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**WACHOVIA AS THE PENNSYLVANIA CULTURE
AREA EXTENDED: A STUDY OF TOWN MORPHOLOGY**

**A Thesis
by
SUSAN IRENE ENSCORE**

**Submitted to the Graduate School
Appalachian State University
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
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ABSTRACT

WACHOVIA AS THE PENNSYLVANIA CULTURE

AREA EXTENDED: A STUDY OF TOWN

MORPHOLOGY. (May 1987).

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The diffusion of cultural traits is accomplished in part by groups migrating to new areas. When these groups are tightly-knit, they can maintain their culture regardless of the cultures present in the areas where they settle. This occurred in Forsyth County, North Carolina, by the migration of Moravian settlers from Pennsylvania.

The objectives of this study were two-fold. First, the morphology of three Moravian towns in Forsyth County was examined with respect to criteria previously outlined by Wilbur Zelinsky in defining a "Pennsylvania Town". Three study towns were compared to determine their similarity. Second, the towns were compared to the Pennsylvania Town in order to determine if townscape elements of the Pennsylvania culture were transferred to North Carolina by the settlers.

The main hypothesis of this study is that a majority of the criteria that define a Pennsylvania Town are present in the study area towns of Bethabara, Bethania, and Salem. Evidence to support this hypothesis was gathered from written records, on-site inspections, original maps and drawings, and interviews with experts.

It was concluded that the majority of the criteria were present, and their presence signifies the appropriateness of including them as part of the Pennsylvania Culture Area. The specific religious nature of these communities and their European heritage resulted in a small degree of difference from the Pennsylvania Town.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This study would not have been possible without the guidance and patience of numerous individuals. My thesis committee has provided excellent advice and editorial comments throughout several drafts of this work. Dr. Roger Winsor, chairperson of my committee, has answered countless questions with interest and forbearance.

The actual research was aided immensely through the information possessed by Jo Butner, William Hinman, R. Jackson Marshall, III, John Larson, and Dr. Thomas Hauptert. Their expertise made this study much less complicated and tremendously enjoyable for me.

Heartfelt thanks to my husband, Don Davis, for his patience, interest, and beautiful photographs. In addition, the moral support of my parents, relatives, and friends was a great help to me, and I thank them for this gift.

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Overview

Migrating peoples often carry parts of their culture with them to new areas. Forsyth County, North Carolina contains many distinct cultural elements brought by its original settlers, examples of which are still apparent on the area's landscape. Many of Forsyth County's settlers came from Pennsylvania. This study will determine which elements of town morphology, a subset of the total cultural landscape, can be directly linked to the Pennsylvania source area.

Cultural regions or areas are created when there are many settlements in one geographical region sharing similar cultural landscape elements. Several of these culture areas have been defined in the United States. There is general agreement among historical/cultural geographers that there are three distinctive early culture areas: New England, Chesapeake Tidewater, and Pennsylvania.¹

Agglomerated settlements are collections of cultural signals and visual clues that relay much information about regional cultural identities.² These signals and clues are found in many parts of the

landscape. Characteristics such as street width, land uses, architectural styles, and street patterns can be combined to create distinctive styles indicative of a particular culture.

In the course of this study an examination was made of the distinctive cultural landscape elements found in three towns in Forsyth County, North Carolina. They were analyzed for their distinctive cultural landscape elements. The history of these areas was explored to determine the connection to Pennsylvania. Comparisons were then made between the study area towns and the towns of the "Pennsylvania Culture Area," (or PCA).³ These comparisons were based on criteria developed by Wilbur Zelinsky in his delineation of the PCA. Conclusions were drawn concerning the validity of classifying the study area as an outlier of the Pennsylvania Culture Area.

The Forsyth County towns chosen for this study were founded by the Moravians, a German Protestant sect. These settlers came from Moravian settlements in the PCA, and two of the three towns they founded were exclusively Moravian. Since these populations were strongly homogenous, their cultural traits were not diluted by their new neighbors or by the cultures of the regions they passed through to reach their new homes.

Physical Geography of the Study Area

Forsyth County is located in northwest-central North Carolina (Figure 1.1). It is bounded on the east by Guilford County, on the south by Davidson and Davie counties, on the west by Yadkin County, and on the north by Stokes County. Forsyth County lies in the Piedmont physiographic province and has gently sloping to rolling topography.

The annual average temperature in Forsyth County is 59.5 degrees Fahrenheit with a summer high monthly average of 78 degrees Fahrenheit in July, and a winter low monthly average of 41 degrees Fahrenheit in January. The average annual precipitation is 44.2 inches, with July being the wettest month.⁴

The dominant soil type in the county is the Pacolet-Cecil association which covers about 65 percent of the county. These are fine sandy loam or clay loam soils with a reddish clayey subsoil. These soils are well drained and are agriculturally suited to small grains, corn, soybeans, tobacco, and pastureland.⁵

The natural vegetation was virgin forest composed of needleleaf and broadleaf trees when the Moravians settled the area. There were varieties of oak, hickory, beech, poplar, elm, ash, maple, and pine. Most of this has been

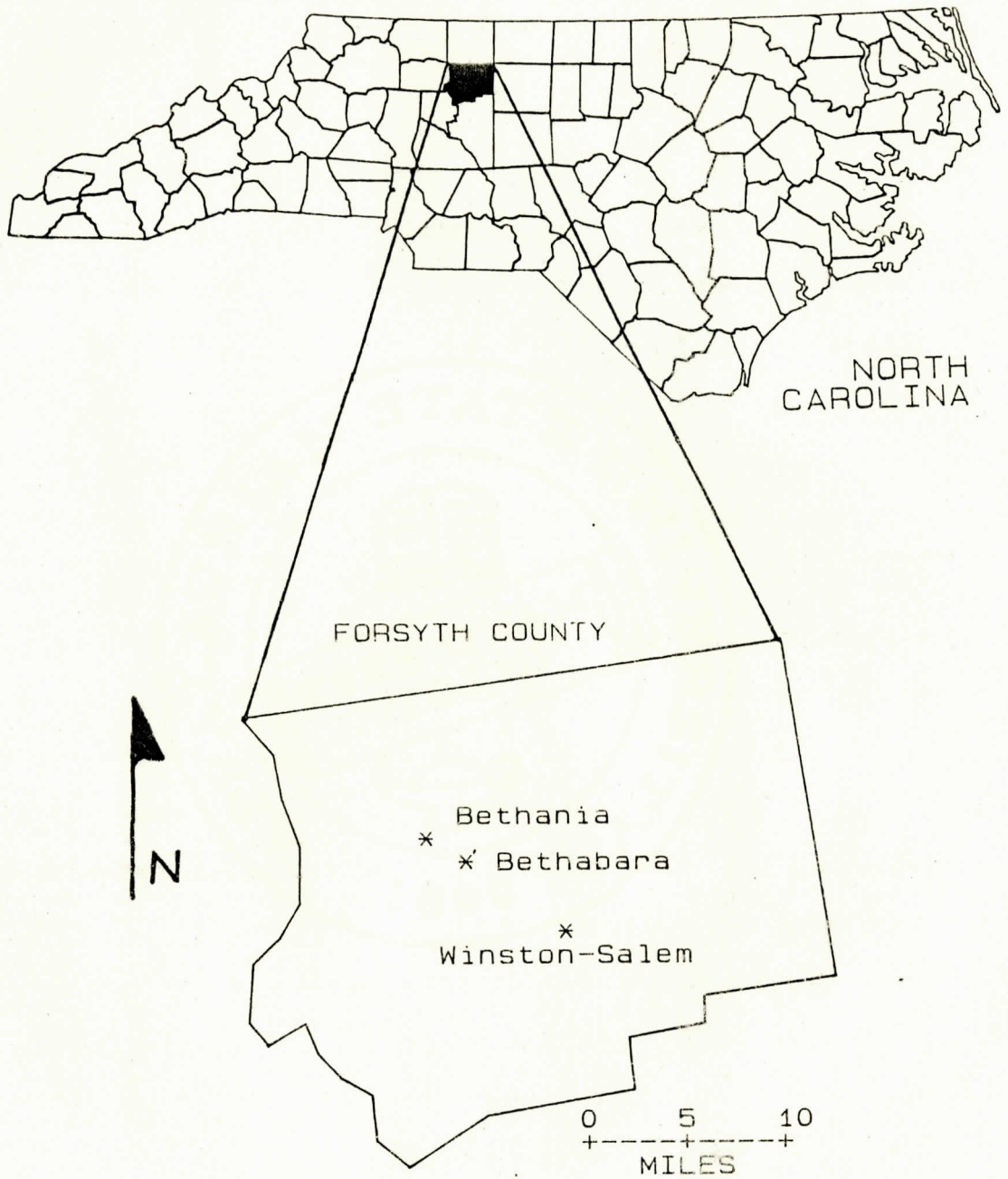


Figure 1.1 Location of Study Area

cleared or converted to stands of pine and mixed pine and hardwood.⁶

The towns chosen for analysis in Forsyth County are Salem, Bethabara, and Bethania. Salem has subsequently been encompassed by the city of Winston-Salem, which is located in the south-central section of the county. Bethabara is located approximately six miles northwest of Salem;⁷ and Bethania is three miles northwest of Bethabara and nine miles northwest of Salem.⁸

An important factor in the site selection of these towns was the presence of an adequate water supply. The tract of land chosen by the Moravians is located in the valley of the Yadkin River, into which numerous streams drain. Bethabara is located along Monarcus Creek (formerly called Marakash), which feeds into Mill Creek, then into Muddy Creek (formerly known as Dorothea). Bethania is located along the upper reaches of Muddy Creek which meets the Yadkin River in Davidson County. Salem is situated between Salem Creek to the south, Brushy Fork to the east, and Peters Creek to the west. These creeks were formerly called the Wach, Lech, and Petersbach, respectively (Figure 1.2).⁹

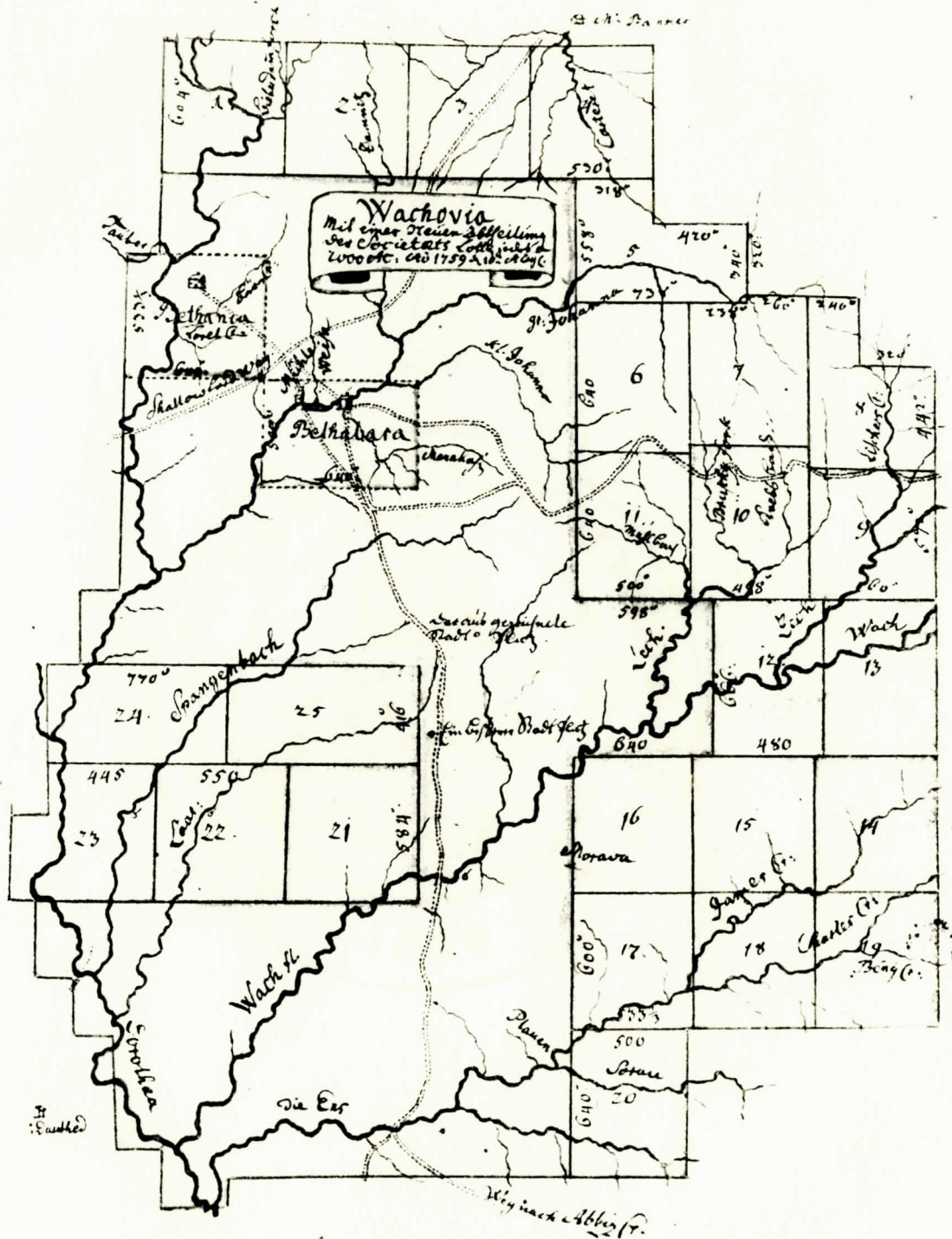


Figure 1.2 Wachovia Drainage Pattern

Source: Archives of the Moravian Church in America, Southern Province, Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

Historical Geography of the Study Area

In order to establish the presence of Moravian communities in the PCA, it is necessary to begin with a brief sketch of the history of the Moravian Church. The Moravians trace their religious origins to 1457, when followers of the Bohemian reformer and martyr John Hus founded the *Unitas Fratrum*, or Unity of Brethren, commonly known as the Moravian Church.¹⁰

The Unity was based in Kunvald, east of Prague, and grew rapidly in Bohemia and Moravia. However, the defeat of the Bohemian Protestants in the Thirty Year's War drove the Church underground in 1620. As a result of continued persecution, many Moravians fled to Saxony where they found asylum. Count Nickolas von Zinzendorf allowed the exiles to establish a settlement on his estate in 1722. The town, Herrnhut, became the center of the Moravian Church in Europe.¹¹

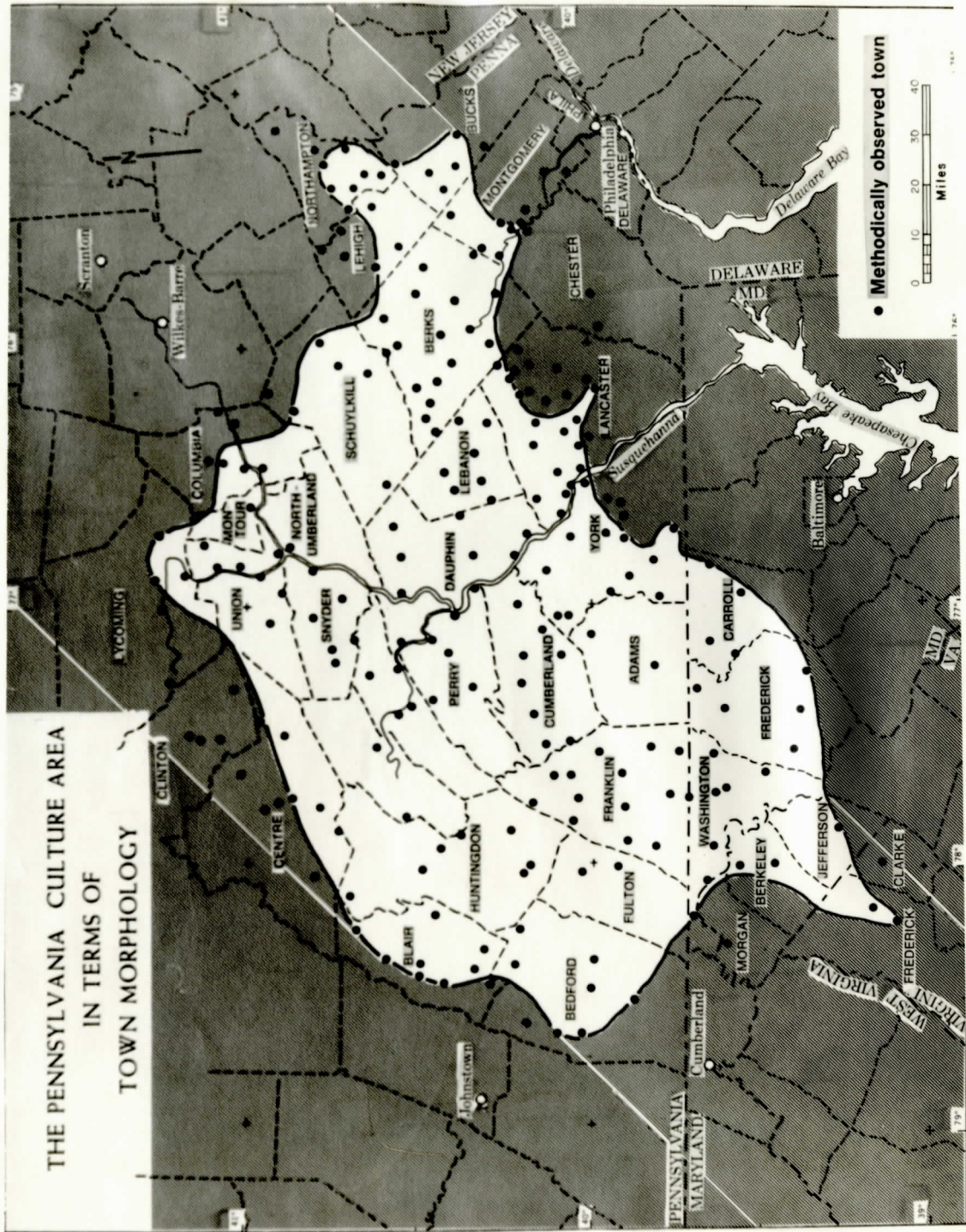
Persecution soon made itself felt in Saxony. The Moravian Church has always had a strong missionary component, and these forces combined to spur a search for new settlements. The British promised Zinzendorf religious freedom in America, so a settlement in Georgia was attempted in 1735.¹² The land they acquired turned out to be a swamp, and the community was stricken with

sickness. The attempt at settlement was abandoned in 1740.¹³ The survivors moved northward by sea to Pennsylvania, where an acquaintance from Georgia owned land. In 1741, a tract of land was purchased in Northampton County, Pennsylvania.¹⁴

A number of settlements were begun in this area and one of them, Bethlehem, gradually became a thriving city. Other towns established include Nazareth, about ten miles north of Bethlehem, and Lititz in Lancaster County. Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, is now the headquarters for the Northern Province of the Moravian Church in the United States. Bethlehem is located inside the boundaries of Zelinsky's PCA (Figure 1.3). During this time, it was decided to expand the missionary work of the Church. A large land grant in North Carolina was held at this time by Lord Granville, who offered 100,000 acres of it to the Moravians as an area in which to settle. This offer was accepted by Church leaders and preparations were made to establish new Moravian settlements.¹⁵

On August 25, 1752, a surveying party of five men left Bethlehem to find a suitable tract of land in North Carolina.¹⁶ The party traveled to Philadelphia, and from there through Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia to arrive in Edenton, North Carolina.¹⁷ They then moved southwest to the Catawba River and began surveying

Figure 1.3
Pennsylvania Culture Area



in the Hickory-Morganton area. Not finding a suitable 100,000 acres in one tract, they journeyed west and north through mountainous wilderness before turning southeast to the Wilkesboro area. Following the Yadkin River, the party at last discovered a suitable area on the Muddy Creek which Bishop Augustus Spangenberg named Wachovia in honor of Zinzendorf's estate in Austria. Later that year, deeds were granted by Lord Granville for a total of 98,985 acres.¹⁸

The first group of settlers left Bethlehem for Wachovia on October 8, 1753. Their route to Wachovia was as direct as possible. After crossing the Susquehanna River, their route continued southward to Frederick, Maryland. These colonists then entered the Shenandoah Valley, passing by the present town of Staunton, Virginia. After crossing the James and Roanoke Rivers, the Mayo River was reached. This was followed to its junction with the Dan River, and the settlers continued southward to the border of Wachovia (Figure 1.4). Their journey ended on November 17, 1753.¹⁹ The site selected was an open, rolling area with a forest covered lowland to the north and a large hill to the west. At the base of this hill, there was a clear stream.²⁰

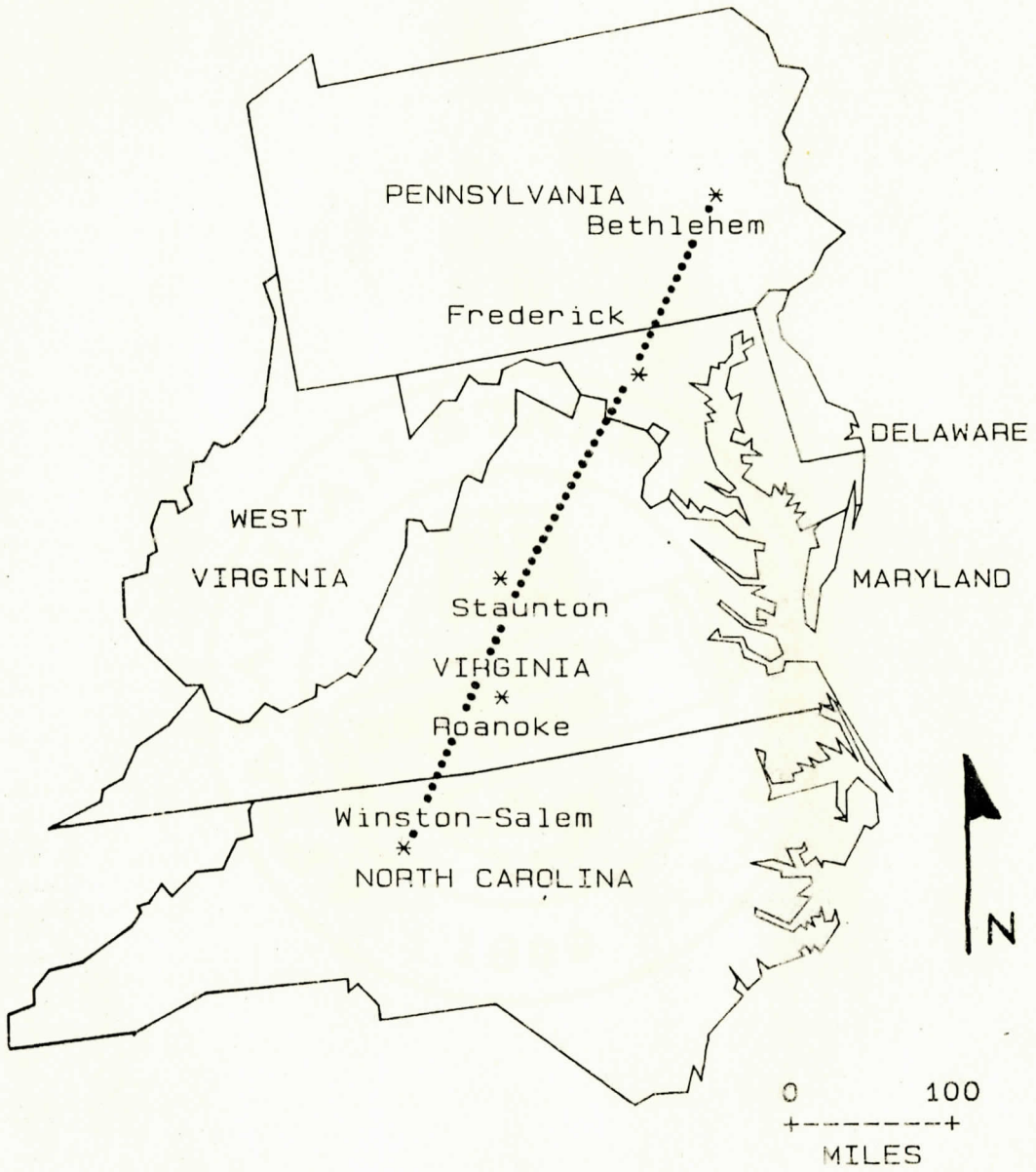


Figure 1.4. Migration Route

The town of Bethabara was begun at this site two days later, the intervening day being Sunday and therefore a day of rest. Within the first year, fifty acres of land were prepared for farming, houses were built, livestock cultivation was begun, and seven businesses were in operation. The construction of a gristmill was begun that year and completed the next.²¹

By the end of 1755, forty-five more Moravian colonists had moved to Bethabara, following the same route as the original colonists. These settlers arrived periodically in small groups after word had been sent to Bethlehem that adequate housing had been constructed.²² Due to an Indian uprising, the village had been enclosed by a stockade. The continuing arrival of new colonists from Pennsylvania created a serious overcrowding problem, and it was decided to begin a new village.

The decision to start Bethania, as this second village was known, was not strictly in response to the crowded conditions in Bethabara. In order to understand the other reasons for establishing a new town, some of the socio-economic practices of Moravian life must be explored.

Bethabara was organized as an exclusively Moravian settlement. The economic activity of the town was a form of primitive communism, insofar as the Church owned

everything and, in turn, provided for the needs of the inhabitants. It was a communal economy and was established as such in order to provide the best chance of economic success in a frontier environment. Competition among businesses did not exist, therefore no one thrived at the expense of others and everyone was provided for. However, this communal arrangement of material affairs was dependent for success upon the population being exclusively Moravian and therefore willing to recognize and accept this Church control.

The disruptions caused by the French and Indian War had resulted in a number of nearby farmers taking refuge within Bethabara's stockade. At one point, these refugees totaled 120 people. Through close association with the Moravians, some of these refugees expressed a desire to live with and like the Moravians. They could not be brought into Bethabara as inhabitants, being non-Moravian, thus they provided a need for establishing a new town.²³

The other reason for the founding of Bethania was a result of the living arrangements in Bethabara. In that village, no property was owned by individuals; they were allocated houses or rooms by the Church leaders. A number of Bethabara residents wished to be more independent in

their home interests. A new settlement would enable these Moravians to own their homes, and to conduct their housekeeping more independently than in Bethabara's general economy.²⁴

A suitable site for the new town was found on June 12, 1759. The site chosen was a gently sloping hillside north of an area they knew as Black Walnut Bottom. This area was about three miles northwest of Bethabara, and located on the road to the mill. The land was surveyed and on June 30, the streets and lots were laid out.²⁵ It was decided that eight refugee families and eight Bethabara couples would begin the settlement, and the first settlers moved from Bethabara on July 18, 1759. By the end of that year, land had been cleared, two houses had been built, and materials for the construction of six other houses had been prepared.²⁶

Bethania grew quickly and a school was established in 1761. By the end of 1762, the population of Bethania was seventy-three, just one short of Bethabara's seventy-four.²⁷

The establishment of a central town had been planned from the beginning of the colony in Wachovia. The colonists knew this, and the name they gave their village reflected this knowledge--Bethabara meaning "house of passage." The new town was to be the center of Moravian

life in the area and would contain the Church offices. It was also meant to be a center for trades, craftsmen, and businesses. Bethabara would then revert to the agricultural village that it was originally intended to be.

After the conclusion of the French and Indian War, the Wachovia Brethren began to think about and plan this new town, which was to be named Salem, meaning "peace." There was some discussion over whether it was a good idea to create this new town, since Bethabara was becoming a thriving trade center. The Brethren decided to write to the highest governing body of the Church, the Central Elders Board in Herrnhut, and leave the decision to them.²⁸

In the fall of 1764, word was received from the Central Elders Board that it was God's will that a new and principal town be established in the center of the Wachovia tract. At the beginning of 1765, the surveyor Christian Reuter chose half a dozen possible sites for Salem, but the actual decision was delayed for several weeks. The reason for this delay was that none of the selected sites had been approved by the drawing of the lot. During this period of Moravian history, all matters of community life requiring decisions were subjected to the lot. It was believed that the will of God would be

shown by which lot was drawn. The procedure consisted of drawing one of three wood and paper reeds from a wooden bowl. The lots were marked either "Ja" or "Nein" with the third being blank. A yes or no result ended the matter, while a blank inferred that the question was premature. On February 14, 1765, an affirmative answer was finally received.²⁹

The approved site was a ridge running northward from the Wach. This area had good springs and was high enough to avoid flooding problems. The soil was good enough to support gardens, with the farms being located outside of the town. In a meadow near the Wach, there was clay suitable for pottery, brick, and tile. A plan for the town was adopted and everything was readied for Salem to begin.³⁰

February 19, 1766, saw the beginning as eight men set out from Bethabara to begin building in Salem. Their first objective was to build a shelter for themselves, and a cabin was constructed in a matter of days. On February 20, the surveyor arrived to begin laying out the town, with the main street running north-south along the top of the ridge.³¹ A second cabin for workmen was begun on April 7. By September, the site of a main square had been

chosen, the first permanent house was begun, a well had been dug and fitted with a pump, and a brickyard had begun production.³²

The common housekeeping and general economy which had served Bethabara so well was not imported to Salem. This economic form was intended to be temporary, lasting only until the success of the Wachovia colony was assured. The result of this change was to allow a more independent home life for families and a little private enterprise for the townspeople. However, the Church still owned the land, which it leased to the inhabitants for housing lots. Further, the Church owned the main businesses, paying the workers a small wage from which they paid their living expenses. Salem was still an exclusively Moravian town, and it remained that way for the next one hundred years.

Separate schools for boys and girls were begun in 1772.³³ A girl's academy, founded later, became Salem College and is still in operation. As might be inferred by the need for schools, Salem was growing rapidly. New inhabitants continued to arrive from Pennsylvania and also from Bethabara. In addition, there were Moravians coming directly from Europe.

Salem became Wachovia's dominant town in 1772. There were 120 residents, as compared to Bethania's 105, and Bethabara's 54. The businesses and industries began to

show a profit, and several new enterprises were begun. A water system was started in 1773 with bored logs piping water into several cisterns from a spring located above the town.³⁴

As the years passed, Salem continued to grow in size and in reputation. The quality of Salem goods became well known as did the quality of Salem's hospitality. This is perhaps best acknowledged by the visit of President George Washington, who stayed in Salem May 31 to June 2, 1791.³⁵ The next fifty years brought no major changes to Salem. The population continued to grow and the economic base to expand.

However, around the middle of the nineteenth century, there was a rapid series of changes. Forsyth County was established in 1849, with the legislature appointing five county commissioners. On May 12 of that year, the commissioners purchased thirty-one acres of land from the Moravians. This land was located north of and adjacent to Salem. Salem was incorporated in 1856, and Winston, the town to the north, was incorporated in 1859.³⁶

Changes were also occurring within the Church; the old customs were not suited to the rapidly growing nation. In 1857, Church leaders in Herrnhut granted greater independence to the American branch and abolished the rules that had led to town exclusivity. This had

several effects, including the ending of Church control of trades and industries and the abolition of the land lease system.³⁷ With these changes, Salem was set for the advent of the industrial age. The two towns of Winston and Salem were formally joined in 1873, and have grown into a city with a 1980 population of 131,885.³⁸ Salem is now a restoration area with structures dating from 1776 to 1857 restored to their previous appearance. In addition to being a popular historic area, Old Salem contains the headquarters of the Southern Province of the Moravian Church. There are many residents living in the restored homes.

Bethania celebrated its bicentennial in 1959, and continues to have a strong Moravian component. In 1980, the township had a population of 11,968.³⁹

Bethabara has not fared as well with the passage of time. Most of the inhabitants moved to Salem, and the number that remained slowly dwindled. The village inside the stockade was abandoned in the 1850's. There continued to be people in the community around the original village, and the Church is still standing. The foundations of the buildings inside the stockade have been exposed through an archeological project and reveal much about how the village must have looked.

Review of Existing Literature

In the literature surveyed, three main themes appeared that have importance to this study. These are: (1) migration of cultures and diffusion of cultural elements, (2) descriptions of cultural landscapes and town morphology, and (3) delimitation of culture areas. These themes are somewhat intertwined, especially in the case of culture area delimitation, which is based on the other two themes.

A large body of literature exists which deals with cultural migration and diffusion, most of which deals with specific culture groups. James Landing focused on the Amish, describing their dispersion over a large area of eastern Pennsylvania.⁴⁰ Landing examined how Amish migration had resulted in sixty-three settlements by 1973.⁴¹ He has also explored the migration patterns of the Mennonites, tracing their movement from Pennsylvania to Virginia, and their expansion in that state.⁴² William Crowley studied the Amish pattern of diffusion across the United States. He found that their settlements were concentrated in Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Indiana; elsewhere, they were more dispersed.⁴³

Others have examined the diffusion of Mormon culture. John Lehr has made several studies of Mormons in Alberta, Canada concentrating on the factors which led to this

migration primarily from Utah. He documented five factors, including persecution, economic advancement, and Church encouragement.⁴⁴ Dean Louder examined the diffusion of the Mormon Church in order to create a simulation model of the diffusion. The model utilized a modified gravity formula and regression analysis of data which resulted in a successful replication of the actual diffusion pattern.⁴⁵

Apart from these specific accounts, more general migration and diffusion studies have been written. John Hudson researched the settlement history of North Dakota, tracking the migration of many different culture groups into the area. He also described cultural elements introduced by these settlers and the motivations for migration. For the most part, these motivations were economic in origin.⁴⁶ A comprehensive examination of the diffusion process was carried out by Fred Kniffen, who concentrated on folk housing as a determinant of occupance patterns. In his opinion, housing is a key cultural indicator. He followed the diffusion of different architectural styles, from their Eastern source areas to the border area between eastern forests and western grasslands, documenting diffusion routes.⁴⁷

The second theme in the literature deals with descriptions of cultural landscapes and town morphology.

As with the first theme, many studies have been conducted with regard to the Mormons. Richard Francaviglia examined Mormon settlements in the American West to determine the cultural landscape elements present. His conclusion was that there were ten key criteria which determined a Mormon settlement. These criteria included street plans, architectural styles, building materials, and location of farms.⁴⁸ John Lehr expanded on this by applying Francaviglia's ten criteria to Mormon settlements in Alberta. Lehr discovered that five of the criteria had survived the migration to the Alberta Mormon areas.⁴⁹

Mormon town morphology has been described in several studies. Albert Seeman divided Mormon settlements into three categories: rural village, rural town, and urban. The distinctions are based primarily on the level of economic activity.⁵⁰ Richard Jackson and Robert Layton analyzed the Mormon settlement type by developing criteria based largely on street pattern and width, block size, and lot size. When these criteria were applied to Mormon and non-Mormon settlements, the Mormon areas emerged as a distinctive type.⁵¹

The research most influential to this study was conducted by Wilbur Zelinsky. He examined the morphology of Pennsylvania towns and defined them in terms of

cultural landscape criteria. Zelinsky researched this topic through detailed observations of 234 towns. His results offer both a comprehensive look at a specific cultural manifestation, and methodology for use in the study of other areas.⁵² Another publication by Zelinsky attempts to link the past and present of American culture. Detailed analysis of culture hearth areas, and how their cultures affected the development of other areas, offers a broad perspective of the cultural geography of the United States.⁵³

These two works by Zelinsky also reflect the third theme in the literature, the delimitation of culture areas. In addition to defining the "Pennsylvania Town", Zelinsky developed the boundaries of the PCA. These boundaries were based on the areal limits of the cultural landscape elements that defined the Pennsylvania Town.⁵⁴

Aside from Zelinsky, others have defined culture areas in the United States. D. W. Meinig created boundaries for the Mormon cultural area. By examining the concentration of Mormon culture in specific areas, Meinig documented a core area, a domain area, and a sphere area. These areas contain places with the culture most concentrated to least concentrated, respectively.⁵⁵ Early American culture regions were determined by Kniffen in his study of folk housing diffusion.⁵⁶ These early

culture areas were also analyzed by Robert Mitchell. He examined the diffusion of cultural traits from the colonial seaboard area to places west of the Appalachians. Mitchell discovered three main processes at work: (1) duplication of cultural traits, (2) deviation from initial traits due to local settlement circumstances, and (3) fusion of traits from two or more source areas to produce a cultural reconfiguration.⁵⁷

Research into the existing literature on geographic cultural recognition exposed several gaps. Two topics relating to Moravian cultural geography remain unexplored. First, no research had been done on the cultural landscapes of Moravian settlements. Secondly, there has been no investigation of the link between these Moravian cultural landscapes and those present in either other cultures or other areas. The lack of literature on this second topic is no doubt due to the fact that the first topic must be researched before the second.

Research Objectives and Design

The main hypothesis of this study is that the selected Forsyth County Moravian towns are similar to Zelinsky's Pennsylvania Town. Therefore, they can be classified as outliers of the Pennsylvania Culture Area.

The research objectives of this study are two-fold. The first objective is to describe the town morphology of the selected sites in Forsyth County. The results will be compared among the three towns to determine the degree of similarity among them in terms of their connection to Pennsylvania town morphology.

The second objective involves the comparison of the Forsyth County towns' morphology to that present in Zelinsky's Pennsylvania Town. An attempt will be made to determine the degree of "Pennsylvanianess" apparent in the study area towns.

Both of these objectives will be achieved through the application of specific criteria developed by Zelinsky as being indicative of Pennsylvania town morphology.⁵⁸ An individual examination of these criteria follows below.

(1) Mingling of Functions - In the Pennsylvania Town, there is a spatial mix of many urban functions. There is no areal segregation of these functions. Retail, residential, professional, and governmental activities all take place in the same area. This mixing produces a situation where these activities occur side by side or even in the same building. Manufacturing activities, cemeteries, churches, schools, parks, and playgrounds are usually found in peripheral locations.⁵⁹

(2) Contiguity of Buildings - This criteria deals with the compactness of the town. Residential and other structures are close together, often with free standing structures built against each other. This spatial contiguity is apparent even in small villages.⁶⁰

(3) No Setback from Walk - In the Pennsylvania Town, there is the frequent occurrence of eliminating front yards and setting the dwelling directly against the sidewalk or street. Gardens or other open space may exist to the rear or, if possible, along one or both sides. Between the dwelling and the walk, there may be a stoop or front porch.⁶¹

(4) Central "Diamonds" - The diamond is a local term for an open space situated at or near the center of town. This open space consists of the right-angle intersection of two streets with rectangular corners cut out from the four adjoining blocks. This space can be square or rectangular in shape. The diamond has been adopted in many other areas, but it is most abundantly represented in the Pennsylvania Town.⁶²

(5) Alleys - A system of alleys (accessways through the middle of a block, thus gaining access to the rear of lots or buildings) is highly developed in the Pennsylvania Town. These alleys are very active places, lined with shops, offices, small manufacturing facilities, and dwellings.⁶³

(6) Central Shade Trees - There are numerous shade trees planted in the curbing or narrow sidewalks. These trees are located in the central areas of town and are public property. The most dominant type is the sugar maple, but many other varieties are also present.⁶⁴

(7) Row Houses - These are the extreme example of building contiguity. Row houses are essentially identical units that occur in complexes. They each have their own front entrance and often a rear entrance as well. Row houses are more common in the Pennsylvania Town than elsewhere.⁶⁵

(8) Duplexes - The other strongly indigenous architectural style is the duplex house. These are two-family buildings with two front entrances and mirror-image halves. In a number of Pennsylvania urban areas, duplexes dominate some neighborhoods.⁶⁶

(9) Brick Walkways - Brick is a dominant building material in this area and is commonly used for sidewalks. It is occasionally used for street pavement. The brick used is generally red in color.⁶⁷

(10) Brick Buildings - Brick is dominant in the construction of dwellings, barns, commercial buildings, churches, and other structures. Again, red brick is most often used.⁶⁸

(11) Painted Brick Buildings - A significant number of the brick structures are painted periodically, presumably to help protect the surface. While the paint is occasionally white or yellow, most often it is bright brick-red.⁶⁹

(12) Stone Buildings - The use of stone as a building material is more pronounced in the Pennsylvania Town than in other areas. However, its use is subsidiary to that of brick and to the widely prevalent frame and other forms of wood construction.⁷⁰

(13) Stucco Buildings - Again, the use of stucco in construction is common to this area, but it is also subsidiary to the use of brick and wood.⁷¹

In applying these criteria to the study area towns, the primary method of research will be visual observations. Direct observation will not be possible for all criteria. Only a very few structures remain standing in Bethabara, and none of these were in the original village. Bethania and Salem offer better opportunities for observation. Where the original town morphology is no longer present, research must rely on original maps and town plats, early photographs, line drawings, written records, manuscripts, and interviews with experts. The materials were accessible through the Moravian Archives in Salem and Bethlehem, each staffed by a full time Archivist.

In order to accomplish the first objective, the presence or absence of landscape elements was recorded. A quantitative ranking of the degree to which these elements are the same as described by Zelinsky was not possible. This is because the records under examination did not always describe these elements in sufficient detail to determine exactly how close they were to Zelinsky's descriptions. Therefore, all criteria will simply be noted as present or absent. The criteria present in each town have been compared with the other study area towns to determine their degree of similarity. Deviations were analyzed to determine the reasons for their occurrence.

The second objective, comparing the Moravian towns to the Pennsylvania Town, was achieved by a scoring of elements present in the study area towns. Criteria were scored as "0" if not present, and "1" if present. In accordance with Zelinsky's opinion that it would be rare to find total spatial correspondence among the various facets of a regional culture,⁷² a majority of the criteria being present signifies sufficient similarity. Any town showing a score of seven out of thirteen has been classified as an outlier of the Pennsylvania Culture Area. In the case of criteria not present, explanations are offered as to the reasons for their absence.

NOTES

¹Robert D. Mitchell, "The Formation of Early American Cultural Regions: An Interpretation," in European Settlement and Development in North America, ed. James Gibson (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978), p. 67.

²Wilbur Zelinsky, "The Pennsylvania Town: An Overdue Geographical Account," Geographical Review 67 (1977):128.

³Ibid., p. 135.

⁴US Department of Agriculture, Soil Survey of Forsyth County, North Carolina (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1976), p. 63.

⁵Ibid., p. 5.

⁶Ibid., p. 56.

⁷Manly Wade Wellman, Winston-Salem in History, vol. 1: The Founders:1766-1775 (Winston-Salem, North Carolina: John F. Blair, 1966), p. 1.

⁸Ibid., p. 6.

⁹John Henry Clewell, History of Wachovia in North Carolina (New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1902), p. 85.

¹⁰Adelaide Lisetta Fries, The Road to Salem (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1944), p. v.

¹¹Gillian Lindt Gollin, Moravians in Two Worlds: A Study of Changing Communities (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967), pp. 4-5.

¹²Fries, Road to Salem, p. vi.

¹³Idem, ed., Records of the Moravians in North Carolina, vol. 1 (Raleigh, North Carolina: Edwards & Broughton Printing Co., 1922), p. 13.

¹⁴Gollin, Moravians in Two Worlds, pp. 5-6.

¹⁵Clewell, History of Wachovia, pp. 2-3.

- ¹⁶Ibid., p. 6.
- ¹⁷Fries, Road to Salem, p. 37.
- ¹⁸Idem, Records of the Moravians, p. 27; Clewell, History of Wachovia, pp. 5-12.
- ¹⁹Clewell, History of Wachovia, pp. 13-15.
- ²⁰Ibid., p. 23.
- ²¹Ibid., pp. 24-25.
- ²²Fries, Road to Salem, p. 53.
- ²³Ernest M. Eller, Bethania in Wachovia 1759-1959 (Winston-Salem, North Carolina: Bradford Printing Service, 1959), pp. 2-3.
- ²⁴Clewell, History of Wachovia, p. 65.
- ²⁵Ibid.
- ²⁶Eller, Bethania in Wachovia, pp. 3-4.
- ²⁷Ibid., pp. 6-7.
- ²⁸Fries, Road to Salem, pp. 111-112.
- ²⁹Hunter James, The Quiet People of the Land: A Story of the North Carolina Moravians in Revolutionary Times (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1976), pp. 23-24.
- ³⁰Fries, Road to Salem, pp. 119-121.
- ³¹Wellman, The Founders, pp. 2-3.
- ³²Ibid., p. 9.
- ³³Fries, Road to Salem, p. 184.
- ³⁴Wellman, The Founders, pp. 22-23.
- ³⁵Clewell, History of Wachovia, p. 182.
- ³⁶Ibid., pp. 209-211.
- ³⁷Ibid., pp. 216-217.

³⁸Samuel A'Court Ashe, History of North Carolina, vol. 2: From 1783 to 1925 (Raleigh, North Carolina: Edwards & Broughton Printing Company, 1925), p. 1324; US Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, United States Census of Population:1980, vol. 1, Characteristics of the Population, pt. 35, North Carolina, p. 15.

³⁹US Department of Commerce, Characteristics of the Population, p. 15.

⁴⁰James E. Landing, "Amish Settlement in North America: A Geographic Brief," Bulletin of the Illinois Geographical Society 12 (1970):66.

⁴¹Idem, "The Old Order Amish: Problem Solving Through Migration," Bulletin of the Illinois Geographical Society 17 (1975):41.

⁴²Idem, "Exploring Mennonite Settlements in Virginia," Virginia Geographer 4 (1969):9.

⁴³William K. Crowley, "Old Order Amish Settlement: Diffusion and Growth," Annals of the Association of American Geographers 68 (1978):263.

⁴⁴John C. Lehr, "The Sequence of Mormon Settlement in Southern Alberta," Albertan Geographer 10 (1974):20.

⁴⁵Dean R. Louder, "A Simulation Approach to the Diffusion of the Mormon Church," Proceedings of the Association of American Geographers 7 (1975):126.

⁴⁶John C. Hudson, "Migration to an American Frontier," Annals of the Association of American Geographers 66 (1976):242-264.

⁴⁷Fred Kniffen, "Folk Housing: Key to Diffusion," Annals of the Association of American Geographers 55 (1965):549-552.

⁴⁸Richard V. Francaviglia, "The Mormon Landscape: Definition of an Image in the American West," Proceedings of the Association of American Geographers 2 (1970):59-60.

⁴⁹John C. Lehr, "The Mormon Cultural Landscape in Alberta," BC Geographical Series 17 (1972):27.

⁵⁰Albert L. Seeman, "Communities in the Salt Lake Basin," Economic Geography 14 (1938):302-305.

⁵¹Richard H. Jackson and Robert L. Layton, "The Mormon Village: Analysis of a Settlement Type," Professional Geographer 28 (1976):140.

⁵²Zelinsky, "Pennsylvania Town," pp. 127-129.

⁵³Idem, The Cultural Geography of the United States (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1973), pp. 3-140.

⁵⁴Idem, "Pennsylvania Town," p. 139.

⁵⁵D. W. Meinig, "The Mormon Culture Region: Strategies and Patterns in the Geography of the American West: 1847-1964," Annals of the Association of American Geographers 55 (1965):213.

⁵⁶Kniffen, "Folk Housing," p. 559.

⁵⁷Mitchell, "Early American Culture Regions," pp. 66-67.

⁵⁸Zelinsky, "Pennsylvania Town," pp. 127-147.

⁵⁹Ibid., p. 132.

⁶⁰Ibid., pp. 131-132.

⁶¹Ibid.

⁶²Ibid., pp. 136-137.

⁶³Ibid., p. 137.

⁶⁴Ibid., pp. 132-133.

⁶⁵Ibid., p. 131.

⁶⁶Ibid., p. 136.

⁶⁷Ibid., p. 133.

⁶⁸Ibid.

⁶⁹Ibid.

⁷⁰Ibid.

⁷¹Ibid.

⁷²Ibid., p. 141.

Chapter 2

Research Findings and Analysis

The research was conducted by several means. Where possible, physical observation was used to determine the presence or absence of Pennsylvania Town criteria in the Forsyth County towns. In other cases, research relied on detailed written accounts to provide evidence of criteria being present in the study area. The research was greatly aided by investigation of early maps and drawings, and by interviews with experts on these communities.

This chapter presents the results of this research. Criteria found to be present have been listed and discussed for each of the three study area towns. These results were then analyzed by comparing the towns. This comparison includes reasons for both the presence and absence of criteria, and determines the degree of similarity among the towns.

Bethabara

Mingling of Functions

Bethabara grew rather haphazardly with no prearranged plan for the location of most buildings.¹ The resulting village showed a definite mix of urban functions. A map drawn in 1766 (Figure 2.1) illustrates this mingling.

Legend for Figure 2.1

- 1 -- Gemein Haus (church)
- 2 -- Single Brothers' House
- 3 -- Bakery
- 4 -- Pottery
- 5 -- Brewery
- 6 -- Tavern
- 7 -- Vorsteher's House
- 8 -- Kitchen
- 9 -- Dining Hall
- 10 -- Shoe Shop
- 11 -- Family house
- 12 -- Joiner's shop
- 13 -- Cow shed
- 14 -- Laundry for the Married People
- 15 -- Spring-house
- 16 -- Family house
- 17 -- Barn
- 18 -- Store
- 19 -- Laboratory
- 20 -- Gunsmith shop
- 21 -- Smithy
- 22 -- Gun-stock maker's shop
- 23 -- Linen house
- 24 -- Stable
- 25 -- Dwelling house
- 26 -- Dwelling house
- 27 -- Apothecary shop
- 28 -- Single Brothers' Laundry
- 29 -- Tailor's shop
- 30 -- Barn
- 31 -- Poultry house
- 32 -- Flax house
- 33 -- Smoke house
- 34 -- Cabin for the stablemen
- 35 -- Garden houses
- 36 -- Pig pens
- 37 -- Summer-house
- 38 -- Two similar pleasure houses
- 39 -- Barracks, used as shops and lodgings

Source: Adelaide L. Fries, ed., Records of the Moravians in North Carolina, vol. 1 (Raleigh, North Carolina: Edwards & Broughton Printing Co., 1922), p. 273.

For example, across the street from the church was a family house, and beside the church was the joiner's shop. A shoe shop was located across the street from the Vorsteher's, or business manager's house. Flanking the square there were religious buildings, offices, shops, residences, and retail outlets. These functions often occurred simultaneously in the same buildings. In addition to providing a place for worship, the church also served as a residence and had meeting rooms where governmental matters were decided.² The single brothers' house provided living quarters and rooms in which the residents carried on their professions.³ The mill, tavern, and craftsmens' shops contained living quarters for the families of the men employed there.⁴

Industries were isolated on the periphery of town. The brewery was on the southeast fringe of the settlement, and the tannery and mill were both located away from the town. The cemetery was equally removed, being located on the top of an adjacent hill.

Contiguity of Buildings

Bethabara was described in 1759 as a "compact little village" by a Moravian native to Pennsylvania.⁵ The buildings of the settlement clustered around the three major buildings on the square: the church, single

brothers' house, and store. The 1766 map of Bethabara (Figure 2.1) gives an indication of this compactness. Many of the buildings appear to have been constructed in close proximity to others. The map does not show privies and other small outbuildings which would have contributed to the sense of building contiguity. In a land otherwise dominated by scattered farms, Bethabara would have presented a tightly built, compact appearance.

No Setback from Walk

This criterion can be inferred only from maps. Historians in Bethabara today are only beginning to determine exactly where the streets were and how wide they might have been. No reference was found to indicate the presence of front yards. The 1766 map (Figure 2.1) supports the presence of this criterion. The streets on this map appear to have been only partly drawn in, but what is depicted shows buildings that were set against the walks or streets. The buildings share a common boundary line with the streets.

Central Diamonds

In 1760, a map was drawn that most clearly shows the central diamond, known as the square, which occupied the town's most central location (Figure 2.2). Two streets intersect in the middle and the square was created by

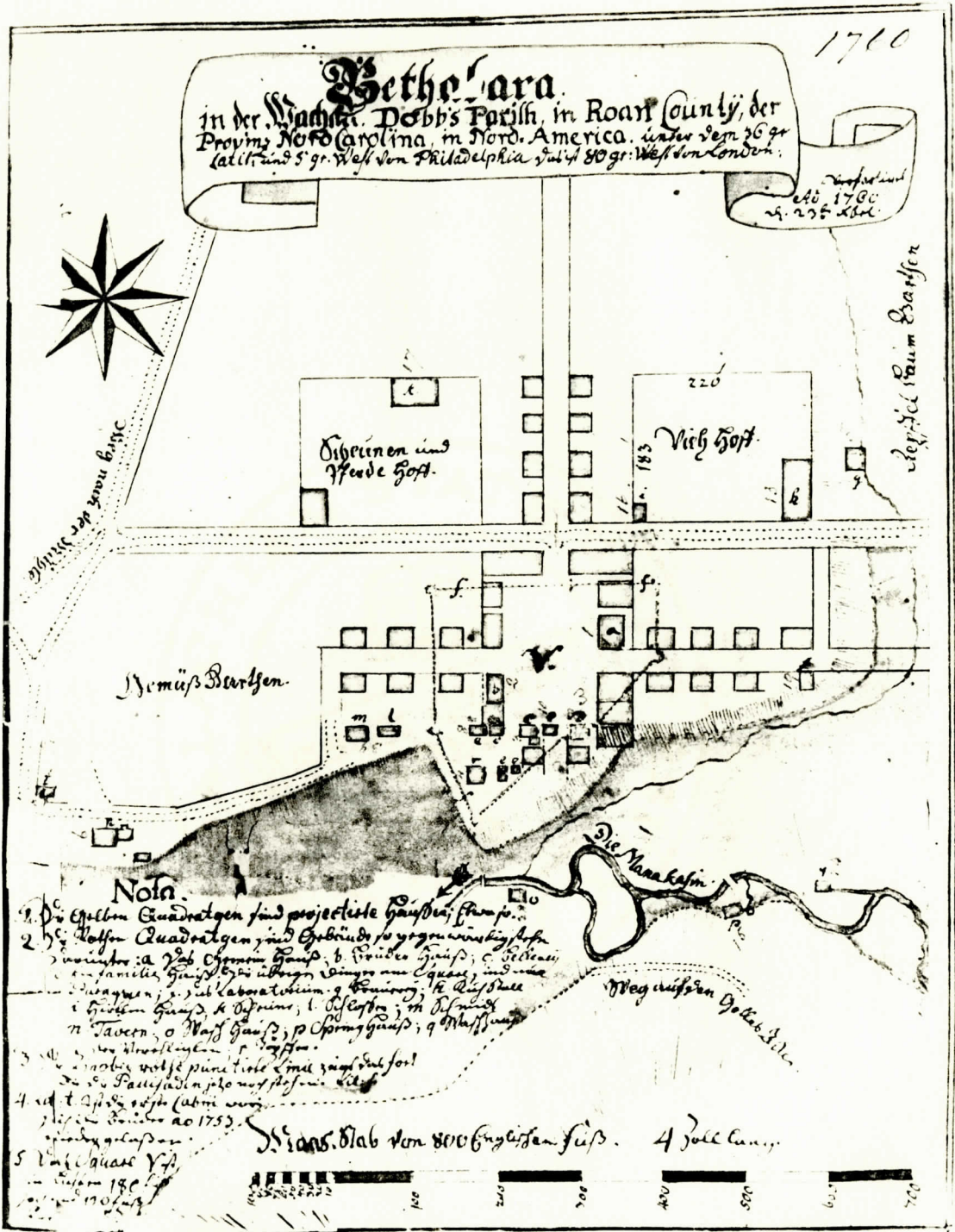


Figure 2.2. Bethabara, 1760.

Source: Map by Christian Reuter, Archives of the Moravian Church in America, Southern Province, Winston-Salem, North Carolina, MF:1.

eliminating rectangular areas in the four adjacent corners. The square itself was rectangular and measured 120 feet by 180 feet.⁶

Central Shade Trees

The Moravians in Wachovia seem to have had a penchant for planting trees. Between 1753 and 1758, over 1,800 trees were planted in and around Bethabara.⁷ There is evidence that Bethabara had a main street lined with trees and that the road coming into the village from Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, was also tree-lined.⁸ Research failed to uncover any description of the types of trees used to line the streets.

Brick Buildings

Along with wood, brick was a predominant building material in Bethabara. After ten years of growth, Bethabara in 1763 consisted of approximately two dozen log or brick-nogged buildings.⁹ Brick-nogging was a construction technique where timbers were used to reinforce brick. This technique was also known as half-timbering. Records are not available to determine exactly what materials were used in each of these buildings, but a few were described at the time. Within the first ten-year period of settlement, four buildings are known to have been brick-nogged.

Several factors relating to these four buildings reinforce the assumption that this type of construction was quite common. The brick-nogged mill was constructed in 1755, just two years after the founding of Bethabara. This was the largest building in Wachovia. It measured 68 feet by 34 feet and was two stories tall.¹⁰ It can be assumed that such a large structure would have been built with familiar materials. In 1758, at least two brick-nogged structures were built, the Vorsteher's house and a large combination barn and stable.¹¹ The combination of an important house and a place for animals, both having been constructed of brick and frame, emphasizes the widespread utility of this method of construction. The year 1763 saw the construction of a brick-nogged apothecary shop. As this was the only major construction that year, the use of brick-nogging appears to have been a dominant building method.¹² Two buildings still standing in Bethabara are structures made entirely of brick, the 1782 Schaub house and 1803 Herman Butner house.

Stucco Buildings

Stucco appears to have been widely used as part of building construction in Bethabara. Foundation walls were built of stone and then covered with stucco.¹³ This practice was widespread in the village.¹⁴

In some cases, stucco was used to cover the outside walls. There is evidence that the 1755 mill had walls partially covered with stucco. The 1803 Herman Butner house had stucco over its brick walls. The church, constructed in 1788, was built of stone, which was subsequently covered with stucco. It is one of the few remaining structures of this period in Bethabara, and the original stucco is still on the building.¹⁵

Bethania

Mingling of Functions

Bethania was predominantly a farming village consisting of a main street lined with church buildings, some commercial structures, and residences. This layout is largely still in evidence.

The high degree of mixed urban functions may not be apparent at first glance, but in this instance appearances are deceptive. Many of the residential lots also contained small businesses. It was common practice among the Moravians for the craftsmen to conduct a trade of some sort from their residence or, most often, from a workshop located on their residential lot. These workshops were usually located to the rear of the house.¹⁶ The extent of these activities is shown by the fact that in 1766, only seven years after its founding, Bethania numbered

among its residents a tailor, wheelwright, two shoemakers, cooper, carpenter, blacksmith, baker, schoolmaster and reader, and two weavers.¹⁷

The cemetery and industries--including a tannery, grist mill, saw mill, and cigar factory--were located on the outskirts of the town. A general store was located on the main street, next door to the home of the proprietor.¹⁸

Contiguity of Buildings

Bethania was and is a compact little community. This is apparent from the town plan (Figure 2.3). The lots were laid out with narrow street frontage and deep interior dimensions. When buildings were constructed on the long, narrow lots, they utilized most of the lot width. Therefore, there was not much room left between buildings.

An 1855 watercolor of the town shows the contiguity and overall compactness then present in Bethania (Figure 2.4). The compactness of the town can also be seen in written descriptions of Bethania. Phrases such as "its compact, harmonious streetscape and intimate scale," and "this urban compactness,"¹⁹ demonstrate the contiguity of the buildings. This atmosphere of urban intimacy still prevails in Bethania today.

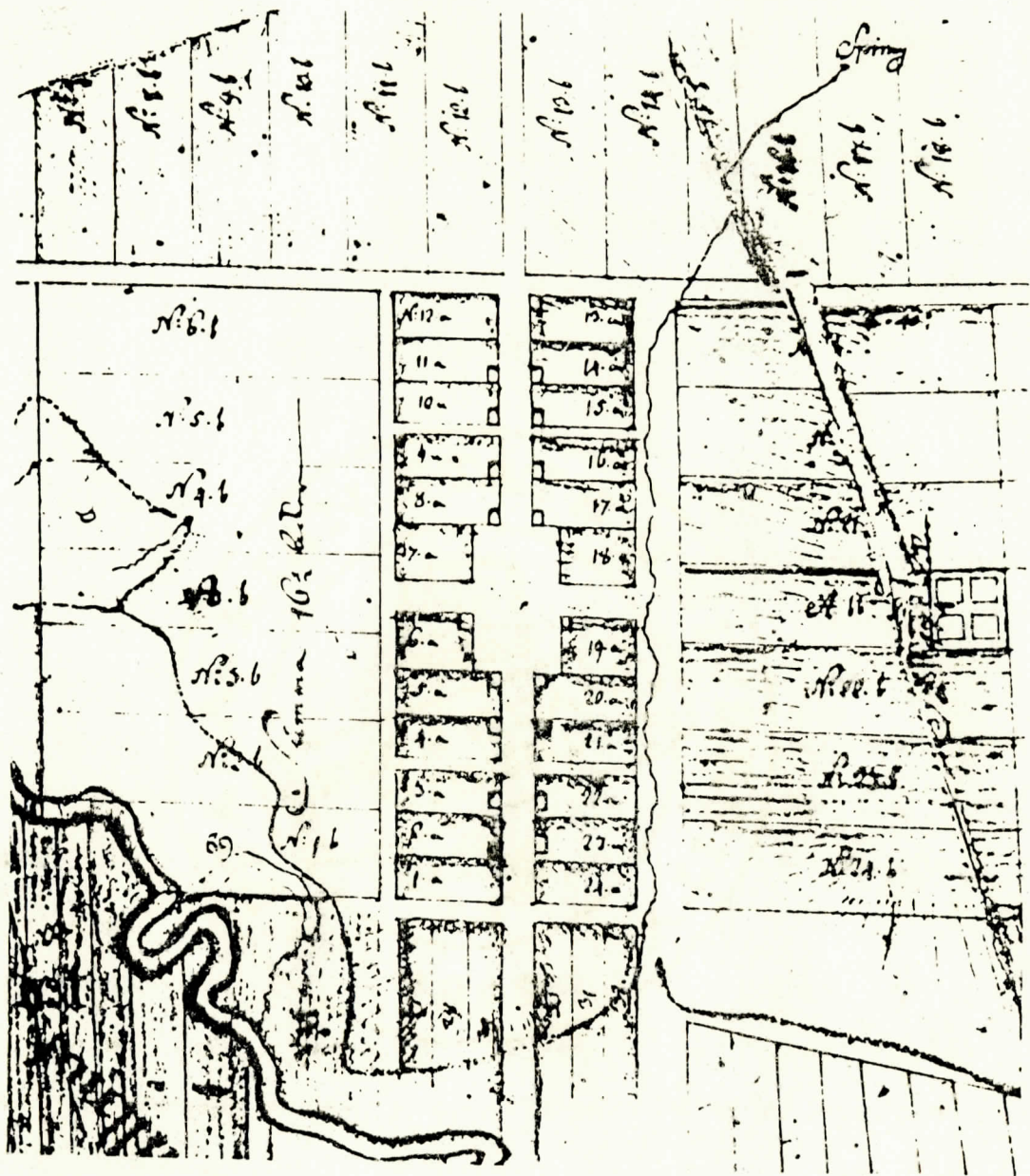


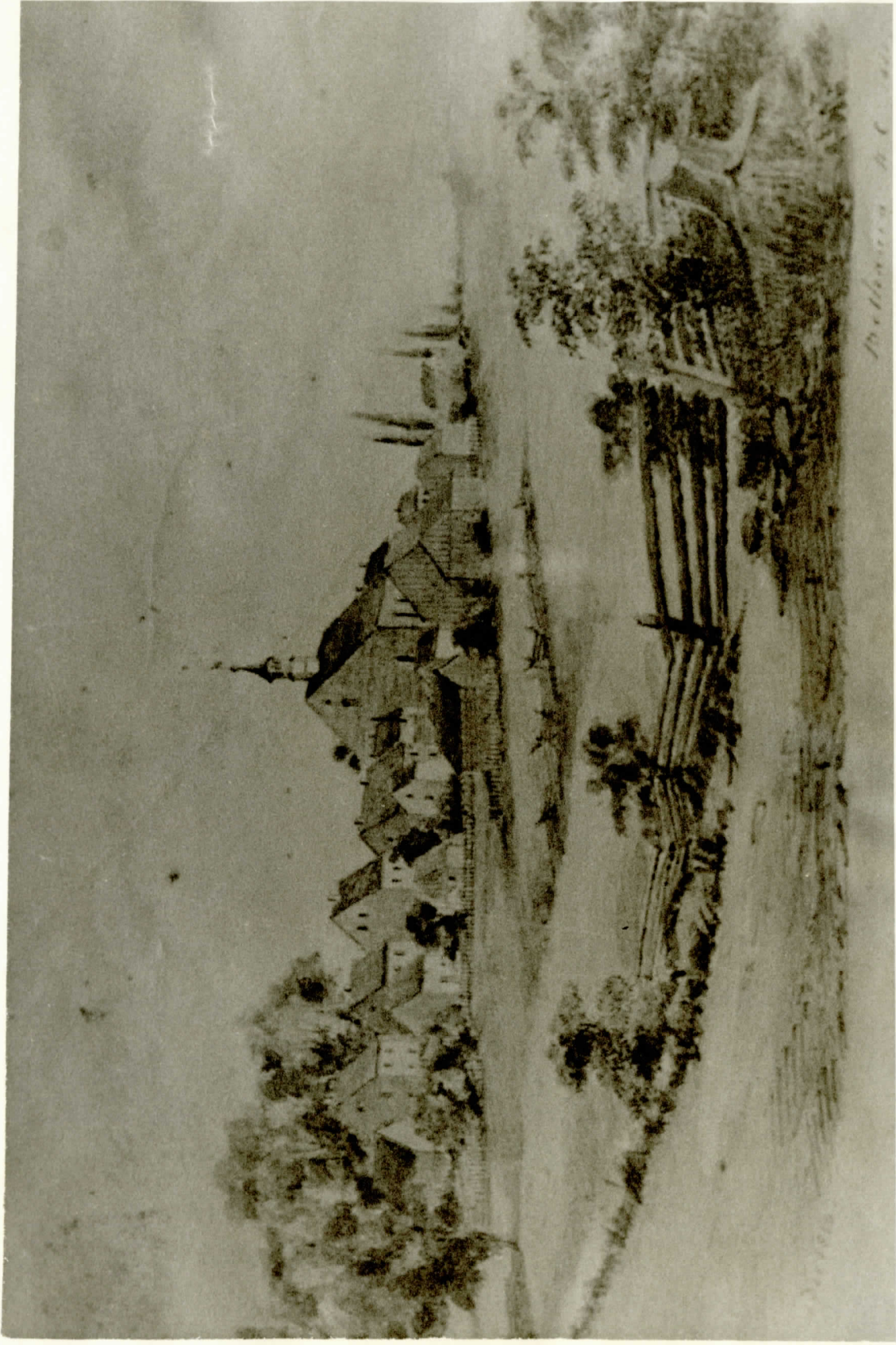
Figure 2.3 Plan of Bethania.

Source: Archives of the Moravian Church in America, Southern Province, Winston-Salem, North Carolina, MF1:14.

Figure 2.4

1855 Watercolor of Bethania

**Source: Collection of John F. and Jo C. Butner,
Bethania, North Carolina.**



W. H. ...

No Setback from Walk

The buildings lining the main street were placed directly against the sidewalks. In many cases there was a stoop, or more commonly a porch, that extended to the walks themselves or to stone retaining walls located adjacent to the sidewalks. This can be seen in an 1855 drawing showing part of Main Street (Figure 2.5). Front yards were largely absent, but in some cases small side yards existed. These side yards often had a fence parallel and adjacent to the sidewalk. In combination with the buildings abutting the walks, these fences created an almost unbroken line of construction along the street. Open space and gardens were located to the rear of the houses.²⁰

Central Diamonds

The Bethania plan (Figure 2.3) clearly shows an open space in the center of town created by the intersection of two streets with notched-out corners. The square was rectangular in shape, measuring approximately 165 feet by 280 feet.²¹

In the late 1760's, the original town plan was revised and the lot lines were changed in the lower half of the town. This revision resulted in the square being eliminated. This was no great loss to the community as

FIGURE 2.5

1855 Drawing of Bethania

**Source: Collection of John F. and Jo C. Butner,
Bethania, North Carolina.**



the square was on marshy, uneven ground and cattle tended to loiter there. The first building constructed on the site of the square was completed in 1771.²²

Alleys

Alleys are clearly visible on the town plan (Figure 2.3). These are small lanes, too narrow to have been roads, through the middle of blocks. These alleys were used as ingress to shops on the back part of lots and to reach the farm land surrounding the town, which was allotted to the residents.²³ For a village as small as Bethania, these were fairly active places with pedestrian traffic using them for commerce and as accessways.

Central Shade Trees

It was a rather common Moravian custom to plant trees along the streets.²⁴ The central street in Bethania has always been lined with trees. They can be seen in the 1855 drawing (Figure 2.5) and are present today (Figure 2.6). The trees were planted between the sidewalks and the street. They were separated from the street only by the drainage ditches which lined either side of the street. Today Bethania boasts a "thick canopy of maple trees which border Main Street."²⁵

Figure 2.6

Main Street, Bethania



Brick Walkways

Brick walks are present in Bethania today and were in the past. However, the sidewalks were made of both brick and fieldstone.²⁶ These walks extended from the buildings to the trees which lined the street. Brick was not the only material used for sidewalks, but brick walks did and do exist in Bethania (Figure 2.6). The brick was a natural red color resulting from the red clay used in local brickmaking.

Brick Buildings

Brick was used significantly as a building material. The present church, constructed in 1809, is entirely brick. An eighteenth century brick smokehouse is still standing.²⁷

There are fourteen buildings on the Bethania Historic District Inventory List which are known to have been constructed prior to the mid 1850s. Of these fourteen buildings, two were entirely brick and six were constructed of brick-nogging.²⁸ This was a popular form of construction in Bethania. The 1771 church, no longer present, was also a brick-nogged building.²⁹

Salem

Mingling of Functions

There was an advanced degree of mixed urban functions present in Salem. The most central part of town, the area surrounding the square, is a representative example. Buildings in this area included a church, offices, schools, a combination meat market and firehouse, communal residences combined with workshops, single-family residences, and a store.

Throughout the town, many buildings combined residential, retail, and professional functions. Until the 1820s, most craftsmen had small retail outlets in their residences. Professionals, such as doctors, also operated from their houses. After the 1820s, this custom seems to have been replaced by having a residence and a separate retail outlet or workshop on the same lot.³⁰

The cemetery was placed in a peripheral location. Salem's early industries included a mill, tannery, brewery, and a slaughterhouse. These buildings were located in a group to the west of town.³¹

Contiguity of Buildings

Salem was laid out to be a compact town and the restored community reflects this today. Even in the early

stages of building the town, contiguity was present (Figure 2.7). This map was drawn in 1795, twenty-nine years after the founding of Salem. The first buildings constructed are located in a row on the left side of the map. As can be seen, there is not much room between the buildings. The group of buildings above the square are also placed closely together.

The sense of compactness was heightened as the town grew. An 1822 map of Salem shows the buildings constructed to that point (Figure 2.8). The contiguity of buildings is well documented by this map. The buildings are clustered together along the streets, with only small amounts of space between adjacent buildings. An 1824 painting of the town also shows Salem as having been a compact community (Figure 2.9).

Today, this contiguity is still present. The streets of Salem are lined with structures which create a sense of intimacy and compactness (Figure 2.10).

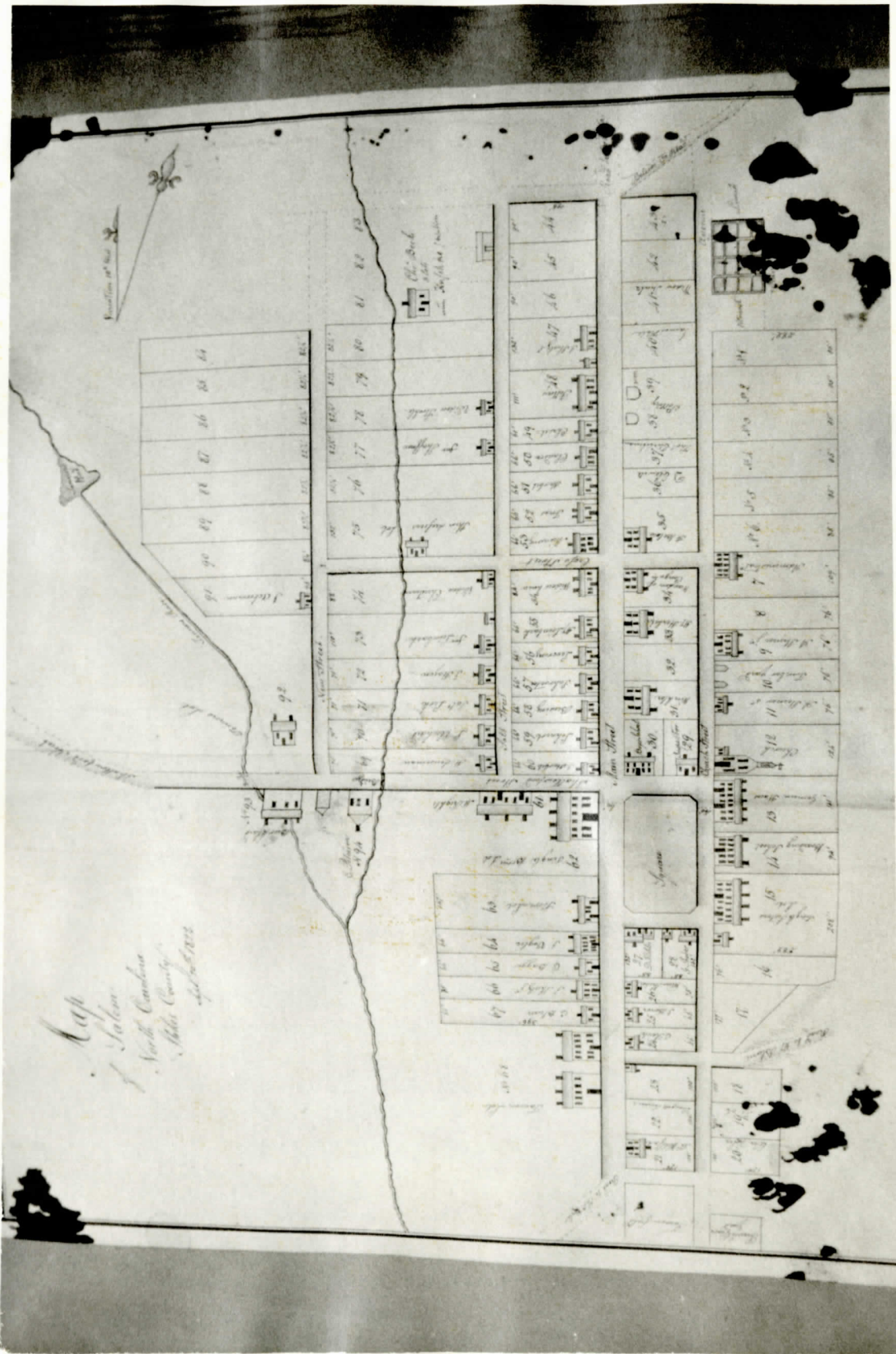
No Setback from Walk

With the exception of outbuildings, practically all of the construction in Salem abutted the streets. This was a result of more than custom or aesthetics. There were standards of construction for the town set by the Salem Aufseher Collegium, or board of overseers. This board

Figure 2.8

Map of Salem, North Carolina, 1822

**Source: Archives of the Moravian Church in America
Northern Province, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, Vol. B,
p. 34.**



Map
 of
 the
 Town
 of
 Charleston
 South Carolina
 1785





Figure 2.9. Salem from the Southwest

Source: Painting by Daniel Welfare, 1824, Archives of the Moravian Church in America, Southern Province, Winston-Salem, North Carolina, Misc. #29.

Figure 2.10
Building Contiguity in Salem



dealt with secular matters and, among other duties, enforced the zoning laws and building codes.³²

Builders of a house constructed in 1841 had to obtain permission to deviate from the building code. The deviations involved setting the house back from the street and were allowed because a horse stable was located directly across the street. A setback would allow the residents of the house some relief from the noise and smells.³³ It can be inferred from this that the building codes required construction to be set directly against the sidewalk. The 1822 map (Figure 2.8) supports this. Buildings were drawn up against the lot boundaries. Buildings on corner lots abut both streets.

Many of the buildings have a small stoop with a few steps leading downward that connects directly to the sidewalk (Figure 2.11). A small number have porches that abut the walks.

Some side yards existed, and every lot was long enough for back yards and gardens; there was a garden with every home.³⁴ The side yards often had fencing along the walk. This fencing was usually of stone, brick (Figure 2.11) or wooden pickets (Figure 2.12). These fences contributed to the sense of all construction being set directly against the sidewalks.

Figure 2.11
Stoops and Brick Fencing in Salem

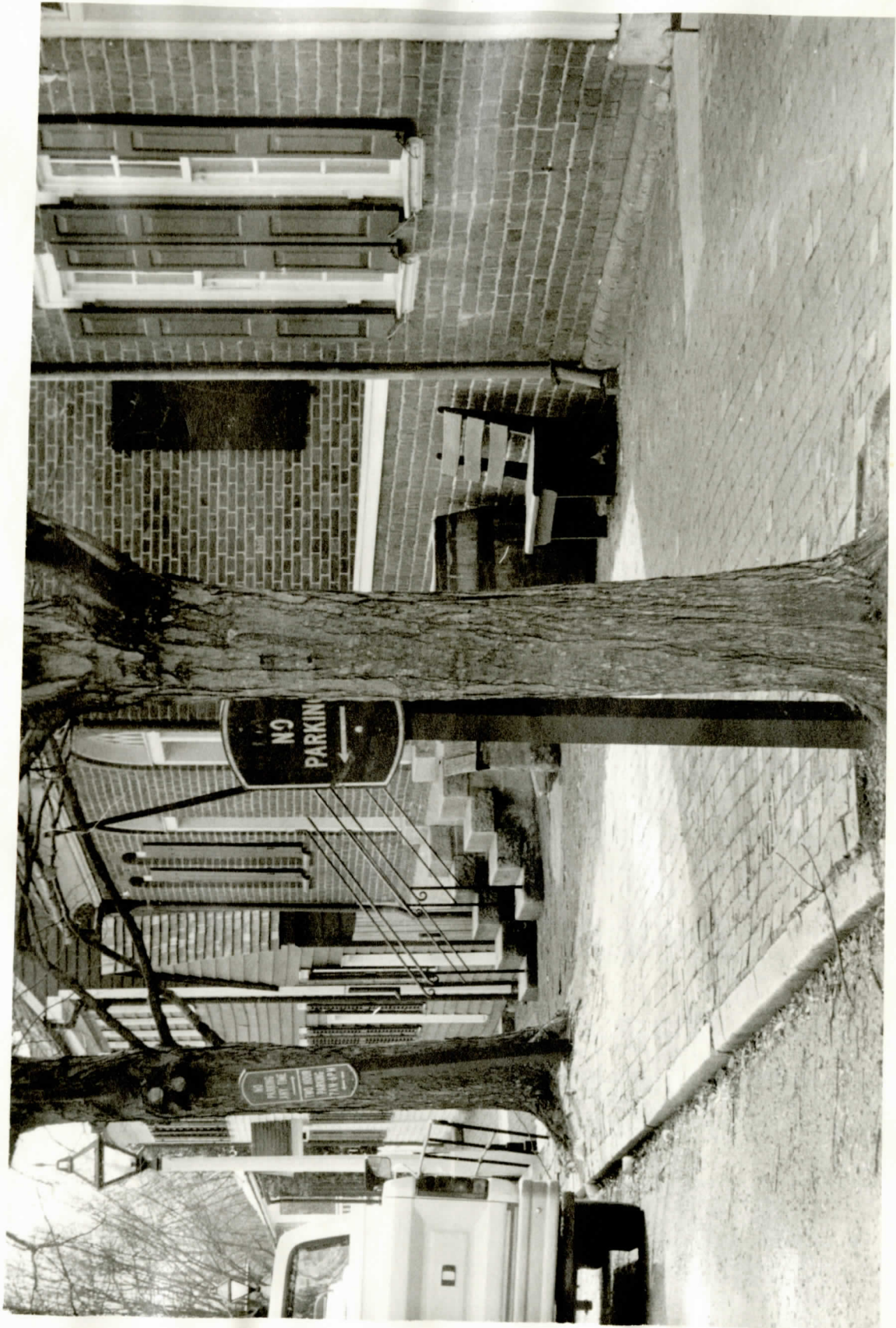
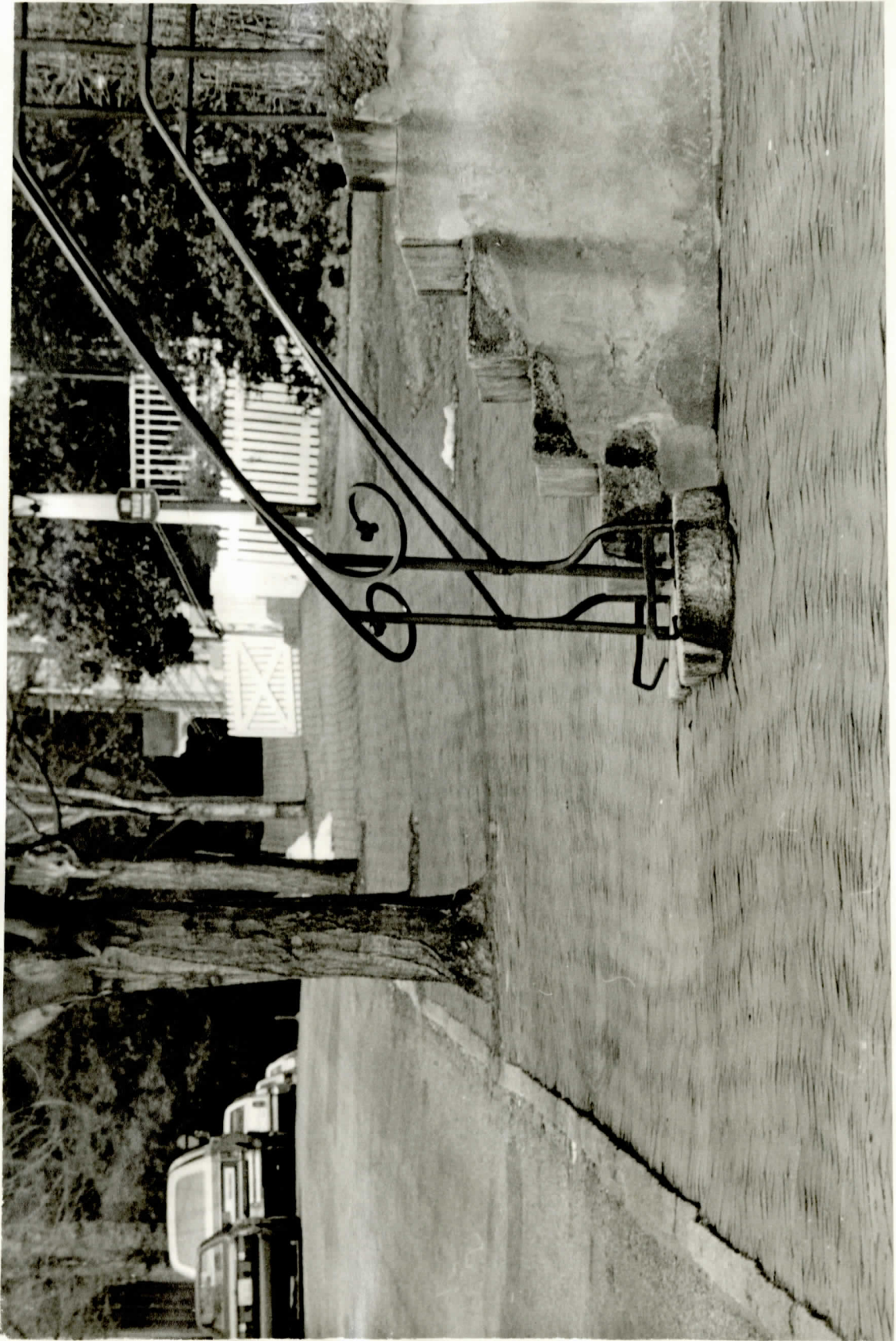


Figure 2.12
Brick Sidewalks in Salem



Central Shade Trees

There is an air of arboreality in Salem today, as there was from the town's beginnings. Trees were planted to delineate streets and to provide shade and ornamentation.³⁵ The trees were placed on the outside area of the walks, next to the streets (Figure 2.10).

Over a period of time, many varieties of trees were used. The square was planted with lindens, sycamores, poplars, and maples.³⁶ Maple is the most prevalent tree in Salem today.

Brick Walkways

Brick walkways are still present in Salem (Figure 2.12). In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the sidewalks in Salem were constructed of stone. Brick sidewalks appeared in the 1840s, and the walks existing today date from the 1890s.³⁷ Therefore, brick walkways are historically significant in Salem. These walks were lined by buildings on one side and by trees and the street on the other side.

Brick was not used as a paving material for streets. The locally made brick was not durable enough to be used as paving.

Brick Buildings

Brick was the building material of choice in Salem. The majority of construction utilized either brick or frame, but brick buildings outnumbered those of frame construction. The dominant visual impression is one of red brick construction (Figure 2.13).

The first buildings were primarily of brick-nogged construction (Figure 2.14). After the Revolutionary War, brick became the dominant building material.³⁸ The first entirely brick building was constructed in 1784.³⁹ Brick was used for residences, offices, schools, commercial buildings, and the church.

Stucco Buildings

Stucco was a commonly used construction material in Salem. It was used primarily as a surface layer on stone and brick-nogged buildings, as well as a covering on the stone foundations common to nearly all of the buildings.⁴⁰

The rationale behind this seems to have been one of protection for the buildings. However, this process was sometimes used for aesthetic reasons. The Salem store has walls built of stone rubble, then covered with stucco. Lime mortar was then used to simulate a cut stone facing (Figure 2.10). The merchant's house was also faced in this manner.⁴¹

Figure 2.13
Brick Buildings in Salem



Figure 2.14

Brick-nogged Single Brothers' House in Salem



Comparison of Study Area Towns

There is a strong similarity among the three towns in terms of the town morphology criteria that are present. Nine criteria were found to be present in the study area towns (Table 2.1). Of these nine criteria, five are present in all three communities. Bethabara and Bethania share six criteria, Bethania and Salem also have six criteria in common, and Salem and Bethabara share six. These criteria can be analyzed in order from most common to least common. In the case of criteria not shared by all three towns, reasons for the deviances are presented.

The five criteria found in each town are: mingling of functions, contiguity of buildings, no setback from walk, central shade trees, and brick buildings. The presence of these factors in all three communities suggests that there must have been strong motivations for their existence.

The mingling of functions arises from two separate customs. First, it was common practice in Moravian towns to group all of the important buildings together around the central square. These buildings usually consisted of the church or meeting house, the single brothers' house, schools, and a community store. The single brothers' house was usually a large building where the single men of

TABLE 2.1
Comparison of Study Area Towns

| Criteria Present | Bethabara | Bethania | Salem |
|--------------------------------|------------------|-----------------|--------------|
| Mingling of Functions | X | X | X |
| Contiguity of Buildings | X | X | X |
| No Setback from Walk | X | X | X |
| Central Diamonds | X | X | |
| Alleys | | X | |
| Central Shade Trees | X | X | X |
| Brick Walkways | | X | X |
| Brick Buildings | X | X | X |
| Stucco Buildings | X | | X |

the congregation resided and worked at various crafts. In the larger Moravian towns there may also have been a single sisters' house, a widows' house, and a widowers' house.

As a result, in just these buildings, there were religious and governmental activities (church or meeting house), residential and professional/commercial activities (single brothers' house), educational/residential activities (schools), and retail activities (store). The remainder of the buildings around the square also contained a mix of residential, commercial, and retail activities. This was particularly true for Bethabara and Salem. Bethania was established as a farming community composed mostly of families. Therefore, the large communal residences were not built there. Bethania did have a mixture of religious, governmental, commercial, retail, and single-family residential activities clustered together.

The only exception to this mix of functions was the location of taverns. These buildings doubled as taverns and inns, offering hospitality (food and drink) and lodging to strangers doing business in town or just passing through. The taverns were located on the outskirts of town. It was hoped that their location away from the center of town would discourage the residents

from patronizing them, and therefore reduce the threat of secular influence on the Moravians.⁴² Running the tavern was considered hazardous duty--the job was given to a married couple, presumably to provide moral support for one another.

The second impetus for the presence of mixed urban functions involved the craftsmen. As previously mentioned, the single brothers lived and worked in one building. This was also true of the craftsmen living in their own houses. The mingling of functions here took two forms. Some of the craftsmen and professionals operated out of their residences. Often there were two entrance doors, one to the residence and one to the shop. Others had a separate workshop on the same lot as their living quarters, either behind or to the side of the house. These residence/shop combinations were scattered throughout the towns, creating another form of mixed urban functions.

The criteria of building contiguity is directly related to the specific nature of the towns. With the exception of Bethabara, these towns were planned thoroughly before any construction had begun. Bethabara was not formally planned because of its preordained temporary nature. Salem was laid out in a tight plan for religious purposes,⁴³ and the same holds true for Bethania. These were all religious communities (even in

Bethania, the Church controlled the town), and social control was viewed as necessary for the members' spiritual health.⁴⁴ According to Daniel Thorpe:

Wachovia was to be a theocracy administered by the Moravian Church for the temporal benefit of the church and the spiritual benefit of its members. The accomplishment of that goal depended, in part, on the establishment of a colony in which compact settlement predominated, because of Unity was somewhat pessimistic about its members' ability to maintain their faith in the face of worldly temptation. Congregational elders, therefore, were supposed to watch their flocks carefully, and every member of the church was expected to keep an eye on his or her neighbors in an effort to prevent backsliding.⁴⁵

A town with a strong degree of building contiguity would create a more intimate, family atmosphere which, in turn, would create a high level of social control over the residents. Therefore, the three towns developed a degree of compactness that was rare in North Carolina.

The building contiguity of Bethabara was also partly a reflection of this sense of community, even though it was not formally planned. The other factor contributing to compactness in Bethabara was isolation in a frontier environment. There were only a few scattered settlers in the area at the time Bethabara was founded.⁴⁶ A tightly built settlement provided protection for the inhabitants. This compactness was heightened by the construction of a pallisade around the village during a time of Indian troubles.

Setting the buildings directly against the walk or street seems to have been a common custom of the time. Front yards were considered decorative, not functional, and therefore a waste of land.⁴⁷

In July, 1765, Frederic William Marshall (Wachovia's first administrator) wrote from Bethlehem with remarks concerning the plan for Salem:

Here in Pennsylvania it is customary in new towns to make each lot wide enough so that there may be an entrance beside the house to the yard behind, as most people do some farming, and the lots are deep enough that in addition to the yard there is a garden, which is very convenient for the owner; and the warmer the land the more comfortable this method is. Among us it is not only an economical arrangement, but particularly good for the children, who can thereby have room for their recreations under oversight.⁴⁸

The fact that the lots needed to be wide enough for side entrances to the back yards implies that the houses were set directly against the street, and that this should be the pattern for Salem. Also, the remark about recreational room for children implies that there were no front yards to use as play areas. The suggestions given here were, of course, the ways in which the study area towns did develop.

The use of shade trees in the central part of town served three purposes. First, trees served to delineate the streets. This was probably particularly useful in the earliest period of the towns' histories, when streets

were not paved. Trees would help to serve as a barrier between walks and streets. Second, these trees provided shade for the townspeople. Among other types, maples, poplars, and lindens were planted. These trees would have provided ample shade. Third, the trees served as ornamentation.

This use of trees for improving the appearance of the town was combined with recreational space needs in Salem. Evergreens were planted in a circle. When they reached sufficient height, the tops were tied together to create a natural gazebo.⁴⁹ These formations were located behind the tavern and the pottery.⁵⁰

The dominance of brick as a building material probably stems from Germanic cultural tradition. Brick was the building material of choice in all three study area towns. Wood construction, log and frame, was also prevalent, as in the Pennsylvania Town.

There was a definite preference for brick from the start. Many of the early buildings in all three towns used brick-nogged construction. In this type of building technique, the timbering was used to reinforce the brickwork. The brick was weak due to a lack of lime in the area. Therefore, the brick was laid with little or no mortar.⁵¹ Clay was sometimes used as a poor substitute.

This lack of lime was to delay construction of entirely brick buildings for some time. What lime they had available was procured with much difficulty. There is a reference in the records to a trading wagon returning from Cape Fear in 1764 with sixty pounds of shells to be burnt for lime.⁵² When construction began in Salem, lime was still scarce. The nearest deposit of lime was sixty miles away, and the owner was notably lazy about production and shipping.⁵³

The supply of lime increased after the Revolutionary War, and the leaders in Salem decided that all major construction would be entirely brick.⁵⁴ The increasing presence of brick buildings held true for Bethania and Bethabara, also. By the 1780s there was a predominant use of brick in the area under study.⁵⁵

Three criteria were found to be shared by two of the study area towns. Central diamonds are shared by Bethabara and Bethania, brick walkways are common to Bethania and Salem, and the use of stucco is found in Bethabara and Salem.

Central diamonds were present in Bethabara and Bethania, but not in Salem. The square there was created by running two main streets along the longer rectangular sides and two cross streets along the shorter sides. In effect, the Salem square is an open block in the center of town.

There was a fifty-fifty chance that Salem would have had a central diamond. Two different models were suggested, based on two Moravian towns in Europe. Niesky had a principal street bisecting the town square (which would have produced a central diamond), while Gnadenberg had four streets framing the square, with none crossing it.⁵⁶ The second model was implemented in Salem. It is not known what led to this decision.

Brick walkways were found to have been present in Salem and in Bethania. These were somewhat later developments as both towns began with unpaved walkways. This explains the lack of brick walkways in Bethabara. This village was the central place in Wachovia for only a brief period of time. Most of its inhabitants moved to Salem in 1772.⁵⁷ With the advent of Salem, Bethabara reverted to a small farming community. By the 1850s, the village within the previously stockaded area had been abandoned.

Bethabara was always meant to be temporary, so public improvements, such as paved sidewalks, would probably have been considered unnecessary. Once the population had been drastically reduced by movement to Salem, there would have been no incentive to pave sidewalks. There would also probably have been no funds available for this, as the building of Salem would have taken most of the available capital.

Stucco was found to be a widely used building material in Bethabara and Salem. Only one instance of its use in Bethania can be found. The present church, built in 1809, has stucco over the foundation walls. No reason can be discerned for the lack of stucco in Bethania. Presumably, something so common in the two other towns would also be present here. It may be that it was used, but there is simply no record of it.

One criteria, that of alleys, was present only in Bethania. This could be due to the functions of the study area towns. Bethania was planned to be a farming village with only one main street, so alleys would play an important role in access to farms and rear lot shops. Bethabara was not planned and was so jumbled together that there were probably many paths, but no well defined alleys. There were also no lots laid out in a manner that would necessitate access to the rear of these lots. Salem was planned and laid out in a manner that would eliminate the need for alleys. The lots ran from street to street so that all the accessibility needed was provided by the street system.^{5a}

Taken together, these three towns are very similar. This is to be expected, given the fact that all three were established and populated by the same cultural group.

The areas where they differ are largely a result of the plans for the individual towns. The one difference that cannot be explained by this is the lack of stucco in Bethania. This departure is most likely simply a lack of recorded evidence.

NOTES

¹Daniel P. Thorpe, "Assimilation in North Carolina's Moravian Community," Journal of Southern History 52 (1986):27.

²Idem, "Moravian Colonization of Wachovia, 1753-1772: The Maintenance of Community in Late Colonial North Carolina" (Ph.D. dissertation, Johns Hopkins University, 1982, p. 320.

³Ibid., p. 331.

⁴Ibid., p. 335.

⁵Adelaide L. Fries, The Road to Salem (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1944), p. 72.

⁶John Henry Clewell, History of Wachovia in North Carolina (New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1902), p. 39.

⁷Thorpe, "Moravian Colonization of Wachovia, 1753-1772," p. 343.

⁸Flora Ann L. Bynum, "The Bethabara Land," in The Three Forks of Muddy Creek, ed. Frances Griffin, vol. 8 (Winston-Salem, North Carolina: Old Salem Inc., 1981), p. 37.

⁹Thorpe, "Moravian Colonization of Wachovia, 1753-1772," p. 320.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 336.

¹¹Interview with William Hinman, Director of Historic Bethabara, and R. Jackson Marshall III, archeological expert for Historic Bethabara, Winston-Salem, North Carolina, 29 January 1987.

¹²Adelaide L. Fries, ed., Records of the Moravians in North Carolina, vol. 1 (Raleigh, North Carolina: Edwards and Broughton Printing Co., 1922), p. 267.

¹³Ibid., p. 149.

¹⁴Interview with William Hinman and R. Jackson Marshall, III, 29 January 1987.

¹⁵Ibid.

¹⁶Interview with Jo Conrad Butner, Church Historian and Archivist for Bethania Moravian Church, Bethania, North Carolina, 29 December 1986.

¹⁷Ruth Little-Stokes, "Bethania, Nomination for National Register of Historic Places" (Raleigh, North Carolina: North Carolina Division of Archives and History, 1975), p. 11.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 12.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 4.

²⁰Interview with Jo Conrad Butner, 29 December 1986.

²¹Ibid.

²²Idem, "A New Town in Wachovia," in The Three Forks of Muddy Creek, ed. Frances Griffin, vol. 5 (Winston-Salem, North Carolina: Old Salem Inc., 1978), p. 5.

²³Idem, Interview, 29 December 1986.

²⁴Ibid.

²⁵Little-Stokes, "Bethania, Nomination for National Register of Historic Places," p. 4.

²⁶Interview with Jo Conrad Butner, 29 December 1986.

²⁷Ibid.

²⁸Little-Stokes, "Bethania, Nomination for National Register of Historic Places," pp. 2-3.

²⁹Ibid., p. 6.

³⁰Interview with John Larson, Director of Restoration, Old Salem Inc., Winston-Salem, North Carolina, 8 January 1987.

³¹Hunter James, Old Salem Official Guidebook, rev. ed., ed. Frances Griffin (Winston-Salem, North Carolina: Old Salem Inc., 1982), p. 78.

- ³²Ibid., p. 6.
- ³³Ibid., p. 65.
- ³⁴Ibid., p. 12.
- ³⁵Interview with John Larson, 8 January 1987.
- ³⁶James, Old Salem Official Guidebook, p. 15.
- ³⁷Interview with John Larson, 8 January 1987.
- ³⁸Ibid.
- ³⁹James, Old Salem Official Guidebook, p. 96.
- ⁴⁰Interview with John Larson, 8 January 1987.
- ⁴¹James, Old Salem Official Guidebook, pp. 24-26.
- ⁴²Ibid., p. 96.
- ⁴³Interview with John Larson, 8 January 1987.
- ⁴⁴Ibid.
- ⁴⁵Thorpe, "Assimilation in North Carolina's Moravian Community," pp. 22-23.
- ⁴⁶Fries, Road to Salem, p. 71.
- ⁴⁷Interview with John Larson, 8 January 1987.
- ⁴⁸Fries, Records of the Moravians, p. 313.
- ⁴⁹Interview with John Larson, 8 January 1987.
- ⁵⁰James, Old Salem Official Guidebook, p. 12.
- ⁵¹Ibid., p. 29.
- ⁵²Fries, Records of the Moravians, p. 288.
- ⁵³James, Old Salem Official Guidebook, pp. 56-57.
- ⁵⁴Ibid., p. 29.

⁵⁵Interview with William Hinman and R. Jackson Marshall, III, 29 January 1987.

⁵⁶Thorpe, "Moravian Colonization of Wachovia, 1753-1772," pp. 88-89.

⁵⁷James, Old Salem Official Guidebook, p. 3.

⁵⁸Interview with John Larson, 8 January 1987.

Chapter 3

Summary and Conclusions

The preceding chapters have concentrated on the history of Bethabara, Bethania, and Salem, and on a detailed description of their town morphology with respect to the criteria developed by Zelinsky to delineate the PCA. This chapter attempts to place these results in the broader context of culture areas. This is accomplished in three steps.

First, the results from the study area are compared to the characteristics in Zelinsky's stereotypic Pennsylvania Town. Similarities and deviations are analyzed and a decision made as to whether they classify as outliers of the PCA.

Second, this broader context is utilized in a discussion of the PCA as defined by Zelinsky and other cultural geographers. Links between the Wachovia settlement and the PCA are noted in regard to other indicators of the PCA. As a part of this, several general theories of cultural diffusion are discussed. Reasons for the diffusion of traits common to the PCA into the study area are offered and analyzed.

Third, directions for further research are explored. This discussion is based on ways in which the Moravian

communities in Forsyth County and in the PCA differ from the general traits of the culture area. Possible explanations for these differences suggest productive avenues for further research.

Wachovia as the Pennsylvania Culture Area Extended

The towns of the study area compare favorably to the typical Pennsylvania Town. There are definite similarities between the three Forsyth County towns and those found in Pennsylvania. Of the thirteen criteria indicative of towns in the PCA, nine can be found in the towns under study. In scoring the towns to determine their degree of similarity to the Pennsylvania Town, one study area town has eight criteria present, and two have seven (Table 3.1). Therefore, a majority of the factors involved are present in Bethabara, Bethania, and Salem. The criteria present will be discussed in comparison to the Pennsylvania Town, and reasons will be offered as to why specific criteria are absent.

Four criteria present in the study area towns exactly match the descriptions given for Pennsylvania. They are: no setback from walk, brick walkways, brick buildings, and stucco buildings.

The practice of setting buildings against the walk or street seems to have been common for Colonial towns.

TABLE 3.1

Comparison of Study Area Towns to Pennsylvania Town

| Criteria Present in Penn. Town | Criteria Present in | | |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------|----------|-------|
| | Bethabara | Bethania | Salem |
| Mingling of Functions | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Contiguity of Buildings | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| No Setback from Walk | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Central Diamonds | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Alleys | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Central Shade Trees | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Row Houses | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Duplexes | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Brick Walkways | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| Brick Buildings | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Painted Brick Bldgs. | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Stone Buildings | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Stucco Buildings | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| Score | 7 | 8 | 7 |

In the study area towns, this appears to be a cultural tradition carried with the settlers from Europe to Pennsylvania, and then on to Wachovia.

As in the Pennsylvania Town, the use of brick for walkways and buildings appears to have been a cultural preference. This is especially true in the study area. Local conditions made brickmaking difficult, but still it was the preferred building material. Cultural tradition seems to be the only explanation for this emphasis on the use of brick.

Stucco was a common building surfacing material used in various ways in Wachovia. Zelinsky did not describe how stucco is used in the Pennsylvania Town. He did state that its use was prevalent, but subsidiary to the use of brick and wood construction. The same holds true for the study area towns.

Some of the criteria scored as present in three towns differ slightly from Zelinsky's descriptions. These are small differences and do not exclude the criteria from being counted as present in the study area. They are, however, somewhat interesting as cultural manifestations.

The first difference has to do with the mingling of functions. In the Pennsylvania Town, most churches, cemeteries, schools, parks, playgrounds (if any), and industrial activities are found in peripheral locations.

The Moravian towns fit this description with the exception of schools and churches. Because of the religious nature of these communities, the central location of churches is to be expected. The church was the focal point of the town and, therefore, it was placed beside the square in the most central part of town. The other exception is the placement of schools. Education was considered by the Moravians to be a vital part of a child's development, and great emphasis was placed on formal schooling. These schools were sometimes conducted in the teacher's residence. When schools were built, they were located in the central part of town. Several reasons for this locational choice are apparent. First, the schools often boarded students in the school building. A central location would facilitate keeping a watch on the resident children. Second, education being a central part of Moravian life, it would have been natural to locate the schools at a central place in the town.

The second difference relates to the contiguity of buildings. The study area towns were very compact settlements, however, a difference in scale is involved. The degree of contiguity in Bethabara, Bethania, and Salem, may be less than that found in the Pennsylvania Town. There are few instances of buildings having been literally side by side and there was most often a little

green space along the sides of the buildings. Apparently, having buildings practically touching was considered to be a fire hazard.¹ As a result, the lateral contiguity found in towns of the PCA may not have been quite as developed in the study area. The three towns in Forsyth County were, however, compact in nature. This is especially apparent when they are compared to the dispersed patterns of settlement then common to the area as a whole.

The description of central diamonds in the Pennsylvania Town matches those found in Bethabara and Bethania. There was a slight difference in function. Zelinsky describes these areas as being used in the past as a place for public markets and community events.² This was true for the study area towns also, but these squares periodically served other purposes. There is a reference to animals grazing on the square in Bethania.³ Although not a central diamond, the Salem square served the same purposes as those in the PCA. In addition, it was farmed, and later used as a grazing area for sheep.⁴

The purposes for planting central shade trees was the same for both the study area towns and the Pennsylvania Town. The types of trees planted are similar, with one exception. In the Pennsylvania Town, fruit trees are not

present in the central area.⁵ Fruit trees were used in Salem.⁶ Although no evidence can be found for fruit trees in the central areas of Bethabara and Bethania, orchards were common to all three towns. The early Moravians seemed to have a pronounced fondness for fruit trees.

With respect to the criterion of alleys, there again is a difference in scale between the study area and the PCA. The alleys in the study area were probably not as well developed as those found in the Pennsylvania Town. They did, however, serve the same function. As in the Pennsylvania Town, these alleys provided access through a block and contained small retail and manufacturing facilities.

Four criteria in the Pennsylvania Town were not found in the study area. These criteria deal with types of residential structures and building materials.

Row houses were not found to have been present in the study area. This seems to have been related to the religious nature of the town. Social controls were built into these towns by their design, including location and contiguity of structures. Row houses are the extreme example of building contiguity, and were considered too close by the Moravian planners. A large number of residents and mixture of families in a very small area was considered inappropriate.⁷

In this sort of situation, the direct observance and guidance of each member's daily life would have been difficult. The Moravian leaders wanted towns that were compact enough to foster implementation of social controls, but not so tight as to lose individuals within the aggregate. This was not a danger with communal residences, as each had a resident overseer to watch over the inhabitants. Row housing, therefore, was not necessary in these communities. The single people lived communally, and the families had their own residences.

The absence of duplexes is also partly explained by the same reasons. It was the desired practice for each family to have a separate house.

Another explanation for the lack of duplexes relates to the mixed functions present in the towns. Specifically, this is caused by the custom of having residential quarters and shops in the same building. Especially in Salem, houses often had two doors, not for two families, but for access to the living quarters and to the shops. In order to have rooms for two families to live in, and two shops for their trades, the building would have to be very large. The lots were not wide enough to allow this.

There is some indication that two or more families periodically shared a residence. This was not a permanent

arrangement, and it was only done in times of overcrowding. Families would move in with others until the housing shortage was relieved, and then they could move into their own homes.^a

The practice of painting brick buildings is wholly absent in the study area. According to Zelinsky, this was done to protect the surface. In the Forsyth County Moravian towns, this was accomplished by the use of stucco on the brick-nogged buildings. Early on, the nogging was often laid up with clay because mortar was rare due to the lack of lime. Stucco was applied as a protective covering to keep the clay from washing out. This was not often done on entirely brick buildings. No brick buildings in Salem or Bethania were covered this way, and only one example exists in Bethabara. There is no indication why brick was not painted.

The last criterion absent is stone buildings. There were buildings of stone in all three towns, but this was never a prevalent form of construction. There are two reasons for this. First, the lack of lime for mortar in the early years precluded stone becoming a widely used building material. Practically all buildings had stone foundations which were laid with clay, then covered with stucco for protection. This method was not practical in the construction of entire buildings. By the time the

lime supply increased, the brickmaking had improved and thus became the dominant building material.

The second factor in the lack of many stone buildings was one of aesthetics. It was difficult to find large quantities of good stone, therefore, the resulting building was often not very attractive.⁹ Because of this, many of the stone buildings were constructed out of stone rubble, then covered with stucco to present a more attractive exterior. In two cases, this stucco was then scribed with lines to create the effect of a regularly cut stone facing.

When analyzed as a whole, the differences and absences of criteria recorded in the study area all relate to a few specific reasons. These reasons are: the religious nature of the towns and the corresponding social controls, cultural preferences, and frontier conditions.

The minor differences in mingling of functions and contiguity, along with the absence of row houses and duplexes are a factor of the nature of the communities. Churches and schools were located in central areas, being central to Moravian life. The slight lessening of contiguity, and the absence of row houses and duplexes are directly related to the social controls the religious leaders needed to have built into the form of the town.

The planting of fruit trees and the absence of painted brick are manifestations of cultural preferences. Apparently, they liked one and disliked the other. It is not known from where these preferences arose, or why they were maintained.

Frontier conditions are responsible for the less well developed alleys, the other functions of the squares, and the absence of many stone buildings. These towns were fairly isolated from all but each other. Salem was the predominant trading center, so the commercial activities along Bethania's alleys were at a disadvantage, serving only the town itself. In addition to this, Bethania was never very large, so it could not support the heavily developed type of alleys found in the Pennsylvania Town.

The use of the squares for cropland and pasture developed from necessity. When these towns were just getting started, nothing was wasted. Putting this open land to use, in its small way, contributed to the survival of these frontier communities.

The relatively few instances of stone buildings was a result of the unavailability of lime. There were no close supplies, and its acquisition depended on long trading trips. It could not simply be ordered as it would have been in a more settled, more highly populated area.

The three Moravian towns bear a strong similarity to the Pennsylvania Town in terms of town morphology criteria. The differences between the two areas are a matter of the specific religious and cultural values of the Moravians, and the nature of the environment in which these towns were established.

The presence in each town of a majority of the criteria under study provides the necessary amount of similarity needed to determine that this area of Forsyth County qualifies as an outlier of the PCA. With respect to Zelinsky's definition of the PCA, the study area towns are extensions of this culture area. Therefore, their existence as outliers of the PCA should be recognized as such.

Several cultural geographers have delineated the Pennsylvania Culture Area. The different approaches used help to illustrate the appropriateness of admitting the study area as an outlier of this culture area.

As previously noted, Zelinsky used town morphology as a way of determining the boundaries of the PCA. The similarity of the study area to the PCA based on this measure has also been previously noted. In other studies Zelinsky developed general connections between the study area and the PCA. According to his Doctrine of First Effective Settlement, the cultural characteristics

of the first group of settlers to create a viable society in an area will be imprinted in the cultural geography of the place in a scale disproportionate to their numbers.¹⁰ Their impact will be felt to a stronger degree and for a longer time than the cultural characteristics of later additions to the society. He noted that Germanic peoples were among the first effective settlers in the Pennsylvania subregion of the Midland cultural node and traced their advances from Pennsylvania into the Appalachian Piedmont.¹¹

Richard Pillsbury used urban street patterns in Pennsylvania as an indicator of culture regions. He derived four basic street patterns, two of which are geometric, and two of which are non-geometric.

The geometric patterns are known as Rectilinear and Linear-R. The Rectilinear plan has straight parallel streets and cross streets which almost always intersect at right angles. There are usually at least three streets intersecting in each direction.¹² The street pattern of Salem fits this description. The Linear-R plan has one straight main street with right angle lanes or cross streets distributed evenly along its length. The lanes extend only to the depth of the lots facing the main street. Two narrow streets or lanes run parallel to this main street at a depth of one lot.¹³ This perfectly

describes the street pattern of Bethania. These geometric patterns are most concentrated in an area with boundaries similar to Zelinsky's PCA.¹⁴

A different approach was used by Fred Kniffen. He used types of folk housing as an indicator of culture areas. Diffusion routes of these styles were traced and the source areas were identified. Kniffen recognized three main source areas on the Atlantic seaboard: New England, the Middle Atlantic, and the Lower Chesapeake.¹⁵ His Middle Atlantic region centers on southeastern Pennsylvania, and is roughly analogous to Zelinsky's PCA delineation. A major indicator of this culture is German log construction. He defines a Pennsylvania German log house as having a central chimney, with a floor plan consisting of three rooms.¹⁶ Many of the older houses in Salem were built this way. They had a central chimney serving three rooms, with one large room utilizing half of the building and two smaller rooms on the other side.¹⁷ The early houses in Bethania were also formed around a central chimney. The interior plan of Bethabara's early houses is not known.

Another factor of folk housing which tends to associate the study area with the PCA is the lack of characteristic housing styles common to the Carolina region in general. A typical Carolina "I" house with a

specific porch type, and front and rear additions,¹⁸ is conspicuously absent in the study area towns. The diffusion routes from the Middle Atlantic source area to the study area will be discussed later.

Robert Mitchell identified three colonial culture hearths: Southern New England, Southeastern Pennsylvania, and the Chesapeake. He documented the importance of German origins in the development of the Pennsylvania hearth cultural characteristics.¹⁹ Mitchell also documented the strong tradition of mercantile urbanism present in the Pennsylvania culture hearth.²⁰ This was certainly true in the study area. Bethabara and Salem were regional centers of commerce. Even Bethania, a farming community, had a strong presence of crafts and other urban functions.

A recently published work by D. W. Meinig provides a wealth of information on the origins and spread of American culture. Pennsylvania was identified as one of the major nuclei for the emerging American culture. Zelinsky noted that Philadelphia was the first true Pennsylvania Town appearing in America.²¹ Zelinsky's criteria were also noted by Meinig. He mentioned the special character of Philadelphia created by the rectangular street layout, closely set brick and stone buildings lining the streets, and walks of flagstone

or brick lined with evenly spaced trees.²² He also described these criteria for other towns that fall within the boundaries of Zelinsky's PCA, such as Lancaster.²³ Meinig stressed the importance of Germans in helping to determine the cultural characteristics of this area. He placed the greatest numbers of German settlers in Northampton, Berks, Lancaster, York, and Cumberland counties.²⁴ Each of these counties, in part or in whole, is contained within Zelinsky's PCA boundaries. Two early Moravian settlements, Bethlehem and Nazareth, are located in Northampton County. A third early settlement, Ephrata, is located in Lancaster County.

Meinig also documented direct links between the Pennsylvania nucleus and the Forsyth County study area. In connection with the migration route from the Pennsylvania region along the Great Philadelphia Wagon Road into the Carolina Piedmont, he mentioned Wachovia as a distinctive settlement district. Its distinctiveness came from its dissimilarity to other settlements in the region in terms of planning and compactness.²⁵ Meinig described Salem as "one of the least typical landscapes of the Upland South."²⁶

The study area has strong similarities to the PCA and major differences from the geographically closest culture hearth (the Chesapeake or Tidewater). Reasons for this

can be analyzed by a discussion of the processes and routes of cultural diffusion.

Among several works by cultural geographers on this theme, research by Robert Mitchell served to define the processes of culture hearth diffusion and the directions in which this diffusion travels. Frontier societies are a product of three major processes: duplication, deviation, and fusion.²⁷

Duplication involves the virtual transference of culture hearth traits into an area adjacent to the hearth region. Deviation from initial cultural traits results from local settlement conditions, but the deviations are not sufficient to create a new culture area. Fusion involves the combining of traits from two or more hearth areas. The combination of traits will result in a culture different from either source, but with similarities to each.²⁸

According to this approach, Mitchell determined that the northwest Carolina Piedmont area is a center of trait fusion from the Southeastern Pennsylvania and Chesapeake hearth areas (Figure 3.1).²⁹ In other words, the area is located on the diffusion routes of both hearth areas. Mitchell referred to this area as a secondary area of cultural diffusion. The Southeastern Pennsylvania traits diffused from the hearth area along a southwestwardly

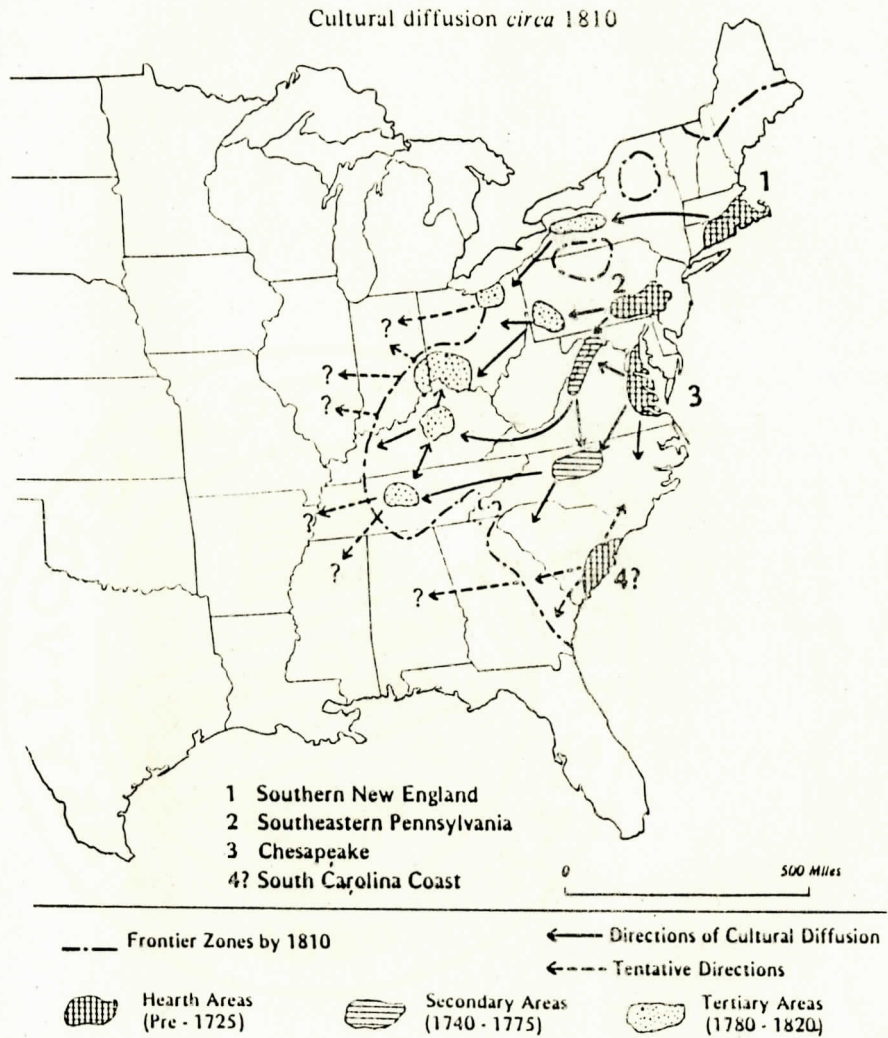


Figure 3.1. Cultural Diffusion Circa 1810

Source: Mitchell, "The Formation of Early American Cultural Regions," p. 75.

route through western Maryland and the Shenandoah Valley into northwestern Carolina. Traits from the Chesapeake hearth diffused directly to northwestern Carolina and to the Shenandoah Valley.³⁰

While the theory of trait fusion may hold true for the northwestern section of the Carolina Piedmont as a whole, it does not apply to the three study area towns. As has been previously noted, folk housing styles typical of the Carolina settlements are absent in these towns. Mitchell defined distinctive Chesapeake traits as a heavy emphasis on tenancy and slavery, the plantation system, commercial production of tobacco and hemp, expensive tastes in clothing, domestic furnishings, food and drink, and affiliation with the Anglican Church.³¹ The study area shows none of these traits.

Other studies of cultural diffusion support the theory that Bethabara, Bethania, and Salem received cultural trait diffusion predominantly from the PCA, Zelinsky stated that cultural traits common to the PCA can be found along the Appalachian zone and into the South. He mentioned that certain areas in central North Carolina appear to be "detached fragments of the mother region,"³² a comment which tends to support the duplication process rather than fusion.

Richard Pillsbury determined the Pennsylvania culture as one of street patterns, brick and stone construction, unique architectural types, word usage patterns, and distribution of regionally significant religious bodies. The area containing this culture extends southwestward to include much of the Shenandoah Valley.³³ As the results of this study show, Pillsbury stopped a little short. The study area fits the criteria and should be included within the Pennsylvania culture boundaries.

In his location of diffusion routes, Fred Kniffen tracked a route from the PCA southwestward along the Appalachians with an offshoot moving through the study area. In his determination, there was no diffusion into the study area from the Lower Chesapeake, therefore, no fusion existed in the study area.³⁴

D. W. Meinig also supported the contention that the predominant diffusion of traits into northwestern Carolina came with the settlers from the PCA area. The great majority of settlers entering the northwestern Carolina Piedmont came from the northern colonies instead of inland from the coastal colonies. This was largely a result of the greater population of the northern colonies and the channelization of immigrants through more northerly ports.³⁵

The majority of studies suggest that there was a diffusion route from the PCA to the study area. This route was largely responsible for the extension of Pennsylvania culture into the towns under study. In addition, the Moravian settlers bound for Wachovia traveled this route in the form of the Great Philadelphia Wagon Road. In light of this, the processes of diffusion most apparent in the creation of the study area towns are those of duplication and deviation due to settlement conditions.

It has previously been shown that the study area towns bear a strong similarity to the Pennsylvania Town. Many of its characteristics were duplicated in Wachovia. The characteristics not duplicated are partly a result of the nature of the environment upon which they settled. Thus the less well developed alleys, unusual functions of the square, and lack of stone buildings are examples of the diffusion process being affected by local conditions. These differences indicate that the deviation process of diffusion was also present. The other explanation for criteria not present in the study area is the specific religious and cultural attributes of the Moravians. These attributes created deviations from the PCA traits not only in Forsyth County, but in Pennsylvania as well. The basis for these deviations provides interesting areas of further investigation.

Suggestions for Further Research

Some of the PCA criteria missing from the study area and the occasional deviations from other criteria can be explained by the religious exclusivity of these Moravian congregation towns. In contrast, most of the towns in the PCA were secular. The absence of row houses and duplexes existed because the Church leaders did not feel that this type of housing was appropriate for their communities. They intended for each family to have its own home, and for the single people to live communally in large buildings. The central location of schools and churches was fundamental because of the spiritual and moral values of the Moravians. Also, the layout of the towns to be compact, but not literally contiguous in terms of building placement, was the result of Church leaders' ideas of what would best serve the communities. Since exclusivity was the dominant demographic factor in these communities, the towns were designed with a conscious effort to protect and enforce uniquely Moravian values.

This exclusivity created a cultural landscape in the study area that was predominantly similar to the PCA, but one which also had some fundamental differences. This holds true for Moravian communities inside the PCA, as well.

The majority of German settlers in Pennsylvania came from different areas in Europe and had different religious orientations. Once in Pennsylvania, however, they tended to become intermingled, creating a broadly ethnic pattern of regional settlement, instead of tight religious clusters.³⁶ The exclusively Moravian communities of Bethlehem, Nazareth, and Ephrata were obviously exceptions to this.

Because of the highly developed mix of peoples arriving in Pennsylvania, there were innumerable points of contact between these different groups. This led to two alternatives for the groups, either opening up to other influences or banding more tightly together to reinforce social boundaries. The first alternative was the predominant one in Pennsylvania, leading to a highly diverse society with influences from many different cultures.³⁷

The Moravian settlements chose the second alternative, with exclusivity a bulwark against erosive influences. This process of intensification was also at work in Wachovia. The success of this approach, for the Moravians, is seen in the fact that they maintained exclusive and distinct communities for approximately one hundred years.

The dominant pattern of colonial settlement, with the exception of New England, was one of dispersed settlement.³⁸ Attempts were made to create tightly-knit communities, especially religious communities, but these were seen as exceptions to the rule. Again, the Moravian towns stand out as deviations from the general pattern.

This policy of exclusivity served to keep the Moravian communities in Pennsylvania from assimilating all the cultural traits that serve to define the PCA. Obviously, enough of these traits were present to lead cultural geographers to include these towns in their delineations of the Pennsylvania culture region. This is also the case for the study area towns. These towns contained traits from the PCA which were carried with the settlers to Wachovia. Their exclusivity, however, served to prevent traits of the regional culture developing in the general area from being incorporated into these towns.

Two factors relating to this exclusivity were instrumental in keeping Moravian towns in Wachovia and Pennsylvania from becoming fully assimilated into the surrounding culture. These factors are the use of the German language and the direct control of the towns by the Church.

Although English was used almost from the first in dealing with outsiders, German was used exclusively within the communities. Religious services were conducted in German, written communications and records were also kept in German. In Wachovia and, to a lesser extent, in Pennsylvania, this served very effectively as a social boundary. The exclusive use of German within the communities bound the residents more tightly together and reinforced their sense of being part of a unique community. The more difficult it was to converse with outsiders, the easier it was to keep out unwanted influences. Avoidance of contact with others serves to keep a cultural group distinct and may strengthen the uniqueness of the group.³⁹ The dominant use of German continued until the 1850s. At this time English was formally adopted as the language of the towns and the records were written in English after 1855.⁴⁰

The other factor preventing total assimilation involved the rigid control exerted over all American Moravian communities by the Church leadership centered in Germany. The American communities were considered subordinate to the governing body in Germany and the progress of these towns was directed and controlled from Europe. Any important decisions affecting religious, social, or economic life were made by the German

hierarchy. This included matters pertinent to this study, such as the design of new towns. Local opinions could be offered, but final approval came only from the German Church headquarters.

The communication of the leaders' decisions occurred in three ways. Written communications were sent from Europe to Pennsylvania, and on overland to Wachovia. In later years, letters came directly from Europe to Wachovia. Occasionally, leaders would come from Germany to express their wishes personally. The time involved for travel and sending letters was substantial, therefore, any important decisions took a long time to be resolved. As a result, these communities remained relatively static, with any change coming very gradually. This condition lasted until the mid 1850s, at which point the American Moravian Church gained greater independence from Europe.⁴¹

The dominance of European control well into the nineteenth century accounts for the differences from general cultural traits found in the PCA for both the Wachovia and Pennsylvania communities. The intriguing line of thought posed by this fact is to what degree these differences were a result of German cultural influences. Two basic questions come to mind: first, to what degree are the PCA criteria a reflection of German culture and

second, are the cultural traits of the Moravian communities a result of fusion between the German culture and the Pennsylvania culture?

These questions are interrelated and very complex. They present promising directions for further research. If the PCA traits are predominantly German in origin, then the Moravian communities may be an intensification of these traits. In this case, the Moravian towns could be seen as a function of the duplication process of diffusion. If German cultural traits are not the dominant ones in the PCA, then the Moravian cultural landscapes could be considered the result of the fusion process. A combination of German cultural traits and Pennsylvania cultural traits could have produced a separate American Moravian culture.

These questions could be answered in four steps. First, the origins of specific parts of the Pennsylvania culture would have to be determined. Second, Moravian towns in America would have to be analyzed to determine what traits are indicative of their cultural landscapes. These traits would then be compared to Moravian towns in Europe to determine their similarities and differences. Lastly, the traits common to all three cultures (Pennsylvanian, American Moravian, and European Moravian) could be compared in order to reach a decision as to duplication or fusion.

Conclusions

The Moravian colonization of Wachovia in the northwest North Carolina Piedmont resulted in an area with a cultural landscape strikingly similar to those found in the PCA. In addition, this landscape was strongly different from its neighbors. Through migration from Pennsylvania, the settlers diffused the Pennsylvania culture into an area a great distance away from its origins. The exclusivity of the Wachovia settlements and the direct control by the Church succeeded in keeping this culture viable and distinct for one hundred years.

The deviations from the Pennsylvania culture that are present in the study area resulted from local settlement conditions and the close ties of these towns to Germany. Determination of the effects of this European link upon all American Moravian towns offers an exciting and productive area of further research.

NOTES

¹Adelaide L. Fries, ed., Records of the Moravians in North Carolina, vol. 1 (Raleigh, North Carolina: Edwards and Broughton Printing Co., 1922), p. 313.

²Wilbur Zelinsky, "The Pennsylvania Town: An Overdue Geographical Account" Geographical Review 67 (1977):137.

³Jo Conrad Butner, "A New Town in Wachovia," in The Three Forks of Muddy Creek, ed. Frances Griffin, vol. 5 (Winston-Salem, North Carolina: Old Salem, Inc., 1978), p. 5.

⁴Hunter James, Old Salem Official Guidebook, rev. ed., ed. Frances Griffin (Winston-Salem, North Carolina: Old Salem, Inc., 1982), p. 15.

⁵Zelinsky, "Pennsylvania Town," p. 133.

⁶Interview with John Larson, Director of Restoration, Old Salem Inc., Winston-Salem, North Carolina, 8 January 1987.

⁷Fries, Records of the Moravians, p. 313.

⁸Daniel P. Thorpe, "Moravian Colonization of Wachovia, 1753-1772: The Maintenance of Community in Late Colonial North Carolina" (Ph.D. dissertation, Johns Hopkins University, 1982), p. 333.

⁹Interview with John Larson, 8 January 1987.

¹⁰Wilbur Zelinsky, The Cultural Geography of the United States (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1973), pp. 13-14.

¹¹Ibid., p. 21.

¹²Richard Pillsbury, "The Urban Street Pattern as a Cultural Indicator: Pennsylvania, 1682-1815," Annals of the Association of American Geographers 60 (1970):436-437.

¹³Ibid, pp. 439-440.

¹⁴Ibid, p. 442.

¹⁵Fred Kniffen, "Folk Housing: Key to Diffusion," Annals of the Association of American Geographers 55 (1965):557-558.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 561.

¹⁷James, Old Salem Official Guidebook, p. 44.

¹⁸Kniffen, "Folk Housing," p. 553.

¹⁹Robert D. Mitchell, "The Formation of Early American Culture Regions: An Interpretation," in European Settlement and Development in North America, ed. James Gibson (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978), p. 69.

²⁰Ibid.

²¹Zelinsky, "Pennsylvania Town," p. 146.

²²D. W. Meinig, The Shaping of America: A Geographical Perspective on 500 Years of History, vol. 1: Atlantic America, 1492-1800. (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1986), pp. 140-142.

²³Ibid., p. 449.

²⁴Ibid., pp. 138-139.

²⁵Ibid., pp. 291-292.

²⁶Ibid., p. 292.

²⁷Mitchell, "The Formation of Early American Culture Regions," pp. 66-67.

²⁸Ibid., p. 67.

²⁹Ibid., p. 76.

³⁰Ibid., p. 75.

³¹Ibid., pp. 81-82.

³²Zelinsky, Cultural Geography of the United States, p. 127.

³³Pillsbury, "Urban Street Pattern," pp. 441-442.

³⁴Kniffen, "Folk Housing," pp. 560-561.

³⁵Meinig, The Shaping of America, p. 246.

³⁶Ibid., p. 139.

³⁷Ibid., p. 223.

³⁸Ibid., p. 243.

³⁹Ronald F. Abler, "Monoculture or Miniculture?: The Impact of Communications Media on Culture in Space," in An Invitation to Geography, eds. David A. Lanegran and Risa Palm (New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1973), pp. 186-187.

⁴⁰John Henry Clewell, History of Wachovia in North Carolina (New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1902), p. 218.

⁴¹Ibid., p. 216.

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