the

interaction effect were significant, tests for simple main effects were employed first, because straightforward interpretation of main effects, even if significant, were not valid (i.e., it could not be determined whether differences were due to time or community). If one or both (one per community) of the F-tests for simple main effects were significant, then multiple comparisons using Scheffe's test were employed across time periods within each separate community. If neither F-test of simple main effects were significant, no Scheffe's tests were used. Using this procedure would allow the determination of exactly which means were statistically different from one another, i.e., which time and/or community groups differed on each dependent variable.

The experimentwise error rate ( $\alpha_{ew}$ ), which increases directly with the number of comparison tests, was accounted for in the tests for simple main effects. To adjust for the experimentwise error rate, the alpha level, or per-comparison error rate (the level at which we were willing to accept a difference between means as statistically significant) would be divided by the number of columns or rows being compared. Then this divided error rate would serve as the alpha level for each pairwise comparison between means (Keppel, 1973).

This procedure was used for the analysis of each of the dependent variables, age at marriage, life span, number of children, and number of marriages, for all Moravians as a group. Additional sets of two-factor analyses of variance were done for each sex, males only and females only. The results are reported on not only the trends in family structure for all individuals in the Moravian communities, but also for males and for females separately.

### Analyses of Frequencies by Marital Status

In addition, two sets of two-way chi square tests were employed to examine the relationships between the factors, time and community, and (1) the frequencies of Moravians who never married, and (2) the number of marriages of individuals who did marry. For the first set of chi-squares, which examined whether the percentage of non-married differed by time and/or community, the Moravian population was categorized into non-married or married at least once. For the second set of chi-squares, which examined the number of marriages by time and/or community, the married Moravian population was categorized into married once or married more than once. Chi-square tests compared the frequency of individuals who fell within a given marital status category with the frequency expected by chance (Daniel, 1978; Kerlinger, 1965). Tables were made placing Moravians in their appropriate marital-status category and their time period or community. Then the column marginal frequency was multiplied by the row marginal and divided by the total sample ( $\frac{rxc}{T}$ ) to obtain the expected cell size for each table. Chi-square tests were performed, comparing the actual observed frequency of each marital-status category with its expected frequency to test for significant differences.

### Sample

Time, locale, and population. The population to be investigated consisted of approximately 1,014 Moravians who lived in the Moravian community in Wachovia, North Carolina, from 1753 to 1857. The entire population was used for the chi-square analyses of marital status.

For the family structure means, two groups were formed--married and never married. Only the married Moravians were used for analyses of family structure means, because non-married Moravians did not have all the family structure data (i.e., number of children). The sample for family structure means consisted of 500 randomly selected Moravians. These married Moravians were stratified by time and community. Finally, random selection of 50 Moravians for each of 10 cells was done, to give a total sample size of 500. Random selection was done by selecting every  $N^{\text{th}}$  Moravian.  $N$  was determined by dividing the number of Moravians in a particular cell by 50.

The Moravians were an unusually literate people who kept careful records of daily events. The years 1753 to 1857 are particularly appropriate for a study on family structure, because historians have documented this time period as the era when the communities moved from a theocracy to secular communities (Mitchell, 1961; Surratt, 1968).

Data. The data came from two sources. The first source was the North Carolina Moravian Church Card Index. These cards record information taken from spiritual obituaries written by Moravians before their deaths. The information was collected by historians as part of the WPA Projects of 1934 to 1939. On each card are listed vital data on a Moravian individual, including: name, date of birth, place of birth, date of death, place of burial, parents, marital status, date(s) of marriage(s), and number of children by specific spouse. Also included on some cards are biographical statements of specific interest, such as a person's office in the community, vocation, or military service. These cards are located in the State Archives of North Carolina in Raleigh, North Carolina (see Appendix A).

The second source of data was records that have been translated from German script by the Moravian historian, Adelaide Fries. Included in these records are daily diaries, kept by ministers of each congregation, which recorded information about church services, weather, and daily life. Also included are the memorabilia, which are summaries of notable events of each year prepared for the closing church service in December. Minutes of the church boards and congregations' councils, account books, and memoirs comprised the rest of the Moravian records that have been translated. These records gave specific information about names and changes within different congregations for each year.

#### Data Collection

Data were taken from the North Carolina Moravian Church Card Index and transferred to a format for computerized analysis. A code was designed for the information placed on the cards. For each individual there were designated a time period and a community. The community was determined by place of burial, because there was a graveyard for each community in which the community members were buried. The placement of the individual into a time period was determined by the mean age of marriage, because marriage was the beginning of a new household. Placement by mean age at marriage was used for both individuals who never married and those who did marry.



## CHAPTER IV

## RESULTS

Descriptive Data

The descriptive data were obtained from the sample used to investigate family structure. The sample consisted of 480 Moravians. The original procedure had called for a sample of 500, but data were available for only 30 married Moravians (instead of 50) for the Time Period I Salem category. All other cells had a stratified random sample size of 50.

The descriptive data provided interesting and some rather surprising results, as can be seen in Table 1. With regard to sex, the data indicated an approximately equal distribution of males and females when left to chance (209 males, 271 females). As had been expected, the Salem community had a much larger population than any of the other communities (n=230). This had been provided for in the design of the study by combining all the other communities. It was also interesting to note that Bethania had the second largest sample size (n=137). As stated in Chapter I, Bethania was established earlier than Friedberg, Friedland, and Hope, and had stronger ties with the Moravian heritage than the other communities. Bethania, especially because of its young people, was also noted to be the "perennial catalyst for change" throughout the hundred-year period (Mitchell, 1961, p. 104).

Table 1  
Descriptive Data For Moravian Family Structure

Variable	Mode	Median	Mean	SD	Range	N*	Percent
<b>Sex</b>							
Male						209	43.5
Female						271	56.5
<b>Community</b>							
Salem						230	47.9
Bethabara						36	7.5
Bethania						137	28.5
Friedberg						26	5.4
Friedland						14	2.9
Hope						18	3.7
Moravian Farms						19	4.0
<b>Age at First Marriage</b>							
	23.0	25.56	27.04	6.67	39 (15-54)		
<b>Life Span</b>							
	68.0	66.7	62.46	17.76	76 (22-93)		
<b>Number of Marriages</b>							
			1.17	.44	3		
One						407	84.8
Two						64	13.3
Three						7	1.5
Four						2	.4
<b>Number of Children</b>							
		4.5	4.74	3.40	15 (0-14)		
Zero						64	13.3
One - Three						118	24.6
Four - Six						163	33.9
Seven - Nine						81	16.9
Ten or More						50	10.5
<b>Time Interval Between Marriages</b>							
			2.33	2.94	15 (0-15)	36	
Zero						2	.4
One Year						16	3.3
Two Years						11	2.3
Three Years						3	.6
Four or More Years						4	.8

Table 1 (Continued)

Variable	Mode	Median	Mean	SD	Range	N*	Percent
Age at Second Marriage	34.0	45.5	44.924	12.636	56 (22-78)	0	
20-29 Years						8	1.6
30-39 Years						14	2.8
40-49 Years						22	4.4
50-59 Years						14	2.8
60-69 Years						5	1.0
70-79 Years						3	.4

Total = 480

Information regarding age at marriage, life span, number of children, and number of marriages is discussed in greater detail in considering the results of the analyses of variance. The descriptive data provide some data not presented elsewhere. The range for age at first marriage was 15-54 years, with the mean, median, and mode being 27, 25, and 23, respectively. Although this may seem to be a late age at first marriage, historians have documented an approximate median age of marriage of 25 years for mid-nineteenth century (Modell, Furstenberg, & Strong, 1978). With regard to life span, the mean, median, and mode were 62, 66, and 68, with a range from 22 to 93. Of the Moravians who married, 85 percent married once; with regard to children, 25 percent had more than seven children.

Additional findings relate to information regarding second marriages. Concerning the time interval between marriages, and age at second marriage, the mean age of remarriage was 44 years, and Moravians

waited an average of about two years after the death of a spouse to remarry. These results are to be interpreted with caution due to the small sample size.

### Family Structure Means

In carrying out the analyses of the family structure measures, an analysis of both sexes combined in a given time period and community was done. Then analysis of variance was done for males and for females. Finally, three-way analysis of variance (time, community, and sex) was done; it yielded results similar to those of the other analyses. To simplify the interpretation of interaction, the three two-factor analyses of variance were used.

### Results for Age at Marriage Variable

Hypothesis One under the family structure means stated that there would be significant differences in mean age at marriage by time period, by community, and by time period and community. A significant interaction was found between time and community, as can be seen in Table 2. Tests for simple main effects indicated differences across time in Salem. Specifically, differences in means were noted between time period one and four and between time period one and five in Salem. For males a significant interaction was found between time and community, as can be seen in Table 3. Tests for simple main effects indicated differences across time periods in Salem. Specifically, differences in mean age at marriage for males were found between time periods one and four and between periods one and five. For females, a

Table 2  
Mean Age at Marriage

	Time Period I	Time Period II	Time Period III	Time Period IV	Time Period V
Salem	33.65 (n=29)	30.46 (n=50)	28.38 (n=50)	26.50 (n=50)	26.78 (n=50)
Non-Salem	27.04 (n=45)	25.74 (n=47)	22.90 (n=50)	26.42 (n=50)	25.42 (n=50)

Source of Variability	df	SS	MS	F	Significant
Time	4	1195.90	298.98	7.71	.0001***
Community	1	1527.28	1527.28	39.37	.0001***
Time & Community	4	711.11	177.78	4.58	.0001***
Error (Residual)	461	17883.54	38.79		
Total	470	20931.22	44.53		

F=8.73\*\*\*       $R^2 = .145$

\*\*\*p <.001

Table 3  
Mean Age at Marriage--Males

	Time Period I	Time Period II	Time Period III	Time Period IV	Time Period V
Salem	38.60 (n=15)	32.08 (n=24)	31.47 (n=19)	28.00 (n=17)	29.77 (n=18)
Non-Salem	28.90 (n=22)	27.70 (n=27)	25.31 (n=16)	27.08 (n=23)	27.61 (n=26)

Source of Variability	df	SS	MS	F	Significant
Time	4	870.81	217.70	5.69	.0026**
Community	1	1081.52	1081.52	28.28	.0001***
Time & Community	4	448.35	112.08	2.93	.0220*
Error (Residual)	197	7534.14	38.24		
Total	206	9650.27	46.84		

F=6.15 \*\*\*

$R^2 = .219$

\*p < .05

\*\*p < .01

\*\*\*p < .001

significant difference was found in mean age at marriage for Salem and non-Salem females, as can be seen in Table 4.

Table 4  
Mean Age at Marriage--Females

	Time Period I	Time Period III	Time Period III	Time Period IV	Time Period V
Salem	28.35 (n=14)	28.96 (n=26)	26.48 (n=31)	25.72 (n=33)	25.09 (n=32)
Non-Salem	25.26 (n=23)	23.10 (n=20)	21.76 (n=34)	25.85 (n=27)	23.04 (n=24)

Source of Variability	df	SS	MS	F	Significant
Time	4	287.32	71.83	2.27	.0627
Community	1	600.79	600.79	18.95	.0001**
Time & Community	4	297.83	74.45	2.35	.0549
Error (Residual)	254	8053.90	31.70		
Total	263	9234.69	35.11		

F = 4.14\*\*\*

$R^2 = .127$

\*\*p < .01      \*\*\*p < .001

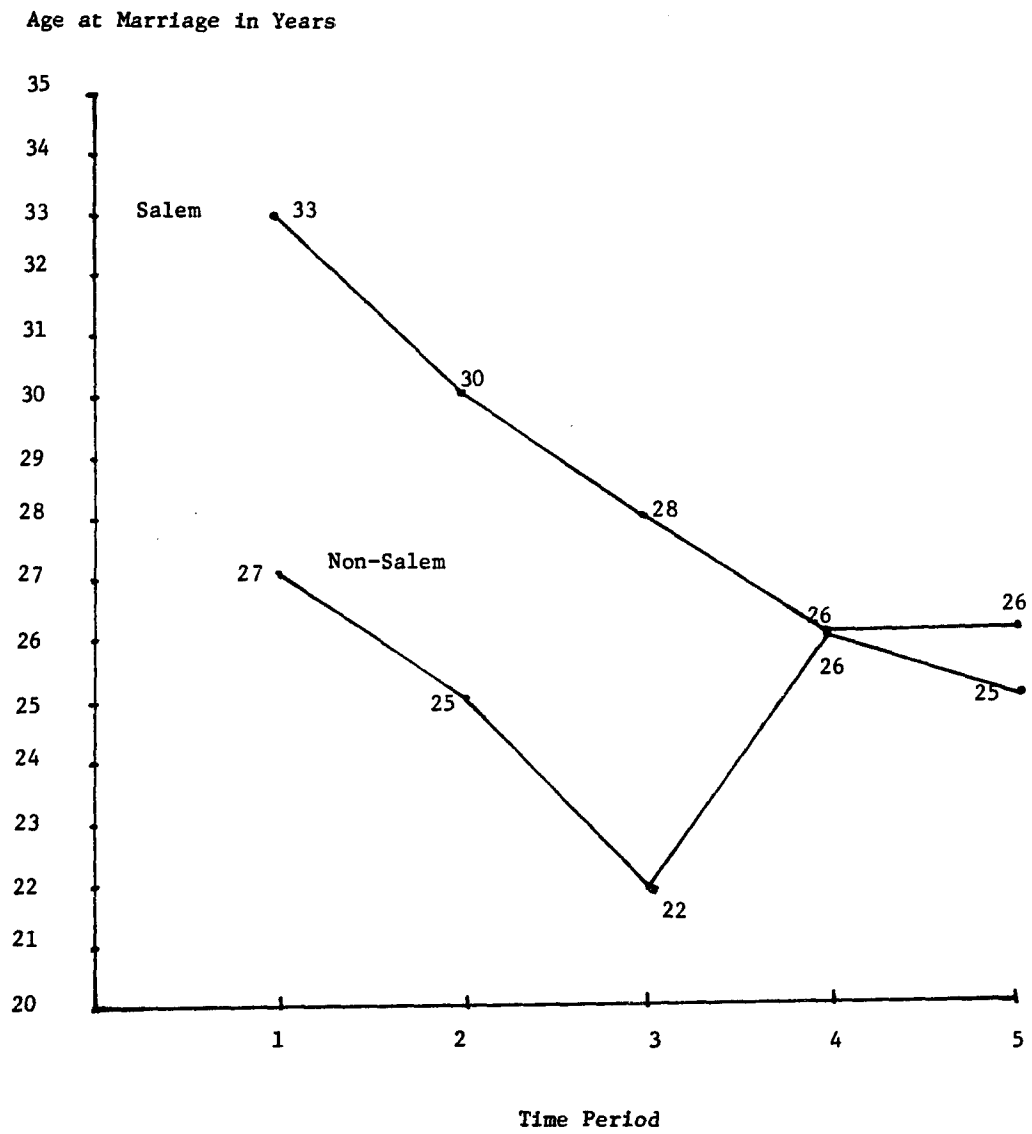
The results of the statistical tests indicated that mean age at marriage changed over time, and was different between Salem and non-Salem communities. The  $R^2$  of .145 indicated that the effects of time and community and their interaction explained 14.5 percent of the variability in individuals' age at marriage, a statistically significant proportion ( $F = 8.73$ ). It is also important to note the pattern of change. In almost every time period, the Salem Brethren married later than the non-Salem Brethren. Furthermore, that difference between ages at marriage was the largest at the beginning--when church control varied the most between Salem and the other Moravian communities. As time passed and church control declined, all the communities became more secular and more similar (see Figure 2). Salem changed the most because, as it was the congregation place, church control was initially the most powerful in Salem.

In general the age of marriage declined over time, especially for the first three time periods. This finding is consistent with our knowledge of Moravian history in North Carolina. During the early years, it would have been more difficult to establish a self-supporting household independent of church resources. Because of the economic hardships during the early years, young Moravians would have to delay marriage.

A difference can be noted in age at marriage as between the sexes. The factors, time and community, explained a much higher percentage of the variability in age at marriage of males ( $R^2 = .219$ ) than of females ( $F^2 = .127$ ). In every time period for both Salem and non-Salem communities, the mean age of males was higher than females' mean age. The



Figure 2  
Age at Marriage



gap is especially large in the first two time periods of Salem, which was when the Oeconomie was in effect and a communal lifestyle was in operation.

The late age at marriage for almost every time period refutes a commonly held belief about marriages in the past. That belief is that people in the past married at very young ages. On the contrary, the mean age at marriage for the Moravians ( $\bar{X} = 27$ ) was higher than the mean age of marriage at the present time (Modell, Furstenberg, & Strong, 1978). These changes in age at marriage are important, because historians have pointed out that age at marriage is perhaps the single most important indicator of economic and social conditions in a particular historical setting (Modell, Furstenberg, & Strong, 1978; Wrigley, 1966). In discussing age at marriage, Modell et al. (1978) state that transition experiences such as marriage are subject to renegotiation as social and economic conditions change. They maintain that timing of marriage is not merely a reflection of institutional change but a source of change, serving as the impetus for social and economic innovations. As constraints upon freedom to marry decline, the timing of marriage becomes increasingly preferential. The constraints include the economic situation, the opportunity to find a suitable mate, and opportunities for courtship.

#### Results for Life Span Variable

Hypothesis Two stated that there would be a significant difference in life span by time period, by community, and by time period and community. The  $R^2$  of .072 indicated that the effects of time,

community, and their interaction explained 7.2 percent of the variability in life span which was statistically significant ( $F = 3.99$ ). A significant interaction was found between time period and community, as can be seen in Table 5. Tests for simple main effects indicated differences across time in non-Salem communities. Specifically, differences in mean life span were found between time periods one and three and between time periods three and five in non-Salem communities. A significant difference was found in life span of males across time periods, as can be seen in Table 6. Scheffe tests indicated no significant difference between any pairs of means across time. A significant difference was found in life span for Salem and non-Salem males. A significant interaction was found between time periods and community for females, as can be seen in Table 7. Tests for simple main effects indicated no significant differences across time for Salem and non-Salem communities.

It is important to consider how life span might have affected family structure. In general, the Moravians in Salem lived longer than the Moravians in non-Salem communities. This was probably due to the fact that Salem was a trading and crafts center as opposed to the more strenuous life of farming and hunting in the non-Salem communities. Salem also had a physician, and many of the other communities did not. In fact, reference is made to outsiders coming to Salem to seek the physician's assistance (Fries, 1944; North, 1972). The difference between Salem's and the non-Salem communities' life span is the largest in the first three time periods, while in the last two, when modernization had occurred, the life spans were more similar (see Figure 3).

Table 5  
Mean Life Span

	Time Period I	Time Period II	Time Period III	Time Period IV	Time Period V
Salem	67.13 (n=29)	65.76 (n=50)	64.26 (n=50)	62.28 (n=50)	65.90 (n=50)
Non-Salem	65.17 (n=45)	57.31 (n=47)	50.98 (n=50)	61.20 (n=50)	66.14 (n=50)

Source of Variability	df	SS	MS	F	Significant
Time	4	4706.71	1176.67	3.90	.004**
Community	1	2758.39	2758.39	9.13	.002**
Time & Community	4	3233.83	808.45	2.68	.031*
Error (Residual)	461	139220.56	301.996		
Total	470	150074.77	319.30		

F = 3.99\*\*\*

$R^2 = .072$

\*p < .05

\*\*p < .01

\*\*\*p < .001

Table 6  
Mean Life Span--Males

	Time Period I	Time Period II	Time Period III	Time Period IV	Time Period V
Salem	66.33 (n=15)	65.70 (n=24)	65.42 (n=19)	63.52 (n=17)	73.77 (n=18)
Non-Salem	65.90 (n=22)	57.66 (n=27)	54.31 (n=16)	57.21 (n=23)	67.00 (n=26)

Source of Variability	df	SS	MS	F	Significant
Time	4	3261.56	815.39	3.51	.008**
Community	1	2124.24	2124.24	9.15	.002**
Time & Community	4	544.23	136.05	.59	.673
Error (Residual)	197	45743.43	232.20		
Total	206	51574.99	250.36		

F = 2.79\*\*

$R^2 = .113$

\*\*p < .01

Table 7  
Mean Life Span--Females

	Time Period I	Time Period II	Time Period III	Time Period IV	Time Period V
Salem	68.00 (n=14)	65.80 (n=26)	63.54 (n=31)	61.63 (n=33)	61.46 (n=32)
Non-Salem	64.47 (n=23)	56.83 (n=20)	49.41 (n=34)	64.59 (n=27)	65.20 (n=24)

Source of Variability	df	SS	MS	F	Significant
Time	4	2754.98	688.69	1.93	.1059
Community	1	979.07	979.07	2.74	.0988
Time & Community	4	3485.35	871.33	2.44	.0473*
Error (Residual)	254	90622.32	356.78		
Total	263	98019.81	372.69		

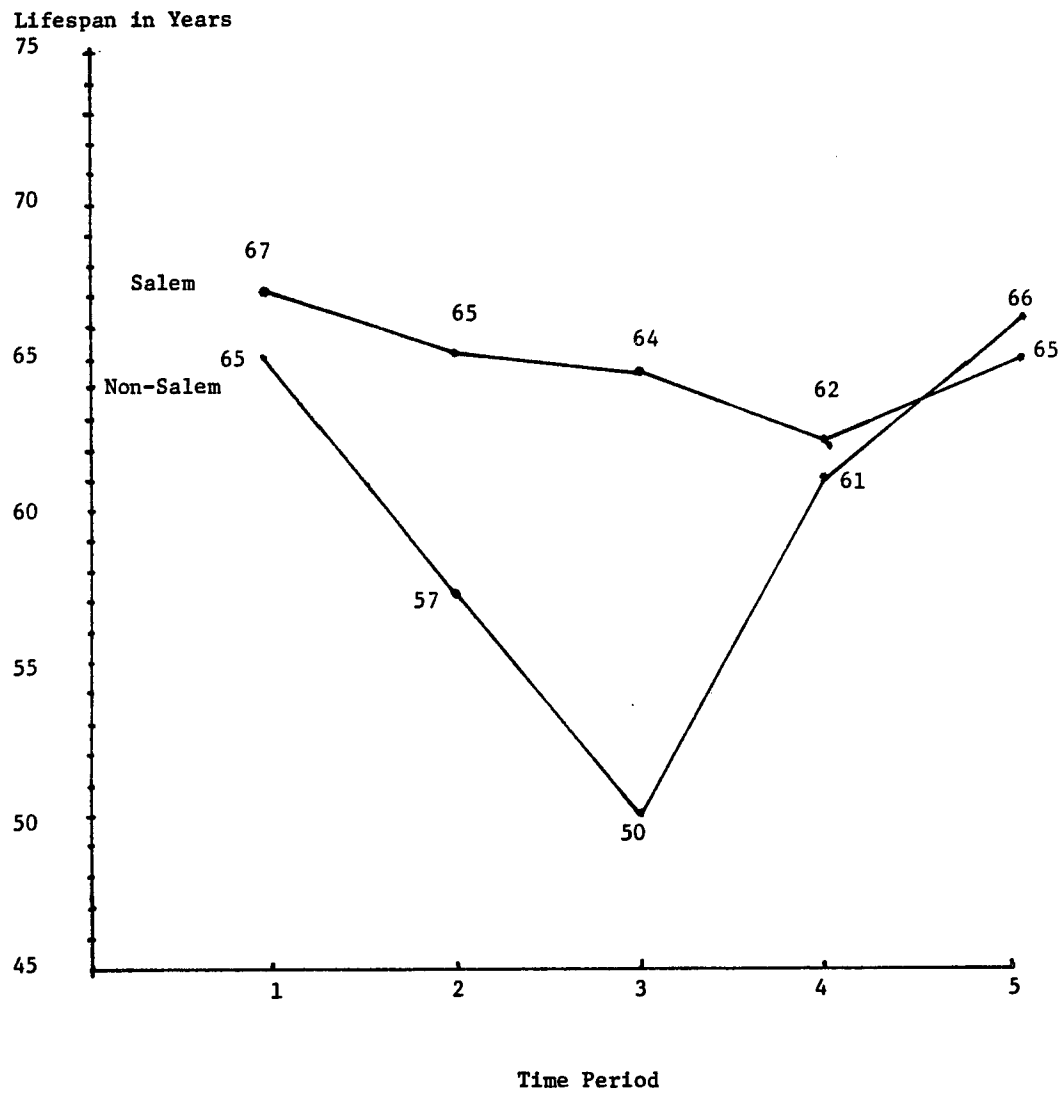
F = 2.30\*\*

R<sup>2</sup> = .075

\*p < .05

\*\*p < .001

Figure 3  
Life Span



In general, males lived longer than females, although this was not true in every cell, and the difference between the sexes was not very large. Perhaps women lived a shorter life, because of the stress of childbearing. Both sexes lived a longer life than might have been expected ( $\bar{X} = 62$ ). In examination of age at marriage and life span together, it can be generalized that Salem Moravians married later and died later than their Moravian Brothers and Sisters in the other communities.

#### Results for Number of Children Variable

Hypothesis three concerning family structure stated that a significant difference in mean number of children would be found by time period, by community, and by time period and community. A statistically significant percentage of the variability in number of children was explained by community, time, and their interaction ( $R^2 = .10$ ) ( $F = 5.72$ ). A significant interaction was found between time and community, as can be seen in Table 8. Tests for simple main effects indicated a significant difference across time in non-Salem communities. Specifically, differences in mean number of children were found between time periods one and four and between time periods two and four in non-Salem communities. A significant interaction between time periods and community was found for males, as can be seen in Table 9. Tests for simple main effects indicated no significant differences across time periods in Salem or non-Salem communities. A significant interaction between time period and community was found for females (see Table 10). Tests for simple main effects indicated no significant differences across time periods in Salem or non-Salem communities.



Table 8  
Mean Number of Children

	Time Period I	Time Period II	Time Period III	Time Period IV	Time Period V
Salem	3.62 (n=29)	3.98 (n=50)	3.76 (n=50)	5.00 (n=50)	3.98 (n=50)
Non-Salem	7.02 (n=45)	6.08 (n=47)	4.98 (n=50)	3.56 (n=50)	5.08 (n=50)

Source of Availability	df	SS	MS	F	Significant
Time	4	68.83	17.20	1.63	.165
Community	1	187.12	187.12	17.74	.0001**
Time & Community	4	279.37	69.84	6.62	.0001**
Error (Residual)	461	4868.52	10.54		
Total	470	5404.56	11.49		

F = 5.72\*\*\*

R<sup>2</sup> = .100

\*\*p < .001

Table 9  
Mean Number of Children--Males

	Time Period I	Time Period II	Time Period III	Time Period IV	Time Period V
Salem	3.66 (n=15)	4.12 (n=24)	3.63 (n=19)	5.82 (n=17)	4.72 (n=18)
Non-Salem	7.50 (n=22)	6.48 (n=27)	5.25 (n=16)	3.82 (n=23)	5.73 (n=26)

Source of Availability	df	SS	MS	F	Significant
Time	4	29.17	7.29	.63	.643
Community	1	92.58	99.58	7.97	.005**
Time & Community	4	179.25	44.01	3.86	.004**
Error (Residual	197	2288.12	11.61		
Total	206	2619.73	12.71		

F = 3.17\*\*\*

$R^2 = .126$

\*\*p < .01

\*\*\*p < .001

Table 10  
Mean Number of Children--Females

	Time Period I	Time Period II	Time Period III	Time Period IV	Time Period V
Salem	3.57 (n=14)	3.84 (n=26)	3.85 (n=31)	4.57 (n=33)	3.56 (n=32)
Non-Salem	6.56 (n=23)	5.55 (n=20)	4.85 (n=34)	3.33 (n=27)	4.37 (n=24)

Source of Availability	df	SS	MS	F	Significant
Time	4	40.64	10.16	1.04	.389
Community	1	68.83	68.83	7.02	.008**
Time & Community	4	113.90	3.42	2.90	.022*
Error (Residual)	254	2491.43	9.80		
Total	263	2714.12	10.31		

F = 2.52\*\*

$R^2 = .082$

\*p < .05

\*\*p < .01

A common belief about historical families is that parents had many children. The results of this analysis support that belief. In fact, one Moravian woman had 15 children, and the mean number of children for non-Salem Time Period I was 7.5. Results indicating the birth of many

children to a parent were especially interesting when it was recalled that the mean age at marriage was 27 years, and it was in the early periods when marriage was at the latest age that the most children were born, especially in non-Salem communities. This fact leads to speculations about increased contraceptive knowledge over time.

As a general trend, Moravians in non-Salem communities had more children than Moravians in Salem. As in age at marriage, the difference between the communities was the most pronounced during the first three time periods, and becomes increasingly less in the later two time periods (see Figure 4). This datum is consistent with the findings on age at marriage, because the non-Salem Moravians who married earlier could have more children. When church power was the most influential during the early years, there was the largest difference in number of children between Salem and non-Salem communities. As time passed, the differences between the two became less distinct as each became increasingly secular. In noting that Salem Moravians married later and had fewer children, it can be generalized that the family was subordinated to the community in the early years of the Moravian settlement.

#### Results for Number of Marriages Variable

Hypothesis four stated that a significant difference in mean number of marriages would be found by time period, by community, and by time period and community. No significant differences were found in number of marriages, as can be seen in Table 11. No significant differences were found in males' mean number of marriages (see Table 12).

Figure 4  
Number of Children

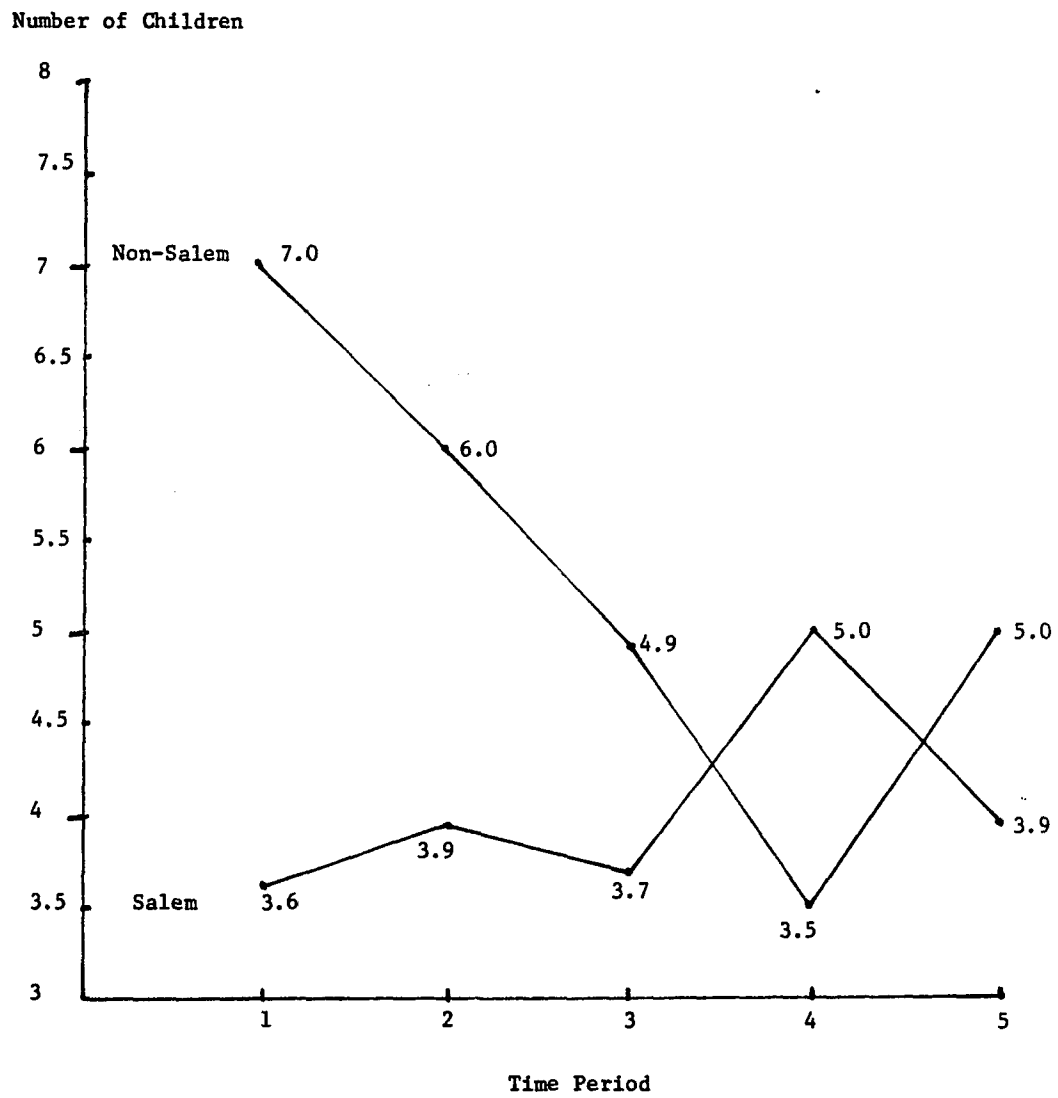


Table 11  
Mean Number of Marriages

	Time Period I	Time Period II	Time Period III	Time Period IV	Time Period V
Salem	1.34 (n=29)	1.26 (n=50)	1.16 (n=50)	1.16 (n=50)	1.14 (n=50)
Non-Salem	1.20 (n=45)	1.10 (n=47)	1.08 (n=50)	1.14 (n=50)	1.20 (n=50)

Source of Variability	df	SS	MS	F	Significant
Time	4	1.04	.26	1.32	.261
Community	1	.53	.53	2.66	.103
Time & Community	4	.75	.18	.95	.435
Error (Residual)	461	90.99	.19		
Total	470	93.07	.19		

F = 1.17

R<sup>2</sup> = .022

Table 12  
Mean Number of Marriages--Males

	Time Period I	Time Period II	Time Period III	Time Period IV	Time Period V
Salem	1.26 (n=14)	1.33 (n=24)	1.21 (n=19)	1.47 (n=17)	1.27 (n=18)
Non-Salem	1.18 (n=22)	1.11 (n=27)	1.06 (n=16)	1.26 (n=23)	1.26 (n=26)

Source of Variability	df	SS	MS	F	Significant
Time	4	1.05	.26	1.05	.38
Community	1	.90	.90	3.58	.06
Time & Community	4	.34	.08	.34	.84
Error (Residual)	197	49.69	.25		
Total	206	51.92	.25		

F = .98

R<sup>2</sup> = .042

A significant difference was found in number of marriages across time periods for females (see Table 13). Scheffe tests indicated no significant differences between any pairs of means across time.

The findings for the number of marriages variable were less outstanding although still important. Differences in number of marriages between Salem and non-Salem communities were not statistically

Table 13  
Mean Number of Marriages--Females

	Time Period I	Time Period II	Time Period III	Time Period IV	Time Period V
Salem	1.42 (n=14)	1.19 (n=26)	1.12 (n=31)	1.00 (n=33)	1.06 (n=32)
Non-Salem	1.21 (n=23)	1.10 (n=20)	1.08 (n=34)	1.03 (n=27)	1.12 (n=24)

Source of Variability	df	SS	MS	F	Significant
Time	4	2.123	.530	3.66	.006**
Community	1	.147	.147	1.02	.313
Time & Community	4	.514	.128	.89	.472
Error (Residual)	254	36.862	.145		
Total	263	39.359	.149		

F = 1.91\*

$R^2 = .068$

\*p < .05

\*\*p < .01



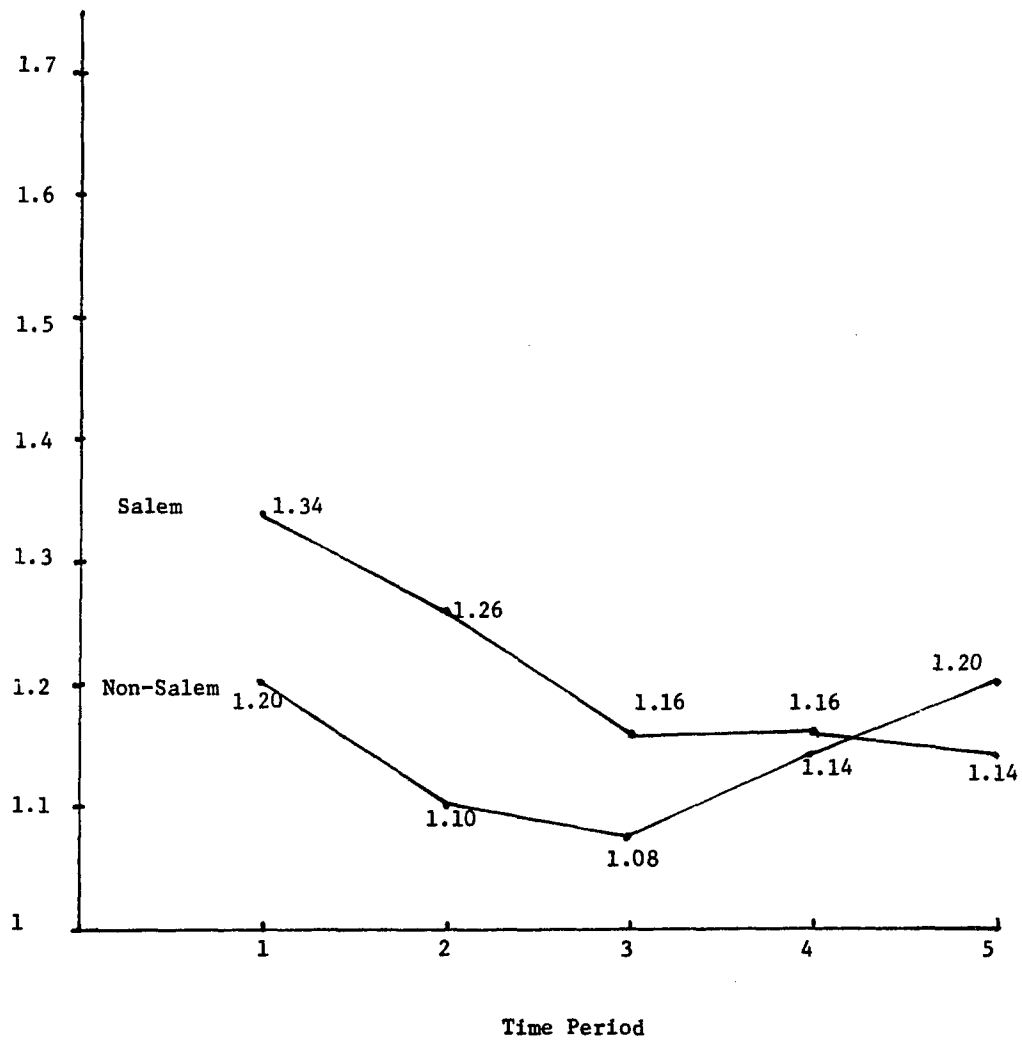
significant, nor was the percentage of explained variability ( $R^2 = .022$ ). Number of marriages was not as powerful a measure of family structure as the other variables, because there was less chance for variability. Only those Moravians whose spouses died would have the opportunity to remarry. There was a significant change in the number of marriages over time for females with a pattern of general decline in number of marriages, and the  $R^2$  for females of .068 was statistically significant.

Although the results were not statistically significant, several consistent trends can be noted. In almost every time period, Salem had more marriages than did non-Salem communities. Gollin (1969) stated that more second marriages would occur when church control was strong because marriage was a prerequisite to many of the occupational positions in the community. For example, the minister and his wife both had important responsibilities in pastoring the church. Another example would be the innkeeper whose wife was responsible for all cooking in the inn. In one situation, a church Elder gave as a rationale for his forthcoming marriage his need for a wife to carry out duties in the community (Fries, 1944). Surratt (1968) noted a situation in which a Brother was not permitted to open his own shoe shop because he was not married.

As in other family structure means, the difference between Salem and non-Salem communities was largest in time periods one through three, when church power was strongest in Salem, and as time passed, Salem and non-Salem communities became more similar (see Figure 5).

Figure 5  
Number of Marriages

Number of Marriages



To summarize, Salem Moravians married later, had fewer children, lived longer, and married more times than non-Salem Moravians (see Table 14). The differences in family structure were most distinct in time periods one through three when church control was the most powerful, and as time passed and secularization occurred, the differences became less distinct.

### Frequencies by Marital Status Results

#### Frequencies by Number of Marriages

Hypothesis eight under the Frequencies by Marital Status section stated that there would be a significant relationship between time period and number of marriages for the Moravians. The results of the chi-square test, examining the number of marriages by time periods, demonstrated a significant relationship between number of marriages and time period (see Table 15).

Hypothesis nine stated that there would be a significant relationship between community and number of marriages for the Moravians. The results of the chi-square test, examining the number of marriages by community, demonstrated that there was not a significant relationship between community and number of marriages (see Table 16).

Hypothesis ten stated that for each time period, there would be a significant relationship between number of marriages in Salem and non-Salem communities. Results of the chi-square tests indicated that there were no significant relationships between number of marriages and community in any of the time periods (see Table 17).

Table 14  
 Marginal Means by Time and Community for  
 Family Structure Variables

Time	$\bar{X}$	Community	$\bar{X}$
<u>Age at Marriage</u>			
I	29.63	Salem	28.74
II	28.17		
III	25.64		
IV	26.46	Non-Salem	25.47
V	26.10		
<u>Life Span</u>			
I	65.94	Salem	64.87
II	61.67		
III	57.62		
IV	61.74	Non-Salem	60.09
V	66.02		
<u>Number of Children</u>			
I	5.68	Salem	4.10
II	5.00		
III	4.37		
IV	4.28	Non-Salem	5.30
V	4.53		
<u>Number of Marriages</u>			
I	1.25	Salem	1.20
II	1.18		
III	1.12		
IV	1.15	Non-Salem	1.14
V	1.17		

Table 15  
Observed Frequencies and Chi Square Value for  
Relationship Between Number of Marriages  
And Time Period

	Time Period I (n=96)	Time Period II (n=202)	Time Period III (n=133)	Time Period IV (n=168)	Time Period V (n=207)
Married Once	73	173	121	155	181
Married More Than Once	23	29	12	13	26
$\chi^2 = 16.67^*$ $df = 4$ $*p < .001$					

Table 16  
Observed Frequencies and Chi Square Value for  
Relationship Between Number of Marriages  
And Community

	Salem (n=416)	Non-Salem (n=390)
Married Once	369	334
Married More Than Once	47	56
$\chi^2 = 1.687$ $df = 1$		

Table 17

Observed Frequencies and Chi Square Value for  
 Relationship Between Number of Marriages  
 And Community For Each Time Period

	<u>Time Period I</u>		<u>Time Period II</u>		<u>Time Period III</u>		<u>Time Period IV</u>		<u>Time Period V</u>	
	<u>Salem</u>	<u>Non-Salem</u>	<u>Salem</u>	<u>Non-Salem</u>	<u>Salem</u>	<u>Non-Salem</u>	<u>Salem</u>	<u>Non-Salem</u>	<u>Salem</u>	<u>Non-Salem</u>
Married Once	22	51	74	99	82	73	130	51	61	60
Married More Than Once	8	15	10	19	6	7	16	10	7	5
	$\chi^2 = .16$		$\chi^2 = .68$		$\chi^2 = .239$		$\chi^2 = 1.176$		$\chi^2 = .269$	
	df = 1		df = 1		df = 1		df = 1		df = 1	

The results of the chi-square tests were different from the number of marriages ANOVA results because the entire population was used (n=1014) instead of the sample, and observed frequencies were reported instead of means. The results were similar to those of the ANOVA in that there was not a significant difference in the observed frequencies and the expected frequencies except for differences over time. The results gave further indication that the number of marriages was not as powerful a measure of family structure, because of limited opportunity for more than one marriage. Divorce was very uncommon in Moravian communities, so the only chance for remarriage would arise if the spouse died.

#### Frequency by Marital Status

Hypothesis five stated that there would be a significant relationship between time period and marital status. The results of the chi-square test examining marital status by time periods demonstrated a significant relationship between marital status and time period, as can be seen in Table 18.

Hypothesis six stated that there would be a significant relationship between community and marital status. The results of the chi-square test indicated that there was a significant relationship between marital status and community (see Table 19).

Hypothesis seven stated that for each time period there would be a significant relationship between marital status in Salem and non-Salem communities. The results of the chi-square test indicated a significant relationship between marital status and community in time

Table 18  
 Observed Frequencies and Chi Square Value for  
 Relationship Between Marital Status  
 And Time Period

	Time Period I (n=114)	Time Period II (n=232)	Time Period III (n=165)	Time Period IV (n=227)	Time Period V (n=208)
Married	96	202	133	168	207
Never-Married	18	30	32	59	69

$\chi^2 = 17.40^{***}$

df = 4

\*\*\*p <.001



Table 19  
Observed Frequencies and Chi-Square Value for  
Relationship Between Marital Status  
And Community

	Salem (n=578)	Non-Salem (n=436)
Married	416	390
Never-Married	162	46

$$\chi^2 = 46.44***$$

$$df = 1$$

$$***p < .001$$

periods one, two, and four (at  $p < .01$ ). These results are seen in Table 20.

The purpose of this study was to examine changes in family structure as church power in community life varied. The analyses of the family structure measures dealt with a sample of Moravians who married, a sample indicative of a family structure. Marriage was viewed as the beginning of a new family, and the family structure means provided numerical descriptions of those families. A more basic question regarding family structure would be what proportion of Moravians entered a family of procreation from the Moravian population. By simply examining measures of existing families, this more basic question would be overlooked. Therefore, chi-squares were done to determine the frequencies of Moravians who married, compared to what would have been expected.

Table 20

Observed Frequencies and Chi Square Value for  
Relationship Between Marital Status And  
Community For Each Time Period

	<u>Time Period I</u> (n=114)		<u>Time Period II</u> (n=232)		<u>Time Period III</u> (n=165)		<u>Time Period IV</u> (n=227)		<u>Time Period V</u> (n=276)	
	<u>Salem</u>	<u>Non-Salem</u>	<u>Salem</u>	<u>Non-Salem</u>	<u>Salem</u>	<u>Non-Salem</u>	<u>Salem</u>	<u>Non-Salem</u>	<u>Salem</u>	<u>Non-Salem</u>
Married	30	66	84	118	68	65	88	80	146	61
Never-Married	13	5	25	5	24	8	44	15	56	13
	$X^2 = 14.2^{***}$		$X^2 = 18.38^{***}$		$X^2 = 5.96$		$X^2 = 8.75^{***}$		$X^2 = 2.92$	
	df = 1		df = 1		df = 1		df = 1		df = 1	

\*\*\*p < .001

The results indicate that there was a relationship between time and marital status, and an even stronger relationship between community and marital status. The greatest discrepancy between what occurred and what was expected arose in the early time periods, when church control was the strongest. This pattern of large differences in the early time periods is consistent with the family structure results.

Percentage of the Population  
Never Marrying

Percentages indicating Moravians who never married, out of the total population who could marry, were calculated and can be seen in Table 21. An observation which was consistent with the chi-square results was the difference in percentages between Salem and non-Salem communities. In every time period many more Salem Moravians never married than non-Salem Moravians. This difference would be consistent with the other results, indicating that when church power in community life was strong, family life was subordinated to the community. As in the other results, the greatest discrepancy between Salem and non-Salem communities occurred in the earlier time periods, while there was increasing similarity in later periods. Although even in time periods four and five, there was still a large gap between Salem and non-Salem communities.

An unexpected result was that, except for Time Period I, the percentage of never-marrieds increased over time for both Salem and non-Salem communities. Modell, Furstenberg, and Strong (1978) also found a larger percentage of never-marrieds (approximately 10 percent) in the mid-nineteenth century than there is currently. The Modell et al.

Table 21  
 Percentage of Population Never Marrying

	Time Period I	Time Period II	Time Period III	Time Period IV	Time Period V
Salem	30.2	22.9	26.0	33.3	38.3
Non-Salem	7.0	4.0	10.9	15.6	17.5

results were more similar to the non-Salem results than Salem results, suggesting that non-Salem communities were more representative of other secular communities. There were several possible explanations for the increase in never-marrieds over time. Perhaps the sex ratio of eligible mates became increasingly unequal. Another explanation might be increased social mobility. Perhaps Moravians who married were also likely to leave the community and establish their own homes. Modell, Furstenberg, and Strong (1978) stated that in some instances offspring remained in their family of orientation to make financial contribution. Few studies have been done dealing with the never-married status in a historical context; thus, it is difficult to make a precise interpretation of the increase of never-marrieds over time. This difficulty suggests that more work could be done to examine fluctuations in the never-married population in a historical context.

A final explanation for the large number of never-marrieds might be attributed to differences in life span. Upon closer examination of the population, a difference was noted in mean life span of those who married ( $\bar{X} = 62$ ) and those who never married ( $\bar{X} = 44$ ) as can be seen

in Table 22. Perhaps one reason some Moravians never married was that they died too young to marry.

Table 22  
Life Span For Never Marrieds

	Time Period I	Time Period II	Time Period III	Time Period IV	Time Period V
Salem	59.6 (n=13)	56.3 (n=25)	52.0 (n=24)	40.7 (n=44)	46.4 (n=56)
Non-Salem	44.6 (n=5)	33.5 (n=5)	40.5 (n=8)	30.1 (n=15)	39.8 (n=13)

Life Span For Marrieds

	Time Period I	Time Period II	Time Period III	Time Period IV	Time Period V
Salem	67.1	65.7	64.2	62.2	65.9
Non-Salem	65.1	57.3	50.9	61.2	66.1

In summarizing, when church power was strong in community life, the Salem Moravians were more likely to never marry; if they did marry, it would be at a later age, and they would have fewer children. If the spouse died, there is some indication that they would be slightly more likely to remarry, perhaps because of their occupational position in the community. During the early years, marriage for Salem Moravians meant leaving the secure structure of the Single Sisters' or

Single Brothers' choir house and attempting to become economically independent under the rigid business limitations imposed by the Collegium. It is easy to understand why many Salem Moravians delayed marriage or never married at all.

CHAPTER V  
DISCUSSION

Interpretation of Results

The time period which was examined in this study was viewed as a change from Gemeinschaft to Gesellschaft by some Moravian scholars. Gemeinschaft to Gesellschaft refers to a change from organic and harmonious unity to mechanical solidarity; a movement from folk to urban society; or most appropriately, modernization (Gordon, 1978). According to Nisbet (1966), the five basic concepts illustrating this change are: (1) the loss of community and subsequent move to individualism; (2) the change from sacred to secular values and as a result, (3) the decline of authority; (4) an increased sense of alienation on the part of the individual; and (5) changes in status which resulted in more social mobility for families.

Changes that took place in the Moravian communities have been interpreted as a move from sacred to secular, and a change in focus from a sense of community to a sense of burgeoning individualism (Mitchell, 1961; North, 1972; Surratt, 1968). Although these changes were identified by Moravian historians, they failed to explain why these changes took place. In interpreting the demographic changes in family structure, one can recognize the indreasing sense of secularization and individualism, and go one step further by providing more thoroughgoing explanations of how the changes occurred by utilization of exchange theory.

The interpretation of these results will involve several sections. First, past theory regarding changes from sacred to secular and changes from community to individualism will be discussed. Then exchange theory as presented in the theory section will be used to explain how the changes from sacred (community) to secular (individualism) occurred by answering three questions. These questions include: how did the Moravian communities start? How were they maintained? And how did they change? To answer these questions, a narrative of the Moravians' experiences during the hundred-year period under consideration will be given with reference to the findings regarding family structure being made for each period.

#### Sacred to Secular

Berger (1969) defined secularization as the "process by which sectors of society and culture are removed from the domination of religious institutions and symbols" (p. 107). He noted that not only is there a secularization of society and culture, but that there is also a secularization of consciousness. This secularization of consciousness is the point of disagreement, mentioned earlier, between Gollin (1967) and Surratt (1968). Surratt (1968) stated that the change in consciousness preceded and served as impetus for the changes in society and culture (economic, social, and political), while Gollin (1967) viewed the changes in the interaction between religion, economics, and political or societal and cultural changes as the impetus for changing "religious values of the Moravians in such a way as to promote the secularization of the American community" (Gollin, 1967, p. 225).



Berger (1969) agreed with Gollin (1967) by stating that the impetus for secularization is the ". . . modern economic processes . . . specifically in those sectors of the economy being formed by the capitalistic and industrial processes" (p. 129). Specifically for the Moravians, Mitchell (1961) noted that "the men to whom leadership in economic matters was given were expected to be governed by the same motivation and ideals as those who led in religious matters" (p. 44). Regardless of the initial impetus for secularization, it is clear that the change in religious values had an impact on every aspect of Moravian life. Mitchell (1961) stated that after an eighty-year period,

. . . though still a religious people, the Moravians had developed worldly interests which in practice, if not in theory, rivaled their religious conscious; consequently, the authority of the church dominated community had come to an end. (p. 178)

The original values had created a milieu which identified rules and ensured reciprocity in the exchanges that took place (Blau, 1964). Stated more simply, the decisions and exchanges that occurred during the early years of the Moravian community did so against a background of shared values which can be labeled as "sacred" and which convinced both parties that reciprocation would occur (Anderson, 1971). Berger (1969) defined sacred as "a quality of mysterious and awesome power" (p. 25). He stated that it was not enough that the individual view these sacred values as functional (i.e., ensuring reciprocity), but that it was best if he looked upon them as inevitable to ensure the continuation of a socially constructed, orderly world of experience. As time passed, these shared values broke down, a circumstance which had important consequences for the family.

Gordon (1978) stated:

Many nineteenth century intellectuals . . . saw religion rapidly slipping into insignificance and in the process creating a situation of moral crisis . . . in a sense we might say that the family, viewed as the cornerstone of society, was held to be the institution most vulnerable to the floodgates of irreligion that were apparently opening. (p. 11)

Greven (1970) noted the likelihood of a link between the "changing character of the family, the shifting circumstances of life (i.e., the modern economic process), and the changing character of religious experience itself" (p. 283) Tocqueville, in his visit to America in the 1830's, noted that religion provided an outer rim of unquestioned rules, limits, and assumptions, and that these religious values were rooted in the home and were connected with values regarding familial happiness (Reiss & Hoffman, 1979).

Modernization, of which the change from sacred to secular was one aspect, can be understood as the destruction of boundaries and limitations that had previously regulated family life. By examining demographic changes in family structure, one is able to interpret some of the changes that occurred in family life as a result of modernization or the change from Gemeinschaft to Gesellschaft.

#### Community to Individualism

A second aspect of modernization was the loss of a sense of community and the developing sense of individualism. The concept of community dealt with the quality of the individuals' relationship with other people through group and associational involvement. Nisbet (1953) stated that due to his insecurity, man seeks community. Nisbet

(1953) viewed the decline of community as incurring inevitable consequences on the religious beliefs of the individual. "The stress upon the individual at the expense of the church community has led to the isolation of the individual" (Nisbet, 1953, p. 14).

Mitchell (1961) noted the growing sense of individualism by stating that "within the Brethren's community, a new willingness to allow individual freedom on matters of conscience" (p. 92) was permitted. The results of this new freedom were perhaps best summarized by a Moravian minister when he noted that "impressions had left their mark . . . in ways that caused the fathers of the village grave concern" (Mitchell, 1961, p. 97). This was a significant change from the origins of the settlement when the plans for the initial settlement sacrificed the private lives of the settlers to the cause of securely establishing the community (Mitchell, 1961).

Nisbet (1953) commented on the results of secularization by stating:

The historic triumph of secularism and individualism has presented a set of problems . . . the release of the individual from ties of kinship and religion has made him free; but . . . this freedom is accompanied by the sense of disenchantment and alienation. (p. 10)

Although Nisbet (1953) focused on some of the negative aspects of individualism, it appears that for the Moravians, a movement toward individualism and away from community represented a sense of control over their own lives, including their family lives. For the Moravians, community meant church control over marriage, the choir system serving as family surrogate, and little emphasis on the relationship between husband and wife or parent and child. Instead of an emphasis on

family, the focus was on the individual's relationship to the church, which served as a symbol of community life. For the Moravians, growth of individualism meant opportunity both for growth of the individual and for growth of the family. This was different from present-day individualism when growth of the individual often represents a breaking away from family bonds.

In the early years church and community was inextricably intertwined for the Moravians. As Surratt (1968) pointed out, the Moravian community began as a theocracy in which church leaders and community leaders were the same. It was only after many years that the union of the Church of the Unity of the Brethren and the community of Salem became two separate institutions. Berger (1969) stated that for an individual to continue to exist in a particular religious world, he must exist in a particular social context within which that world could retain its plausibility. For many years every aspect of Moravian community life reinforced adherence to a set of specific religious values; thus, a break from the community also represented a break from the religious values that the community represented. An example of the blending of communal life and religious beliefs can be seen in the comments of a Moravian minister, who said:

Few settlements of which I know have been founded as ours was, with a definite intent and the most definite of ideals. At the center of these ideals is our community life. I do not mean the common housekeeping . . . I speak rather of the spirit which has made the common housekeeping possible in spite of certain hardships which it entails in the surrender of individual preferences; I speak of brotherly kindness and mutual aid, of the service of all for the good of all . . . . The attainment of this ideal is possible only if each resident is resolved to live for the Lord Jesus Christ, to serve according to His will, and

therein to be quietly happy. If any among us does not desire this, has a mind set on another goal, he has no place in our congregation and must be content to seek his happiness elsewhere. (Fries, 1944, p. 96)

### Exchange Theory

The changes in the Moravian communities during the hundred-year period have been labeled as "modernization" by historians. How did this process occur? What caused the individual Moravians to seek more secular and individualistic goals, and what were the implications of these changes for Moravian families?

The principles stated earlier by Anderson (1971) provide insight into these questions. Briefly, Anderson (1971) stated that all individuals were seeking self-reliance. This independence (in this case from the church as a symbol of community control) was dependent on the resources under the control of the church or the individual. As the individual increased his resources, he was able to establish more autonomy in economic, social, or political areas. As Berger (1969) stated, this process not only affected various aspects of society, but also served as the impetus for a secularization of consciousness.

In viewing the secularization process through an exchange perspective, one would evaluate the changes which were labeled "secularization" as a change in the balance of resources, and thus a change in bargaining power. To maintain the boundaries and values established for all areas of the Moravian's life, the balance of resources would need to be maintained; however, new outside resources that became available to the Moravians resulted in both societal changes and changes of consciousness. Surratt (1968) labeled the latter as a move from theocracy to voluntarism with reference to the Moravians' faith.

Thus, the "modern economic process" (Berger, 1968), which is the source of modernization, could be viewed as a change in the balance of resources. By obtaining resources, the Moravian was able to think in terms of his own personal growth and realized that he now had the option either to depend on his own resources or to continue to defer to community needs and depend on the community to meet his individual needs.

How does this process of modernization (or change in the balance of resources) affect the family? One primary way is that the Moravian need no longer submit to the authority of the church for decisions regarding his family life. An example of this would be the choice of a marital partner.

As stated earlier, when church control was powerful, the Elders of the church decided through use of the lot when a Brother or Sister could marry and whom they would marry. During the early years of the Moravian settlement, the young people submitted to the Elders' will, but as time passed the young people sought autonomy from the church in choosing a marital partner.

In applying exchange theory to mate selection, Scanzoni and Scanzoni (1976) made several points. If Party A (or in this situation the church) has the resources that Party B (or the individual Moravian) wants, then Party A has the most power. The church's power was limited to the degree that the Moravian gained alternative resources or if the Moravian renounced the rewards that the church provided. A third way the church's power could be limited would arise if the Moravians had the capability to persuade the church leaders to change church policy.

Thus, bargaining power depended on the outside resources the Moravian had compared to the church's resources, or the "resource gap" (Scanzoni & Scanzoni, 1976). According to Anderson (1971), if the environment offered alternative resources to the Moravian, the exchange between the church and the Moravian would break down. For example, a Moravian would no longer submit to the Elders' will regarding a marital partner, but instead might choose his own spouse. The cost of this decision might be social ostracism from the community.

Anderson (1971) went on to point out that this change of bargains or behaviors would result in the change of values or norms. For instance, the Moravian had to recognize the church's power as less than absolute. The church no longer maintained absolute authority over the Moravians, because it no longer possessed the resources or power to do so. This could have been one explanation for the decline of authority and sense of alienation that were products of modernization as identified by Nisbet (1966).

Gordon (1978) identified a by-product of this decline of authority as increased personal freedom which had never previously been experienced by many Moravians. With the sense of new personal freedom, the Moravians moved into a time of uncertainty when new values began to emerge and new optimal relationships and exchanges were formed. This period of transition was not only a period of uncertainty for individual Moravians, but also for the community as a whole, because the values of the past, which had served as the mediating mechanism for social life and social transition (Blau, 1964), were now breaking down. Blau (1964) went on to state that these values had made indirect social

exchange possible and governed the process of social integration and differentiation in the social milieu.

An example of the difficulty which was a result of this transition of values can be seen from a diary kept by a Moravian in her comment regarding a young male Moravian who sought the advice of the Elders with regard to his marriage. The counsel refused to reply, because they discovered that he had already made marriage plans. Recorded in the diary were the comments:

It looks as though the younger people were rebelling against the leadership of the Lord . . . . It's dreadful to think of acting exactly contrary to the express wish of the Lord. (Fries, 1944, p. 308)

The two levels of values, which were operating within the Moravian community, could be examined. The first would be the surface values or the societal values. These values were the norms which ensured reciprocity in areas such as economic, political, and social life. Another level of examination would be the individual personal values which were closely intertwined with the individual's identity, a religious faith or consciousness (Berger, 1969). The idea of societal values or norms and personal values may be one explanation for the conflict between Gollin (1967) and Surratt (1968) with regard to the impetus for change. It seems that Gollin (1967) was focusing on the societal norms or values, while Surratt (1968) was also accounting for individual values.

In this study, the focus has been on the societal norms or values as identified by Blau (1964), because one has only a broad overview of the major changes in the Moravian communities. To illuminate these



societal changes, reference has been made to personal comments where the inner conflict, change of consciousness, and questioning of individual personal values by Moravians as their societal norms and values broke down were recorded.

#### Time Period I and Family Structure

The time span from 1753 to 1769 was the period when the church's power permeated every aspect of the Moravian's daily life. This was the time period when the Oeconomie was in operation in Bethabara; thus, the individual Moravian sacrificed all of his resources for the community. As stated earlier, power was based on resources so that the individual Moravian had no opportunity for independent power apart from the community. This was also the time period when the individual Moravian had the greatest need of community resources under the church's control, because the Moravian had to overcome famine, Indians, disease, bad weather, and other disasters that occurred during the early years of the settlement. The church also maintained its power through control of the spiritual resources, such as implementation of the choir system, and daily religious services in which all communicant members were required to attend the "speaking" or private conversations between the Moravians and his minister. During Time Period I the church maintained control over both spiritual and economic resources, and daily life was regimented such that there were few opportunities for exposure to alternative resources.

The power of the church varied between Salem and the other Moravian communities during Time Period I. Salem, as the congregation place,

was more dependent on church resources, while in the other communities some allowance was made for individual resources. In Salem the choir system was used, the lot was used for decisions regarding church membership and marriage, Moravians rented land for their homes and businesses from the church, and the businesses were under the control of the church boards. Marshall, the Unity Administrator, identified differences in Salem and the other towns when he stated:

A congregation town differs from other congregations in that it is more like one family, where the religious and marital condition of each member is (sic) known in detail, where each person receives the appropriate choir oversight and also assistance in consecrating his daily life. (Fries & Rights, Vol. I, 1922, p. 313)

Other conditions also strengthened the church's power in Salem. The church retained 3,000 acres around Salem so that non-Moravians could not live near Salem; they managed their own tax listing; they limited store credit to outsiders; they kept careful regulation of visits of non-Moravians to Salem; they refused to bear arms or join the militia; and they spoke German instead of English (Surratt, 1968). All of these practices tended to strengthen the Moravian's dependence on the church, especially in Salem.

The early years of the Moravian settlement were years in which the "sacred" values were the strongest. In establishing the settlement in North Carolina, the Moravians had hoped to expand their financial resources and create a community in which they could live out their religious values with little interference from outsiders. Although from the beginning there was a mixture of economic and religious goals, economic policy was always to be subordinated to religious life. For

example, community interests were always to take precedence over individual profit in businesses so that completion between the Brethren was controlled by the Collegium. The Moravians were willing to sacrifice their individual prosperity, because these "sacred values" gave them a purpose and goal in attempting to establish a community where daily life would be ordered and lived by following the commands of Christ (Mitchell, 1961).

During this time period, there was also an emphasis on a sense of community. In many ways the "community values" were synonymous with the "sacred values." The Moravians had a common heritage of communal sharing from their experiences in Pennsylvania. The Oeconomie was one of the best examples of the blending of sacred and community values. By combining all resources and sharing all the work, the Moravians were able to act out their sacred values in their daily lives.

Because the church had control of the resources and was very powerful during this time period, the values of sacredness and community were emphasized in daily life, and family life was subordinated to these values. Marriage occurred at the latest age of all five time periods. Especially in Salem, the Moravians married at a late age. But, outside Salem where church power was not as strong, the Moravian married at an earlier age. The economic security of the choir system and the ability of the community to meet most of the individual Moravian's needs were deterrents to early marriage. Subsequently, the years of possible childbearing were fewer for Salem Moravians, and they had fewer children than the non-Salem Moravians. The large

number of children born to the non-Salem Moravians would grow up in an atmosphere where the church values were not as rigidly enforced, and in later years would serve as the leaders in pressing for change. The Moravians in Salem were more likely to remarry than the Moravians in non-Salem communities because marriage was a prerequisite for many of the occupations in the community. In the examination of the family structure during the earliest time period, it is apparent that the family was of secondary importance in the early years, and instead, the emphasis was on the individual Moravian's relationship to the community as a symbol of the church.

During this earliest period, the Moravian had to depend on the pooled resources under the church's control, because he had few individual resources. Combining resources was the optimum way to solve the problems that existed, but it also severely limited the power of the individual Moravian. At this point, outside alternative resources were not available, so there was little conflict between the church and the individual Moravian. Even though the Moravian might have desired self-reliance and independence from the church, his lack of resources maintained his dependence on the church, and the communities continued to operate under the bargaining system that had been originally established.

This dependence on church-controlled resources strengthened the values of community over family and individual interests. As long as the majority of resources was under the church's control, there would be little chance for conflict; but, even in Time Period I, evidence of the Moravians seeking individual control existed, such as the

establishment of the community at Bethania in which the Bethanians sought to own their own homes and land. Other changes would occur in future time periods, indicating a change in the balance of resources and subsequent changes in community and family life.

#### Time Period II and Family Structure

Many changes occurred during the years 1770 to 1794, and these changes made new alternative resources available to individual Moravians. The Revolutionary War brought Moravians into contact with their newly acquired homeland, and it became increasingly difficult to retain their isolationist tendencies. Controversy arose regarding the Moravians' traditional policy of objection to military service and the taking of oaths. From this controversy resulted new freedoms for an individual Moravian "to act according to his conscience, for it is a dangerous and evil time" (Fries & Rights, Vol. III, 1926, p. 1050). New alternatives were also available in the economic realm. The Brethren pressed for freedom to buy and sell privately without seeking the approval from the Collegium, and although these businessmen were reprimanded for "unplanned thinking and doing which might bring the displeasure of the Saviour upon our commerce so that His blessing would be removed from it" (Fries & Rights, Vol. III, 1926, p. 1177), the Moravian businessmen, nevertheless, continued to seek and obtain independence from the church in their business transactions. The availability of new land, which was plentiful and inexpensive on the American frontier, was another resource which made the Moravians restless under the church's policy of owning all land and renting it to

the Brethren. In fact, several Brethren left Wachovia in order to obtain their own land in Kentucky, Georgia, and other states (Mitchell, 1961).

These changes in the availability of resources stirred conflict within the community as the opportunity for personal gain challenged the Moravian heritage of communal and sacred values. Exchange theory suggests that the social relationship would be maintained as long as the exchanges were reciprocal, but when the exchanges were no longer optimal for the individual Moravian, because of the availability of new resources, the exchange structure would be modified which, in turn, would cause the old values to break down as new optimal exchanges emerged. An example of conflict between the old and new values would be the tax for the privilege of military exemption. In accordance with the Moravian tradition of pacifism, the Moravians agreed to pay a special tax for the privilege of military exemption. But some of the Moravian men, especially in Bethania, Friedland, and Friedberg, where the Moravian heritage was not as strong, did not object enough to be willing to pay extra taxes. Thus, these men chose military service instead of the tax. Other Moravians chose to leave the community and set up their own homes instead of submitting to the Moravian values of communal ownership and submission to the church in economic areas.

Although many individual instances of disobedience to church policy occurred, perhaps as a result of the availability of new resources, these new resources did not yet change the societal values of the community as a whole. Most of the Moravians still followed the

church leaders' example and paid the tax instead of doing military service; and most Moravian businessmen still followed the policies of the Collegium in setting prices and wages. The policy concerning use of the lot for choice of a marital partner was changed so that by 1790 the lot was only used in Salem. The Moravians' orderly and disciplined lifestyle was disturbed by the coming of outsiders into the Moravian communities because of the Revolutionary War. The result of this exposure to outsiders was that individual Moravians became aware of options for personal growth--especially in the economic realm. However, these opportunities for personal growth conflicted with their heritage of communal values, and more time would need to pass before these alternative resources would serve as impetus for the breakdown of the old structure of exchanges.

During this time period, the family was still subordinated to the community though there were indications that changes were beginning to occur. There was still much discrepancy between age at marriage for Salem and non-Salem Moravians. The pattern was the same as in Time Period I with the Salem Moravians marrying at a much later age. The later age at marriage in Salem could be attributed to the enforcement of the lot in Salem, the use of the choir system, and the strict regulations regarding opposite-sex friendships which were more easily enforceable in Salem. Opportunities to marry would not be as great or come as early in Salem as in the non-Salem communities, so as in Time Period I the Salem couples had significantly fewer children than the non-Salem parents. Similar to Time Period I, the Salem Moravians were slightly more likely to remarry during this time period. The

similarities between Time Period I and Time Period II indicate that changes in the exchange structure and balance of resources had not yet had a significant impact on the family. Non-Salem Moravians still had more individual resources and more options so the family had a more integral role in the non-Salem communities.

Time Period II brought the first important contacts with outsiders, especially with reference to the Revolutionary War. These contacts made the Moravians aware of options that were not under church control; and this awareness was the beginning of future outbreaks of rebellion against church leadership (Mitchell, 1961). Especially as new generations came into power, which had not been reared in the strict Moravian heritage of values, evidences of discontent would be seen. These changes in the exchange structure, values, and resources would lead to future changes in the family structure and role of the family in the community.

#### Time Period III and Family Structure

The years 1795 to 1813 were a time for processing the changes that had occurred during the Revolutionary War Period. As in Time Period II, new resources continued to be available to the individual Moravian which brought a further conflict between the old values of sacredness and community and the new values which allowed for personal growth. A new resource that influenced the process of change was the coming of the "great revival" to the Moravian communities. Before the great revival, new resources were primarily in the economic, social, and military realms. This meant that if a Moravian chose personal



economic growth, he was often violating his religious beliefs. But with the coming of the revivals, the Moravian who was dissatisfied under the restrictive life of the Moravian Church now had an option to maintain a religious affiliation, but still seek the rewards that had recently become available.

The impact of the great revival suggests a breakdown in the structure of the old exchanges and the development of new exchanges in the religious realm. These revival meetings with their emphasis on emotional response such as "falling downs" and "shouting," especially had an appeal in the country congregations and for the young people. Other breakdowns in the old exchange structure were also occurring. It became increasingly difficult to find volunteers for community service; religious holidays were changed from Monday to Sunday so as not to consume a work day; there was a decline in financial support of the church, and a decline in attendance at some of the services (Surratt, 1968).

The economic exchange structure was also being replaced by new exchanges due to a change in the balance of resources. New resources that became available to the Moravians included machinery for spinning cotton, carding wool, and weaving. The Brethren also purchased shares in the Bank of North Carolina, which was one more step away from the self-contained financial order that had originally been established. Each economic change did not represent revolutionary change in itself, but combined they represented a movement away from dependence on church-controlled resources and toward the self-reliance and independence that Anderson (1971) stated each Actor sought.

The political domain was another area of change in the balance of resources and exchange structure. Instead of depending entirely on the church-elected boards, the Moravians became involved in state politics by sending delegates to the state conventions. In the early years, the Moravians had deferred to the church by voting for the candidates recommended by the church, but after 1793 the Moravians began to vote independently. They also used their newly acquired political resources to obtain community goals such as the right to military exemption. Contacts with political leaders outside the Moravian communities increased the individual Moravian's awareness of options outside of his own experiences.

On the surface of the Moravian community, changes were occurring in the economic, political, and religious areas of life, but on a deeper level, changes were occurring in the "background of shared values" which had been the Moravian heritage. As time passed, increasingly more sectors of society were removed from the domination of the church, and this resulted in a secularization of consciousness. One aspect of this secularization of consciousness was the growth of individualism, which could be seen in the Brethren's willingness to seek individual economic profit, to become in the political activities of the state, and in their willingness to become involved in the Baptist and Methodist religious services to the neglect of the Moravian services. But the changes in the balance of resources and the exchange structure had not yet transformed all aspects of community life.

During this time period, the family was still subordinated to the community, especially in Salem; but evidence indicated that this was

changing also. Salem Moravians were still marrying later than non-Salem Moravians. In both Salem and non-Salem communities, the age at marriage steadily declined in the first three time periods. As the Brethren became increasingly economically self-sufficient by increasing their individual resources, they were able to marry at a younger age. At the same time that they were marrying younger, the number of children the Moravians were having was staying approximately the same for Salem and declining for non-Salem communities. This finding suggested some knowledge of birth control. Salem Moravians were still marrying slightly more times than non-Salem Moravians, which may be explained somewhat by noting that the Salem Moravians had a longer life span than the non-Salem Moravians.

As Salem and the other Moravian communities became increasingly secular, their family structure became more similar. The differences between Salem and non-Salem communities were not as distinct in Time Period III as they were in earlier time periods. The distinctions of Salem as the congregation place became less pronounced, and both Salem and non-Salem communities continued to change as individual Moravians obtained more and more resources.

#### Time Period IV and Family Structure

During the Fourth Time Period, the process of changes in the balance of resources and subsequent changes in values were completed. It was during this time period that many of the subtle changes, which had begun earlier, both in community structure and in consciousness, came to fruition. By the end of Time Period IV, it was difficult to

identify clear differences in Salem and the other Moravian communities with regard to church control.

During this time period the church lost power over the lives of the Brethren in almost every area. In 1818 the Unity Synod dispensed with the lot for decisions regarding marriage of the laity and for admission to the Moravian congregation (Surratt, 1968). The Single Brothers' House was closed and the Single Brothers' diaconie was dissolved in 1823 after many years of financial difficulties (Surratt, 1968). In the closing of the Single Brothers' House, one of the oldest and most distinctive institutions of the Moravian settlement came to an end. A Moravian historian commented on the closing of the Single Brothers' House:

The demise of the choir house demonstrated anew that family life cannot be suppressed with impunity nor the profit motive eradicated permanently, even in a religious community. (Surratt, 1968, p. 233)

The church also lost control over the economic dimension of community life as individual Brethren sought and obtained the right to acquire land, the right to control their own businesses, and the right to compete. These changes indicated that no longer did spiritual considerations (or sacred) take precedence over financial concerns (or secular).

As in earlier time periods, these outward changes in the exchange structure indicated a change in consciousness, i.e., personal values, and a change in societal values. The process of movement toward secularization, individualism, and Gesellschaft was near completion. An indication of the change in values was seen in the change of leadership in the communities. In the eighteenth century, the "wise men" had been

the clergymen and their wives, dedicated to the authority and goals of the Unity. But as time passed, business leaders whose wealth and influence gave them power came to replace the clergy as the leaders of the community. For example, by 1837 the men who made up the Collegium took a completely different perspective regarding the financial concerns of the community than had their predecessors (Mitchell, 1961).

The impact of these changing values on the balance of resources was clearly illustrated by one incident in 1836. At that time the Collegium made a decision which, according to Mitchell (1961), "seemed like the opening of a flood gate through which change could pour into Salem" (p. 162). A group of Salem citizens sought permission to erect a cotton mill in the vicinity of Salem. The Collegium had to weigh the economic gains that could be provided by this mill against the risk of church authority, because the "interested persons" sought land in fee rather than on lease which might serve as a precedent for future digressions from the rental system and threaten church authority. Furthermore, the opening of the mill would mean the employment of non-Moravians skilled in the use of the necessary machinery. With these risks in mind, the Collegium agreed to sell the lots in fee, noting that this was a "special case, for the common welfare, never to be regarded as a precedent" (Mitchell, 1961, p. 164). The opening of the cotton mill was a clear example of the change in values from sacred to secular, and this change in values led to the opportunity for further financial gain for individual Moravians. These financial resources made it possible for the individual Moravians to become increasingly more independent of church authority.

By Time Period IV the changes in values, the balance of resources, and the exchange structure of the community had an important impact on family structure. In both Salem and the non-Salem communities, decisions regarding family life became increasingly secular in the sense that they were left up to personal choice instead of made by church authorities for the good of the community. The blatant differences that had been apparent in the early years were gone; and instead, Salem and non-Salem communities had blended and overlapped so that it would be difficult to differentiate between them on the basis of family structure. These similarities in family structure were an indication of the growing similarities in all areas of Moravian life between the communities and the continuing decline of the unique aspects, indicating Salem's distinction as the congregation place.

Similarities can be seen in examining family structure where differences had previously existed. For example, age at marriage between Salem and non-Salem communities was now almost the same. There was a reversal in number of children with Salem having more children than non-Salem communities for the first time. But even though there was a reversal, there was much greater similarity in number of children than had occurred in the earlier time periods. Likewise, for number of marriages, there was a greater similarity than had occurred in any of the earlier time periods. Both the historical accounts of community life during this twenty-year span and the demographic data indicate growing similarities in the communities, and these similarities indicated an increasing secularization and desire by the Moravians to obtain resources which would provide independence from the church authority.

### Time Period V and Family Structure

By Time Period V, many of the important changes had already occurred, and the Moravian communities were operating under the new exchange system in which the church was merely another institution in a secular society. In 1849 the Collegium voted to sell 500 acres for the establishment of the new county seat, Winston. The establishment of Winston "brought the world to Salem's door" (Mitchell, 1961, p. 166). The Brethren also voted to abolish the monopolies of the church in 1849, and free trade was established. Several years later, in 1857, the Brethren completed the change from communal authority to individual control when they abolished the land-lease system.

Although individual Moravians maintained their church affiliation, the secular communities in which they now lived had changed to provide optimal exchanges for each individual to attempt to achieve his personal goals. This change in societal values was demonstrated in the lack of conflict over the final abolishment of the monopolies and the land-lease system. Further evidence of the growing acceptance of secularized societal values was the establishment of a militia from Salem for the State of North Carolina, and the growing acceptance of slavery. All of these changes would have been completely opposed as "worldly" even several years earlier.

As in other areas, family structure indicated the change in values with decisions regarding families being made on the basis of personal choice instead of church authority. As in Time Period IV, similarities between Salem and non-Salem communities could be seen. There was little change between Time Period IV and Time Period V, but instead, a

stabilizing around the age of 26 for both Salem and non-Salem individuals regarding age at marriage. Most of the changes that influenced family structure had already occurred, and family structure in Time Period V was in many ways a continuation of the change that had been made during Time Period IV. There were also similarities between Time Periods IV and V with reference to the number of children for both Salem and non-Salem communities with a stabilizing around 4.5 children for both groups during the forty-year period. Number of marriages was also similar between Salem and non-Salem communities. When comparing the large differences between Salem and non-Salem communities in the early periods to the similarities in Time Periods IV and V, it can be summarized that the impact of the secularization process on the family occurred somewhere around the end of Time Period III and the beginning of Time Period IV. Furthermore, the secularization process brought increasing similarities between Salem and non-Salem communities where large differences had been in the early years.

#### Moravian Family Structure and Past

##### Research on the Family

This study began by noting the important developments in social-historical research on the family. It was stated that this study was one more contribution to the previously assimilated information known about families of the past. In an attempt to incorporate this study into the past research on the family, it is important to note similarities and differences between other historical families and the Moravians.



Laslett (1977) and Demos (1968) had written summary articles identifying characteristics of families in the past. Laslett (1977) noted four traits that characterized Western families. He stated that the distinguishing feature of the family in Western tradition was the simultaneous presence during the period of primary socialization of four characteristics which were as follows: (1) the nuclear family was the predominant family type; (2) age of motherhood was relatively late in both the life experience of the woman, and in the period of fecundity; (3) the age gap between spouses was small with the wife often being older; and (4) often there was the presence of non-kin in the house (servants, boarders, etc.).

In examining the Moravians in terms of these characteristics, some similarities and some differences were noted. When the Moravians lived as a family, it was in the nuclear family form, so the Moravians were similar to Western families when examining family type. What was unique about the Moravians was the choir system (Gollin, 1969). But as mentioned earlier, the choir system was only implemented in Salem; thus, the non-Salem families were more representative of the Western family with regard to family type. In the choir system, the Moravians had an alternative to the nuclear family form, but as time passed, the nuclear family replaced the choir system.

The Moravians were similar to the Western family type when comparing age of motherhood. Because Moravian women married at a later age, there was a tendency for them to have their children later in life, both in terms of their own life cycle and in terms of the fecundity period. As was pointed out earlier, an interesting observation

concerning childbearing was the large number of children the Moravians had. This was especially significant when noting that they began their childbearing rather late in life.

The Moravians also reflected the Western family type in terms of the age gap between spouses. The husband and wife were similar in age, although again we noticed differences in Salem and non-Salem communities (mean age gap in Salem was 7.0 years; non-Salem communities, 3.5 years). As in family form, the non-Salem families more closely resembled the Western family type. An important difference in the Moravian families and the Western family type was the sex of the oldest spouse. Laslett (1977) stated that often the wife was older in the Western family, but in the Moravian family, the male was older in every group.

A final comparison between the Western family type and the Moravians was the presence of non-kin in the house. Although empirical data dealing with the presence of non-kin were not included in this study, reference was made in literary sources noting the presence of non-kin in the house (Holder, 1929; North, 1972). These household members were often a Single Brother or Single Sister who was apprenticed to learn a trade from a master craftsman or served as a servant in the house. For example, Reverend Bahnson wrote that Caty (the servant girl) "sat weeping most bitterly" during the difficult labor of his wife (Bahnson, September 21, 1835). Because the Moravians retained a cautious attitude toward use of slaves, these servants were often single Moravian young people who maintained a close relationship with the family, as can be seen in Brother Bahnson's comment on Caty.

Holder (1929) commented that initially apprentices were not legally bound, but idleness and trouble among the boys made legal indenture advisable, and they were adopted in 1769. The master was placed under a bond to teach the apprentice his trade, provide food, lodging, clothing, and laundry during the term of apprenticeship. The apprentice was required to serve his master faithfully, to obey his lawful command, and to keep his secrets (Fries & Rights, Vol. III, 1926).

The Moravians had many similarities and some unique aspects when compared with the Western family type. Most of their differences were a result of their heritage (i.e., choir system), and as time passed and modernization occurred, the Moravian family came to more closely resemble the Western family type.

Demos (1968) identified commonly held "myths" regarding historical families, and from the research that had been done on historical families, he refuted or supported those myths. Included in his list of myths were: (1) that the colonial family was extended rather than nuclear (false); (2) that the normal marriage age was very early (false); (3) that couples of the past had many children (true with qualifications); (4) that life expectancy was low (largely false); (5) that mortality rates for mothers and infants were high (exaggerated); and (6) that most men and women married several times due to the death of their spouse (exaggerated). Comparisons can be made between Demos' findings and the findings of this study on the Moravians.

Demos (1968) and Laslett (1977) both stated that the predominant family form of Western families in the past was nuclear, and this generalization was supported by the Moravian research (Mitchell, 1961;

North, 1972). Demos (1968) stated that it was incorrect to believe that the normal marriage age was very young by our standards, and the Moravian data support Demos' correction (mean age at marriage for males was 29.63 years; for females, 25.36 years). In fact, the mean age at marriage for the Moravians was higher than Demos' findings on mean age of marriage for families in colonial Rhode Island (mean age at marriage for males was 24.3 years; for females, 21.1 years). Demos (1968) stated that the belief that families of the past had large numbers of children was correct. The Moravian data support this assumption also ( $\bar{X} = 4.74$ ). Again, the Moravian mean was even higher than the mean number of children that Demos (1968) reported for families in colonial Rhode Island ( $\bar{X} = 3.27$ ). The Moravians were a very fertile group!

The Moravian data also supported Demos' correction of the myth that life expectancy was generally quite low. Instead, results similar to Demos' (1968) findings were found, indicating a long life span with the mean life span for the Moravians being 62.46 years. Data dealing with the mortality rate for infants and mothers were not included in this study, except in an indirect way. In Reverend George Bahnson's diary (1834 to 1838), birth was pictured as a natural part of life although there was an awareness of the risks involved in childbirth. The data indicated that the life span for females was slightly shorter than for males. Perhaps part of the explanation for this difference was the risk of childbirth.

A final myth that Demos (1968) refuted was that many men and women married twice or more due to the death of their first spouse. Again,

the Moravian data supported Demos' (1968) correction. Over 85 percent of the Moravian sample married only once, and more than two marriages was exceedingly rare. The Moravians had much in common with the findings of past researchers on Western historical families.

#### Unique Contributions of This Study

The purpose of this study was to examine how family structure changed as the power the church was able to exert over community life varied by communities and by time. The analyses of demographic means demonstrated that family life was subordinated to community life when the church was more powerful. Church power was defined in terms of the resources under its control. Specifically, land, most businesses, social customs, and political resources were all originally under the church's authority. As individual Moravians sought more control over resources, subsequent changes in the family occurred.

Specific changes that occurred in family life were an earlier age at marriage, variation in the number of children, and slightly fewer second marriages. With regard to marital status, there were mixed results. As had been predicted, Salem Moravians were more likely to never marry than were non-Salem Moravians. The unexpected finding was that as time passed there was an increase in the number of Moravians who never married instead of a decrease. Suggestions were made for further research on historical predictors of large groups of never-marrieds in a community.

Past research on the Moravians had examined changes that occurred in Moravian life and organized these findings by identifying underlying themes, such as the change from sacred to secular or the change from community to individualism. The unique contribution of this study is utilization of exchange theory, which goes one step further than noting themes by identifying underlying processes which served as the impetus for changes from sacred to secular or community to individualism. Exchange theory examines these processes in terms of changes in the balance of resources, goals, and costs/rewards to individual Moravians and the church. Gordon (1978) noted that a weakness of past historical work was that modernization was viewed as static or as an event. The unique contribution of exchange theory in explaining changes in Moravian life was that one can view these changes as a process by examining how the communities developed, how they were maintained, and how they changed.

A second contribution of this study is the presentation of a "statistical picture" of changes and trends in Moravian family life. The ability to derive a statistical picture is a relatively recent development due to the application of quantitative methods of historical research. Thus, assumptions about family life in the past can now be empirically tested and modified if necessary.

#### Suggestions for Future Research

The interdisciplinary nature of social-historical research on the family presents a demanding challenge to researchers. In this work both statistical rigor and accurate literary description are sought.

Often a researcher trained in one area has had little experience in the other. For this reason future researchers should continue to go beyond the boundaries of their discipline and training to seek expertise in both methodology and style.

This interdisciplinary challenge should be undertaken with several cautionary reminders. Historical work is limited by the data that exist which suggests caution in making generalizations from limited findings. In seeking scientific rigor, the researcher should remain aware of the pitfall of assuming causality where it has not been established. At this point in the development of social-historical methodology, only correlation can be established. Interpretation of the findings should not be done in isolation, but instead incorporated into the growing body of social-historical work and modifications made if necessary. Finally, a systematic approach to social-historical work can be accomplished by employing theory in interpreting the results.

A cautious skepticism is important, not only in interpretation of the findings, but in the data-gathering process. Because data resources are limited, every possible source of information should be investigated. At the same time, the quality of the data should be considered and accounted for in the methodology. For example, when dates in this study were crosschecked, some dates were found to be inconsistent. To account for this inconsistency, these dates were coded "unknown." Some questions that would be interesting to pursue were deleted after preliminary investigations demonstrated that the sample size would be insufficient to obtain a valid answer.

Topics that can be investigated are only limited by available data and many areas have become open to historical investigation that were previously not an option. Examples of these topics include old age, adolescence, childhood, and the birth process. As has been mentioned earlier, the need for more information about the never-married individuals' role in society would be a substantive topic for further research. Historical information on each of these topics can provide background for clinicians working in these areas in the present.

This study has led to specific suggestions for further research on the Moravians. Information on Moravian life in other North American settlements or in Europe would provide opportunity for comparison and speculations about the impact of the environment on Moravian policy and customs. By using an European sample, research could be undertaken which would go further back in time. Perhaps data would be available in an European sample that could answer questions which were limited by available Moravian data in North Carolina. This study could be viewed as a preliminary investigation leading to further work on Moravian families.

#### Implications for Family Life Today

Greven (1970) stated that the only way to establish the uniqueness of modern families is to compare them with families of the past. But why is it important to "establish what is unique about modern families" (Greven, 1970, p. 283)? Gordon (1978) answered this question by identifying two underlying social maxims which are:



1. What strengthens the family, strengthens society; and
2. If things go well with the family, life is worth living; when the family falters, life falls apart. (p. 4)

With these two maxims in mind, writers concerned with the family claim the moral demise of the family in modern times. Modern trends such as the increasing divorce rate, changing sexual mores, and the entrance of women into the labor market are all used as evidence to indicate the decline of the family. Reference is made to families of the past as the model of the happy home, and the "what was, should be" syndrome leads to the assumption that the situation has become increasingly worse (Gordon, 1978).

By investigating exactly "what was," social historians have found that many beliefs about past family life were, in fact, myths (Demos, 1968). Goode (1956) most appropriately labeled this idealized family type as "the classical family of Western nostalgia" (p. 3). Historians are now able to investigate aspects of this ideal family type and from their results present a more realistic picture of family life in the past. With this understanding of past family life and family life today, one is able to:

Begin to develop an appreciation of how change in any institution . . . is not a piecemeal process, but rather is the result of pressures and cross-pressures within a society which brings various structures into line with its emerging organization . . . . (Gordon, 1978, p. 6)

This leads to the understanding that a society's beliefs about what is right and proper in interpersonal matters often reflects the present structural and social conditions of that era (Gordon, 1978).

This study on the Moravians demonstrates how different structural and social conditions in the Moravian communities influenced the role

of the family in community life. As these conditions changed, there were corresponding changes in family structure. The same principles that have been used in understanding changes in the historical Moravian family can be used in understanding changes in family life today. To increase understanding and insight about changes in contemporary families, it is important to continue the investigation that has begun into family life in the past.

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APPENDIX A

Sample Moravian Obituary Card

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Name: Ackerman, Edwin Theophilas

Born: January 4, 1830

At: Salem, NC

Died: February 11, 1911

Buried At: Salem, NC

Parents: John Ackerman & Anna Johanna,  
M.N. Spaugh

Married: (1) Mary Elizabeth Davis, 1857

(2) Sarah Jane Veach, 1894

Children: (1)

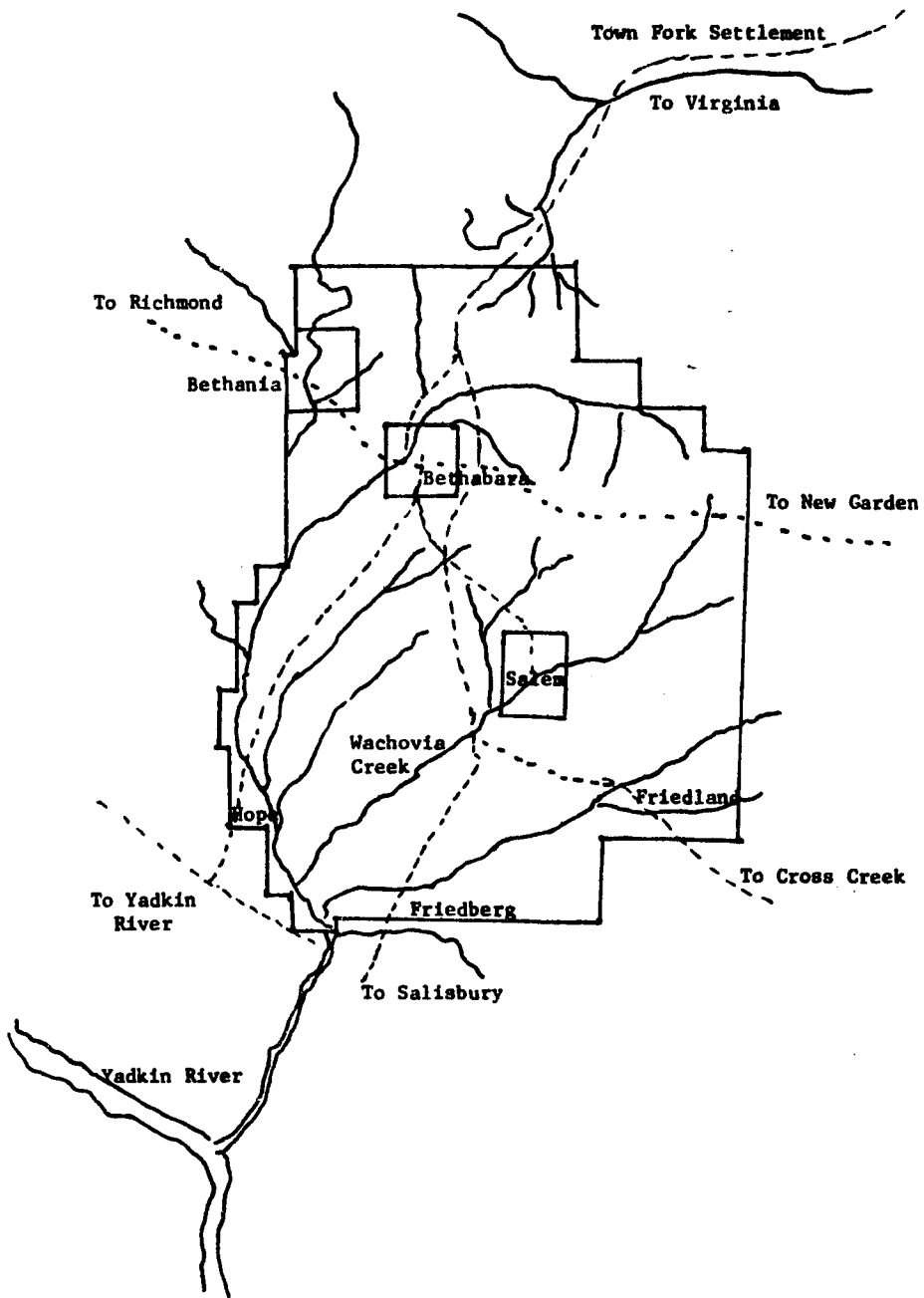
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(Has additional information on reverse)

APPENDIX B  
Map of Wachovia



Map of Wachovia



(From originals of 1766 and 1779, reprinted in Fries, 1925, p. 616, and Fries, 1926, p. 1342.)

Scale of miles: 1 2 3 4 5

APPENDIX C

Lines of Authority in the Moravian Community

Lines of Authority in the Moravian Community

Unity Elders Conference

Herrnhut, Germany

Unity Administrator

A Minister Appointed by UEC

Aeltesten Conferenz (Elders' Council)

(Spiritual Affairs)

Entirely ex officio:

Ministers  
Wives of Ministers  
Choir Leaders

Aufseher Collegium (Board of Overseers)

(Material Affairs)

Ex officio:

Such as:

Congregation Vorsteher  
Men who headed congrega-  
tion businesses  
Manager of Brothers' House

Elective: Number Varies

Congregation Council  
(Salem and Bethabara)

Ex officio:

Usually:  
Aeltesten Conferenz and  
Aufseher Collegium

Elective: Number Varies

Adult Members

The Aeltesten Conferenz was the highest authority for all of Wachovia. It decided upon applications for membership and administered discipline (Holder, 1929). The Aufseher Collegium was organized to handle Salem's business affairs. But the Aeltesten Conferenz could overrule any decision made by the overseers (Surratt, 1968). Salem and Bethabara each had a Congregation Council which met weekly. These councils had no power other than the power of referral and an advisory board (Surratt, 1968). In the other communities committees appointed by the Aeltesten Conferenz or meetings of all adult members took care of local concerns.