

Snow, Swamps, and the Savior:
The Travel Diary of Johann Jacob Schmick of the Moravian Indian Congregation's
Journey to the Susquehanna, 1765

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CONTEXT

In early April 1765, a few dozen Indians, mostly Delaware and Mohican, set out from near Bethlehem, Pennsylvania accompanied by two Moravian missionaries, Johann Jacob Schmick and David Zeisberger. They were headed for the upper Susquehanna, where they hoped to establish a new Native Christian community on the site of Wyalusing, a village once home to several members of the party, including the Munsee preacher, Papunhank.¹ Along the arduous five-week journey, made even more difficult by the need to give a wide berth to backcountry white settlements seething with anti-Indian sentiment, the travelers endured extreme weather, suffered frequent food shortages, and met with countless challenges along their path. Several members of the party died along the way. One woman, Sophia, made the trip while seven months pregnant.

We learn of this journey through the travel diary kept by Schmick who had served as a missionary among the Indians for over a dozen years.² The diary is fascinating and deeply moving. It mingles the prosaic, the tragic, and the quietly heroic. It recounts the

¹ On the history of Wyalusing, see W. C. Reichel, "Wyalusing and the Moravian Mission at Friedenshütten." *Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society* vol. 1 (1871) 179-224. Katherine Faull, "From Friedenshütten to Wyoming: Johannes Ettwein's Map of the Upper Susquehanna (1768) and an Account of His Journey." *Journal of Moravian History*. (2011): 82-96.

² Schmick was born in 1714 in Königsberg (later Kaliningrad) and became a University trained Lutheran pastor. He was sent to teach children in the Baltics, where he first encountered Moravians and was drawn to their faith. He joined a Moravian congregation in 1748, and in 1751 was assigned to serve as a missionary in North America. After joining the Moravian Church he also learned the trade of a joiner. Carl Masthay, ed, *Schmick's Mahican Dictionary* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1991), 3-4; Hermann Wellenreuther and Carola Wessel eds., *The Moravian Mission Diaries of David Zeisberger, 1772-1781* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2005), 65, n. 231.

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hardships of sleeping in a frozen swamp, foraging for “wild potatoes” on empty stomachs, backtracking multiple times to transport all the belongings, and waking to fresh snowfall in early May. Small joys of feasting on freshly hunted bear or deer or singing hymns along a difficult path occasionally interrupt the litany of travails.

But the diary is far more than a colorful evocation of a distant past. When placed in its larger context, it serves to put a human face on the radical transformations of the American backcountry in the aftermath of the Seven Years’ War. It highlights the tenuous position of Native Christians vis-à-vis colonial British-American society and also vis-à-vis other native communities and confederacies. It also symbolizes a shift in Moravian mission practice: after 1763 most Moravian missions would be established within “Indian country” rather than near white settlements. In practice, this meant that missions were no longer part of the day-to-day life of most white Moravians as they had been in the early years of their existence.

MISSION COMMUNITIES

However difficult the journey to the Susquehanna, it also represented freedom and a new start. Most of the Christian Indians in the traveling party were only recently released from more than a year spent in squalid confinement in Philadelphia, victims of the frontier violence that had riven backwoods Pennsylvania for nearly a decade, first in the Seven Years War and then in Pontiac’s War and the Paxton Boys Massacre.³ The sojourners were mostly Mohican and Delaware Indians who came from many different communities in Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, and Pennsylvania. The first

³ There has been renewed scholarly interest in these events recently. See especially, Peter Silver, *Our Savage Neighbors: How Indian War Transformed America* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2008); Kevin Kenny, *Peaceable Kingdom Lost: The Paxton Boys and the Destruction of William Penn’s Holy Experiment* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009); Gregory Evans Dowd, *War under Heaven: Pontiac, the Indian Nations, and the British Empire* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002).

Moravian mission in North America was begun at the Mohican community of Shekomeko in Dutchess County, New York in 1740. Within a few years, the majority of Shekomeko residents as well as a number of Indians from nearby villages had been baptized into the Moravian faith. Mohicans had rebuffed missionary overtures before (from Dutch and English missionaries), but the Moravians' distinctive blood-and-wounds theology which proffered a degree of spiritual empowerment combined with their relatively low-impact presence persuaded a significant number of Indians of the region to forge ties with the Moravians.⁴

The growth of the Moravian missions coincided with the revivals of the Great Awakening and the heightening tensions between England and France. This timing made for conflicted and conflicting responses to the Moravians and their affiliated Indians by their predominantly English neighbors. The missionaries were accused at once of religious enthusiasm and "papism," the latter charge stemming in part from Moravian success among the Indians, which to English minds automatically linked them to their Jesuit counterparts in New France. When fighting finally broke out as King George's War in 1744, neighboring white settlers became increasingly wary of the Christian Indians at Shekomeko, suspecting they were in league with French-allied Indians. Their ministers barred from preaching, harassed for debt and threatened with extermination (the community in Reinbeck, New York, sought—but were denied—official sanction to kill all of the Indians at Shekomeko), the majority of Shekomeko residents moved to

⁴ The early history of the mission is chronicled in Rachel Wheeler, *To Live upon Hope: Mohicans and Missionaries in the Eighteenth-Century Northeast* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2008). For the Moravian missions to the Delawares, see especially, Jane T. Merritt, *At the Crossroads: Indians and Empires on a Mid-Atlantic Frontier, 1700-1763* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003); and Amy C. Schutt, *Peoples of the River Valleys: The Odyssey of the Delaware Indians* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007).

Bethlehem in April 1746. After a smallpox epidemic that fall claimed many lives, a new settlement was established thirty miles from Bethlehem and named Gnadenhütten, or “Tents of Peace.”

Bethlehem lay on what had once been Delaware land, and while the deception of the 1737 Walking Purchase had alienated many Delaware, those who remained in the area were intrigued by the Christian Indian community at Gnadenhütten, perhaps initially as the best option for remaining on their ancestral lands. Whatever first prompted their interest, by the mid 1750s, dozens of Delawares had chosen baptism by the Moravians and the community attracted regular visits from curious Indians. Enough of the visitors expressed interest that a second mission community was established at the Delaware town of Meniolagomekah. Of course, many native residents of the area remained unmoved by the Moravian mission project, which made for complicated but not broken ties of kith and kin, a fact that would fuel suspicion of Moravian Indians when imperial wars resumed in 1754 with the outbreak of the Seven Years War.

The War, often called the French and Indian War, while part of a global conflagration, was also very much a local conflict. It pitted the global powers of Britain and France against each other as they each struggled to protect their North American holdings. France made inroads with a line of forts in the backcountry that would threaten British trade and keep British settlement hemmed by the Appalachians. Meanwhile, the Six Nations of the Iroquois sought to preserve autonomy and neutrality, often at the

expense of the Delaware, Shawnee, Nanticoke, and Susquehannock Indians who had taken refuge in Pennsylvania and Ohio and over whom the Iroquois asserted authority.⁵

The complicated nature of political, tribal, and religious affiliation became manifest in the November 1755 attack on Gnadenhütten by Delawares, Shawnee and other Indians resentful of British encroachment. Eleven Moravian missionaries were killed, but the Indian residents were spared, apparently having received advance warning. The message of the attackers was clear: white settlers were not welcome, but tribal and kinship ties remained intact, if strained. In the early years of the war, Britain suffered major losses, but the tables began to turn in 1758, and with the signing of the Treaty of Paris in February of 1763, French claims in North America were all but extinguished. It was not only imperial boundaries that were redrawn during the war: mental geographies of race were also transformed, with the experience of war serving to harden racialized sentiment among many backwoods white settlers and native peoples alike. Whereas before the war, Indians and white settlers had often lived side by side relatively amicably—with important exceptions—war had moved increasing numbers of Indians and whites to see their identities and their interests as fundamentally distinct and mutually exclusive.⁶ This polarization made it even more difficult for the Moravian-affiliated Indians, many of whose white neighbors distrusted Indian professions of Christianity.⁷

⁵ The definitive work on the war in its American context is Fred Anderson, *Crucible of War: The Seven Years War and the Fate of Empire in British North America, 1754-1766* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2000).

⁶ This is the central argument of Silver, *Our Savage Neighbors*.

⁷ In October of 1763, a tavern keeper John Stenton at “The Irish Settlement” near Bethlehem was killed in an attack by Indians. A Moravian-Delaware, Christian Renatus was accused, tried and ultimately acquitted of the crime. The events raised sentiment against the Moravians and their affiliated Indians, but there were some supporters of the Indians. The Moravian chronicling of the surrounding events are found in Box 125 RMM. For a full account of the incident and aftermath see Merritt, *At the Crossroads*, 272-281.

Just months after the official end of the Seven Years War, the Ottawa leader Pontiac, inspired by the nativist Delaware Prophet Neolin, launched a series of attacks on British forts and white settlements in the Ohio and Pennsylvania backcountry. The resumption of frontier violence made life for the Moravian-affiliated Indians even more difficult. In July, Indians of Nain (where the mission community had rebuilt after the destruction of Gnadenhütten) petitioned the Pennsylvania governor for protection, affirming they were “true Friends to the English, and that we love the great King and the government of this Province and that we will be faithfull to him and you” and that “we love our dear Savior.” They declared they had nothing to do with the frontier attacks by Indians, but stood in the same danger as whites of being killed. “Yet,” wrote the Christian Indians, “some of the white People are jealous of us, and threaten to kill us. We remind you therefore of Your good Promises, to protect us for we are faithfull to you, as much as the white People.”⁸ Around the same time, the missionaries at Nain felt compelled to issue a document, “Marks whereby Christian Indians may be distinguished from Wild Indians.” Nain residents scarcely dared work their fields, let alone travel through the woods without a white person to vouch for them.⁹ By October of 1763, the Christian Indians were effectively under house arrest, stripped of their hunting weapons, and

⁸ Address by the Christian Indians of Nain (25 names) and Wechquetank (12) signed by Schmick and Grube as witnesses, to Gov. Hamilton, July 27, 1763, 124/7/1 RMM. WE WILL EDIT THIS TO: MissInd 124.7.1

⁹ They pleaded that they not be “upbraided with the Actions of other Indians, nor spitefully treated or threatened to be shot after, as so have already begun, they being as well under the Governments Protection as the white People.” The document announced: “The wild Indians generally go only in a Shirt whereas these are always cloathed with something. A wild Indian is generally painted & weareth a Feather, or some other Indian Ornament, these are never painted & wear no feather, but they wear Hats or Caps. The wild Indians get their Heads shaved but these let the Hair grow naturally. The Nain & Wechquetanc Indians generally wear their Gun on the Shoulder with the Shaft upward, whereas others, that come with a bad Design, hide it.” August 1763, 127/7/4 RMM.

subjected to daily monitoring.¹⁰ The level of tension was rising quickly, with many of the Scotch Irish settlers increasingly outraged at the continued presence of Indians near their settlements and exasperated at a Provincial government they felt was indifferent to their suffering. And so, in November, ostensibly for the protection of the Moravian Indians, but also to more closely monitor their activity and ensure they were not in collusion with enemy Indians, the Pennsylvania government ordered the Moravian Indians to Philadelphia. On their way, the party of 140 Christian Indians were jeered by throngs of white settlers who came to see the procession.

Eventually, after several changes in plans necessitated by threats of mob violence, the Moravian Indians were settled at the Army Barracks in Philadelphia under armed guard. There the Christian Indians were the objects of constant scrutiny: curious Philadelphians—mostly Quakers—came to bring aid, and observe the curiosity of Indians at worship, young boys brought hickory sticks for the Indian boys to make bows and arrows, a young Mohican played the spinet before the Governor and other dignitaries, and angry backcountry settlers regularly threatened to attack the Indians, convinced they had a hand in the murders of their relations on the frontier. The threats were far from idle. In December 1763, the so-called Paxton Boys killed fourteen Conestoga Indians, professed friends of the British, and the mob then set their sights on the Moravian Indians in Philadelphia. In February 1764, a throng of five hundred Paxton supporters marched on Philadelphia.¹¹ The mobs were held off, largely through the efforts of Benjamin

¹⁰ “Plan for Protecting and Supporting the Christian Indians at Nain...to ease the Inhabitants of that County from their Apprehensions and Fear.” October 1763, 1248/7/5 RMM.

¹¹ Kenny, *Peaceable Kingdom Lost*, chapters 13 through 15 detail these events. For the Moravian account of their time in Philadelphia, see Box 125, RMM, also available as transcribed and translated by Katherine Carte Engel at: http://bdhp.moravian.edu/community_records/christianindians/diaires/barracks/1764/translation64.html (accessed June 3, 2014).

Franklin, but tensions would simmer during the year the Moravian Indians remained in captivity.

Whereas in the midst of King George's War, the Moravian Indians were suspect for alleged ties to Catholicism, in the French and Indian War and beyond, attacks on the Moravian Indians came to be couched in racialized language. Indians came to be feared by many as untrustworthy by nature, not by religion, a sentiment evident in the pro-Paxton literature that emerged after the thwarted march on the Moravian Indians. The authors of a "Declaration and Remonstrance of the distressed and bleeding Frontier Inhabitants," criticized the Pennsylvania Assembly for "coddling" Indians and failing to draw firm racial lines. They wrote "One hundred and Twenty of the Savages, who are with great Reason suspected of being guilty of these horrid Barbarities, under the Mask of Friendship, have procured themselves to be taken under the Protection of the Government, with a view to elude the Fury of the brave Relatives of the Murdered; and are now maintained at the public Expence."¹² Benjamin Franklin responded by criticizing the rioters for justifying their actions with Scripture: "with the Scriptures in their Hands and Mouths, they can set at nought that express Command, *That shalt do no Murder*; and justify their Wickedness, by the command given *Joshua* to destroy the Heathen. Horrid Perversion of Scripture and of Religion!"¹³ Franklin may have won the battle, but he and the elite Quaker ruling party lost the war for control over Pennsylvania. The flurry of pamphlets spurred by the Paxton affair fundamentally altered the terms of debate and reshaped the balance of government. The Quaker turnabout on bearing arms proved the

¹² John Dunbar, *The Paxton Papers*. (The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1957), p. 103.

¹³ Dunbar, p. 63. While Franklin and others in Quaker party and British imperial administration criticized the frontier settlers' treatment of Indians, as Gregory Dowd has showed in *War under Heaven*, they were moving toward a view that Indians and whites needed to be separated by a hard, though moving, line of demarcation.

last straw and effectively ended Quaker control of the Assembly. The message was clear: one could not defend Christian Indians and retain political power.¹⁴ Not all colonists shared the views of the Paxton Boys, but in the wake of the French and Indian War, Pontiac's Rebellion and the Paxton affair, it became increasingly difficult for those who did not view all Indians as enemies to voice and defend their views.¹⁵

While political battles played out, the surviving Moravian Indians at the Barracks were eager to leave Philadelphia and find a new home where they could rebuild their lives. The tight quarters had taken their toll: fifty-six of the resident Indians—nearly half of the community—succumbed to disease. In the fall of 1764, the leaders of the community petitioned the Provincial government successfully to take a trip to the Susquehanna to find a suitable place to resettle. Joshua, senior, the Mohican leader of the community reported upon his return in December that the community at Wyalusing had been destroyed: “we thought ourselves great sufferers here in the barracks, but our sufferings bear no comparison to those of the Indians in the woods.” Traveling with Joshua were several other leaders of the community, including two Delawares, long associated with the Moravians—Anton and Sam Evans—and Papunhank, a Munsee who had joined the Moravians the previous spring after he and his community deserted their homes at Wyalusing for fear of attack.¹⁶ Joshua and Papunhank are of particular interest.

¹⁴ On the pamphlet war see Kenny, *Peaceable Kingdom Lost*, ch. 16-19 and Alison Olson, “The Pamphlet War over the Paxton Boys,” *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* vol. 123 (1999), 31-55.

¹⁵ Rob Harper provides an instructive analysis of the 1782 Gnadenhütten massacre cautioning against concluding that there existed a monolithic, vitriolic hatred of Native Americans, but demonstrating how the extreme views of a few can exert pressure that make opposition difficult, given the right conditions. Harper “Looking the Other Way: The Gnadenhütten Massacre and the Contextual Interpretation of Violence.” *The William and Mary Quarterly* 64, no. 3. Third Series (July 1, 2007): 621–644.

¹⁶ Quoted in George Henry Loskiel, *A History of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Indians of North America*, trans. Christian Ignatius Latrobe (London: Brethren's Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel, 1794), part II, 230.

Joshua, whose Indian name was Nanhun, was born in 1720 and was among the first Mohicans to be baptized at Shekomeko. He was baptized in 1742, two years after the arrival of the Moravian missionaries. At about the same time, he and his wife Salome, welcomed their first child, a boy who would also be given the name Joshua. Joshua, senior served important leadership roles within the tribal and mission communities and with his second wife, Bathsheba,¹⁸ often hosted visiting chiefs, created wampum belts to be used in diplomatic affairs, assisted missionaries with translations, and composed numerous hymns in the Mohican language. The younger Joshua was raised within the mission, becoming an able hunter and accomplished musician.¹⁹ These two families would become more tightly bound together during their year at the Barracks.

Johannes Papunhank arrived at the Barracks in March 1764, from his village of Wyalusing on the upper Susquehanna. Like many of the Indians already at the mission, his life had involved a series of physical and religious migrations. Papunhank was born around 1705, son of Esopus leader Dostou and grandson of female sachem Mamanuchqua.²⁰ Not much is known about his early years, though one report suggests he had trouble with alcohol. Around 1752 Papunhank, together with about one hundred settlers, established the village of Wyalusing on the upper Susquehanna, collecting

¹⁸ Salome died in September in the smallpox outbreak at Bethlehem that claimed the lives of many Mohican residents.

¹⁹ During their time in the Philadelphia Barracks, the younger Joshua played the spinet several times for audiences including the Governor of Pennsylvania and other elite Philadelphians. At their new home on the Susquehanna, he served as congregational musician often utilizing a spinet he had built himself. Lawrence Hartzell, "Musical Moravian Missionaries: Part III Johann Jacob Schmick," *Moravian Music Journal* 30 (Fall 1985), 36-37.

²⁰ Jane T. Merritt, *At the Crossroads: Indians and Colonists on a Mid-Atlantic Frontier* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 318; Robert S. Grumet, *The Munsee Indians: A History* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2009), 257.

together refugees from other Munsee villages along the Hudson and Delaware River.²¹ It was during this time that Papunhank, reportedly prompted by his father's death, became something of a visionary prophet, attempting to lead a reform movement within the community. Over the next years, Papunhank made regular visits to Bethlehem and Philadelphia, where he became familiar with both Moravians and Quakers and their teachings and intrigued by their pacifist leanings. For a time Papunhank seemed most inclined to the Quakers, but ultimately chose baptism by the Moravians in June of 1763, when Moravian missionary David Zeisberger paid a visit to Wyalusing.²² The end of the war did not bring peace to the frontier, but instead brought an escalation of violence. The Wyalusing community was threatened both by British colonists and by anti-British Indians. In early 1764, Papunhank arrived in Philadelphia with a small company, who took up residence with the Moravian-affiliated Delawares and Mohicans already there.²³ Among those accompanying Papunhank was a daughter, who in May was baptized, receiving the name Sophia. Just a month later, she was engaged and married to Joshua Junior. The marriage likely restored or cemented ties of kinship, as Papunhank's grandmother Mammanochqua was also grandmother to Abraham, who preceded Joshua as leader of the Shekomeko Mohican community.

The two Joshuas, Papunhank, and Delawares Sam Evans and Anton were among the leaders lobbying the missionaries and the government for approval to leave the

²¹ Merritt, *At the Crossroads*, 84. In a recent article, historian Richard Pointer explores Papunhank's relationship with the Quakers, who saw in the relationship a chance to resuscitate William Penn's vision of a peaceable kingdom. Richard Pointer, "An Almost Friend: Papunhank, Quakers, and the Search for Security amid Pennsylvania's Wars, 1754-65," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 138 (July 2014), 237-268.

²² Gregory Evans Dowd, *A Spirited Resistance: The North American Indian Struggle for Unity, 1745-1815* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 31.

²³ See Philadelphia Diary entries for March through June, 1764, Box 125, RMM. Also available at: http://bdhp.moravian.edu/community_records/christianindians/diaires/barracks/1764/translation64.html (accessed June 3, 2014).

cramped quarters and found a new settlement. The young men especially were eager to be released from the Barracks to return to hunting and farming. By February 1765 the petition requesting permission from the government to settle on the Susquehanna at Papunhank's old village of Wyalusing was granted. And the leaders of the Indian community, including Papunhank and Joshua, senior, expressed their thanks to Governor John Penn:

We, the Christian Indians now residing in the barracks, and intending to return with our wives and children unto our country approach unto you, to take our leave, and to return to you our most sincere thanks. We acknowledge with unfeigned gratitude the great kindness and friendship you have shown unto us during the late war. We were indeed in danger of our lives, but you protected and defended us against our enemies, so that we have lived in peace.

The address went on to thank the officials for provisions and for allowing Moravian missionaries Schmick and Zeisberger to accompany them and remain as teachers.²⁴ By April, the group was outfitted with supplies from the government as well as Moravian and Quaker benefactors and ready to set out.

As they journeyed away from Philadelphia back toward the Susquehanna and began the work of building and planting, this group of Indians forged a new kind of community. Within months this community of primarily Munsee and Mohican Indians had erected more than forty wood frame, shingled houses, and planted over 250 acres of corn. Their agricultural labors were supplemented by the continuation of hunting and fishing activities and were punctuated by regular religious services: *Singstunden* (singing meetings), morning services, baptisms, communion, and burials.²⁵ The settlement, soon named Friedenshütten, marked a change as well in Moravian mission practice.

²⁴ Loskiel, *History of the Mission*, pt. II, 231.

²⁵ Loskiel, *History of the Mission*, pt. III, 2.

Previously, most Moravian missions had been established at pre-existing native communities that lay in areas that were becoming heavily settled by whites. But given the recent wars, the Moravian missionaries and the Indian residents agreed that remaining on their lands where they had become outnumbered by white settlers was problematic. And so the Indian community determined to settle “in their own country,” where they hoped they would be left in peace, beyond the reach of hostile white settlers. The mission on the Susquehanna, subsequently named Friedenshütten, thus marked a change in Moravian mission practice, a pragmatic concession to political circumstances, a concession that shaped subsequent Moravian mission policy. The new missions required that missionaries travel far from colonial Moravian settlements and live within Indian country. Missionary work thus became less a communal endeavor than the work of a devoted few.

But what the missionaries and Indian residents hoped would be a permanent settlement only lasted a few years. In 1768, the community received word that the Iroquois had ceded land to Britain in the Treaty of Fort Stanwix in a deal negotiated by William Johnson. The colonial representatives hoped to end frontier violence and the participating Indians hoped to halt white encroachment. Unfortunately for the residents of Friedenshütten, their town now lay on the British side of the line, and they would soon be flooded with eager white settlers. The community wanted to stay and farm but white settlers found the proposition of living in close proximity to Christian, Indian farmers intolerable and soon the community would be on the move once again, establishing several Moravian-Indian settlements on the Muskingum River in Ohio.

The larger events surrounding the five-week journey of the Moravian Indian community to the Susquehanna River in 1765 have received increasing scholarly attention in recent years: the French and Indian War, the Paxton Affair, backcountry violence, shifting Indian alliances. This travel diary helps to bring to light the contours of everyday life, and reminds us that even in times of major upheaval people work and cook, and eat and sleep, and sing and pray.

[Page 1]

Travel Diary of Brother Schmick and David Zeisberger with the Indian brothers and sisters from Nain and Wechquetank along the Susquehanna to Machilusing from Apr. and May 1765.

Wednesday the 3rd [of April]. Early in the morning around seven o'clock the Indian brothers and sisters came with a loaded wagon from Nain, gathered in the Bethlehem inn²⁶ and, after having warmly greeted the dear hearts of Nathanael²⁷ and the other brothers and sisters, they took their leave from them with many tears. Several sisters with their children were placed in nine wagons and then at eight o'clock we went forth, driving and walking, in the name of our dear Lord with the blessing of the *Gemeine* towards Nazareth²⁸, albeit with very aching hearts for we were in the Holy Week²⁹ of our dear Lord. And as it began to rain, our prayer to the Savior was: "may your holy blood rain over us; there could be nothing better to bless us on our journey."³⁰ For our protection, Justice Moore, High Sheriff Kichtin, Lieutenant Hundsecker and Mr. Apty³¹,

²⁶ An order for keeping eight horses at the Crown Inn from April 1, 1765, by the accompanying Thomas Apty is documented in Reichel, *The Crown Inn, near Bethlehem, Penna. 1745* (Philadelphia, 1872), p. 99, making it likely that the Crown Inn and not the Sun Inn is meant.

²⁷ Nathanael Seidel (1718-82); bishop of the Unitas Fratrum since 1758, leader of the Moravian Church in North America since 1762.

²⁸ Town nine miles north of Bethlehem. The beginnings of the settlement were made by George Whitefield, in 1741 it became Moravian property. In 1743 thirty-two young married couples from Germany moved there. Nazareth began to grow rapidly. In 1754 Nazareth Hall was built and in 1759 became the central boarding school for sons of Moravian parents.

²⁹ The German word "Marter-Woche" includes the aspects of torture and suffering.

³⁰ Taken from the hymn "DEm heiligen blut des HERren", in: Herrnhuter Gesangbuch. Christliches Gesang-Buch der Evangelischen Brüder-Gemeinen von 1735, Anhang XII, No. 1956, v. 18: "Dein schweiß und blut laß über uns regnen, uns kan auf erden nichts besser segnen [...]" It was common practice to convert song verses corresponding to a concrete situation.

³¹ Thomas Apty was the Commissary of the Government and is occasionally mentioned in the mission records; according to the Fliegel Index, Moore and Kichlin(e) [as the name properly might be spelled; in: Loskiel, *Geschichte der Mission der evangelischen Brüder unter den Indianern Nordamerikas* (1789), p. 496, the name is given as "Kuhlin"] are only mentioned in this context, Hundsecker had already been involved in some issues at Wechquetank in 1763.

and several brothers from Bethlehem accompanied us part of the way as well. Near the Monacosie³², Justice Moore went back again. At noon we came to the Rose³³ in Nazareth, where dear Brother Marschall³⁴, who had gone ahead of us, welcomed us warmly and had coffee made for all the Indians so they would have something warm to go with their bread to refresh them, which they enjoyed with gratitude. Brother Schropp³⁵ from Nazareth and Brothers Dencke, Johannes Bonn, and several other brothers from Christiansbrunn³⁶ came to greet us and the Indian brothers and sisters. At two o'clock we traveled on from there in the rain and went over the blue mountain³⁷ all the way to the local lumber mill, where, as it was already growing dark and had stopped raining, we made our first night's lodging in the bush, so that everyone could leave wet clothes by the fire to dry out. We thanked the Savior for allowing us to go through the settlements³⁸ undisturbed and to sleep peacefully through the night.

Thursday, the 4th. Holy Thursday. As soon as day broke, one could hear a lot of *onéowe*³⁹ or thanksgiving for the rest we had enjoyed. I reminded the brothers and sisters that today was the day of our dear Lord's suffering. After everyone had eaten breakfast, we joyfully resumed our trip in the name of our Lord, keeping in mind and meditating on the grievous suffering He endured for our sake. By noon we had come one and a half miles from Wechquetank along the creek. As soon as the Indian brothers and sisters had received the delivery of 1,600 pounds of flour⁴⁰ and their things from the wagons, the brothers and sisters from Bethlehem turned back along with the other strangers since the sheriff and Brother Johannes Bonn, who had also accompanied us, had already turned back a mile before. Every family made a hut for itself and gathered fire wood, and so we had fifteen hearths for our lodgings that night. During the evening devotions in front of our huts, the topic was the grievous sufferings and agony [*inserted*: of our Savior] and the bloody sweat wrung out of Him by our sins⁴¹ during which we sensed His closeness. The lieutenant admired the Indians' singing. Afterwards we poor little sinners were in Bethlehem in our hearts and thought of the congregation and of the real and most blessed enjoyment of the *pedilavium*⁴² and Holy Sacrament today. We laid ourselves to rest at the feet of the Savior, blessed, but with eyes and hearts full of tears, commending ourselves to His absolution and new grace and blessing, as He looked upon us so mercifully and

³² Monocacy Creek between Bethlehem and Nazareth.

³³ The Rose Inn had been built in 1752 on an additional tract to the north of the town.

³⁴ Friedrich Wilhelm von Marschall (1721-1802), ordained presbyter of the Moravian church, since 1758 a member of *Directorial-Collegium*. As a *Senior Civilis* he travelled to America in 1761 and oversaw the communities of Nazareth and Bethlehem in the 1760s.

³⁵ John Schropp, according to the Fliegel Index mentioned only one more time in the records.

³⁶ Established as a Moravian community of single brothers in 1747, renamed "Christiansbrunn" in 1749. In 1771, Christiansbrunn was to be the last Moravian community in the United States to have its communal economy disbanded. Johannes Bonn from Christiansbrunn had been a frequent visitor to Wechquetank, doing carpenter work also in other Moravian settlements; Jeremiah Denke had also been a visitor to Wechquetank in 1762.

³⁷ The ridge that forms the eastern edge of the [Appalachian](#) mountain range in Pennsylvania.

³⁸ Settlements of white people in the area.

³⁹ An expression of praise or thanksgiving in Mahican.

⁴⁰ The government had granted a certain amount of flour for the travelling group.

⁴¹ Luke 22:44.

⁴² "Dies pedilavii": Day of Footwashing. BETTER: *pedilavium* = footwashing

kindly and bedewed our bodies and souls in His sweat and blood. During the night, Magdalena,⁴³ who is blind and sick, became very weak.

Friday the 5th. On Good Friday. Brother David led a blessed morning devotion on the subject of this great day which extends salvation to the souls of all people. After this Mr. Apty came to an agreement with the Indians that they would come down again next Sunday in six weeks in order to fetch 7,200 pounds of flour, and after a cordial farewell, he went back to Bethlehem with Lieutenant Hundsecker by way of Wechquetank and Fort Allen.⁴⁴ I also sent a short letter for him to bring to Bethlehem to dear Brother Nathanael. Justina's two sons Christian and Thomas,⁴⁵ who had been staying with Gleissy⁴⁶ on the Puchcapuck since Christmas, joined us. I visited sick Magdalena, and shared with her that today was the day of redemption for all sinners who seek grace and forgiveness from the Savior. She could not speak or answer as she was so very weak, but she showed with her head that she had understood. During the day the brothers and sisters carried some of their things for four more miles, while Brother David⁴⁷ and Shebosh⁴⁸ and others did the same with their horses. Upon their return, Samuel the Nanticoke⁴⁹ and Marcus⁵⁰ each brought one deer and young Philippus⁵¹ one bear, which were immediately distributed, cooked, and eaten with great appetite and joy. In the afternoon Magdalena was able to speak again and asked me to remember her before the Savior and to help her ask for [*inserted*: His mercy and] the forgiveness of her sins. The brothers and sisters ought to forgive her everything. She had thought about this often, but was never able to ask, but now it was upon her to do so and it was very necessary for her. Because I heard her sincere longing, I asked for absolution for her from the Friend of sinners and recommended her to His mercies, during which she folded her hands and sighed many times. During the evening devotions, on the occasion of today's watchword, I proclaimed the reconciliation brought about by Jesus through His blood and death to poor sinners who long for mercy, and [we] offered Him, in our small way, our most sincere thanks. At midnight Magdalena went home to the Savior very quickly. She had been baptized on March 22, 1751, in Gnadenhütten by Brother Martin Mack⁵², and had lived there with her

⁴³ Magdalena had been baptized in Gnadenhütten in 1751 and admitted to Holy Communion in the same year. In 1761 she asked to be readmitted after a time she had turned away from Christ. She lost her eyesight in 1762. (F[liegel Index] #294)

⁴⁴ Fort Allen had been built under Col. Benjamin Franklin in 1756 on the spot of the deserted Gnadenhütten.

⁴⁵ Justina had been baptized and admitted to Holy Communion in Gnadenhütten in 1749 (F #203); she was married to Nicodemus (F #193). Her sons Christian (F #256) and Thomas (F #257) had been baptized in Gnadenhütten in 1750.

⁴⁶ A white man living near Puchcapuch Creek. POHOPOCO CREEK?

⁴⁷ David Zeisberger.

⁴⁸ "Schebosh" ("running water") was the Indian name of John Joseph Bull (1721-1788) who joined the Moravian Church in 1742 and married a Mahican woman, Christiana.

⁴⁹ According to the Fliegel Index he was the "First-fruit" of the Nanticoke and was baptized in Friedenshütten by Zeisberger in 1766 (F #551). He is mentioned here for the first time in the mission records. Later, he became a National Helper and lay preacher.

⁵⁰ The Mahican Marcus was baptized in Gnadenhütten in 1749 and admitted to Holy Communion in 1752. He appears as "Fremdendiener" (and violin player) in the mission records. (F #217)

⁵¹ Philippus Junior had been baptized as a small child in 1749 and would be admitted to Holy Communion in 1772. (F #128)

⁵² Johann Martin Mack (1715-1784) served with Gotlob Buttner the first Moravian mission from the Moravian mission settlement at Checomeco until its closure. He was ordained in 1742 and in 1745

son Abel. During the Indian war⁵³, however, she had fled to the Susquehanna, and there her heart had abandoned its love for the Savior entirely, which we saw and felt when she and her son came back to us at Wechquetank in the year 1763. She could not truly collect herself or love as much as she had before, notwithstanding the fact that she attended daily services and her poor and wretched condition was discussed with her often. In the same year, because many treatments were performed on her ailing eyes, she suddenly became blind and thus also miserable in body and pitiable. And in this distressed condition, Caritas⁵⁴ took her in, cared and provided for her and showed her particular kinship love⁵⁵. In the year 1765 before our departure in March, she became very sick while in the barracks in Philadelphia. During our trip she continued to become even worse and was increasingly unable to walk or stand, but rather had to lie down all the time, so that she also longed to be delivered from her painful and grave illness. And the Savior gave her this grace, as well as the forgiveness of her sins, according to His great love and mercy, and took her to Himself as His redeemed soul after she had lived her life of death for more than seventy years.

Saturday the 6th. On the Great Sabbath. Early in the morning, Brother David recalled the death of the Lord and the need through faith to be more and more grounded in this death every day, so that, for the salvation of their souls, one can also proclaim the death of the Lord to other Indians who are also saved through it. We felt His passing away and had a blessed Sabbath of the heart. In the morning each person was given his portion of flour, and the horses brought whatever was left to our things, which had already been carried up four miles ahead. Christian and his brother Geschates⁵⁶ went back to Gleissy again in order to follow us with their things and Ahtchak⁵⁷ came along with them to bring his kinswoman with her two daughters there, who still came to us before evening. After we had buried Magdalena's body⁵⁸, we went four more miles with our remaining things, four miles in a swamp, where, because a heavy rain was coming down, we quickly built huts and fires to dry off and to sleep well through the night as we were so tired.

Sunday the 7th. On Easter morning we remembered our fifty-six Indian brothers and sisters who were buried at the potter's field in Philadelphia⁵⁹ and in spirit we were also in the cemetery⁶⁰ in Bethlehem. Yet here we were sitting in the wilderness where it had been raining very hard all day and how happy and thankful each person was that we had water to drink and with which to cook, which had accumulated in the puddles. What blessed and comforted us above all was feeling the closeness of our risen Savior. Even in

entrusted with the overall direction of the mission work in North America. He initiated the foundation of Gnadenhütten. From 1762 on he served as missionary in the West Indies.

⁵³ The French and Indian War, 1754-1763.

⁵⁴ Caritas was baptized in Gnadenhütten in 1749 and was admitted to Holy Communion in 1752 (F #243). She was married to David (F #374).

⁵⁵ The term *Freundschafts-Liebe* may indicate the Moravians' use of *Freund* to refer to members of one's lineage but may be also used for charity in a more general sense.

⁵⁶ Geschatees/Kaschatis, son of Justina and Nicodemus.

⁵⁷ Ahtchak would be baptized a few years later. He applied for baptism in 1767 and was baptized and named "Stephanus" in 1769.

⁵⁸ Literally, "hut," the term the Moravians used to refer to the physical body.

⁵⁹ During the internment in the Barracks 56 Indians died from different diseases.

⁶⁰ German: "Hutberg," hill in the care of God.

the forest, this gave us such blessed joy on feast days that we could forget all the difficulties.

On **Monday the 8th** we also kept a day of rest and a feast day. Brother David spoke about the watchword⁶¹ and that the Savior not only knows all of our heart's afflictions and concerns, but also takes notice of them and gladly helps all those who desire His help. Brother Shebosh and Johannes Pepunhank⁶² rode back to Bethlehem to look for our and his horses, which had escaped in the night. In the afternoon four brothers went hunting nearby because we had no more meat, and towards evening they brought back two deer, which were distributed and cooked right away. We closed the day with a blessed little singing service [*Singstündgen*].

Tuesday the 9th. After we talked about the watchword "Noah did everything that God commanded,"⁶³ we asked the Savior that He would also allow us as His poor sinners to experience His grace during our difficult journey. Afterwards all the brothers went out hunting, but came back in the evening very tired, hungry, and empty handed. Brother Shebosh and Johannes Pepunhank not only returned with our horses, which had been found, but also with pleasing letters from Brother Grube⁶⁴ from Bethlehem and Brother Dencke from Christiansbrunn. They also brought some oats [*inserted*: for the horses] and two loaves of bread for our future refreshment. During the evening service after the children's watchword,⁶⁵ we comforted one another with the great humiliation and poverty of our dear Lord, which benefits us in our current deprivation and bodily need, and we reminded each other to participate in the most blessed enjoyment of the Savior and His wounds with heart and soul.

Wednesday the 10th. After the morning devotions, most carried their belongings four more miles, and as it grew mountainous and quite rocky everyone went back and forth to help the others carry their loads and bring them together then and there. Brother David and Shebosh also carried half the items with their horses but came back. As it looked very foggy and rainy, we resolved that with the five remaining families we would spend the night here in our huts so that we might stay dry and sleep in peace.

Thursday the 11th. For dear Brother David's birthday today we sang some verses of blessing. At eight o'clock, after today's watchword: "Jacob went on his way. The Friend wishes to encounter us,"⁶⁶ we went along our way to Wolf Mountain⁶⁷, and climbed it at

⁶¹ Exodus 2:23.

⁶² The Munsee Chief Johannes Papunhank had been an Indian Prophet before his baptism in Wyalusing in 1762. He was instrumental in bringing the Indian group from Philadelphia to the Susquehanna resettling Wyalusing and later became an elder of the Friedenshütten congregation. A short biography is given in Kaiser, *Die Munsee. Migrationsgeschichte und ethnische Identität*, Diss. Frankfurt 2003, p. 181ff.

⁶³ Genesis 6:22.

⁶⁴ Bernhard Adam Grube (1715-1808) had been a Lutheran pastor in Erfurt before he joined the Moravian Church; he was a missionary in Wechquetank and accompanied and assisted the Christian Indians quartered in Philadelphia between 1763 and 1765.

⁶⁵ The children's watchword was a separate collection of watchwords.

⁶⁶ The first part of the underlined portion is taken from Genesis 32:1. In its second part this bible verse says: "and the angels of God met him" what is reflected in the cited watchword collect [*Das kleine Brüder-Gesang-Buch, in einer Harmonischen Sammlung von kurzen Liedern, Versen, Gebeten und Seufzern bestehend*, Barby ²1761, #2394 v. 3], with a Christocentric stance.

ten o'clock, but then it became quite rocky and very dangerous for the horses to climb. Joshua Sr.,⁶⁸ however, helped us very faithfully, looking for and clearing a path, so that we could pass through with the horses. We thanked the Savior, who, through His closeness, had helped us along the very dangerous path and made our burdens bearable, and the dear angels who had gone with us and protected us from harm. In the afternoon we went ten miles and came to the place where there had been an Indian plantation twenty years ago and where there was good pasture for the horses. There some brothers and sisters had already made huts covered with green branches. Immediately, we were assigned a level and dry place, where the Indian brothers built us a green hut. Marcus treated us to beaver and venison, and everyone was happy to see us and willing to help. In the evening everyone gathered together and we had a small town of sixteen huts around us. Johannes Pepunhank, who had gone to reconnoiter five miles ahead to the large creek,⁶⁹ came back at dusk and said: "We must stay here for some days for the water is two feet high in the large swamp, on the hills the snow is one and a half feet deep, and the creek is running very high, so it is not possible to move forward either by horse or by foot with our things." Whereupon everyone resolved to be patient and said: "If only we have the Savior with us and can help each other in love, then He will also surely bring us through this." After the evening devotions everyone lay down to sleep. It rained a lot throughout the night.

Friday the 12th. After the morning devotions several brothers and sisters went and helped the others carry their things which had been left six miles back and they arrived towards evening before the constant heavy storms and rain. The brothers came back from the hunt very wet and empty-handed. The evening devotions were called off due to heavy rain.

Saturday the 13th. Brother David spoke about the watchword,⁷⁰ which he applied to the situation of the Indian brothers and sisters. Afterwards we held a conference with all the Indian brothers about the flour which had been left ten miles back and about our progress in general: Joshua Sr. and Johannes Pepunhank assumed responsibility, with several other brothers, for clearing a path five miles to the large creek and marking the trees, Joshua Jr.⁷¹ took six boys and six horses to fetch the flour, and a few went hunting since there was nothing left to eat. In the evening the first [group] came back very weary and hungry from cutting the path. They and everyone else were happy that the flour [had been brought], and Bartholomeus⁷² and Marcus had each brought one beaver and Thomas had a deer, so that they had bread and meat to eat. In the evening we entrusted ourselves to the wounds of Jesus for a blessed sleep.

⁶⁷ Earlier name of Broad Mountain; according to Wallace (Ed.), *The Travels of John Heckewelder in Frontier America*, Pittsburgh 1958, p. 341 it has to be located in the region between Springgarden and Stoddartsville south of the Great Falls of the Lehigh.

⁶⁸ A Mahican, baptized in 1742 in Bethlehem; helper and translator, later founder of Gnadenhütten II. (F #12)

⁶⁹ Presumably the Lehigh River.

⁷⁰ Deuteronomy 8:11.12.14.

⁷¹ Son of Joshua Sr., Joshua Jr. was born in 1742. (F #130)

⁷² Bartholomew was baptized in Shekomeko in 1744. (F #66)

Sunday the 14th. Brother David preached about the children's watchword and in the evening I spoke about the congregational watchword⁷³. Our resolution was: "There you have heart and hands so that we want to be your faithful souls until the very end."⁷⁴ [inserted: The Savior's palpable presence softened some hearts and caused tears to flow.] Johannes Pepunhank, Anton,⁷⁵ and Joshua spoke with us about whether it was not good and necessary for one of them to go ahead to Machilusing and to let the Six Nations⁷⁶ know through messengers that they were on their way with their womenfolk and children to the Susquehanna. The conclusion and resolution of their discussion was to refrain from [sending] the messengers until we had arrived in Machilusing.

Monday the 15th. After the morning devotions and the conference, the brothers and sisters carried some of their things, and several brothers and sisters carried the flour four miles towards the large creek. Along the very rocky and wet paths, we often recalled today's watchword: "Arise, and go thou and thine household, and sojourn wheresoever thou canst sojourn,"⁷⁷ and it was often in our hearts. Many times we thought about our dear [brothers and sisters at] Bethlehem and their sincere intercession for us, and entrusted ourselves and our difficult situation to the Savior that He might bless us and strengthen us and that He would provide for us in accordance with His accustomed faithfulness and assistance, for there was little flour, hunting was very bad here, and our bodies were weak. In the evening most returned but, given the heavy rain, they were wet through and through. Joshua Sr. and a few others had felled two trees and laid them across the creek, causing everyone to be happy and hopeful about crossing over.

Tuesday the 16th. After the morning devotions and having commended ourselves to God's grace, we all headed off cheerfully with our things to the large creek, but after we had gone one and a half miles on this side, we heard the distressing news from Gottlieb,⁷⁸ who had gone out ahead, that the two trees cut down and laid across yesterday had been carried away, so we all had to stay the night in the swamp on a rocky spot and fetch water from the puddles. The evening devotions did not take place as everyone was very tired and weary and longed for rest.

Wednesday the 17th. Early in the morning Joshua Sr. went with most of the brothers along the creek, far up to where the water was deep all the way up under their arms, in order to fell other trees; but as soon as they would cut a tree it would be carried away immediately by the swift current—twenty-five trees in different locations one after another in the course of the day, so that their hard work and effort were all in vain. So they went back through again and as they found a nice tree for a canoe one-quarter mile from the creek on this side, they hewed this one down and came back to us in the evening very fatigued. Meanwhile, Johannes Pepunhank had shot one old bear and three young

⁷³ Joshua 22:29.

⁷⁴ The watchword collect from Brüder-Gesang-Buch, #278 v. 2.

⁷⁵ The Unami Anton was baptized in Bethlehem in 1749 or 1750; he was a National Helper, preacher and translator. (F #249)

⁷⁶ The Iroquois League, known as the Six Nations, was composed of the Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, Seneca and Tuscarora nations.

⁷⁷ 2 Kings 8:1.

⁷⁸ Son of Anton and Johanna. (F #402).

bears, which the exhausted brothers and all of us feasted on and gratefully enjoyed. In the evening, on the occasion of the watchword collect,⁷⁹ we spoke about Jesus's sweat and blood, the greatest blessing for our hearts.

Thursday the 18th. After the morning devotions, some of the brothers went to make the canoe and it was finished at two o'clock in the afternoon. As soon as we received word, everyone gladly brought their things there, but we had to wait where the canoe had been made until the brothers had cut a path in order to carry it over a steep mountain towards the creek, and then everyone could also come there. First, we successfully crossed over twenty-five times with all the things, and then persons and horses were transported as well, which lasted more than three hours. For this the Savior received many heartfelt *onéowe*, or thanks. The sisters with their children rested and stayed with the things until the brothers had again cleared a path for one mile through the thick laurel, and then we went with the things one after another in snow deeper than our ankles, and remained overnight at a place where we had water.

Friday the 19th. Early in the morning, Johannes Pepunhank reported that he wanted to go six miles ahead with several brothers to clear and mark the path. That was agreeable to all, and each person carried some of their things as well. That took all day and everyone went out, strengthened and happy once again, although the long path was very rocky and hilly, and they went back and forth three to four times, until we had brought all the things

together in one place. The first helped the last, and one saw according to today's watchword⁸⁰ that their help was offered out of love and was sincere, and thus everything had to go well. As each family was setting up its hut, most were lamenting that they and their children were very hungry and had nothing to eat. That affected deeply those who still had a little something to eat, and they shared what little they had with the others out of love, and the Savior blessed it in such way that all were amazed that they had enough to eat, and thanked the Savior sincerely. Afterwards we held our evening devotions and commended ourselves to the wounds of Jesus for a blessed sleep.

Saturday the 20th. After the morning devotions, several brothers went to get the flour which had been left six miles back, so that everyone would be able to bake some bread. Joshua and Johannes Pepunhank cut down two trees over the second large creek, and the brothers and sisters – even though they had had nothing for breakfast – carried their things four miles to the large creek and drank a lot of water along the way to revive themselves, as they said. One often heard complaints of hunger, however, which was very painful. Meanwhile, everyone hurried and we with them so that, fortunately, we crossed the creek before evening and camped on a hill and could make our night's lodgings there. And although the brothers were very tired and weary, they and their womenfolk and children could hardly bear to hear about or feel such acute hunger. For this reason Joshua Sr. resolved to go hunting with some other brothers for two hours before evening, and we entrusted the Savior with our great distress and were comforted this time with a bodily blessing. He did not ignore our pleas and those of the brothers and sisters, but rather gave the brothers success, so that they brought back six deer and the

⁷⁹ From Brüder-Gesang-Buch, #2044 v. 4: "Uns kann auf Erden nichts besser segnen."

⁸⁰ 2 Chronicles 31:12.

other brothers return with the flour, which gave great pleasure to everyone. Right away we distributed flour for bread and meat for cooking and these were consumed with sincere gratitude and thankfulness to the Savior and everyone ate their fill. After the evening devotion led by Brother David, everyone lay down to rest.

Sunday the 21st. I preached on today's Gospel about the Good Shepherd and Brother David led a blessed evening devotion about the watchword "Whether it was by day or by night that the cloud was taken up, they journeyed.⁸¹ Let our soul(s) journey step by step with your soul."⁸² The brothers and sisters kept their day of rest, visited one another and spoke about the particular grace, help, and blessing that the Savior had so far allowed them to experience daily.

Monday the 22nd. Early in the morning we all set off and walked the whole ten miles in blessed meditation on our God who passed away on the Cross. Half of the path was very bad and rocky, [*inserted*: passed two creeks] and in the evening we came onto a hill to a spring with half of our things, where we built huts and slept peacefully through the night.

Tuesday the 23rd. When Brother David spoke about the watchword⁸³, during which we had particularly felt the Savior's closeness, several set off ahead with their things, while some others went back to fetch things left behind, and we went with others another seven miles that day. Along the way, we often thought of today's collect: "If you continually comfort me and all of us with your closeness, then I must go throughout the world."⁸⁴ And one heard [*inserted*: and saw] some brothers and sisters walking along cheerfully singing hymns of praise, and in the evening, how the Savior revived them with His wounds along the way, and comforted them in all their difficulties, and now it was as though they were neither carrying heavy burdens nor had bad feet at all (for they sometimes complained about [*inserted*: the pain in] their feet). In the evening when each family had finished covering its hut with bark or blankets, we all lay down to sleep.

Wednesday the 24th. We kept a day of rest, and did our devotions as usual. The brothers went hunting and brought back five deer. At sunrise four boys went back to fetch the little flour which had been left twelve miles back, and each one received one spoonful of

⁸¹ Numbers 9: 21.

⁸² Brüder-Gesang-Buch, #2222 v. 18. It is a central creed of the Moravians. Zinzendorf's called it the "principle of our religion" (In a speech of February 2, 1756, printed in the Nachrichten aus der Brüder-Gemeine, Bd. 5, Ausg. 2-6. Magdeburg 1823, p. 174). And in his interpretation of Genesis 32 he writes: „Ich wünsche, daß der nahe Umgang mit Ihm, die tägliche Umarmung, die wir mit Recht begehren, weil wir ein jus quaesitum darauf haben, nicht nur in unserm Leben, zwey-, dreymal vorkommen möge, sondern ein Actus continuus werde: „Laß unsre Seele Schritt vor Schritt mit Deiner Seele ziehn.“ (In: Auszüge aus des Seligen Ordinarii der Evangelischen Brüder-Kirche sowol ungedruckten als gedruckten Reden [...], Bd. 1, Barby 1763, p. 460.) See the statement on p. 6 of this diary: "If only we have the Savior with us and can help each other in love, then He will also surely bring us through this", where this creed is implemented in a coping strategy to deal with the external circumstances.

⁸³ Genesis 26:3.

⁸⁴ Brüder-Gesang-Buch, #1693. Text by Christian David: "Muß ich die Welt durchgehen, wenn du mit deinen Nähen mir nur stets tröstlich bist, so will ich dich bekennen und oft den Namen nennen, der mir der liebste Name ist."

psittamon⁸⁵ for the way. They returned before sunset to our great surprise. In the night we saw that we were surrounded by a large brush fire. Everyone stood up in haste, fetched water, rounded up the horses, and then set everything all around our huts to oppose the approaching fire; this lasted from ten until one o'clock. Our little place was brightly illuminated, but it was dreadful to behold how the bush was burning all around us, and to hear the trees falling all around – far and near – as they came crashing down loudly. As we saw we were out of danger, we recalled anew today's watchword collect with gratitude: "Let us now sing Hallelujah to the Lord, we have been saved mightily,"⁸⁶ after which we lay down to sleep but we had a very cold night.

Thursday the 25th. Early in the morning we thanked our dear Lord once again for rescuing us from the conflagration, and announced today's watchword: "The Lord bless you and keep you,"⁸⁷ and we all went towards the Susquehanna in order to arrive there by evening, where Johannes Pepunhank and some others who had horses had planned to be. But as the path was very rocky over mountains and through valleys and it was very arduous to walk and the things were to be carried, the majority had to stay five miles back and spend the night near a creek. I and my dear heart David progressed very slowly all day long with our heavily-laden horse and carried our own bundles, and we saw with great joy how the brothers and sisters and the boys carried their heavy loads – and Anton's wife, Johanna⁸⁸, carried sick little Anton⁸⁹ – from place to place, and thus helped one another. Along the way we found our pack with provisions of biscuits and one and a half smoked (pork) hams inside [*inserted*: and Brother Davids satchel] which had been carried ahead the day before yesterday and had been placed a good distance from the path on a boulder but which was now close to the path and rather ripped up with the biscuits scattered about and the hams [*inserted*: which we had wanted to keep until Machilusing] devoured; Shebosh's sack, which also lay there, was unscathed. We went to investigate a bit, but found nothing, and, as it was very rocky and rugged, we could not recognize any tracks and do not know if it was done by wolves or bears. So we tied together the sack that had been torn apart, put the pieces of biscuit that were lying around back inside, left the pack lying there again and went with our bundles towards the Susquehanna, where we were happy to arrive at three o'clock in the afternoon to join Johannes Pepunhank. Together with Paulus⁹⁰ and Nicodemus⁹¹, he built a hut right away and they provided us with something to eat, which was first dug up [*inserted*: wild] potatoes with molasses made from maple sap. While the potatoes did not taste particularly good to me, hunger soon taught me to eat with a hearty appetite, and to be grateful that one could still obtain something like that there. Brother David went by horse to fetch the sack of biscuits left

⁸⁵ Dried cornmeal (a compound of dried venison beaten in a mortar and mixed with parched corn, maple sugar and deer's tallow).

⁸⁶ Brüder-Gesang-Buch, #2352 v. 2.

⁸⁷ Numbers 6: 24.

⁸⁸ Johanna was baptized and admitted to Holy Communion in 1750. In the Fliegel Index she appears as in the office of "Jüngerin" and as "Dienerin" at love feasts. She was a sacristan at Gnadenhütten. Wife of Anton, Grandmother of little Anton. (F #250)

⁸⁹ Son of Gottlieb and Amalia, Grandson of Anton and Johanna. After his mother's death he was taken to Wechquetank in 1760. (F #477)

⁹⁰ The Munsee Paulus had been baptized in Philadelphia in 1764 and nursed the sick. (F #529)

⁹¹ The Munsee Nicodemus was baptized in Philadelphia in 1764, too, and admitted to Holy Communion in 1765. He also nursed the sick there. He was a widower. (F #528)

three miles behind at the jetties. In the evening, Johannes Pepunhank's wife⁹² treated us to the rest of the fish caught in the Susquehanna, and wild potatoes instead of bread. A few Indian strangers came from Shamokin⁹³ in canoes loaded with venison and bear skins etc., and among them was the young Moses with his wife⁹⁴ and child and his mother Miriam,⁹⁵ who was very glad to see us, as well as Job Chelloway and his wife and children.⁹⁶ Christian and his brother Geschates also arrived with two canoes. The Indian strangers looked very wretched without any shirts and only old, ripped blankets. In Shamoko they could obtain neither provisions nor blankets nor canvas, but rather they had left in haste to come to us when they received a message from soldiers there that the Paxtons⁹⁷ were coming in two days and wanted to search for and kill the Indians. We heard how neither they nor the majority of Indians along the Susquehanna had any corn to eat or plant, and in Zeninga⁹⁸ many Indians had starved to death; some were still ill, and those who still have some corn are very stingy and do not give any to the sick, which is otherwise not their custom and habit, but would rather let them die, and those who are healthy go around searching for wild potatoes instead of eating bread.

Friday the 26th. Early in the morning Johannes Pepunhank went with his two horses and the young boy Abraham with ours [our horse] to carry the things of Joshua and others. Towards evening to our and their great joy, he and all of the brothers and sisters and children [*inserted*: except little Anton] who had been left behind yesterday arrived healthy and happy at the Susquehanna ten miles above Wajomick⁹⁹. [*inserted*: Brother Shebosh complained that in the previous night the bear had also ripped open his straw bag and various items inside it and that he had found the Philadelphia biscuits and the tea, which had been wrapped together in the cloth, were devoured or scattered. Also Matthaeus¹⁰⁰ had encountered the she-bear with her two cubs there very early and wounded her but had only killed and brought back the two cubs.] The brothers made huts and the sisters went with Johannes Pepunhank's wife and the womenfolk of the new Indians over the Susquehanna to look for wild potatoes, which were soon cooked and eaten with a little salt. Many of our people – and especially the boys – did not want the food and became quite melancholy, thinking often of Bethlehem, Nain and Wechquetank and how well the Indians there had been doing. We received four canoes sent from Machilusing. In the evening we had a conference with the Indian brothers and sisters about our further progress and it was agreed that some things should be brought

⁹² She would be baptized in 1766 and named Anna Johanna. A Munsee. (F #552)

⁹³ Shamokin on the Susquehanna had been a Moravian mission place until 1755.

⁹⁴ The Mahican Moses had been baptized in 1749 in Gnadenhütten. He had lost his first wife in 1750, his second wife was an Unami and would be baptized Juliana in 1769. (F #221)

⁹⁵ Miriam had been baptized at Shekomeko in 1742 and admitted to Holy Communion in 1744; in the 1750s the mission records frequently lament about her poor spiritual condition. (F #29)

⁹⁶ Job Chelloway was a frequent visitor of the congregation; he had been living in Wyalusing and accompanying Johannes Papunhank to Philadelphia in 1764 as his interpreter. His wife, son and daughter(s) would later apply for baptism.

⁹⁷ The Paxton Boys were frontiersmen of Scots-Irish origin from along the Susquehanna River who in 1763 had threatened the Christian Indians in Pennsylvania and forced them to seek protection in the barracks at Philadelphia.

⁹⁸ Chenango was an Iroquois settlement on the river of the same name, a tributary of the Susquehanna, about thirty miles north of what later would become Friedenshütten.

⁹⁹ Wyoming was a Shawnee and Delaware settlement on the east branch of the Susquehanna River.

¹⁰⁰ Matthäus had been baptized in 1761 at the age of 16; husband of Anna Rosina. (F #495)

tomorrow with five canoes from here to Lechawachnek¹⁰¹ and in the evening the canoes should come back again. Meanwhile some wanted to go to Wajomick, take several canoes which Joshua and Johannes Pepunhank had left there in November and at the same time do some hunting. After this we had a blessed little singing service [*Singstündgen*]. It rained a lot all through the night.

Saturday the 27th. At the break of day three older boys went twenty miles from here to fetch the little flour left, and came back with it in the evening at ten o'clock. Joshua Jr. went with his wife¹⁰² and their things towards Lechawachnek. Some brothers and sisters went to look for canoes in Wajomick, but brought back only one, and Bartholomeus and Benjamin¹⁰³ brought back one deer each. Samuel the Nanticoke took his very sick wife to Zeninga where she very much longed to go. The brother of Job Chelloway and a chief from Zeninga visited us and proved to be very friendly. We gave them some tobacco, which was a rather substantial gift for them, because they cannot obtain it there. During the evening services, the Indian strangers were there and heard about Jesus's blood and death, through which alone one obtains forgiveness of sins, life and salvation.

Sunday the 28th. Early in the day Joshua Jr. brought five canoes tied together from Lechawachneck for our use all the way to Machilusing, so eleven canoes altogether. Meat and flour were distributed, also to the Indian strangers, for which they rejoiced. In the afternoon eleven canoes were loaded with things and it was agreed that two [people] should go in each one. Brother David had a small one with our things and the Indian Ahtchak to help him. At two o'clock they departed. Four families stayed behind as there were too few canoes, and I went six miles by land with those whose things were in the canoes; two miles past Lechawachneck we arrived where the canoes were docked. Together we built huts and soon laid ourselves to rest. Two boys, however, brought four empty canoes back with which those who had remained behind

Monday the 29th. then came to us with their things in the afternoon [on Monday]. The Nanticoke chief and Job Chelloway's brother also joined us. They wanted to give a large bear skin for a shirt and a fish otter for some flour or tobacco. The former could not be obtained; the latter, however, was generously given in part by our [Indian] brothers, in part by us, for which they were grateful and friendly. The brothers went out hunting, and the sisters and the children went to dig for wild potatoes. Joshua Sr. brought one large and three small bears, which were quickly distributed among everyone; we also received our little piece as always. Brother David talked about today's comforting watchword¹⁰⁴ in the evening services and we strongly felt the Savior's closeness. Little Anton became very sick and longed to be with the Savior.

¹⁰¹ (Minisink) Indian settlement.

¹⁰² The Munsee Sophia, daughter of Johannes Papunhank, had married Joshua Jr. in 1764 and would be baptized in June 1765. (F #530)

¹⁰³ Bartholomew and Benjamin were brothers, originally from Wechquadnach in Connecticut. They had links to the Mohicans at Stockbridge and Shekomeko. Their sister Anna, married Jonathan, son of Abraham and Sarah from Shekomeko. Bartholomew was baptized in Shekomeko in 1744; he had already been scouting for a new home on the Susquehanna in late 1764; married to Elisabeth. (F#66) Benjamin was baptized in Gnadenhütten in 1749; in 1758 he was sent to Philadelphia as treaty delegate. A Widower. (F #237)

¹⁰⁴ Deuteronomy 31:6.

Tuesday the 30th. Kin of Joshua Jr.'s wife came from Lechawachneck – fifteen in all. They offered their two canoes right away to help several of us to Machilusing. Despite this, Johannes Pepunhank and Gottlieb, Andreas¹⁰⁵ and Amos¹⁰⁶, however, made two canoes for their own use. In the afternoon Job Chelloway with his children and Justina with her two sons and her things went on further in two canoes, as did the Nanticoke chief and Job's brother, while Christian and Job's wife and boy traveled by horse over land. We stayed put, however, for in the evening it had begun to rain, which continued all night. Bartholomeus returned to us, very wet, with one deer.

May.

Wednesday the 1st. It also rained all day today, and the Susquehanna was running very high. Brother David led a blessed morning devotion about the watchword¹⁰⁷ and after the collect¹⁰⁸ we entrusted ourselves for the coming month to the faithful and beneficent hands of our dear Lord. During the day fishing and looking for potatoes were the main activities. In the evening some brothers helped Andreas to bring the canoe he had made to the Susquehanna. Abel¹⁰⁹ brought back one deer from the hunt, so that everyone had something to eat, even if it was not a lot. Six Indian strangers came to us and were happy to see [inserted: us and] our people as two of them had sometimes visited Nain, and had grown fond of us. At night it began to rain again and continued thus with a NW wind

Thursday the 2nd all day, which prevented us from making further progress. Today the brothers and sisters received the last portion of flour, although they looked very abashed and distressed and that they would not have anything at planting time. We were very affected when we thought about this. The new Indians went on a bit further to look for potatoes although it was raining hard, as they had nothing to eat, and their children were crying from hunger. In order to assuage and satisfy them somewhat, they tapped some chestnut trees and gave them the sweet syrup to lick. Some of our brothers and sisters and children did the same in order to fortify and revive themselves a little, for the syrup is not only sweet, but also acts a little as a balm. We ended the day with a moving singing service (*Singstunde*).

Friday the 3rd. When I preached a little on the watchword: "I am the Lord who heals you,"¹¹⁰ He was very close to us and let us feel very powerfully his precious blood which does heal all injuries. At nine o'clock most [of our group] went with nine laden canoes and some strangers with two canoes all the way to Tenkkanneck.¹¹¹ Those to whom the items in the canoes belonged also went there by foot; the two of us remained behind this

¹⁰⁵ The Wampanoag Andreas had been baptized in Shekomeko in 1743; he was married to Anna Justina, brother of Philippus Sr. (F #53)

¹⁰⁶ Amos had been baptized in 1743; husband of Agnes. (F #36)

¹⁰⁷ 2 Chronicles 14:11.

¹⁰⁸ "Dein Volk ergibt sich Deinen treuen Händen" (Brüder-Gesang-Buch, #2291 v. 2).

¹⁰⁹ Abel had been baptized at Gnadenhütten in 1751. Son of Magdalena, husband of Philippina. (F #314)

¹¹⁰ Exodus 15: 26.

¹¹¹ Indian village where the Moravians had baptized several residents around 1750.

time, however, with Joshua's and Sam Eavens' families,¹¹² until three canoes were brought back, which happened before nightfall thanks to Ahtchak und Matthaesus.

Saturday the 4th. Early in the morning an unknown Indian came who had already seen us the evening before from the other side of the Susquehanna, and who was the biological brother of Mohakeeks whom we knew well. He was very happy to see Joshua and us and was glad that there were no hostile white people whom the Indians of this area fear. After he had had something to eat and had received some tobacco he went on gratefully to bring back the good news to the other frightened Indians left behind. At eight o'clock Brother David departed with Ahtchak, Joshua Sr. and Gabriel,¹¹³ and Samuel Eavens in three canoes, and I went by land with the others over the mountains and through the valleys and sometimes close to the rocks along the Susquehanna where it was almost impossible to pass through by horse; the Savior, however, to whom we had entrusted our journey, not only happily helped us through, but we were strengthened by His gracious closeness, so that by four o'clock in the afternoon we had traveled ten miles to Sakapoohk¹¹⁴ along a creek by the same name, and rested for half an hour. I gave my horse to Brother Shebosh and went by canoe another three miles to Tenkkanneck where we all came together. In the evening after the devotions, my dear David and I thought back to Bethlehem and their most blessed enjoyment today of Holy Communion but we were content with the little flame of love, which the Friend of sinners had lit in the heart and allowed us to feel again and we laid ourselves in His wounds for a blessed rest.

Sunday the 5th. It rained the entire day. Meanwhile, the brothers went fishing as they were hungry and the sisters and children went digging for potatoes and roots for the same reason, but found very little. If the brothers had not caught any fish, most would have been hungry all day. Three new Indian families, among whom was Johann Martin,¹¹⁵ also came to us in order to join us in Machilusing. Little Anton became very weak and in the night we expected him to go home [*Heimgang*] at any moment. He also spoke of his departure and longed to be with the Savior. He often said to his grandparents: "Let me go; I am done." Towards morning he became quiet and lay in a light slumber.

Monday the 6th. We had planned to go another six miles, but resolved to remain until little Anton, Gottlieb's son, had gone home, which then happened with a blessing at eleven o'clock, and his little soul passed swiftly into Jesus's wounds. He was born on February 16, 1760, in Nain and was baptized there on the 17th by Brother Martin. And after his mother Amalia passed when he was four months old, his grandparents Anton and Johanna took him in and raised him. Last year he started to be in frail health and caught consumption before we left Philadelphia, under which he continued to labor during our journey despite all the medicine given to him. He was an otherwise cheerful child who loved the Savior, and who, even when he was ill, did not like to miss our devotions. His dying-life only lasted five years, two months and twenty days.

¹¹² Sam Evans had been living in Gnadenhütten since 1754; in Philadelphia he signed an address to Governor Penn in March 1765; he was not baptized until 1774, when he took the name Samuel. He was married to Ruth, an Unami woman baptized in 1749. (F #746)

¹¹³ Gabriel, the son of Abel and Caritas, was baptized in 1749. (F #160)

¹¹⁴ Sakapochk was a place on the Susquehanna, three miles below Tenkkanneck.

¹¹⁵ The Unami Johann Martin was baptized in 1750. (F #248)

Tuesday the 7th. In the morning at eight o'clock, a short speech was given during the devotion about the blessed end of the believer and the disastrous end of the unbeliever, whereupon the small "hut" of little Anton was laid in its little resting place. It is remarkable that he died and was buried in the area where his grandparents and father lived before they came to know the brothers and the Savior. After the burial Joshua, to everyone's great joy, shared the deer he had brought back yesterday evening, since they did not have anything else to eat. The canoes were loaded and departed, and I went with the others who were walking. Soon it began to rain and continued to rain hard all day. The Susquehanna was very high so it was difficult to navigate against the strong current, so we also remembered the brothers before the Savior, as we went our difficult way over the sometimes steep and stony mountain while it continued to rain. Yet we were animated and strengthened by the closeness of the Savior, and all of us met the canoes ten miles further down, arriving at five o'clock not far from the Creek Mahohapinck¹¹⁶ (which means "corral"). There, under a steady rain, we built huts and cut firewood. Though all were wet through and through, one heard the Savior being thanked that everyone could be together happy and healthy. In the night a heavy rain began to come down and thereafter a heavy snow began to fall. We could not keep a fire going, the wet clothes would not dry, and in the bitter cold we could not warm up.

Wednesday the 8th. Early in the morning one saw that the land was covered with snow and the Susquehanna had risen four feet. There was little fire in the huts and many complained of the cold. Sam Eavens brought us dry wood and made a great fire for us where we could warm ourselves up and dry the wet clothes. Each family then did the same for themselves. The brothers went hunting as there were no potatoes to be found but they brought back only one deer which was then distributed, cooked and consumed. Towards evening, the visiting Indians as well as Johannes Pepunhank, Anton, Gottlieb, and Abel set off in their canoes in order to go ahead of us to Machilusing and to attend to our whereabouts. In the evening we spoke about the watchword,¹¹⁷ and we recalled that it has been five weeks since we left Bethlehem, and that, by the Savior's grace, the long and arduous journey is almost over, which was a comfort to all.

Thursday the 9th. In the morning, my dear David left here with the Indian boy Nathanael followed by Joshua, Samuel Eavens, Andreas and Amos and David with six canoes, and I went with Shebosh's family and the sisters and children by land. It was pleasant weather and the path was fairly good, so we arrived at noon at Tuscarora Creek (named after an old Tuscaroran who had lived there by himself) where there was a very pretty and large piece of lowland and a lot of sugar and large black walnut trees. We rested here for an hour, allowed the horses to recuperate with the nice grass, and as there was a bit of land that had been nicely hoed, Joshua and Shebosh sowed some turnip seeds in it, and the sisters also found some potatoes. Then we went on resolutely once again. Two miles before Machilusing where the path was level, I mounted a horse, rode ahead and arrived around four o'clock at that very place where I met Johannes Pepunhank, Anton and various other people, who welcomed me warmly. I went around with Johannes Pepunhank right away, and we had a look at the dilapidated huts, some of which were close to the Susquehanna and were laid out very irregularly and far from one another –

¹¹⁶ Maschapinck Creek, a little downstream from Machilusing.

¹¹⁷ 1 Samuel 18:3.

one here, one there. We visited old Nicodemus¹¹⁸ and his children who were with him and held a small conference with Johannes Anton and Nicodemus about where our brothers and sisters could be placed. And it was arranged that we could use four large almost new houses, each with two fireplaces and room for four families to live comfortably. Towards evening the safe arrival of our brothers and sisters made us and the Indian strangers/foreign Indians especially happy. Everyone came together, and helped take all the possessions out of the canoes and to carry them to the huts assigned by Brother Anton. In the evening everyone was well situated and thankful to the Savior that they had been brought here by the Savior and were now in the very place where they could live together in love and peace. The watchword was: “For unto me the children [of Israel] are servants; they are my servants whom I brought forth [out of the land of Egypt].”¹¹⁹ “The reward for your death struggle.”¹²⁰ This was particularly comforting and pleasant to them. I and my dear David wished everyone a blissful sleep, and went with Johannes Pepunhank to his large hut on a hill, where we put Anton, Gottlieb and Naomi¹²¹ and their families with him so they could live close together.

Friday the 10th. After everyone awoke healthy and cheerful and had eaten some venison which Johannes had roasted and distributed, it was resolved that, due to the severe shortage of provisions, all the menfolk there would travel one day up the Susquehanna to go hunting and would come back after four days. In the morning they went out in two groups, and commended themselves to our thoughts. Johannes stayed at home, however, as he had a bad foot. I asked him for a separate hut for myself and my dear David, and he assigned us a small unroofed hut close to our brothers and sisters, which we appreciated.¹²² He also gave us bast from other empty huts to cover the hut. Two new Indian families from Zeninga, and Captain Thomas Makie¹²³, went from here back to [Zeninga] again. In the afternoon I went with Brother David to take a look at the plantation which is very large and has nice, rich soil. We heard the fence that stood along the Susquehanna had been torn down and burned by the Mohawks and other Indians, but the section facing the town is still standing and is as good as when it was first erected. It is a little far to collect firewood. As we returned, old Nicodemus called for me by the Peesbank¹²⁴ and in German, in fact: “Brother, come here.” And as I came to him, he said: “During your visit yesterday while looking at the huts you said that if only you had a little hut such as the one set apart and covered you would be satisfied. I had put up the little house for myself but now I have another one and do not need the other. If you want it, I will gladly give it to you.” My answer was: “I did not mean this very one but one like

¹¹⁸ According to the Fliegel Index it seems to be the same Nicodemus mentioned above (F #528).

¹¹⁹ Adapted from Leviticus 25:55.

¹²⁰ The verse originally speaks of “*his* death-struggle“. The combination of this watchword and collect illustrates Zinzendorf’s Christological interpretation of the Old Testament. He elaborates on this watchword and collect in: *Auszüge aus des seligen Ordinarii der Evangelischen Brüder-Kirche sowol ungedruckten als gedruckten Reden über biblische Texte: Über das zweyte und dritte Buch Mose*. Bd. 2, Barby 1764, p. 1149 and 1154.

¹²¹ Naomi, a widow, was baptized at Gnadenhütten in 1749. (F #186)

¹²² The authority assigned to Johannes by Schmick and Zeisberger is critically discussed in Amy L. Schutt, “Tribal Identity in the Moravian Missions on the Susquehanna,” in *Pennsylvania History* 66, 1999, p. 378-398.

¹²³ Captain Thomas McKee, one of the main Indian traders on the Susquehanna.

¹²⁴ Presumably taken from Narrangansett “pésuponck”: “sweat house.”

it and of the same size would be quite good for the brothers who live with you; but as you do not need it and gladly give it to me, I do not wish to refuse it, but accept it gratefully from you until it can be placed where it belongs and made ready for habitation.” He agreed with this and gave me his hand and a kiss of friendship. It is perhaps only sixteen foot long and fifteen wide and by daylight there is white paint on the siding, with a chimney built in, and when it is joined with the hut in which Brother David now lives, then a few brothers and sisters will be able to make use of it in the future both in summer and winter.

Saturday the 11th. On this day Johannes went with Gottlob and his boys¹²⁵ to the large creek called Machilusing, from whence the place has its name, to catch beaver and to hunt around there, and I went fishing with Brother David along the Susquehanna. Johannes’s wife and her kin¹²⁶ went with a canoe up to Anahochquaga¹²⁷ on a three-day trip in order to get corn to plant for themselves and some of our Indian brothers and sisters, and to buy bread.

Sunday the 12th. In the morning some young sisters came and complained about the white man who is staying in Job Chelloway’s house, and soon thereafter Johann Martin also came with the very same complaint and request that the man be sent away from here, because in Zeninga, where he had resided for a long time, [the man] had eventually broken open the chest of the Nanticoke chief there, and stolen his things and now he had also taken a canoe from there and had come here, and he had even said openly that he would not leave until he had two Indian scalps, and so forth. Our answer right away was that they should speak with Johannes Pepunhank about it as we cannot allow ourselves to be involved, and even less can we forbid him from being here, which made sense to him. Meanwhile, he showed his joy that brothers were here, and that he and his wife¹²⁸ would hear about the Savior and their salvation, and that many Indians who formerly lived here would be happy and would move back here. In the afternoon we visited our old Paulus who, for the time being, is living one mile from here with his wife and children, which they found agreeable. Sister Benigna¹²⁹, Sister Anna Rosina¹³⁰ and Johanna were given a present of some corn, milk and sugar.

Monday the 13th. I built a fence around our hut with Brother David. In the hut, Elisabeth¹³¹ cleaned the little space in the hut and made it level, and afterwards fetched some bast fiber for tying [illegible] bast fiber with Sister A. Justina for the roof, and covered it quite snugly. Brother David sowed cucumbers, lettuce and parsley. In the evening, everyone returned from the hunt and brought home one large bear and five deer; the sixth had been consumed. Six soldiers [*inserted*: who had come down the Susquehanna] and had slept and eaten at Paulus’s place the night before had now arrived

¹²⁵ Gottlob had been a visitor to Gnadenhütten in 1749 and must have been baptized in the early 1750s, army service from 1756-1760, father of Thomas and Jonas (F #161).

¹²⁶ “Freunden.”

¹²⁷ An intertribal Indian settlement that included Mohicans, on the Susquehanna, upstream from Machilusing.

¹²⁸ She would be baptized Regine in 1767, an Unami. (F #575)

¹²⁹ The Unami Benigna was baptized in Gnadenhütten in 1754, and married to Joachim. (F #353)

¹³⁰ The Wampano Anna Rosina was baptized in 1755. She was the wife of Matthäus. (# 381)

¹³¹ The Shawnee Elisabeth had been received in the membership of the Moravian Church in 1754 and had been baptized in Stockbridge, Massachusetts. She was married to Bartholomew. (F #356)

here and were planning to go on to Shamokin, so the white man left with them in a great hurry, which was very pleasing to all the Indians. Johannes Pepunhank also came home as did his wife, who had brought back corn and quite a quantity of tree sugar¹³² purchased for one Shilling per pound. Straight away she made us a present of two pounds' worth, which was agreeable to us since we had not had anything in several days.

Tuesday the 14th. The meat was distributed and we also received our portion. After this Johannes Pepunhank went with the brothers and sisters to allocate and measure out their plantations. We, Anton, and Gottlieb received ours on this side of the little river. During the day each one cleared his parcel of land and burned the old grass and straw on it. David and I covered our hut, and then he fetched firewood and I hoed a bit to make a little garden around our hut. Some sisters started to sow things in the garden, and everyone was occupied on the plantations. In the evening there was thunder and a heavy rain fell.

Wednesday the 15th. In our services we felt His closeness and had strong evidence that our dear Lord was there and close by. As the watchwords from our arrival until today were recapitulated, [it was shown that] we can trust in the merciful promises and blessings of our Lord, as long as we keep to His wounds daily and hourly, devoting ourselves entirely to Him, and not desiring to be or live without him. At that many tears were shed, and the joys were very palpable. After this, we were visited by the brothers and sisters and strangers in our hut. Today the two of us also began to plant our corn. Elisabeth went with young Moses and his wife and their son John, the former to buy corn and the latter with Samuel the Nanticoke, whom he will meet along the way to go to Owego¹³³, and to take the words and a string of wampum¹³⁴, which he obtained from our Indians, to the Chief there who has been appointed as secretary for the Six Nations there and who receives the letters for the Indians along the Susquehanna, then sends them to the Six Nations and communicates back the answer from them to the proper place. The content of the words sent to the Six Nations was:

- 1) a report of how for more than a year they were protected by the Pennsylvania government from the hostile white people and were well cared for, for which they had cause to be grateful and appreciative.
- 2) that the Government sent them towards the Susquehanna, in order to reach Machilusing with their womenfolk and children, and to settle there in peace and quiet, until they receive an answer from the Six Nations as their Uncles¹³⁵ about whether they should settle here or in another place along the Susquehanna, where they could further live and dwell undisturbed in peace.
- 3) a request for permission and the freedom to have a brother from Bethlehem reside with them as their minister, as has been the case for many years, who would continue to speak the good words of our God and Creator, who would love them and their children and all Indians, and out of love for them and their eternal salvation would continue to instruct them in the way of life and salvation, so that they and their womenfolk and children

¹³² Maple sugar; cooked and hardened sap.

¹³³ Seat of (Cayuga) chief functioning as secretary of the Six Nations.

¹³⁴ Wampum were beads made of shells polished and strung together in belts. In formal negotiations they symbolized the contents of a speech and served as reminders.

¹³⁵ For tribal relations often kinship terms were used.

could live quietly and peaceably with all people. But without their minister they could not live on their own nor get along. They wish to share this with their Uncles from their hearts, and expect from them not only an answer [*insertion*: to the former], but also familial¹³⁶ permission, which everyone here in Machilusing requests.

Thursday, the 16th. The sermon on the Ascension Day of our dear Lord was about the story of this great feast day.¹³⁷ We gazed at Him with heartfelt longing that He would also impart to us on this day a distinct blessing. My dear David had a bad headache and was unable to be up very much. In the evening service I spoke of the great love of the Savior for the heathen and all poor sinners. In the morning and afternoon, the brothers and sisters visited one another, and spoke about this special day of our dear Lord. Esther¹³⁸ spoke with an old Indian who was there about the love of the Savior, such that her heart and eyes were overflowing, and she thanked Esther many times for this.

Friday, the 17th. Everyone was busy planting the corn and sowing the fruits of the garden [*inserted*: I hoed half of our garden und planted peas and beans]. Bathsheba gave Brother David some ground-up roots to alleviate his bad headache, but as it did not improve, he resolved that he should be bled by Brother Shebosh and felt better afterwards. After which, as Brother David advised and wanted, it was resolved that I could now also go with the Indian brothers to Bethlehem to fetch the flour as soon as possible. When this was made known among the brothers and sisters, they begged with tears in their eyes for Holy Communion since they had not had this in so long and sincerely desired it, and, without this as their greatest and most blessed enjoyment, they could neither survive nor live.¹³⁹ We brought this before the Savior and the two of us felt in our hearts that we should have it [Communion] with those hungry and thirsty souls. Bartholomaeus brought back one deer and distributed the meat to those who had nothing. At the end of the day we had a blessed little singing service.

Saturday the 18th. During the morning devotions I spoke about the children's watchword in which every heart attached to the Savior must give this witness and the glory to Him alone: "if you had not hung on to me, I would nevermore have gone to search for you."¹⁴⁰ After this we held a small conference with Anton, Joshua, Johannes Pepunhank and Nicodemus and took a look at 1) the good site around our hut for building homes and for the devotions. For the latter Johannes offered to take down his new large house covered with shingles because he wants to build himself another house here below, and 2) the new burial ground¹⁴¹ because the girl Eva¹⁴² has consumption and will not live long, so that she will be the first to go up there. Afterwards it was announced to the communicant brothers and sisters that tomorrow, Sunday, we would celebrate Holy

¹³⁶ "Freundschaftlich".

¹³⁷ Luke 24:50-53 and Acts 1:1-11.

¹³⁸ Esther had been baptized in Shekomeko in 1742 and was admitted to Holy Communion in 1743, a widow and later National Helper. (F #10)

¹³⁹ The celebration of Holy Communion – normally every six weeks – can be seen as the highlight of Moravian religious life. On these occasions the communicants merged with Jesus, the Elder of the Church, into one mystical body.

¹⁴⁰ Cf. Gesangbuch, zum Gebrauch der evangelischen Brüdergemeinen, Barby 1783, #704 v. 7.

¹⁴¹ Literally, "Hutberg."

¹⁴² Eva had been baptized in Gnadenhütten in 1750, was educated in Bethlehem but sent home for bad behavior in 1762. (F #261)

Communion over which they rejoiced especially. Then Johannes, who had wanted to go ahead tomorrow already, resolved with the other brothers to leave on Monday or Tuesday, also because Brother David was not quite well yet. In the morning and afternoon we began to speak¹⁴³ and we continued on

Sunday the 19th the next morning and found sinful hearts longing for grace, who showed with emotion how needful they were of the Savior's Communion for new strength and life. Andreas and Anna Justina, who had behaved badly in the barracks some time ago, begged with tears for forgiveness of their sins, promised to devote themselves anew entirely to the Savior, and believed that they would receive a new blessing from the Savior. Johannes Pepunhank also called for attention and testified to his frequent longing for Communion and to be united more closely to the Savior, and that it was still the same in his heart today. Brother David delivered the sermon about the watchword,¹⁴⁴ which the Savior confirmed. In the afternoon we brought Johannes's case before the Savior and he was given the grace to go to Communion. Upon hearing this, his heart and eyes wept tears of joy. After the evening services, the communicant brothers and sisters came into our hut, which had been covered in blankets on the inside, twenty-one [persons] altogether. We asked the Friend of sinners mercifully to absolve us and we then held the first exceedingly blessed Communion. Johannes was admitted most graciously for the first time as well. All the brothers and sisters were glad about this, and he especially, since he was baptized here and now experienced his first enjoyment of the flesh and blood of our Lord here, and we heartily rejoiced for him.

Monday the 20th. We heard that the Negro who had run here from Mr. Arndt De Pieu was still residing here with an Indian and that our brothers wanted to take him with them tomorrow to his master, to which we and all the Indians agreed. During the day we fished and caught 1,400 shads, which were large and fat. Every person received ten of them so that they would not only have something to eat on the way to Bethlehem, but also for several days there, for which they thanked the Savior. The watchword¹⁴⁵ was discussed in our services, and all the Indians who were there were commended once again to the Savior for further blessing and grace. My dear Brother David who was quite cheerful and well today, sowed a little part of our plantation with parsnips, lettuce, and yellow turnip seeds, and I visited in the huts, especially Eva, who was sick and emaciated. She showed her heart and her longing to be with the Savior with many tears and, as I took my leave from her, she asked me to greet the flock in Bethlehem from her many times and to remember her before the Savior and, as she had been a poor, bad, disobedient child, also to forgive everything because she believed the Savior would also do so and would be gracious to her on account of His blood and death and would soon take her to Him.

Tuesday the 21st. Early in the morning, thirty-six brothers and sisters, including five boys and five sisters, prepared themselves to go to Bethlehem and fetch some flour. The others came and took leave from me warmly, passing on many heartfelt greetings to the Bethlehem congregation and asking that they be remembered before the Savior. At ten o'clock they left Machilusing, eleven on horseback and twenty-five with six Canoes.

¹⁴³ Participation in Communion depended on one's spiritual status, which on the same or the previous day was assessed by the missionaries in an intimate conversation with the member of the congregation.

¹⁴⁴ Genesis 13:8.

¹⁴⁵ Exodus 33:13.

Brother Shebosh, Benjamin, and Renatus¹⁴⁶ had the Negro with them. We had lovely weather and everyone came together again at Tenkkanek in the evening at the creek, where we spent the night. We cooked and ate the bear meat which we had gotten from three Minquas.

Wednesday the 22nd. At the break of day most of the brothers went ahead up the path to go hunting and we met again ten miles from Tenkkanek, where we rested a little and warmed ourselves by the fire as it was very cool. At ten o'clock we left from there and at noon reached Lechawachneck, where we left the canoes, fed the horses, and those who had food also ate a little. At two o'clock we all went our way well-preserved and cheerful, and we had made it over the one large creek by evening. The brothers who had been hunting came late, however, bringing three deer, after everyone had already gone to sleep fatigued. Nonetheless, they roasted the meat on a spit over the fire throughout the night, so that, as we woke up early on

Thursday the 23rd everybody had a good breakfast from it and could take something for the trip. After the morning devotions, because we had offered heartfelt thanks anew to the Savior for our redemption after the watchword collect,¹⁴⁷ we went out cheerfully feeling His blessed closeness. At noon we came through the great swamp where we and our horses rested a while, and in the evening we were two miles from Wechquetank where we spent the night in a valley near the little creek. Joshua Jr., who had gone out a few days ahead and was already at the Rose, brought us the news that none of the Indians could go towards Bethlehem because the Irish were still very hostile and thought that the two men recently found dead had been murdered by Indians from Bethlehem. This led us to spend much time in reflection and deliberation. We finally decided to go nevertheless, since they were quite innocent in this manner, yet we stowed away their weapons at that place before going on, confidently, towards Bethlehem on

Friday the 24th. [*inserted*: and Shebosh brought the Negro to his master.] Just as we had gathered on this side of the lake in a field by the old house and wanted to rest, Mr. [*inserted*: illegible] Zivers¹⁴⁸ from Bethlehem came to us, and shared what had happened with Mr. Apty a few days ago¹⁴⁹ and advised us that the Indians should not go to Bethlehem because he was afraid of an uprising by hostile people, and some disaster as a result. We saw his arrival as the Providence of the Savior and thanked him for this token of his love. The Indians resolved to go back with him, took their affectionate leave from me though with great sadness, sent their greetings to all the brothers and sisters in Bethlehem, and then went on their way back. I went on to Bethlehem, where I was very glad to arrive in the evening at seven o'clock. I could thank the Savior once again for his grace shown me, a poor sinner, every day on the trip there and the trip back, and for the blessed closeness and preservation, and I could surrender to him and the congregation and enjoy all the blessings and felicity which He imparts each day to His dear congregation. And I also commend myself to the dear congregation as its member, connected through Jesus's torture and death.

¹⁴⁶ The Mahican Renatus had been baptized in Gnadenhütten in 1749 and was admitted to Holy Communion in 1758. In 1763/64 he had been on trial for murder but was acquitted. (F #220)

¹⁴⁷ From Brüder-Gesang-Buch, #269 v. 5.

¹⁴⁸ Only time he is mentioned in the Mission Records.

¹⁴⁹ Unclear what this incident was.