

INTRODUCTION

The Moravian presence at Shamokin on the forks of the Susquehanna River at what is today called Sunbury, Pennsylvania, represents a unique compromise between the Moravian Church's missionary impetus and the needs of the Six Nations of the Iroquois, also known as the Haudenosaunee Confederacy. Already in 1742, as he sketched out his plans for the "Colleges of the Heathen," the leader of the Moravian Church, Count Nicholas Ludwig von Zinzendorf, recognized the strategic importance of Shamokin and decided to visit, along with Conrad Weiser, the seat of Shikellamy, the vice-regent of the Iroquois.¹

In the years that immediately followed, initial attempts to establish a mission at Shamokin, undertaken by Christian and Rachel Post in 1743 and Martin and Anna Mack in 1745, were very difficult. The near failure of the Moravian mission was averted through an agreement between Shikellamy and the Six Nations—and approved by the colonial government in Philadelphia—that the Moravians would establish a blacksmith's shop in Shamokin to service the needs of the Six Nations of the Iroquois. On May 5, 1746, a request was sent to the governor of Pennsylvania, stating that a blacksmith at Shamokin was urgently needed.² Eager for a response, the Quaker and friend to the Moravians Charles Brockden met with Governor Thomas about the blacksmith's shop, but there could be no assurances that the shop would be built until the outcome of the Treaty of Albany between the Six Nations and the British was known. In November a chance meeting between Single Brother John Okely, a member of the Philadelphia Moravian Church who had arrived there on the *Catherine* in May 1742 as part of the First Sea Congregation, and the governor on the street in Philadelphia provided the opportunity to ask again. Finally, the governor responded, "The Five Nations of Indians have taken up the Hatchet against our Enemies. Therefore, you may write to Mr. Spangenberg that he may send People among the Indians when he will."³ Now that it was clear that the Iroquois were

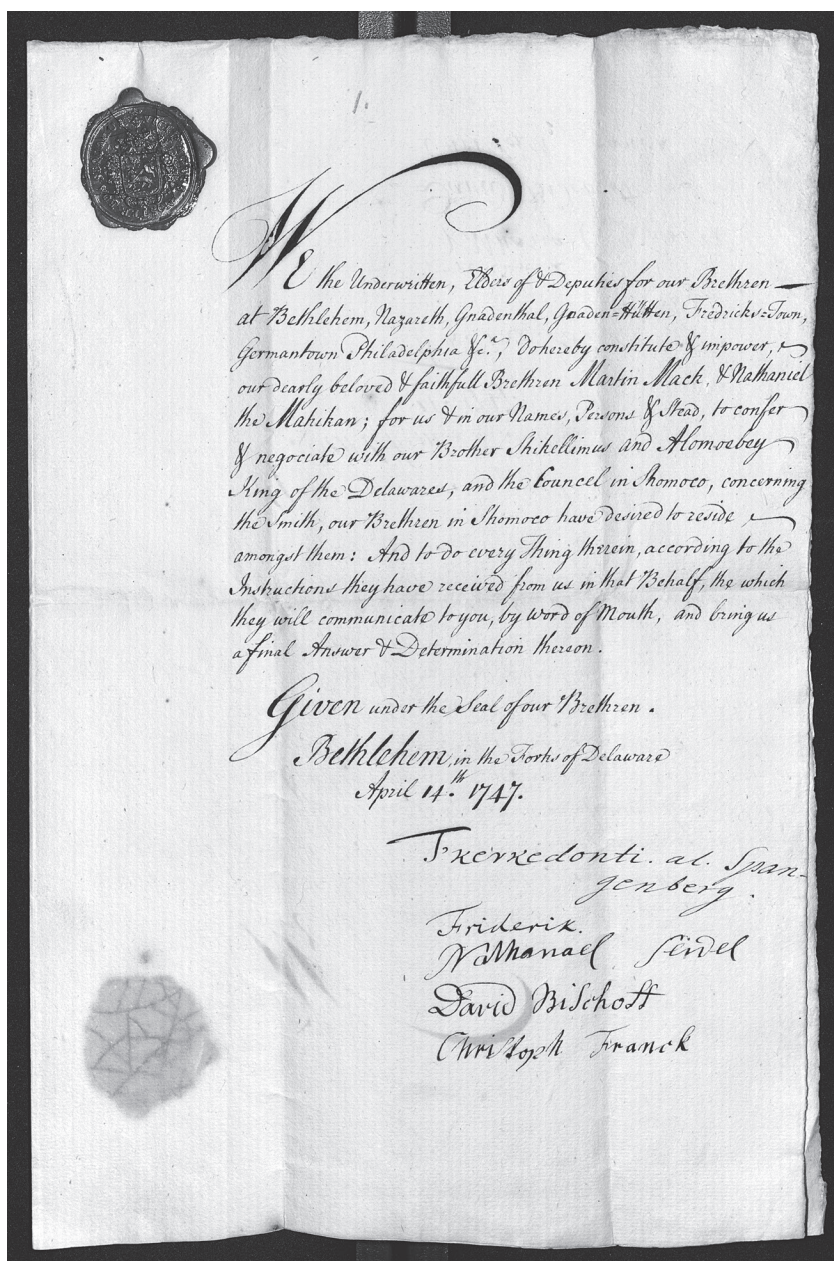


Fig. 2 Original agreement for blacksmith's shop with seal. MissInd 121.9.1. Courtesy of the Moravian Archives, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania.

siding with the British and not the French, approval was given to establish a blacksmith's shop at Shamokin.

In April 1747, in a conference with Brother Martin Mack, Shikellamy (also known by his Oneida name, the Swatane) explicitly outlined his expectations of how the blacksmith's shop would be run. A primary stipulation was that when members of the Six Nations were traveling downriver on their annual war parties to the Catawba, any work at the blacksmith's shop done for them should be without charge. Shikellamy says, "I desire, T'girhitondi [Spangenberg's Iroquois name], my Brother, that when something is done to their flints that it is done for free, because they have nothing with which to pay. However, when they return, and they have something done, then they would have to pay for it."⁴ All other Native Americans had to pay for the blacksmith's services. They could pay in hides, primarily deer, fox, and racoon. Indians and Moravians were not permitted to trade in anything else. Furthermore, at the conference with Shikellamy, it was stipulated that the Moravians were not permitted to sell flour or milk. They were not traders; they were not to befriend traders or favor them in the blacksmith's shop. The primary purpose of the Moravian presence at Shamokin was to honor the agreement that their artisans would work for the Six Nations.

Shortly after this agreement, in the late spring of 1747, Moravian missionaries Johannes Hagen and Joseph Powell arrived in Shamokin and further discussed the blacksmith's shop in a conference with Shikellamy and his advisers. Impressed with Hagen's linguistic prowess and the good intent of the Moravians, the Iroquois chiefs agreed that work could begin. That June and July saw the erection of the forge and the mission house, and by the end of July the forge was opened, much to the joy of Shikellamy (who helped to haul lumber). The arrival on July 23 of the first blacksmith, Anton Schmidt, and his wife, Anna Catharina, was an occasion of celebration. The diary entry for that day states, "It was as though a king had arrived; even Shikellamy was very happy." He was so happy, in fact, that he gave Schmidt the Mohawk name, "Rachwistonis" (he who works with metal) and, as promised, immediately accompanied him and Hagen down the river to Harris's Ferry to collect the rest of the tools for the blacksmith's shop.

In August 1747 yet another conference was held at Shamokin to set down the conditions of the establishment of the blacksmith's shop. The Moravians were to maintain themselves there "auf Indianisch Art," as Spangenberg describes it. That meant that only the "three sisters" (corn, squash, and beans) could be planted—no wheat, rye, or oats and nothing else that would make the place seem like a European plantation. All accounts were to be held by Brother Hagen or Brother Powell, with whom the blacksmith would meet at

the end of each day to review the day's transactions. The price of services would be set so that one member of the Native American nations would not get charged more than another, and the accounts had to then be sent on to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, which was paying for the blacksmith's supplies.

Shamokin

What kind of place was this river confluence? Why had the Moravians been so eager to agree to provide blacksmith's services for the Iroquois? The dominant view of Shamokin in the scholarly literature, promoted by historians for at least a century, paints it as a place of darkness and magic. This slice of the Pennsylvania frontier is depicted at times as a site of violence and disorder and at others as a utopian landscape of harmonious cross-cultural exchange. Historian James Merrell provides the following description of Shamokin's peculiarities: "From the 1720s to the 1760s, the Susquehanna country was a debatable land, a place marked by confusion and contention." He ascribes this uneasy quality to the desolation that preceded: "Too few 'natives' remained there to serve as a charter group that could determine the character of life in the region, the Susquehannocks having been all but destroyed by their Iroquois neighbors in the late seventeenth century."⁵

From a certain vantage, what remained in the Susquehanna Valley in the early 1700s might be optimistically called a landscape of contact. Merrell highlights the multilingualism of Shamokin, where each person seems to be speaking a different tongue, sometimes Algonquin, sometimes Iroquois, sometimes German, sometimes English. Across language barriers were moments of cross-cultural exchange: Lenni Lenape could be spotted playing European card games; European missionaries were sometimes invited to Shawnee sweat lodges. In 1742 Count Nicholas Ludwig von Zinzendorf described the Métis interpreter Andrew Montour as "decidedly European" in a "brown broadcloth coat, a scarlet damasken lappel-waistcoat, breeches, over which his shirt hung, a black Cordovan neckerchief, decked with silver bugles, shoes and stockings, and a hat." In stark contrast, his face was "encircled with a broad band of paint, applied with bear's fat" and "his ears were hung with pendants of brass and other wires plaited together."⁶ According to Merrell, this cultural hybridity was not unusual for Susquehanna country: Montour, son of a French mother and an Oneida father, fit in well to a confluence of cultures at the forks of the Susquehanna at Shamokin.

Yet historians also emphasize the sinister side to this confluence. Merrell characterizes it as a “babel of voices, accents, dialects, and languages,” where Europeans could not tell which language to learn when they came to visit; where an Indian warrior could tell the German children of settlers at Penn’s Creek, “Seid still!” in High German as he plunged an axe into their mother’s head; and where, in the early 1760s, British troops from Paxton scalped an Indian called George Allen, a name taken from one of his attackers.⁷

How might we begin to understand this site of deep ambivalence on the Pennsylvania frontier—where food, knowledge, labor, and hopes were shared during a time of such enormous political and social upheaval? The Moravian mission diary of the settlement at Shamokin from 1742 to 1755 offers a richer and more detailed insight into life on the confluence before the outbreak of the French and Indian War, inviting us to complicate accounts that would either romanticize or sensationalize these histories. This diary differs substantially from other extant published Moravian mission diaries, such as those of the older David Zeisberger from the eastern Ohio missions and those of the later Springplace Mission in Georgia.⁸ Shamokin itself was not a mission settlement built by the Moravians; rather, it preexisted their advent by several centuries, first as a Susquehannock, then as a Shawnee, and then in the early eighteenth century as a primarily Lenape settlement and trading post, overseen by the Iroquois vice-regent, the Oneida chief Shikellamy.

Repeatedly, in the mission diary of those first years, are mentions of passing groups of warriors in canoes who disrupt the quieter lives of the Lenape men and women occupied with hunting for furs and meat and growing corn, squash, and beans on the large island at the confluence, today named Packer Island. However, the presence of the Moravians there was assured through the agreement with Chief Shikellamy that the Moravians would establish a blacksmith’s shop in Shamokin to service the guns of the Iroquois Confederacy. This agreement also quite clearly delineates the sphere of the Moravians’ activity at the confluence. They are, for example, allowed to fence in Shikellamy’s garden but not permitted to plant anything other than the three sisters (corn, squash, and beans) and potatoes, for fear that any other European plantings (of fruit trees or woods) might smack too much of a “Plantage,” a European plantation.

The diaries of the mission in Shamokin details life in a place of both material and cultural commerce rather than in an intentional community, as is the case with the diary of Springplace, Georgia, or Gnadenhütten, Ohio. They reveal a far more complex picture of political and cultural negotiation, confluence of cultures, and environmental knowledge.⁹ They describe the missionaries’ regular visits to the settlements of Delaware women on Packer Island, regular

suppers with Shikellamy in their log home, trips up and down the Susquehanna River to speak with the Lenape men who were back from hunting, and visits from the envoys of the Six Nations of the Iroquois Confederacy on their way to and from important political meetings with the colonial administration in Lancaster and Philadelphia. An environmental diary of natural events includes an earthquake, floods, famine, planting, and harvesting.

Immigration

The eighteenth century saw a vast emigration of Germans to America, in search of financial wealth and religious and political freedom. By 1727 already more than twenty thousand Germans had settled in Pennsylvania. For these settlers the problem of how to interact with the Indigenous inhabitants of the area was clearly of paramount importance. To answer all questions for the future emigrant, in 1702 Daniel Falckner sat down in Halle with August Hermann Francke and answered his 103 questions on subjects as far ranging as where the other Germans lived to how the Indians might be subdued. The Pietists being persecuted in Saxony called Falckner, who had lived in central Pennsylvania, to Halle to report on the condition of the province for possible settlement. He described the Indigenous peoples of Pennsylvania as “*einfältig*” (simple) and “*argwöhnisch*” (suspicious), with a language that has “*nicht mehr Wörter als Dinge*” (no more words than things); they adhered to a Manichaestic religion, worshipping a god of both good and evil.¹⁰ Eight years after Falckner’s report to Francke, the future leader of the Moravian Church, Count Nicholas Ludwig von Zinzendorf, entered Francke’s pedagogium in Halle. During his six years there, he met his first missionaries who had returned from Tranquebar and most likely read Falckner’s *Curieuse Nachricht von Pennsylvania*. In 1732, even before he sent his own missionaries out into the field, Zinzendorf outlined his mission theology in a letter sent to Johann Ernst Geister, a missionary sent to Madras by the Stollberg *Konsistorium*. In this letter Zinzendorf writes of the appropriate demeanor toward the non-Christian: “Show a happy and lively spirit and in external matters do not rule over the heathen in the slightest fashion but rather gain respect among them through the strength of your spirit, and in external matters humble yourself below them as much as possible.”¹¹

Zinzendorf was well aware of the problems missionaries had already encountered in their contacts with other cultures, problems he attributed to the attitude missionaries had adopted toward non-Christians. For example,

Zinzendorf claimed that the refusal of some missionaries to mix with non-Christians or to live at their level of poverty was contrary to the spirit of Christ. Missionaries and non-Christians alike should both show deference only to the invisible Savior. In another speech to the inhabitants of Saint Thomas held in Creole on February 15, 1739, Zinzendorf clearly delineated both his understanding of “the natural state of sin into which the heathen have been born” and their need for salvation from the inherently sinful characteristics of this state. To convert non-Christians was, for Zinzendorf, an extension of the kingdom of God and the creation of another instance, unique and unrepeatable, of Christ. This understanding of mission policy meant that baptisms were individual and not performed en masse, that the individual’s path to salvation was charted by means of frequent “speakings” with spiritual helpers from the same national background as the candidate and the missionaries, and that each convert was a member of a small group of people who came together regularly in the evenings to discuss their spiritual growth, exchange confidences about their personal problems, encourage and forgive one another, and help one another toward Christ.

Such an individualistic approach toward conversion had both benefits and drawbacks. The benefits showed themselves in the success of the missions. The drawback was that only small numbers of converts could enter into the kingdom of God. Zinzendorf, recognizing that each human being has a personal, particular experience of religious life, became convinced that this individuality should be encouraged rather than eradicated and replaced. The individuality of each human being was balanced by the commonality of being born not only into a class, race, culture, and gender but also into humanity and, as such, being born into the world spiritually. In terms of our physiognomy, the most significant mark Zinzendorf argued that distinguishes us from all others is not skin color or gender but, as he says in his speeches to the Single Sisters Choir in Berlin in 1732, “the mark of the thorns on the brow.”¹²

Zinzendorf in America

The fantasy of a universal brotherhood in Christ met with some challenges when faced with the reality of a foreign and non-Christian culture. The Moravians initiated mission activity in Pennsylvania in 1740 after a failed attempt at a settlement in Georgia. In 1741, after spending Christmas in a log cabin on a tract of land in Northampton County that had belonged to the famous itinerant preacher of the Great Revival, George Whitefield, the settlers

built the first houses a few miles to the south on the banks of the Lehigh River to form the core of their Pilgrim Congregation in North America. This settlement, named Bethlehem, was to serve as the economic and spiritual base for the evangelization of the Native American peoples of Pennsylvania and New York. In 1742 Zinzendorf traveled to Pennsylvania and met with the Native American population; it was on this journey that he met with Andrew Montour; his mother, Madame Montour; and Chief Shikellamy, among others. Zinzendorf sets out in this diary his intentions to settle among the Native Americans. He does not wish to go directly to the villages and preach because the inhabitants have already acquired a great hatred for the settlers' religion. Rather, Zinzendorf tells the Six Nations of the Haudenosaunee that he is intimately acquainted with the Great Spirit and asks that he and his followers be permitted to live in their towns as friends until they have gotten to know one another better.¹³

In 1742 Zinzendorf traveled from Bethlehem west via Tulpehocken (the home of Conrad Weiser), through to Harris's Ferry (today Harrisburg) and up the Susquehanna. In his travel journal, Zinzendorf describes this journey along the river with Conrad Weiser and his companion, Anna Nitschmann. On the second day of the journey, he wrote,

We traveled on, and soon struck the lovely Susquehanna. Riding along its bank, we came to the boundary of Shamokin, a precipitous hill, such as I scarce ever saw. This is so rugged and steep a mountain that I have hardly seen its equal; but we all got safely across. Anna went on before, for she is our greatest heroine. She wore a long riding habit, to the train of which I held fast; Conrad held on to the skirt of my coat, and Boehler had hold of Conrad's. In this way we all felt more compassed and gained additional security.

Zinzendorf goes on to describe his first meeting with Chief Shikellamy in Shamokin, his evening stroll through the village, and his chance meeting with an inhabitant with whom he exchanged his fur hat for a melon. He describes the Susquehanna River in the following passage, as the party made its way up the West Branch to meet with Madame Montour near the Great Island:

Sept. 30. [1742] Set out on our journey. The sachem [Shikellamy] pointed out the ford over the Susquehanna. The river here is much broader than the Delaware, the water beautifully transparent, and were it not for smooth rocks in its bed, it would be easily fordable. In crossing, we had therefore to pull up our horses and keep a tight rein.



Fig. 3 Painting of Shikellamy and Nicholas Zinzendorf at Tulpehocken. GS.389.
Courtesy of the Unity Archives, Herrnhut, Germany.

The high banks of American rivers render their passage on horseback extremely difficult.¹⁴

As Zinzendorf passed through the forests that border the West Branch of the Susquehanna, he experienced his first Pennsylvania fall, a splendor of colors that demand a new poetic vocabulary:

The country, through which we were now riding, although a wilderness, showed indications of extreme fertility. As soon as we left the path we trod on swampy ground, over which traveling on horseback was altogether impracticable. We halted half an hour while Conrad rode along the river in search of a ford. The foliage of the forest at this season of the year, blending all conceivable shades of green, red, and yellow, was truly gorgeous, and lent a richness to the landscape that would have charmed an artist. At times, we wound through a continuous growth of diminutive oaks, reaching higher than our horses' girth, in a perfect sea of scarlet, purple, and gold, bounded along the horizon by the gigantic evergreens of the forest.¹⁵

Thus, through journals such as that of Zinzendorf and later of the famous missionary David Zeisberger, the banks of the Susquehanna were described to the inhabitants of communities throughout the Moravian world. These accounts would also play a central role in the development of an American aesthetic imaginary, as they provided writers such as Henry Wadsworth Longfellow and James Fennimore Cooper with primary materials for the creation of an American literature that was quite distinct from that of the European writer.¹⁶

The "Shamokin Diary"

Ten different missionaries, including the well-known David Zeisberger and Martin Mack, wrote the "diary" of the Shamokin settlement. It is written primarily in German script, with one section in English (chapter 5). Such regular mission reports and diaries of the communities were read to all members on Gemeintage or Congregation Days to show the workings of the Savior in the conversion of the non-Christians and also of course to hear about the activities of the Europeans in this distant land. In addition to details pertaining to the condition of the soul of both converts and missionaries, these reports contained, as we can see from the previous quotations, a wealth of information about the landscapes, people, and practices of the Indian nations where the Moravians were active.

Those sources that have been published and that pertain to the Moravian presence in Shamokin are for the most part the personal papers of the individual missionaries.¹⁷ For example, much use has been made of the *Lebenslauf*, or memoir of Martin Mack, first published in 1857 but written in the 1790s. In his old age, as a missionary on Saint Croix, he looked back on Shamokin in 1745 as "the very seat of the Prince of Darkness" and further claimed that

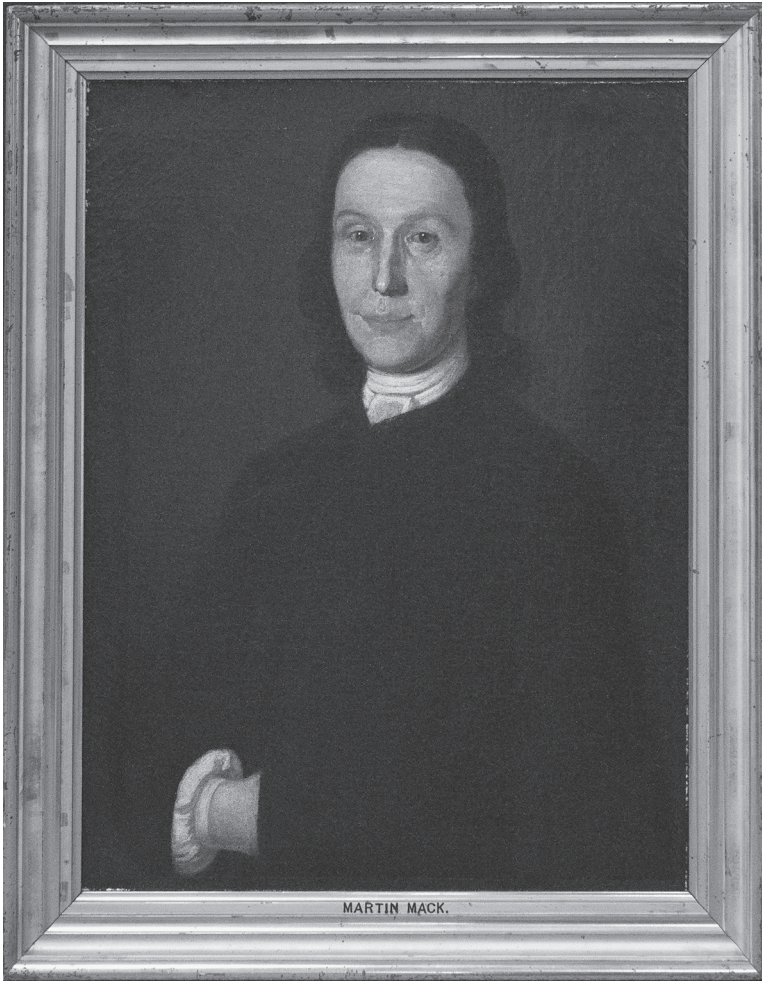


Fig. 4 Portrait of Martin Mack. Artist: Valentin Haidt. 1757. PC 16. Oil on canvas. Courtesy of the Moravian Archives, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania.

he and his wife, Anna, had to spend almost every night in the woods for fear of attack by “drunken Indians.” This printed source, composed much later in his life and reflecting the generic constraints of the Moravian memoir, contradicts the record found in the manuscripts written by Mack in the “Shamokin Diary.” Nowhere in the diary of 1745 is the necessity for Martin and Anna Mack to sleep in the woods mentioned. Rather, the diary describes how they find lodging in the hut of the mother of Anderius, or Andrew Montour, son of Madame Montour, who was acquainted with the Moravians in Bethlehem. In

the evenings they held regular services of prayer and song in English, German, and Mohican: "On the 29th [of September 1745] we helped our people to harvest their corn. In the evening we held a blessed Singstunde with one another in English, German, and Mohican. We also thanked the Lamb with prostrated hearts that He had been among us until now and that His wounds pleased us much in our hearts."¹⁸

Anna and Martin's contentedness with their lodging is made quite explicit, as Andrew Montour apologized for their cramped quarters as he has to leave for Philadelphia: "We thanked him greatly for this [his hospitality] and said that we were very happy with it, and it was more comfortable for us in his hut than if we lived in the most beautiful house in Philadelphia. He was very pleased that we were so happy in his hut. In the evening Martin and Anna were blessed and happy."¹⁹ It seems, then, that Mack's later description of Shamokin as a place of darkness and the devil is a distortion of memory, one produced approximately forty years later. But it is this memory that has so colored the depiction of Shamokin in historical studies.

The diaries of September 1745 show Martin and Anna Mack retracing Zinzendorf's journey on foot as they set out from Bethlehem, through Tulpehocken (Conrad Weiser's home) to Shamokin. They arrived on September 16 and immediately looked for somewhere to sleep. They were accompanied by Andrew Montour, from whom they asked for lodging. He replied that his hut, which he shared with his mother, was very small, but it was too late in the year to build a new hut for the Moravians, as there was no bark. So, although his quarters were cramped, he took them to his hut on Packer Island, where they were greeted by his mother, Madame Montour, who immediately offered them some meat. The next day, while Andrew was away visiting his wife's family, the mother told the Moravians what she knew of Bethlehem from her son and asked what the Delaware/Lenape were doing there. Anna Mack then took over the conversation, talking to the old woman about what could almost be understood as the utopian community of Bethlehem, where the spiritual and materials needs of all were met, irrespective of gender, race, or class. Madame Montour bewailed the corrupt state of Shamokin, by contrast, a community she experienced as nothing but drunkenness and dancing. According to the diaries, the night that followed—which is the Macks' first in Shamokin for three years—acted almost as proof of the old woman's words. Mack reported that there was much drinking in the town, that revelers crashed into Anderius's hut and screamed and yelled so much that the inhabitants sought safety in the woods. The next day they crossed the water to visit with Shikellamy but again fled early from the raucous drinking they encountered there. After this less

than auspicious beginning to their time in Shamokin, it took only a few days before Anna fell sick. Shaken with fever and chills, Anna was steadfast in her desire to remain in Shamokin. After a week she recovered and within two weeks was helping her neighbors on the island pick corn and was able to conduct pastoral visits with the Lenape women on the island.

From the diary one can assemble a clear picture of the movement around the confluence. As the island was inhabited by primarily Lenape—and on the shores of the North Branch on each side of the island there were also communities of Lenape and Tutelo—the river became an aquatic travelator, carrying visitors back and forth across the confluence. But when the water was too high, or the canoes were on the opposite shore, then travel became more difficult. Shikellamy welcomed the Moravians into his house, offered them bread and meat, and even took them in to stay, once Andrew had to leave. He told them, “I would not usually allow a trader or other white people to live with me, but because I know you a little and you have been living here a while, I will allow it. My cabin is for me and for you and for your Brethren, no one else.”²⁰ Andrew was sad that the Macks were leaving and apologized for having had nothing but corn to eat for the previous seven weeks. He had never known such times of famine, but Anna and Martin assured him that was not why they were leaving.

The diary breaks off here and resumes two years later, as Brother Hagen picked up the narrative in late August 1747, after the written agreement with Shikellamy had been reached. The Moravians no longer had to worry about being long-term house guests of Shikellamy, as they were now permitted to build permanent quarters for themselves. Once their own house had been built, life became much easier; their blacksmith’s shop was a place of stability, productive work, and calm in the whirlwind that Shamokin could be; Shikellamy was now their frequent dinner guest, especially after unsuccessful hunting trips. A few years later, Brother Powell wrote, “Shikellamy and his Eldest son, John, Return’d from hunting, being so Excessive cold that they could not hunt. Ware Oblig’d in about a week to Return without flesh, invited him to Dinner, had a hunter’s appetite.”²¹ When the noise of carousing became too much for Shikellamy, he found peaceful refuge in the Moravians’ house. And he went there to have the treaty signed in Philadelphia that year read to him.²² “Shikellamy brought us to Read a Treaty held with the Indians of the Six Nations in Philadelphia this year. Had also a Letter of Recommendation wrote and given him by the Governor, which we read to him. Was much pleas’d. Breakfasted with us.”²³ However, the Moravians preferred not to get involved with politics, either national or domestic. When a neighbor

from down the river came to them to complain that her husband had beaten her, Brother Powell turned to Shikellamy and his eldest son to settle the domestic dispute.

In the fall of 1748, Chief Shikellamy visited Conrad Weiser in Bethlehem to meet with the leaders of the Moravian congregation. By all accounts he fell ill on his return, and, by the time David Zeisberger was writing the diary entries for November, it was clear that Shikellamy, or the Swatane, was nearing the end of his life. On December 4 Zeisberger wrote,

Brother Anton and David visited the Swatane and found him to be so weak that he could no longer walk by himself and could no longer hear well. Otherwise, he was very friendly and watched us with love but could speak very little. We brought him some tea and bread, which he enjoyed greatly. On December 6 David visited the Swatane early in the morning and brought him something to eat and drink. He said, however, that he could eat and drink nothing, and that he could no longer hear anything, only speak a little. We saw that he would not live much longer. Around midday an Indian woman came and said to us that he was close to going home. David went to him and stayed with him. But there was a terrible wailing of lamentations, for everyone, old and young, wept incredibly about their old father. He spoke no more and looked at David with friendship and smiled and finally passed away quite contentedly. We now felt in our hearts that we should plead with the little Lamb that He should grant a place in His Side Hole for him and were able to believe that He would do the same. None of his sons were at home, only his daughter and a few women.

In contrast to the common belief among historians that Shikellamy was given a Christian burial (he was, after all, baptized at least once), from the subsequent account of his funeral it is clear that he was buried according to his people's customs. Zeisberger and Mack made his coffin as requested. Zeisberger wrote, "On December 9 they buried the Swatane. Almost everyone in Shamokin was present. In his grave they gave him two new blankets, a tobacco pipe, and three bags with tobacco and a flint as an honor, and other things too. We also went to the burial and helped to bury him. They did not fire their weapons while he was dying or at his funeral; rather, everything proceeded very quietly."²⁴ Shikellamy's death brought with it great uncertainty for Shamokin, as the "Light Bringer" was also clearly a "Peace Bringer." Very quickly, belts of wampum were brought from Governor Hamilton to Shikellamy's son, Tachnechoris or John Logan, as signs that he was now to assume the mantle

of leadership at the confluence. The Moravians took food to Shikellamy's wife and daughters, who were starving. But the clouds of war were gathering.

There are several gaps in the mission diary, most notably in the second half of 1749 and between 1750 and 1753. During these times there continued to be a blacksmith at Shamokin but no missionaries. However, the project at Shamokin was the subject of much diplomacy and discussion, as the presence of a white Christian mission at Shamokin was precarious, to say the least. For example, the record of all business in the Moravian community in Pennsylvania, the Bethlehem diary contains entries that describe in detail conferences in Philadelphia between the governor, the Moravians, Shikellamy's three sons, and the Six Nations on the repeated encroachment of white settlers onto Indian lands. The presence of the Moravians at Shamokin needed to be understood not as breaking the treaty that made the Blue Mountains the border between Indian and "white man's land" but rather as the fulfillment of the promise made in 1747, when the Six Nations had agreed to allow the Moravians to travel and live on their lands in return for the blacksmith's shop at Shamokin.²⁵ After agreements were reached in Philadelphia as to the scope of the missionaries in Shamokin, they returned. The writings in the "Shamokin Diary" from 1753 to 1755 reveal a far greater presence of white settlers on the proprietary lands along the eastern shore of the river and also illegal settlements in Indian hunting lands along the western shore of the main stem of the river.

However, even as political tensions were building between the settler colonists and the Six Nations, moments of peaceful cultural contact were still recorded. For example, in 1754 Moravian missionaries Grube and Martin Mack described their journey along the North Branch of the Susquehanna and depicted the banks of the river as a place of cultivation, plenty, and great natural beauty rather than one of desolation, famine, and disease: they visited several "plantations along the Susquehanna, where we found the aged Moses and his wife, and several sisters hoeing corn. They came and shook hands and greeted us." This welcome was accompanied by an invitation to a sweat lodge, which the Europeans accepted and then followed with a Moravian *Singstunde*, a service that was sung in Lenape/Delaware and translated into Minisink.²⁶ The next day the Moravians sang and preached further, and then "the youngest son of Paxinos and another Shawnee came to us with two violins, and desired to hear our melodies. We played a little at which they and our Brethren and Sisters were well pleased."²⁷

Between 1753 and 1755, toward the end of the existence of the mission at Shamokin and five years after the death of Shikellamy, the place had changed. In sharp contrast to the initial agreement with Shikellamy, the Moravians now had cows and calves and were thinking about getting a bull. A new mission

house had been built farther from the river and closer to a spring. Letters between Shamokin and Bethlehem talk of the need for sugar and tea (for the Moravian Lovefeasts), wine and bread for Communion, and new trousers and shirts. The racoon and deer skins received in payment were transported back to Bethlehem through intermediaries, such as Michael Schäffer, the shoemaker who lived five miles down the Tulpehocken Path. Shikellamy's sons had grown used to having the blacksmith's shop in Shamokin and would have very much liked to keep it for themselves, even though most of the trade traffic was no longer passing through the confluence but rather had shifted direction, from a north-south route to east-west. Conrad Weiser was measuring up the land for himself, intending to lay claim to it as promised by the proprietors back in the 1730s. The missionaries watched in consternation as his line passed right in front of their house. Logan (Shikellamy's son) watched this marking out of territory also and wanted to talk to the Moravians about what to do, but they did not have the language skills.

The missionary women had gone: Anna Mack died, and Catharina Schmidt moved with Anton back to Bethlehem, as had Martha Powell with her husband. The mission had become almost exactly what Shikellamy feared: a plantation. It serviced the flints of the traders and white settlers and appeared to have lost its original purpose. Spangenberg wondered if they shouldn't just shut up shop, sell the house and its contents that were no longer needed to Conrad Weiser, slaughter the livestock, and sell the meat. In October 1755, mere days before the Penn's Creek Massacre thirteen miles downstream from Shamokin, the remaining blacksmith, Daniel Kliet, who was there without a wife, drove the livestock up the North Branch to Paxinos so that he, in exchange for three blankets from the mission, could take them to Gnadenhütten.²⁸ The remaining Indian corn was offered to John Shikellamy, who refused it, and given instead to the Indian Schafmann.

These last gifts at Shamokin bore a profit. As in October 1755, the Western Delaware moved up the Susquehanna River from Penn's Creek, and both Schafmann and another of Paxinos's extended family came to protect Kliet and guide him up the North Branch, away from the conflict for now, back to Bethlehem. But the artisan economy of the Moravian Sisters and Brothers that maintained the mission and blacksmith's shop in the 1740s had long gone, and now only distrust, division, and destruction were traded along the shores of the Susquehanna River.