

Women and Christian Practice in a Mahican Village

Rachel Wheeler

SARAH

She saw nothing with her Eyes, but her heart believed so in the Saviour as if she had seen him and she had then such a feeling of it, that she thought that if any one should pull the flesh from her bones she would nevertheless abide with him, and said she, "I believe I should not have felt it neither, for my whole body and heart felt a power from his wounds and blood."¹

RACHEL

*wen ey giff mey scheyld
suck en ey tenck an die blot en
wounds off auer söffger ey föhl mey
hat sam teims were wet en
so ey tenck mey scheyld saks de
blot off auer söffger en ey föhl
de ensels luck efter mey en
mey scheyld.*

When I give my child
suck and I think about the blood and
wounds of our Savior I feel my
heart sometimes very wet and
so I think my child sucks the
blood of our Savior and I feel
the angels look after me and
my child.²

In August 1742, a little-known scene of the Great Awakening was unfolding in the Mahican villages that dotted the Housatonic Valley region of Connecticut, Massachusetts, and New York.³ On August 10, the colorful Moravian leader, Count Ludwig von Zinzendorf, arrived in the village of Shekomeko to check on the progress of the newly founded mission. Six months earlier, he had overseen the baptism of the first three villagers. Their baptized names—Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob—expressed the Moravians' grand hopes that the men would be patriarchs to a new nation of believers. Zinzendorf was now in Shekomeko to witness as these three men assumed the Christian offices of elder, teacher, and exhorter. Twenty miles away and two days later, melancholic missionary David Brainerd preached the Presbyterian gospel of salvation in hopes of saving the residents of Pach-gatgoch from Moravian heresy.

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But it is not the denominational rivalry of Moravians and Calvinists that is of interest here. Rather it is the emergence of a distinctive indigenous Christianity that grew up amid the convulsions of religious enthusiasm sweeping the northern colonies. That August day in Shekomeko, Abraham's wife was baptized. From then on, she would be called Sarah.⁴ And in Pachgatgoch, a young woman named Amanariochque listened as Brainerd preached an emotional sermon from Job 14:14 while members of his audience "cried out in great distress."⁵ Although Brainerd fanned the flames of revival in Pachgatgoch, it was the Moravians who established a mission in the village and who, in February 1743, baptized Amanariochque, bestowing the name Rachel on the young woman. And it was a Moravian missionary, Christian Friedrich Post, who sought Rachel's hand in marriage just weeks after her baptism.

Sarah and Rachel lived out their lives as Indians and Christians, as wives and mothers. Temperamentally, Sarah and Rachel could not have been more different. Like her biblical namesake, Sarah was the matriarch, more advanced in years, devoted to her husband, her children, and her community. Rachel was just twenty-one at the time of her baptism, with a fiery temperament and a longing to be a mother. These differences of personality and lifestage are vividly reflected in the tenor of their Christian expressions. Despite these differences, a common thread links their Christian practice: both Sarah and Rachel engaged the Moravian blood and wounds theology and practiced Christian ritual in ways that sought to preserve, sustain, and nourish self, family, and community. While Christianity became a source of empowerment for some native northeasterners, it was also a source of significant tension within the individual and between themselves and their families and larger communities. An exploration of Sarah and Rachel's practice of Christian ritual begins to uncover a unique tradition of native Christianity, demonstrating the way Christianity was indigenized as it was literally incorporated through such rituals as communion and such human experiences as pregnancy, birth, and nursing.⁶ While Sarah and Rachel found new sources of power in Christian ritual, they also experienced the factionalizing power of Christianity as the newly drawn lines between Christian and non-Christian sometimes bisected the very families they were struggling to hold together.

Until recently, native Christianity has received relatively little scholarly attention. Except for early treatments of mission history that attributed missionary "successes" to the power of the gospel and "failures" to the "backward" nature of Indian society, all scholars of cultural encounters have had to struggle with how to relate the

conditions of colonialism to the acceptance of Christianity.⁷ Beginning in the 1960s, necessary correctives to triumphalism emerged as ethno-history joined forces with revisionist and social history, stressing the high cost of colonization exacted on native peoples and cultures. With greater attention to the complexity of native cultures came a movement to depict native peoples as historical actors, not simply historical victims.⁸ This interest in native resistance led to an emphasis on nativist "revitalization movements."⁹ Recent decades have also seen substantial advances in illuminating the impact of colonialism on gender relations in native societies.¹⁰ Together, these various strains of scholarship have added immeasurably to our understanding of native societies and the tragic consequences of colonialism. Yet one population has remained understudied: native Christians. Generally, native Christianity has been understood as the result of a colonization of consciousness or a thin veneer that served to obscure the continuation of traditional practices from missionary view.¹¹ These interpretations fall short, however, by preserving a central element of the older, triumphalist scholarship they were reacting against. The categories of noble and ignoble remained (with the casting reversed) and, more significantly, the missionaries were unimpeached as sole definers of Christianity.¹²

What is needed, and what has been emerging in recent years, is a fresh look at mission communities that treats missionaries and Christian Indians as legitimate interpreters and practitioners of Christianity who lived, practiced, and believed within inextricably linked yet distinct historical and cultural contexts. By understanding Christianity as that which is constructed through ritual practice by those who identify as Christian, this approach circumvents the preoccupation with questions of authenticity and allows for an investigation of mission experience that gives full consideration to social context. This is nothing new, of course, but something long known to students of popular and local religion. Methods used in studying the relationship of lay and clerical Christianity in the colonial context are particularly well suited for use with the Moravian mission sources.¹³ A recent essay by Anne Brown and David Hall provides a useful model for studying Sarah and Rachel's Christian practice. In focusing on the practice of baptism and communion in early New England, the authors are able to identify where lay people assented to ministerial dictates and where they charted their own path. Whether lay people followed their minister's teachings or not, argue Brown and Hall, "their behavior reveals an insistence on aligning religious practice with family strategies of preservation and incorporation."¹⁴ The same could be written of Sarah and Rachel. In the social ends to which Sarah and

Rachel directed the spiritual power accessed through Christian ritual, we can begin to identify a distinctly native, and distinctly feminine, Christianity.

Before returning to Sarah and Rachel, the Moravians need some introduction. The missionaries who arrived in Shekomeko in the 1740s traced their roots to followers of the fifteenth-century martyr, Jan Hus. Facing violent persecution in the fifteenth and again in the seventeenth century, the movement continued largely underground until being rekindled in the 1720s, when members gained asylum on the estate of Lutheran Count Ludwig von Zinzendorf in Saxony. The Renewed Unity of the Brethren emerged as unique combination of Pietist and pre-Reformation tendencies. Out of zeal and necessity (Zinzendorf was exiled from Saxony in 1736), the Brethren launched mission outposts from Greenland to the West Indies to Georgia. The mission at Shekomeko was begun in 1740 and, by 1741, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, had become the headquarters for the Moravians' North American missions.¹⁵

Perhaps the safest generalization to be made about Moravian missionaries is that they confound all generalizations about colonial missionaries.¹⁶ Protestants, they preached little of the Word of God and much of the love of Jesus. They made extensive use of music and images, and thus came under suspicion as "papists" from their Anglo-Protestant neighbors.¹⁷ Evangelicals, they experienced conversion as a loving union with the Savior, not a painful recognition of innate sinfulness and utter dependence on God.¹⁸ Missionaries, they hardly fit the Edwardsean ideal of the lone, tortured laborer in the wilderness striving first to civilize then Christianize the heathens. Instead, they often worked in couples or pairs of couples, and on the whole seemed to enjoy life among their native hosts.¹⁹ These differences from other missionaries were precisely what gained Moravians entry into native communities. Not only was their approach significantly less culturally aggressive than that of their Anglo-Protestant counterparts, but Moravians and Mahicans also quickly discovered that they shared a dislike and suspicion of the general run of European colonists. Above all, however, it was the Moravians' distinctive "blood and wounds" theology and the concomitant ritual practice that generated sustained interest in native communities.

The blood and wounds of Christ formed the central pillar of mid-eighteenth-century Moravian theology. Volumes could be written about this era known as the Sifting Time, but for purposes here, three central aspects of the blood and wounds theology deserve special attention: the pervasiveness of familial metaphors, the emphasis on physical and spiritual sustenance derived from the wounds of

Christ, and, finally, believers' experience of Christ's nearness. These elements resulted in a presentation of the Christian message that was readily incorporated into traditional Mahican religion and culture.

Moravians elaborated a kinship of Christian fellowship: God the father, the Holy Spirit as mother, and Jesus the son of God. Christ is both mother of the Church (born of Jesus' side hole) and bridegroom to the believer.²⁰ Earthly ties mirror these divine relations and are, thereby, sanctified. The distinctive choir system by which peer groups lived and worshiped together enacted Moravian kinship theology. While, in theory, Moravians did not believe in transubstantiation, in practice, they experienced the blood and body of Christ vividly and viscerally. They were baptized in the blood of Christ, they sang of swimming in the wounds of Christ, they desired to crawl into the side hole of Christ, they were revived and sustained by drinking Christ's blood. The wounds, experienced most immediately through communion, offered sustenance, respite, and often spiritual ecstasy, expressions of which can readily be found in hymns, litanies, letters, and diaries.²¹ Not only was consumption and incorporation of Christ's body prominently featured in Moravian worship, but Christ's immediate presence was constantly invoked, so much so that some communities appointed Christ as Chief Elder. His guidance was sought through the use of the lot on questions mundane and grand.²²

While many colonists found Moravian religious culture dangerous, smacking as it did of "enthusiasm," its spiritual grammar was not unlike that of native religious practice, and Mahicans enlivened this grammar with the vocabulary of their experience, experience deeply marked by colonialism.²³ As historian John Webster Grant has written, for a missionary message to be communicated and appropriated, the message must provide sufficient continuity that it is readily comprehensible, yet it must also be different enough that the perceived shortcomings of the status quo are addressed.²⁴ More than a century of contact with Europeans had brought drastic changes to Mahican society prior to the arrival of the Moravian missionaries. Moravian ritual practice offered sufficient continuity with Mahican understandings of spiritual efficacy to be recognizable, yet offered a new theology that helped to naturalize societal changes already under way. While the sources available for early historical era Mahican culture are sparse, especially when compared with neighboring Iroquois and coastal New England communities, it is possible to sketch the outlines of Mahican religious, social, and economic practices and some of the changes wrought by contact with European settlers.

The people of the middle Hudson River Valley were a horticultural, matrilineal, clan-based society. Economic activities were sharply

divided along gender lines, with the men and women occupying largely distinct spheres. Women's sphere was the domestic—producing and processing food, raising children, and constructing homes. Men's activities often took them away from the village, whether to hunt, trade, or wage war.²⁵ Kathleen Bragdon suggests that, during the early historical period, riverine, horticultural, and matrilineal societies like the Mahicans tended to be less hierarchical than coastal Algonquian peoples, and women likely had considerable power.²⁶ Deeds dating to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries conveying land in traditional Mahican territory frequently were signed by women, suggesting that women maintained substantial power in community affairs into the colonial period, even as the social structures of Mahican society were adapting to the colonial realities of disease, the trade, and European encroachment.²⁷

The century of contact with Europeans prior to the arrival of the Moravian missionaries saw significant cultural change among the Mahicans and their neighbors. Henry Hudson had sailed directly into Mahican territory in 1609, and a lively trade was soon established. While the trade initially bolstered Mahican status among neighboring tribes, it also brought with it a host of problems, including disease, increasing demand for skins and furs, and increasing hostilities with neighboring tribes over access to the trade.²⁸ Diminished numbers and increasing pressures from encroaching Dutch settlers along the fertile banks of the Hudson River prompted many Mahicans to resettle to the eastern reaches of their historic hunting territory near the Housatonic River, consolidating with Housatonic Indians who had also suffered great population losses.

By the late seventeenth century, epidemic disease and economic pressures were spurring change in Mahican cultural patterns. On the one hand, women had less direct contact with the forces of change. On the other, increased trade and warfare elevated men's roles and likely disrupted the balance of gender roles. The need to travel farther to hunt and trap necessitated smaller social units, thus elevating the status of the nuclear family, transforming the localized clan system and prompting the development of centralized tribal leadership. Anthropologist Ted Brassler cites evidence of a shift to single-family dwellings from the traditional longhouse, built to house sixteen to eighteen families, and now used primarily as the chief's residence and for ceremonial purposes.²⁹ Additionally, by the late seventeenth century, many Mahicans found it necessary to supplement hunting and agricultural production with wages earned as day laborers on nearby Dutch farms.³⁰ What these changes meant in concrete terms for Mahican women and their experiences of family life is impossible

to know with any certainty. But it is clear that, at the time Moravian missionaries arrived in Shekomeko, Mahican cultural traditions were in flux as individuals and families struggled to adapt to a rapidly changing world. Conference minutes from weekly meetings between missionaries and villagers testify to the strain on marriages and family relationships under the press of colonialism.³¹

Even more difficult to assess than the broad outlines of pre- or early-contact social structures is the shape and content of Mahican religious practice and ideology. Little direct evidence of non-Christian religious practice survives from the first years of the missions, although there are a few tantalizing pieces of evidence. Ebenezer Poohpoonuc, the first Mahican to be baptized at the nearby Congregational mission in Stockbridge, offered his commentary to missionary John Sergeant on the occasion of a religious ceremony. Sergeant asked about his people's religious beliefs, and Poohpoonuc replied that some believed that everything worked according to its own laws, and some believed the sun to be a god, or at least home to god. Most, he reported, believed there was one supreme invisible being who was the maker of all things. Sergeant watched as an old man stood over a recently killed deer and implored, "O great God pity us, grant us Food to eat, afford us good and comfortable sleep, preserve us from being devoured by the Fowls that fly in the Air. This Deer is given in Token that we acknowledge thee the Giver of all Things." Following the ceremony, the man received a payment of wampum, and the meat was boiled and distributed to everyone, with an extra portion given to a widow. When asked about the origins of the tradition, Poohpoonuc answered that there had once been a man among them who came down from heaven with snow shoes. The prophet cleared the country of monsters and taught the people the religious customs from the land above. He then married a wife among the people and had two children. While he prayed during a ceremony, he began to rise up through the wigwam and the people begged him to leave one of his children behind, which he did. The child also had extraordinary powers and taught the people many things.³² Community ceremonies, like the deer sacrifice witnessed by Sergeant, sought to keep the world in balance by acknowledging the favor of the spirits and offering a sacrifice.

In saying that some believed that everything worked according to its own laws, Poohpoonuc may well have been referring to the individual element of native worship, in which individuals, after a period of fasting or other trials, received in a dream a guardian spirit. Missionary John Heckewelder affirmed that such beliefs were universal among the various tribes he had encountered. Boys were led through a course of fasting and powerful medicines that brought on

visions in which “he has interviews with the Mannitto or with spirits, who inform him what he was before he was born and what he will be after his death.” As a result, some come to believe themselves “under the immediate protection of the celestial powers.” Moravian missionary David Zeisberger offered a similar account, observing “there is scarcely an Indian who does not believe that one or more of these spirits has not been particularly given him to assist him and make him prosper.” The particular spirit is made known in a dream and is considered their “Manitto.”³³ Through the dreams or visions, individuals entered into relationships with particular spirits who could ensure their safe passage through life. The evidence is suggestive, if not conclusive, that some Mahican women came to view the Moravian Savior as a guardian spirit who offered protection and sustenance.

At first glance, the sources recording native Christian expression, mediated as they are by missionaries, might easily be dismissed as the wishful thinking of eager missionaries or the simple parroting of neophytes intent on pleasing (or deceiving) their Christian teachers. But a uniquely Mahican Christian voice (or voices, rather) begins to emerge with careful attention to the context of these expressions. While European Moravian expressions are properly understood within a mystical Christian tradition whose goal is union with the divine, almost without fail Mahican evocations of the blood and wounds were intended to bring about efficacious spiritual intercession toward the sustenance—spiritual and physical—of self, family, and community.³⁴ Sarah and Rachel turned to the blood of Christ in precisely these ways.

First, to Sarah. Identified in the Moravian records as “Wampanosch,” Sarah was likely a member of the Paugusett or Potatuck Indians who inhabited the lower Housatonic Valley. This region had suffered drastic population losses in recent years, and remnant populations likely sought to secure their future through alliance and settlement with Mahicans moving east to take up residence on their old hunting grounds as their traditional homelands became increasingly crowded with Dutch settlers.³⁵ No mention is made in the Moravian records to any living blood relatives Sarah may have had, suggesting that her family may well have perished in the recent wave of smallpox to descend on the region. Sarah’s marriage to Mamma’tnikan (later Abraham) from nearby Shekomeko in the late 1710s or early 1720s might well have cemented ties between the villages or even joined the two villages together. Mamma’tnikan was the grandson of Mammanochqua, probably a woman sachem of the Esopus, who, before her death in the early 1680s, had attempted to ensure that the lands including Shekomeko remained under her family’s control.³⁶ That Sarah took up residence in her husband’s village (contrary to matrilineal traditions)

provides further evidence of the precarious position of her home community, for as Kathleen Bragdon suggests, unilinear societies often become more flexible during stressful periods of colonization and/or epidemic disease.³⁷ Despite the odds, by the time the Moravian missionaries arrived in 1740, Sarah and Mamma'tnikan had been married for probably close to twenty years, and, together, the couple had raised several children to adulthood.³⁸

Sarah and Abraham raised their children in an uncertain world, a world with few relatives and precarious community ties. Just as Sarah had lost many in her family and community to smallpox, so Abraham's grandmother, father, aunt, brother, and sister had died of the disease. His mother had been killed by Mohawks when Abraham was just eleven.³⁹ Given the extent of such losses, the social fabric of Shekomeko and surrounding communities must have been extremely fragile. Traditional cultural patterns that rested much on kinship networks would have become virtually impossible to maintain. At the same time Sarah and Abraham were trying to build a new family and community, Abraham was struggling to secure his rights to his ancestral lands that were increasingly encroached upon by New York settlers. It was out of this frustration that Abraham first considered Christianity. A drinking bout following yet another unsuccessful trip to the New York governor brought about a vision that prompted Abraham to visit the mission at Stockbridge. Apparently unimpressed, Abraham returned to Shekomeko, and, a year later, in New York, making yet another (futile) plea for justice, he and a companion were drunk when they encountered Moravian missionary Christian Heinrich Rauch, fresh off the boat from Europe.⁴⁰

Despite initial reservations, Abraham found the Moravian message and mission program appealing in some measure. Moravians offered access to new sources of spiritual power, few demands of cultural change (especially in comparison to the thorough cultural conversion expected at Stockbridge), and the prospect of a continued presence on ancestral lands. Sarah, too, came to find the Moravian message and manner appealing, though for different reasons—reasons that corresponded to (and sometimes challenged) traditional gender roles. Sarah sought individual fortitude, spiritual sustenance, and new ties to bind together family and community, all through the vehicle of Christian ritual.

Sarah was baptized in August 1742 and participated in communion for the first time in March 1743. The first hint we have of Sarah's experience of Christian ritual can be found in a diary entry by missionary Gottlob Büttner on the eve of a celebration of the Lord's Supper in December of that year:

She saw nothing with her eyes, but her heart believed so in the Saviour as if she had seen him and she had then such a feeling of it, that she thought that if any one should pull the flesh from her bones she would nevertheless abide with him, and said she, "I believe I should not have felt it neither, for my whole body and heart felt a power from his wounds and blood."⁴¹

Rachel had a similar experience, testifying that, when she experienced the blood and wounds of Christ, someone could pour scalding water over her without her marking it. It was as though she "stood before God in his house" and could not tell whether she walked on the earth or floated in the air, but she felt the Savior and his angels sitting beside her.⁴² Sarah's talk of flesh being pulled from her bones and Rachel's of scalding water being poured over her, at first glance, seems to be of a piece with the graphic blood and wounds theology of the Moravians. But the imagery is altogether different from that commonly employed by European Moravians, evoking instead practices associated with ritualized torture among many Algonquian and Iroquois peoples. Sarah would certainly have known of such torture practices even if she had no firsthand experience—her mother-in-law had been tortured and killed by French-allied Indians and other villagers had surely suffered similar fates.⁴³

While most commonly associated with the Iroquois, there is considerable evidence that ritual torture of captives was practiced by Mahican and Delaware peoples as well. Captives were seized from enemy tribes to appease the deaths of family members. The power, and the obligation, to quench the crying blood of lost relatives belonged to women, who could appease the death either by the adoption of the captive or by mandating torture and death. If the captive was to be killed—a more likely fate for men than women and children—the whole village gathered to participate in the ritualized torture, with women playing the central role. As captives endured the villagers' torments, which often included application of burning brands, removal of fingernails, or pouring hot liquids or sand over the victims, they strove to conceal their suffering, thereby displaying spiritual fortitude and power. Captors admired the stoic suffering of their captives for it testified to their great spiritual power, power that the captors could appropriate through ritual consumption after the victim expired. According to Dutch observer van der Donck, all the while being tortured, the captive "continues to sing and dance until life is extinct, reproaching his tormentors, deriding their conduct, and extolling the bravery of his own nation," thereby winning the respect of his captors.⁴⁴ Observations made by missionary John Heckewelder over a century later suggest a continuity of practice when he described the

ritualized torture of an accused murderer, who, "while undergoing the most dreadful tortures," will "rehearse all vile acts of the kind he had committed during his life time, without showing fear of death," employing "an haughty tone, and with a pride," in hopes that "at his death, his soul may be permitted, to reenter the body of some unborn infant."⁴⁵ The torture victim's stoic suffering brought with it a chance of rebirth.

Understanding Sarah and Rachel's words against this backdrop and the Moravian practice of communion suggests some intriguing possibilities about the intersection of gender, colonialism, and Christian ritual. The Moravian symbolism surrounding communion intersected in powerful ways with native rituals of torture. Moravians placed especial emphasis on Christ's gruesome death, describing in great detail the spear wounds, the blood that ran like sweat, and his stoic death upon the cross, which they often depicted as a tree. Further, the *Abendmahl*, or communion, in which Christ's flesh was symbolically consumed, was often referred to by the Moravians as "*Streiter-Mahl*" or "fighters' meal." Moravians attributed a transformative power to Christ's blood and wounds.⁴⁶

While women were less likely to be the victims of ritual torture, they were its directors. It was women's responsibility to balance the spiritual forces after the disruption caused by a death. In their accounts of warfare and torture, neither Heckewelder nor Zeisberger call particular attention to the central role of women, suggesting either the authors' cultural bias, the waning of women's power, or perhaps both. Historian Theda Perdue's assessment of changing Cherokee gender roles might apply equally to the Mahican situation. The new motives for war introduced by the trade and French-English colonial rivalries "excluded women from the social and spiritual benefits that traditional warfare had brought them."⁴⁷ One source of spiritual power would have been less readily available to Mahican women.

The Moravian emphasis on the redemptive power of suffering and on the transformative power of Christ's blood fused with Mahican cultural traditions to create a ritual practice fully Christian and Mahican. By participating in communion, Sarah and Rachel laid claim to two types of spiritual power—that traditionally accorded women as they avenged the deaths of their kin and that claimed by captive warriors who secured a chance at rebirth through stoic endurance of torture. Consuming Christ's flesh might have functioned as a substitute for the traditional spiritual power available to women as active participants in the practice of war. In turn, this spiritual force was translated into the ability to suffer stoically.⁴⁸ Communion was thus one means of acquiring the spiritual power to sustain self in an

environment increasingly hostile to Indian existence. By combining Mahican elements of ritual associated with the torture of captives and the Christian message of redemptive suffering, Shekomekoans forged a powerful new symbolic universe that helped make sense of the new world of colonialism.

If Sarah found resources of personal strength in Christian practice, she also sought means to reinforce community and kinship ties through her work as a member of the "Indianer Conferenz." These conferences were weekly meetings between the missionaries and a small group of appointed villagers. The Indian men and women who served on the committee were to meet individually with all community members and report back to the missionaries on everything from spiritual state to marital relations to plans for hunting or harvesting. These meetings served as a forum to discuss both familial and social problems. Marital problems occupy a significant portion of the conference minutes. Somewhat surprisingly, very few of the problems brought before the conference seem to be the result of missionary attempts to impose a new morality of marriage on villagers. Rather, the minutes call attention to the difficulties average men and women had in securing domestic harmony.⁴⁹ These tensions were likely the result of a number of forces: economic, political, and social changes brought on by colonialism translated into increased emphasis on the nuclear family at the same time that the kinship ties that once supported individuals were severely disrupted. Sometimes, too, the source of domestic discord lay in differing degrees of participation in the emerging Christian community. The conferences were at once a potentially divisive force in the community and a significant venue for native leadership.⁵⁰

Sarah's frequent service on this committee might well have functioned to support the role she would have held by tradition as wife of the head man of the village. Women in native societies had traditionally maintained oversight of domestic village affairs. What to European observers often looked like the absence of a formal legal code was in fact the operation of powerful moral suasion that shaped behavior through public praise and scorn.⁵¹ The social upheaval of the decades prior to the founding of the Moravian mission at Shekomeko may well have created a space for more formal structures of moral regulation that came to be filled by the weekly conferences in which a group of village delegates considered the problems faced by individuals and families and sought resolution. Sarah thus exercised considerable authority in regulating behavior and overseeing the entrance of new members into the Christian community.⁵² She strove in her work to establish a new foundation for community stability and

mutual obligation. Whether a prior system of kinship became the basis of the new Christian community is impossible to know, though it seems quite probable.

Some women found solace in Sarah's counsel while others bristled at her authority. During one conference in the spring of 1745, Sarah reported on her conversation with a sick, unbaptized woman from Pachgatgoch. The unnamed woman (known only as "Naskomshock's wife and Johannes' friend") had remained behind in Pachgatgoch when many villagers had moved to Shekomeko but now felt drawn to the Christian community. In a poignant image, the woman likened the Christian community to a grove of chestnut trees and herself to a lone tree.⁵³ Whether or not this woman ultimately moved to Shekomeko, her report to Sarah suggests that part of the appeal of becoming a Christian was the fellowship offered by the nascent community. It was often through people like Sarah that prospective Christians found their way into the Christian community. Not all villagers, however, saw Sarah's role in such a positive light. Rebecca, wife of Jacob (who, together with Abraham, was among the first to be baptized) was baptized on the same day as Sarah. Rebecca resented that she was expected to confess the state of her heart to Sarah. She complained to the missionaries that she could not understand why Sarah should be her confessor and expressed disdain for the conferences altogether.⁵⁴

Sarah's authority was not limited to other women. On one occasion, Sarah and Abraham reported that Isaac had recently spent an entire day at a nearby tavern and, in his drunken state, threatened to shoot Johannes (a prominent leader of the Christian-Mahican community) and spouted derogatory words about the Moravians. The couple queried the missionary whether they should speak to Isaac on their own or accompanied by the missionary. After putting the question to the lot, the missionary answered that the Savior wished them to speak alone with Isaac. One suspects that the missionary sensed his involvement would only heighten tensions.⁵⁵

In her work as a frequent conference member, Sarah strove to bring new members into the Christian fold and to regulate the behavior of Christians. But it is through her relationships with family that a fuller sense of her Christian practice emerges, together with the tensions that sometimes erupted between her familial and Christian identities. On one occasion, Sarah reported to missionary Johannes Hagen that she was well and thought much about the Savior and felt much love for him, but her heart was much concerned with her children and the world.⁵⁶ Sarah's confession of concern for her children suggests she knew the missionary would not approve. Yet, at the

same time, she seemed to be making the case that she was a good Christian, not in spite of her familial concerns but because of them. For Sarah, being a Christian meant attempting to secure the welfare of her family.

The link between Christian ritual and family in Sarah's life is yet more apparent in the events surrounding the birth of a son in the late spring of 1747. It was an uncertain time to bring a child into the world, and not only because Sarah would have been at least forty. The couple had arrived in the newly formed Christian-Mahican settlement at Gnadenhütten, Pennsylvania, having completed the 150-mile journey from Shekomeko while Sarah was eight months pregnant.⁵⁷ Abraham had been determined to remain in Shekomeko, unwilling to leave his home village despite the continued refusal of the New York government to recognize his land claims and the increasing hostility of colonists toward Moravians and their native allies. It might well have been his wife's desire to have her unborn child baptized that finally persuaded him to leave his home village.⁵⁸ Following the birth of their son, Sarah expressed her fear that the missionaries might refuse to baptize the child because the couple had not initially joined the migration of Shekomeko Christians to Pennsylvania. She explained how much she had cried over the child and how greatly she desired he might receive the Savior's grace. Missionary Martin Mack consented and baptized the child. He would be called Isaac.⁵⁹

With her youngest safely baptized, Sarah began to worry about her older children. Two sons, Jonathan and Joachim, had recently left the Moravian community, though both would soon return.⁶⁰ The 1744 act forbidding Moravians from preaching within the borders of New York (many suspected them of "papist" leanings) made it eminently clear that an alliance with the Moravians counted for little in the colonial world. Jonathan and Joachim may well have thought it wise to investigate other native communities farther to the West. Whatever their reasons, Sarah was distraught, not knowing if and when her sons would return and fearing that their rejection of the Christian community might keep them from meeting again in the next world.⁶¹ Unable to console his wife, Abraham pleaded with the European sisters that they try to comfort her. Maria Spangenberg related to Sarah her own difficult experiences as a mother whose children had not accepted the Savior.⁶² Sarah seemed to be somewhat relieved by Maria's efforts and resigned to the reality that not all of her children would follow in her footsteps. Resigned to separation, Sarah was surely elated when Jonathan and his wife, Anna, returned to the congregation and began building a house in February 1749. For the time, her family was reunited.

Several years later, Sarah would again be faced with trying circumstances, and this time she chose to follow family while attempting to maintain ties with the Christian community and especially with the power of the Savior's blood. In 1753, Abraham was appointed as captain of the Mahican nation and was called to move to Wyoming, Pennsylvania, to carry out his duties.⁶³ Sarah did not want to leave the Brethren, but neither could she bear being separated from her husband.⁶⁴ Her daughter-in-law Anna faced the same painful decision in the winter of 1753–54. Clearly upset, Anna pleaded with Jonathan,

My dear husband, decide soon what you want to do, and don't take long: I want to tell you, what I want to do, I am not going with you to Susquehanna. If you want to go, you can. But I and my children want to stay with the congregation, for when I think about what the Savior did for us and for our children, it is impossible for me to resolve to go away from the congregation, I would inflict severe judgement upon myself.

Anna attributed the well-being of her children to the Savior and feared that leaving the Christian community would jeopardize the protection offered by the Savior. Jonathan promised to think over the matter while on his hunting trip and to have an answer for her when he returned. Anna anxiously awaited Jonathan's return, confessing to Esther, "Oh how often have I thought of him, especially during Christmas and New Year's week and I wished with my heart that he still feels some of that grace and blessing the Savior let us feel."⁶⁵ Sarah, too, prayed for her son. When in the woods collecting firewood, she prayed to God that "he have mercy on my husband and children, and that he sends them a new heart."⁶⁶ For the time being anyway, Anna and Sarah's wish for Jonathan was granted: he decided to stay with the Brethren.⁶⁷ Sarah's relief that Jonathan decided to stay with the congregation must have been mixed with the sadness of her own impending departure. While the Christian congregation helped to cement new ties of community, particularly for women, it could also force painful choices when the multiple layers of Sarah's identity—as Mahican, wife, mother, and Christian—did not fit easily together.

As Sarah and Abraham set off for Wyoming in April 1754, the couple promised to "stay with the Savior and to tell others about Him and His love whenever possible."⁶⁸ In a letter to "Liebe Schwester" Maria Spangenberg sent later that year from Wyoming, Sarah confessed the difficulty of living among non-Christian Indians but found that "the Savior still comes through to me and I abide by him" and that she continued to feel "what love I have for the Savior, because he

was wounded and his blood shed that melts my heart and makes me happy." She prayed often for the Savior to "give me a drop of the blood that flows from his side." Finally, she asked that Spangenberg "remember me to the Savior" and promised to visit if she ever had the chance.⁶⁹ Being separated from the Moravian community was clearly trying for Sarah, but she continued to find spiritual power through communion with the blood of Christ. The Savior seemed to function for Sarah in much the same way as a guardian spirit that came to her offering protection. Sarah would eventually return to the congregation, but only after her husband had died.

On his deathbed in 1762, Abraham encouraged Sarah to return to the Moravians. Although she was indeed eager to return, Sarah feared the move would mean painful family decisions. She delayed returning for nearly a year, held back by her sons. Eventually, her older sons decided to move further west and urged her to join them. She refused, saying she would rather go to the Brethren, but, she said, "go where you will. I can't help you and I can't hold you back." Unable to compel her sons to stay with her, she turned to her daughter, Sarah,⁷⁰ and pleaded, "You are my only daughter. You have heard my thoughts. What will you do? If you want to abandon me, you can do that. You have your freedom. I have raised you to adulthood and you would be sad if I should die in the woods at your side and be forever lost." The younger Sarah broke into tears and promised to follow her mother. The family was welcomed back into the congregation, and soon work was begun on a house for Sarah and her two children.⁷¹

One year later, in 1764, Sarah and Isaac were living in Philadelphia where dozens of Moravian Indians had sought refuge in the midst of the frontier upheavals of Pontiac's Rebellion and the Paxton Boys incident. In this climate, no one trusted Christian Indians. In the cramped quarters of the Philadelphia Barracks, Sarah succumbed to smallpox in June 1764, and Isaac followed his mother in death several weeks later.⁷² At times, Sarah had found in the personal experience of the Savior's blood and in the support of the Moravian community a means of sustaining herself and her family, but her identity as a Christian Indian often left her in the impossible position of choosing one child over another, her faith over her family, or her family over her faith.

Rachel's life was more openly dramatic than Sarah's, yet she faced many of the same struggles of negotiating family and faith. The few short years of her life recorded in Moravian records were intense: they were filled with intense spiritual experiences, anxiety, and sorrow. Because Rachel married a missionary, her life is better documented than perhaps any of her sister villagers.⁷³ Like Sarah, Rachel

drew heavily on the Moravian imagery of the blood and wounds of Christ. And she, too, directed her practice of Christian ritual to the ends of creating and preserving family.

At the time of her baptism, Rachel was twenty-one and already separated from her first husband. She had been married to a man named Annimhard, a Mahican from Shekomeko, but she was apparently unhappy and left the marriage, perhaps because the relationship had yet to produce any children, or perhaps because the relationship was abusive.⁷⁴ Rachel seems to have been at once eager to escape from family yet afraid to chart a new course. Among those attentive to David Brainerd's preaching, she then became among the first of her village to be baptized by the Moravians.⁷⁵ Within weeks of her baptism, she was contemplating marriage to a white man. Rachel was clearly a woman in search of what she thought would be a better life. Although there is little in the sources to suggest why Post and Rachel chose each other, it seems that Post was intent on marrying an Indian woman, and Rachel might have hoped marriage to a European man with an especially close relationship to the Savior would produce the children she had been unable to conceive in her first marriage.⁷⁶ The couple was engaged in early August 1743 and married later that month. Just four days after the betrothal, Rachel was headed home to her mother in Pachgatgoch, apparently having second thoughts about her marriage to Post. Two weeks later, she returned, apologizing for her flight from Shekomeko. A month later, Rachel was still struggling with her marriage, confessing that she wanted to love her husband but could not.⁷⁷

By December, Post's fellow missionaries were deeply concerned at Rachel's erratic behavior. Although she had returned to Shekomeko, she refused to consummate the marriage. The missionaries, perhaps even Post himself, sought the help of the Savior through the lot. The answer came that it was time for the couple to effect their union.⁷⁸ Although Rachel consented, missionary Büttner had reason to believe that all was still not well. He was right, and Rachel was soon headed for Pachgatgoch. When she returned two weeks later, she refused to enter the mission house. Büttner sent his wife to speak with Rachel, and Post himself went to attempt to placate his wife. They inquired if she wanted to live alone, and promised her her own house. But Rachel remained stubbornly silent. Other members of the congregation tried to appease her, but Rachel gave no answer and again ran away. When Büttner penned a worried letter to Bethlehem headquarters seeking advice, she had yet to return. At a loss, Büttner sent Post to Bethlehem bearing his letter and dispatched a member of the congregation to New York to bring back some cloth, hoping to win

over the disgruntled bride. Two days later, Rachel returned to Shekomeko.⁷⁹ One week later, on December 22, 1743, she moved into the missionaries' house.⁸⁰ Nine months later almost to the day, Rachel gave birth to a baby boy, named Ludwig Johannes, whom she called Hannes.⁸¹

Pregnancy seems to have settled Rachel's restless soul. A letter to her friend and spiritual mother, Maria Spangenberg, relates the joy she experienced at the prospect of becoming a mother.⁸² She described for Spangenberg how she had once wept when she saw children at play in Shekomeko because she herself was childless. But now, she wrote, during worship services, "my babe leaped in my womb," and she thanked "our Savior continually, that he has given me one." The letter implies that it was the Savior working through Joseph Spangenberg, more than Post, who was responsible for the child Rachel carried. Wrote Rachel,

I never yet felt my heart so at the Lord Supper as this time. I can't express how it was with me when I received that Blood, muchraa haniseho pekachkanon . . . and when Br. Joseph gave it to me, my heart, glowing and filled with the Sap of Life and thought, Muchree onewe onewe, onewe.⁸³

Doubt about the life-giving powers Rachel attributed to the blood of the Savior vanish when we read another letter, this one written in August 1745. "O beloved Mother," wrote Rachel, "I was very poor [of spirit] in Bethlehem and while we [she and Post] were together in the cabinet and Brother Joseph prayed, I felt the great grace of the Savior flood my heart with blood."⁸⁴ It was probably on this occasion that Rachel conceived her second child. The sexual overtones of the letter are hard to ignore, yet again it seems that it is God's grace, mediated through Christ's blood and Spangenberg's prayer, that bestows a child on Rachel. Post, it seems, just happened to be present.

Another letter dictated by Rachel that year to the "Brethren and Sisters in Barbies [Berbice]" (Suiname) offers further testimony to the life-giving properties Rachel found in Christ's blood. Rachel's eight-month-old Hannes died that year, and she had lost three siblings in 1744, so she might well have felt an even greater pull to establish a new, spiritual family, one that transcended the precarious bonds of biological kinship.⁸⁵ She testified to the distant members of her new Christian family that the Savior had received her as his child and "washed my heart with his blood." Now that she felt the Savior's blood on her heart, she found she was better able to love her husband, something she had clearly struggled with before. In concluding her letter, she professed her love for her distant Brethren and Sisters, although "I

don't know all your names." The Savior's blood was the means for establishing a new community—having been adopted by the Savior, and enabled by his blood to love her new husband, Rachel now claimed membership in a community that transcended local boundaries.⁸⁶

Rachel's letters offer testimony to the power she found in Moravianism—the power to love a prickly husband, the power to conceive children, and the comfort of a new spiritual family. But they also testify powerfully to the very real and personal impact of colonialism. She had lost not only her son and three siblings, but doubtless many other friends and neighbors. Moravian missionaries, including her husband, had been forbidden from preaching in all of New York. Shekomeko and Pachgatgoch were now divided between those who chose to stay behind and those who followed as the missionaries retreated to Pennsylvania. In September 1746, she again turned to her "liebe Mutter," Maria Spangenberg, who Rachel felt loved her "a great deal more than my own mother."⁸⁷ She confessed her sense of powerlessness, "I know and feel that I am a poor little creature and only the blood of our savior gives me wellness. . . . Now I feel my heart [is] always more hungry and thirsty after the blood of our Savior." The more difficult life became, the stronger was her desire for sustenance from the Savior. In the same letter, she described for Spangenberg how she had a premonition that left her heart "very heavy." She pleaded with the Savior to identify the cause. Was it her husband's illness? No, said the Savior. Then what? "And then Joshua came home dancing and singing and it was as if my finger was cut off." Joshua, a friend from Pachgatgoch, had enlisted in the army that summer and had been off fighting in Canada. He returned in early September and went on a drunken spree.⁸⁸ Rachel experienced this threat to the solidarity of the Christian community as physical pain. She prayed for the Savior to help the wayward Joshua. Feeling uneasy, Rachel could not sleep and so she took the letter she had received from Maria and went to "the house of our Savior." Unable to read, Rachel found the physical presence alone of the letter cheered her considerably. In the meeting house with the letter, Rachel recounted, "it was just so as when the Savior gave me my Hannes, and I was so glad that I did cry."⁸⁹ The letter was a gift of Maria's presence from the Savior.

Finally, Rachel's thoughts turned to her young child, Maria, named after Spangenberg. It is here that the connection between self, family, community, and Christian practice are most clearly evident. Wrote Rachel, "My child grows well and strong but it has a great cough. I wish our savior did make her well again. I can't help her at all. The Savior must do everything." Rachel felt powerless to ensure the health of her child and turned to the Heiland, imagining that,

rather than breast milk, she fed her child from the Savior's wounds. "When I give my child suck and I think about the blood and wounds of our Savior I feel my heart sometimes very wet and so I think my child sucks the blood of our Savior and I feel the angels look after me and my child." She closed her letter with a prayer for her fellow villagers "that the Savior would give them a feeling of his blood and wounds in their hearts." And, finally, there is an entreaty to Spangenberg. "You must think about me that he gives much grace. . . . We are your poor children Rachel and Maria Post."⁹⁰ The next year, in December 1747, Rachel delivered a stillborn baby boy. Rachel and her young Maria both died the following day.⁹¹

Rachel's letters capture both the powerlessness and the empowerment experienced by many native Moravians. They demonstrate the creative spirituality of native Christians who enlisted new sources of spiritual power to strengthen the bonds of family and community and the ways in which the encroaching colonialism challenged the efficacy of tradition to sustain self, family, and community. Childless from her first marriage, Rachel turned to Christ's blood and a European man she had difficulty loving to give her a child. Let down in some way by her own mother, Rachel found sustenance from her spiritual mother, whose strength she hoped to pass on to her own daughter. Fearing mother's milk alone was insufficient nourishment for her beloved child, she fed little Maria from the wounds of the Savior.

It was through the practice of Christian ritual by Sarah, Rachel, and others that an indigenous Christianity came into existence. While these women found new resources of spiritual power in Christian ritual, their need for such new sources testifies to the severe strains on native cultures. Christianity as lived by Sarah and Rachel was marked indelibly by the destructive forces of colonialism. But it does not necessarily follow that the Christian residents of Shekomeko and Pachgatgoch were victims to a colonization of consciousness. Nor does it follow that native Christianity was the result of a self-conscious, strategic manipulation of the oppressor's religion. Through study of the religious expressions of individuals like Sarah and Rachel and of communities like Shekomeko, we can begin to uncover a distinctive, Indian Christianity that expressed both deeply rooted cultural values and the realities of a dramatically changed world.

Notes

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1. Büttner Diary, December 11, 1743, box 111, folder 2, item 7 (hereafter given in x/x/x format), Records of the Moravian Mission to the Indians, Moravian Archives, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania (hereafter RMM). See also entry of same date, 111/1, RMM. Except where quoted, I have anglicized Christian names; for example, "Sara" is written as "Sarah," "Rahel" as "Rachel." Depending on the diarist, "Sara" was sometimes spelled "Sarah" in the original.

2. Rachel to Maria Spangenberg, September 9, 1746, 113/1/5, RMM. This letter is in the hand of Rachel's husband, Christian. It starts in broken German and shifts to broken English written in German script and according to German phonetics. Rachel had probably learned some English growing up in close proximity to English settlers. Post, a carpenter by trade, and native of Polish Prussia, knew little English at this time. For biographical information on Post, see Thomas Christopher Chase, "Christian Frederick Post, 1715–1785: Missionary and Diplomat to the Indians of America" (Ph.D. diss., Pennsylvania State University, 1982).

3. The term Mahican will be used throughout, although the term is problematic, suggesting as it does cultural homogeneity and sharply drawn political boundaries. Mahican tribal identity emerged as a response to colonialism; River Indians, Housatonics, Highland Indians, and Hudson River Mahicans confederated politically to deal with colonial governments and villages consolidated in the wake of epidemic disease and encroaching white settlement. Shekomekoans called themselves Mahican; Pachgatgoch identity is more difficult to determine. The Moravians listed the tribal identity of Pachgatgoch residents as Wampanosch, which has sometimes been taken to mean Wampanoag. However, Wampano means "Easterner" in most Algonquian languages and, thus, could refer to any individual or group who had come from the east. A nineteenth-century manuscript by Moravian missionary John Heckewelder suggests that the Wampanos might have been a branch of the River Indian Mahicans who earlier branched off from their Hudson River location and relocated to the vicinity of New Haven, preferring to live by the shore. If Heckewelder's sources were correct, then the Wampano and the Mahicans of Shekomeko were more closely related than previously understood. John Heckewelder, *Notes, Amendments, and Additions to His Account of the Indians* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1820), 3. See also Bert Salwen, "Indians of Southern New England and Long Island: Early Period," in *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. 15, ed. Bruce G. Trigger (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1978), 175. Throughout this article, to avoid excessive qualifications, I use "Mahican" as an umbrella term meant to include not only Mahican but also Wampanosh, Mennising, Sopus,

and Highland, whose representatives could be found in these villages. While there were most certainly meaningful cultural distinctions represented by the different terms, it is very difficult to determine what these may have been.

4. Isaac's wife was also baptized that day and named Rebecca. Jacob's wife, Rachel, was baptized in December of that year. Shekomeko Diary, August 11 and December 12, 1742, 111/1, RMM.

5. Moravian records note that Amanariochque was first awakened by Brainerd's preaching. On that visit, Brainerd reported that God gave him "his presence and Spirit in prayer and preaching; so that I was much assisted, and spake with power from Job 14:14. Some Indians cried out in great distress, and all appeared greatly concerned." Jonathan Edwards, *Life of Brainerd*, ed. Norman Petit (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 176.

6. The Moravian records contain very little that suggests one way or the other whether baptized villagers continued in the practice of traditional religion. There are occasional references to the continuation of traditional herbal healing and sweat lodges, neither of which the Moravians understood to be religious practices. Moravians generally tended to define Christianity in terms of feeling and ritual and less in terms of cultural practices, and so this restricted view of Christianity likely aided the coexistence of native and Christian religious practices, a coexistence that would not have been entirely unprecedented for most native peoples whose religions were nonexclusive. Religious "dimorphism," as Jace Weaver has termed it (*That the People Might Live: Native American Literature and Native American Community* [New York: Oxford University Press, 1997], vii–viii), has long been a characteristic of native religious practice. As much as we might like to know about the continuation of "traditional" religions in Moravian missions, the sources simply do not allow for such a study. My presumption is that many native "lifeways," such as hunting and healing, continued as they had before the arrival of the missionaries, and that neither Mahican nor Moravian found contradiction in doing so. For references to the use of native remedies, see Moravian mission diary entries for November 3, 1750, 114/2, RMM; March 30, 1751, 114/3, RMM; and May 24, 1753, 112/3, RMM; for references to use of sweat lodges by men and women, see July 11, 1745, 111/1, RMM; October 11, 1750, 114/2, RMM; November 1, 1750, 114/2, RMM; and November 29, 1750, 114/2, RMM.

7. Among the most noteworthy of recent works on Native Americans and Christianity are: James B. Treat, ed., *Native and Christian* (New York: Routledge, 1995); Jace Weaver, *Native American Religious Identity: Unforgotten Gods* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis, 1998); Sergei Kan, *Memory Eternal: Tlingit Culture and Russian Orthodox Christianity through Two Centuries* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1999); and Michael McNally, *Ojibway Singers: Hymns, Grief, and a Native Culture in Motion* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000).

8. Robert F. Berkhofer, *Salvation and the Savage: An Analysis of Protestant Missions and American Indian Response, 1787–1862* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1965); R. Pierce Beaver, *Church, State, and American Indians: Two and a Half Centuries of Partnership in Missions between Protestant Churches and Government* (St. Louis: Concordia, 1966); Henry Warner Bowden, *American Indians and Christian Missions: Studies in Cultural Conflict* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981); and William G. McLoughlin, *Cherokees and Missionaries, 1789–1839* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984).

9. The emphasis on resistance to imperialism is not surprising given that many of these scholars came of age in the Vietnam era. Much excellent scholarship has come out of this line of inquiry. Anthony F. C. Wallace launched the field with his article, "Revitalization Movements," *American Anthropologist* 58 (1956): 264–81, and his subsequent book, *The Death and Rebirth of the Seneca* (New York: Knopf, 1969). Several works have followed in the same rich vein, including Gregory Evans Dowd, *Spirited Resistance: The North American Indian Struggle for Unity, 1745–1815* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992); Joel Martin, *Sacred Revolt: The Muskogeans Struggle for a New World* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1991); and R. David Edmunds, *The Shawnee Prophet* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983).

10. On native women, colonization, and Christianity, the foremost works include Mona Etienne and Eleanor Leacock, eds., *Women and Colonization: Anthropological Perspectives* (New York: Praeger Press, 1980); Irene Silverblatt, *Moon, Sun, and Witches: Gender Ideologies and Class in Inca and Colonial Peru* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987); Karen Anderson, *Chain Her by One Foot: The Subjugation of Women in Seventeenth-Century New France* (New York: Routledge, 1991); Carol Devens, *Countering Colonization: Native American Women and Great Lakes Missions, 1630–1900* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992); Nancy Shoemaker, ed., *Negotiators of Change: Historical Perspectives on Native American Women* (New York: Routledge, 1995); and The-da Perdue, *Cherokee Women: Gender and Culture Change, 1700–1835* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998). The fall 1996 issue of *Ethnohistory* (43:4) is devoted to the encounters of native women and Christianity. Paula Strong's article in this issue, "Feminist Theory and the 'Invasion of the Heart'" offers an especially cogent and useful review of work in the field. Etienne and Leacock's work employs a Marxist bent and interprets the advent of capitalism as the end of gender equality in native communities. Anderson finds that Christianity was a key element in establishing the subjugation of women to men in Huron and Montagnais communities. Devens studies the missions to Great Lakes Indians as one aspect of the colonization process and finds three possible responses to Christianity: native peoples (1) rejected it as a threat to tribal lifeways, (2) accommodated Christianity grudgingly in the face of dire economic conditions, or (3) divided along gender lines when the mission or eco-

conomic circumstances affected men and women differently. Women's engagement with Christianity is understood as the conscious manipulation of a tool. Devens, *Countering Colonization*, 3–4, 21.

11. Francis Jennings, *The Invasion of America: Indians, Colonialism, and the Cant of Conquest* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975); for a more concise summary of Jennings's views of missions, see his "Goals and Functions of Puritan Missions to the Indians," *Ethnohistory* 18 (1971): 197–212. See also James Ronda, "'We Are Well as We Are': An Indian Critique of Seventeenth-Century Missions," *William and Mary Quarterly* 34 (1977): 66–82; and Neal Salisbury, "Red Puritans: The 'Praying Indians' of Massachusetts Bay and John Eliot," *William and Mary Quarterly* 31 (January 1974): 27–54. James Axtell has written much on the subject of missions, the most encompassing of which is *The Invasion Within: The Contest of Cultures in Colonial North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986). For a relatively recent reevaluation of New England missions, see Harold W. Van Lonkhuyzen, "A Reappraisal of the Praying Indians: Acculturation, Conversion, and Identity at Natick, Massachusetts, 1646–1730," *New England Quarterly* 63 (1990): 396–428.

12. This is not to suggest that the missionaries are not in fact legitimate definers of Christianity, but only that it is a mistake to attempt to measure the "authenticity" of native Christianity by the extent to which it reproduces the Christianity taught and practiced by the missionaries.

13. The Moravian sources are unique in allowing such a study of lay Indian Christianity in the eighteenth century. Even the rich Jesuit sources do not compare to Moravian sources for depth of detail about individual lives. David Hall has been at the forefront of the movements to study first "popular religion" and, more recently, "lived religion." His recent edited volume contains essays by many of his students. David D. Hall, ed., *Lived Religion in America: Toward a History of Practice* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997). Inga Clendinnen's work on colonial Mexico presents a fine model for the study of local and lived religion in a native context. She argues against a "belief analysis" approach to the study of religion and proposes instead to seek religion in action and observances, or "religion as performed." Inga Clendinnen, "Ways to the Sacred: Reconstructing 'Religion' in Sixteenth-Century Mexico," *History and Anthropology* 4 (1990): 105–41 (quote 110).

14. Anne Brown and David Hall, "Family Strategies and Religious Practice: Baptism and the Lord's Supper in Early New England," in *Lived Religion*, ed. Hall, 41–68 (quote 50).

15. For a history of the Moravian Church from its Hussite origins, see Edmund De Schweinitz, *The History of the Church Known as the Unitas Fratrum*, 2d ed. (Bethlehem: Moravian Publication Concern, 1901); and Rudolf

Rican, *The History of the Unity of Brethren: A Protestant Hussite Church in Bohemia and Moravia*, C. Daniel Crews, trans. (Bethlehem and Winston-Salem: Moravian Church in America, 1992). For general treatments of the German Pietist movement, see F. Ernest Stoeffler, *German Pietism during the Eighteenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 1973); F. Ernest Stoeffler, *Continental Pietism and Early American Christianity* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1976); and W. R. Ward, *The Protestant Evangelical Awakening* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992). On Pietism and the Moravians, see John Jacob Sessler, *Communal Pietism among the Early American Moravians* (New York: H. Holt and Co., 1933). Sessler and Ward both suggest that the Moravian missions were in part the result of their strained relations with princes and pulpits at home. For more recent studies of the Moravian movement in America, see Gillian Lindt Gollin, *Moravians in Two Worlds: A Study of Changing Communities* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967); and Beverly Prior Smaby, *The Transformation of Moravian Bethlehem: From Communal Mission to Family Economy* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988).

16. Early Moravian histories of the missions tend not to be as triumphalist as their Anglo-Protestant counterparts. On Moravian mission efforts in America, see George H. Loskiel, *History of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Indians of North America*, Christian Ignatius La Trobe, trans. (London: Brethren's Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel, 1794); and John Heckewelder, *A Narrative of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Delaware and Mohegan Indians, from Its Commencement, in the Year 1740, to the Close of the Year 1808* (Philadelphia: McCarty and Davis, 1820). More recent scholarship on the missions includes Elma Gray, *Wilderness Christians: The Moravian Mission to the Delaware Indians* (New York: Russell and Russell, 1953); and Earl P. Olmstead, *Blackcoats among the Delaware: David Zeisberger on the Ohio Frontier* (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1991). Jon Sensbach explores Moravian relations with African Americans, in Sensbach in his *A Separate Canaan: The Making of an Afro-Moravian World in North Carolina, 1763–1840* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998). A couple of recent dissertations and recent articles have made substantial use of the Moravian mission sources in the writing of Indian history. Amy Schutt, "Forging Identities: Native Americans and Moravian Missionaries in Pennsylvania and Ohio, 1765–1782" (Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 1995); Amy Schutt, "Tribal Identity in the Moravian Missions on the Susquehanna," *Pennsylvania History* 66 (1999): 378–98; Jane Merritt, "Kinship, Community, and Practicing Culture: Indians and the Colonial Encounter in Pennsylvania, 1700–1763" (Ph.D. diss., University of Washington, 1995); Jane Merritt, "Dreaming of the Savior's Blood: Moravians and the Indian Great Awakening in Pennsylvania," *William and Mary Quarterly* 54 (1997): 723–46; and Jane Merritt, "Cultural Encounters along a Gender Frontier: Mahican, Delaware, and German Women in Eighteenth-Century Pennsylvania," *Pennsylvania History* 67 (2000): 502–31.

17. When missionary Christian Rauch went on a scouting trip to Mohawk territory in January 1743, he found "it was common talk every where that we were papists." It was feared the Moravians' missionary work was simply a ruse and a way to win the natives to their side, which, once effected, the Moravians would "war with them [the Indians] against the other inhabitants and help deliver the land into the hands of the Spaniards." Christian Rauch, undated recollections of a journey into Mohawk country, 221/4/1, RMM. Several missionaries were arrested in Connecticut in 1743. During questioning, an Anglican minister took issue with Moravian methods of instructing the Indians, claiming they were "erroneous, dangerous and papist-like." The minister feared Moravians made "ignorance the Mother of Religion as the Romans do." John Christopher Pyrlaeus' account of his arrest and trial, June 1743, 111/9/1, RMM. Shekomeko missionary Gottlob Büttner was held in New York in 1744 following the renewal of hostilities between England and France. During his trial, Büttner was asked why he had not gone to teach among the papists. Rumor circulated that the Moravians had received a shipment of guns and powder from the French. English translation of a report of Gottlob Büttner's trial at New York in a letter to Peter Böhler, August 13, 1744, 112/3/5, RMM. Gottlob Büttner's diary entry June 5, 1744, 112/2/3, RMM. For another reference to Büttner and charges of papacy, see Büttner's diary entry October 17, 1744, 112/19/5, RMM.

18. This issue was in fact a major cause of Zinzendorf's break with the Pietists. For Nicholas Ludwig Count von Zinzendorf's views on love as the primary experience of faith, see his lecture "Concerning Saving Faith," in *Nine Public Lectures on Important Subjects in Religion*, trans. and ed. George W. Forell (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1973), 34–42. See also Sessler, *Communal Pietism*, 142.

19. Missionary Martin Mack recorded his feelings as he neared Shekomeko, "My heart longed very much after Checomeco so that I could not sleep in the night being so near to it." Mack's colleague, John Pyrlaeus, reported that his heart nearly broke when he met his Mahican hosts. "One cannot help loving them. . . . I am heartily willing even to remain among them." "A Short Acct of Brother Martin Mack's Journey to Checomeco and Back to Bethlehem," November 1745, 217/12b/2, RMM. Pyrlaeus, June 1743, 111/9/1, RMM. Although Moravian mission policy accords better with modern sensibilities, it would be misguided to uphold these missionaries as proto-multiculturalists. Their relatively nonaggressive proselytizing stemmed less from an appreciation of the innate worth of Indian culture than from the particular historical and political circumstances in which they labored.

20. Gary Kinkel has explored Zinzendorf's feminine imagery in *Our Dear Mother the Spirit: An Investigation of Count Zinzendorf's Theology and Praxis*

(Lanham, Md: University Press of America, 1990). Much of this imagery can be found throughout Christian history. Caroline Walker Bynum has argued for an understanding of medieval Christian art as centrally tied to ideas of family and sustenance, especially as indicated by the association of Mary's breast milk and Jesus' spilled blood as nourishment. See especially Caroline Walker Bynum, "The Body of Christ in the Middle Ages: An Answer to Leo Steinberg," in her collection of essays, *Fragmentation and Redemption: Essays on Gender and the Body in Medieval Religion* (New York: Zone Books, 1991).

21. A recent and balanced treatment of this rich body of Moravian religious expression is Craig Atwood, "Blood, Sex and Death in Zinzendorf's Bethlehem" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton Theological Seminary, 1995). Sessler's *Communal Pietism* contains many lengthy quotes from original Moravian sources. A few verses from hymns used in the Mahican missions aptly illustrate Moravian wounds theology as presented at the missions:

Make thou for these dear little Souls
a fine soft bed in thy wound Holes
and in the wound within thy side,
there let them sleep, eat, drink and hide.
(Fürbitte für Kinder, 331/3, RMM)

My Lamb! I thank thee heartily
that thou didst die upon the Tree,
and wert so wounded for my soul
and gotst within thy Side a Hole.
Where now a sinner rests so well,
and can with Tears of Pleasure tell
he on the Cross, my Lamb God!
And I live only thro' his Blood.
O wounded Head, o through-bor'd Feet,
O hands and Side, you are so sweet!
Be only still more dear to me.
O Lamb! Where is a Lamb like Thee!
(English Verses #26, 331/3, RMM)

22. A common Moravian practice through which the will of the Savior was sought on issues mundane and grand. On the use of the lot, see Smaby, *The Transformation of Moravian Bethlehem*, 23–24.

23. Numerous anti-Moravian tracts were published in the 1740s that often called attention to the Moravian "delusion" of experiencing the nearness of Christ. See especially Samuel Finley, *Satan Strip'd of His Angelick Robe: Being the Substance of Several Sermons Preach'd at Philadelphia, January 1742–3 from 2 Thessalonians 2.11,12. Shewing, the Strength, Nature, and Symptoms of Delusion. With an Application to the Moravians* (Philadelphia: W. Bradford, 1743); Gilbert Tennent, *The Necessity of Holding Fast the Truth* (Boston, 1742); and Gilbert Tennent, *Some Account of the Principles of the Moravians: chiefly collected*

from several conversations with Count Zinzendorf; and from some sermons preached by him at Berlin, and published in London (London, 1743).

24. John Webster Grant, *Moon of Wintertime: Missionaries and the Indians of Canada in Encounters since 1534* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), chap. 11.

25. The most complete ethnography of the Mahicans remains Ted Brasser's *Riding on the Frontier's Crest: Mahican Indian Culture and Cultural Change* (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1974). Kathleen Bragdon discusses the marriage practices of southern New England native peoples in her *Native People of Southern New England, 1500–1650* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996), see esp. chaps. 3 and 7.

26. Bragdon, *Native People*, esp. chap. 1.

27. Robert Steven Grumet discusses women's signatures on deeds among Coastal Algonquians in "Sunksquaws, Shamans, and Tradeswomen: Middle Atlantic Coastal Algonkian Women during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," in *Women and Colonization*, ed. Etienne and Leacock, 43–62. A 1735 deed from Mauhammetpeet and Mequnnisqua, women of Scaticook, to the Province of Massachusetts Bay conveyed a significant parcel of land that would eventually sprout ten towns. A confirmation of the women's ownership of the land was signed by nineteen men of the Scaticooks three days before the deed itself. Another deed from Nechehoosqua, a Scaticook woman, deeded land "north of Fort Dummer" for £100 in bills of credit to Jeremiah Allen of Boston "and to his Successor or Successors in Trust for the use and Benefit of Said Province for ever." Henry Andrew Wright, *Indian Deeds of Hampden County* (Springfield, Mass., 1905), 120–30.

28. Van der Donck noted, "The Indians also affirm, that before the arrival of the Christians, and before the small pox broke out amongst them, they were ten times as numerous as they now are, and that their population had been melted down by this disease, whereof nine-tenths of them have died." Adraien Van der Donck, *A Description of the New Netherlands* (1655; repr., Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1968), 64. Almost a century later, in 1734, Ebenezer Poohpoonuc, the first to be baptized at the Stockbridge mission, lamented that, "since my remembrance, there were Ten Indians, where there is now One," while "the Christians greatly increase and multiply, and spread over the Land." Nathaniel Appleton, *Gospel Ministers Must Be Fit for The Master's Use* (Boston: S. Kneeland & T. Green, 1735), iv.

29. Brasser, *Riding on the Frontier's Crest*, 29. Adraien van der Donck's account of the Mahican and Delaware was first published in 1655. Van der Donck, *A Description of the New Netherlands*, 79. A sketch of Shekomeko done

in 1745 by Moravian missionary Johannes Hagen seems to confirm this pattern. All of the dwellings depicted are single family (112/17/1, RMM).

30. In 1722, the Mahican chief Ompamit lodged a complaint with Governor Burnet of New York "that many of our people are obliged to hire land of the Christians at a very dear rate, and to give half the corn for rent, and the other half they are tempted by rum to sell." Edmund Bailey O'Callaghan and Berthold Fermow, *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York* (Albany, 1856–1887), vol. 5, 661–63. Missionary John Sergeant of Stockbridge noted the small numbers assembled to hear him preach, explaining "the men were gone into New York Government, to reap for the Dutch people there." Samuel Hopkins, *Historical Memoirs Relating to the Housatonic Indians* (Boston: S. Kneeland, 1753), 31. The early Moravian records make frequent reference to village residents working for the Dutch and selling mats, baskets, wooden bowls, and canoes to European neighbors. Interestingly, a scan of the Index to the Moravian records demonstrates that there are far more references to selling manufactured goods than game or skins.

31. On marriage practices among the seventeenth-century Delaware and Mahican, see van der Donck, *A Description of the New Netherlands*, 84. David Zeisberger reported on late eighteenth-century Delaware marriage customs in his *History of the North American Indians*, ed. Archer Butler Hulbert (Columbus: Ohio State Archeological and Historical Society, 1910), 78–82. John Heckewelder comments on the nature of Delaware marriage customs in *History, Manners, and Customs of the Indian Nations Who Once Inhabited Pennsylvania and the Neighbouring States*, rev. ed. by W. C. Reichel (Philadelphia: Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1876), 154–58.

32. Hopkins, *Historical Memoirs*, 10–12.

33. Both Heckewelder and Zeisberger depict these guardian spirits as the province of boys and men and it is unclear whether women had similar experiences, though Zeisberger may have used the male pronouns to include men and women. It seems likely that both men and women could have guardian spirits, though they would presumably function to quite different ends. Heckewelder, *History, Manners, and Customs*, 245–48; Hulbert, *Zeisberger's History*, 132–33.

34. For a discussion of Moravian mysticism, see F. Ernest Stoeffler, *Mysticism in the German Devotional Literature of Colonial Pennsylvania* (Allentown: Schlechter's for the Pennsylvania German Folklore Society, 1950), esp. chap. 4.

35. Brasser, *Riding on the Frontier's Crest*, 29.

36. The grandmother's identity as sachem cannot be fully proved, but the evidence is highly suggestive. A document in the Moravian records, written in support of Abraham's efforts to persuade the New York officials to make good on a previous transaction, details the tragic history of Abraham's family and how he came to be among the sole surviving heirs of the land. His grandmother, Mammanochqua, was cited as the owner of the lands including Shekomeko, who, during a great epidemic of sixty years earlier (1683), was prompted to try to secure land for her descendents. Robert Grumet cites evidence of a woman sachem of the Esopus named Mamanuchqua who signed several deeds in the 1670s and 1680s. Additionally, it makes more sense that as sachem, Abraham's grandmother was attempting to preserve tribal lands, rather than family lands. The land including Shekomeko may well have been traditional hunting territory of the Esopus. Brasser suggests a date of 1711 for the founding of the village of Shekomeko. Further, one of the witnesses to Abraham's right to the land cited in the Moravian records was Cornelius, or Gadrachseth, listed as the "Old Captain," likely the former chief of Shekomeko, who often traveled to the Hudson to confer with other Mahican leaders. Memorandum dated October 1743, 113/5/3, RMM. Grumet, "Sunksquaws, Shamans, and Tradeswomen," 43–62. Brasser, *Riding on the Frontier's Crest*, 67. See Shekomeko records dated February 15 and February 21, 1743, 111/2/1, RMM.

37. It might also suggest the differing traditions of the Wampano, as Bragdon suggests that the record is unclear on whether coastal southern New England peoples were matrilineal or patrilineal. Bragdon, *Native People*, 158–60. Additionally, there would have been quite a mix of varying tribal traditions among the residents of Shekomeko. According to the Moravian records, residents at Shekomeko included Mahican as well as "Wampanosch," "Sopus," "Highland," and "Mennissing." See Carl John Fliegel's translation of the Moravian catalogs of Indian residents, located at 3191/2/1, RMM.

38. If David Zeisberger's account of Delaware practices holds true for Mahican society as well, Sarah was likely born around 1705 at the latest. According to Zeisberger, Delaware men generally married when they were between eighteen and twenty and women at fourteen or fifteen. Sarah and Abraham had several sons of marriageable age when the Moravians arrived in Shekomeko. Their son David himself had a son who died in 1744 (no date is given for his birth). Son Jonathan married Anna in 1744. Son Joachim married Catharina sometime in the early 1740s. So, if the oldest of Sarah's children was twenty in 1740 and she had married at fourteen, she would have been born in 1705. Hulbert, *Zeisberger's History*, 82–83. Carl John Fliegel, *Index to Records of the Moravian Mission among the Indians of North America* (New Haven: Research Publications, 1970).

39. Memorandum dated October 1743, 113/5/3, RMM.

40. John Sergeant reported on Mamma'tnikan's visit to Stockbridge in April of 1739. In Mamma'tnikan's vision, as reported to Sergeant, a roar of rushing water filled his ears and he saw before him a group of Indians drunk and naked and unable to escape the onrushing water. A voice told him he must give up all wickedness. The vision continued, a strong light shone all about him, and he heard "a noise like the blowing of a pair of bellows" followed by "a violent blast of wind which dispersed the Indians into the air." Awakening from the vision, Mamma'tnikan resolved to give up drink and seek knowledge of Christianity. John Sergeant diary entries dated April 14 and June 17, 1739, Stiles Papers, Beinecke Library, New Haven, Conn. John Sergeant made at least one visit to Shekomeko, as recorded in the Shekomeko Diary for October 1743, 111/1, RMM. The first meeting between Mamma'tnikan and the Moravians is found in the Shekomeko diary, July 1740, 111/1, RMM.

41. Büttner Diary [Eng.], December 11, 1743, 111/2/7, RMM. "*Erzehlte Sara, daß ihr ganz besonders etliche Tage daher gewesen sie wäre nämlich zu erst sehr bekümmert gewesen wie sie doch mit dem Heylande stünde, und hätte ihn gebetten 3 nachten hinter einander. Er möchte ihr doch zu erkennen geben wie ihr Herze mit ihm stünde endlich wären, ihr ein mahl die Wunden des Heylandes, so klar und so lebendig geworden, und hätten ihr ein solch gefühl im Herzen verursacht daß sie dächte wenn ihr zu der Zeit iemand Stücke vom Leibe Geißre, sie hätte es nicht gefühlt, ihr Augen hätten zwar die Wunden nicht gesehen aber ihr Herze hätte eine solche Kraft daran gefühlt als ob sie selbige wircklich sähe.*" December 11, 1743, 111/1, RMM.

42. This account was taken down by Rachel's husband, Christian Post, who was a joiner by trade and wrote with little punctuation, capitalization, or attention to grammar. "*Sie sagt sie wäre so sehr sindig und elend sie wiste nicht warums sie der Heiland so lieb hätte es wäre wohl umb seines Blut und der Wunden willen womit er sie erkaufft hat beim eintrit in den sahl ists ihr gewesen als hät einer mit heissen wasser übergossen sie hat nicht gefühlt ob sie auf den boden trete oder in der luft schwebte es ist ihr so gewesen als wen sie vor gott treten in sein haus. Sie hat gefült als wen der lieb heiland mit seinem engelkens bey sie gesessen wir wohin zeit und Ewigkeit eure armen sinder sein.*" Letter from Rachel, 219/1/7, RMM.

43. "*Die Manhat [Abraham's mother] selbsten wurde in den damaligen krigten zwischen denen Englishen und Franzen, von denen Franz Maquaischen Indianen gefangen und Todt geschlagen.*" Memorandum on Abraham's Land, 113/5, RMM.

44. Van der Donck, *A Description of the New Netherlands*, 99–101; Heckewelder, *History, Manners, and Customs*, 217–19; and Hulbert, ed., *Zeisberger's History*, 102–8. Daniel Richter discusses the meaning of this practice extensively in *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina

Press, 1992), 33–36, 66–71 and in an article, “War and Culture: The Iroquois Experience,” *William and Mary Quarterly* 40 (1983): 528–59. John Steckley has written provocatively and persuasively on the ways in which Jesuit missionaries used Iroquois and Huron torture practices as a basis for conveying Christian themes. Steckley, “The Warrior and the Lineage: Jesuit Use of Iroquoian Images to Communicate Christianity,” *Ethnohistory* 39, no. 4 (1992): 478–509. On stoic suffering, see especially Steckley, “The Warrior,” 491–94. For a discussion of women’s roles in torture, see Anderson, *Chain Her by One Foot*, 169–78. Anderson interprets women’s participation in the torture of captives as a means of releasing pent up aggression fueled by a restrictive society in which expressions of anger were forbidden. Theda Perdue offers an insightful analysis of the changing meaning of Cherokee women’s participation in war, especially their central role in deciding the fate of captives. Perdue, *Cherokee Women*, 49–55, 66–69.

45. Quoted from Heckewelder’s notes for a never published revised edition of his *An Account of the History, Manners and Customs of the Indian Nations*. Heckewelder, *Notes, Amendments, and Additions to His Account of the Indians*, 11–12.

46. An entry of the Shekomeko diary reads in part “*die geschwister im Hauße hatten heute ein sehr geseegnetes Streitermahl.*” October 2, 1743, 111/1, RMM. In hymns written for use in the Mahican missions (often with the assistance of the Mahican couple, Joshua and Bathsheba), Christ’s cross is frequently referred to as a tree. This booklet of hymns contains German, English, and Mahican versions. There seems to be some correspondence between the European language and Mahican language hymns. A few of the Mahican hymns have the German translation interlineated, while many are written in Mahican alone.

Behold the loving son of God
 Strech’d out upon the Tree,
 behold him shedding forth his blood
 for all of you and me.

(English Verses #25, 331/3, RMM)

(2) The Blood Sweat trickling down thy Face,
 assure my Heart of purchased Grace.
 Thy Cross, thy sufferings and thy Pain
 my everlasting Strength Remain.

(3) Cleanse me and wash me in thy Blood,
 then only Thine I’ll be;
 Create me Thine, and I will have
 no other Lord but thee.

(English Verses #28, 331/3, RMM)

There is some evidence that such depictions resonated with Indian neophytes. Nicodemus, a Wampano Indian from Shekomeko who made the

move to Gnadenhütten near Bethlehem, reported to the missionaries a dream in which he saw Jesus in a tree and kissed his wounds. "*Nicodemus und Eva besuchten uns und erzählten unterschiedliche Instanzen der Arbeit des Lämleins an ihren Herzen, sonderlich auch wie letztere in Träume den Heiland am Baume gesehen und seine durchstochene Seite geküßet haben.*" January 6, 1748, Gnadenhütten Diary, 116/3/1, RMM.

47. In a chapter on war, Theda Perdue explores the changes to traditional Cherokee gender roles in the pursuit of war that accompanied the economic and political transformations begun during the colonial era. She suggests that women were often vulnerable to raiding warriors as they worked in the fields. If they were not immediately killed, they were more apt to be adopted than tortured. On the other side of the battle lines, women had once "avenged the deaths of their relatives personally through torture, but by the late eighteenth century torture had waned." Perdue, *Cherokee Women*, chap. 4 (quote 90).

48. Traditionally, women, too, likely placed a high value on stoicism, though the occasions for demonstrating stoicism and gaining power thereby would have been private (childbirth) rather than public (warfare and torture). Some scholars have suggested that the nearly universal European assumption that Indian women gave birth with far less pain than European women is largely a function of a cultural imperative of stoicism. James Axtell, ed., *The Indian Peoples of Eastern America: A Documentary History of the Sexes* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), 3. Roger Williams noted of the Narragansett that "most of them count it a shame for a Woman in Travell to make complaint, and many of them are scarcely heard to groane." Quoted in Bragdon, *Native People*, 175. On the spiritual powers gained through suffering, Perdue writes, "Although women could not avoid the physical and spiritual dangers brought on by menstruation, pregnancy and childbirth, they could gain a spiritual power through these trials." Perdue, *Cherokee Women*, 32–36.

49. For Moravian conference minutes from Shekomeko, see, for example, 112/5/3, RMM which contains conference minutes from June 1744–January 1745. One entry dated September 20, 1744, reads, "*Ruth sagte sie feilte in Ihren Herzen das Boas so lange er so wäre sie nicht könde lieben und sie wolte nicht mehr zu ihnen, sondern alleine bleiben*"; several days later, the minutes noted, "*Cornelius hat gestern Ruth in seinem Hause gefunden und erfahren daß sie wieder von ihrem Mann geschlagen und weg gejagt worden*"; December 9, 1744, reads, "*Cornelius seine Fr. hat bey der Sara sich sehr beklagt über ihren Mann*"; January 1, 1745, reads, "*Petrus wurde verklagt das er sich auf der Jagt gegen sein Weib schlecht hat mit gefahrtet.*"

50. I have yet to find any discussion of the process by which delegates were chosen to serve on the committee, but it is apparent that it was the

Christian members in good standing who most often served. At times, these were people who were apparently prominent members of the community even before the arrival of the Moravians. But it is also clear that the Moravians helped to disrupt traditional patterns of authority. Many native communities experienced a new factionalism between Christians and non-Christians. See, for example, Daniel K. Richter, "Iroquois versus Iroquois: Jesuit Missions and Christianity in Village Politics, 1642–1686," *Ethnohistory* 32, no. 1 (1985): 1–16. James Axtell also deals extensively with this question in *The Invasion Within*.

51. For example, Heckewelder comments, "Although the Indians have no code of laws for their government, their chiefs find little or no difficulty in governing them." And further, he writes, "it may justly be a subject of wonder, how a nation without a written code of laws or system of jurisprudence, without any form or constitution of government, and without even a single elective or hereditary magistrate, can subsist together in peace and harmony, and in the exercise of the moral virtues." He goes on to attribute the smooth operation of society to "the pains which the Indians take to instill at an early age honest and virtuous principles upon the minds of their children, and to the method which they pursue in educating them." In this task, parents were assisted by all members of the community, who employed public praise and scorn to shape behavior. Such education would have been largely the province of women. Heckewelder, *History, Manners, and Customs*, 107, 113–14.

52. Conference minutes from 1744 show Sarah particularly active in domestic disputes. On June 10, Sarah recommended that Eva continue to live in the house with Sarah's son David and his wife, Anna. On June 17, she reported on Martha's desire to move to Shekomeko from Potatik in order to find a husband. On December 16, Sarah brought forward Rebecca's complaint that Susanna was her husband's "*kebs weib*" (concubine). She also reported on Ester's spiritual condition, saying sometimes she was very happy and others, she was "*sehr elend*" and that her mother often bothered her. On December 23, Sarah's daughter-in-law, Anna, reported that she had often prayed to the Savior for her husband, Jonathan, to return. Worker's Conference Minutes, 112/5/3, RMM.

A sampling of the Gnadenhütten diary for 1752 for all references to Sarah suggests Sarah's continued community work. On January 12, she is listed as conference member. January 17, she visits homes of Christians. February 7, she offers advice to parents on education of children. February 12, March 11, and June 4, Sarah serves as "*Jungerin*" or disciple. July 26, she reports the spiritual desires of a relative. August 15, she helps a sick woman. September 14, she visits Christians. September 29, she pleads on behalf of an old friend. September 20, she makes housecalls. Gnadenhütten Diary, January–December 1752, 117/3, RMM.

53. *"Sie wolte gerne des heyland sein, und warum sie sich nicht lange schon hingegeben, als die brüder von hier abgereist sind und ihr man auch hier war ist sie allein in Potatcoch geblieben, ist aber unruhig gewesen, das sie den aus gangen in der unruhe hat sie eine kastangen baum gesehen so ist die gemein in Schemeko wie die viele baumchen von einer art und sie war so alleine mit solchen schweren Herzen soll sie den verlangte her getaufft zu werden, wen sie auch solte nach bethlehem gehen, es mächte ihr auch kosten was es wolle."* March 31, 1745, 112/15, RMM.

54. One suspects that the missionaries in selecting conference members tended to give precedence to those villagers who were respected Christians and whom they perceived as holding political sway in the community. Rebecca and Jacob would have met the first criterion, but not the second. *"Rebecca hat gesacht was das sein solte sie konnte es nicht verstehen, daß Sara solte die Perschon sein der sie solte ihr Herz sagen, und wiste auch nicht was die Konferenz wäre."* Conference minutes, April 11, 1745, 112/15, RMM.

55. *"Abraham, Jacob, Sara kommen zu mir und sagten das Isaac d. 29 May den ganzen tag in WirtsHause gewesen wäre und gesoffen als er war zu Hause gekommen hatte er sehr [illeg.] und geruffen daß er wolte der Johannes tod schiessen, und gegen die Gemeine in Bethl. gerrede. Abraham sagte mir auch das mir Johannes viel schäme sagte erzehlte es weren aber alles [illeg.] sie fragten mich ob sie solten mit Isaac alleine reden oder ob ich auch wolte dar bey sein. Ich sagte ihnen aber das sei alleine solten mit ihm reden, (der Heyl. woltens das sie solten alein mit ihm reden)."* Conference minutes, June 4, 1745, 112/8, RMM.

56. *"Sarah ging mit ihren herzen heraus, nemlich daß sie allezeit die Gedanken von sich gehabt, sie hätte den Heiland lieb, und stünde gut mit ihr: Nun aber sehe sie daß ihr herz an der Erde und ihren Kindern gehangen."* Shekomeko Diary, August 7, 1745, 111/1 RMM.

57. The community had been in flux as the Moravians came under increasing suspicion due to the renewal of colonial hostilities and as Shekomeko residents felt ever greater pressure from an increasing population of New Yorkers. The Moravians secured land from the Delaware about thirty miles from Bethlehem, and most Shekomekoans eventually relocated to the Pennsylvania site. The dislocation and cramped quarters facilitated a devastating epidemic which claimed the lives of many Shekomekoans. Gnadenhütten Diary, April 22, 1747, 116/1, RMM.

58. Actually, he sought to stay in Wechquadnach, another Mahican village in New York, near Shekomeko where some of the villagers moved following the dissolution of Shekomeko.

59. *"Die Abrahams Sarah wurde mit einem Söhngen entbunden. . . . Abraham verlangte auch daß sein Kind möchte getaufft werden, desgleichen äusserte sich auch die Sara gegen die Esther und sagte, sie wäre wohl sehr arm und hätte sich*

versündigt am Heiland und der Gemeine als sie noch in Shecomeko gewesen wäre, doch würde sie vor eine große Gnade halten wenn ihr Kind könnte getauft werden ihr Herz und Sinn wäre, es sollte des Hlds ganz seyn. . . . Die Sarah sagte sie hätte schon viel geweint über die Kind, und weil sie so schlecht stände, so hätte sie immer gedacht, daß Kind würden wir wol nicht tauffen. Sie würde aber den Heiland sehr davor dancken, wenn es die Gnade haben könnte." Gnadenhütten Diary, May 6–8, 1747, 116/1, RMM.

60. A 1749 list of farmland assigned in Gnadenhütten includes Abraham and his three sons, David, Joachim, and Jonathan. September 2, 1749, 119/1/4, RMM. Lists of communicants from the same year include Abraham and Sarah, David and Sarah, Jonathan and Anna, but not Joachim. December 17, 1749, 119/2/1, RMM. A similar list from 1752 includes all three couples. January 15, 1752, 119/2/3, RMM.

61. *"Jonathan aber läge ihr sehr am Herzen und er habe sie in Shecomeco recht zur Gemeine getriben und gesagt: Mutter wenn wir hier bleiben, so werden wir alle verdammt: und nun komme er nicht, so fürchte sie, er werde verdammt werden."* Gnadenhütten Diary, May 29, 1747, 116/1, RMM. The Moravian records contain numerous references to dying parent exhorting family members to remain faithful after their death so that they would be reunited. Jonathan himself had once found comfort when his premature child died by believing that "it's near to the wounds, and if we continue faithful to our Savior we shall see it again with him." Letter from Brother Jonathan, 319/2/19, RMM. Similarly, Gideon of Pachgatgoch sent his greetings to his daughter Christina and other friends and family, exclaiming, "What a blessed and happy time this will be when we shall come together and meet one another there above, when we are gone home to our Savior for to live with him for ever. That will be a great happiness to us." Letter from Gideon, 319/3/9, RMM.

62. *"Maria und Mackin liessen sie rufen, die Mary bezeugte ihr herzliches mitleiden, und daß sie es selbst erfahren wie einen Mutter Herzen sey wenn ihre Kinder den Hld nicht annehmen wolten. Sie erzehlte ihr wie sie von Lämmlein sey getröstet vor den, nemlich sie habe ihr Kind dem der sie gemacht und denn gekauft, in seine Hand gegeben, weil er die Seelen doch lieber habe als alle Väter und alle Mütter. Denn wurde ihr von den 2 Kindern gesagt, und wie der größte den kleinen weg geführt. Man konte es ihr ansehen wie nah es ihr ging."* Pachgatgoch Diary, May 29, 1747, 116/1, RMM. Johanna (Jannetje) Rau Mack was the daughter of Johannes Rau whose farm lay just two miles from Shecomeko. As a child, Jannetje had spent enough time with her Mahican neighbors to learn their language. Martin Mack was sent to Shecomeko in 1742 to assist missionaries Rauch and Büttner. He and Jannetje were soon married.

63. For a discussion of the duties of a captain, see Hulbert, ed., *Zeisberger's History*, 100–101. The Iroquois had been seeking for some time to settle

allied Indians in this area. In 1745, Abraham had decided not to move to Wyoming for fear that it lay on the war path of the Flat-heads (Catawbias) and that the Indians there lived immoral lives. For Abraham's view of the move, see Shekomeko diary entries dated, May 30, June 1, and June 16, 1745, 111/1, RMM. In the fall of 1753, Abraham was named to be a Mahican captain. In a conference between Delaware and Mahicans in April 1753, Abraham deposited several strings of wampum, the first of which read: "*Ich bin 7 Jahr wie ein Kind herumgegangen und habe keine Chiefs gehabt und habe euch meine Freunde auch nicht gesehen. Ich habe auf euren alten Plaz die 7 Jahr beym Kleinen feuer gewohnt. Dieser Herbst aber bin ich zu meinen alter Plaz beym Mahikan hingegangen da habe ich einer Chiefs gesehen. Die Mahikander haben dran gedacht daß hier in Gnadenh. auch ein Chief seyn soll mit Nahmen Mamanetthekan [Abraham]. Dieser Mamanetthekan hat um sich der Zeit beym feuer gesaßen und den Weg hinaufgesehen der diesen Sommer gemacht ist und da hat er meine Freunde die Nantikoks Schawanohs und Deleware gesehen.*" Gnadenhütten Diary, April 5, 1753, 119/1/9, RMM. Abraham felt he must go, though he feared the conditions there would not be conducive to a Christian community. "*Den Vormittag sprach Br. Martin mit dem Alten Abraham, der unter andern erzehlte, daß seine Gedancken doch ein bißgen stärker nach Wajomick gingen als in Gnadenhütten, und das darum, weil sies den Nantikoks und Shawanohs versprochen hätten, er fürchte, es möchte sonst was schlimmes geraus kommen, wenn sie nicht gingen.*" Gnadenhütten Diary, March 2, 1754, 118/1, RMM. Abraham knew his wife did not want to accompany him and he requested that the Brethren let her stay with them. Sarah insisted on following her husband. "*Nachhero brachte br. Abraham seine Worte daß er nun resolvirt wäre, nach Wajomick zu ziehen, und bat zugleich wehmüthig ab, womit er bishero die Brr. betrübt hätte. Er höfte, wenn er nach Wajomick käme, würde er nichts anders treiben als die lehre von Jesu Marter, wir solten ihn lieb behalten, seine Frau könnte er mit guten Gewissen nicht mitnehmen weil sie auch lieber wolte hier bleiben. Er bat auch, die Gemeinen wolte sich seiner Frau annehmen, und sie in ihrer Pflege behalten. Er wünschte nur noch eins, daß ihm die Brr. möchten von thun, wenn er nach Wajomick käme, wo er wohnen solte, ob er unter den Shawanos, die jezo da wohnten, wohnen solte, oder aber alleine wo an einen Ort wohnen solte.*" Gnadenhütten Diary, March 13, 1754, 118/1, RMM.

64. "*Sarah sagte: ich will beym Hld bleiben, und Ihn lieb behalten, dabey vergoß sie noch viel Thränen. dann namen sie von uns Herzl. Abschied, und gingen mit ihren Kindern zu Mittag am ersten fort. Die mehresten folgten ihnen bald nach, einige aber blieben nach der Tag hier. Der Abzug war betrübt zu sehen.*" Gnadenhütten Diary, April 24, 1754, 118/1, RMM; Meniolagomekah Diary, June 13, 1763, 124/2, RMM.

65. "*Die Esther fragte sie warum sie denn weinte, die Anna antwortete: Sie hätte Ursach genug zu weinen, sie dächte viel an ihren Mann. Vor etl. Tagen, ehe er auf die Jagd wäre gegangen, hätte sie gesagt: Mein Lieber Mann, beschiene dich*

doch bald, was du thun wilt, und mache nicht so langeö Ich will der sagen, was ich thun will, ich gehe nicht mit dir an die Susquehanna. Wenn du gehen wilt, du kanst. Ich aber und meine Kinder wollen bei der Gem. bleiben: denn wenn ich bedanke, was Hld an uns und an uns Kindern gethan hat, so kan ich mich unmögl. dazu resolviren, von der Gemeine zu ziehen, ich würde mir ein scheres Gerichte zuziehen. Darauf sagte Jonathan: liebe Frau, habe noch ein wenig Geduld mit mir, und wenn ich werde von der Jagd zu Hause kammern, denn will ich dir eine Antwort sagen. denn sagte die Anna: darüber denke und weine ich, und warte mit Verlangen auf meinen Mann, zu was er sich wird resolvirt haben, ach wie ofte habe ich an ihn gedacht, besonders in der Christnacht und Neu-Jahrs Woche, und habe ihm von Herzen gewünscht, wenn er doch auch etwas fühlen mägte von der Gnade und Seligkeit, dir uns Hld hat fühlen lassen. Den Abend kam er euch von der Jagd zu Haus." Gnadenhütten Diary, January 9, 1754, 118/1, RMM.

66. "Jonathan ging heute zu seinen Vater und Mutter, und that Wederruf, was er die Zeit in senen schlechten Umständen gegen die Gemeine geredet hatte, und bat mit Thränen, sie sollten ihm vergeben. Womit er ihnen Schaden gethan hätte, es wäre ihm iezu ganz anders, und seine Augen würden nicht viel trocken, wenn er darüber dächte. Die Sarah hub die Hände auf, und danckte dem Hld, der ihr Gebet erhört hat, und sagte, wenn ich im Busch ginge Holz zu holen, so bin ich alle mal auf meine Knien niedergefallen, und habe zu Gott geschreyen, er soll sich doch erbarmen über meinen Mann und Kinder, und ihnen wieder einen andern Sinn und Herz schencken, und Gott hat mich erhört, dafür dancke ich ihm." Gnadenhütten Diary, January 16, 1754, 118/1, RMM

67. "Er [Jonathan] sagte: ezo wollen wir wieder aufs neue dem Herzen nach mit einander bekannt werden; und seine Anna danck dem Hld der ihr Gebet für ihren Mann erhört hat." Gnadenhütten Diary, January 15, 1754, 118/1, RMM.

68. "Kam Br. Abraham mit seiner Sarah nach zu uns, sie versprachen beym Hld zu bleiben, und den andern bey gelegenheit auch manch Wörtigen von Ihn und seiner Liebe zu sagen." Gnadenhütten Diary, April 24, 1754, 118/1, RMM.

69. "Ich grüße dich Herzlich. Wie wohl ich dich noch nicht gesehen habe, so habe ich dich doch lieb. Ich bin sehr arm hier in Wajomic, der Heiland thut sich aber doch zu mir, und ich halte mich an ihn darum halte ich immer am Heiland, weil ich mein herz fühle, darum lieb ich den Heiland, weil er Wunden hat, und sein Blut vergossen hat, das schmolzt mein Herz und macht mich auch freudig. Ich bitte allezeit, daß der Heiland mir ein Tröpfen Blut in mein herz mag schencken, das aus der Seite und seinen füßen geflossen ist, daß ichs einmal vergossen möge. Ich bitte dich meine Schwester, denck vorm Heiland an mich, ich habe es nötig, denn ich bin unter Indianern die noch in Sünden leben. Ich grüße und küse dich jezo abwesend, wenn ich aber einmal werde zu dir kommen, und dich sehe, so will ichs auch lieblich thun. Ich bin die arme Sara. Ich grüße auch Martins und Schmicks frau und all." Sarah to Sister Spangenberg, August 31, 1754, 319/4/9, RMM.

70. No birth date is given for young Sarah, but she was baptized September 17, 1749, and was likely born around the same time.

71. *"Zu ihrer Tochter hat sie gesagt: du bist meine einige Tochter, du hast nun meinen Sinn gehört, was willst du nun machen? Willst du mich verlassen, du kannst es thun, du hast deine Freyheit, ich bin lange mit euch gegangen und habe euch gezogen, und ihr würdet euch betrüben, wenn ich bey euch im Busch sterben sollte, und ginge verloren, darum haltet euch nicht auf. Die Tochter fing an sehr zu weinen, und sagte, ich will mit dir gehen, wie wohl ich noch nicht einen solchen Sinn habe wie du, und kan nicht sagen ob ich bey dir bleiben werde."* Meniolagomekah Diary, June 13–20, 1763, 124/4, RMM.

72. Philadelphia Diary, June 10, 1764, 127/2, RMM.

73. Much of the information on Rachel's life is in the form of conference minutes and letters from Rachel to Maria Spangenberg, to whom she often turned for comfort and support. Rachel dictated these letters and her husband transcribed them.

74. Later baptized Boas, Annimhard was accused of beating his second wife, Ruth. Conference minutes note, *"Cornelius hat gestern Ruth in seinem Hause gefunden und erfahren daß sie wieder von ihrem mann geschlagen und weg gejagt worden."* One week later, the minutes report, *"Ruth sagte sie feilte in Ihren Herzen das Boas so lange er so wäre sie nicht könder lieben und sie wolte nicht mehr zu ihnen, sondern alleine bleiben."* September 23 and 30, 1744, 112/5/3, RMM.

75. Her father, Lucas, was baptized March 27, 1743. Her mother, Priscilla, was baptized August 2, 1743. Her sister, also named Priscilla, was baptized August 7, 1743. Her brother, Lucas, was baptized March 14, 1749.

76. The other three candidates were Tachtamoa (daughter of Johannes and later baptized Deborah); a thirty-two-year-old unbaptized widow; and eighteen-year-old Maria (daughter of Gideon, the chief of Pachgatgoch, and also object of affection of the chief of Stockbridge, probably Umpachenee). Büttner's Diary, February 21, 1743, 111/2/1, RMM.

77. *"Rahel hat gesagt sie wolte ihren Mann lieb haben, könnte aber nicht."* Shekomeko Diary, August 13, 24, 28, and September 10, 1743, 111/1, RMM and Conference minutes, September 19 and October 16, 1743, 111/6, RMM. Apparently, Rachel was not alone in having difficulty liking Post. He had a tendentious personality and seldom won many admirers. The only full-length biography of Post is Chase's dissertation, "Christian Frederick Post, 1715–1785."

78. *"Mittlerzeit wolte der Heyland sie solten ihre vereinigung haben, welches sie ihm aber eineige mahl nicht erlaubte."* Büttner to Anton Seiffert, December 9, 1743, 111/8/7, RMM. The lot was not to be used by individuals but only by Elders acting in the interest of the *Gemeine*, or congregation. Smaby, *The Transformation of Moravian Bethlehem*, 24.

79. Büttner to Anton Seiffert, December 9, 1743, 111/8/7, RMM.

80. Conference minutes, December 22, 1743, 111/6, RMM.

81. The boy was born September 24, 1744. Rachel often confided in Johannes, one of the first four men to be baptized by the Moravians. Her child is likely named after Zinzendorf and Johannes. Many couples named their children after their own family members. That Rachel did not suggest there may well have been tensions between her and her family.

82. That Rachel addressed Maria as "*Liebe Mutter*" rather than the more common "*Schwester*" (as Sarah and others called her) suggests the uncommon bond between the women and Rachel's desire for a spiritual mother. Maria Spangenberg's given name was Eva-Maria, but she was known as Maria and her husband, Augustus, as Joseph. Referring to Spangenberg as Mother might also suggest that Rachel viewed Spangenberg as the embodiment of Mary, mother of Jesus, or as the Holy Spirit, commonly referred to as Mother by Moravians. Native understanding of selfhood was quite different from prevailing European notions, stressing the relational basis of identity over in-born essence. For example, when an individual was named after an important person, the individual shared in the personhood of their namesake. Rachel may well have seen Maria Spangenberg as the present embodiment of the Heiland's mother. She would have been encouraged in this belief by the European Moravians who clearly put great store in the power of names, so clearly evident in the baptisms of Abraham and Sarah, Isaac and Rebecca, and Jacob and Rachel. See Richard White, "'Although I Am Dead, I Am Not Entirely Dead. I Have Left a Second of Myself': Constructing Self and Persons on the Middle Ground of Early America," in *Through a Glass Darkly: Reflections on Personal Identity in Early America*, ed. Ronald Hoffman, Mechael Sobel, and Fredrika J. Teute (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 404–18. See also Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse*.

83. Rachel to Maria Spangenberg, 319/2/1, RMM. The original German letter can be found at 219/1/7, RMM. Neither letter is dated, but presumably this letter refers to her first pregnancy.

84. Moravians believed sex to be a sacrament and allegedly newly married couples were often enjoined to consummate their marriage while others waited outside the small room [*Kabinet*]. "*O liebe muter. Ich wahr sehr arm in Bethlehem und weill wir zu sammen waren im Kabinet und Bruder Joseph hätte fühlt ich große Gnade der Heiland begoß mein Hertz recht mit Blutt daß er hielt mich alle zeit wohl und vergnicht im Herzen ob ich gleich noch so elend bin.*" Rachel to Maria Spangenberg, October 1745, 319/1/10, RMM. On Moravian attitudes toward sexuality and marriage, see Craig Atwood, "Sleeping in the Arms of Christ: Sanctifying Sexuality in the Eighteenth-Century Moravian Church," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 8 (1997): 25–51; and Peter Vogt,

“Ehereligion’: The Moravian Theory and Practice of Marriage as Point of Contention in the Conflict between Ephrata and Bethlehem,” forthcoming.

85. Hannes died May 13, 1745. Rachel’s sister Priscilla (named after their mother) was baptized August 7, 1743. Her brother, Lucas (named after their father) was baptized March 14, 1749. Three other children, Benigna, Salome, and Esther were also baptized. Three of the children (likely Benigna, Esther, and Priscilla) all died in 1744.

86. Rachel Post to Brethren and Sisters in Berbies [Berbice], 1745, 319/3/5, RMM. Another letter further suggests reconciliation with her husband. In a letter to her fellow villagers, Rachel assured them that she loved her husband and her child (one-year-old Maria) was well. Rachel to Gnadenhütten, A. [April? August?] 1746, 219/1/7, RMM.

87. “*En dis mey moder dus laf mie so mus en gret del mor den mey ohn moder.*” Rachel to Maria Spangenberg, September 9, 1746, 113/1/5, RMM.

88. For references to Joshua, see Post’s Pachgatgoch Diary, July 22, 1746, September 1, 1746, and September 9, 1746, 113/1/5, RMM.

89. “*Mey hart was won dey were heffe ey did not noh wat did key so heffe mey hart ey was alwes kreyin Ples aur söfger hi schut scho mie wat it was eff mey men was sick mey hart did sey noh it is som oder tinks en den did Josua kom hohm tensing en schringin o mey hart did krey were mutz et was as iff was kot won off mey finger aff en ey did krey were mutz dat aur söfger mut help him egin ey kut not schlip hohlneit beloved moder ey tuckt iur letter aut de heus off aur söfger it was ius so es wen de söfger giwid mey hens en ey was so gled dat ey did krey.*” Rachel to Maria Spangenberg, September 9, 1746, 113/1/5, RMM.

90. A similar, but more fragmentary, bit of evidence suggests that other women experienced a similar power in giving birth and nursing their children. The Gnadenhütten Diary reports, “*Die Aemel erzehlte bei der Gelegenheit wie ihrs in ihren Herzen wäre wenn sie Kinder vor den Hld trüge und wenn sie gebähre und säugete.*” June 7, 1747, 116/6, RMM. Rachel’s letter reads, “*Mey scheyld gros well en strang but it hes eh gret kaff ey wist auer söffger did meg him well egen. ey ken help him noting de söffger muß du alting. . . . wen ey giff mey scheyld suck en ey tenck an die blot en wouns off auer söffger ey föhl mey hat sam teims were wet en so ey tenck mey scheyld saks de blot off auer söffger en ey föhl de engels luck efter mey en mey scheyld. . . . ey em puhr but ey krey en pre vor dem dat de söffger wut giff dem eh föhling off his blot en wouns in der harts. beluwet moder ie mus tenck an mie dat hie giefs mutz gres. . . . wie er iur pur schilderen Rahel und Maria Post.*” Rachel to Maria Spangenberg, September 9, 1746, 113/1/5, RMM.

91. Pachgatgoch Diary, December 26, 1747, 116/2, RMM.