

COMITY AT THE CROSSROADS

HOW FRIENDSHIPS BETWEEN MORAVIAN AND NATIVE WOMEN SUSTAINED THE MORAVIAN MISSION AT SHAMOKIN, 1745–1755

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ABSTRACT: From 1745 to 1755 Moravian missionaries maintained a presence in the Indian town of Shamokin, both pursuing their desire to minister to its inhabitants and fulfilling a request by the Oneida chief Shikellamy to operate a blacksmith shop serving the needs of the Iroquois. Though the exchange of goods and services at the smithy contributed to the civil relations between the Moravians and the Indigenous inhabitants, a close reading of the Shamokin Mission Diary reveals 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 and won them friends. As an examination of the relationships and impact of the women present at Shamokin in this period, this article situates itself within existing research on Moravian missionary activity and gender relations in colonial Pennsylvania.

KEYWORDS: Moravian women, Native women, Shamokin, missionaries, Anna Mack

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, Jannetje] as a sign of her love.”¹ Jannetje had returned to the

doi: 10.5325/pennhistory.89.1.0074

PENNSYLVANIA HISTORY: A JOURNAL OF MID-ATLANTIC STUDIES, VOL. 89, NO. 1, 2022.

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COMITY AT THE CROSSROADS

Moravian base at Bethlehem after a long winter in Shamokin, but Catherina promised to deliver the gift the next time she saw her.

Buried in dozens of mundane 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 Indian and European women had few occasions for contact, a friendship like the one between Jannetje Mack and this Mohican woman was rare and begs to be studied.

First visited by the Moravians in 1742, Shamokin had long been a crossroads of Indigenous and European cultures, languages, and goods. As part of their efforts to spread awareness of their religious beliefs, the Moravians were one of several denominations who sent representatives to preach to the town's inhabitants. Though the Moravians and the inhabitants of Shamokin maintained a peaceful relationship in the period in which the Moravians were visiting or living in the town, the Moravian mission to the Native peoples at Shamokin did not always run smoothly. The first years were uncertain, plagued by hunger, illness, the Indians' hostile attitudes toward whites, and epidemic alcoholism. It was not until 1747, when Shikellamy requested that they build and operate a smithy, that the Moravians were an established presence in the town. Even then, food was scarce for all 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 Brethren worked as partners with the locals, building on relationships made in the early days of the mission and maintained throughout their stay. Though the Moravians ultimately had a small impact in terms of conversions, they succeeded in maintaining a presence and building relationships where others, such as Presbyterian missionary Reverend David Brainerd, had failed. Based on close examination of the Shamokin Mission Diaries, this article argues that the presence of Moravian women in Shamokin mission was crucial to its endurance because of their role in establishing relationships of mutual support.

With the exception of Katherine Faull's research on the interconnected lives of female Moravian missionaries including Jannetje Mack and Catherina Schmidt, most of the previous scholarship on the topic of women in Shamokin centers on more comprehensive descriptions of life there and

broader analysis of the place of Native and Moravian women in society.² While this article 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 this analysis. The lives of Moravian women are better documented than those of Indigenous 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.³ 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 who appear in the Shamokin Mission Diaries to argue that Moravian missionary women were expected to perform a variety of public roles, sewing goods for Indigenous peoples and acting as healers and translators.⁴ 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.⁵ 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. Merritt and Faull both imply that the diminution of female authority that occurred in Moravian communities after Zinzendorf's death in 1760 was a reason for the 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 such as 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

COMITY AT THE CROSSROADS

sweep in a paragraph of his article on the history of Shamokin, asserting that both groups of women played an unusually active role there, working as traders, go-betweens, and healers.⁸ To support this point, Merrell also utilized the Shamokin Mission Diaries consulted in this article. 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 argued that the Moravians failed completely in their efforts to convert Indian residents of Shamokin, this author believes that both their effect and their goals at Shamokin were more nuanced. 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 can be attributed to the efforts of the Native and Moravian women at Shamokin who were able to build a mutually supportive community. While Merrell correctly observed that the Moravians did not leave Shamokin with any new disciples, the missionaries at Shamokin would not have seen this lack of converts as a failure. As Scott Paul Gordon points out in his study of Moravian missionaries on the eighteenth-century Pennsylvania frontier, Moravians operated very differently from other missionaries. They had no interest in converting the masses and were in fact very selective when choosing the pious few permitted to join their congregations.⁹ With this in mind, it is possible to evaluate the "effectiveness" of these female missionaries based on their skill in community and relationship building rather than the by number of converts they drew.

This article investigates the interactions between and contributions of these Native and Moravian women by identifying those present in Shamokin and exploring the nature of their relationships—whether social, religious, or economic. It also examines the ways in which they communicated in order to understand their impact on Shamokin in this period. To do so, it primarily utilizes the translated Shamokin Mission Diaries between 1745 and 1749. In this exploration, we discover that by working as translators, food providers, hostesses, diplomats, and manufacturers of artisan goods, Indigenous and European women in Shamokin formed social and spiritual connections that overcame cultural and linguistic barriers. Though external tensions eventually dissolved both the town and the mission, 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, an 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. After launching an unsuccessful mission in Savannah, Georgia, the Moravians in the New World packed up and removed to Pennsylvania, where the famous Great Awakening preacher George Whitefield had invited them to oversee a schoolhouse he planned to build for Black children. After a dispute between the Moravian preacher Peter Böhler and Whitefield caused the latter to order the Brethren off his land, they purchased 500 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. 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 to 1762.¹³ This unique setup opened up leadership opportunities for Moravian women, altering the nature of gender relations and expectations in Bethlehem and its satellite missionary communities.

COMITY AT THE CROSSROADS

Segregation by gender 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.¹⁴ Anna Nitschmann, a prominent figure in early Bethlehem, turned down several offers of marriage before wedding Count Zinzendorf in a secret ceremony. According to 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.¹⁵ For 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 that became Moravian College.¹⁶ 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.¹⁷ Though female Moravians usually preached to other women, Anna Nitschmann, Jannetje Mack, and others also preached to mixed company.¹⁸ Zinzendorf ordained at least fourteen women as priests during his lifetime.¹⁹ 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 skill of female Moravian preachers and missionaries, who were more likely to connect with Indian women, estimating that Moravians baptized

between 10 and 20 percent of the Pennsylvania Mohicans and Delawares in the mid-1700s.²⁰

Some scholars—such as Aaron Spencer Fogleman—go further in their interpretation of women’s power among the Brethren, suggesting that aspects of their beliefs ascribe female characteristics to Jesus, and that Moravian worship was female-focused. While Fogleman’s claims were 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 appears vaginal.²¹ 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 ministering to the American Indian populations, and it was on this objective that Bethlehem focused most of its time and energy. In 1747 25 percent of Bethlehem’s residents were in the field as missionaries.²² 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.²³ 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 Whitefield brought his wife 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’s wife Sarah, who accompanied him to Stockbridge, Massachusetts, to live among the Mohicans.²⁴ By encouraging the presence of women in their mission towns, Moravians allowed for a different kind of connection between Europeans and Indians.

As evidenced by the Choir House system at Bethlehem, Zinzendorf and his followers believed that spiritual development could be best cultivated among individuals of similar cultures, genders, ages, and life stages who could identify with each other and assist each other through similar spiritual trials. For this reason, it was essential for the Moravians to send women into the field if they hoped to reach Indian women in a meaningful way. In some cases, 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

COMITY AT THE CROSSROADS

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.²⁵ 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 Indigenous 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, conscious of the bad reputation of European Christians among Indians, worked to change that perception, remarking “they [the Indians] are afraid of being European Christians, and I hesitate to be one.” Zinzendorf talked of distancing himself from the disruptive behavior of other European Christians, acknowledging that he must be “extremely prudent, in order to succeed in effecting any good among them.”²⁶ He advocated for a passive form of ministry, asking his missionaries to arrive in Indigenous communities as humbly as possible and simply demonstrate a pious lifestyle, believing that Natives would inevitably be attracted to the Moravian way of life. Faull points out that Zinzendorf’s method of modeling daily life made women essential to the standard practice of Moravian missions, both as demonstrators of day-to-day functions and as spiritual advisors to Indian women.²⁷

It is because of Zinzendorf’s desire to remain nonthreatening that he chose the towns of Shamokin, Ostonwacken, and Skehantowa as mission outposts for the campaign to minister to the Iroquois. Though he was intent on spreading knowledge of his faith to the Iroquois and understood that basing his efforts in their larger towns might be more direct, Zinzendorf realized that a Moravian presence in Iroquois strongholds would be perceived as a threat to Iroquois life and would never be permitted. Instead, he chose to set up three smaller mission outposts among the Indigenous peoples, sites he had handpicked for unspecified “reasons of policy and personal safety.”²⁸ In 1742 he set out to tour these future sites with a party including Martin and Jannetje Mack, the famed interpreter Conrad Weiser, 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.²⁹ 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.³⁰ Zinzendorf had been drawn to Shikellamy when he had first seen him at a meeting with Iroquois sachems at Tulpehocken, commenting to Conrad Weiser that he hoped to make a Moravian convert of the leader.³¹ 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, until such time as we should have mutually learned each other's peculiarities."³² Though Shikellamy and many Indian leaders were likely skeptical of this attitude, it was a welcome change from other more disruptive missionaries like the Presbyterian preacher David Brainerd who expected an assembled audience for his visits to Shamokin and elsewhere. Shikellamy agreed to the proposition and two years later Zinzendorf sent Martin and Jannetje Mack off from Bethlehem, prepared to lead by example and pray that God would bring open hearts 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 did 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 fellows, of any in these parts; and Satan seems to have his seat in this town in an eminent manner."³³ In his autobiography Martin Mack called the town "the very seat of the Prince of Darkness," and remarked that he and Jannetje were in constant danger during their stay.³⁴ 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.³⁵ 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.

Located at the sight of present-day Sunbury, Pennsylvania, Shamokin—or *Shumokenk* in Lenape—was one of the largest Indian towns in eighteenth-century Pennsylvania. Sprawling over the forks of the Susquehanna River, it

COMITY AT THE CROSSROADS

was home to 300 inhabitants spread over both banks and an island in the middle.³⁶ 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.³⁷ 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 nations represented. Many displaced from their original homes by European invaders sought refuge in Shamokin, making the town one of the larger and arguably most influential Indian settlements in eighteenth-century America, and a dynamic center for trade and diplomacy.³⁸

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.”³⁹ Moravian missionary Joseph Powell recorded in January 1748 that the people of Shamokin spoke “so many Languages we find it verry Diffical[t] to l[e]arn anything. Then its rare to hear two Indians talking In one language.”⁴⁰ Brainerd’s estimate was low, and poor Powell was probably not 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.⁴¹ 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

In 1742, when Jannetje and Martin Mack first visited Shamokin with Zinzendorf, the Count recorded in his diary that he noticed Jannetje 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.⁴² Though Zinzendorf could not understand the discussion, he captured an interaction

that foreshadows Jannetje Mack's vital role in the mission Zinzendorf would establish. Her knowledge of Native languages would not only deepen the connections with Indian women that would help integrate the Moravians in Shamokin, but it would also raise the reputation of missionaries, protecting her successors from the justifiable antimissionary and antiwhite sentiment that ran rampant at Shamokin.

Jannetje, or Anna as her husband nicknamed her, was born ca. 1720 to Palatine farmer Johannes Rau and his wife, living near Rhinebeck, New York.⁴³ 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 Anna came into contact with each Indian group frequently enough to become fluent in both languages, as well as in Mohawk.⁴⁴ Her first language 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, Anna and her family became exposed to the Brethren because of their close proximity to the Moravian mission to the Mohicans at Shekomeko. The Raus got along well with the Brethren; Anna's father even welcomed missionary Christian H. Rauch into their home.⁴⁵ She must have impressed the community of missionaries, for when Zinzendorf visited the Shekomeko mission in 1742 he extended her a rare invitation to join the Brethren and accompany his party back to Bethlehem. Once in Bethlehem, she married Martin Mack, one of the Shekomeko missionaries. She became a valuable member of the missionary community, working with her husband in Shamokin in and later helping to establish another mission at Gnadenhütten.⁴⁶

Martin Mack was German, born in Württemberg in 1715.⁴⁷ One of the Brethren who had come to Georgia in 1735, he eventually moved to Pennsylvania where he was then appointed as 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. For example, his 1745 contribution to the Shamokin Mission Diary was written in English, but the accounts written upon his return to Shamokin in 1747 and 1748 are in 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

COMITY AT THE CROSSROADS

translating in 1745.⁴⁸ 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.⁴⁹ Only twice did he venture off without Anna: 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.⁵⁰ Neither of these interactions indicates any meaningful conversations taking place between Martin and the Indians.

In contrast, each of the three times Anna 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 she aimed primarily to provide spiritual guidance, historian James Merrell suggests that she may have also acted as a healer during these visits.⁵¹ She preached to each woman she comforted, and was apparently received with interest, or at least politeness.⁵² While in other cases Martin and Anna 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 Anna and the other women. Coupled with her apparent talent for making personal connections, Anna's ability to convey theology in some of the Native tongues of Shamokin gave her an edge over other missionaries who needed an interpreter. By courteously speaking the various languages at the settlement, Anna established a reputation for herself and her brethren as considerate guests, endearing them to the local community in spite of its well-placed mistrust in Europeans.

Earlier that year, in the spring of 1745, 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 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.⁵³

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—toward him.⁵⁴ 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."⁵⁵

Brainerd's biggest *faux pas* occurred when he tried to force the Delaware to gather in groups 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, Moravian bishop John Ettwein bemoaned the trouble with translators, noting that "the knowledge of 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."⁵⁶ Miscommunication plagued monolingual 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."⁵⁷

Fortunately for Zinzendorf, Martin Mack, and the rest of the Moravians, Anna Mack was fluent in "goose-cackle." The Macks learned from Brainerd's mistakes and used Anna's talents to target small groups, preferring instead a Jehovah's Witness-style approach of knocking on doors or visiting the sick, dropping in on Shamokin residents who were more likely to entertain individualized visits. Finding better reception through their less disruptive

COMITY AT THE CROSSROADS

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.” 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].”⁵⁸

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, “preaching to them, is at present not to be thought of (It being a Suspicious Thing amongst them) till they themselves give us an Opportunity.”⁵⁹ While these methods did not necessarily garner more interest—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. Helped by Anna’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 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 there, 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.⁶⁰ 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.”⁶¹ 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, 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. She told some that she was French by birth but captured by Indians as a child. To others, she claimed to be the daughter of a Frenchman and an Indian woman. Though her parentage and background are 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 1727.⁶² By the time the Macks met her in 1745, Madame Montour was over eighty years old.⁶³ 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 Anna Mack during their stay, and the two interpreters became close. Madame Montour listened with interest as Anna 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.”⁶⁴

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 residents posed. Brainerd had complained that the Indians in Shamokin were “wicked People, being always drunk and never should be got together to hear Sermon.”⁶⁵ 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.”⁶⁶

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, and with most of the other men in Shamokin out on hunting trips, meat was nowhere to be found, and the Montours had very little with which to sustain themselves.⁶⁷ Madame Montour was kind to share her provisions with the Macks, though she often bemoaned having nothing but “Indian Corn” to eat.⁶⁸ Shamokin’s location at the forks of the Susquehanna left the locals

COMITY AT THE CROSSROADS

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.⁶⁹ 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."⁷⁰ Perhaps she was tired of the pious Brethren taking up space and eating her corn.

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 Anna and Martin's attempts to assure everyone that they came only "out of Love to their Souls."⁷¹ The generally friendly relations between whites and Indians that prevailed in William Penn's time 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 in Shamokin in 1745, they understood that because of their dress, skin color, and language, they would be associated with other whites—like Brainerd or the notoriously unruly fur traders—whose conduct tended to inflame tensions and incite conflict. As the pioneers of this mission, 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." The Delaware knew what Neshanokeow, a "Shavano [Shawnee]" from the Indian town of Wyoming had told Anna 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."⁷² Neshanokeow was right. When he came around again in March 1748, at least five more Moravians had arrived in Shamokin, this time to operate the blacksmith shop that Shikellamy demanded in exchange for the Brethren's continued presence in Shamokin. Food was 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.⁷³ They could not deny that his prediction had come true.

Though the pushback Martin and Anna endured was largely 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. 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. 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.⁷⁴

Though not everyone had been so welcoming as Madame Montour, the Macks nonetheless found more success in their 1745 trip than had others such as David Brainerd. Without Anna'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 these visits, when the mission really took shape, 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

Though the friendships formed by the Macks helped some Shamokin residents to see the Moravians as nonthreatening, these first visits did little to form an intentional mission community for converted Natives like

COMITY AT THE CROSSROADS

those established at Gnadenhütten (later Lehigh) or Friedenshütten in Wyalusing. The ever-changing nature of Shamokin made it difficult to make many meaningful inroads, and in 1745 it seemed as if the effort might fail.⁷⁵ When the Moravians returned in 1747 after a period of intermittent occupation, it was only at the behest of Shikellamy, who had 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.⁷⁶ This smithy saved the mission, allowing for a larger Moravian presence in the town, while allowing Shikellamy to keep checks on the power of the European visitors. In the following years, 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 Anna Mack; other women contributed by sewing and providing food for locals who asked, reflecting the changing nature of relationships in Shamokin.

The establishment of the mission post with the smithy brought more missionary couples to Shamokin. Martha Powell, an English woman and former “professional dancer,” joined Anna Hagen, Rachel Post, and Catharina Schmidt in accompanying their husbands to the mission.⁷⁷ A talented linguist and a cousin of Conrad Weiser’s, Catherina, like Anna Mack, had been personally invited to join the Brethren by Zinzendorf. As the wife of the blacksmith Anton Schmidt, she proved a valuable asset at Shamokin.⁷⁸ Anna Mack was back too, acting as a translator once again. Within a day of Anna’s arrival on November 2, a group of Indian women came to visit her at the Moravians’ house, bringing with them a young girl. Fascinated by Anna, the young girl did not take her eyes off the Moravian woman and grinned through the whole encounter. Anna amused her Indian friends by bending down to kiss her young admirer. In the mission Diary, Anna appears 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 Anna, who gave him a crust of bread. Anna led the other Sisters on visits to local Delaware women and chatted with other Native women that visited their settlement.⁷⁹

In Anna’s absence in 1746, the relationship between the Moravians and the Shamokin Natives had become more transactional and less spiritual, and Sisters were expected to contribute to the artisan economy, sewing clothes for Indians who asked.⁸⁰ 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 child.⁸¹ 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 but Catherina spoke Indian languages. Although she was presumably available as a resource for women, it seems that most of the spiritual connection to Shamokin was neglected until Anna Mack returned.⁸²

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 at Shamokin. Unsurprisingly, it was through the efforts of Anna Mack that the Moravians seem to have come closest to a conversion. Though the woman appears not to have officially converted—predictable considering the Brethren’s selectivity—the interaction gave the Moravians another dependable friend.

On November 20 Anna Mack 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.”⁸³ The child’s words seem strange to us now, 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, Anna Mack did her best to comfort the woman, and the two formed a friendship as the Mohican woman grieved over her child.

In the weeks after the child’s death, between November 20 and December 30, 1747, Anna 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 Anna discussed Christianity in the woman’s native tongue; sometimes she asked for bread or brought a gift of dried cherries. As the Brothers wrote the diaries, only general descriptions of the conversations between Anna and this woman have survived, but the frequency of visits points to a strong bond developing between the two. The most striking

COMITY AT THE CROSSROADS

evidence of Anna's impact is when the Mohican woman asks Catharina's Schmidt's husband, the blacksmith Anton, to fashion nails for her daughter's coffin.⁸⁴ This is remarkable—by choosing to bury her daughter in the European way, the Mohican woman is effectively choosing a Moravian after-life for her child. This choice speaks to her trust in Anna—presumably her spiritual advisor—and the strength of the ties now solidifying between the Moravians and the Shamokins.

While Anna Mack'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, near Gnadenhütten, 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.⁸⁵ Many of these 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, but this girl may have been the same one beguiled by Anna roughly two weeks earlier.⁸⁶ 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 that she sometimes exchanged for bread. Though by this time Anna 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 and had probably become close with Catherina Schmidt as well; it was at this time that she brought Catherina the shoes for "Jannische" mentioned at the beginning of this article. Sadly, they would not

meet again; shortly after relocating to the mission at Gnadenhütten in 1749, Anna Mack died in childbirth, perhaps without ever seeing the shoes.⁸⁷ Even so, this bond between the two had connected the Moravian community with the family of Shikellamy and the surrounding community. By 1753 almost all of 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 caused the disbandment of the 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.⁸⁸ Once the Sisters were gone, the men often turned away local women who came to them seeking refuge, assistance, or spiritual guidance.⁸⁹ 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 polyglots Anna Mack and Catherina Schmidt along with their 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. Despite his capability for progressiveness, 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.⁹⁰ Men still held all of the highest positions in the Moravian Church, and even independent female leaders like Anna Nitschmann preached obedience to men.⁹¹

Some of Zinzendorf's more radical ideas, like female preaching, were rolled back after his death in 1760. His successor, Augustus Gottlieb Spangenberg, discouraged female authority in the church and refused to ordain women or encourage the veneration of the Virgin Mary and other female divines.⁹² By 1762 the General Economy was gone and with it the sex-segregated houses;

COMITY AT THE CROSSROADS

though choirs remained for single and widowed men and women, married couples lived with each other and their children.⁹³ With the end of these measures, Moravian women lost much of the agency that may have enabled their successes in Shamokin and other mission outposts.

For the people 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 nearby. 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 Indigenous residents to reclaim their land.⁹⁴ For colonists protected by an increasingly powerful colonial government, the days of coexistence with the Indian peoples were over, as was the culture of mutual assistance that had characterized the Moravian mission at Shamokin from 1745 to 1753.

Though the mission ultimately collapsed, the bonds formed between Moravian and Indian 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 two groups of 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 Indian 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 Diaries, 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 colonial history, one that places the contributions of women like Anna Mack, Catherina Schmidt, the Mohican woman, and Madame Montour at the forefront, exactly where they belong.

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NOTES

Note: This essay is by the 2021 winner of the Pennsylvania Historical Association's William A. Pencak Award, Lindsay Richwine of Gettysburg College, a senior there when she wrote this paper. She was nominated by her history professor, Timothy Shannon. The 2021 Pencak Review Panel felt it merited the award as Ms. Richwine's argument that relationships between Native and white women at the Moravian mission at Shamokin played a vital role in helping the town survive is a sound one, and a great topic for study. The Pencak Award carries a cash prize and recognition in this journal. We wish Ms. Richwine all the best in her future endeavors.

1. The author has 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 northern 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, NY: Cornell University Press, 2011), 1, 8; Martin Mack, diary entry, May 3, 1748, trans. Katie Faull, *Shamokin Diaries, 1745–1755: The Moravian Mission to the Iroquois*, <http://shamokindiary.blogs.bucknell.edu/texts/the-english-text/macks-short-report-of-the-heidenpas-in-shamokin-april-18-1748-june-19-1748/>. The author has used this digitized translation done by Katherine Faull and Bucknell University to access the text of the Shamokin Mission Diary. The original diary is housed at the Moravian Archives in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania.
2. Reference here is to Katherine Faull's recent article in which she discusses the importance of women in Moravian missions while highlighting the lives of Jannetje Mack, Catharina Schmidt, Margaret Powell, and Anna Margarethe Jungmann. Faull, "Women, Migration, and Moravian Mission: Negotiating Pennsylvania's Colonial Landscapes," in *Babel of the Atlantic*, ed. Bethany Wiggin (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2019), 101–27.
3. Elma E. Gray, *Wilderness Christians: The Moravian Mission to the Delaware Indians* (1956; New York: Russell and Russell, 1973), 29.
4. 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/>.
5. Faull, "Introduction," in *Moravian Women's Memoirs: Their Related Lives, 1750–1820* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1997), xl.
6. Jane T. Merritt, "Cultural Encounters Along a Gender Frontier: Mahican, Delaware, and German Women in Eighteenth-Century Pennsylvania,"

COMITY AT THE CROSSROADS

- Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies* 67, no. 4 (2000): 502–31; Faull, “Introduction,” xxviii–xxxii.
7. Faull, “Hidden Work of Moravian Wives”; Merritt, “Dreaming of the Savior’s Blood: Moravians and the Indian Great Awakening in Pennsylvania,” *William and Mary Quarterly* 54, no. 4 (1997): 723–46; Allison Duncan Hirsch, “‘The Celebrated Madame Montour’: Interpreter 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: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 27.
 9. Scott Paul Gordon, “Fishing for a Few: Moravians on the Eighteenth-Century Pennsylvania Frontier,” *Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies* 88, no. 3 (2021): 319, 336–37.
 10. Faull, “Introduction,” xvii–xxi, xxv–xxvi. The following description of the history of the Moravians is adapted from Faull.
 11. Gray, *Wilderness Christians*, 26; John W. Jordan, “Scraps of ‘Bucks’ before 1750,” *Bucks County Historical Society Papers*, I (n.d.): 538–39, quoted in Gray, *Wilderness Christians*, 25.
 12. Faull, “Introduction,” xxvi.
 13. Gray, *Wilderness Christians*, 26, 27.
 14. Faull, “Introduction,” xxvii.
 15. 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).
 16. Ibid.
 17. 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* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1986).
 18. Aaron Spencer Fogleman, *Jesus Is Female: Moravians and Radical Religion in Early America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 97–98.
 19. Faull, “Introduction,” xxix.
 20. Merritt, “Cultural Encounters along a Gender Frontier,” 727, 727n.

21. See Fogleman, *Jesus Is Female*.
22. Gray, *Wilderness Christians*, 26.
23. Katherine Faull and Jeannette Norfleet, "The Married Choir Instructions (1785)," *Journal of Moravian History* 10, Special Issue: Moravians and Sexuality (Spring 2011): 72.
24. Natalie Zemon Davis, *Women on the Margins: Three Seventeenth-Century Lives* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997), 63; George M. Marsden, *Jonathan Edwards: A Life* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2003), 394.
25. Kenneth Gardiner Hamilton, "John Ettwein and the Moravian Church during the Revolutionary Period," *Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society* 12, nos. 3/4 (1940): 189, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41179290> (accessed October 29, 2020).
26. 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): 84.
27. Faull, "Women, Migration, and Moravian Mission," 104–6.
28. Zinzendorf, "Extracts from Zinzendorf's Diary," 84.
29. 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 and Co., 1870), 83n.
30. Faull, "Recovering Anna Nitschmann"; James H. Merrell, *Into the American Woods: Negotiators on the Pennsylvania Frontier* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1999), 54.
31. Merritt, "Dreaming of the Savior's Blood," 727–28.
32. Zinzendorf, "Zinzendorf's Narrative of a Journey from Bethlehem to Shamokin," 64–68.
33. David Brainerd, *Memoirs of Reverend David Brainerd, Missionary to the Indians of North America*, ed. J. M. Sherwood (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1891), 180.
34. Zinzendorf, "Zinzendorf's Narrative of a Journey from Bethlehem to Shamokin," 66n.
35. Merrell, "Shamokin," 19–20.
36. Brainerd, *Memoirs of Reverend David Brainerd*, 180.
37. Dawn G. Marsh, *A Lenape Among the Quakers: The Life of Hannah Freeman* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2014), 108.
38. David J. Minderhout, "Native Americans in Shamokin c. 1748," in *Shamokin Diaries*, <http://shamokindiary.blogs.bucknell.edu/contextual-materials/native-americans-in-shamokin-c-1748-by-david-minderhout-ph-d/> (accessed September 8, 2020).
39. Brainerd, *Memoirs of Reverend David Brainerd*, 180.

COMITY AT THE CROSSROADS

40. Joseph Powell, diary entry, January 4, 1748, "Joseph Powell's Diary January 4, 1748–April 18, 1748," *Shamokin Diaries*, <http://shamokindiary.blogs.bucknell.edu/texts/the-english-text/joseph-powells-diary/>.
41. A. G. Spangenberg, "Spangenberg's Notes of Travel to Onondaga in 1745," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 2, no. 4 (1878): 428; Powell, diary entries, January 4, 1748–April 18, 1748.
42. Zinzendorf, "Zinzendorf's Narrative of a Journey from Bethlehem to Shamokin," 86.
43. Writing in the Shamokin Mission Diary during their stays in 1745 and 1748, Martin Mack refers to Jannetje as Anna or Annerl. Zinzendorf's diary and Martin Mack's later memoirs refer to her as Jeannette, as does a register of Moravian church members. Katherine Faull, who has worked extensively with the Shamokin Mission Diary, alternately refers to her as Jannetje, Johanna, or Anna. When recording Catherina Schmidt's interacting with the Mohican woman they befriended, Martin Mack records her name as Janische, which is probably his phonetic spelling of Jannetje. The author's guess is that her birth name was probably Jannetje, which was later changed to Jeannette or Johanna by English and German speakers. She has chosen to call her both by her likely birth name as well as by "Anna," the nickname Mack used for her. 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.
44. Reichel, *Memorials of the Moravian Church*, 101n.
45. *Ibid.*, 100n, 101n, 56n.
46. Reichel, *Memorials of the Moravian Church*, 56; Faull, "Women, Migration, and Moravian Mission," 112.
47. Reincke and Reichel, "A Register of Members of the Moravian Church," 357; Reichel, *Memorials of the Moravian Church*, 100.
48. 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://archive.org/details/bishopjcfcammerhoocamm/mode/2up>, 174.
49. Merrell, *Into the American Woods*, 54.
50. Mack, diary entries, September 21 and 28, and October 16, 1745.
51. Merrell, "Shamokin," 28.
52. Mack, diary entries, October 15, 17, and 23, 1745.
53. Spangenberg, "Notes of Travel to Onandoga," 428.
54. Brainerd, *Memoirs of Reverend David Brainerd*, 180.

55. Mack, diary entry, October 24, 1745; Brainerd, *Memoirs of Reverend David Brainerd*, 180.
56. Hamilton, "John Ettwein and the Moravian Church," 195.
57. Zinzendorf, "Zinzendorf's Narrative of a Journey from Bethlehem to Shamokin," 83.
58. Mack, diary entries, October 24 and November 3, 1745.
59. *Ibid.*, November 3, 1745.
60. Merrell, *Into the American Woods*, 54.
61. Mack, diary entries, September 16 and 26, 1745.
62. Hirsch, "The Celebrated Madame Montour," 81–82, 85, 97. For more information about Madame Montour's shadowy and illustrious life, see Hirsch's full article that puzzles out some of the confusing details.
63. Faull, "Women, Migration, and Moravian Mission," 113.
64. Mack, diary entry, September 17, 1745.
65. *Ibid.*, October 25, 1745.
66. Joseph Hagen, diary entry, June 16, 1747, "Brother Hagen's Diary 26 May 1747–26 June 1747," *Shamokin Diaries*, <http://shamokindiary.blogs.bucknell.edu/texts/the-english-text/brother-hagens-diary-26-may-1747-27-june-1747/>.
67. Bucknell Environmental Center, "Interview with Katherine Faull," unknown interviewer, *Sunbury: A History*, Bucknell University, https://www.departments.bucknell.edu/environmental_center/sunbury/website/KatherineFaullInterview.shtml.
68. Mack, diary entry, October 17, 1745.
69. Merrell, "Shamokin," 28.
70. Mack, diary entry, October 16, 1745.
71. *Ibid.*, November 3, 1745.
72. *Ibid.*, September 8 and October 31, 1745.
73. Powell, diary entry, March 6[?], 1748.
74. Mack, diary entries, November 3 and 4, 1745.
75. Bucknell Environmental Center, "Interview with Katherine Faull."
76. Faull, "Moravian Artisans and Their Wives in the Colonial Pennsylvania Backcountry," *Shamokin Diaries, 1745–1755*, <http://shamokindiary.blogs.bucknell.edu/moravian-artisans-and-their-wives-in-the-colonial-pennsylvanian-backcountry-katherine-faull-bucknell-university/> (accessed November 12, 2020).
77. *Ibid.*; Faull, "Women, Migration, and Moravian Mission," 115–16; Mack diary entry, November 2, 1747.
78. Faull, "Women, Migration, and Moravian Mission," 114.
79. Mack, diary entries, November 3 and 17, 1747, and November 23, 1748.
80. Faull, "Moravian Artisans"; Mack, diary entry, October 26, 1747.
81. Mack, diary entry, November 23, 1747.
82. *Ibid.*, October 26 and November 7, 1747; Faull, "Women, Migration, and Moravian Mission," 115.

COMITY AT THE CROSSROADS

83. Mack, diary entry, November 22, 1747.
84. Ibid., November 22 and 23 and December 7 and 11, 1747.
85. Gunlog Für, *A Nation of Women: Gender and Colonial Encounters among the Delaware Indians* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), 51, 98, ProQuest Ebook Central (accessed December 1, 2020).
86. The timeline does match up: the entry on November 20 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 3 interaction; Mack, diary entry, November 20, 1747.
87. Faull, "Women, Migration, and Moravian Mission," 114.
88. Faull, "Moravian Artisans."
89. Faull, "Women, Migration, and Moravian Mission," 115.
90. Faull, "Introduction," xxviii.
91. Fogleman, *Jesus Is Female*, 96.
92. Merritt, "Cultural Encounters along a Gender Frontier," 531.
93. Faull, "Introduction," xxvi.
94. Merrell, "Shamokin," 55, 56.