

# Cultural Encounters along a Gender Frontier: Mahican, Delaware, and German Women in Eighteenth-Century Pennsylvania

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Within the past decade, much early American scholarship has concentrated on the many frontiers of seventeenth and eighteenth century North America. Historians and anthropologists have probed the various ways race, ethnicity, and cultural differences shaped interactions between Native Americans and Europeans along these frontiers. It is clear that Indians, faced with an increasingly dominant white presence by the eighteenth century, redefined their ethnic identities through both resistance and accommodation in order to survive. Native peoples had already experienced tremendous changes, whether fueled by European contact or internal cultural development. Unknown diseases had taken their toll on populations and new technologies had introduced different patterns of hunting and daily living. The social dynamics within Indian communities also shifted as Native Americans debated new religious traditions and spiritual expression, kinship and gender roles, and their increasing participation in the cross-Atlantic market economy. White colonization and settlement simply provided another precarious element to what James Merrell has called "The Indians' New World."<sup>1</sup>

Few, however, have tackled the different ways that Indian men and women reacted to this rapidly changing world, exploring what Kathleen Brown has called "gender frontiers" and their effects on encounters between Indians and whites.<sup>2</sup> Most historians agree that native women were

1. James H. Merrell, *The Indians' New World: Catawbas and Their Neighbors from European Contact through the Era of Removal* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1989) first suggested that Indians, too, had to adjust to a "new world" now peopled with Europeans. Gregory Evans Dowd, *A Spirited Resistance: the North American Indian Struggle for Unity, 1745-1815* (Baltimore and London, 1992); Daniel K Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: the Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1992); Daniel H. Usner, Jr., *Indians, Settlers, & Slaves in a Frontier Exchange Economy: the Lower Mississippi Valley before 1783* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1992); Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815* (New York, 1991); Andrew R.L. Cayton and Fredrika J. Teute, eds., *Contact Points: American Frontiers from the Mohawk Valley to the Mississippi, 1750-1830* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1998).

2. Kathleen Brown, "Brave New Worlds: Women's and Gender History," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 50 (April 1993), 316-321.

intricately involved in and essential to the creation of diplomatic, economic, and social alliances between Native Americans and newly arrived Europeans in North America. They rely particularly on the evidence of white men, who recorded their observations about native gender systems. Jesuit priests, fur traders, and military leaders have all given us insight into the role of native women in their communities and as brokers between cultures. Although they often described Indian women as "drudges" or "squaws"—less than the European ideal of femaleness—these men acknowledged women's capacity as translators, guides, and negotiators, helping to create political and economic alliances between Indians and whites.<sup>3</sup> These sources are limited, however, and tend to describe Indian women as facilitators for male colonizers or as silent inhabitants of Indian communities. Thus, two different views of female reactions to Euro-Americans have emerged in the literature. Historians depict Indian women as either innovators, even cultural traitors, on the forefront of accommodation to European practices, or as traditionalists who adamantly resisted acculturation.<sup>4</sup> Neither portrait, however, accurately captures the process of negotiating cultural change.

Pennsylvania provides a prime example of the range of responses native women used during frontier encounters. Before 1755, a myriad of immigrants established new lives in regions north and west of Philadelphia. Germans, Scots-Irish, Delawares, Mahicans, English, French Huguenots, Shawnees, Swedes, and Tutelos created communities that sometimes overlapped and sometimes remained separate, but invariably, they had to negotiate interdependent social, economic, and political relations.<sup>5</sup> The peaceful policies of William Penn promoted tolerance, thus diplomacy, mediation, and compromise were far more important tools than violence to settle conflict. Women, especially, played an important role in

3. Jennifer S.H. Brown, *Strangers in Blood: Fur Trade Company Families in Indian Country* (Vancouver, 1980); Sylvia Van Kirk, *Many Tender Ties: Women in Fur-Trade Society, 1670-1870* (Norman, OK., 1983).

4. For the latter argument, see Mona Etienne and Eleanor Leacock, eds., *Women and Colonization, Anthropological Perspectives* (New York, 1980); Karen Anderson, "Chain Her by One Foot: The Subjugation of Women in Seventeenth-Century New France" (London and New York, 1991); Carol Devens, *Countering Colonization: Native American Women and Great Lake Missions, 1630-1900* (Berkeley, CA, 1992). Patrick Frazier, *The Mohicans of Stockbridge* (Lincoln, Neb., 1992) implies that men led the resistance to Christian missionizing because they saw Euro-American "civilization as effeminate." (29)

5. Thomas J. Sugrue, "The Peopling and Depeopling of Early Pennsylvania: Indians and Colonists, 1680-1720," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 116 (January 1992), 26-27.

creating a complex web of frontier relations. By the eighteenth century, as white communities crept slowly into the peripheries of Indian settlements and hunting grounds, Native American women in eastern Pennsylvania formed new relationships that helped bridge the gap between cultures. Delaware and Mahican women interacted with German Moravian missionaries, in particular, who introduced new religious, social, and economic practices that potentially undermined customary patterns of behavior. On many levels "traditional" Native American culture was by necessity flexible and Indian women, as they made day to day decisions about household organization, production, and consumption, had to exercise an "adaptive capacity" to survive.<sup>6</sup> Yet, when urged to accept Christianity and the patriarchal socio-economic structures it represented, Native Americans neither simply resisted or accommodated changes. Native women found ways to adapt white habits without entirely giving up or letting go of a familiar world view. They interpreted new practices through the lens of native family traditions.

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By the late seventeenth century, the Forks of the Delaware, recently abandoned by Susquehannock Indians, attracted many migrant groups, both Indian and white. Since its location provided access to major waterways, including the Delaware, Lehigh, and Susquehanna Rivers, many Indian peoples came to the region to hunt, trade, or take refuge.<sup>7</sup> Delaware Indians, in particular, displaced by Euro-American settlement in New Jersey, became one of the earliest and largest groups of migrants into the Forks of the Delaware by the turn of the eighteenth century. They sought to maintain their autonomy from the Six Nations whom they and the Susquehannocks had fought against fifty years earlier.<sup>8</sup> The various cultural groups who came to be known as Delawares had long inhabited the Delaware River Valley, although their myths spoke of ancestors who had migrated from a country "beyond the Father of Waters, and near the wide

6. Kathleen Brown, "The Anglo-Algonquian Gender Frontier," in Nancy Shoemaker, ed., *Negotiators of Change: Historical Perspectives on Native American Women* (New York, 1995), 30.

7. Barry C. Kent, *Susquehanna's Indians*, Anthropological Series no. 6 (Harrisburg, Pa., 1984), 8 and 22; Francis Jennings, "Susquehannock" in William C. Sturtevant, gen. ed., *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. 15, Bruce G. Trigger, ed., *Northeast* (Washington, DC, 1978), 364-365.

8. Francis Jennings, "Pennsylvania Indians and the Iroquois," in Daniel K. Richter and James H. Merrell, eds., *Beyond the Covenant Chain: the Iroquois and Their Neighbors in Indian North America, 1600-1800* (Syracuse, NY, 1987), 77.

sea in which the sun sank.”<sup>9</sup> By the seventeenth century, these Delaware River natives incorporated three language groups. The Lenni Lenape, whose name translates as “a male of our kind” or the “real people,” lived on the western shores of the lower Delaware River, where Philadelphia was eventually built. The Unalachtigos (or Northern Unamis) inhabited the eastern bank of the Delaware in central New Jersey, while the Munsees lived further north at the Delaware Water Gap.<sup>10</sup> Whatever their linguistic or self-designated clan differences, these native peoples shared similar family and community structures, living in long houses or a “dome-shaped, bark-covered hut, generally referred to by the Algonquian word wigwam.”<sup>11</sup> They lived in matri-lineal kinship groupings, where clan descent was passed on through the women, although men held political power and status.<sup>12</sup> By the 1720s, a group of Unalachtigos had settled in several small towns along the Delaware River and at the Lehigh Water Gap, all connected by Indian paths, but, more importantly, by a road-like web of kin relations that bound their communities together.<sup>13</sup> One of the more prominent Delaware families, led by chief Nutimus and his nephew, Teedyuscung, settled at the edges of the Blue Mountains on land which would be known later as Nazareth, Bethlehem, and Lehigh.

Not surprisingly, the same region that drew Delawares became a magnet for white settlers as well. Quaker William Penn, granted proprietorship of the area in 1681, envisioned Pennsylvania as a “holy experiment” where religious tolerance and political and legal policies assured individual

9. (quote) Alfred Mathews and Austin N. Hungerford, *History of the Counties of Lehigh and Carbon, in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1884), 1; “Questions put to Heckewelder,” box 1, folder 27, John Heckewelder Papers, 1755-1822, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. (hereafter cited as HSP); John Heckewelder, *History, Manners, and Customs of the Indian Nations who once Inhabited Pennsylvania and the Neighbouring States*, new and revised ed., introduction and notes by William C. Reichel (Philadelphia, 1876) [Heritage Books, Inc., facsimile Reprint, Bowie, MD, 1990], 47.

10. Kent, *Susquehanna's Indians*, 91; Frank G. Speck, *A Study of the Delaware Indian Big House Ceremony* (Harrisburg, Pa., 1931), 14. Ives Goddard, “Delaware,” in William C. Sturtevant, gen. ed., *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. 15, Bruce G. Trigger, ed., *Northeast* (Washington, DC, 1978), 214 and 225. These are the terms which Munsees used for Delaware River peoples. Eighteenth century Englishmen sometimes distinguished the three groups as Delawares, Forks Indians, and Munsees.

11. Kent, *Susquehanna's Indians*, 94.

12. Marshall J. Becker, “Cultural Diversity in the Lower Delaware River Valley, 1550-1750: An Ethnohistorical Perspective,” in Jay F. Custer, ed., *Late Woodland Cultures of the Middle Atlantic Region* (Newark, N.J., 1986), 94. Anthony F.C. Wallace, *King of the Delawares: Teedyuscung, 1700-1763* (Syracuse, NY, 1990, orig., 1949), 8-9.

13. Barry C. Kent, Janet Rice, and Kakuko Ota, “A Map of 18th Century Indian Towns in Pennsylvania,” *Pennsylvania Archaeologist*, 51 (1981), 8-11 and map.

liberties for anyone living there.<sup>14</sup> To fulfill his dream, Penn wanted to control all aspects of land distribution, migration, settlement, and economic exchange for both Indians and whites. Various Euro-American groups came to the Forks of the Delaware with Penn's encouragement. By 1728, Scots-Irish had established Craig's Settlement and Hunter Settlement very close to the already existing Delaware towns of Clistowackin and Hockendauqua, where the Indians cultivated orchards of apple and pear trees.<sup>15</sup>

More important to this story, German Moravians, relative late-comers to the Forks of the Delaware, also settled along the Lehigh River. The Moravians, or United Brethren as they often called themselves, were a Protestant pietist sect who immigrated from the German province of Saxony in 1740 to settle first at Nazareth, on a tract owned by evangelical minister George Whitefield. In 1741, after a falling out with Whitefield, the majority moved to a permanent site at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania.<sup>16</sup> Besides forming their own religious community free from persecution they had experienced in central Europe, the Moravians hoped to proselytize Indians in the region. Count Nicholas Ludwig von Zinzendorf, the Moravians' spiritual and secular leader, believed North American Indians to be part "Scythians, and partly Jews of the 10 lost Tribes," and thus a part of God's chosen people.<sup>17</sup> In an attempt to reincorporate them back into the Christian world, the Moravians established several mission communities at the Forks: Gnadenhütten for Christian Mahicans newly arrived from New York and Delawares, and Meniolagomekah, an existing Delaware town to which missionaries were invited by the inhabitants.

Some historians have suggested that Native Americans turned to Christianity as a desperate reaction to a world in crisis. Because epidemic diseases had reduced their numbers and white settlements crowded their customary hunting grounds and villages, Indians supposedly abandoned traditional religious practices and turned to alcohol or excessive commer-

14. Gary B. Nash, *Quakers and Politics: Pennsylvania, 1681-1726*, new edition (Boston, 1993), 4, 47.

15. Clyde, *Scotch-Irish of Northampton County*, 13; Mathews and Hungerford, *History of the Counties of Lehigh and Carbon*, 4 and 6; Maps: "The Forks of the Delaware in Pennsylvania an English Province in America under the Penn Proprietaries, 1681-1783," compiled by A.D. Chidsey, Jr., Northampton County Historical and Genealogical Society, 1938.

16. July 16/27, 1746, "Register of Inhabitants of Nazareth," [extracts from Nazareth Diary translated to English], Church and Meeting Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA (hereafter cited as HSP); Vernon H. Nelson, trans., "Peter Boehler's Reminiscences of the Beginnings of Nazareth and Bethlehem," *Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society* 27 (1992), 2-3.

17. William C. Reichel, *Memorials of the Moravian Church*, vol. I (Philadelphia, 1870), 18-19.

cial game hunting, leaving a spiritual void that Christianity might fill.<sup>18</sup> In reality, however, Indians had far more complex motives for adopting Christianity and Christianity had a variety of effects on their religious identity. For some Indians, Christianity provided a political tool for survival. For others, it could be a new means to express faith in supernatural beings or even to rejuvenate traditional practices. At the Forks of the Delaware, religion sometimes served both purposes.<sup>19</sup>

Although they probably understood the political needs of Delawares, Moravians hoped Indians would also experience a heartfelt longing for connection to Christ through baptism. To reach this goal, they attempted to create more personal social attachments with their potential converts. By living among the Indians they could share in both their physical and spiritual well-being. To this end, most of the missionaries learned native languages, into which they translated hymns, scripture, and prayers. From these translations they taught German to baptized Indians, who could then preach the Moravians' message to their own communities.<sup>20</sup> The missionaries, usually married men and women, moved to Indian towns where they took part in the daily social and economic life of the inhabitants. Presbyterian David McClure observed of a western Pennsylvania mission town, that

The Moravians appear to have adopted the best mode of Christianizing the Indians. They go among them without noise or parade, & by their friendly behavior conciliate their good will. They join them in the chace, & freely distribute to the helpless & gradually instill into the minds of individuals, the principles of religion.<sup>21</sup>

The Moravians divided their own religious community into a "choir" system, holding separate worship services for women and men. Thus Ger-

18. Calvin Martin, *Keepers of the Game: Indian-Animal Relationships and the Fur Trade* (Berkeley, 1978), 58, 113; Frazier, *The Mohicans of Stockbridge*, 240-42.

19. Jane T. Merritt, "Dreaming of the Savior's Blood: Moravians and the Indian Great Awakening in Pennsylvania," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d Series, 54, no. 4 (October 1997), 723-746, explores these religious trends in more detail.

20. No date, English version, *Records of the Moravian Mission Among the Indians of North America*, ed. Carl John Fliegel (microfilm), 40 reels (New Haven, [1978?]), reel 24, box 315, folder 3, item 7, from original materials at the Archives of the Moravian Church, Bethlehem, Pa. (hereafter cited as *Moravian Records*); Heckewelder, *History, Manners, and Customs*, xvii; Johann Jacob Schmick (1714-78), "Miscellanea linguae nationis Indicae Mahikan dicta cura suscepta," no date [circa 1760], 2 vols., American Philosophical Society Library, Philadelphia, Pa., (hereafter cited as APS).

21. Quoted in Earl P. Olmstead, *Blackcoats Among the Delaware, David Zeisberger on the Ohio Frontier* (Kent, Ohio, 1991), 36.

man women were given a fair amount of spiritual authority, trained as lay ministers, and worked closely with their native counterparts in mission communities. Indeed, having Moravian women work in native communities proved to be one of the most successful strategies of any early Protestant missionary effort in the northeast. Between 1742 and 1764, the Moravians baptized at least 282 Delaware and Mahican women and girls, while many more expressed interest in Christianity. During the same period 229 men and boys were baptized.<sup>22</sup>

Moravian success in baptizing Indian women counters recent scholarship that describes native women as traditionalists who held out against Christianization and its patriarchal structure. Some historians assert that most women became marginalized by the introduction of Christianity and the growing importance of men's roles in the fur trade. Thus Indian women actively or passively resisted missionary activity, since the latter supposedly threatened their traditional community authority. However, in Moravian mission towns, Indian women's status was not necessarily diminished or threatened. Instead, Christianity and Moravian religious practices in particular could become a source of power which enhanced native women's spiritual authority.<sup>23</sup>

Spiritual leadership was not an unusual role for Indian women. Besides being the spiritual centers of their households, passing on gods, totems, and traditions to their daughters, Delaware and Mahican women in the northeast assisted shamans or powwows and as herbalists or physicians they performed healing rituals themselves.<sup>24</sup> As Natalie Zemon Davis recently suggested about seventeenth-century Iroquois women, some eighteenth-century Algonquians used Christianity "to find a voice beyond that of a Shaman's silent assistant." When Delaware and Mahican women encountered the new cultural choices of Moravian communities in the eighteenth century, they, too, found ways of asserting themselves through

22. 1749 and 1750, in particular, witnessed the greatest religious activity, especially among the women, with 66 and 21 females baptized respectively. Compare this with David Brainerd, who had only baptized 47 Indians (23 adults and 24 children) by 1745. (Nov. 4, 1745, David Brainerd's Journal, 1745, APS). Ethnohistorians estimate the 18th-century Native American population at 500 Mahicans in 1700 and about 3,200 Delawares (Unami and Munsee) in 1779, see William C. Sturtevant, gen. ed., *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. 15, Bruce G. Trigger, ed., *Northeast* (Washington, DC, 1978), 206 and 214. I estimate that somewhere between 10% and 20% of the Delaware and Mahican population in Pennsylvania were baptized by the Moravians during the mid-18th century.

23. Carol Devens, *Countering Colonization*, 4, 13. See also Anderson, *Chain Her by One Foot*.

24. Robert Steven Grumet, "Sunksquaws, Shamans, and Tradeswomen," in Mona Etienne and Eleanor Leacock, eds., *Women and Colonization, Anthropological Perspectives* (New York, 1980), 53-54.

"Christian forms and phrases," while still framing their spirituality within familiar native contexts.<sup>25</sup> Some baptized Delaware and Mahican women became elders (Arbeiter Schwestern) in native congregations, a role similar to that of a lay minister. Already a forceful social presence within matri-lineal kinship groups, they preached to unconverted neighbors, blessed newly baptized children, and listened to and translated other native women's professions of faith.<sup>26</sup> Christianity could also give native women new authority as spiritual advisors, even over men. In February 1745, the Moravian missionaries found Esther, a Mahican woman, deep in conversation with an unconverted man. After much debate over the nature of Jesus about whom "he had examined her closely," Esther was confident that he might choose to be baptized.<sup>27</sup>

Perhaps one of the primary reasons that Esther and other Indian women found some spiritual authority in the Christian teachings of the Moravian church were its theological underpinnings and use of female imagery. Within the choir system, single sisters, for instance, lived and worked separately. They took communion together and spoke of themselves, Christ, the Virgin Mary, and the Holy Ghost in ways that celebrated femaleness. They likened themselves to brides of Christ, their "eternal husband." Yet, they also identified with the virginal state of his mother, Mary, and her creative powers in giving birth to Christ. Finally, perhaps most important to this female piety, "was the characterization of the Holy Spirit as Mother."<sup>28</sup> All these representations gave women avenues to express their personal piety and gave Mahican and Delaware women a powerful religious language to express theirs.

25. Natalie Zemon Davis, "Iroquois Women, European Women," in Margo Hendricks and Patricia Parker, eds., *Women, "Race," and Writing in the Early Modern Period* (London, 1994), 254. Indeed, Davis describes the changes in Iroquois and Huron women's lives in the seventeenth century as a "Renaissance" "in regard to voice." (257) See also Nancy Shoemaker, "Kateri Tekakwitha's Tortuous Path to Sainthood," in Nancy Shoemaker, ed., *Negotiators of Change: Historical Perspectives on Native American Women* (New York, 1995), 49-71, which explores ways that Indian women embraced and adapted Catholicism.

26. Dec. 6/17, 1750, *Moravian Records*, reel 5, box 117, folder 1.

27. Feb. 27, 1745, reel 1, *Diarium von Bethlehem*, microfilm, Van Pelt Library, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.

28. Beverly P. Smaby, "Female Piety Among Eighteenth Century Moravians," in *Empire, Society and Labor: Essays in Honor of Richard S. Dunn*, eds. Nicholas Canny, Joseph E. Illick, Gary B. Nash, and William Pencak, *Pennsylvania History*, 64 (Summer 1997), 154. See also Amy C. Schutt, "Forging Identities: Native Americans and Moravian Missionaries in Pennsylvania and Ohio, 1765-1782," (Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 1995), 50.



Besides female imagery, the Moravians' theological focus on the wounds of Christ—the side wound and the blood that flowed from the body—was particularly powerful to Native Americans in Pennsylvania. The power inherent in the body and blood of Christ seemed to be the most attractive aspect of the Moravian faith for Indians. But the images and rhetoric of blood had very different meanings for women and men. For men, the imagery of a bleeding Christ may have evoked certain connections to the powers of hunters and warriors. Christian Indians at their hunting lodges in the fall often talked, prayed, and sang verses about and to the Lamb of God—calling on Christ as they might a deer or bear spirit to help them in the hunt.<sup>29</sup> The Lamb of God, or the crucified Christ, was also a warrior who stoically withstood torture when captured. One young Nanticoke, while visiting Bethlehem in March 1753, was awed and impressed by pictures of the crucifixion, and exclaimed to another Indian: “do but look, how many wounds he has, how much blood flows forth! I have also heard lately from ye Brethren, yt he was very sick, & prayed, & then sweat very much; yt his sweat ran like blood from his body.”<sup>30</sup> Stoicism under torture was thought to be the height of bravery. This could easily place Christ into a familiar context of Indian warrior culture.

For women, blood also had physical implications. But when their bodies bled every month, native women did not simply come into contact with a potentially powerful being, they became powerful beings. Menstruating women were thought to embody this force and were therefore isolated from their families and forbidden to prepare food or take part in community ceremonies. Native men avoided coming into contact with menstruating women for fear their potent energy might damage their own power.<sup>31</sup> The religious testimonies of Delaware and Mahican women

29. Nov. 24, 1752, *Moravian Records*, reel 5, box 117, folder 3; Jan. 26, 1754, *ibid.*, box 118, folder 1; Goddard, “Delaware”, 220.

30. Mar. 20, 1753, English version, *Moravian Records*, reel 40, box 3500, folder 16. See also Daniel K. Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization* (Chapel Hill, 1992), 36; Anthony F. C. Wallace, with Sheila C. Steen, *The Death and Rebirth of the Seneca* (New York, 1970), 30–33, 44–45.

31. Milo Milton Quaife, ed. *The Western Country in the 17th century, The memoirs of Lamothe Cadillac and Pierre Liette* (Chicago, 1947), 132–133; Gregory Evans Dowd, *A Spirited Resistance: The North American Indian Struggle for Unity, 1745–1815* (Baltimore and London, 1992), 6–7; Gladys Tantaquidgeon, *A Study of Delaware Indian Medicine Practice and Folk Beliefs* (Harrisburg, Pa., 1942), 14; Speck, *A Study of the Delaware Indian Big House Ceremony*, 91. See also Mary Douglas, *Implicit Meanings: Essays in Anthropology* (London, 1975), 61.

who chose to be baptized reflected this reverence for blood. Many women expressed a deep longing to partake in the Moravian rituals of blood—baptism in the wounds of Christ and communion. When the newly baptized Indians of Meniolagomekah visited Gnadenhütten in the summer of 1749, the women exclaimed how they were “right hungry after the Savrs. Blood.” Anna Benigna admitted “her Heart lov’d the Side Hole very much, & wish’d to sink yet deeper into it.” Another Delaware woman, Verona, had been feeling ill that week, but when she heard they would travel to Gnadenhütten, she brightened, “We shall certainly have the Blood of our Savr. there.’ Upon which she got up immediately & set out on the Way, came along right well & lost her Sickness.” One unbaptized woman who had come with her family, lamented “she co.d not bear any longer to be without our Savr.’s Blood; & that particularly since she had seen *Sophia*, Gottlieb’s Daughter, baptis’d in Gnaden=Hütten, her Heart long’d Day & Night after that Blood.”<sup>32</sup> In 1755, a young Mahican woman spoke with Moravian missionary Anna Mack after communion (called a Love Feast) and said “Sister you said to me sincere words, namely if one feels the Lord and his blood, then one nevertheless still feels hunger and thirst. It is true this week I have thus experienced, it was to me right well in my heart I was in the Woods making baskets and there I felt such hunger after the Lord that I nearly trembled. The Lord was right near me.”<sup>33</sup>

As Susan Juster has suggested of white women’s religious expression in mid-eighteenth century New England, native women in Pennsylvania also experienced conversion in very physical terms—as hunger, thirst, longing, trembling—and usually expressed this piety to the German women who shared their communities and could empathize with their common bodily experiences. A Wampanoag woman, Rachel, the first wife of Moravian missionary Christian Frederick Post, most eloquently combined her joy at taking communion and having her first child. “I must let thee know How I felt myself at ye Lord super,” she wrote to Maria Spangenberg in 1746:

32. June 4/15, 1749, extract from Bethlehem Diary, English version, *Moravian Records*, reel 26, box 211, folder 19, item 1.

33. “Schwester, du hast mir lezthen wahren Worte gesagt, neml. wenn man die Hld u. sein Blut fühle, so spure man doch noch immer hunger u. durst nach ihm ihn noch mehr zu fühlen. Es ist wahr, ich habe diese Woche so erfahren, es war mir recht wohl in meinem Herzen ich war im Busch Korb zu machen, u. da fühlte ich meinen solchen Hunger nach dem Hld., daß ich fast gezittnet habe; der Hld war mire recht nahe.” Jan. 25, 1755, *ibid.*, reel 5, box 118, folder 4. (Unless otherwise noted, all translations from the German are mine.)

When I was in Checomeco, & I saw Children, I wept always because I had none. Now I thank our Sav. continually, yt he has given me one, & I think always, Onéwe, Onéwe, pachtomawas, i.e. I thank thee, I thank thee O my dr Sav. I am right happy, it was as if I had seen the Angels how they rejoiced with us. It was clear to my Heart, Muchree honiseso pachtomawas onéwe onéwe Kia utachwonon Uctomsee. I can't express how it was with me when I reced that Blood.<sup>34</sup>

Yet she did express it, whether in Wampanoag or German or English, that the release of child-birth, the joy of having a child—her own power of creation in blood—was simultaneous with, inseparable from, perhaps even a consequence of her spiritual deliverance through the blood of Christ. Indian women in Pennsylvania could easily connect the female imagery of Mary, Christ's mother, and the communion of Christ's sacrifice with their own understanding of blood's power, to create a new religious identity that combined their own traditional values with Christian theology.

Moravians attempted to remake Indians into Christians, and Indians instead reinterpreted Christianity in their own terms. Moravians also wanted to create communities in Christ where customary ethnic or kinship ties that usually defined Indian society would be replaced by a common Christian purpose. These mission communities, instead, further complicated cultural identity at the Forks of the Delaware. Moravians may have had some success in making Indians into Christians through baptism, but roads could cut both ways. Indians conversely made white Christians, especially Moravians, into kin.

Kinship in Pennsylvania native communities did not necessarily include only those people born or married into a family. Indians recognized the importance of turning strangers into "either actual or symbolic kinspeople" to strengthen political alliances or increase access to available resources.<sup>35</sup> During the 1740s and 1750s, there were a variety of ways that Pennsylvania Indians created kinship networks that, like roads, crossed cultural boundaries. Captivity and adoption had long been used as a means of turning strangers into kin. Indians often adopted white or other native captives and refugees into their families to replenish populations

34. Letter Rahel Post to Maria Spangenberg, [1746?], *ibid.*, reel 34, box 319, folder 2, item 1. Susan Juster, *Disorderly Women: Sexual Politics and Evangelicalism in Revolutionary New England* (Ithaca, NY, 1994), 67.

35. Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815* (Cambridge and New York, 1991), 15.

decimated by disease or war.<sup>36</sup> During the eighteenth century, especially, Pennsylvania Indian communities had become places of refuge for remnant tribes, a mix of Native American ethnic and linguistic groups.

Moravians who regularly visited or lived in Christian or non-Christian Indian communities were also adopted. Delawares and Iroquois often renamed them to honor their alliances. In June 1745, when Moravian missionaries traveled to Onondago, the seat of the Six Nations' Council Fire, they were given Mohawk names since, according to Joseph Spangenberg, "ours were too difficult for them to pronounce." Spangenberg became *T'gerhitonti*, or "a row of trees"; Joseph Bull was called *Hajingonis*, "one who twists tobacco"; and David Zeisberger was known as *Ganousseracheri*, translated as "on the pumpkin."<sup>37</sup> In this case, renaming was no mere matter of phonetics; it was also a matter of kinship alliance. Spangenberg noted in his diary that "if [the Iroquois] give someone a name, then they give him their kinship as they did to us."<sup>38</sup> For their part, the Moravians seemed willing to explore the deeper meanings of this symbolic relationship, even making it more intimate. In September 1742, former Quaker Joseph Bull was baptized by the Moravians.<sup>39</sup> As he worked among Mahican and Delaware converts near Bethlehem, the Indians having a "special love for him," gave him the "name Schebosch, that is, a flowing stream."<sup>40</sup> After accepting the honor of a new name, Schebosch took one step further to become kin; he married a Wampanoag woman, Wesen, who had been baptized as Christiana the year before.

36. Richter, *Ordeal of the Longhouse*, 65-66; Francis Jennings, *The Ambiguous Iroquois Empire, The Covenant Chain Confederation of Indian Tribes with English Colonies from its Beginnings to the Lancaster Treaty of 1744* (New York, 1984), 95. By the late seventeenth century, non-Iroquois people made up nearly two-thirds of some Iroquois villages in western New York.

37. William M. Beauchamp ed., *Moravian Journals Relating to Central New York, 1745-66* (Syracuse, NY, 1916), 10-11.

38. "wenn sie jemanden Nahmen geben, so geben sie ihm gemeinigl. einen uns ihre Freundschaft." June 10, 1745, Spangenberg travel diary, Shamokin, *Moravian Records*, reel 30, box 223, folder 7, item 1. The term "Freundschaft" has several implications in both the German records and as a translation of the Iroquois concept. Though it can also be translated as "friendship," in early modern Germany *Freunde* or *Freundschaft* more often indicated people "who were related to an individual through marriage." See David Warren Sabean, *Power in the Blood: Popular Culture & Village Discourse in Early Modern Germany* (Cambridge, 1984), 31. The Moravians most often used the term in the latter sense.

39. Bethlehem Register, "Bethlehemisches Kirchen=Buch," vol. I, 1742-1756, 86, Moravian Archives, Bethlehem, Pa.

40. "die Indianer haben ihn auch besonders lieb und haben ihnen eben den Nahmen Schebosh d.c. ein fleißen waßer, gegeben da er sonst Josephus geheißē," Nov. 17/28, 1746, *Diarium von Bethlehem*, reel 2, Van Pelt Library, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.

They moved to Gnadenhütten, "to live intirely among [the Indians], from this Time forward to be look'd upon, as one of their Own, belonging to them & their Nation. It was much bless'd, & they all acknowledged him as such."<sup>41</sup> Not only did Bull become kin through marriage, but the Indian community had accepted him as "one of their Own," perhaps the most telling definition of kinship.

Whether symbolic or actual, Indians expected these new kinfolk to participate in the customary obligations of hospitality, reciprocity, and gift exchange. In social, economic, or political interactions, Indians extended hospitality to family members, to neighbors, or even to non-hostile strangers who passed through a village. "They count it a most sacred duty, from which no one is exempted," remarked one Moravian writer late in the eighteenth century. "Whoever refuses relief to any one, commits a grievous offence, and not only makes himself detested and abhorred by all, but liable to revenge from the offended person."<sup>42</sup> Expectations of hospitality and reciprocity expanded kinship networks, including inter-community clan obligations, and assured that individuals could find material support among a variety of households as they worked or traveled abroad.<sup>43</sup>

Just as women were key to new native religious identities, women played important roles in creating kinship ties between Indians and whites. At the Forks of the Delaware, in particular, Native American women extended kinship ties and networks to white women, sharing the responsibilities of households in ways that men did not. And like their interpretation of Christianity, native women created these connections within the context of familiar traditions. Mahicans and Delawares in Pennsylvania lived in matri-lineal societies in which women controlled household economies and social relations within communities. They owned longhouses, managed agricultural resources, and made decisions about the care and

41. Jan. 22/Feb. 2, 1747, English version of Gnadenhütten diary, *Moravian Records*, reel 4, box 116, folder 8, item 2.

42. George Henry Loskiel, *History of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Indians in North America*, part I, trans. Christian Ignatius LaTrobe (London, 1794), 15. See also Peter C. Mancall, *Valley of Opportunity, Economic Culture along the Upper Susquehanna, 1700-1800* (Ithaca and London, 1991), 51-53.

43. John Phillip Reid, *A Law of Blood: The Primitive Law of the Cherokee Nation* (New York, 1970), 47-48. See Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies*, trans. W.D. Halls (London, 1990).

supervision of children.<sup>44</sup> Within these women-centered households, the relationship between siblings was most important to the maintenance of native peoples. Sisters and their families often lived together and shared responsibilities and brothers had authority over many decisions affecting the political and economic life of the family. Clan affiliation and kinship was passed down through the mother. These relations between family members created broad networks of mutual responsibility and support within a household, but also between families and communities.<sup>45</sup>

In the mission towns, such as Gnadenhütten, Moravians struggled to make strange Indians into Christian kin. Between the 1740s and 1760s, the Germans with whom they came into contact offered new choices about gender roles, sexual behaviors, marriage customs, household arrangements, and economic practices. They introduced new standards for personal and household relations, hoping to break down old bonds of kinship to create a new cultural category based on a common Christian faith. They felt that Indians were too attached to their clans, and reminded them that true kinship came not from common ancestry or family alliance, but through faith in one God: "Whoever does the will of my father, they are my mother, and they are my brothers and sisters."<sup>46</sup> This new metaphor for kinship was meant to cross racial and ethnic boundaries as well. They proclaimed to baptized Indians: "we brown and white, Mahican and Delaware are not to be considered except as one nation."<sup>47</sup>

With the introduction of Christian-based kinship, patriarchal systems of community authority sometimes supplanted overt matri-lineal social structures among Indians. Male and female leaders, both Indian

44. Grumet, "Sunksquaws, Shamans, and Tradeswomen," 46. Mahicans and Delawares ordered their households much the same way as eighteenth century Iroquois. See Elisabeth Tooker, "Women in Iroquois Society," in Michael K. Foster, Jack Campisi, Marianne Mithun, eds., *Extending the Rafters, Interdisciplinary Approaches to Iroquoian Studies* (Albany, 1984), 114-ff and J.N.B. Hewitt, "Status of Women in Iroquois Polity before 1784," in *Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution Year ending June 30, 1932* (Washington, D.C., 1933), 475-488.

45. William N. Fenton, "Northern Iroquoian Culture Patterns," in William C. Sturtevant, gen. ed., *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. 15, Bruce G. Trigger, ed., *Northeast*, (Washington, D.C., 1978), 312; Goddard, "Delaware," in *ibid.*, 225; and Paul A.W. Wallace, *Indians in Pennsylvania* (Harrisburg, Pa., 1975, orig. 1961), 55; Reid, *A Law of Blood*, 47-48.

46. "Wer den Willen meines Vater thut, der ist meine Mutter, & das sind meine Br. u. Schwestern." Aug. 24, 1754, conference, *Moravian Records*, reel 5, box 118, folder 2. See also May 3, 1755, Diary of Nazareth, Jan. 1740-Dec. 1806, English translation, Moravian Historical Society, Nazareth, Pa.

47. "Denn wir braune u. weisse Mahicander u. Delaw. sind nicht ander als eine Nation anzusehen, dazu hat uns der I. Hld. mit s. Blute gemacht." Mar. 12, 1754, conference minutes, *Moravian Records*, reel 6, box 119, folder 1, no. 10.13.

and white, met together and discussed all aspects of their economic and social life in a series of weekly and monthly meetings. Although they could all speak their mind freely on many matters, not a house would be built nor a piece of land assigned for planting nor a baby baptized without the express approval of the Moravian leader at Bethlehem, Augustus Gottlieb (Joseph) Spangenberg, or the male-dominated Council of Elders.<sup>48</sup> Yet, at the household and family level—where daily decisions about social life were made—women's networks still operated. Instead of simply replacing matri-lineal with patriarchal authority, Moravian Indians adapted a familiar pattern of combined male and female authority that provided new means to meet family and kinship obligations.

White women were an important link in these kin networks. They formed attachments with Indian women that operated as sisterly relations. At the Forks of the Delaware, native and white women shared personal circumstances and emotional bonds which strengthened alliances between their two communities. Delaware and Mahican women in Gnadenhütten and Meniolagomekah asked white women to assist them during childbirth and white women applied "to [native] female physicians, for the cure of complaints peculiar to their sex [and] experienced good results from their abilities."<sup>49</sup> Between 1746 and 1755, a constant stream of German women from Bethlehem and other white communities at the Forks of the Delaware visited native communities, conducted religious services, taught schools, prepared meals, brought gifts, and dressed and buried the dead for Indian women and their families at Gnadenhütten, Meniolagomekah, and Wechquetank. Native women also expressed the joy of finding other women with whom they might share their household responsibilities and spiritual life.

Rites of passage, such as birth or death, were an ubiquitous part of family life on the frontier, and the networks between Indian and white women created a space to share these experiences. Christian Indians often called Moravian missionary women to their bedside to assist during child birth. Anna Rauch and Anna Mack at various times attended native

48. Beverly Prior Smaby, *The Transformation of Moravian Bethlehem: From Mission to Family Economy* (Philadelphia, 1988), 9-23.

49. Heckewelder, *History, Manners, and Customs*, 229. Martha Büninger visits a woman in confinement, Mar. 13, 1754, *Moravian Records*, reel 3, box 114, folder 9; Anna Margaretha Jungmann with Juliana at her confinement, Dec. 7, 1750, *ibid.*, reel 5, box 117, folder 1; and Susanna Oesterlein, same, Nov. 8, 1748, *ibid.*, folder 4.

women in labor. They did not simply provide a medical service for these women, they also offered blessings and prayers for the new baby.<sup>50</sup> Child-birth and the increase of families presented the challenge of child care, which also came under the purview of female networks. At the mission towns, for example, German Moravians introduced the practice of god-parenting, which was an important institution in their own communities. When an Indian child was baptized, missionaries and Indian congregational members became godparents to provide Christian guidance and education and to look after the child's welfare.<sup>51</sup> When the Delaware Maria gave birth to an infant daughter in Bethlehem in March 1756, the child was baptized as Christiana "under the Litany of the humanity of Jesus, in his death." Two German women, Johanna Schmick and Anna Rosina Anders, and three Mahicans, Bathseba, Esther, and Johanna, all became god-parents to the girl.<sup>52</sup>

Native women, who recognized the responsibility of the entire community in raising children, could understand god-parenting as another way to create and use kinship connections. What a Moravian considered the duties of a godparent, a Delaware could easily associate with the obligations of a mother's sister or mother's brother. In native communities, if parents divorced, children almost always remained with their mother until they were old enough to support themselves.<sup>53</sup> Indian women turned to other people within their kin groups to help raise children, and sisters or other female kin often took in or adopted their nephews and nieces. With the presence of Moravian women, Indians could also call on these extended family networks and ask them to adopt and raise their children. For instance, in February 1748, Zippora and Benjamin felt they were

50. Dec. 8, 1747, *ibid.*, reel 4, box 116, folder 2; Feb. 3, 1749, *ibid.*, folder 5. There are many more examples of this kind of assistance both as mid-wives or as observers.

51. "Geburts-und Tauff-Register derer zur Bruder Gemeine gehörigen und bald nach ihrer lieblichen Geburt in der Tod Jesu getauften," Bethlehem Register, "Bethlehemisches Kirchen=Buch," vol. I, 1742-1756, 4-65, Moravian Archives, Bethlehem, Pa.

52. "unter der Litaney der Menschheit Jesu, in Seinen Tod." Mar. 6, 1756, Bethlehem Register, "Bethlehemisches Kirchen=Buch," vol. I, 1742-1756, 63, Moravian Archives, Bethlehem, Pa. There were also many unbaptized Indian children in the mission communities. Often the older children of baptized adults decided to remain unbaptized. Newly born infants of baptized adults, however, were often baptized soon after birth. Between 1742 and 1763, 186 boys and girls under age 11 (91 girls) were baptized, most receiving both German and Indian god-parents.

53. Heckewelder, *History, Manners, and Customs*, 259. Fenton, "Northern Iroquoian Culture Patterns," 312; Goddard, "Delaware," 225; and Paul A.W. Wallace, *Indians in Pennsylvania* (Harrisburg, PA, 1975, orig. 1961), 55.



unable to properly care for their daughter, Salome, when Marie Werner, a woman in Bethlehem who had no children, promised to raise her as her own.<sup>54</sup> The following month, Anna Rauch, a missionary, was “named mother” of a little Mahican girl in Gnadenhütten and took her into her home.<sup>55</sup>

Moravian missionaries offered new means of child care that native women adapted to traditional patterns of family life. But they also attempted to regulate more intimate relations that affected the balance of power between women and men. In their own communities, the Moravian elders planned and guided marriage relationships between church members. Throughout their married life, couples came under the scrutiny of the church. The Moravian council would keep men and women from partaking in Communion, “because they do not agree well together” or “on account of the indifference of their hearts.” If a sister had an “unreasonable deportment towards her husband” or a “shameless face,” or a married brother displayed “levity and improper deportment towards his wife,” they would not be allowed to participate in communal or spiritual activities until they admitted remorse.<sup>56</sup>

Like the Moravians, Native Americans also considered marriage an important part of community formation. Marriage provided economic and political alliances between families and clans, which increased available resources, widened the family support networks, and eased potential conflicts between neighboring ethnic groups. Unlike Euro-American marriage, however, the union of Indian men and women was not a legal arrangement which had to be recognized by political or religious institutions to be legitimate. Customarily, marriage was a matter of agreement between the two individuals as well as a matter of negotiation between two families. Moravian John Heckewelder noted that when a Delaware man and woman were attracted to each other, the man’s mother would bargain with the other family and the couple exchanged food and clothing items. If everyone agreed to the marriage, then the couple set up a household together.<sup>57</sup> Since Mahicans, Iroquois, and Delawares in Pennsylvania traced their family lineage through female kin, the marriage rela-

54. Feb. 1 and Feb. 10, 1748, *Moravian Records*, reel 4, box 116, folder 3.

55. Mar. 3 and 4, 1748, *ibid.*

56. Feb. 28/Mar. 11, 1746; Apr. 6/17, 1746, and Apr. 26/May 7, 1746, “Register of Inhabitants of Nazareth,” [extracts from Nazareth Diary translated to English], Church and Meeting Collection, HSP.

57. Heckewelder, *History, Manners, and Customs*, 161-62.

tionship did not concern the legal rights which men had over women and the children they bore. Rather, as anthropologist Elizabeth Tooker has suggested, native marriages emphasized "reciprocal obligations between a man and a woman."<sup>58</sup>

Among the Christian Indians, Moravian missionaries introduced different lessons about proper marriage practices. Instead of reciprocal obligations, Euro-American marriages incorporated a particular hierarchy of love and power. John Jacob Schmick carefully translated their ideas about marriage into Mahican so they would be understood by Indian congregations: "A man must love his wife, like the Saviour does his flock." In turn, a wife must show obedience to her husband. Although the husband and wife were to create a relationship based on common faith, Schmick cautioned that "no one must love their wife more than the Lord."<sup>59</sup> In Gnadenhütten, the missionaries repeatedly discussed the "Christian idea of marriage" with new couples who united and with those Indian couples whose previous relationships the Moravians consecrated.<sup>60</sup>

Indian elders often heeded the advice of Moravian missionaries when arranging marriages between baptized natives; they, too, thought it important that potential mates display a similar level of Christian virtue. Yet, Christian Indians still followed a certain protocol when negotiating marriage alliances. They insisted on applying their own criteria for the suitability of marriage partners. For example, the couple had to be from different clans.<sup>61</sup> The nature of clan membership, which extended kinship beyond "blood" relations, made the possibility of incest more prevalent. Moravians did not always take Indian fears into consideration. Indeed, Augustus, the Delaware leader at Meniolagomekah, complained that some of the marriages which the Moravians recommended crossed over the Indians' boundaries of incest.<sup>62</sup>

58. Tooker, "Women in Iroquois Society," in *Extending the Rafters*, 120.

59. "Ein Mann muß seinen Frau lieben, wie der Heiland seine Gemeinde. Aber es muß niemand seine Frau mehr lieben als den Hld." John Jacob Schmick, "Miscellanea linguae nationis Indicae Mahikan dicta cura suscepta," n.d. [circa 1760], APS.

60. Dec. 4, 1750, *Moravian Records*, reel 5, box 117, folder 1. "Consecration of marriages dating from pre-Christian past," Mar. 14, 1743, *ibid.*, reel 1, box 111, folder 2. From a database of 734 Native Americans who lived in or visited Moravian mission communities between the 1740s and 1760s, there were 57 couples whose pre-baptism marriages were confirmed by the Moravian church.

61. For example, July 24, 1755, letter from Schmick to Spangenberg, *Moravian Records*, reel 5, box 118, folder 6, no. 6. Also July 13, 1755, *ibid.*, no. 2.

62. May 19, 1755, letter from Schmick to Joseph Spangenberg, *ibid.*, folder 5, item 8.

During the 1740s and 1750s, not all Pennsylvania Indians accepted the interference of Moravians in their life choices. Although some Indians may have accepted the participation of missionaries in marriage negotiations, they did not always embrace the Christian ideals of marriage. Delawares and Mahicans within the Moravian communities and mission towns also turned to native solutions to marriage problems. Customarily, when conflict arose between incompatible or abusive spouses, Indians in the northeast practiced a "no-fault" divorce which made separation quick and painless.<sup>63</sup> Although the leaders of the Moravian church in Bethlehem "firmly opposed separation of an Indian marriage" and Christian doctrine encouraged life-long monogamous marriages, Christian Indians still turned to customary methods of handling domestic strife. If a spouse was abusive, unable to support the family, or there were irreconcilable differences, native women sometimes left the household and returned to non-Christian kin either temporarily or permanently.<sup>64</sup>

The presence of Moravian women allowed for other means of negotiating marital problems—they provided an extended network of female kin to draw upon for support. The Moravian choir system created separate living spaces for single and widowed women and men, where they supported themselves and practiced a similar religious piety. The living quarters, especially the Single Sisters' and Widows' Houses, sometimes became refuges for Indian women. In early 1747, shortly after moving to Gnadenhütten, Bathseba and her second husband Josua experienced tension. Josua first complained that his wife "took much pleasure in speaking out against him."<sup>65</sup> A month later, although her husband objected, Bathseba moved into the widows' house at Bethlehem, and by the end of March, she had left the region altogether.<sup>66</sup> In June 1747, after Bathseba's

63. Heckewelder, *History, Manners, and Customs*, 162. See also Anderson, *Chain Her by One Foot*, 18.

64. Apr. 29, 1755, *Moravian Records*, reel 5, box 118, folder 5, no. 14. Of the 334 married people living in and around the Moravian mission communities between the 1740s and 1760s, at least 51 had discernible and repeated problems with their marriages. See for example May 20, 1756, *ibid.*, reel 4, box 115, folder 6; Apr. 24, 1748, *ibid.*, box 116, folder 3. Aug. 11, 1753 and Aug. 14, 1753, *ibid.*, reel 5, box 117, folder 4; Aug. 14, 1753, *ibid.*, reel 6, box 122, folder 3; and "Zeribeisse von den Geschwistern in Meniowolagamekah," *ibid.*, reel 34, box 319, folder 4, item 7. Also Feb. 13, 1754, *ibid.*, reel 6, box 122, folder 3.

65. "Martin redte mit Josua wegen Fr. Bathseba, weil sie sich sehr ins vergnugt gegen ihn bezeugt." Jan. 8, 1747, *ibid.*, reel 4, box 116, folder 1.

66. "Bathseba in schlechten umständen wäre und der Satan suche sie zu verführen, sie wäre sehr gegen ihn eingenommen." Mar. 28, 1747, *ibid.*; Mar. 31/Apr. 11, 1747, *Diarium von Bethlehem*, reel 2, Van Pelt Library, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.

return, Sister Mack, "spoke with Josua in the presence of Martin [her husband] and asked him with tears if he shall proceed with better behaviour toward Bathseba."<sup>67</sup> We cannot be certain what their specific conflict was because the Moravian diarist was so discrete. However, that autumn Bathseba again "ran away from her husband," for which *Brother Mack* "could find no real fault" with Josua.<sup>68</sup> We might wonder whether *Sister Mack*, or the other German women in town, thought the same, for it was to them that Bathseba and other native women turned when domestic problems, even violence, occurred.<sup>69</sup>

Christian Indian women found comfort, respite, and support in domestic alliances with white women prior to the Seven Years' War. Non-Christian women in the region also gravitated towards the mission towns and the support of women's networks. In the late spring 1747, three native women took refuge in Bethlehem when their husbands became drunk at their hunting camp several miles away. The women had taken their husbands' guns and ammunition, fearful that the men might harm each other or them. Their husbands came into town the next morning, contrite, and the women, "as a token of their gratitude," gave their Mahican hostess, Rachel, a broom.<sup>70</sup> The relationships between white, Indian, Christian, and non-Christian women, confirmed and renewed by gifts and ceremony, were not simply networks for juggling child care, negotiating marital problems, or finding sanctuary from domestic violence. They became gendered spaces where native women could also express themselves freely, and the opinions they voiced were not always in agreement with native men. "You don't see that it is so quiet and orderly here in town among our friends," one Delaware woman chastised her unruly

67. "Die Aennel [Sister Mack] sprach mit Josua in Gegenwart Martins, und bat ihn mit Thränen, er sollte doch seiner Bathseba mit einem bessern Wandel vorgehen." June 16, 1747, *Moravian Records*, reel 4, box 116, folder 1.

68. "Es lief heute die Bathseba von ihren Mann dem Josua. Wir konten bey Ihm keine rechte Schuld finden. Sie bliebe des Nachts bey der Esther und dachte Morgens drauf nach Bethlehem zu gehen." Oct. 1, 1747, *ibid.*, folder 2.

69. Feb. 10/21, 1748, *ibid.*, folder 3. For examples of violence see May 20, 1756, *ibid.*, box 115, folder 6; Apr. 24, 1748, *ibid.*, box 116, folder 3; Feb. 8, 1750, *ibid.*, reel 6, box 121, folder 5; and Feb. 25, 1748, *ibid.*, folder 4.

70. "die Wieber waren dankbar vor die gütige Reception und drungen Geschw. Posts einen Besen auf zum Zeichen ihrer Erkenntlichkeit." May 22/June 2, 1747, Bethlehem Diary, reel 1, Van Pelt Library, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.

husband while at Gnadenhütten, "they do us good, give us something to eat, and you act so badly; that troubles me."<sup>71</sup>

Besides new social practices, Moravians hoped to instill a new economic order to support the mission communities at Gnadenhütten and Meniolagomekah. Like many Euro-Americans, they thought that Indians were "idle when they should work, and when they have any Thing to eat, they mispend it and are prodigal, and then suffer Hunger again." Although Moravians negotiated trade agreements with some non-Christian Indian communities on their own terms, they felt that Indians should eventually learn Euro-American economic habits for their ultimate survival. They wanted to reproduce an orderly German political economy among the mission communities in Pennsylvania, with industriousness and frugality as the cornerstones. They hoped to train baptized Indians "to regular Labour, viz.: to plant, hunt, fish and do every thing in the right Season.—to keep good House with every thing they have, to tend their Corn well and to make provision for their Families and also their Cattle in the right Season."<sup>72</sup>

What Moravians attempted to create and what Christian Indians made of new economic choices were not always the same. Like their white neighbors, Indians struggled with a subsistence level economy in small backcountry communities, requiring both women and men to constantly adapt their activities to available resources. Yet, Christian Indians still acted in customary ways. Mahicans and Delawares at the Forks of the Delaware still worked in seasonal cycles of hunting and planting, women were central to family economic activities and consumption, they relied on kin networks as a means of organizing economic activities, and, more importantly, they maintained economic obligations that bridged the gap between Christian and non-Christian Indian communities. Husbands and wives with their brothers, sisters, and children coordinated efforts to support their families. Brothers would hunt together and sisters would gather local edibles to trade for goods. In October 1753, "Br. Nathanael went with his wife and his small Johannes to the Jerseys to hunt. His

71. "Sehet ihn nicht, daßes hier im Town so stille und ordentl. unter unsern freunden ist, sie thun uns gutes, geben uns zu eßen, und ihr machts so schlecht; das betrübt mich." Feb. 17, 1753, *Moravian Records*, reel 5, box 117, folder 4.

72. "Extract from the Instructions or rules, for such of the United Brethren as are used as Missionaries or Assistants in propagating the Gospel among the Indians," in English, *ibid.*, reel 34, box 315, folder 3, item 7.

brother Mamsochalend went with him."<sup>73</sup> By late winter, food supplies were often low and women went to the surrounding woods to supplement their meals with available resources, including "Haccle Berries," chestnuts, blackberries, wild honey, and hemp, or to sell them at markets in the area.<sup>74</sup> The Delawares at Meniolagomekah were particularly active. In the spring of 1753, "Naomie, Verona and her son Levi went out to gather cranberries, which they sell to the white people."<sup>75</sup>

In the Christian native communities, however, while subsistence activities such as hunting and gathering natural resources continued to be important, Indians also participated in a range of economic activities that differed from that of their ancestors and may have changed the ways that Indians valued the contributions of women and men. For instance, men had become more involved in crop cultivation by the mid-eighteenth century. Traditionally, Native Americans considered women to be "the Truest Owners" of land in the northeast. They labored in fields and produced much of the basic food sources for households.<sup>76</sup> In mission towns, Moravians surveyed and distributed land for Indian use and aggressively introduced agricultural-based economies, especially cash crops of corn, rye, wheat, barley, and flax. Although they did distribute small parcels of land to women, Moravians gave Indian men primary responsibility for cultivating the land. By the 1750s, Christian Indian men were an integral part of agriculture. "Jonathan and David [two Delawares] from Gnadenhitt wass here to help hoe Corn," a missionary at Meniolagomekah noted in July 1752.<sup>77</sup>

73. "Br. Nathanael ging mit seiner Frau und seinem kleinen Johannes nach der Jerseys auf die Jagd. Sein Br. Mamsochalend ging mit Ihm. Sie wollen 4 od. 5 Wochen aus bleiben. Andreas, und seine Anna gingen auch auf die Jagd. Die andern Br. gingen auch aus Jagen, kamen aber wieder spätt nach Hauß." Oct. 9, 1753, *ibid.*, reel 6, box 122, folder 3. Mary M. Schweitzer, *Custom and Contract: Household, Government, and the Economy in Colonial Pennsylvania* (New York, 1987), 58, notes that the family or household was the most important economic unit in Pennsylvania white communities as well. See also John J. McCusker and Russell R. Menard, *The Economy of British America, 1607-1789, With Supplementary Bibliography* (Chapel Hill, NC, orig. ed. 1988, revised 1991), 246-247.

74. Aug. 6, 1753, *Moravian Records*, reel 6, box 122, folder 3; Oct. 23, 1753, *ibid.*, reel 5, box 117, folder 4. See also Fliegel, *Index to the Records of the Moravian Mission*, 1260-1263; Heckewelder, *History, Manners, and Customs*, 155-157; and Jay F. Custer, "Late Woodland Cultures of the Lower and Middle Susquehanna Valley," in Custer, ed., *Late Woodland Cultures of the Middle Atlantic Region*, 139-141.

75. Apr. 4, 1753, Bernhard Grube's diary, *Moravian Records*, reel 6, box 122, folder 3.

76. Iroquois Cayenquiragoo, Mar. 10, 1763, James Sullivan, et al., comps., *The Papers of Sir William Johnson*, 14 vols. (Albany, N.Y., 1921-1965), vol. 4, 56.

77. July 14, 1752, in English, *Moravian Records*, reel 6, box 122, folder 2; Oct. 31, 1747, *ibid.*, box 119, folder 1, item 2; Sept. 2, 1749, *ibid.*; June 23, 1754, *ibid.*, box 118, folder 1; Sept. 2, 1749, *ibid.*, box 119, folder 1.

Other activities that became part of the Christian Indian economy brought significant change to the ways that Indians valued goods and their own labor. Groups of Delawares may have still gone to "the woods a hunting," as many native families had done for years, but by the mid-eighteenth century wage labor and manufacturing rivaled hunting and agriculture as a primary means of support.<sup>78</sup> Some Indians no longer performed services simply as reciprocity for another's act of hospitality, but relied on cash to purchase material goods which they needed. Along with a monetary value placed on labor came European habits of valuing the labor of women and men differently. Wage work was increasingly important within Christian Indian communities and women as much as men performed a variety of tasks, usually for white neighbors. The women of the mission towns traveled as far as Nazareth, Christiansbrunn, Bethlehem, Broadheadville, and the Delaware Water Gap to work for nearby German and Scots-Irish settlers. For example, in October 1753, "Naomi and Amalia with their children went to the Jerseys to work to supply themselves with Winter clothing."<sup>79</sup> Like many Indian women, they probably pulled flax and turnips, reaped oats, or gathered pine knots for which they usually received the going rate for women's labor, one shilling a day.<sup>80</sup>

Native men had a wider range of work available to them, such as reaping, carting, thrashing, road work, and floating lumber to the mill, and for their work they received better wages.<sup>81</sup> During the 1750s, Delaware men from Gnadenhütten helped to open up the roads through the Blue Mountains.<sup>82</sup> Some Delaware and Mahican men at the Moravian mission towns also were skilled laborers, such as canoe makers or coopers. In the mid-1750s, Indian men usually received about two shillings a day

78. Sept. 1, 1752, Schebosch's diary, in English, *ibid.*, box 122, folder 2.

79. "Die Naemie, und Amalia mit ihren Kindern gingen nach der Jerseys, Arbeiten, da mit sie sich Winter kleider anschaffen können." Oct. 5, 1753, *ibid.*, folder 3.

80. Oct. 5, 1753, *ibid.*, reel 6, box 122, folder 3; and Marshall J. Becker, "Hannah Freeman: An Eighteenth-Century Lenape Living and Working Among Colonial Farmers," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 114, no. 2 (April 1990):249-269. Schweitzer, *Custom and Contract*, 50-52. At harvest time, some white women might make 2s 3d, though "harvest girls" were paid 1s 6d. Indian laborers were sometimes paid slightly less than white workers, depending on the job, time, and place.

81. Apr. 1753, *Moravian Records*, reel 5, box 117, folder 4; June 25, 1754, *ibid.*, box 118, folder 1; June 28, 1754, *ibid.*

82. Beginning in 1751, baptized Indians were doing road work. See Sept. 28, 1751, *Moravian Records*, reel 3, box 114, folder 4; Apr. 2, 1753, *ibid.*, reel 5, box 117, folder 4.

for their work. These figures were on par with the general wages for the white population on the frontier and in urban areas closer to Philadelphia. With a labor shortage in Pennsylvania, workers of any kind, whether white or Indian, were in high demand, and could command decent wages—at times 30 to 100 percent higher than in England.<sup>83</sup>

Another means of commodifying Indians' labor and differentiating the value of male and female labor came with the increase in manufacturing goods for sale. Probably like their seventeenth-century grandmothers, Delaware and Mahican women used the winter season to manufacture items for home use. But, unlike past generations, in the eighteenth century, women increasingly manufactured these items specifically for sale to neighboring white communities for cash. "Maria went to Christianbrunn and wants to work several days and make brooms," a missionary wrote in July 1752.<sup>84</sup> In March 1753, "Jonathan and Verona went to Gnadenthal to sell brooms."<sup>85</sup> Native women produced these brooms, as well as baskets, wooden spoons, bowls, and sleeping mats to exchange for any number of trade goods or cash. Brooms might bring in three pence a piece, bowls, four pence. On the other hand, a deer skin, usually produced by a man's labor, would bring in six shillings more or less, half the price of a warm winter blanket.<sup>86</sup> The dependence on and acceptance of the Euro-American market system, which gave legal and economic powers to men, did not necessarily erase the importance of women's economic contributions in native communities, but it may have affected the ways that Indians valued women's labor and production within the community.

Economic interactions between whites and Indians may have changed certain economic practices and brought new ways of valuing goods and labor to the native communities of Pennsylvania. Yet, Indians still found ways to adapt the market system to customary economic relations and alliances. Indeed, the relative economic stability brought on by the sale of

83. Generalis Account Book, 1755, *ibid.*, reel 33, box 311, folder 3. On wages see Gary B. Nash, *The Urban Crucible: The Northern Seaports and the Origins of the American Revolution*, Abridged ed. (Cambridge, MA, 1979, 1986), 121; James T. Lemon, *The Best Poor Man's Country, a Geographical Study of Early Southeastern Pennsylvania* (Baltimore and London, 1972), 179; and Schweitzer, *Custom and Contract*, 51-52. Forge laborers might be paid as much as 3s/day.

84. July 17, 1752, Schebosch's diary, in English, *Moravian Records*, reel 6, box 122, folder 2; Feb. 25, 1753, Bernhard Grube's diary, *ibid.*, folder 3.

85. "Jonathan und Verona ginge nach Gnadetho Besen verkauffen." Mar. 14, 1753, *ibid.*

86. Gnadenthütten Account Book, September 1747 to 1752, Generalia, Accounts and Inventories, 1747-1795, *ibid.*, reel 33, box 311, folder 1 and 2.



manufactured goods and consistent wage labor gave Christian Delawares and Mahicans the wherewithal to fulfill some of their own obligations to neighbors and kin. Even as they struggled for economic survival, the Christian Indians of Gnadenhütten and Meniolagomekah used their meager wealth to strengthen political and economic alliances between themselves and other Indian communities.<sup>87</sup> In the spring and summer of 1752, Indians on the Susquehanna River, left with little food that year, sought the assistance of Gnadenhütten residents, many of whom had relatives in Nescopeck and the Wyoming Valley. Paxnoux, the Shawnee leader in Wyoming, arrived with a delegation of 65, presented a belt of wampum and described their situation: "The entire trip they and their children have had nothing to eat but huckleberries and several of the old people are already without strength. They first wanted to go as far as Bethlehem, but since they were very weak from hunger" they could not, so they begged the Indians at Gnadenhütten for assistance.<sup>88</sup> Indeed, for the Indians at Wyoming, "Gnadenhütten has a great name."<sup>89</sup> At the end of the conference, the Delawares and Mahicans first gave the Nanticokes and Shawnees a symbolic gift of "a dressed deer skin, with which they should repair their children's shoes." More substantially, they presented 60 bushels of meal and 80 pounds of tobacco to "divide among themselves, which they accepted with great acclamations."<sup>90</sup>

Christian Delawares and Mahicans could assist their non-Christian kin and neighbors precisely because they participated in the market economy and had accumulated enough excess wealth to offer these gifts.

87. Reichel, *Memorials of the Moravian Church*, vol. I, 222-223. Besides the structures, in 1755 the community at Gnadenhütten had an inventory of 2 mares, 2 horses, 3 colts, 14 cows, 7 heifers, 7 calves, 17 oxen, 65 bushels of oats, 11 loads of hay, 2 loads of steeped flax, 1 load of hemp, 5 loads of wheat, 4 loads of rye, 1 load of barley, 500 pounds of butter, 10 bushels of meal, 12 bushels of buckwheat, 3 bushels of Indian corn, 1 and a half bushels of flaxseed, 4 bushels of beans, 6 bushels of salt, and 24 pounds of beeswax.

88. "die ganze Reise vor sich und ihre Kinder nichts als Heidelbernt zu eßen gehabt, wobey einige Alte schon kraftlos sind." "daß sie willens gewesen seerst nach Bethlehem zu gehen, weil sie aber von Hunger sehr matt sind, so wollen sie ietzo nur hierher kommen." July 15, 1752, *Moravian Records*, reel 35, box 323, folder 1.

89. "Gnadenhütten einen grosen Nahmen bey ihnen hätte, darum wären auch ihre alte Leute mit gekommen, Gnadenhütten zu sehen, und sie hoffen in einem halben Jahr bekannter mit uns zu werden." Ibid.

90. "ein zubereitetes Hirsch=fell: sie solten damit ihrer Kind Schuh, die veilleicht auf dem Weg zerreißen, flicken. Sgten ihnen auch, daß 60. Buschel Mehl und 80. lb. Tobac zum Present vor sie da wären, die sie unter sich vertheilen konten, welches sie mit großen Acclamationen annahmen." July 18, 1752, *ibid.*, item 1.

Yet, the gift exchange and the political alliance it represented also drew Christian Indians back into an older set of obligations that would place their mission community at risk. By 1753, the powerful Iroquois Confederacy, using the strong social and economic alliances between Susquehanna and Christian natives, called upon the Moravian Indians to move north to the Wyoming Valley and reestablish themselves as subordinates, or "props of the longhouse." The alliance that Moravian Indians had confirmed through a gift exchange with Nanticokes and Shawnees from Wyoming gave the Six Nations a new source of leverage with which to pry the baptized Indians away from their communities at the Forks of the Delaware.

By the mid-1750s, Christian Indians received increasing pressure to move away from a Euro-American sphere of influence. As male community leaders capitulated to the Six Nation's demands, individual native families and women, in particular, faced difficult choices between their husbands' or fathers' wishes and the desires of their own hearts. The reactions of the Mahican household of Sara and Abraham, among the first to be baptized by the Moravians, was typical of the different ways that women and men responded to these political pressures. Abraham, a leader of the Christian Mahicans at Gnadenhütten, felt obligations to older political alliances between the Mahicans and the Six Nations, and insisted that his family leave the mission town to settle in the Wyoming Valley on the Susquehanna River. In early 1754, Abraham reminded the Mahicans that their ancestors had promised to obey the Iroquois as their "uncles" and now they had to honor that alliance by moving to Wyoming.<sup>91</sup> Abraham's son Jonathan understood the political obligations of their family and decided that he would follow his father's lead. His wife Anna, however, did not want to move to the Susquehanna, but wished to remain in Gnadenhütten with her children for their safety. It was a difficult decision for her. She begged Jonathan to consider her feelings on the matter, but in the end, he went to Wyoming and she stayed behind.<sup>92</sup> "If I should live in Wyoming," she confided to the Moravians the following year, "I already know beforehand, it will go badly for me and my children. We would suffer hunger there. I wouldn't have what I have here; that

91. Apr. 5, 1753, *Conferenz*, *ibid.*, reel 6, box 119, folder 1, item 9 and item 10.9.

92. Jan. 8, 1754, *ibid.*, reel 5, box 118, folder 1; Jan. 9, 1754, *ibid.*

distresses me.”<sup>93</sup> Sara, Anna’s mother-in-law, had similar concerns about leaving her home at Gnadenhütten, but reluctantly went to Wyoming with her husband. Unlike Anna, Sara no longer had to worry about small children. But she lamented to Johanna Schmick while visiting Gnadenhütten in December 1754 that “the Indians in Wyoming still had bad hearts and don’t have love for the Savior.”<sup>94</sup>

Yet, Sara adapted to her new circumstances on the Susquehanna River using both traditional methods of native accommodation while extending new Christian practices and female networks. As a Christian Indian among non-Christian strangers, Sara actively added to the network of women’s relations she had established in Gnadenhütten. While at the Moravian mission town, Sara had acted as confidant and spiritual mentor to many young unbaptized woman who had “poured out [their] entire heart” to her.<sup>95</sup> Once in the non-Christian community of Wyoming on the Susquehanna River, Sara continued to speak with other women about spiritual and secular matters, and thus extended her kinship ties. Missionary Martin Mack, who visited her that summer, noticed that Sara and Abraham’s house was “often entirely filled with people who want to hear something of the Lord,” especially since many held Sara “in great esteem.”<sup>96</sup> The Delaware wife of Paxnous, the local Shawnee leader, so admired Sara, that in February 1755, she came to Gnadenhütten and requested baptism by the Moravians. After she was baptized as Elisabeth, she expressed great joy at the prospect of becoming acquainted with the German Moravian sisters as well, “who she can love and discuss the Saviour with daily.”<sup>97</sup>

Elisabeth’s baptism and her connections with Sara formed another strand in the web of women’s frontier networks; it also brings us back to the gendered nature of the colonial encounter. Elisabeth had been over-

93. “wann ich soll in Wyomick leben, ich weißes schon zum voraus, es wird mir und meinen Kindern schlecht gehen wir werden dort hunger leiden, ich dort auch nicht das, was ich hier habe; das thut mir wehe.” Letter from Johann Jacob Schmick to Augustus G. Spangenberg, Apr. 29, 1755, *ibid.*, folder 5, item 14.

94. “daßdie Ind. in Wajomick dem herzen nach schlecht stehen u. den Hld nicht lieb haben.” Dec. 4, 1754, *ibid.*, box 118, folder 2.

95. “schüttete ihr ganzes Herze aus.” Dec. 31. 1750 [Mem.], *ibid.*, box 117, folder 1.

96. “Sara ist in großem esteem, soderl. bey des Paxnous Frau u. Abrahames Haus ist oft ganz voll von Leuten, die gern was hören vom Heiland.” Martin Mack’s journal to Wyoming, July 5, 1754, *ibid.*, box 217, folder 12, item 4.

97. “unsre nugebohren Elisabeth mit der grösten Attention anhörte.” Feb. 20, 1755, *ibid.*, box 118, folder 4; Feb. 17, 1755, Bethlehem Register, vol. I, 127, Moravian Archives, Bethlehem, Pa. “daßsie an ihr eine Schwester krigt, die sie lieb haben u. täglich mit ihr von Hld. \_\_\_\_?” May 22, 1755, Johann Jacob Schmick to Joseph Spangenberg, *Moravian Records*, reel 28, box 221, folder 9, item 2.

joyed to find other native and German women whom she could “love and discuss the Saviour with daily.” She sought comfort by creating new connections that could fit into the daily cycles of her life—planting, cooking, caring for children. On the other hand, the baptism served her husband, Paxnous, in a different way. He came to Bethlehem with Elisabeth, and the Moravians noted that she was to be baptized “with the willingness of her Husband.” But, there were other men present which indicate the importance of her baptism to the non-Christian Indian community as well. Besides Paxnous, two Nanticokes and a Cayuga, perhaps representatives of the Six Nations, and Ben Nutimus, from a powerful Delaware family in Nescopeck, who was Elisabeth’s “true Brother on the mother’s side,” also attended the ceremony.<sup>98</sup> Each of these men were important players in local Indian politics—Iroquois, Nanticokes, and Delawares at Nescopeck all intently monitored life at the mission towns and at Bethlehem. They needed to cultivate the good will of white Pennsylvanians. Through Christian alliance, the Shawnees on the Susquehanna hoped to confirm an alliance with the Moravians, thus establishing their neutrality. As the hostilities between the French and English in North America became more apparent in 1755, some Indians found it increasingly important to maintain peaceful relations with the Pennsylvania government. Elisabeth’s baptism could be a crucial link in the political alliances her husband sought, while it simultaneously provided an extension of Elisabeth’s own household networks.

Cultural contact at the Forks of the Delaware sometimes had different implications for women and men. Rather than as a tool of political or economic negotiations, women often used their interactions to build networks of support. Women fit new people and ways of doing things into familiar patterns of the home; Indian women could use the extended kin relations created by god-parenting to cover the problems of child care, German women became an additional system of support for native women to negotiate domestic disputes, and “Christian forms and phrases” provided a powerful spiritual language of body and blood. In the context of these new relations, a native woman’s interactions with peoples of different cultures was not a “liminal” event or “a deep alienation from one’s

98. “wurde mit bewilligung ihres Mannes,” “rechter Bruder von der Mutter Seite, Ben Nutumer von Nekopeko.” Feb. 17, 1755, Bethlehem Register, 127, Moravian Archives, Bethlehem, Pa. Nutimus is sometimes referred to as Nutimer or Nutumer in English and German documents.

prior self," as some historians have implied.<sup>99</sup> It did not signal resignation or assimilation to Euro-American practices; nor did it trigger adamant resistance among the female population. Instead, Mahican and Delaware women absorbed Moravian cultural practices into the customary patterns of their own communities, then created new networks with other Indian and German women, through which they repeated these processes of accommodation.

As long as peace prevailed, the "adaptive capacity" of Indian women helped build roads between different, but interdependent, communities in Pennsylvania. By 1755, however, the negotiated coexistence that brought some Indians and whites together in worship, in kinship, and in work, could no longer smooth over growing political divisions between nations. Competition between France, Great Britain, and their Indian allies for land and resources increased until the Pennsylvania frontier became a fierce battleground for domination over North America.

More than the Seven Years' War, however, a single death affected the peaceful potential of female kin networks. In 1760, Count Zinzendorf, who had encouraged both female piety and women's authority within the Moravian church hierarchy, died, leaving the future of women's lay ministry uncertain. Augustus Gottlieb Spangenberg, the spiritual successor to Zinzendorf and leader at Bethlehem, suppressed the ordination of women and even the female imagery associated with the Holy Ghost and Virgin Mary.<sup>100</sup> His new policies affected relations with women in Indian communities as well. David Zeisberger, chief missionary for the Moravians during the latter part of the eighteenth century, like Spangenberg, had less regard for women's authority than his predecessors. By the 1760s and 1770s, the pietists had pushed their missions into western Pennsylvania and the Ohio Valley, but fewer Moravian women joined their efforts. Zeisberger and his colleagues came up against a new kind of gender frontier, where Indian women did not always welcome Christianity and were more openly inhospitable to these patriarchal strangers. Indeed, Zeisberger thought that women were far more hostile to Christianity than native men.<sup>101</sup> Perhaps this reversal of interest came from the Moravians' new attitude towards women. In 1767, upon visiting Indian villages on the

99. Juster, *Disorderly Women*, 49.

100. Smaby, "Female Piety," 15-16.

101. July 6, 1768, *Moravian Records*, reel 8, box 135, folder 1; Dec. 17, 1768 and Jan. 26, 1769, *ibid.*, folder 2.

upper Susquehanna River, Zeisberger wrote: "Inasmuch as the men of the place were all away, engaged in the chase, and there were only the women at home, I saw that there was nothing for us to do here and we continued our journey."<sup>102</sup> Apparently Zeisberger had forgotten the lessons that had brought the Moravians more women converts just two decades earlier; create and strengthen ties with women and the community will follow.

102. Archer Butler Hulbert and William Nathaniel Schwarze, ed., "The Moravian Records, volume two," *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*, vol. XXI (January 1912), 10. Zeisberger's later journals also indicated his greater interest in the actions and interactions of men. See Hermann Wellenreuther and Carola Wessel, ed., *Herrnhuter Indianermission in der Amerikanischen Revolution: Die Tagebücher von David Zeisberger 1772 bis 1781* (Berlin, 1995).