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Abstract

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Keywords

Moravian Women, Native Women, Shamokin, Pennsylvania History, Jeannette Mack, Missionaries

Disciplines

Indigenous Studies | United States History | Women's Studies

Comments

Written for HIST 426: Pennsylvania's Indians

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Girl Talk: How Friendships between Moravian and Native Women Sustained the Moravian Mission at Shamokin Pennsylvania, 1742–1749

Lindsay R. Richwine
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Abstract: From 1742 to 1755, Moravian missionaries attempted to establish a mission at the Indian town of Shamokin. While the Moravians failed to convert any native peoples, they succeeded where other missionaries failed by maintaining a continued presence. By using evidence from sources such as the Shamokin mission diary, this project asserts that it was the friendships forged between Native and Moravian women in the early years of the mission that integrated the Moravians into the community at Shamokin. Through an examination of the lives of the women present at Shamokin in this period, this project situates itself within existing research on Moravian missionary activity and gender relations in colonial Pennsylvania

On May 3, 1748, missionary Martin Mack sat down with his quill and ink to write in the communal diary of the Moravian Mission to the Indians of Shamokin, Pennsylvania. He recorded the day's events—mostly worship services, conferences between the Moravians, and a visit from the Oneida leader Shikellamy—and took the time to mention that a Mohican woman, a frequent visitor to the Moravian camp, had arrived bearing a gift. Approaching Catherina Schmidt, wife of the Moravians' blacksmith, the woman pressed a pair of shoes into her hands, instructing Catherina to "give them to Jannische [Mack's wife, Jeannette] as a sign of her love."[1] Jeannette had returned to the Moravian base at Bethlehem after a long winter in Shamokin, but Catherina promised to deliver the gift the next time she saw Jeannette.

Buried in dozens of mundane diary entries, this interaction raises a number of questions about the identity of this Mohican woman and the interactions between Moravian and native women at Shamokin. In an era when most native and European women had few occasions for contact, a friendship like the one between Jeannette Mack and this Mohican woman was rare and begs to be studied.

Established by Count Nicholas von Zinzendorf in 1742, the Moravian mission to the Indians at Shamokin cannot be considered a success. The first years were touch and go, plagued by hunger, illness, the Indians' hostile attitudes towards whites, and epidemic alcoholism. Even though by 1747 the Moravians had enough of a foothold to erect a smithy, food was scarce for

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[1] I have followed historian Rachel Wheeler's lead in using the term Mohican rather than Mahican, as the nation is sometimes called, to refer to the people who traditionally inhabited the areas along the modern-day border of New York and north Connecticut, Massachusetts, and southern Vermont. Mohican is the modern designation used by the nation today, and the indigenous term is *Muhheakunnuk*. Rachel Wheeler, *To Live upon Hope: Mohicans and Missionaries in the Eighteenth-Century Northeast* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011), 1n, 8; Martin Mack, "The Shamokin Mission Diary," May 3, 1748, trans. Katie Faull. *Shamokin Diary.* http://shamokindiary.blogs.bucknell.edu/texts/the-english-text/macks-short-report-of-the-heidenpas-in-shamokin-april-18-1748-june-19-1748/.

the Moravian and Indian residents of Shamokin, and the mounting tensions among French and English and their allied native groups provoked unrest, ultimately dooming the town and the mission. However, for a brief time between roughly 1745 and 1749, Moravians and Indians lived in relative peace in Shamokin. Supporting each other through lean times and exchanging goods and tools, the Moravians worked as partners with the locals, building on relationships made in the early days of the mission and maintained throughout their stay. Though they ultimately had a small impact, they succeeded in maintaining a presence where others, like the Presbyterian David Brainerd, had failed. Based on close examination of the Shamokin Mission diaries, I believe that the presence of Moravian women in Shamokin mission was crucial to its endurance because of their role in establishing relationships of mutual support.

Most of the previous scholarship on the topic of women in Shamokin centers on more comprehensive descriptions of life at Shamokin and broader analysis of the place of native and Moravian women in society. While my project is much narrower in scope, interpreting primarily the place of and interactions between women in Shamokin society over a specific period, the body of work regarding Shamokin and women in colonial Pennsylvania guides my analysis. The lives of Moravian women are better documented than those of native women in this area and period, and as a result, a much larger volume of the secondary source material for this topic draws specifically from material detailing the experiences of the Moravian women.

Few sources from the mid-twentieth century or earlier discussed in-depth the situation of Moravian women. If they did so, they briefly covered the choir system that separated Moravians into groups based on gender, age, and marital status, and mentioned the quasi-arranged marriages

practiced among the Brethren.[2] These sources focused on the role of Moravian Sisters, as they were called, in a household economy, emphasizing their domestic contributions. In the last thirty years or so, scholars such as Katherine Faull and Jane Merritt have devoted more attention to the role of Moravian women as spiritual leaders and contributors to an artisan economy. Faull uses the examples of women appearing in the Shamokin Mission diaries to argue that Moravian women in missions were expected to perform a variety of public roles, sewing goods for native peoples and acting as healers and translators.[3] Faull's earlier work also argues that Moravian women enjoyed a greater amount of independence than their non-Moravian contemporaries, due in part to the segregated living facilities and communal practices of Moravian life.[4] These freedoms and their active roles in their community facilitated interactions between Moravian, Mohican, and Delaware women at the forks of the Susquehanna. Jane Merritt has analyzed cross-cultural interaction, focusing on the interactions of women attending births, interceding in domestic disputes, and exchanging goods as part of a cross-cultural trade. Merritt drew most of her material from Moravian records, paying special attention to missions at Gnadenhütten and Meniolagomekah.[5] Merritt and Faull both imply that the diminution of female power that occurred in late 1700s Brethren communities after Zinzendorf's death was a reason for the

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[2] Elma E. Gray, *Wilderness Christians: The Moravian Mission to the Delaware Indians* (New York: Russell & Russell, [1956] 1973), 29.
[3] Katherine Faull, "The Hidden Work of Moravian Wives: A Conversation with Anna Nitschmann, Eva Spangenberg, Martha Spangenberg, and Erdmuth von Zinzendorf" (speech, Moravian Archives, Bethlehem, PA, February 13, 2018), KatieFaull.com, https://katiefaull.com/category/papers-and-publications/.
[4] Faull, Introduction to *Moravian Women's Memoirs: Their Related Lives, 1750–1820* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1997), xl.
[5] Jane T. Merritt, "Cultural Encounters Along a Gender Frontier: Mahican, Delaware, and German Women in Eighteenth-Century Pennsylvania, *Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies*, Autumn 2000 Vol. 67, No. 4 (Autumn 2000): 502-531

failure of later missions that did not permit the same types of cross-cultural interactions between women as had the Moravians' earlier ventures.[6]

Scholars like Faull, Merritt, and Alison Duncan Hirsch have discussed this cultural exchange between native and European women in terms of religion, language, and material goods.[7] James Merrell gave the subject a broad sweep in a paragraph of his article on the history of Shamokin, asserting that both native and Moravian women in the area played an unusually active role in Shamokin, working as traders, go-betweens, and healers.[8] To support this point, Merrell also utilized the Shamokin mission diaries that this project draws from. Merrell's broader discussion of Shamokin in several of his publications characterized it as a volatile crossroads, focusing on the ever-changing nature of its population and the mix of cultures sometimes in harmony and sometimes in tension. Though Merrell argues that the Moravians failed completely in their efforts to convert Indian residents of Shamokin, I believe that their effect was more nuanced than meets the eye. The fact that they managed to maintain a presence in such a transient town speaks to their success in endearing themselves to the Indian residents, a success that I believe can be attributed to the efforts of the native and Moravian women at Shamokin who were able to build a mutually supportive community despite the Moravians' failure to Christianize Shamokin.

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[6] Ibid., 530-1; Faull, "Introduction," *Moravian Women's Memoirs,* xxviii–xxxi.
[7] Faull, "Hidden Work"; Merritt, "Dreaming of the Savior's Blood: Moravians and the Indian Great Awakening in Pennsylvania," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 54, no. 4 (October 1, 1997): 723–46; Allison Duncan Hirsch, "'The Celebrated Madame Montour': Interpretess across Early American Frontiers," *Explorations in Early American Culture* 4 (2000): 81–112.
[8] James H. Merrell, "Shamokin, 'the very seat of the Prince of darkness': Unsettling the Early American Frontier," in *Contact Point: American Frontiers from the Mohawk Valley to the Mississippi, 1750–1830,* ed. Andrew R. L. Clayton and Frederika J. Teute (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 27.

This project investigates the interactions between and contributions of these native and Moravian women by identifying the women present in Shamokin and exploring the nature of their relationships—whether social, religious, or economic—and the ways in which they communicated to form them in order to understand their impact on Shamokin in this period. To do so, I have utilized primarily the translated Shamokin Mission Diaries between 1745 and 1749. In this exploration, I have found that by working as translators, food providers, hostesses, diplomats, and manufacturers of artisan goods, native and European women in Shamokin formed social and spiritual connections that overcame cultural and linguistic barriers. Though these friendships never led to more than a few converts and the Shamokin mission ultimately failed in its objective, these bonds between women formed strong community ties that overcame the town's transient nature and integrated the Moravians into the local community during the mission's early years.

Who Were the Moravians?

Moravians, or the United Brethren, are a German pietist group that trace their religious heritage back to Jan Hus, the Czech religious reformer. After centuries of persecution in Europe, the group found protection on the Upper Saxony estate of Count Nicholas Ludwig von Zinzendorf. Zinzendorf was a self-taught, open-minded theologian who welcomed the Brethren on his estate before he knew much about their theology. In fact, it would take five years before he realized that the Brethren living in his backyard had already established the ecumenical theology he had traveled all over Europe to find. By 1727, Zinzendorf had immersed himself in the Moravian community, helping to expand their power and influence beyond Saxony to Great

Britain and the New World.[9] After launching unsuccessful missions in St. Thomas and Savannah, Georgia, the Moravians in the New World packed up and removed to Pennsylvania, where the famous Great Awakening preacher George Whitfield had invited them to oversee a schoolhouse he planned to build for Black children. After a dispute between the Moravian preacher Peter Böhler and Whitfield caused the latter to order the Brethren off of his land, they purchased five hundred acres near the confluence of Monocacy Creek and the Lehigh River. In 1741, Moravians built the first log cabin in what would become Bethlehem, Pennsylvania.[10]

By 1747, Bethlehem was a thriving settlement of about 400 people, surrounded by plenty of natural resources, navigable rivers, and, in the words of Bishop David Nitschmann, "the Indians, whom we love."[11] The men and women of Bethlehem lived in communal style, each person contributing their time and labor in exchange for homes, food, clothing, and scriptural education. Under this system, no person owned private property, and even when married, men and women lived in communal "choir houses" segregated by sex and marital status while their children lived separately in a nursery.[12] Furthermore, the adults were divided into two groups, one that was sent out to proselytize the American Indians, and another that stayed in Bethlehem, manufacturing goods to support their itinerant Brethren.[13] Reminiscent of the rural communism of Thomas More's imaginary Utopia, this style of living known as Bethlehem's General Economy lasted for the first twenty years of Bethlehem's existence, from about 1743–62.[14] This

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[9] Faull, "Introduction," *Moravian Women's Memoirs*, xvii–xxi. The following description of the history of the Moravians is adapted from Faull's.
[10] Ibid., xxv–xxvi.
[11] Gray, *Wilderness Christians,* 26; John W. Jordan, "Scraps of 'Bucks' before 1750," *Bucks County Historical Society Papers,* I (n.d.), 538–539, quoted in Gray, *Wilderness Christians,* 25.
[12] Faull, "Introduction," *Moravian Women's Memoirs,* xxvi.
[13] Gray, *Wilderness Christians,* 26.
[14] Ibid., 27.

unique setup opened up leadership opportunities for female Brethren, altering the nature of gender relations and expectations in Bethlehem and its satellite missionary communities.

Sex segregation of Moravian communities allowed women greater freedom and independence than their non-Moravian counterparts by giving them more options than motherhood and marriage. While the traditional path was certainly encouraged, it was relatively easy for a Moravian woman to remain single if she wished, as her living situation changed very little even upon marriage.[15] Anna Nitschmann, a prominent figure in early Bethlehem, turned down several offers of marriage before wedding Count Zinzendorf in a secret ceremony. According to scholar Katherine Faull, Nitschmann demonstrated an aversion to marriage, congratulating friends who turned down proposals and spurning offers made to her in favor of continuing as a mentor to young women in the Single Sisters Choir. [16] For Anna Nitschmann and others, this segregated living system opened avenues by which women could gain power within the community.

Many of the gender-specific practices sprung from Zinzendorf's belief that women and men were inherently different, and that women's spiritual needs could not be met by men, but only by other female leaders. Consequently, the Brethren expected motivated women like Anna Nitschmann and her friend Margarethe Jungmann to fill leadership roles in the Single Sisters' Choir and the broader religious community. By the age of eighteen, Nitschmann assumed the role of Elderess of the Congregation; she and Jungmann went on to found the school for girls

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[15] Faull, "Introduction," *Moravian Women's Memoirs*, xxvii.
[16] Faull, "Recovering Anna Nitschmann: A Vision for a New Biography (speech, Center for Moravian Studies, Bethlehem, PA, Spring 2017), KatieFaull.com, accessed December 2, 2020, https://katiefaull.com/2018/03/09/recovering-anna-nitschmann-a-vision-for-a-new-biography/.

that became Moravian College.[17] Just as pre-Reformation European women who became nuns in Catholic abbeys had more access to education and leadership opportunities than their Protestant descendants, the practice of community division along gender lines opened positions for female leaders who managed the day-to-day spiritual and economic life in the Bethlehem choir houses.

Like their Quaker contemporaries, early Moravians also defended a woman's right to preach.[18] Though female Moravians usually preached to other women, Anna Nitschmann, Jeannette Mack, and others also preached to mixed company.[19] Zinzendorf ordained at least fourteen women as priests during his lifetime.[20] This training of early Moravian women as lay preachers and spiritual leaders made them indispensable figures in the missions to the Indians, and as spreaders of the gospel, they were successful. Between 1742 and 1764, Moravians baptized 282 Mohican and Delaware women, 53 more than the number of men baptized. Historian Jane Merritt interprets this difference as an indication of the success of female Moravian preachers and missionaries who were more likely to connect with native women, estimating that Moravians baptized between 10% and 20% of the Pennsylvania Mohicans and

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[17] Faull, "Recovering Anna Nitschmann: A Vision for a New Biography (speech, Center for Moravian Studies, Bethlehem, PA, Spring 2017), KatieFaull.com, https://katiefaull.com/2018/03/09/recovering-anna-nitschmann-a-vision-for-a-new-biography/, accessed December 2, 2020.

[18] Following the precedent set by Margaret Fell, the first disciple of Quakerism, Quaker women exercised authority in their communities as itinerant preachers, writers, and spiritual leaders. Fell's 1666 essay *Women's Speaking Justified* reinterpreted biblical texts to advocate for female participation in worship, and her legacy as the financier of Quakerism established a tradition for female leadership in the Society of Friends. Moreover, as in the Moravian Church, aspects of Quaker worship and beliefs allowed for early female Friends to assume leadership positions. For more on women in Quakerism, see Margaret Hope Bacon's *Mothers of Feminism: The Story of Quaker Women in America,* 1st ed. (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1986).

[19] Aaron Spencer Fogleman, *Jesus is Female: Moravians and Radical Religion in Early America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 97–98.

[20] Faull, "Introduction," *Moravian Women's Memoirs*, xxix.

Delawares in the mid-1700s.[21] Some scholars—such as Aaron Spencer Fogleman—go further, suggesting that aspects of Moravian beliefs ascribe female characteristics to Jesus, and that Moravian worship was in fact female-focused. While Foglemen's claims met with varied critical reception among scholars, he makes a compelling case. Certainly, imagery associated with the Moravian worship of the side wound Jesus received during his execution is undeniably vaginal.[22] Theories of goddess-worship among the Brethren aside, Moravian women were empowered as spiritual leaders in their communities and comfortable using their talents in the world, a skill that became useful when they ventured from Bethlehem into Indian country.

Zinzendorf had come to the New World with the goal of converting the native populations, and it was on this objective that Bethlehem focused most of its time and energy. In 1747, 25% of Bethlehem's residents were in the field as missionaries.[23] These men and women typically went as couples, in part because of the Moravian concept of "marriage militant"—*Streiterehe,* in German—in which married couples gave up their children to the nursery so they were free to do missionary work or other tasks for Bethlehem.[24] The Moravians were fairly unique among their contemporaries in this regard; most missionaries in the New World at this time were men, apart from a few notable exceptions. Jesuit priests in New France were of course all male, and neither David Brainerd nor George Whitfield brought their wives into the field. The seventeenth-century Ursuline nun Marie de L'Incarnation and her spiritual sisters stationed in Québec are one exception, as is Jonathan Edwards' wife Sarah, who accompanied him to

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[21] Merritt, "Cultural Encounters along a Gender Frontier," 727, 727n.
[22] See Fogleman, *Jesus is Female.*
[23] Gray, *Wilderness Christians,* 26.
[24] Katherine Faull and Jeannette Norfleet, "The Married Choir Instructions (1785)," *Journal of Moravian History,* Spring 2011, No. 10, Special Issue: Moravians and Sexuality (Spring 2011), 72.

Stockbridge, Massachusetts to live among the Mohicans.[25] By encouraging the presence of women in their mission towns, Moravians allowed for a different kind of connection between Europeans and Indians.

Moravian Sisters were able to connect personally with native women in a way that Moravian men literally could not; Moravian Bishop John Ettwein cautioned missionaries that "no Brother is to have any private conversation with any Sister who is not his wife," and at least one other Sister had to accompany any woman who wished to speak with a Brother.[26] While the exact purpose of this policy is unclear, it is possible it was meant to discourage extramarital affairs between Moravian men and either other Sisters or native women. Consequently, it seems likely that only Moravian women could form intimate friendships with native women. These friendships strengthened the ties between the two communities, eventually creating bonds of mutual assistance.

Creating these personal relationships was one of the main goals of these missions, and was another one of the ways that Moravians distinguished themselves from their contemporaries. Zinzendorf was conscious of the bad reputation of European Christians among Indians and worked to change that perception, remarking "they [the Indians] are afraid of being European Christians, and I hesitate to be one."[27] Zinzendorf talked of distancing himself from the

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[25] Natalie Zemon Davis, *Women on the Margins: Three Seventeenth-Century Lives*, (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1997), 63; George M. Marsden, *Jonathan Edwards: a Life*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 394.
[26] Kenneth Gardiner Hamilton, "John Ettwein and the Moravian Church during the Revolutionary Period," *Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society* 12, no. 3/4 (1940), accessed October 29, 2020, http://www.jstor.org/stable/41179290: 189.
[27]Count Nicholas von Zinzendorf, "Extracts from Zinzendorf's Diary of His Second, and in Part of His Third Journey among the Indians, the Former to Shekomeko, and the Other among the Shawanese, on the Susquehanna," ed. Eugene Schaeffer, *Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society* 1, no. 3 (1869): 1:84.

disruptive behavior of other European Christians, acknowledging that he must be "extremely prudent, in order to succeed in effecting any good among them."[28] Zinzendorf was particularly interested in converting the Iroquois but realized that, though preaching in their strongholds might be more direct, it would be perceived as a threat to Iroquois life and never be permitted. Instead, he chose to set up three smaller mission outposts among the native people living in Shamokin, Ostonwacken, and Skehantowa, sites he had handpicked for unspecified "reasons of policy and personal safety."[29] In 1742, he set out to tour these future sites with a party including Martin and Jeannette Mack and Anna Nitschmann.

On this 1742 venture to Shamokin, Zinzendorf was intent on meeting Shikellamy, the Oneida chief and acting vicegerent representing the Five Nations in dealings with the proprietary government of Pennsylvania, in order to ask his permission to preach among the people he oversaw at Shamokin.[30] Shikellamy lived in Shamokin with his wife, daughter, and two sons, stationed there by the Iroquois to keep an eye on activity at the southern frontier of their territory.[31] Zinzendorf had been drawn to Shikellamy when he had first seen him at a meeting with Iroquois sachems at Tulpehocken, commenting to his interpreter Conrad Weiser that he hoped to make a Moravian convert of the leader.[32] Asking permission was part of Zinzendorf's strategy of integrating his Brethren; he would meekly ask leaders like Shikellamy if they would "permit me and the Brethren simply to sojourn in their towns, as friends, and without suspicion,

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[28] Ibid.
[29] Zinzendorf, "Extracts from Zinzendorf's diary," 84.
[30] Count Nicholas Von Zinzendorf, "Zinzendorf's Narrative of a Journey from Bethlehem to Shamokin, in September of 1742," in William Cornelius Reichel, *Memorials of the Moravian Church*, vol. 1 (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippencott & Co., 1870), 83n.
[31] Faull, "Recovering Anna Nitschmann"; Merrell, *Into the American Woods*, 54.
[32] Merritt, "Dreaming of the Savior's Blood," 727-728.

until such time as we should have mutually learned each other's peculiarities."[33] Though many native leaders were likely skeptical of this attitude, it was a welcome change from other more disruptive missionaries like the Presbyterian David Brainerd who expected an assembled audience for his visits to Shamokin. Shikellamy agreed to the proposition and two years later, Zinzendorf sent Martin and Jeannette Mack off from Bethlehem, prepared to lead by example and pray that God would bring converts to them. What the Macks were not prepared for was the turbulence that awaited them in volatile Shamokin.

Shamokin, 1745: Seat of the Prince of Darkness or Simply Multicultural?

Shamokin does not have the best reputation. Upon a visit to the town in 1745, David Brainerd wrote in his journal, "the Indians of this place, are accounted the most drunken, mischievous, and ruffianlike [sic] fellows, of any in these parts; and Satan seems to have his seat in this town in an eminent manner."[34] In his autobiography, Martin Mack called the town "the very seat of the Prince of Darkness," and remarked that he and Jeannette were in constant danger during their stay.[35] Other observers spoke of the physical darkness surrounding the settlement, the rumors that demons resided just up the river, or the feeling that no two residents could understand the others' language.[36] Mack, Brainerd, and the others exaggerated; though Shamokin certainly could feel dark and chaotic, examining the history of the town easily explains the anarchy these visitors picked up on and paints a fuller, brighter picture of life in the settlement.

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[33] Zinzendorf, "Journey from Bethlehem to Shamokin," 64–68.
[34] David Brainerd, *Memoirs of Reverend David Brainerd, Missionary to the Indians of North America*, edited by J.M. Sherwood (New York, Toronto, & London: Funk & Wagnalls Company, 1891), 180.
[35] Zinzendorf, "Journey from Bethlehem to Shamokin," 66n.
[36] Merrell, "Shamokin," 19-20

Located at the sight of present-day Sunbury, Pennsylvania, Shamokin—or *Shumokenk* in Lenape—was the largest Indian town in eighteenth-century Pennsylvania. Sprawling over the forks of the Susquehanna River, it was home to 300 inhabitants spread over both banks and an island in the middle.[37] It had likely been founded in the early 1700s by Lenape people looking to put some distance between themselves and the colonial encroachers on the coast.[38] Because of its convenient location at the confluence of the north and west branches of the river and at the intersection of eleven Indian paths, Shamokin was home to indigenous peoples from all over the east coast; in their accounts, the Moravians mention over ten different indigenous nations represented. Many displaced from their original homes by European invaders sought refuge in Shamokin, making the town one of the largest and most influential Indian settlements in eighteenth-century America, and a dynamic center for trade and diplomacy.[39]

The variety of cultures in this bustling colonial crossroads accounts for the ever-changing population and the multitude of languages that European observers noticed. David Brainerd complained that there were three different tribes at Shamokin, "speaking three languages wholly unintelligible to each other."[40] The Moravian missionary Joseph Powell recorded in January 1748 that the people of Shamokin spoke "so many Languages we find it verry Diffical[t] to larn anything. Then its [sic] rare to hear two Indians talking In one language."[41] Brainerd's estimate was low, and poor Powell, evidently already struggling with his native English, was probably not

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[37] Brainerd, *Memoirs of Reverend David Brainerd,* 180.
[38] Dawn G. Marsh, *A Lenape Among the Quakers: The Life of Hannah Freeman* (Lincoln & London: University of Nebraska Press, 2014), 108.
[39] David J Minderhout, "Native Americans in Shamokin c. 1748," The Shamokin Diaries, 1745–1755, accessed September 8, 2020, http://shamokindiary.blogs.bucknell.edu/contextual-materials/native-americans-in-shamokin-c-1748-by-david-minderhout-ph-d/.
[40] Brainerd, *Memoirs of Reverend David Brainerd,* 180.
[41] Joseph Powell, "Shamokin Diary," January 4, 1748.

exaggerating. These language barriers frustrated many visitors and made it difficult to establish any lasting interactions. Brainerd had to employ an interpreter, the Delaware Moses Tatamy, and Powell struggled mightily without a decent linguist during his stint in Shamokin.[42] However, though later missionaries like Powell struggled with the language barrier, at least one of the early Moravians needed no go-between.

A Different Kind of Missionary

Back in 1742, when Jeannette and Martin Mack first visited Shamokin with Zinzendorf, the Count recorded in his diary that he noticed Jeannette Mack speaking "in Indian" with a Mohican woman. Zinzendorf did not transcribe what was said as he could not understand or speak Mohican, nor did he ascribe the incident much importance, only noting that he was surprised to see a Mohican in Shamokin and interested to learn that she was the sister of Nannachdausch, a Mohican from Shekomeko, New York who had built a hut for Zinzendorf during his stay at the mission there.[43] Though Zinzendorf could not understand the discussion, he captured an interaction that foreshadows Jeannette Mack's vital role in the mission Zinzendorf would establish. Jeannette Mack's knowledge of native languages would not only deepen the connections with native women that would help integrate the Moravians in Shamokin, it would also raise the reputation of missionaries, protecting her successors from the justifiable anti-missionary and anti-white sentiment that ran rampant at Shamokin.

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[42] A. G. Spangenberg, "Spangenberg's Notes of Travel to Onondaga in 1745," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 2, no. 4 (1878): 428; Powell, Shamokin Diary, January 4, 1748–April 18, 1748.
[43] Zinzendorf, "Journey from Bethlehem to Shamokin," 86.

Jeannette was born c. 1720 to John Rau, a Palatine farmer living near Rhinebeck, New York.[44] Rhinebeck was near an area called the Oblong, a swath of land in Mohican territory on the modern-day border between Connecticut and New York. This area also hosted a strong Delaware presence, and Jeannette came into contact with each native group frequently enough to become fluent in both languages, as well as in Mohawk.[45] Her mother tongue was probably either German, English, or both, as she seemed capable of communicating with fellow Moravians who spoke either.

Though her parents were not Moravian, Jeannette and her family became exposed to the Brethren because of Rhinebeck's close proximity to the Moravian mission to the Mohicans at Shekomeko. The Raus got along well with the Brethren; Jeannette's father even welcomed missionary Christian H. Rauch into their home.[46] Jeannette's exposure to Rauch and the other missionaries evidently endeared her to their ways, for in 1742, she married Martin Mack, one of the Shekomeko missionaries.[47]

Martin Mack was German, born in Württemburg in 1715.[48] One of the Brethren who had come to Georgia in 1735, he eventually moved to Pennsylvania where he was then appointed

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[44] Writing in the Shamokin Mission Diary during their stays in 1745 and 1748, Martin Mack refers to Jeannette as Anna or Annerl. In Zinzendorf's diary as well as in Martin Mack's later memoirs, he calls her Jeannette, as does a register of Moravian church members. In Shamokin, the Mohican woman she befriends calls her Janische, probably a corruption of Jeannette. Based on its appearance in more official documents, I have chosen to use the name and spelling "Jeannette"; Reichel, *Memorials of the Moravian Church* 56n; Abraham Reincke and William C. Reichel, "A Register of Members of the Moravian Church, and of Persons Attached to Said Church in This Country and Abroad, between 1727 and 1754," *Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society* 1, no. 7/9 (1873): 357.
[45] Reichel, *Memorials of the Moravian Church,* Ibid., 101n.
[46] Ibid., 100n, 101n, 56n.
[47] Ibid., 56.
[48] Reincke and Reichel, "A Register of Members of the Moravian Church," 357; Reichel, *Memorials of the Moravian Church,* 100.

Rauch's assistant in Shekomeko in March 1743. Evidence of Mack's linguistic abilities is hazier than for his wife, though he was at least fluent in German and English: Martin's 1745 contribution to the Shamokin Mission diary was written in English, but in the accounts written upon his return to Shamokin in 1747 and 1748, Mack switched to German, perhaps for the benefit of his fellow missionaries. It is unclear whether Martin Mack was fluent in Delaware, Mohican, or Mohawk. Though Moravian Bishop J.C.F. Cammerhoff recounted that Mack translated German to Mohican during Cammerhoff's 1748 visit to Shamokin, there is no evidence of Mack translating in 1745.[49] Perhaps by 1748 he had picked up a thing or two from his multilingual wife.

Most of Mack's one-on-one interactions in 1745 were with the linguist Andrew Montour or the viceroy Shikellamy, both of whom spoke English.[50] Only twice did he venture off without Jeannette: the first time, she was sick in bed with "a great Fever & violent gripeings in her Bowels," and he remarked vaguely in the diary that he "found some Indians very friendly." The second time, he was unable to speak with any Indians on account of their drunkenness. When some indicated that they want him to "drink once with them," he retreated back to his hut, frightened by their "Fierce and Bloody" appearance.[51] Neither of these interactions indicates any meaningful conversations taking place between Martin and the Indians.

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[49] Bishop J.C.F. Cammerhoff, *Cammerhoff's Narrative of Journey to Shomoko, Penna. In the Winter of 1748*, ed. John W. Jordan, Indian Missions MS 211.6., Moravian Mission Among the Indians of North America, Moravian Archives, Bethlehem, Indigenous Peoples of North America, https://link-gale-com.ezpro.cc.gettysburg.edu/apps/doc/BHXKVU900122132/INDP?u=gett36723&sid=INDP&xid=6169d168, 174.

[50] Merrell, *Into the American Woods*, 54.

[51] Mack, "Shamokin Diary," September 21, 1745, September 28, 1745, October 16, 1745.

In contrast, each of the three times Jeannette ventured out on her own, she successfully made meaningful connections with local women. Recovered from her own illness, she visited several sick women in October of that year. While undoubtedly she aimed primarily to provide spiritual guidance, historian James Merrell suggests that she may have also acted as a healer during these visits.[52] She preached to each woman she comforted, and was apparently received with interest, or at least politeness.[53] While in other cases Martin and Jeannette went visiting together, most of these couple visits seem superficial. Nearly all of the opportunities for real connection and missionary work happened in the one-on-one encounters between Jeannette and the other women. Coupled with her apparent talent for making personal connections, Jeannette's ability to convey theology in the one of native tongues of Shamokin gave her an edge over other missionaries who had come to Shamokin and failed. By courteously speaking the Shamokins' native languages, Jeannette established a reputation for herself and her Brethren as considerate guests, endearing them to the local community in spite of the community's well-placed mistrust in European faces.

Earlier that year, i n the spring of 1745, the Presbyterian missionary David Brainerd had arrived in Shamokin. Almost immediately, he assembled members of the Delaware nation in Shikellamy's house, and authoritatively told those present that they should expect to meet in this place every Sunday to pray and listen to preaching. Shikellamy, taken aback by Brainerd's impertinence, replied that no such thing would be happening: "We are Indians, and don't wish to be transformed into white men. The English are our Brethren, but we never promised to become

[52] Merrell, "Shamokin," 28.
[53] Mack, "Shamokin Diary," October 15, 1745, October 17, 1745, October 23, 1745.

what they are. As little as we desire the preacher to become Indian, so little ought he to desire the Indians to become preachers." Brainerd and his translator left the next day.[54]

The Macks got wind of this story through Moravian Bishop A. G. Spangenberg, who passed through Shamokin a week or two after Brainerd's disastrous trip. The Moravians took notes and saw the encounter as a prime example of how not to minister. Just four days before the Macks would arrive, Brainerd returned to Shamokin, apparently ready to make the same mistakes as before. He immediately disapproved of the "heathenish dance and revel" he witnessed and complained about the Indians' lack of "natural affections"—what we would call "common courtesy" today—towards him.[55] Not only was Brainerd still insensitive, but the Shamokins had not yet forgotten the insult of the spring. He failed to draw any crowd of listeners; the Indians "shun'd him all [th]at lay in their Power."[56]

Brainerd's biggest faux pas was that he tried to force the Delaware to meet in groups to gather to hear his word. However, he did this more out of necessity than ignorance. The minister could not speak Delaware, and relied on Moses Tatamy, his interpreter, to share his message. Since Brainerd could not approach villagers without the use of a formal go-between, the easiest way to share his message was by gathering a large group of people and asking Tatamy to translate his speech. While Brainerd and Tatamy were able to reach more people more efficiently in this manner, it was diluted by a translation, impersonal, and easy to ignore. Furthermore, the mass-produced nature of this approach was only one of the problems with working through an interpreter. Writing in the period just after the collapse of the Shamokin mission, the Moravian Bishop John Ettwein bemoaned the trouble with translators, noting that "the knowledge of

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[54] Spangenberg, "Notes of Travel to Onandoga," 428.
[55] Brainerd, *Memoirs of Reverend David Brainerd,* 180.
[56] Mack, "Shamokin Diary," 24 Oct 1745.; Ibid.

English at the command of even the best of them did not extend to spiritual terms, nor could they adequately reproduce such expressions, when understood. As a result, utter nonsense was frequently taught or sung."[57] Miscommunication plagued mono-lingual missionaries, but learning the variety of languages spoken at Shamokin and other locations was easier said than done. Without any common roots with either Germanic or Romance languages, Indian languages posed a challenge for some Europeans. Zinzendorf complained of his own struggle to understand Mohican, remarking that it was "a language hardly better than a goose-cackle." [58]

Fortunately for Zinzendorf, Martin Mack, and the rest of the Moravians, Jeannette Mack was fluent in goose-cackle. The Macks learned from Brainerd's mistakes and used Jeannette's talents to target small groups, preferring instead the Jehovah's Witness approach of knocking on doors or visiting the sick, dropping in on Shamokins who were more likely to entertain individualized visits. Finding better reception through their less disruptive practices, the Macks remarked "how good it is to abide by our Method, Viz: Pray and Weep till our Sav.r open[e]d [th]e Way for us."[59] Though more passive than Brainerd, they were opportunists, always ready to talk about their faith if the time seemed right. If no window presented itself, they "were still, & pray'd to the Lamb for them [the Indians]."[60]

Though they also hoped to preach to large crowds, the Macks wanted to wait until they were invited to do so, understanding that a requested sermon would be more popular than an imposed one. They told their replacements, Brothers Hagen and Joseph, "[p]reaching to them, is at present not to be thought of (It being a Suspicious Thing amongst them) till they themselves

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[57] Hamilton, "John Ettwein and the Moravian Church," 195.
[58] Zinzendorf, "Journey from Bethlehem to Shamokin," 83.
[59] Mack, "Shamokin Diary," Octtober 24, 1745.
[60] Ibid., November 3, 1745.

give us an Opportunity."[61] While these methods did not necessarily win them more converts—as of November 1745, no invitation had been extended—their more measured efforts ensured that the Moravians were not driven out of town like Brainerd had been. Helped along by Jeannette's ability to translate, the Moravians avoided Brainerd's abrasive approach and instead slipped in as quietly as possible. Not only did their humble manner prevent any ruffling of feathers, it also endeared them to some of the native inhabitants. The friends they made helped shield the Macks and their successors from some of the anti-European animosity in Shamokin.

Hospitality and Animosity: 1745

In the first years of the Shamokin mission, the Moravians benefitted from the hospitality of local women, who welcomed them into their homes and interceded on their behalf. When the Macks arrived in Shamokin, they sought first the help of the famous Andrew Montour, a *métis* go-between who worked as an interpreter for the government of Pennsylvania. He lived upriver from Shamokin in Ostonwackin in a small hut with his mother and wife.[62] Montour had likely come in contact with the Moravians in his work as a translator, and the Moravians considered him an ally, leading the Macks to ask Montour if they might live in his hut during their stay. Montour obliged, but repeatedly wondered at their contentment with his "very poor hut." [63] While the Moravians took Montour's concern for their well-being as a touching sign of his affection, it is possible that in repeatedly calling attention to their cramped quarters, Montour was politely trying to suggest that the Macks find other lodging. Fortunately for the Macks,

[61] Ibid.
[62] Merrell, *Into the American Woods,* 54.
[63] Mack, "Shamokin Diary," September 16, 1745; Ibid., September 26, 1745.

Montour's mother, the celebrated Madame Isabelle Montour, was thrilled to make their acquaintance.

A famed interpreter, fluent in French, English, and languages from both the Algonquian and Iroquoian linguistic groups, Madame Montour rarely gave the same answer about her background.[64] She told some that she was French by birth but captured by Indians as a child. To others, she was the daughter of a Frenchman and an Indian woman.[65] Though her parentage and background is hazy, we know that she was born in New France and made her way south over the course of her lifetime, eventually settling in Ostonwackin in 1727.[66] She had traveled all over the colonies in her work as a translator but told the Macks that she had never seen Bethlehem and wished to "come & Die there, & she believed she sho[ul]d then die happy." She talked extensively with Jeannette Mack during their stay, and the two interpreters became close. Madame Montour listened with interest as Jeannette Mack spoke to her about "w[ha]t our Sav.r [Savior] had done for the Indians [tha]t were in Beth[lehem]," and sighed that the Indians in Shamokin knew of "nothing but drinking & Dancing."[67]

Madame Montour was right; the prevalence of alcoholism at Shamokin was both a health concern for those addicted and a danger to anyone in the area. Almost all visitors to Shamokin, including the Macks and their successors, remarked on the rampant abuse of alcohol and the dangers that drunk Shamokins posed. Brainerd had complained that the Indians in Shamokin were "wicked People, being always drunk and never should be got together to hear Sermon."[68]

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[64] Alison Duncan Hirsch, "The Celebrated Madame Montour," 81-82. For more information about Madame Montour's shadowy and illustrious life, see Hirsch's full article that puzzles out some of the confusing details.
[65] Ibid., 82.
[66] Ibid., 85, 97.
[67] Mack, "Shamokin Diary," September 17th.
[68] Ibid., October 25, 1745.

While staying at the Montours', the Macks were harassed several times by intoxicated Indians. Their successors, too, faced the same problem. Brother Hagen, one of the missionaries who would relieve the Macks at the end of their tenure, was confronted in 1747 by several "drunken Indians…[who] wanted to trade with us." Hagen implied that these traders were pushy and persistent, remarking that he and his companion Johannes Paul were only saved by Shikellamy's wife, also drunk, who shooed off the traders by declaring, "my husband loves these people."[69]

As another welcoming matriarch, Madame Montour cared for the Macks, sharing her scarce food and small home with them for almost three months. With Andrew Montour away on business for much of the fall of 1745, meat was nowhere to be found, and the Montours had very little with which to sustain themselves. Madame Montour was kind to share her provisions with the Macks, though she often bemoaned having nothing but "Indian Corn" to eat.[70] Shamokin's location at the Forks of the Susquehanna left the locals susceptible to occasional bad weather and poor harvests, and the high volume of visitors passing through Shamokin dipped into local food resources leaving reduced provisions for residents.[71] Moreover, the transient nature of the community meant that many visitors stayed only long enough to eat up supplies but not long enough to farm, leading to a further decrease in available food. Madame Montour and the Macks also had to share with Andrew's wife, who appears to have been less welcoming. She is mentioned only once in the 1745 diary, when she sets off for her mother's house seeming "discontented, but [we] don't properly know for what."[72] Perhaps she was tired of the pious Brethren taking up space and eating her corn.

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[69] Joseph Hagen, "Shamokin Diary," June 16, 1747.
[70] Mack, "Shamokin Diary," October 17, 1745.
[71] Merrell, "Unsettling the Early American Frontier," 28.
[72] Mack, "Shamokin Diary," October 16, 1745.

If this interpretation is close to the truth, Andrew Montour's wife certainly was not alone in her displeasure with the Moravian presence. Though Zinzendorf obtained Shikellamy's permission and the Moravians came in peace, not everyone was as welcoming as Shikellamy and Madame Montour. Anti-white sentiment ran deep in Shamokin, despite Jeannette and Martin's attempts to assure all they came only "out of Love to their Souls."[73] Once decent under William Penn, the relationship between whites and Indians in Pennsylvania had been repeatedly fractured by the chronic deception, treaty-breaking, and land-grabbing of the Europeans. Events like the infamous Walking Purchase had strained white-Indian relations in the country. When the Macks arrived to establish the Shamokin Mission in 1745, they understood that because of their dress, skin color, and language, they would be associated with other less passive whites—like Brainerd or the notoriously unruly fur traders—whose conduct tended to inflame tensions and incite conflict. As the pioneers of this settlement, much of the Macks' early work was likely just undoing damage done by other Europeans.

The Macks met opposition early on in their initial visits to the Delaware who lived across the water from the Montours' house. The Delaware received the Macks "very friendly in almost all [th]e Hutts but ask'd at [th]e same Time when we intended to go away again."[74] The Delaware knew what Neshanokeow, a "Shavano [Shawnee]" from the Indian town of Wyoming had told Jeannette Mack in late October of 1745. "You," he said, "are like [th]e Pidgeons, when you come to a Place, 1 or 2 don't come alone, but immediately a whole Company fly thither."[75] Neshanokeow was right. When he around again in March 1748, at least five more Moravians had planted themselves even more firmly in Shamokin by establishing a blacksmith's shop. Food was

[73] Ibid., November 3, 1745.
[74] Ibid., Sept 8 745.
[75] Mack, "Shamokin Diary," October 31, 1745.

scarce that spring, and Neshanokeow was forced to ask the "pigeons" for bread. The Moravians recognized him and gave him the bread in spite of his comments three years earlier.[76] They could not deny that his prediction had come true.

Though the pushback Martin and Jeannette endured was mostly harmless, groups of drunken Indians threatened their lives on more than one occasion. One of the most harrowing experiences happened shortly before their departure. During the Macks' stay at Andrew Montour's home, a group of visiting Canadian Indians became intoxicated and made a ruckus outside. One "Snatch'd a great Fire Brand out of the Fire, & said he wo[ul]d burn the white People." Luckily for the Macks, Andrew Montour was quick on his feet and wrestled the brand out of the man's hand. However, the man was not yet subdued, and made two more attempts, grabbing first Andrew's gun and then a stick to "knock [the Macks'] Brains out with." Andrew bravely tore both instruments out of the attacker's hands, saving the Macks' lives, but the experience was enough to shake the Macks' resolve.[77] The arrival of Brothers Hagen and Powell the next day brought welcome relief to the Macks, who by this point longed for the comforts of Bethlehem. On account of the trouble they had experienced at the Montours' house, Andrew, the Macks, and the newly arrived Brothers arranged for Powell and Hagen to stay with Shikellamy instead.[78] Thanking Andrew Montour for saving their lives and lodging them so kindly, the Macks departed the next day. According to Martin, Madame Montour "wept bitterly" as they left.[79]

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[76] Powell, "Shamokin Diary," March 6[?], 1748
[77] Mack, "Shamokin Diary," November 1745.
[78] Ibid., November 3, 1745.
[79] Ibid.

Though not everyone had been so welcoming as Madame Montour, the Macks nonetheless found more success in their 1745 trip than had others like David Brainerd. Without Jeannette's language skills that allowed them to minister in a less disruptive manner, they surely would have met a similar fate, driven out of town within days. Instead, they stayed almost three months, protected by the hospitality of Madame Montour who provided them with food and shelter. In the Moravians' next visit to Shamokin, they would be more established, building on the connections they had made in their first visit and offering some of their own services. During future missions, native and Moravian women in Shamokin would create even stronger bonds based in spirituality and a community culture of mutual assistance.

Forging Relationships: 1747-1749

As the mission grew, the interactions between the Moravians and the locals took on a more transactional nature, with goods and services exchanged for the mutual benefit of both groups. While missionary activity still occurred, it was led mostly by Jeannette Mack; other women contributed by sewing and providing food for locals who asked, reflecting the changing nature of relationships in Shamokin. When the Moravians returned in 1747 after a period of intermittent occupation, it was at the behest of Shikellamy, who asked the Brethren to build a forge to service the Five Nations. The Iroquois had specific requests for its establishment: the Moravians would service the weapons of any Iroquois passing through on their way to war free of charge, and the Brethren were not permitted to trade.[80] This was a sort of compromise; since

[80] Faull, "Moravian Artisans and their Wives in the Colonial Pennsylvania Backcountry," *The Shamokin Diaries, 1745–1755: The Moravian Mission to the Indians*, accessed November 12, 2020, http://shamokindiary.blogs.bucknell.edu/moravian-artisans-and-their-wives-in-the-colonial-pennsylvanian-backcountry-katherine-faull-bucknell-university/.

the Moravians insisted on maintaining a presence in Shamokin, the Iroquois took advantage of their talents.

The growth of the mission post and the presence of the smithy brought more missionary couples to Shamokin: Sisters Martha Powell, Anna Hagen, Rachel Post, and Catharina Schmidt all came with their husbands to the mission.[81] Jeannette Mack was back too, acting as a translator once again. Within a day of her arrival on November second, a group of Indian women came to visit her at the Moravians' house, bringing with them a young girl. Fascinated by Jeannette, the young girl did not take her eyes off of the Moravian woman, grinning through the whole encounter. Jeannette amused her Indian friends by bending down to kiss her young admirer.[82] In the mission diary, Jeannette seems much-loved and trusted by the local Indians who knew her as a contact on whom they could depend for help and resources. For example, when one Delaware man became hungry, he sought out Jeannette, who gave him a crust of bread.[83] Jeannette led the other Sisters on visits to local Delaware women, and chatted with the Indian women that visited their settlement.[84]

In Jeannette's absence, the relationship between the Moravians and the Shamokins had become more transactional and less spiritual, and Sisters were expected to contribute to the artisan economy, sewing clothes for Indians who asked.[85] Sometimes, the Indians used these clothes in their burial practices; when a two-year-old grandson of Shikellamy died, his family brought the Sisters a piece of linen and asked them to sew from it a shirt to be buried with the

[81] Ibid.; Mack "Shamokin Diary," November 2, 1747.
[82] Mack, "Shamokin Diary," November 3, 1747.
[83] Ibid., November 23, 1748.
[84] Ibid., November 17, 1747.
[85] Faull, "Moravian Artisans"; Mack, "Shamokin Diary," October 26, 1747.

child.[86] Though Anna Hagen, Martha Powell, and Catharina Schmidt had kept up relations with locals by sewing or providing food for those who asked, none of these sisters spoke Indian languages, and the spiritual connection to Shamokin was neglected until Jeannette returned.[87] Still, the services the women supplied were markedly personal. While forging or repairing weapons has the connotation of a business transaction, sewing burial clothes for a dead loved one was a service that required care and attention to personal detail. These types of thoughtful contributions kept the missionaries in good standing with the local community, despite the failure of the Moravians to convert any Indians in Shamokin. Unsurprisingly, it was through the efforts of Jeannette Mack that the Moravians came closest to a conversion. Though Jeannette was ultimately unsuccessful, the interaction gave the Moravians another dependable friend.

On November 20, Jeannette visited Shikellamy's daughter in law, a Mohican woman married to James Logan, his second oldest son. The woman, whose name is lost to history, was distraught. Her four-year-old daughter, who according to Martin Mack had loved the Moravians, had died suddenly. The little girl's last words had been, "Mother I want to die. Tell the white people who live in Shamokin that I loved them and tell them that I did not steal any turnips from them, they should not think that of me but rather that if I had wanted to eat a turnip then I would have asked for one."[88] The child's words seem strange to modern readers, and the mother must have been equally confused. Haunted by her daughter's last wishes, the woman became interested in the Moravians and their way of life. Able to speak with her in Mohican, Jeannette Mack did her best to comfort the woman, and the two formed a friendship as the Mohican woman grieved over her child.

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[86] Mack, "Shamokin Diary," November 23, 1747.
[87] Ibid., October 26, 1747, November 7, 1747.
[88] Ibid., November 22, 1747.

In the weeks after the child's death, between November 20th and December 30th, 1747, Jeannette and the Mohican woman visited each other thirteen times, far more than any other neighbor. Sometimes the Mohican woman brought her husband; sometimes she and Jeannette discuss Christianity in the woman's native tongue; sometimes she asked for bread or brought a gift of dried cherries.[89] The Brothers wrote the diaries, so only general descriptions of Jeannette and the Mohican woman's conversations have survived, but the frequency of visits points to a strong bond developing between the two. The most striking evidence of Jeannette's impact is when the Mohican woman asks Catharina's Schmidt's husband, the blacksmith Anton, to fashion nails for her daughter's coffin.[90] This is remarkable—by choosing to bury her daughter in the European way, the Mohican woman is effectively choosing a Moravian afterlife for her child. This choice speaks to her trust in Jeannette—presumably her spiritual advisor—and the strength of the ties now solidifying between the Moravians and the Shamokins.

While Jeannette's language skills helped the pair become unusually close, their relationship mirrors a phenomenon that occurred in other Moravian missions in the same era. In Gunlog Für's study of the Delaware women at the Moravian mission at Meniolagomekah, Pennsylvania in the 1750s, she found that when native women interacted with Moravian missionaries, it was typically out of concern for their children. It was customary among the Delaware for dying mothers to give their children to a trusted friend, and there are instances in which dying Delaware women at Meniolagomekah asked the Moravian women to care for their children, specifying that they wanted them brought up in the congregation.[91] Many of these

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[89] Ibid., December 11, 1747, December 7, 1747, November 23, 1747.
[90] Ibid., November 22, 1747.
[91] Gunlog Für, *A Nation of Women: Gender and Colonial Encounters among the Delaware Indians* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), accessed December 1, 2020, ProQuest Ebook Central, 51, 98.

women likely saw the tides turning in favor of the European invaders, and hoped that by entrusting their child to a white family, the child would remain safe. While the Mohican woman was more likely motivated by the perplexing last words of her daughter, the parallel concern for children is noteworthy, as is the role of children in these cross-cultural interactions. It is impossible to prove without a doubt, but this girl may have been the same one beguiled by Jeannette roughly two weeks earlier.[92] Whether or not these two young girls are one in the same, this child's interest in the Moravians indicates that she and her family interacted with the Moravians enough for them to make an impression on her, meaning that the contact between locals and Moravians was substantial. As Shikellamy's granddaughter, she surely would have had this opportunity. This integration, strengthened by these kinds of interactions, set up systems of mutual support.

In the spring of 1748, the Mohican woman was still journeying to the Moravians' encampment, bringing bear meat and venison which she sometimes exchanged for bread. Though by this time Jeannette Mack and a few of the other women had left—perhaps because of mounting tensions that would culminate in the Seven Years' War—the Mohican woman remained impacted by their friendship; it was at this time that she brought the shoes for "Jannische" mentioned at the beginning of this article. This bond between the two had connected the Moravian community with the family of Shikellamy and the surrounding community. By 1753, almost all the women had left, taking the feeling of community with them. Though the Brothers would maintain a Moravian presence there until the Seven Years' War disbanded the

[92] The timeline does match up—the entry on the 20th of November states that the Mohican woman had taken her daughter to the hunt fourteen days ago, meaning that the girl could have been in Shamokin for the November 3rd interaction; Mack, "Shamokin Diary," November 20, 1747.

entire settlement in 1755, the missionaries in later years began to cut their ties from the larger community, refusing to engage in local disputes or venture far outside their fenced-in property.[93] Before long, the community feeling the women had fostered unraveled completely.

While it lasted, the Moravian mission at Shamokin was a place where women of native and European descent used their particular skill sets or resources to build a community of exchange and mutual support. Leading in the effort were the Moravian Sisters, empowered by doctrines that sent them into the field as missionaries and preachers. Welcomed by figures like Madame Montour and Shikellamy's Mohican daughter-in-law, the multi-lingual Jeannette Mack and her fellow Sisters used their talents in language, sewing, and cross-cultural mediation to form relationships that developed into spiritual and sustaining bonds.

Though Zinzendorf's policies made it possible for Moravian women to lead somewhat independent lives, greater independence did not mean equality. Zinzendorf ascribed to some of the notions of womanhood that would be championed during the Second Great Awakening in the early to mid-nineteenth century, believing that women were inherently good, gentle, and childlike. While he praised women for these traits and claimed it made them closer to God, he also maintained that these qualities made them ill-equipped leaders. Furthermore, he discouraged the formal education of women, encouraging instead occupations like nursing that he felt were more suited to their nature.[94] Men still held all of the highest positions in the Moravian church, and even independent female leaders like Anna Nitschmann preached obedience to men.[95]

Some of Zinzendorf's more radical ideas, like female preaching, were rolled back after his death in 1760. His successor, Augustus Gotlieb Spangenberg, discouraged female power in

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[93] Faull, "Moravian Artisans."
[94] Faull, "Introduction," *Moravian Women's Memoirs*, xxviii.
[95] Fogleman, *Jesus is Female,* 96.

the church and refused to ordain women or encourage the veneration of the Virgin Mary and other female divines.[96] By 1762, the General Economy was gone, and with it the sex-segregated houses; though choirs remained for single and widowed men and women, married couples lived with each other and their children.[97] With the end of these measures, Moravian women lost much of the power that may have enabled their successes in Shamokin.

For the native women of Shamokin, the next decade would bring much graver difficulties. After the outbreak of the Seven Years' War, Shamokin became an even more unstable town, plagued by the fighting and eventually overrun by the British soldiers who established Fort Augusta on the land.[98] With their existence upended by the conflict, Indians returned after the war to find that their town had been taken from them. Over the course of the war, European settlers had put down roots in the confluence, making it impossible for the native residents to reclaim their land.[99] For colonists protected by an increasingly powerful colonial

[96] Merritt, "Cultural Encounters along a Gender Frontier," 531.
[97] Faull, "Introduction," *Moravian Women's Memoirs,* xxvi.
[98] Merrell, "Shamokin," 55.
[99] Ibid., 56.

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government, the days of coexistence with native people were over, as was the culture of mutual assistance that had characterized the Moravian mission at Shamokin from 1745 to 1749.

Though the mission ultimately collapsed, and the Moravians failed to convert the Shamokin Indians to Christianity, the bonds formed between Moravian and native women at Shamokin in the early years of the mission created a supportive community in which both sides exchanged goods, friendship, and protection. The work of these native and Moravian women made the mission's existence possible. The linguistic abilities and artisanal skills of the Sisters helped to integrate them into the existing community, but without the protection and hospitality of native women, the Moravians would have been forced to return home. Just as the contributions of these women have been uncovered through a close examination of the Shamokin mission diary, there are many other stories of women in colonial America waiting to be gleaned from primary source material. As more sources are examined by today's scholars, they paint a more complete portrait of American history, one that places the contributions of women like Jeannette Mack, the Mohican woman, and Madame Montour at the forefront, exactly where they belong.