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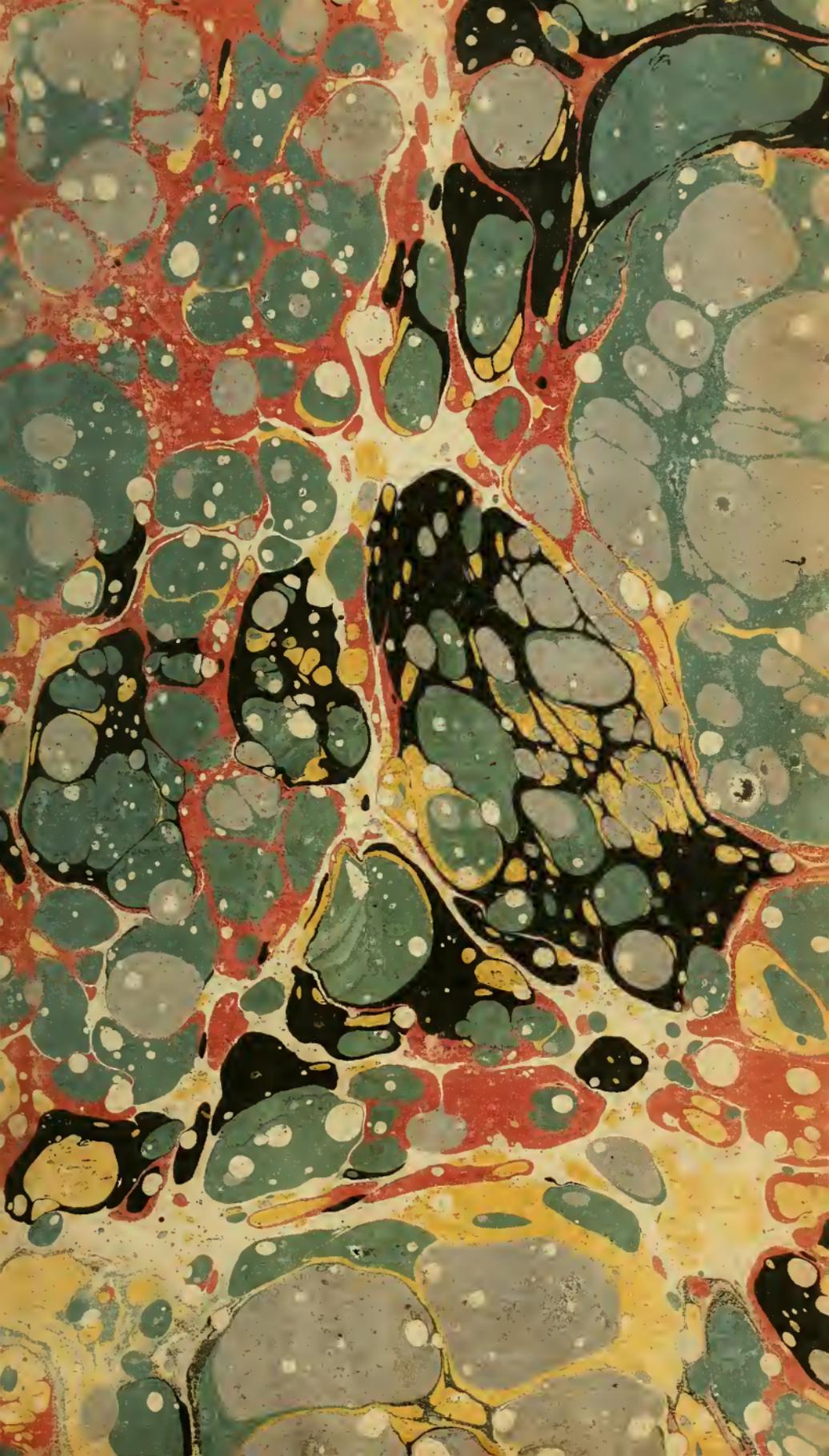
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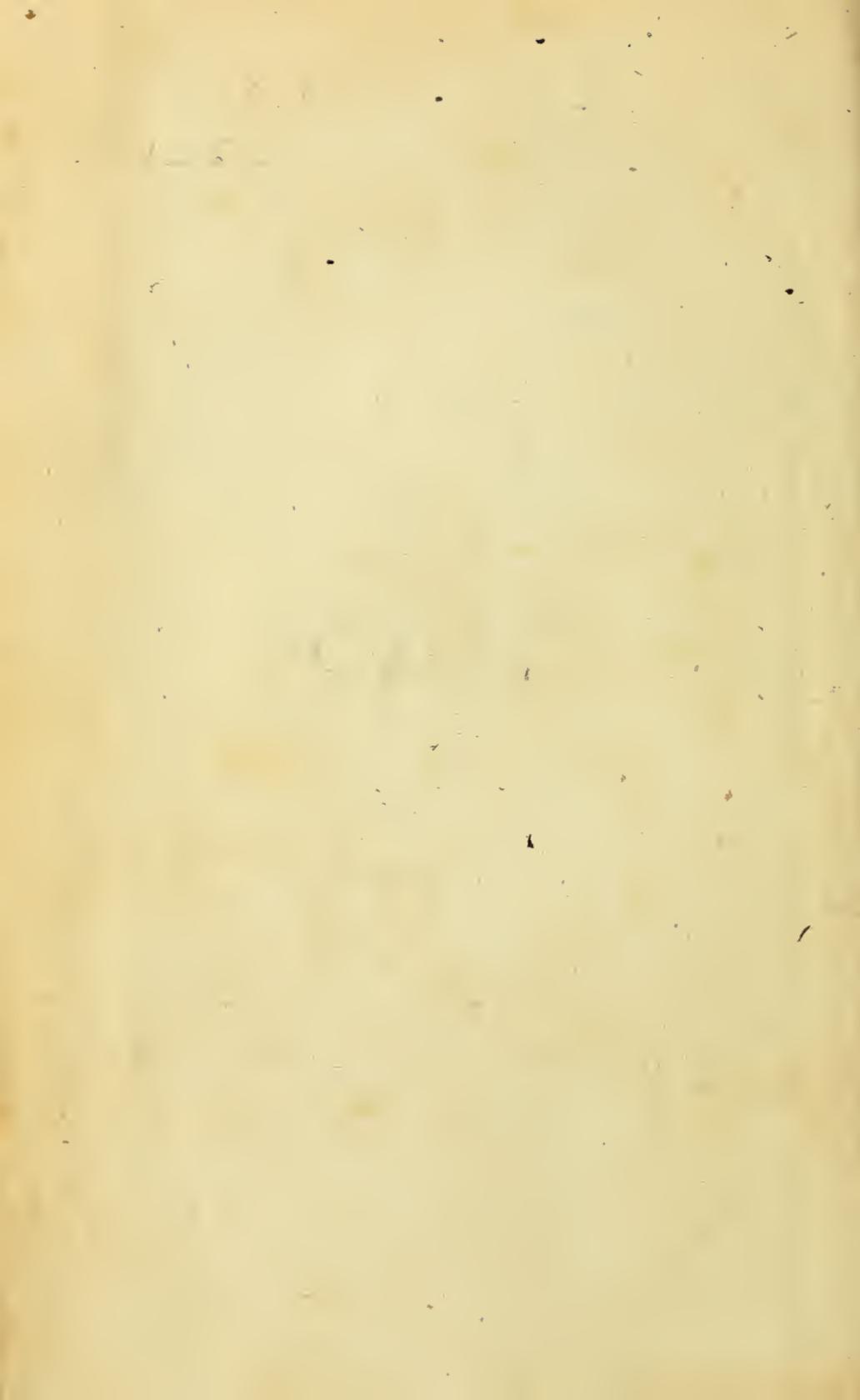


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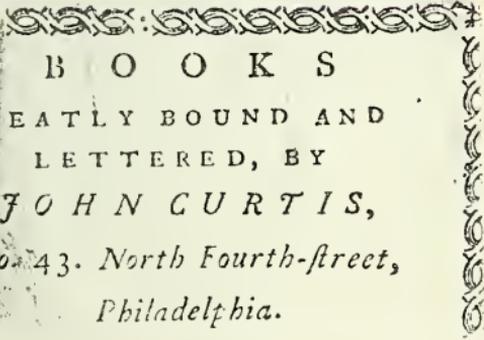


# Presented

By The Right Reverend John Ellwein, in the  
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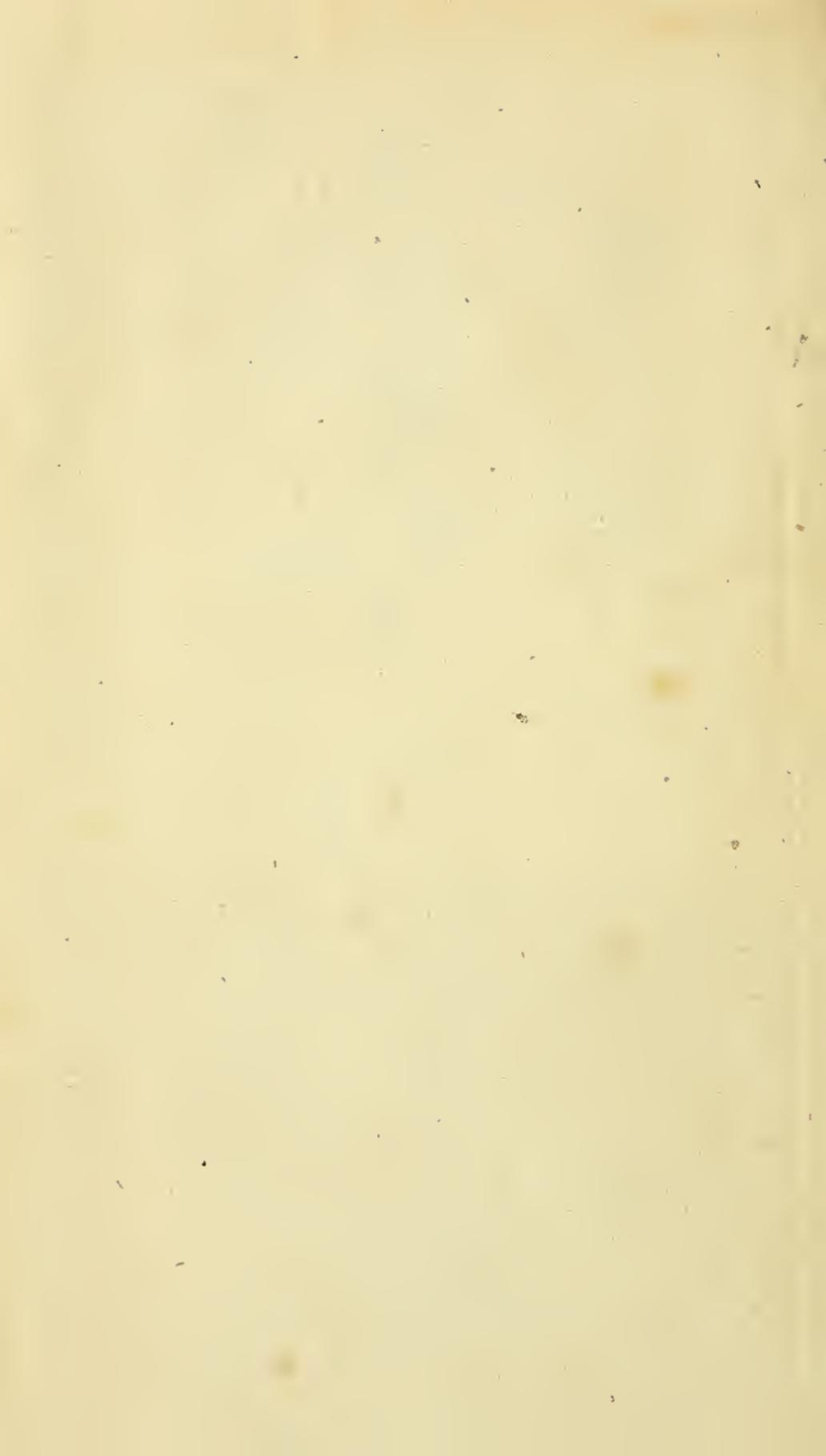
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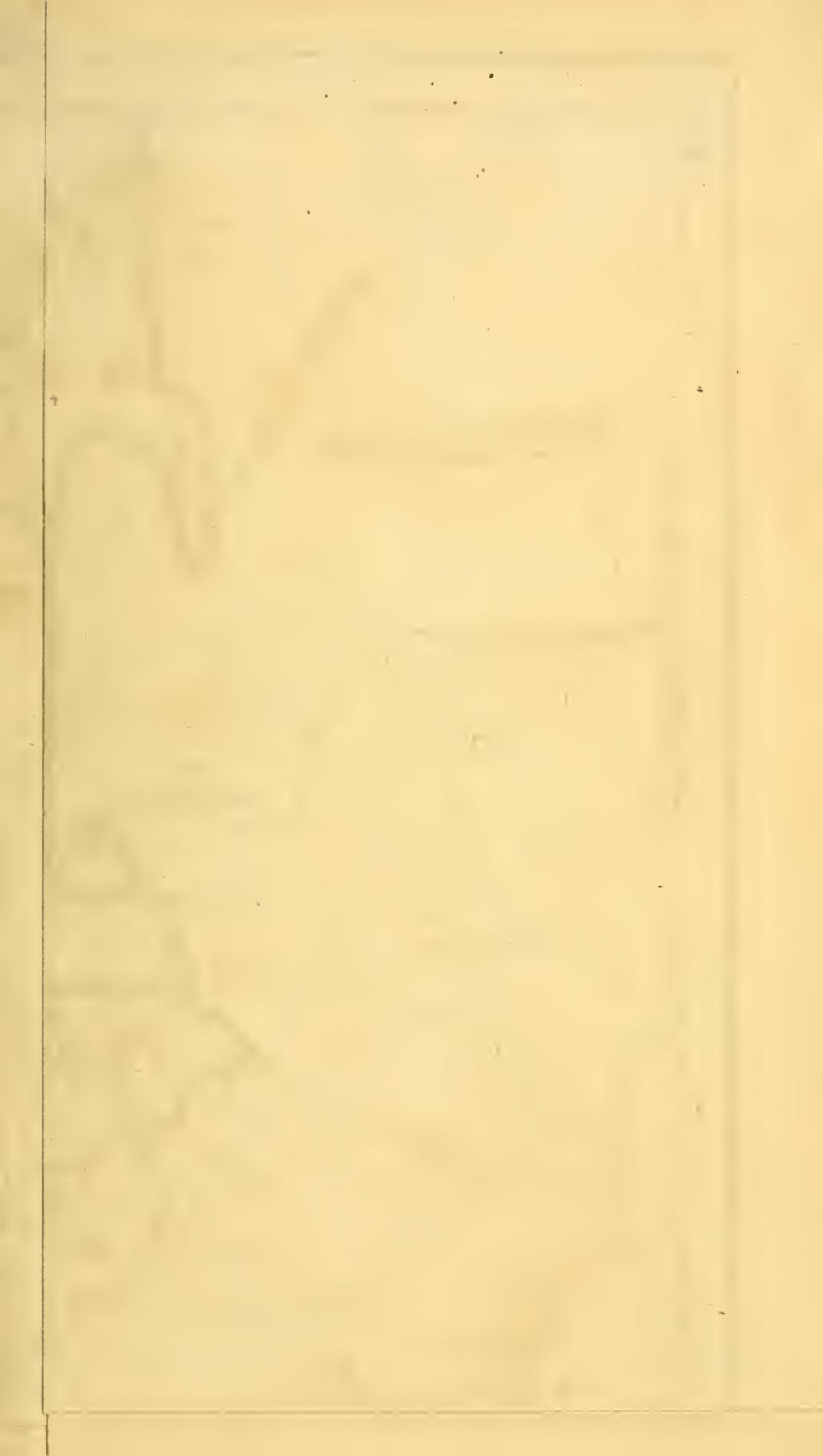
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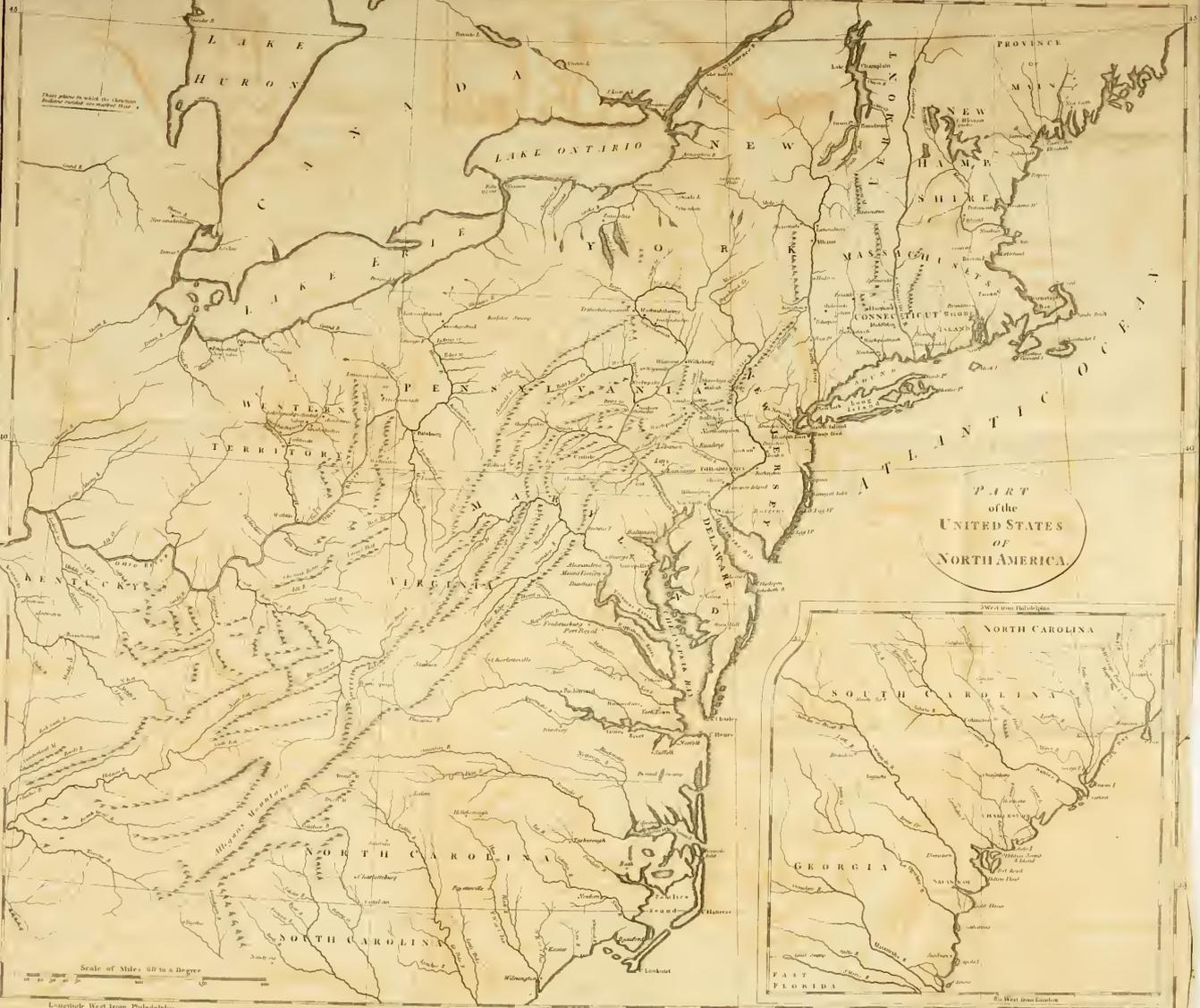
JOHN CURTIS,

No. 43. North Fourth-street,

Philadelphia.







These places in which the Christian  
Indians reside are marked by a star

PART  
of the  
UNITED STATES  
OF  
NORTH AMERICA

Scale of Miles 60 to a Degree

Longitude West from Philadelphia



West from Philadelphia

NORTH CAROLINA

SOUTH CAROLINA

GEORGIA

FLORENCE  
FLORIDA

West from London

Longitude East from Philadelphia

# H I S T O R Y

OF THE

## MISSION

OF THE

## *UNITED BRETHREN*

AMONG THE

Indians in North America.

---

IN THREE PARTS.

---

BY

GEORGE HENRY LOSKIEL.

---

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN

*BY CHRISTIAN IGNATIUS LA TROBE.*

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LONDON:

PRINTED FOR THE BRETHREN'S SOCIETY FOR THE  
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*SOLD AT No. 10, NEVIL'S COURT, FETTER LANE;*  
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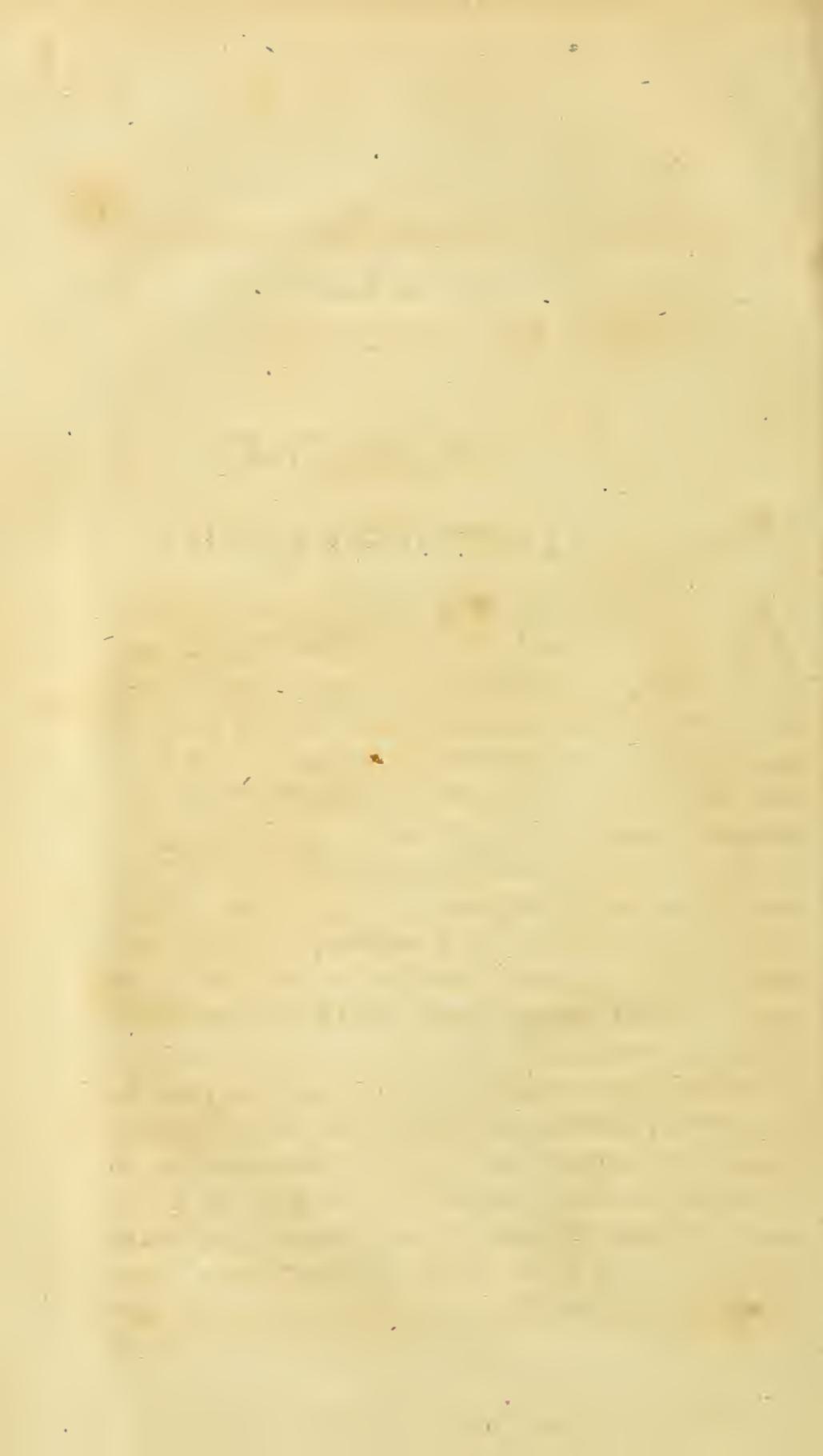
1794.

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TO  
ALL  
IN EVERY DENOMINATION,  
WHO LOVE THE  
LORD JESUS CHRIST  
IN SINCERITY,  
AND REJOICE AT THE INCREASE OF HIS KINGDOM,  
THIS ACCOUNT OF THE  
EFFECTS OF THE GOSPEL  
AMONG THE  
INDIANS IN NORTH AMERICA,  
IS HUMBLY DEDICATED  
BY  
THE TRANSLATOR.



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*THE TRANSLATOR'S*

P R E F A C E.

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**A** TRANSLATION of the following History of the Mission of the United Brethren among the North American Indians has been much wished for by our Brethren and friends, both in England and America, ever since its publication in the German language. Several circumstances have prevented a speedy compliance with this general wish, but in the end, the delay occasioned in the completion of the work, however regretted, has tended to its improvement, as several observations and amendments suggested by the Author and our North American missionaries have been carefully attended to in the translation.

In behalf of the translation itself, I shall only remark, that I have endeavoured to convey the Author's meaning in such language, as I thought most intelligible. A translator can never be fully satisfied with his work, and in revising the press, I have frequently wished it had been in my power to have given to one or other paragraph a better turn. I may have erred in some  
terms

terms and expressions peculiar to America, though I have endeavoured to avoid it by inquiry. To some friends, who kindly assisted in the revision of the manuscript, I owe many obligations, and should stand yet more indebted, had they not spared me too much. Every error, or proposed amendment, which my readers may still point out, will serve to improve a second edition, if it ever should be wanted.

I had several doubts as to the spelling of the Indian names, and perhaps should have done better to have adopted that mode, which to an English reader might have been most convenient. But as I could not be quite positive, in what manner our missionaries, most of whom are Germans, might have expressed Indian sounds by European letters, I thought it safest, to adhere to the spelling of my Author, and the missionaries. As to the German manner of pronunciation, I will only observe, that *tsh* is always pronounced like a *ch*, and *sch*, like *sh*; *ch* is with them a guttural, for which perhaps a *k* may be the best substitute; for instance, *Tschechsché-quannink*, P. III. p. 36, is pronounced by our German missionaries, *Chekshequannink*. Now and then I have varied a little, for instance, put an *aw* to express the broad *a* of the Germans, &c.

The annexed map I received from our Brethren in North America, it being their wish that a map of those parts, in which our Indian congregations dwelt, might be added to the work. Though it may not be most scrupulously accurate as to the situation of the Indian places here described, for want of proper surveys in so great a wilderness, yet it gives as good an idea of the many emigrations of our Indian congre-

congregations, as could possibly be collected from the situation of the rivers and lakes they passed, or near which they settled.

I have added a copious Index, which I hope will prove useful.

If my readers receive the same degree of pleasure and blessing which I have often done in translating and revising this History, and are by the perusal of it excited to contemplate the work of God in the hearts of the heathen with the same astonishment and adoration, and to join me and my Brethren in prayer for its success, I am richly rewarded for any trouble I have had in laying it before them.

The profits arising from the sale, if any, will be applied towards the support of the missions by the Brethren's Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel, in London, by whom it is published.

LONDON,

September 20th, 1794.



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P R E F A C E

OF

*T H E A U T H O R.*

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**A**MONG the Missions hitherto established by the church of the United Brethren, the Mission among the Indians in North America is unquestionably one of the most remarkable, whether we consider the various changes it has undergone, or the nations, which are its object.

Its History contains the most striking events. The Mission, almost from the very beginning, meets with many, and even some very active enemies. We behold it often violently assailed with unabating cruelty; suffering under continual troubles the most grievous afflictions, with long, and even bloody persecutions; and subject to such frequent and extraordinary vicissitudes, that the Indian Congregation may well be styled a flock of pilgrims; yet the almighty hand of God so protects it, that when it seems almost vanquished, it rises again triumphant, through his power.

The heathen nations, with whom the Missionaries are here engaged, are more remarkable for their ferocity, obstinacy, and hardness of heart, than all other nations of the earth, and yet the power of the word of atonement conquers their unbroken and inflexible dispositions.

The aim in laying the History of this Mission before the Public, is to place these marvellous truths in such a point of view, that the name of God and our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ may be glorified. For the truth of the Gospel can never be more firmly established than by living witnesses, who of themselves prove, that Jesus Christ is come into the world to save sinners, and that He verily saves all those, who come unto God by him.

The more I am convinced of this by experience, the greater was my pleasure in undertaking, by desire of my Brethren, to write a History, so replete with happy instances, confirming this truth.

But in order to inform my readers of the character of the Indian nations in their natural state, I thought it necessary to introduce a short preliminary account of those tribes, with which our Missionaries have been more intimately acquainted, describing their manner of living, their customs, political constitution, and conduct in peace and war. The few remarks occasionally added concerning beasts, plants, and fossils, refer only to the Indian country.

As to the materials from which this account is composed, I owe great obligations to our venerable Bishop Augustus Gottlieb Spangenberg, who resided many years in North America, and still more to the Missionary David Zeisberger, who has now served  
that

that Mission upwards of forty years successively, and whose veracity is unquestionable. I have likewise consulted Doctor Robertson's History of America, Captain Carver's Travels through the interior Parts of America, and Mr. Leiste's Description of the British Dominions in North America, but so far only as their copious and explicit account perfectly agreed with the testimony of the above-mentioned authorities. It affords particular satisfaction to me, that, before this work went to the press, it underwent a careful revision, and was approved by Bishop Spangenberg and other worthy men, several of whom had been in North America, and resided in the Indian country. Its chief worth therefore lies in its veracity.

As to the history of the Mission itself, I have been favored with the most authentic accounts, journals, and letters of the Missionaries themselves, and of others, who have been employed in this work of God, from the archives of the Unity of the Brethren. My principal concern was to write the truth, and nothing but the truth, and therefore I have not cast a veil over the mistakes, which have been made in conducting the Mission. It must be obvious to every reader, that I have not made neatness and elegance of diction so much my study, as conciseness, plainness, and a language perfectly intelligible, even to the illiterate.

I have not been able to succeed in my endeavours to procure an accurate map of the countries in which the Mission was situated, partly because I could not find any maps of North America to be relied upon,  
and

and did not chuse to republish one that was inaccurate; and partly because the Indian Congregation emigrated so often, and dwelt in countries so far distant from each other, that it would have been impracticable to represent all their settlements in a map of a small size, and many maps would have too much increased the price of the work.

I would willingly have finished this work sooner, for it was already announced to the Public in the year 1784, by the Hon. John Jacob de Moser, state counsellor to the King of Denmark, in his work entitled, "North America, agreeably to the Treaties of Peace in 1783;" but I was prevented by a variety of other avocations. The History has however lost nothing by this delay, as I am enabled to continue it down to the middle of the year 1787.

I take this opportunity publicly to express my gratitude to all and each of those friends who have in the least assisted me.

Finally, I pray the Lord that he would lay his blessing upon my unworthy labors, for the glory of his holy name.

Strickenhof in Livonia,  
May 2d, 1788.

GEORGE HENRY LOSKIEL.

# H I S T O R Y

OF THE

## M I S S I O N

OF THE

### UNITED BRETHREN

AMONG THE

Indians in North America.

#### PART I.

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##### CHAPTER I.

*Hints concerning the Origin of the Indian Nations.  
A summary View of them, and of their Country.*

**T**HE first Europeans who came to North America found this immense continent inhabited by numerous nations, all of whom are comprehended under the general name of *Indians*. Their numbers have been often over-rated, owing to the different names frequently given to one nation.

As to their origin, there is no certainty. The investigations even of the most learned have produced nothing but conjectures more or less probable; nor will I detain my readers with a repetition, much less enter into a review of them.

Those seem to be nearest the truth who join the celebrated Dr. Robertson, in supposing Tartary in Asia to be the native country of all the American Indian nations. But it

rokees, more to the westward on the east side of the Mississippi are the *Chikafaws*, who inhabit both sides of the river *Chikafaw*, or Jason River, which empties itself into the Mississippi. Among these Indians are some negroes, who either were taken captive in war, or ran away from their masters, and fought safety among the Indians.

I shall defer mentioning the manner in which the Delawares and Iroquois are connected, both with each other, and with the above-mentioned nations, until I treat of their history and constitution, and content myself at present with giving some account of the country they inhabit.

This includes the large lakes, to be described hereafter, and lies between the 37th and 48th degree of north latitude and the 77th and 92d west longitude, from the meridian of London; its length being about eight hundred, and its greatest breadth eleven hundred miles. It is bounded by New York and Pennsylvania on the east; by the river Ohio, south; by the river Mississippi, west; and by Canada, north. This part of America is remarkably well watered, having large brooks, rivers, and lakes, by which an inland communication is rendered easy. The above-mentioned chain of large lakes is very remarkable, and a most magnificent display of the works of the Almighty. Their size might entitle some of them to the name of inland *oceans of fresh water*. The largest is *Lake Superior*, situated between the 46th and 50th degree of north latitude and the 84th and 93d of west longitude. Lake Superior may be justly deemed the largest lake in America, if not in the whole world, unless there should exist any larger lake in that part of North America, into which no European has as yet penetrated; its circumference, including all the bays, is computed at sixteen hundred miles. Captain Carver says, that he traversed above twelve hundred miles over this lake, and found the bed mostly a solid rock. The water is very clear, and almost as transparent as the air. If the sun shines bright, it is impossible through this medium to look at the rocks at

the bottom, above a minute or two. The water has also this property, that though the superficies is much warmed by the heat of the sun, yet when drawn up at about a fathom depth, it is as cold as ice. Storms rage in this lake here as upon the ocean, and the waves rise nearly as high, so as to endanger the largest ships. Many rivers empty themselves into this lake, but I will only make mention of one, which falls from an height of six hundred feet perpendicular, and appears at a distance like a white streak in the air, its stream being very narrow.

*Lake Huron* is the next in magnitude, and joined to the former by a natural channel called the Straits of St. Marie. It lies between the 42d and 46th degree north latitude and the 79th and 85th west longitude, is almost triangular in shape, and about one thousand miles in circumference. Among its other curiosities, is a bay called Thunder-bay. The Indians and Europeans have given it this name, on account of the continual thunder and lightning prevailing there.

To this, *Lake Michigan* is joined by the Straits of Michillimakinack. It is situated between the 42d and 46th degree of north latitude and 85th and 87th of west longitude, and about five hundred miles in circumference. A chain of small islands runs through it, which have a beautiful appearance.

*Lake Erie* is also connected with Lake Huron by a long and broad channel. The islands in Lake Erie are infested by serpents, among which the hissing snake and rattlesnake are the most remarkable. The latter are more numerous here, than in any other part of America.

*Lake Ontario* is joined by the river *Niagara* to the former. It lies between the 43d and 45th degree of north latitude and the 76th and 79th west longitude, in a direction from north-east to south-west, being an oblong of about five hundred miles in circumference. The great river St. Lawrence has its source in this lake. In all these lakes no current is observable, though they receive such a number

of rivers and brooks, but their waters are remarkably clear, sweet, and wholesome, abounding with fish, and navigable for large vessels. The English kept even large armed ships both on Lake Ontario and Erie, for the defence of their trade with the Indians.

There are besides a number of smaller lakes in that part of North America; Lake *Oneida* is about thirty miles long and fifteen broad; Lake *Cajugu*, about as large; and our missionaries have met with some, rather larger, in the *Senneka* country. Most of the large rivers have falls. The chief river in that country, inhabited by the Delawares and Iroquois, is the *Ohio*. It rises about two hundred and fifty miles to the north-east of Pittsburg, in a thick forest, about half way between the south-east side of Lake Ontario and the river *Susquehannah*, which runs through Pennsylvania. The Delawares call this river *Alligewisipo*; which the Europeans have changed into *Allighene*; and the Iroquois call it *Ohio*, that is, *the beautiful river*. The *Ohio* is a navigable and gentle stream. Large vessels may pass from Pittsburg down the *Ohio* to the *Mississippi*, and to an island in that river, called *New Orleans*. The river *Monongebella* rises in Virginia, and falls into the *Ohio* at Pittsburg. About one hundred miles north of that town the river *Venango* empties itself into the *Ohio*. In travelling to *Presquille*, *Lake Erie*, or *Niagara*, you leave the *Ohio* and enter this river. But this journey is rendered extremely inconvenient by a portage or carrying place, which obliges travellers to convey their baggage fifteen miles by land, and then to reship it; and if they are not certain of finding another boat ready, they are under the necessity of conveying the boat with the baggage.

The river *Muskingum*, that is, *Elk's Eye*, on account of the number of *elks* feeding on its banks, rises near *Cajahaga* in a small lake, falls into the *Ohio* about two hundred miles below Pittsburg, and is navigable for Indian boats from its source to its mouth. About three hundred miles below Pittsburg, the river *Sioto*, and a little further west, the *Wabash*,

meets.

meets the Ohio. The river *Sandusky* runs from south to north, and falls into Lake Erie; and the *Strawberry* river, deriving its name from the great number of large and well-flavored strawberries, growing on its banks, empties itself into Lake Ontario. Most of the smaller rivers of that country flow into one or other of these two lakes. Many rivers, not mentioned here, fall into the *Ohio*, which runs from north-east to south-west, and after a course of above sixteen hundred miles, joins the *Mississippi* about fourteen hundred miles below Pittsburg. Brooks, generally called Creeks, are remarkably numerous, and fall either into the rivers or lakes above-mentioned. As we have touched upon the two great rivers, the *Mississippi* and *St. Laurence*, I will only just observe, that they rise not far from each other, and taking different directions, empty themselves into the ocean each about two thousand five hundred miles from their source.

The *Mississippi*, one of the largest and most majestic rivers in the world, has delightful banks of forests and meadow land, upon which whole herds of elks and other game are seen grazing. In some parts, these pastures are bounded by beautiful hillocks, perpendicular rocks, or high mountains, from which the prospect is most enchanting. Several rivers, equal to the Danube or Rhine in magnitude, empty themselves into it from east to west. It has likewise several falls. The most remarkable are the falls of *St. Anthony*, the noise of which is heard at the distance of twenty miles. Some miles below this cataract is a cave of astonishing depth. The Indians call it *the habitation of the great Spirit*. About twenty feet forward from the entrance, a subterranean lake appears, the end of which has not yet been discovered, on account of the darkness of the cave. The river *Mississippi* at length enters the Gulph of Mexico, dividing itself into various branches.

The river *St. Laurence* runs through a large part of Canada, and having received a great number of larger and

smaller rivers, empties itself into the Bay of St. Laurence, being at its mouth ninety miles broad. The river *Niagara* may be considered as an arm of the river St. Laurence, about forty-five miles long. The latter having received an immense addition to its waters in a course of near one thousand six hundred and fifty miles, falls one hundred and forty feet perpendicular, and having rushed forward about seven miles with extreme rapidity, falls again nearly from the same height with a noise, which is heard at a distance almost incredible. Besides the falls of Niagara, the river St. Laurence has other falls, which render it necessary to unload the boats, and carry the goods by land for a longer or shorter way, and yet its navigation is considerable. I return from this digression to the river *Ohio*.

The banks of the *Ohio* are subject to frequent inundations, especially in spring, when the snow melts in the north. This probably is the cause of the remarkable luxuriancy and richness of their soil. In general the whole country inhabited by the Delawares and Iroquois is uncommonly fruitful, but it requires the usual tillage and manure, after having rendered its produce for some years spontaneously.

The country through which the *Wabash* flows, is very level. Here are plains, many leagues in extent, producing nothing but grass, and in a journey of some days you meet with neither hill, tree, nor thicket. Upon these plains, herds of buffaloes are seen grazing, consisting sometimes of more than one hundred head.

It is said, that the further you travel to the west, the more fruitful and beautiful the country appears, but it is for the most part uninhabited.

The most considerable chain of mountains in the land of the Delawares and Iroquois is a part of the Apalachian, or Allegheny mountains, extending from Florida in different branches almost without any interruption to the most northern parts of America. These mountains receive different names,

in the different countries in which they lie. Those to the west of the Mississippi, in the neighborhood of the river St. Peter, are called the *Shining Mountains*, on account of an immense number of large crystals, shooting from the rocks, and sparkling beautifully in the rays of the sun, so as to be seen at a great distance. Another part of the same ridge in Pennsylvania, is called *the Blue Ridge*. The name given to the highest is, *the Great Blue*, or Wolf's Mountain, on account of the number of wolves, which infest it. The most considerable mountains in the land of the Delawares, on the road to Pittsburg, are the Seidling, Allegheny, and Laurel.

The above-mentioned mountains are the eastern border of the Indian country towards Pennsylvania and the colonies. To the west of them the land is diversified with hillocks and gentle risings, but is not mountainous. Both the hills and the lowlands have generally the same soil. The latter is so overgrown with thickets, that the sun can hardly penetrate. These thickets are called swamps.

As to the climate, it has been generally remarked, that those American provinces, which lie in the same latitude with Europe, suffer a much severer and longer winter than the latter. The most northern part of the United States lies in the same degree of latitude with Great Britain and the chief part of Germany, but its winter is excessively severe, and the summer but short. Nova Scotia, the north part of New England, and the principal part of Canada, are in the same degree of latitude with France and the south part of Germany, but the winters of the former are very cold and long. The south part of New England, New York, the greatest part of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and the south part of Canada, lie in the same degree of latitude with Spain and Italy, but the cold is very severe and lasting. Sometimes indeed the heat of summer is excessive, but sudden changes from heat to cold are frequent. Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina, are in  
the

the same degree of latitude with the most southern parts of Europe, but have much more frost and snow. This severity of climate probably proceeds from the north and north-west winds blowing over an immense tract of land, covered with mountains, lakes, and forests. But the want of inhabitants and the large forests contribute much towards it. At the time when Tacitus wrote his history of Germany, it appears that its winters were much more severe and lasting than at present. It is therefore probable, that the severity of the climate will abate in America in proportion to its culture and population.

In the country of the Delawares they have warm summers. The hottest months are July and August, when woollen clothes cannot be worn. Even in autumn, and as late or later than Christmas, but little frost is seen, and if even in a clear night the ground should freeze, it thaws soon after sun-rise. In general the winter is mild, the weather being chiefly rainy, damp and changeable. After a few clear days, rainy and foggy weather is sure to follow. The river Muskingum, being a very slow current, generally freezes over, once or perhaps twice in a season. The snow is never deep, nor remains long on the ground. The winter between 1779 and 1780 was called remarkably severe, as the snow fell once two feet deep. In eight days it was gone, and the cold weather lasted only till February. In the land of the Iroquois the cold is more intense, and the snow deeper.

The difference of one hundred miles to north or south, makes likewise a great difference in the temperature of the air. Near the river Sandusky the cold is much severer, with a greater quantity of snow, than on the Muskingum; and on the Sioto the snow hardly ever remains on the ground. The weather varies also considerably on the east and west side of the Allegheny mountains. For in Pennsylvania the east wind generally brings rain; but never on the Ohio, where the east wind seldom blows, and never above twelve hours at a time. But the south and west winds bring rain,  
and

and the rains from the west generally set in for a whole week. It even rains sometimes with a north-west wind. All storms of thunder and lightning rise either with south, west, or north-west winds, but in Pennsylvania the north-west wind brings clear and fine weather.

As to the stones and minerals found in this country, very little is known, worthy of notice. The wants of the Indians are as yet too circumscribed, to call their attention to search and examine valuable subterranean productions, from which however no inference can be drawn, that such are wanting. So much is certain, that there are neither gold nor silver mines in the land of the Delawares and Iroquois; but copper and lead is found in some places. In Lake Superior are islands, where the surface of the ground is covered with copper-ore. Native copper is likewise found in some parts. Iron-ore is common, but whether its quality be as good as that found in Pennsylvania, time must shew. The latter is thought better than any found in Europe for ship-builders' use, being not so easily corroded by salt-water. Rocks are met with on the banks of the Ohio; but there are not many in other parts, and hardly any on the Muskingum; most of the mountains and hills being covered with turf. A kind of sand-stone is found on the Ohio, which makes the best grindstones. The Indians value a species of black stone, soft and easily cut, as the best for making tobacco pipe heads. Limestone likewise has been discovered of late. Near the Ohio are several large salt-licks, which are a common place of resort for buffaloes and other wild animals. A great quantity of salt-petre is found every-where in abundance, and is esteemed remarkably good\*.

As to the rest of the produce of the Indian country, whatever may be relied upon will be mentioned occasionally, when we treat of the customs and manner of living of the inhabitants.

\* For further particulars concerning the lakes, rivers, mountains, &c. of North America, see Morse's Geography of the United States.

## CHAPTER II.

*Bodily Constitution of the Indians. Their Character.  
Of the Languages, Arts, and Sciences, known  
among the Indians.*

THE Delawares and Iroquois, and the nations in league with them, resemble each other much, both as to their bodily and mental qualifications. The men are mostly slender, middle-sized, handsome, and straight. There are not many deformed or crippled among them. The women are short, not so handsome, and rather clumsier in appearance than the men. Their skin is of a reddish brown, nearly resembling copper, but in different shades. Some are of a brown yellow, not much differing from the mulattoes; some light brown, hardly to be known from a brown European, except by their hair and eyes. The former is jet black, stiff, lank and coarse, almost like horse-hair. They grow grey in old age. Curled hair is seldom found amongst them.

The opinion of some authors, who maintain that the Indians, even in a state of puberty, have no hair but upon their heads, is not well founded. They do not differ from other nations in this respect, but as they consider hairs upon the body as a deformity, they are continually rooting them out, so that at length there are scarcely any visible. Their eyes are large and black, and as savages, the men have a very fierce and dreadful countenance. Their features are regular and not disagreeable, but the cheek bones are rather prominent, especially in the women. Both have very white teeth, and, when healthy, a sweet breath.

In point of strength they far excel the South Americanis and West Indians. The men have a firm walk; a light step, and run remarkably swift. Their smell, sight, and hearing

hearing is very acute, and their memory so strong, that they can relate the most trivial circumstances, which have happened in their councils many years ago, and tell the exact time of former meetings, with the greatest precision. The powers of their imagination are lively, and enable them, in a short time, to attain to great skill and dexterity in whatever they learn. They comprehend whatever belongs to their manner of living, or tends to their supposed advantage, with the greatest ease, and their continual practice in, and scrupulous attention to every needful accomplishment, to which they are trained up from their infancy, gives them many great advantages over other nations. Indeed they have but few objects which require their whole attention, and therefore it is less divided. They have given many instances of the greatness of their mental powers, and of the accuracy of their deliberation and judgment. Some of them display much good sense in their commerce and conversation with strangers, and act with strict conformity to the rules of justice and equity, which proves that they see things in the proper light. The more opportunities they have to exert their faculties, the more we discover that God has blessed them with a great share of natural understanding.

Though the Indians are uncultivated, yet perhaps no heathen nation, in its moral conduct, exhibits a greater show of goodness and virtue. This pre-eminence will appear upon the slightest comparison between them and other heathen, and the following short remarks made by our missionaries, after many years experience and an intimate acquaintance with them, will confirm it.

In common life and conversation the Indians observe great decency. They usually treat one another and strangers with kindness and civility, and without empty compliments. Their whole behavior appears solid and prudent. In matters of consequence they seem to speak and act with the most cool and serious deliberation, avoiding all appearance of precipitancy. But upon closer examination, their cau-  
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tion appears to rise chiefly from suspicion, and their coolness is affected. They are perfect masters of the art of dissembling. If an Indian has lost his whole property by fire or any other calamity, he speaks of it as he would of the most trivial occurrence: Yet his pride cannot always conceal his sorrow.

In the converse of both sexes, the greatest decency and propriety is observed. At least nothing lascivious or indecent is openly allowed, so that in this respect it cannot be denied, but that they excel most nations. But in secret, they are nevertheless guilty of fornication, and even of unnatural crimes.

They are sociable and friendly, and a mutual intercourse subsists between the families. Quarrels, sarcastical and offensive behavior, are carefully avoided. They never put any one publicly to the blush, nor reproach even a noted murderer. Their common conversation turns upon hunting, fishing, and affairs of state. No one interrupts his neighbor in speaking, and they listen very attentively to news, whether true or false. This is one reason, why they are so fond of receiving strangers, but no inquiry is made about news, till they have smoked one pipe of tobacco. They never curse and swear in their conversation, nor have they any such expressions for it in their language, as are common in other nations.

By their behavior it appears as if the greatest confidence subsisted among them. They frequently leave their implements and game in the open air, for many days; not altogether because they place much dependance upon the honesty and faithfulness of their neighbors, for stealing is not an uncommon practice among them, but because they highly resent the least idea of suspicion. They therefore pretend to guard the game merely from the attack of wild beasts.

Difference of rank, with all its consequences, is not to be found among the Indians. They are all equally noble and free. The only difference consists in wealth, age, dexterity,

dexterity, courage, and office. Whoever furnishes much wampom for the chiefs, is considered as a person of quality and riches. Age is every-where much respected, for, according to their ideas, long life and wisdom are always connected together. Young Indians endeavor by presents to gain instruction from the aged, and to learn from them how to attain to old age. However, the Indian youth is much degenerated in this respect. A clever hunter, a valiant warrior, and an intelligent chief, are also much honored; and no Indian, with all his notions of liberty, ever refuses to follow and obey his captain, or his chief.

Presents are very acceptable to an Indian, but he is not willing to acknowledge himself under any obligations to the donor, and even takes it amiss, if they are discontinued. Some old men and women pretend to the art of procuring presents of cloaths and provisions, by a certain charm, or magic spell, called *befon*. At least they find the superstition of believing in the efficacy of the *befons* a profitable one.

The hospitality of the Indians is well known. It extends even to strangers, who take refuge amongst them. They count it a most sacred duty, from which no one is exempted. Whoever refuses relief to any one, commits a grievous offence, and not only makes himself detested and abhorred by all, but liable to revenge from the offended person.

In their conduct towards their enemies they are cruel and inexorable, and when enraged, bent upon nothing but murder and bloodshed. They are however remarkable for concealing their passions, and waiting for a convenient opportunity of gratifying them. But then their fury knows no bounds. If they cannot satisfy their resentment, they even call upon their friends and posterity to do it. The longest space of time cannot cool their wrath, nor the most distant place of refuge afford security to their enemy,

Fornication, adultery, stealth, lying, and cheating, they consider as heinous and scandalous offences, and punish them in various ways.

An adulterer must expect, that the party offended will requite him, either in the same manner, or put him to death. An adulteress is in general merely put away; but sometimes destroyed.

A thief must restore whatever he has stolen; but if he is too poor, or cannot be brought to justice, his relations must pay for him. In case of violent robberies, the forcerers are consulted, and these pretend to send the offender out of the world by an inexplicable process.

Since the Indians have taken so much to drinking rum, murders are more frequent. An Indian feast is seldom concluded without bloodshed. Though they lay all the blame to the rum, yet murder committed in drunkenness is severely punished. For the murder of a man one hundred yards of wampom, and for that of a woman two hundred yards must be paid by the murderer. If he is too poor, which is commonly the case, and his friends can or will not assist him, he must fly from the resentment of the relations. But if any one has murdered his own relation, he escapes without much difficulty; for the family, who alone have a right to take revenge, do not chuse by too severe a punishment, inflicted on the murderer, to deprive their race of two members at once, and thus to weaken their influence. They rather endeavor to bring about a reconciliation, and even often justify the deed.

The Indian women are more given to stealing, lying, quarrelling, backbiting, and slandering, than the men.

We have already observed, that the Indians are very capable of learning every kind of work. Some, who have long resided among the white people, have learnt to work in iron, and make hatchets, axes, and other tools, without any regular instruction. Yet few will submit to hard labor, neither their education nor their wants inclining them to industry and application. The Indians in general,  
but

but especially the men, love ease; and even hunting, though their chief employ, is attended to, with perseverance, but for a few months of the year; the rest are chiefly spent in idleness. The women are more employed, for the whole burthen of housekeeping lies upon them, and nothing but hunger and want can rouse the men from their drowsiness, and give them activity.

The honor and welfare of the nation is considered by the Indians as a most important concern. For though they are joined together neither by force nor compact, yet they consider themselves as one nation, of which they have an exalted idea, and profess great attachment to their particular tribe. Independence appears to them to be the grand prerogative of Indians, considered either collectively or as individuals. They frankly own the superiority of the Europeans in several arts, but despise them, as submitting to laborious employments. The advantages they possess in hunting, fishing, and even in their moral conduct, appear to them superior to any European refinements. This public spirit of the Indians produces the most noble exertions in favour of their own people. They dread no danger; suffer any hardships, and meet torments and death itself with composure, in the defence of their country. Even in their last moments they preserve the greatest appearance of insensibility, in honor of their nation, boast of their intrepidity, and with savage pride defy the greatest sufferings and tortures which their enemies can inflict upon them.

Though they esteem the Europeans as a very industrious and ingenious people, yet in general they consider them as enemies. They are extremely lothe to exchange their manner of living for that of the Europeans, and maintain, that as a fish was never intended by God to adopt the life of a fowl, so an Indian was never destined to live like an European. They imagine that they have sufficient reason for disliking all the white people; for, they say, the Europeans have taken away our land; enclosed our hunting places for

the use of their cattle, done infinite mischief to us, especially by the importation of rum, and probably intend in time to seize upon all our country, and to destroy our whole nation. Though the long intercourse between the Delawares and Europeans has moderated this disgust, yet they have neither love nor confidence towards them. The French, however, seem to possess the greatest share of the good-will of the Indians, by easily entering into the Indian manner of living, and appearing always good-humored. The English are not so high in their favor.

Since the late war, which procured the independence of America, the white Americans are all called *Big-knives* by the Indians, from the long swords worn by them.

The Iroquois still maintain their good character, for the punctuality with which they adhere to public alliances. But as the reader will find traces sufficient in the following chapters, by which he may discover the true character of the Indians, we will now turn to their languages.

I will not enter into any inquiry about the origin of the languages spoken by the Delawares and Iroquois, this being at present as difficult to determine as the origin of the nations themselves, but will only observe, that it appears very probable, that the Delaware and Iroquois are the principal languages spoken throughout the known part of North America, Terra Labrador excepted, and that all others are dialects of them. Our missionaries at least, who were particularly attentive to this subject, have never met with any, which had not some similitude with either one or the other: But the Delaware language bears no resemblance to the Iroquois.

Though the three different tribes of the Delawares have the same language, yet they speak different dialects. The Unamis and Wunalachtikos, who formerly inhabited the eastern coast of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, nearly agree in pronunciation: But the dialect of the Monfys, who formerly lived in Menisling, beyond the Blue Mountains, differs so much from the former, that they would hardly be  
able

able to understand each other, did they not keep up a continual intercourse.

The language of the Delawares has an agreeable sound, both in common conversation, and public delivery. The dialect spoken by the Unamis and Wunalachtikos is peculiarly grateful to the ear, and much more easily learnt by an European, than that of the Monfys, which is rougher and spoken with a broad accent. However, the Monfy dialect is a key to many expressions in the Unami and Wunalachtikos. The latter have a way of dropping some syllables, so that, without a knowledge of the former, it would be impossible, either to spell their words or guess their meaning.

The pronunciation of the Delaware language is in general easy, only the *ch* is a very strong guttural. The letters *f*, *v*, *ph*, and *r*, are wanting in their alphabet. They therefore omit them entirely in foreign words, or pronounce them differently, for example, Pilipp for Philip, Petelus for Petrus, Pliscilla for Priscilla. They have few monosyllables, but a great number of polysyllables and compound words.

In trisyllables the accent is generally placed upon the middle, and in polysyllables upon the last syllable but one. This must be very minutely attended to, because the sense of many words depends entirely upon the accent.

We have already observed that several other languages derive their origin from the Delaware, and this proceeds chiefly from the vicinity or connexions of the different nations and tribes. For instance, the language of the Mahikans is nearly related to the Monfy dialect, these two nations having formerly been neighbors in the province of New York. The Shawanose is also related to the Monfy, but more to the Mahikan: Only the former generally place the accent upon the last syllable. The Ottawa is nearly related to the Shawanose, but the Chipawa more immediately to the Delaware. The language of the Twichtwees and Wawachtanos resembles the Shawanose; in dialect the Kikapus, Tukachshas, Moshkos, and Karhaski, differ from the Delaware

laware in proportion to their distance from each other, but are all nearly related. Thus also the languages of all those nations, formerly residing on the sea-coast in Maryland, very much resemble the Delaware, differing only in pronunciation and accent.

The *Iroquois* have one common language, but each of the six nations speak a different dialect: However, they understand each other with ease. The Mohawks, Oneida, and Onondago, vary but little; the Cajugu rather more; then follows the Senneka, and last of all the Tuscarora. The languages of many other Indian nations are nearly related to the Iroquois, especially the Huron, which seems to differ only in pronunciation. But the Cherokees speak a compound of the Shawanose, Iroquois, Huron, and others.

All these languages however are subject to innovation, owing to the intercourse of the different tribes or their connexion with the Europeans. A mixed language was thus formed by the intermarrying of the French and Indians in Canada, which was countenanced by the French government.

In things relating to common life, the language of the Indians is remarkably copious. They have frequently several names for one and the same thing, under different circumstances. For instance, the Delawares have ten different names for a *bear*, according to its age or sex. Such names have often not the least resemblance to each other. But if we consider all these languages in a general point of view, they are, as far as we know, very deficient in expression, though not all equally poor. The Indians have of course no terms but for the things in which they are conversant and engaged, and these are but few. Nor do they take any pains to enrich their language, in proportion as their knowledge extends, but rather choose to express themselves in a figurative or descriptive manner. Thus the language of their orators, who most sensibly feel the want of proper expressions, is full of images, and they find even gesture and grimace necessary to convey their sentiments. When they

see new objects, they commonly observe, that these are things which have no name. Now and then a council is held to consult about a term, descriptive of a new thing. Thus they have chosen a word to express *brown color*, signifying *the middle between black and white*. For *buckles* they invented a word meaning *metal shoe strings*.

The want of proper expressions in spiritual things, of which they were totally ignorant, was most perplexing. But since the Gospel has been preached among them, the languages of the Delawares and Iroquois have gained much in this respect. And in proportion as the believing Indians grow in the knowledge of the Lord Jesus Christ and his word, their languages improve and become more copious.

There are indeed no rules of oratory laid down in the Indian language, yet their orators must be well exercised, before they can gain applause. In their public delivery, they speak with a very pompous and elevated tone, in which the Iroquois excel all other Indians. In matters relating to their own affairs, in which they are well versed, both they and the Delawares speak with great clearness and precision, and so concise, that great circumlocution is required to convey the full meaning of their expressions in an European language. If they intend to speak in an obscure and reserved manner, they can say so much in few words, that even the Indians themselves must study the true sense of their allusions. They show great skill in conveying an account of a bad action in terms, which to men, ignorant of their craftiness, appear descriptive of a virtuous deed, and for this purpose their expressions are well chosen. The chiefs are particularly well versed in this art of dissembling, and therefore very strict attention must be paid to every word of their discourse, especially if an answer is expected, and great caution is required to guard against deceit. The language of the Iroquois appears more easy to be learned, than that of the Delawares.

As the Indians have no letters, it is difficult for an European to write some of their words with accuracy. How-

ever, the missionary, *David Zeisberger*, has with great diligence compiled an English and Delaware Spelling Book and Grammar, which was printed in Philadelphia in 1776, from which I will here quote the *Lord's Prayer* as a specimen of the Delaware language :

Ki Wetochemelenk, talli epian Awoffagame. Machelendafutsch Ktellewunfowōagan Kfakimawoagan pejewigetsch. Ktelite hewoagan legetsch talli Achquidhackamike, elgiqui leek talli Awoffagame. Milineen elgifschquik gunigifschuk Achpoan. Woak miwelendamauwineen 'n Tschannauchfowoagannena elgiqui niluna miwelendamauwenk nik Tschetschanilawequengik. Woak katschi 'npawuneen li Achquetschiechtowoaganing, tschukund Ktennieen untfschi Medhickung. Alod Knihillatamen Kfakimawoagan, woak Ktallewuffowoagan, woak Ktallowilūffowoagan, ne wuntschi hallemiwi li hallamagamik. Amen !

The following table will give the reader some idea of the difference between the Delaware and Iroquois :

	<i>Delaware.</i>	<i>Iroquois.</i>
<i>The Bible</i>	Mecheek Bambilum	Gachiatochferatogechti
<i>Bread</i>	Achpoan	Jocharachqua
<i>Brother</i>	Nimat	Jatattegè
<i>The Earth</i>	Hakky	Uchwuntsia
<i>The Gospel</i>	Kikewiabtonacan	Garrichwio
<i>Prayer</i>	Pattamoëwoagan	Unteraenaji
<i>Faith</i>	Wulistammuwōagan	Ne Wauntontak
<i>Grace</i>	Wulantowoagan	Ne Agotaeri
<i>God</i>	Patamawos	Hawonio
<i>Savior</i>	Wèwulatenamohaluwit	Unquanich
<i>The Heart</i>	W'Dèe	Aweriachsu
<i>A Child</i>	Amimens	Ixháa
<i>A Man</i>	Lenno	Etfchinak
<i>A Mother</i>	Gachwees	Onūrha
<i>The Creator</i> } <i>of the World</i> }	Kischellēmelangcop	{ Garochiade ne uch- wuntschiade
<i>Sister</i>	Chiefmus	Akzia
<i>Soul</i>	Tschitschank	Gaweriachsa
<i>Salvation</i>	Wulatenamōagan.	Zenichaeuwe
<i>Son</i>	Quifes	Heháwak
<i>Daughter</i>	Danifs	Echrojàhawak
<i>Death</i>	Angloagan	Ne Jawoheje

	<i>Delaware.</i>	<i>Iroquois.</i>
<i>Father</i>	Wetochemend	Johnika
<i>Truth</i>	Wulameowagan	Togefgezera
<i>Woman</i>	Ochqueu	Echro
<i>To pray</i>	Papachotamun	Unteraenaji
<i>To have mercy</i>	Kfchiwelemeln	Agotaeri
<i>To redeem</i>	Nihillalatschil	Schungarawatgak
<i>To create</i>	Gifhelendampnen	Ne Jechfai
<i>To eat</i>	Mizin	Waunteeoni
<i>To believe</i>	Welfettammen	Watontat
<i>To hear</i>	Pentamm	Wathontek
<i>To live</i>	Pommauchfin	Tajonhe
<i>To teach</i>	Achgeginheen	{ Garichwaschoh jo-
		{ rihonnie
<i>To preach</i>	Poemmetonhen	Wachtarhas
<i>To sing</i>	Affluwi	Wateraenoto
<i>To die</i>	Angeln	Jawohéje
<i>Bad</i>	Machtit	Wahetke
<i>Good</i>	Wullit	Ojaneri
<i>Beautiful</i>	Pfchiki	Ojaneri.

We must not expect to find arts and sciences amongst the wild Indians, nor even any inclination to study them. They are not only unable to read and write, but it is very difficult to give them any idea of these accomplishments. If a written or printed paper, or book, is shown them, and something read or spoken of, as contained in it, some imagine, that a spirit speaks secretly to the reader, dictating whatever he wishes to know. Others think, that the paper, when written upon, can speak to the reader, but so as to be heard by no one else. Therefore a letter, particularly if it be sealed, is considered as a very sacred thing. But they will not take pains to learn either to read or write. If any treaties of peace, contracts, or commercial papers, are required to be delivered to the Europeans, signed by their chiefs, captains, or counsellors, they never do it themselves, but get others to subscribe their names. Then each puts his mark to his name, which is often nothing but a crooked line, or a cross, sometimes a line in the form of a turkey's foot, a tortoise, or of some other creature. Some are even ashamed of their Indian names, and prefer the names given them by

the white people. Some have learnt to write the initials of their new names.

As they are ignorant of these arts, and their history depends solely upon tradition, it follows of course, that instead of a true account of facts, we hear nothing but fables concerning their origin and ancestors. For instance, the Iroquois say, that the Indians formerly lived under ground, but hearing accidentally of a fine country above, they left their subterranean habitations, and took possession of the surface. The Delawares say, that the heavens are inhabited by men, and that the Indians descended from them to inhabit the earth: That a pregnant woman had been put away by her husband, and thrown down upon the earth, where she was delivered of twins, and thus by degrees the earth was peopled. The Nantikoks pretend, that seven Indians had found themselves all on a sudden sitting on the sea-coast, but knew not how they came there, whether they were created on the spot, or came from some other place beyond the seas, and that by these the country was peopled. Others affirm, that the first Indians had their origin from the waters. However foolish these traditions may be, they all seem to imply, that the Indians came from some other country.

Neither the Delawares nor Iroquois know any thing of their own history, but what has been verbally transmitted to them by their fathers and grandfathers. They carefully repeat it to their children, and to impress it more upon their minds, dress up their story in a variety of figures. When the Delawares speak with the Europeans about their ancestors, they boast that they have been mighty warriors, and exhibited many feats of valor. They delight in describing their genealogies, and are so well versed in them, that they mark every branch of the family, with the greatest precision. They also add the character of their forefathers; such an one was a wise and intelligent counsellor; a renowned chief; a mighty warrior, or a rich man, &c.

But though they are indifferent about the history of former times, and ignorant of the art of reading and writing, yet  
their

their ancestors were well aware, that they stood in need of something to enable them to convey their ideas to a distant nation, or preserve the memory of remarkable events at least for a season. To this end they invented something like hieroglyphics, and also strings and belts of wampom.

Their hieroglyphics are characteristic figures, which are more frequently painted upon trees than cut in stone. They are intended, either to caution against danger, to mark a place of safety, to direct the wanderer into the right path, to record a remarkable transaction, or to commemorate the deeds and achievements of their celebrated heroes, and are as intelligible to them, as a written account is to us. For this purpose, they generally chuse a tall well-grown tree, standing upon an eminence, and peeling the bark on one side, scrape the wood till it becomes white and clean. They then draw with ruddle, the figure of the hero whose exploits they wish to celebrate, clad in his armor, and at his feet as many men without heads or arms as fell by his own hand. These drawings may last above fifty years, and it is a great consolation to the dying warrior, that his glorious deeds will be preserved so long, for the admiration and imitation of posterity. As every Indian understands their meaning, a traveller cannot gratify the feelings of his Indian guides in a more acceptable manner, than by stopping to examine monuments of this kind, and attending patiently to their extravagant accounts of the prowess of their warriors. But these are frequently so ridiculous and improbable, that it is a matter of surprise, how they should be able to invent such unaccountable fictions. The warriors sometimes paint their own deeds and adventures; for instance, the number of prisoners or scalps taken; the number of troops they commanded, and of such as fell in battle. Other paintings point out the places, where a company of Indians have been hunting, showing the nights they spent there, the number of deer, bears, &c. killed during the hunt, &c. If even a party of travelling Indians have spent but one night in the woods, it may be easily known, not only by the structure of their

sleeping huts, but by their marks on the trees, to what tribe they belonged: For they always leave a mark behind, made either with ruddle or charcoal.

*Wampom* is an Iroquois word, meaning a muscle. A number of these muscles strung together is called a *string of wampom*, which, when a fathom long, is termed a fathom or belt of wampom, but the word *string* is commonly used, whether it be long or short. Before the Europeans came to North America, the Indians used to make their strings of wampom chiefly of small pieces of wood of equal size, stained either black or white. Few were made of muscles, which were esteemed very valuable and difficult to make; for, not having proper tools, they spent much time in finishing them, and yet their work had a clumsy appearance. But the Europeans soon contrived to make strings of wampom, both neat and elegant, and in great abundance. These they bartered with the Indians for other goods, and found this traffic very advantageous. The Indians immediately gave up the use of the old wooden substitutes for wampom, and procured those made of muscles, which, though fallen in price, were always accounted valuable.

These muscles are chiefly found on the coast of Virginia and Maryland, and are valued according to their color, which is brown, violet, and white. The former are sometimes of so dark a shade, that they pass for black, and are double the price of the white. Having first sawed them into square pieces about a quarter of an inch in length, and an eighth in thickness, they grind them round or oval upon a common grindstone. Then a hole being bored lengthways through each, large enough to admit a wire, whipcord, or thin thong, they are strung like beads and the *string of wampom* is completed. Four or six strings joined in one breadth, and fastened to each other with fine thread, make a *belt of wampom*, being about three or four inches wide, and three feet long, containing perhaps four, eight, and twelve fathoms of wampom, in proportion to its required length and breadth. This is determined by the importance of the subject, which

these belts are intended either to explain or confirm, or by the dignity of the persons to whom they are to be delivered. Every thing of moment transacted at solemn councils, either between the Indians themselves, or with the Europeans, is ratified, and made valid by strings and belts of wampom. Formerly they used to give sanction to their treaties by delivering a wing of some large bird; and this custom still prevails among the more western nations, in transacting business with the Delawares. But the Delawares themselves, the Iroquois, and the nations in league with them, are now sufficiently provided with handsome and well-wrought strings and belts of wampom. Upon the delivery of a string, a long speech may be made, and much said upon the subject under consideration: But when a belt is given, few words are spoken, but they must be words of great importance, frequently requiring an explanation. Whenever the speaker has pronounced some important sentence, he delivers a string of wampom, adding, "I give this string of wampom as a confirmation of what I have spoken:" But the chief subject of his discourse he confirms with a belt. The answers given to a speech thus delivered, must also be confirmed by strings and belts of wampom of the same size and number as those received. Neither the color, nor the other qualities of the wampom are matters of indifference, but have an immediate reference to those things which they are meant to confirm. The brown or deep violet, called black by the Indians, always means something of severe and doubtful import; but white is the color of peace. Thus if a string or belt of wampom is intended to confirm a warning against evil, or an earnest reproof, it is delivered in black. When a nation is called upon to go to war, or war declared against it, the belt is black, or marked with red, called by them the *color of blood*, having in the middle the figure of an hatchet, in white wampom.

The Indian women are very dexterous in weaving the strings of wampom into belts, and marking them with different figures, perfectly agreeing with the different subjects

contained in the speech. These figures are marked with white wampom upon the black, and with black upon the white belts. For example, in a *belt of peace*, they very dexterously represent in black wampom, two hands joined. The belt of peace is white, a fathom long and a hand's breadth. To distinguish one belt from the other, each has its peculiar mark. No belt, except the war-belt, must show any red color. If they are obliged to use black wampom for want of white, they daub it over with white clay, and though the black may shine through, its value and import is considered as equal to white. These strings and belts of wampom are also documents, by which the Indians remember the chief articles of the treaties made either between themselves, or with the white people. They refer to them as to public-records, carefully preserving them in a chest made for that purpose. At certain seasons they meet to study their meaning, and to renew the ideas, of which they were an emblem and confirmation. On such occasions they sit down around the chest, take out one string or belt after the other, handing it about to every person present, and, that they may all comprehend its meaning, repeat the words pronounced on its delivery in their whole connexion. By these means they are enabled to remember the promises reciprocally made by the different parties. And as it is their custom to admit even the young boys, who are related to the chiefs, to these assemblies, they become early acquainted with all the affairs of the state; and thus the contents of their documents are transmitted to posterity, and cannot easily be forgotten.

The following instance may serve to show how well this mode of communication answers the purpose of recalling subjects to their memory: A friend of mine, at Philadelphia, gave an Indian a string of wampom, adding, "I am your friend, and will serve you to the utmost of my power." Forty years after, the Indian returned the string, saying, "Brother, you gave me this string of wampom, saying, 'I am your friend and will serve you to the utmost of my power.' I am now aged, infirm, and poor; do  
" now,

“now, as you promised.” And he generously kept his word.

Besides the above-mentioned methods, by which the Indians commemorate certain events; they likewise have songs in praise of their heroes, extolling their glorious exploits. These are frequently sung, but merely from memory. They teach them to their children; and those who love poetry, compose more, so that there is no want of them.

They require but very little arithmetic to keep an account of their goods and chattels, yet they are not wholly unacquainted with it. There are indeed some nations in North America who can count to ten or twenty only, and if they wish to express a greater number, point to the hair of their heads, signifying that the number exceeds their powers of calculation. But those nations who trade with the Europeans have learned to calculate pretty well. The Cherokees count to one hundred. The Iroquois and Delawares understand but little of our cyphers and letters, but they can count to thousands and hundreds of thousands. They count regularly to ten, make a mark, proceed to the next ten, and so on to the end of the account: Then, by adding the tens, they find hundreds, thousands, &c. &c. The women generally count upon their fingers.

Those Indians who understand the value of money have learned it chiefly from the English and Dutch. The Delawares call pence *pennig*, and stivers *stipel*. If they want to calculate a sum of money with exactness, they take Indian corn, calling every corn a penny or stiver, adding as many as are necessary to make florins, shillings, and pounds.

Most of them determine a number of years by so many winters, summers, springs, or autumns, since such an event took place. Few of them know exactly how many years old they are after thirty. Some reckon from the time of an hard frost or a deep fall of snow in such a year; from a war with the Indians, or from the building of Pittsburg or Philadelphia. For example, “When Pittsburg was first built, I was ten years old;” or, “In spring, when we boil  
“sugar,

“ sugar, or when we plant, that is, next March, or next  
“ May, I shall be so old, &c.”

They know as little of geography as of other sciences. Some imagine, that the earth swims in the sea, or that an enormous tortoise carries the world on its back. But they have an idea of maps, and even delineate plans of countries, known to them, upon birch bark, with tolerable exactness. The distance from one place to another they never mark by miles, but by days journies, each comprehending about fifteen or twenty miles. These they divide into half or quarter day's journies, and mark them upon their maps with all possible accuracy. When they send parties to war or to hunt, they can describe the road, and inform them pretty exactly concerning the time required to perform the journey.

An Indian seldom loses his way in the woods, though some are between two and three hundred miles in length, and as many in breadth. Besides knowing the course of the rivers and brooks, and the situation of the hills, he is safely directed by the branches and moss growing upon the trees; for towards the south the branches are fuller and stouter, and there is less moss upon the bark than towards the north. But if the sun shines, he wants no other guide.

They mark the boundaries of their different territories chiefly by mountains, lakes, rivers, and brooks, and, if possible, in a strait line.

Among the stars, they know the polar star, and direct their course by it in the night. When the sun sets, they think it goes under water. When the moon does not shine, they say she is dead, and some call the three last days before the new moon, the naked days. Her first appearance is called her resurrection. If either sun or moon is eclipsed, they say, the sun or the moon is in a swoon.

The Delawares and Iroquois divide the year into winter, spring, summer and autumn, and each quarter into months. But their calculations are very imperfect, nor can they agree, when to begin the new year. Most of them begin with the spring, some with any other quarter, and many, who

who are acquainted with the Europeans, begin with our new-year's-day. However, they all agree in giving such names to the months, as express the season of the year. They therefore call *March*, Chadfish month; because in this month this fish passes up the creeks and rivers in great numbers. *April*, Planting month; Indian corn being planted towards the end or in the middle of April. *May* has a name, signifying the month in which the hoe is used for Indian corn. The name given to *June*, signifies the month in which the deer become red: That of *July*, the time of raising the earth about the corn, and of *August*, the time when the corn is in the milk. *September* is called the first month in autumn, and *October* the month of harvest; *November* the hunting month, most of the Indians then going out to shoot bucks; and the name of *December* shows that then the bucks cast their antlers. *January* is called the squirrel month, the ground-squirrels coming then out of the holes; and *February* the month of *frogs*, as the frogs generally begin to croak about that season.

They do not divide their months into weeks, nor count the days, but always the nights. An Indian says, "I was travelling so many nights." But if he did not stay from home all the night, he says, "I was a day's journey from home." They express half a day, by pointing to that part of the heavens where the sun is at noon, and a quarter of a day by its rising or setting. If they wish to speak more accurately, they point to other marks, intelligible to them. By the course of the sun, they determine the time of the day, with nearly as much exactness, as we do by a watch. An Indian says, "I will be with you to-morrow when the sun stands in such a place." The growth of the corn is also a mark of time: viz. "I will return when the corn is grown so high: I will do this and that, when the corn is in bloom, or ripe."

They know nothing of the causes of natural phenomena; nor do they desire to be informed of them. Thunder they conceive to be a spirit dwelling in the mountains, and now and then falling forth to make himself heard. Others imagine

gine it to proceed from the crowing of a monstrous turkey-cock in the heavens; others from enraged evil spirits.

As little as the Indians understand of sciences, or wish to be instructed in them; as little do they trouble themselves in general about the works of art. They like to see them, without asking how they are made, or for what use they are intended. But if you describe a man who is a swift racer, or a great huntsman; a good archer and marksman, or a clever sailor; a brave leader, courageous and skilful in war, well acquainted with the country, able to find his way alone through an immense forest, and to live upon a very scanty pittance; they then attend with great eagerness, and know not how to extol the bravery and skill of such a character sufficiently.

If you expect them to value or admire any art, it must have a reference to hunting, fishing, or fighting. To these you may fix their attention, and nothing gratifies their curiosity in a higher degree. They wish immediately to imitate it, and many an Indian, who has never seen, how this or the other piece of workmanship is contrived, attempts in his own way to execute it, and spares neither labor nor time in the work. Thus many of the Delawares and Iroquois have learnt to make very good rifle-barrels of common fowling-pieces, and keep them likewise in good repair, by which the use of these weapons has become pretty general among them and the Shawanose. But those nations, which live further to the west, and seldom see rifle-barrels, must be satisfied with very indifferent fowling-pieces.

The light boats, made by the Indians, and commonly called canoes, may be reckoned among the first productions of their art. The best are made of the bark of birch, fastened upon light wooden ribs, and strengthened by cross-pieces. The bark is sewed together with the slender fibres of roots, and all crevices carefully filled with splinters and caulked with turpentine. The seats are placed across, as in an European boat. They even build canoes, large enough for twenty rowers; and so light, that two or four men are  
able

able to carry them. A canoe, which may be carried by two Indians, will bear two thousand pounds freight. These light vessels are very serviceable for trade, both to the Indians and Europeans, on account of the number of falls in the rivers; which make it necessary to unload and carry both canoes and goods, perhaps many miles by land, before they can venture into the water again. In rowing they must take great care not to overset, run aground, or strike against a rock, for if they spring a leak, it is not easily stopped. But we shall speak more of this, when we treat of their fishery.

The great and almost general indifference of the Indians towards the works of art chiefly arises from this, that most of their wants are easily supplied, without the assistance of much ingenuity.

### CHAPTER III.

#### *Of the religious Ceremonies and Superstition of the Heathen Indians.*

**B**EFORE we enter upon a description of the religious knowledge of these nations, it must be observed, that we consider it in its present state. For as the Europeans have lived so long, both in their neighborhood and among them, it may reasonably be supposed, that the present religious notions of the Indians differ in many respects from those of their forefathers. That the Indians here spoken of have some sort of religion and mode of worship, cannot be denied; but it is replete with gross absurdity, and entirely unconnected.

The prevailing opinion of all these nations is, that there is one God, or, as they call him, one great and good

Spirit, who has created the heavens and the earth, and made man and every other creature: For that, which may be known of God, is as well manifest in them, according to Romans, i. 19, 20. as in all other heathen; and this great and important truth is preserved among them, both by tradition; and by their own observation.

They represent God as almighty, and able to do as much good as he pleases; nor do they doubt, but that he is graciously and mercifully disposed towards men; because he imparts power to the plants to grow, causes rain and sunshine, and gives fish and venison to man for his support. Indeed, as to fish and deer, they imagine them given to the Indians exclusively, and not to the white people. They are also fully convinced, that God requires of them to do good and to eschew evil.

Besides the Supreme Being, they believe in good and evil spirits, considering them as subordinate deities. From the accounts of the oldest Indians, it appears, that whenever war was in contemplation, they used to admonish each other to hearken to the good, and not to the evil spirits, the former always recommending peace. They seem to have had no idea of the *Devil*, as the Prince of Darkness, before the Europeans came into the country. They consider him now as a very powerful spirit, but unable to do good, and therefore call him, *The Evil One*. Thus they now believe in two Beings, the one supremely good, and the other altogether evil. To the former they ascribe all good, and to the latter all evil.

About thirty years ago, a great change took place in the religious opinions of the Indians. Some preachers of their own nation pretended to have received revelations from above, to have travelled into heaven, and conversed with God. They gave different accounts of their exploits on the journey, but all agreed in this, that no one could enter into heaven, without great danger: for the road, say they, runs close by the gates of hell. There the Devil lies in ambush, and snatches at every one, who is going to God.  
Now

Now those who have passed by this dangerous place unhurt, come first to the Son of God, and through him to God himself, from whom they pretend to have received a commandment; to instruct the Indians in the way to heaven. By these preachers the Indians were informed; that heaven was the dwelling of God, and hell that of the devil. Some of their preachers confessed; that they had not reached the dwelling of God, but had however approached near enough to hear the cocks crow, and to see the smoke of the chimneys in heaven.

Other teachers contradicted this doctrine; and maintained that no one knew the dwelling-place of God himself, but only that of the good spirits, which is situated above the blue sky. According to their account; the latter forms a kind of partition between the habitation of the good spirits and that of man. But they pretend to have found the way to this land of spirits over a great rock, upon which the heavens reel to and fro with a stupendous noise. They relate, that two valiant warriors had travelled into those parts many years ago, but upon their return, refused to give any account of what they had seen and heard.

These teachers were again contradicted by others, who had a different opinion concerning the situation of the land of spirits and the road thither. They appeal to the testimony of two Indians, who were dead for several days; and had meanwhile been in the habitation of the good spirits. When they revived, they related that this place was to the south of heaven, and that the bright track called the milky way, was the road to it. This led to a most glorious city, the inhabitants of which enjoyed every possible good in great abundance.

Those teachers, who pretend to have been with God, mark two roads upon a deer-skin, both leading to heaven, one for the Indians and the other for the white people. They say that the latter used to go a great way round about, and the road for the Indians was then the shortest, but that now, the white people having blocked up the road for the

Indians, they were obliged to make a long circuit to come to God. They have also paintings of heaven and hell. Upon the same deer-skin they likewise make the figure of a balance, to represent the deceitful traffic, carried on by the white people with the Indians. This rude picture is, as it were, their book, and lies spread before them, when they preach to the Indians. They then explain every mark and figure to their hearers, and it is very evident, that their chief aim is, to influence the minds of the Indians against the white people.

In their ideas of man, they make a proper distinction between body and soul, the latter of which is considered by them as a spiritual and immortal being. Their ideas of the nature of a spirit do not preclude their representing good spirits in an human form. But they observe that these excel even the Indians, whom they consider as the most beautiful of the human race, in comeliness and perfection.

That they consider the soul as immortal, and even suppose a resurrection of the body, may be inferred from their usual manner of expressing themselves, when they say, "We Indians cannot die eternally; even Indian corn, buried in the ground, is vivified and rises again." Many believe in the transmigration of souls, and imagine that they were with God before their birth, and came from him, or that they have been formerly in the world, and are now living over again. They suppose, that when the souls have been some time with God, they are at liberty to return into the world, and to be born again. But there are few Indians who express their thoughts so distinctly upon this subject. They believe the old doctrine of their ancestors, that all Indians, who have led a good life, will come to a good place after death, where they will have every thing in abundance, and may dance and make merry; but that all, who have lived in wickedness, will rove about without any fixed abode, and be restless, dissatisfied, and melancholy.

However, their most exalted notions concerning the happy state of the good Indians in heaven, are not able to deliver them

them from an unusual horror at the thought of death. They dare not mention it, and whenever it enters their minds, they tremble and quake for fear. Their consternation is particularly visible during a storm of thunder and lightning. This may also be deemed the most powerful motive for their religious worship, and the principal cause of the ascendancy gained by the above-mentioned teachers over their minds.

To heathen their system of morals seemed severe, for some of them made a total cessation from fornication, adultery, murder, and robbery, the most essential condition, when they promised their hearers a place among the good spirits and a share in their affluence and joy. They added, that they must be first thoroughly cleansed from their sins, and gave the poor people vomits, as the most expeditious mode of performing this purification.

Some Indians who believed in these absurdities vomited so often, that their lives were endangered by it. They were further strictly exhorted to fast, and to take nothing but physic for many days. Few indeed persevered in attending to so severe a regimen.

Other teachers pretended, that stripes were the most effectual means to purge away sin. They advised their hearers to suffer themselves to be beaten with twelve different sticks, from the soles of their feet to their necks, that their sins might pass from them through their throats. Even these tormentors had their willing scholars, though it was apparent, that the people became no better, but rather worse by these wretched doctrines.

Some of these preachers went even so far as to make themselves equal with God. They affirmed, that the weal and woe of the Indians depended upon their will and pleasure, and demanded the most strict observance of their dictates. Their deluded followers, possessing the highest veneration for them, brought them many presents. Even some of the most sensible and respected Indians assented to their doctrines, punctually following their prescriptions, even at the hazard of their health and lives.

But the walk and conduct of these teachers of morality altogether disagreed with their exhortations to lead a good and virtuous life. Among other vile practices, they publicly introduced polygamy, and during their sermons, had several of their wives sitting round about them. They even pretended that it was a charitable and meritorious act in them, as men living in intimacy with God, to take these poor ignorant women, and lead them in the way to God and to the enjoyment of eternal felicity.

This part of their doctrine was greatly relished by their hearers, and it is a lamentable truth, that since that period, adultery, fornication, and other such abominations, have been more frequent among the Indians, than before. The young people began to despise the counsel of the aged, and only endeavoured to get into favor with these preachers, whose followers multiplied very fast. The preachers, however, were cautious enough, never to stay too long in one place, lest their treachery and deceptions should be made manifest.

Various as the doctrines of these Indian preachers were, yet they all agreed in this, that after death the bad Indians, who disobey their precepts, would not come into the place of the good spirits. They asserted, that they would be kept at some distance, near enough to behold how cheerful the good Indians were, yet not permitted to approach; that they would get nothing to eat, but poisonous wood and roots; and be always dying a dreadful death, yet never die. But they never threatened their hearers with hell and the devil. Some even affirmed, that though the Indians should lead a wicked life, they would never go to the devil, for he existed merely for the white people. Nor does he live, according to their notions, among the Indians, but only among the Europeans. This doctrine was likewise much approved of by the deluded people.

However, the respect shown to these preachers lasted only till they were indiscreet enough to promise to those who should obey their doctrines, success in hunting and in every other  
under-

undertaking; power to walk on the water as on dry ground, and rich harvests from ill-sown land. Nothing indeed was more agreeable to the slothful disposition of an Indian, than such promises; but when their credulity was punished with hunger, their regard for these false prophets vanished so suddenly, that the latter were not able to invent evasions, in time to prevent the ruin of their credit. Now though we still hear of people, who wish to intrude themselves upon the Indians as teachers, yet they can never hope to gain the same esteem and veneration, which they enjoyed twenty or thirty years ago. The former prophets have done great mischief, which even operates to this day, for the minds of the Indians are still filled with their absurdities.

Sacrifices made with a view to pacify God and the subordinate deities are also among the religious ceremonies of the Indians. These sacrifices are of very antient date, and considered in so sacred a light, that unless they are performed in proper time and in a manner acceptable to the Deity, they suppose illness, misfortunes, and death itself, would certainly befall them and their families. But they have neither priests regularly appointed, nor temples. At general and solemn sacrifices, the oldest men perform the offices of priests, but in private parties, each man bringing a sacrifice is priest himself. Instead of a temple, a large dwelling-house is fitted up for the purpose.

Our missionaries have not found rank polytheism, or gross idolatry, to exist among the Indians. They have, however, something which may be called an idol. This is the *Manitto*, representing in wood the head of a man in miniature, which they always carry about them, either on a string round their neck or in a bag. They hang it also about their children, to preserve them from illness and ensure to them success. When they perform a solemn sacrifice, a *manitto*, or a head as large as life, is put upon a pole in the middle of the house.

But they understand by the word *manitto*, every being, to which an offering is made, especially all good spirits. They

also look upon the elements, almost all animals, and even some plants, as spirits, one exceeding the other in dignity and power.

They sacrifice to an hare, because, according to report, the first ancestor of the Indian tribes had that name. To Indian corn they sacrifice bears flesh, but to deer and bears, Indian corn; to the fishes, small pieces of bread in the shape of fishes: But they positively deny, that they pay any adoration to these subordinate good spirits, and affirm, that they only worship the true God, through them: For God, say they, does not require men to pay offerings or adoration immediately to him. He has therefore made known his will in dreams, notifying to them, what beings they have to consider as *manittos*, and what offerings to make to them.

The *manittos* are also considered as tutelar spirits. Every Indian has one or more, which he conceives to be peculiarly given to assist him and make him prosper. One has in a dream received the sun as his tutelar spirit, another the moon; a third, an owl; a fourth, a buffaloe; and so forth. An Indian is dispirited, and considers himself as forsaken by God, till he has received a tutelar spirit in a dream; but those who have been thus favored, are full of courage, and proud of their powerful ally.

Among the feasts and sacrifices of the Indians, five are the most remarkable, and each has its peculiar ceremonies. I will describe them as held among the Delawares.

The first sacrificial feast is held by an whole family or their friends once in two years, commonly in autumn, seldom in winter. Beside the members of the family, they sometimes invite their neighbors from the adjacent towns, and, as their connexions are large, each Indian has an opportunity of attending more than one family feast in a year. The head of the family must provide every thing. He calculates the requisite number of deer and bears, and sends the young people into the woods to procure them. When they have completed their numbers, they carry the booty home, in solemn procession, depositing it in the house of sacrifice.

The

The women are meanwhile engaged in preparing fire-wood for roasting or boiling, and long dry reed grafs for seats. As soon as the guests are all assembled and seated, the boiled meat is served up in large kettles, with bread made of Indian corn, and distributed by the servants. The rule is, that whatever is thus brought as a sacrifice, must be eaten altogether and nothing left. A small quantity of melted fat only, is poured by the oldest men into the fire, and in this the main part of the offering consists. The bones are burnt, lest the dogs should get any of them. After dinner the men and women dance with much decency. One singer only performs during the dance, walking up and down, rattling a small tortoise-shell filled with pebbles. The burthen of his song consists of dreams, and a recital of all the names of the *manittos*, and those things which are most useful to the Indians. When the first singer is weary, he sits down, and is relieved by another. Thus this feasting is sometimes continued for three or four nights together, beginning in the afternoon and lasting till the next morning.

The second feast differs from the former only in this, that the men dance almost naked, their bodies being daubed all over with white clay.

At the third feast, ten or more tanned deer-skins are given to as many old men or women; who wrap themselves in them, and stand before the house, with their faces turned to the east, praying God with a loud voice to reward their benefactors.

The fourth sacrifice is made to a certain voracious spirit, who, according to their opinion, is never satisfied. The guests are therefore obliged to eat all the bears flesh, and drink the melted fat, without leaving any thing, which is frequently followed by indigestions and vomiting.

The fifth festival is celebrated in honor of fire, which they consider as the first parent of all Indian nations. Twelve *manittos* attend him as subordinate deities, being partly animals and partly vegetables. The chief ceremony in celebrating this festival is, that a large oven is built in the midst of the house of sacrifice, consisting of twelve poles

poles each of a different species of wood. These they run into the ground, tie them together at the top, and cover them entirely with blankets, joined close together, so that the whole appears like a baker's oven high enough nearly to admit a man standing upright. After dinner the oven is heated with twelve large stones made red hot. Then twelve men creep into it, and remain there as long as they can bear the heat. Meanwhile an old man throws twelve pipes full of tobacco upon the hot stones, which occasions a smoke almost powerful enough to suffocate the persons thus confined, so that, upon their being taken out, they generally fall down in a swoon. During this feast a whole deer-skin, with the head and antlers remaining, is raised upon a pole, to which they seem to sing and pray. But they deny that they pay any adoration to the buck, declaring that God alone is worshipped through this medium.

To amuse the young people, a great quantity of wampom is thrown upon the ground, for which they scramble, and he that gets most is thought to be the best man. At these feasts there are never less than four servants appointed, who have enough to do by day and night. Their pay consists in a fathom of wampom, and leave to take the best of the provision, such as sugar, eggs, butter, bilberries, &c. and to sell them to the guests and spectators for their own profit. All festivals are closed with a general drinking-bout.

The missionaries had once an opportunity of seeing a burnt offering as performed by the savages in the neighborhood of Friedenshuetten.

When a boy dreams, that he sees a large bird of prey, of the size of a man, flying towards him from the north, and saying to him, "Roast some meat for me," the boy is then bound to sacrifice the first deer or bear he shoots to this bird. The sacrifice is appointed by an old man, who fixes on the day and place in which it is to be performed. Three days previous to it, messengers are sent to invite the guests, some of whom perhaps live at a distance. These assemble in some lonely place, in an house large enough to contain

contain three fires. At the middle fire the old man performs the sacrifice and hangs up the skin; the other two serve to dress the meat. Having sent for twelve straight and supple sticks, he fastens them into the ground, so as to enclose a circular spot, covering them with blankets. He then rolls twelve red-hot stones into the enclosure, each of which is dedicated to one god in particular. The largest belongs, as they say, to the great God in heaven; the second, to the sun, or the god of the day; the third, to the night-sun, or the moon; the fourth, to the earth; the fifth, to the fire; the sixth, to the water; the seventh, to the dwelling or house-god; the eighth, to Indian corn; the ninth, to the west; the tenth, to the south; the eleventh, to the east; and the twelfth, to the north. The old man then takes a rattle or calabash, containing some grains of Indian corn, and leading the boy, for whom the sacrifice is made, into the enclosure, throws a handful of tobacco upon the red-hot stones, and as the smoke ascends, rattles his calabash, calling each god by name, and saying: "This boy N. N. offers unto thee a fine fat deer and a delicious dish of sapan! Have mercy on him, and grant good luck to him and his family." He then retires to the guests seated around the other fires to dinner: Two men being appointed to stand at the skin, sing and repeat all their dreams and visions, and the words of the bird of prey, till all have eaten their fill. Then another man rises, and taking the calabash, sings his dreams, skipping across the whole length of the house. Finally, the old man, seizing the skin, and extending it upon his arms with the head and horns towards the north, utters a peculiar inarticulate sound, and thus closes the ceremony.

Besides these solemn feasts of sacrifice they have many of less importance. When sacrifices are made for private parties, they invite guests who do not belong to the family, and who consume the whole dinner, the host and his family being mere spectators.

Two of the missionaries were once present at such a feast, and seated in a corner of the house appointed for them,

them, but not understanding the language of the Indians, they could only observe the order of the feast. In the middle of the house lay a heap of Indian corn in the ear, around which were placed pieces of boiled deers flesh upon wooden skewers. The guests sat in solemn silence upon bears-skins in rows, according to their families. Then four men went out before the door of the house, and made a short howl in a mournful strain: As soon as they returned, the whole company, consisting of about one hundred persons, joined in a short song. An old man then rose and sat down at the fire, in the middle of the house, where he was anointed by a woman with melted bears grease. She first poured it out of a bottle upon his head, and then proceeded to anoint his breast, shoulders, and arms, a general silence prevailing.

Soon after the old man began to pronounce short sentences as oracles, which were heard with great attention. Having returned to his former seat, the whole company joined again in a song. After this, six servants were chosen, each guest drawing a blade from a bundle of grass, six of which were marked. These placed themselves immediately behind the heap of Indian corn, and upon a sign given by the old man, made a proper distribution of the deers flesh lying upon it. This being eaten, all joined again in a third song, which was followed by another sign given by the old man; upon which the servants began quickly to throw about the ears of Indian corn among the guests, who scrambled with great haste and alacrity, every one endeavouring to snatch up as many ears as he could. The feast was then concluded with burning the bones.

An Indian will now and then, when hunting quite alone in the woods, offer a sacrifice to ensure success. Having cut up a deer, and divided it into many small pieces, he scatters them about for the birds, when, retiring to some distance, he amuses himself by observing in what manner they devour the prey. If an Indian hunter hears an owl screech in the night, he immediately throws some tobacco into

into the fire, muttering a few words, and then promises himself success for the next day.

If they think, that the souls of the dead are enraged, they offer both meat and drink offerings to pacify them. For a meat offering, either a hog or a bear is killed for the feast: It matters not, who are the guests, but the feast is consumed in the dark, neither candle nor fire being lighted. Before the company begin to eat, an old man prepares a meal for the enraged souls, speaks to them, and begs them to be pacified. He then tells the company that the souls are satisfied. Rum is an essential ingredient in a drink offering. Before the guests begin to drink, they walk to the grave, pour some rum upon it, and an old man addresses the soul, as above described; then they must drink the rest of the rum, till not a drop be left. Every woman whose child dies in a foreign land, travels, if possible, once a year to the place of its burial, and offers a drink offering upon its grave.

Sacrifices are likewise made upon more trivial occasions; for even in case of tooth-ach or head-ach, they imagine, that the spirits are displeased and must be pacified. Carver relates, that an Indian chief, who accompanied him on his journey to the falls of St. Anthony, which are taken to be the habitation of the great spirit, offered his pipe, tobacco-pouch, bracelets, and ear-rings, and prayed with great emotion to the spirit to protect him.

In great danger, an Indian has been observed to lie prostrate on his face, and throwing a handful of tobacco into the fire, to call aloud, as in an agony of distress, "There, take and smoke, be pacified, and don't hurt me!" This has been construed into a worship of the devil. But our missionaries have not been able to discover any such worship. The Indians abhor the devil, thinking that he is always intent upon doing them some mischief, by means of the white people, and under such apprehensions, an Indian perhaps might endeavour to pacify him and prevent the consequences of his malice.

Dreams are thought to be of great importance among the Indians, and nothing less than revelations from God.

But

But as the Bible itself and the experience of the missionaries leave it without a doubt that Satan worketh in the children of disobedience (Ephes. ii. 2.), he may certainly influence the dreams of the unbelieving Indians, and some of them seem to bear evident marks of the interference of this evil spirit.

Besides the Indian preachers, as described above, there are deceivers among them, who know how to turn their great tendency to superstition to their own advantage. Some of them pretend, that they can easily bring rain down from heaven. If such a deceiver sees some tokens of approaching rain after a long drought, he tells the women who tend the gardens and plantation, that for a proper consideration of tobacco or something which he may have occasion for, he will soon put an end to the calamity, and grant them rain. Rejoiced to hear this, they gather together whatever they can afford, to satisfy him. He then goes to some unfrequented spot, makes a circle upon the ground with a cross in the middle, in which he places tobacco, a pumpkin and some red color; then, sitting down, he begins to sing and scream loud enough to be heard by the whole neighborhood, not ceasing till it rains, and thus frequently persuades even the old and sensible Indians, that he has procured rain by his legerdemain tricks. But should the signs of rain disappear, he finds it easy to put the credulous people off to another day.

Another sort of deceivers are called by them night-walkers. These people sneak into the houses in the night, and steal what they can get. The poor Indians will not allow these men to be common house-breakers, but say, that they bewitch the family into a profound sleep, so as not to be discovered.

The most dangerous deceivers among the Indians are the so-called *forcerers*. Some are mere boasters, who pretend to great skill and power, with a view to frighten the people, or to get a name, and such there is no reason to fear: But there are among the different tribes wretches enough, whom the devil makes use of as his agents, to commit murder;  
and

and it is an additional misfortune, that these enemies of mankind are seldom known. They are certain that their lives are in danger, as soon as they are discovered to be forcerers. Thus they are very cautious of letting any one in the least observe their destructive art, and avoid being too free with liquor, lest they should betray themselves in a drunken fit.

Both these and the other deceivers, when they grow old, wish to instruct others in their arts. They generally chuse boys of twelve or fourteen years old for their scholars, whom they deceive by means of apparitions in which they are the actors. The most extraordinary stories are told by these boys, of the spectres they have seen in the woods, when they were alone and full of apprehension. To one of these an old man appears in a grey beard, and says in a soothing tone, "Do not fear, *I am a rock*, and thou shalt call me by this name. I am the Lord of the whole earth, and of every living creature dwelling therein, of all the fowls of the air, and of wind and weather. No one dare oppose me, and I will give thee the same power. No one shall do thee harm, and thou needest not to fear any man, if thou dost such and such things." Then the apparition begins his instructions in the black art, commonly in terms so ambiguous and figurative, that their true sense can hardly be found. But having received this message in so solemn a manner, the boy's mind ruminates upon it day and night, and as he grows up, he is confirmed in the opinion, that a peculiar power has been imparted unto him, to perform extraordinary exploits. As he can receive no further instructions from any one, he must study the theory and practice of his art by himself: Though he even perceives, that he has been grossly imposed upon, yet he is ashamed to own it, and wishing to preserve the character of an extraordinary person, he continues in his diabolical practices till he grows old, and then in his turn endeavours to deceive young boys, by the same tricks which were played upon him in his youth.

## CHAPTER IV.

*Of the Dress, Dwellings, and Housekeeping of the Indians.*

**T**HE Indians pay great attention to their dress and ornaments, in which indeed they display much singularity, but little art.

Their dress is light, and they consider much clothing as a burthen. The men wear a blanket hung loose over both shoulders, or only over the left, that the right arm may be free, and tie or pin the upper ends together. Formerly these coverings were made of turkey feathers, woven together with the thread of wild hemp, but these are now seldom seen. The rich wear a piece of blue, red, or black cloth about two yards long round their waists. In some, the lower seam of this cloth is decorated with ribbands, wampom, or corals. The poor Indians cover themselves with nothing but a bear's skin, and even the rich do the same in cold weather, or put on a pellice of beaver or other fur, with the hair turned inward. These are either tanned by rubbing in water, or smoke-dried, and then rubbed till they grow soft.

Some wear hats or caps bought of the Europeans, others go bareheaded. The men never suffer their hair to grow long, and some even pull so much of it out by the roots, that a little only remains round the crown of the head, forming a round crest, of about two inches in diameter. This is divided into two tails, plaited, tied with ribband, and hanging down, one to the right and the other to the left. The crown is frequently ornamented with a plume of feathers placed either upright or assant. At feasts, their hair is frequently decorated with silver rings, corals, or wampom, and even with silver buckles. Some wear a bandage round their  
heads,

heads, ornamented with as many silver buckles as it will hold.

They bestow much time and labor in decorating their faces; laying on fresh paint every day, especially if they go out to dance. They suppose that it is very proper for brave men to paint, and always study a change of fashion. Vermillion is their favorite color, with which they frequently paint their whole head. Here and there black streaks are introduced, or they paint one half of their face and head black and the other red. Near the river Muskingum a yellow ochre is found, which, when burnt, makes a beautiful red color. This the Huron warriors chiefly use for paint, nor do they think a journey of one hundred miles too long, to provide themselves with it. Some prefer blue; because it is the color of the sky, when calm and serene, and, being considered as an emblem of peace, it is frequently introduced as such in their public orations. Therefore when they wish to show a peaceful disposition towards other tribes or nations, they paint themselves and their belts blue.

The figures, painted upon their faces, are of various kinds. Every one follows his own fancy, and exerts his powers of invention, to excel others, and have something peculiar to himself. One prides himself with the figure of a serpent upon each cheek, another with that of a tortoise, deer, bear, or some other creature, as his arms and signature.

Some Indians bore a hole through the cartilage of the nose, and wear a large pearl, or a piece of silver, gold, or wampom in it.

They also decorate the lappets of their ears with pearls, rings, sparkling stones, feathers, flowers, corals, or silver crosses, after having distended and lengthened them as much as possible.

A broad collar, made of violet wampom, is deemed a most precious ornament, and the rich decorate even their breasts with it. The most singular part of their ornaments is displayed in figures made by scarification, representing

serpents, birds, and other creatures. The operation being performed with a needle, gunpowder is rubbed into the punctures, and as sometimes the whole upper part of their bodies is filled with these drawings, they appear at a distance to wear a harness. Sometimes by these decorations, they acquire a particular appellation, by which their pride is exceedingly gratified. Thus a captain of the Iroquois, whose breast was all over covered with black scarifications, was called the Black Prince.

The intent of these ornaments is not to please others, but to give themselves a courageous and formidable appearance. A warrior therefore never dresses with more care and stateliness, than when he goes to attend a council, or to meet the enemies of his country in the field.

An Indian frequently appears in a white shirt with a red collar, put over the rest of his clothes. They are likewise fond of getting a coat or hat laced with gold or silver. The girdles worn by the common Indians, are made of leather or the inner bark of a tree. Their stockings, which reach a good way above the knee, supply the place of breeches. They are made of blue and red cloth without feet. Their shoes are of deer-skin, without heels, some being very neatly made by the women. The skins are tanned with the brains of deer, which make them very soft; some leave the hair upon the skin, and such fur-shoes are remarkably light and easy. The quarters are ornamented about the ankle with small pieces of brass or tin, fastened with leather strings, which make an odd jingling, when they walk or dance.

It is common for them to rub their bodies with the fat of bears or other animals, which is sometimes colored, with a view to make their limbs supple, and to guard against the sting of the musquitoes and other insects. This operation prevents too great perspiration, but it increases their natural dark color, and gives them a greasy and smutty appearance.

A tobacco-pouch is a most essential piece of an Indian's furniture. It contains his pipe and tobacco, pocket-knife, and tinder-box, which he always wears with a small axe and long knife in his girdle. Most pouches are made of the whole skin of a young otter, beaver, or fox, with an opening at the neck. Those who chuse to add ornaments to the tobacco-pouch, fasten pearls in the eye-sockets, or get the women to adorn them with corals. Some wear the claw of a buffaloe with a large pendulous pouch of deer-skin, stained with various colors, and neatly worked.

They are fond of a handsome head for their pipe, and prefer those made of red marble. But these are only used by the chiefs and captains, this sort of marble being rare, and found only on the Mississippi. A more common sort are made of a kind of ruddle, dug by the Indians, living to the west of the Mississippi, on the Marble River, who sometimes bring them to these countries for sale.

As the Indians are all lovers of finery and dress, the married men take care, that their wives adorn themselves in a proper manner. The Delaware men pay particular attention to the dress of their women, and on that account clothe themselves rather meanly. There are many, who would think it scandalous to appear better clothed than their wives. The dress which peculiarly distinguishes the women, is a petticoat, made of a piece of cloth about two yards long, fastened tight about the hips, and hanging down a little below the knees. This they wear day and night. A longer one would be very troublesome in walking through the woods or working in the fields. Their holiday-dress is either blue or red, and sometimes black, hung all round, frequently from top to bottom, with red, blue, and yellow ribbands. Most women of rank wear a fine white linen shift with a red collar, reaching from their necks, nearly to the knees. Others wear shifts of printed linen or cotton of various colors, decorated at the breast

with a great number of silver buckles, which are also worn by some as ornaments upon their petticoats.

The women suffer their hair to grow without restraint, and thus it frequently reaches below their hips. Nothing is thought more ignominious in women, than to have it cut off, which is only now and then done, as a punishment for disorderly persons. They anoint it with bear's-grease, to make it shine.

The Delaware women never plait their hair, but fold and tie it round with a piece of cloth. Some tie it behind, then roll it up, and wrap a ribband or the skin of a serpent round it, so as almost to resemble a bag-wig. But the Iroquois, Shawanose, and Huron women wear a queue, down to their hips, tied round with a piece of cloth, and hung with red ribbands. The rich adorn their heads with a number of silver trinkets, of considerable weight. This mode of finery is not so common among the Delawares as the Iroquois, who by studying drefs and ornament more than any other Indian nation, are allowed to dictate the fashion to the rest.

The Indian women never paint their faces with a variety of figures, but rather make a round red spot upon each cheek, and redden their eyelids, the tops of their foreheads, and some the rim of their ears and temples. They adorn their ears, necks, and breasts with corals, small crosses, little round escutcheons, and crescents, made either of silver or wampom. Both men and women are fond of silver bracelets. Very few of the Delawares and Iroquois women think it decent to imitate the men in scarifying their skin. Their stockings and shoes resemble those worn by the men, only they wear a kind of clogs, made of linen, either with or without strings.

For their dwellings, the Indians generally chuse a situation well supplied with wood and water, and for their plantations of Indian corn, a low and rich soil.

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Their villages are therefore generally situated near a lake, river, or brook, yet sufficiently elevated to escape the danger of inundations, which are very common in spring

Before their acquaintance with the Europeans, their dwellings were nothing more than huts made of bark, lined with rushes, and covered with either bark, rushes, or long reed-grass. The Iroquois and other nations at a distance from the Europeans live still in huts of this description. But the Delawares have learned the use and convenience of block-houses, and either build them themselves, or pay European workmen for doing it.

An Indian hut is built in the following manner: They peel trees, abounding with sap, such as lime-trees, &c. then cutting the bark into pieces of two or three yards in length, they lay heavy stones upon them, that they may become flat and even in drying. The frame of the hut is made by driving poles into the ground, and strengthening them by cross-beams. This frame-work is covered both within and without with the above-mentioned pieces of bark, fastened very tight with bast or twigs of hickory, which are remarkably tough. The roof runs up to a ridge, and is covered in the same manner. These huts have one opening in the roof to let out the smoke, and one in the side for an entrance. The door is made of a large piece of bark without either bolt or lock; a stick, leaning against the outside, being a sign that nobody is at home. The light enters by small openings, furnished with sliding shutters.

The difference in the huts of the Delawares and Iroquois consists in the form of the roofs, the former being angular, and the latter round or arched. The Delaware families prefer living separately, and their houses therefore are but small, but the Iroquois build long houses, with three or four fire-places, for as many families, who are related and live together. A number of these huts standing together is called an Indian town; and if surrounded by pallisadoes, a fortification. In building towns, no regular plan is observed,

but every one builds according to his fancy. Nor have they many large towns.

Their huts are neither convenient nor well furnished. They are mostly low, neither divided into rooms, nor floored. The fireplace is in the middle of the hut; around which are placed benches or seats, rudely finished, which serve likewise for tables and bedsteads. The same blanket that clothes them by day, serves for a covering at night, and the bed is a deer- or bear-skin, or a mat made of rushes. Some even line the inside of their houses or huts with these mats, partly by way of ornament, and partly to keep out the cold.

They hang their stock of provisions and other necessaries upon poles, fixed across to the top of the hut. Formerly they kindled a fire by turning or twirling a dry stick, with great swiftness upon a dry board, using both hands. Their knives were made of thin flint, in a long triangular shape, the long sides being sharpened. Their hatchets were wedges, made of hard stones, six or eight inches long, sharpened at the edge, and fastened to a wooden handle. They were not used to fell trees, but only to peel them, or to kill their enemies. Their pots and boilers were made of clay, mixed with pounded sea shells, and burnt so hard, that they were black throughout.

Such knives, hatchets, and large broken pots, are still found in various places where formerly the Indians dwelt. But since the Europeans came into the country, the Indians are provided with flint and steel, European knives and hatchets, and light brass kettles. They make their own spoons, and large, round dishes of hard wood, with great neatness. In eating, many make use of the same spoon, but they commonly sup their victuals out of the dish.

Cleanliness is not common among the Indians. Their pots, dishes, and spoons, are seldom washed, but left for the dogs to lick. The Delawares rather excel the Iroquois in cleanliness; and the Unami and Wawiachtano tribes are much cleaner.

cleaner than the Monsys. Yet there are some houses and huts among the Iroquois which have a clean and neat appearance, and afford a comfortable night's lodging for an European. The dogs being continually in the house and at the fire, they bring fleas in abundance. Bugs and other vermin are numerous; but it is remarkable that the common fly resorts much more to the houses of the Europeans than to those of the Indians. About the latter the glow-bug or fire-fly appears in large numbers in the summer evenings. Their tails are as bright as a red-hot coal, and half a dozen of them put together cast light enough to read the smallest characters. They are most numerous in swampy places, where their swarms appear like innumerable sparks flying to and fro.

The Indians keep a constant fire burning in their houses, which consumes much wood. There is pitcoal enough in the country, which in Pittsburg is used both in stoves and smiths' shops, but the Indians do not value it, having abundance of wood. Formerly when they had no axes but those made of stone, as above mentioned, they used to kindle a fire around large trees, and to burn them so long till they fell; then by applying fire to different parts of the stem and branches, they divided them into smaller pieces for use. This custom still prevails in some places.

They never think of sparing the forest trees, for they not only burn more wood than is necessary for house consumption, but destroy them by peeling. The greatest havock among the forest-trees is made by fires, which happen either accidentally, or are kindled by the Indians, who in spring, and sometimes in autumn, burn the withered grass, that a fresh crop may grow for the deer. These fires run on for many miles, burning the bark at the roots of the trees in such a manner, that they die. A forest of fir trees is in general utterly destroyed by these fires.

From these and other causes, fire-wood at last begins to be scarce, and necessity obliges them to seek other dwelling-

places, as the Indians cannot bear the trouble of fetching fire-wood from any distant part. Thus the building of a new town is frequently undertaken merely for this reason.

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## CHAPTER V.

### *Marriages and Education of Children among the Indians.*

THE Delawares and Iroquois marry early in life, the men sometimes in their eighteenth, and the women in their fourteenth year, but they never marry near relations. According to their own account, the Indian nations were divided into tribes, for no other purpose, than that no one might ever, either through temptation or mistake, marry a near relation, which at present is scarcely possible, for whoever intends to marry, must take a person of a different tribe.

With the Iroquois, it is not unusual to fix upon children of four or five years old with a view to future marriage. In this case the mother of the girl is obliged to bring a basket of bread every week into the house of the boy, and to furnish him with fire-wood. The parents of the boy must supply the girl with meat and clothes, till they are both of a proper age. Their marriage however solely depends upon their own free will, for there is never any compulsion.

When a Delaware girl is out of order for the first time, she must withdraw into an hut at some distance from the village. Her head is wrapped up for twelve days, so that she can see nobody, and she must submit to frequent vomits and fasting, and abstain from all labor. After this she is washed

washed and new clothed, but confined to a solitary life for the space of two months, at the close of which she is declared marriageable. Other Indian nations observe fewer ceremonies on this occasion.

If an Indian man wishes to marry, he first sends a present of blankets, cloth, linen, and perhaps a few belts of wampum, to the nearest relations of the person he has fixed upon. If they happen to be pleased, both with the present and the character and conduct of the suitor, they propose the matter to the girl, who generally decides agreeably to the wish of her parents and relations, and is afterwards led to the dwelling of the bridegroom without further ceremony. But if the other party chuses to decline the proposal, they return the present, by way of a friendly negative.

After the marriage, the present made by the suitor, is divided amongst the friends of the young wife. These return the civility by a present of Indian corn, beans, kettles, dishes, spoons, sieves, baskets, hatchets, &c. brought in solemn procession into the hut of the new-married couple. The latter commonly lodge in a friend's house, till they can erect a dwelling of their own.

Some nations more to the west look upon adultery as a very great crime, and punish it with severity, but the young people among the Delawares, Iroquois, and other nations connected with them, have seldom marriages of long continuance, especially if they have not children soon. Sometimes an Indian forsakes his wife, because she has a child to suckle, and marries another, whom he forsakes in her turn for the same reason.

The women also forsake the men, after having received many presents, and knowing that they have no more to expect. They then marry another, from whom they may expect more. It frequently happens that the woman forsakes her husband, because she never loved him, and was only persuaded by her relations to accept of him for a time, that they might keep his presents. The Indians therefore consider  
their

their wives as strangers. It is a common saying among them, "My wife is not my friend," that is, she is not related to me, and I need not care for her.

However, not every Indian is so very indifferent at the light behavior of his wife. Many an one takes her unfaithfulness so much to heart, that in the height of his despair he swallows a *poisonous root*, which certainly kills him in two hours. Women also have been known to destroy themselves for grief, on account of their husbands' treachery. To prevent this calamity they make use of a certain preparation called *beson* [a medium between poison and physic], to which they ascribe a magic power. They believe, that if some of it is carried constantly about by one of the parties, it will ensure the love and fidelity of the other. But if this is found out, the other party is so offended, that the marriage is immediately dissolved, and no reconciliation can ever take place. Many Indians live very sociably in the married state, and keep to one wife. These regular families have the most children. Some indeed live peaceably with their wives, merely that they may not be separated from their children. Others keep concubines, and though the wives do not suffer them to live in the house, yet they connive at it for the sake of peace and on account of their children.

But there is no very strong tie between the married people in general, not even between the oldest. A very little trifle, or one bad word, furnishes ground for a divorce.

Polygamy is permitted among the Delawares and Iroquois, but not as common as with other Indian nations, whose chiefs may keep six, ten, or more wives, and the common people as many as they can maintain. A Delaware or Iroquois Indian has seldom two, and hardly ever more wives: for their love of ease renders domestic peace a most valuable treasure. The negroes and Indians intermarry without any scruple.

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The Indians affect an appearance of great coolness towards their nearest relations. When the children and other kindred go to meet the father of the family, after a long absence, he passes by them with an haughty air, never returns their salutation, nor asks how his children do; for circumstances relating to his own family and kinsmen, seem indifferent to him in time of war. This cool behavior is generally thought a mark of a noble mind, but it would be a great mistake to infer, that they are divested of the feelings of nature.

<sup>25</sup> The housekeeping of the married people is very different in a Delaware and an Iroquois family. The Delaware Indian hunts and fishes, provides meat for the household, keeps his wife and children in clothing, builds and repairs the house or hut, and makes fences round the plantations. The woman cooks the victuals, fetches fire-wood, and labors in the field and garden, though, as to the latter, the husband will assist occasionally.

But in managing the affairs of the family the husband leaves the whole to his wife, and never interferes in things committed to her. She cooks victuals regularly twice a day. If she neglects to do it in proper time, or even altogether, the husband never says a word, but rather goes to some friend, being assured that he shall find something to eat. Nor does he ever offer to put wood on the fire, except he has guests, or some other extraordinary call to do it. If his wife longs for meat, and gives him a hint of it, he goes out early in the morning without victuals, and seldom returns without some game, should he even be obliged to stay out till late in the evening. When he returns with a deer, he throws it down before the door of the hut, and walks in, saying nothing. But his wife, who has heard him lay down his burden, gives him something to eat, dries his clothes, and then goes out to bring in the game. She may then do with it whatever she pleases. He says nothing if she even gives the greatest part of it to her friends, which is a very  
common

common custom. If the husband intends to go a-hunting, or to take a journey, he gives his wife notice, and then she knows that it is her business to furnish him with proper provisions.

If any dissatisfaction arises between them, the husband commonly takes his gun and walks off into the woods, without telling his wife whither he is going. Sometimes he does not return till after some days, when both parties have frequently forgot their quarrels, and live again in peace.

Most married people understand, that whatever the husband gets by hunting, belongs to the wife. Therefore, as soon as he has brought the skins and meat home, he considers them as his wife's property. On the other hand, whatever the wife reaps from the garden and plantation, belongs to the husband, from which she must provide him with the necessary food both at home and abroad. Some men keep the skins, and purchase clothes for their wives and children, that they may not be in want. The cows belong to the wife, but the horses to the husband, who generally makes his wife a present of one for her own use.

All this proves that the Delaware women live as well as the situation of an Indian will permit. But the women are not so well treated among the Iroquois. A wild Iroquois is proud of his strength, courage, and other manly virtues, and treats his wife with coolness, contempt, and often with abuse. He considers every occupation but that of a hunter or warrior in a despicable point of view, and therefore leaves every other consideration to his wife. Thus the women have business enough upon their hands. The wife must not only do all the work in the house and in the field, but make fences, keep the house in repair, and in general, perform all kind of drudgery. In travelling she must carry the bundles, and sometimes her husband's gun, and when he has shot a deer, the wife must convey it home.

The Indian women are in general of a very strong bodily constitution, and seldom want any assistance in child-bearing.

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They have no midwives, but there are clever and experienced women enough, who are able to give both assistance and advice in time of labor. When the time approaches, they prepare every thing necessary both for themselves and the child, nor do they desist from their usual employment in the house, till about an hour or two before their delivery. Some very stout women are delivered when alone in the forest, and are capable of conveying the new-born infant home.

After the birth, the infant is immediately laid upon a board covered with moss, and wrapped up in a skin or piece of cloth, little arched pieces of wood being fastened to the sides of the board, to hinder the babe from falling off; for when the mother is engaged in her household work, she hangs this rude cradle upon some peg, or branch of a tree. But this practice gets more and more out of fashion.

Most mothers suckle their infants till they are two or more years old. If they cannot do this, soup made of Indian corn supplies the place of milk. Though they marry very young, they have seldom more than six children. Their love to them is very great, and the favor of the parents is gained by nothing so easily, as by caressing, or giving something to their little children. The mothers generally carry them in a blanket fastened upon their backs. The ancient pernicious custom of setting the infant upright upon a board, to which its feet were fastened with thongs, and of carrying the board with a strap upon their backs, is almost entirely abolished. The many instances of children being destroyed by this practice have made it universally detested.

The children are always considered as the property of the wife. If a divorce takes place, they all follow her. Those indeed that are grown up, may stay with the father, if they please. Both parties are very desirous of gaining the love of their children, and this accounts for their conduct towards them. They never oppose their inclinations, that they may

not lose their affection. Their education therefore is not much attended to. Their children have entirely their own will, and never do any thing by compulsion. The parents are very careful, not to beat or chastise them for any fault, fearing lest the children might remember it, and revenge themselves on some future occasion. Yet many well-bred children are found among them, who pay great attention and respect to their parents, and are civil to strangers. This is certainly a consequence of the mild treatment they receive, for the contrary generally produces bitterness, hatred, and contempt.

They do not spend much upon the dress and equipment of their children. Boys go naked till they are six years old. The first piece of dress they receive is a narrow slip of blue cloth passing in a loose manner between their legs, and fastened by a strap round their bodies. But the girls wear a light coat as soon as they can walk.

The father generally gives the child a name, either in its sixth or seventh year, and pretends that it has been suggested to him in a dream. This is done at a sacrifice, in a song, and they call it "praying over the child." The same ceremony is performed, when an adult person receives a name of honor in addition to the former. But if it is left to the mother to give a name, she uses little ceremony, and calls it after some peculiar mark or character in it, for instance, *the Beautiful*, or *the Great Eye*. If they do not love it, they chuse a disagreeable name for it.

As the girls grow up, the mothers endeavour to instruct them in all kinds of work, first taking them as assistants in the housekeeping, and by degrees making them acquainted with every part of a woman's business. But the boys are never obliged to do any thing: They loiter about, live as they please, and follow their own fancies. If they do mischief to others, they are gently reprov'd, and the parents will rather pay twice or three times over for the damage done, than punish them for it. As they are destined for huntsmen  
and

and warriors, they exercise themselves very early with bows and arrows, and in shooting at a mark. As they grow up, they acquire a remarkable dexterity in shooting birds, squirrels, and small game. When the boy arrives at a proper age, he receives a fowling-piece or rifle-barrelled gun. The first deer he shoots, proves the occasion of a great solemnity. If it happens to be a buck, it is given whole to some old man, who makes a feast of it for all the old men in the town. During this repast, they give good counsel to the boy (who is merely a spectator), regarding the chase and all the circumstances of his future life, exhorting him above all things to reverence old age and grey hairs, and to be obedient to their words. They then join in prayer to God, to grant him long life and happiness. If he first happens to kill a doe, he gives it to some old woman, who treats the old women in the same manner.

Sometimes young boys are prepared in a most singular manner for the station they are intended to fill in future, with a view to form a judgment of their capacity. They are made to fast so often and so long, that their bodies become emaciated, their minds deranged, and their dreams wild and extravagant. Frequent questions are put to them on this occasion, till they have had, or pretended to have had a dream, declared to be ominous. The subject being minutely considered and interpreted, they are solemnly informed, what will be their future destination. The impression thus made upon their minds is lasting, and the older they grow, the more earnestly they strive to fulfil their destination, considering themselves as men of peculiar gifts, far exceeding all others. By virtue of these extraordinary revelations, they become physicians, hunters, rich men, forcerers, or captains, according to the tenor of the dream, or in other words, they then willingly conform to the mode of life, planned for them by their parents and relations. In their private life, they live without controul, proud of their liberty, and following their own inclinations. In this the parents delight, and most fathers boast of the  
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the independence of their sons' mind. By their instructions and example the young people are taught from their infancy to suppress their passions, and this is done in so effectual a manner, that the proofs they exhibit of their command of temper are truly astonishing.

When the parents see their children provided for, or able to provide for themselves, they no longer care for their support, nor do they even think of saving a good inheritance for them. For every Indian knows, that whatever he leaves at his death, is divided among his friends.

If a woman becomes a widow, the relations of the deceased take every thing belonging to him, and give it to their friends, without keeping a single article. They act thus, because they wish to forget death, and are afraid lest the smallest part of the property of the deceased should remind them of it. Thus the children have no more claim upon any inheritance, than the widow and other near relations. But if a dying Indian leaves his gun or any other part of his furniture to a particular friend, the legatee is immediately put in possession, and no one disputes his right. Whatever the husband has given to his wife during his lifetime, remains her property. Therefore we need not wonder that a married Indian pair should not have their goods in common: for otherwise the wife would be left wholly destitute after her husband's death, and the husband would lose his all, when his wife dies.

According to the ancient rule, a widow should not marry again within a year after the death of her husband: for the Indians say that he does not forsake her before that time, and then his soul goes to the mansions of departed spirits.

She must however endeavour to live by her own industry, and commonly suffers great want, especially if she has young children. She is not permitted to purchase any meat, for the Indians are superstitiously persuaded, that their guns would fail, and prevent them from shooting any more deer, if a widow should eat of the game they have killed.

killed. But now and then a kind friend will venture to transgress the rule, and give her some meat. As soon as the first year of her widowhood is past, the friends of her deceased husband clothe and provide for her and her children. They also propose another husband, or at least tell her, that she is now at liberty to chuse for herself. But if she has not attended to the prescribed rule, but married within the year, they never trouble themselves about her again. The same is observed, with respect to a widower, by the friends of his deceased wife; for they still consider him as belonging to their family.

If he has remained a widower one whole year, they generally propose a woman according to their mind, that he may soon marry again, and prefer a sister of the departed, if one be living.

I will further observe, that the family connexions of the Indians are commonly very extensive, on account of their frequently changing their wives.

## CHAPTER VI.

### *Food, Agriculture, and Breeding of Cattle among the Indians.*

**T**HE common food of the Indians consists of meat, fish, all leguminous pulse and garden fruit. They eat almost all animals they take by hunting, but deer and bears are their favorite food.

Neither the Iroquois, Delaware, nor any nations in connexion with them, eat their meat raw, but frequently without salt, though they have it in abundance.

Both near the Ohio and the Muskingum are remarkably good salt springs. They generally burst out near a small

brook, or upon a sandy island formed in it. But the indolence of the Indians is such, that they rather buy salt from the Europeans at a very high price, than take what God has given them. Their meals are not served with great cleanliness, and consist chiefly of one dish. They eat when they are hungry, without any fixed time for it. In roasting they fasten the meat to a spit, made of hard wood.

They are fond of muscles and oysters, and such who live near an oyster-bed will subsist for weeks together upon them. They also eat the land-tortoise, which is about a span broad, and rather more in length; and even locusts are used for food. These come frequently in large swarms, covering and destroying even the bark of the trees.

The principal pulse of the Indians, is the so called Indian corn (*Zea Mays*\*). That cultivated by the Iroquois is a variety, differing from that planted by the Delawares on the river Muskingum. The former ripens sooner than the latter, which probably would never ripen in a colder climate. This is the chief produce of the Indian plantations. They chuse low and rich grounds near a river or brook, which spontaneously yield plentiful crops for many years. But when the strength of the soil is exhausted, they remove their plantations, for they know nothing of the use of manure, and have land enough.

In most places they must first clear the land of trees or brushwood. The former they destroy by stripping off the bark around the stem. Their plantations are surrounded with high fences, chiefly to keep off the horses, which feed in the woods without a keeper.

The time for planting Indian corn, is when there is no further expectation of a frost, and the Indians judge of this by observing the hazel-nut (*coryllus avellana*) in bloom. The culture of Indian corn costs the women much trouble, for the richness of the soil produces abundance of weeds. They used formerly the shoulder-blade of a deer, or a tortoise-

\* The Latin names are taken from Linnæus;

shell, sharpened upon a stone, and fastened to a thick stick, instead of an hoe; but now they have iron spades and hoes. The corn grows about eight feet high, with a stalk about an inch in diameter, and when unripe, is full of a sweet juice like sugar.

The Delawares and Iroquois dress the Indian corn in twelve different ways: 1. They boil it in the husk, till soft and fit to eat; or, 2. Parboil it, and having rubbed the husk off with sharp leys, wash and boil it over again. 3. They roast the whole ear in hot ashes, as it is taken from the stalk. 4. They pound it small, and then boil it soft. 5. They grind it as fine as flour by means of a wooden pestle and mortar, clear it from the husks, and make a thick pottage of it. 6. They knead the flour with cold water, and make cakes about a hand's breath, and an inch thick. These they inclose in leaves and bake in hot ashes, putting live coals upon them; and use them as bread. 7. They mix dried bilberries with the flour, to give the cakes a better relish. 8. They chop roasted or dried deer's-flesh, or smoked eels, into small pieces, and boil them with the corn. 9. They boil the grits made of it with fresh meat, and this is one of their most common meals, with which they eat the bread described above. 10. They roast the corn in hot ashes till it becomes thoroughly brown. Then they pound it to flour, mix it with sugar, and press it down forcibly into a bag. This serves for citamon. 11. They take the corn before it is ripe, and let it swell in boiling water. It is then dried and laid by for use. The white people buy it in this state to make soup of, or soak it again, and use it with oil and vinegar as salad. 12. They roast the whole ear, when grown, but still full of juice. This is a well-flavored dish, but wastes much corn. They therefore like to have their plantations at some distance from their dwellings, that they may not be tempted to waste so much, or at least increase the difficulty of getting it. They likewise plant a species of pulse, called ground-nut (*arachis hypogœa*), because the root only is eaten. When they are boiled, they taste almost like chesnuts, but cannot be eaten raw.

In some places they plant the common bean (*phaseolus vulgaris*), which is generally eaten with bear's-flesh.

Potatoes are originally a North American root, and are said to have been first brought to Europe by Sir Walter Raleigh. They are cultivated by some.

They have four different sorts of pumpkins (*cucurbita pepo*), of which bread is made by the nations more to the westward; the largest of them is hung up by the Indians for winter use, as it will keep several months in that state. Melons grow by culture only.

Cabbage, turneps, and other garden stuff, are now very common, the Indians having received the seeds from the Europeans.

Agriculture is more attended to by the Iroquois than the Delawares, but by both merely to satisfy their most pressing wants, for they are even satisfied with those eatable herbs and roots which grow without culture, especially potatoes and parsnips. Of the latter they make a kind of bread.

They preserve their crops in round holes, dug in the earth at some distance from the houses, lined and covered with dry leaves or grass. They commonly keep the situation of these magazines very secret, knowing that if they are found out, they must supply the wants of every needy neighbor, as long as any thing is left. This may occasion a famine, for some are so lazy, that they will not plant at all, knowing that the more industrious cannot refuse to divide their store with them. The industrious therefore not being able to enjoy more from their labor than the idle, by degrees contract their plantations. If the winter happens to be severe, and the snow prevents them from hunting, a general famine ensues, by which many die. They are then driven by hunger to dress and eat the roots of grass or the inner bark of trees, especially of young oaks.

The country is plentifully covered with plants, shrubs, and trees, which bear fruits. *Strawberries* grow so large and in such abundance, that whole plains are covered with them as with a fine scarlet cloth. They are remarkably well flavored.

*Gooseberries* (*ribes grossularia*), *black currants* (*ribes nigrum*), *blackberries* (*rubus fruticosus*), *raspberries* (*rubus Idæus*), and *bilberries* (*vaccinum myrtillus*), grow in great plenty; the latter chiefly upon the hills. *Red currants* (*ribes rubrum*) are cultivated chiefly in gardens. There are two sorts of *cranberries*; the one grows in swampy places upon a short shrub, not as high as bilberry bushes, which is our common cranberry (*vaccinum oxycoccus*), the other upon a small tree.

The *choakberry-tree* (*ribes nigrum Pennsylvanicum*) bears a small black berry, the juice of which is so exceedingly poignant, that it has the most disagreeable effect upon the throat when swallowed, from which its name is derived.

*Mulberry trees* (*morus rubra*) grow to a great height, and bear a brown fruit, which the turkeys feed upon eagerly, as they do also upon the leaves that drop in autumn.

*Vines* (*vitis vinifera*) are numerous, and grow remarkably thick and long in low grounds. By their tendrils they frequently climb up the highest trees, and descend from their tops, to the ground. The grapes have a four taste. On high lands the shoots are slender and short, being frequently disturbed in their growth by the Indians setting fire to the brush-wood; but their grapes are sweeter, and wine may be made of them. The bears go often in search of vines, and always chuse the best and sweetest grapes.

Among the different species of cherry-trees, the *cluster cherry* (*prunus padus*) is remarkably prolific. These cherries are black, about as large as currants, and grow in clusters. They are not eatable, but impart a delicious flavor and high color to brandy. The wood of this tree is well suited for cabinet work. The *red cherry tree* (*prunus Canadensis*) never grows above eight or ten feet high, is also very prolific, and bears its fruit in clusters. They are seldom eaten, their taste resembling that of allum. The *sand cherry* (*prunus cerasus*) grows only in sandy ground. The tree is about four feet high, and the cherries crowd the branches in such abundance, that they weigh them down to the ground.

They have a delicious smell, but are no larger than a musquet ball. They are preferred to other cherries for making cherry brandy. Besides the above-mentioned, there is another species of cherry in great plenty, chiefly growing on the banks of the Muskingum upon an high and stout tree, the wood of which is red, and very proper for cabinet work.

The *plum tree* (*prunus domestica*) is common. The Indians prefer those bearing red and green plums, both of which have a good taste and agreeable smell.

*Peach trees* (*amygdalus Persica*) grow in some places in great abundance; as also wild *citrons* (*podophyllum peltatum*). These grow upon a sprig not above a foot in height, and have an agreeable taste, between sour and sweet. But the root is a deadly poison, which will kill in a few hours.

*Crabs* (*malus sylvestris*) grow in great plenty, and the Indians being very fond of sharp and sour fruit, eat them in abundance. The fruit of the *papa-w-tree* (*carica papaya*) bears a beautiful fruit, in form and size resembling a middle-sized cucumber, having a yellow skin, an agreeable smell and taste, and two or three kernels like almonds.

Of the *common chestnut* (*fagus castanea*) there are large woods. The fruit is rather smaller than the chestnut of Europe, but sweeter and more palatable. When they are ripe, the Indians, to save themselves the trouble of gathering them, hew down the tree. They may be eaten raw, but are commonly boiled, and make a rich dish. Sometimes they are roasted like coffee-beans, and a kind of beverage made of them, nearly resembling coffee in color and taste, but of a laxative nature. They have another kind of chestnut, which is large, but not fit to eat.

*Pinkpink* (*fagus pumila*) is a shrub of about two yards in height, bearing a flower nearly resembling that of the chestnut-tree, but smaller. The fruit is of the chestnut kind, oval, pointed at both ends, with a dark brown shell, and in taste like a very sweet hazel-nut.

The *common walnut-tree* (*juglans regia*) grows mostly in low valleys and in a rich soil. It grows large and high, spreading

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ing its branches remarkably wide. The nuts have a thin shell, and the kernel is very palatable. Besides this, there are two species common in this country, called the *white* (*juglans alba*) and the *black* walnut (*juglans cinerea*), deriving their names from the color of the wood, though, strictly speaking, the former is not white, but grey. The latter is of a dark brown, almost violet, and is used by cabinet-makers for tables, book-cases, and other furniture. The nuts of both have a hard shell, and the kernel is oily, and but seldom eaten. The *hiccory-nut* is a species of walnut (*juglans alba*). One sort of hiccory has a rough bark and white wood, of a fine grain, and full of juice. The nut is enclosed in a thick, hard shell, and has an agreeable taste. But the other sort of hiccory with a smooth bark bears a bitter nut, from which an useful laxative oil may be extracted. The Indians gather a great quantity of sweet hiccory nuts, which grow in great plenty in some years, and not only eat them raw, but extract a milky juice from them, which tastes well and is nourishing. Sometimes they extract an oil, by first roasting the nut in the shell under pot-ashes, and pounding them to a fine mass, which they boil in water. The oil swimming on the surface is skimmed off and used in their cookery.

The *butter* or *oil-nut tree* (*juglans nigra*) grows chiefly in meadows, in a warm soil. The stem seldom exceeds three feet in circumference, has many branches, and the leaves resemble those of the walnut. The nut also has a shell like a walnut-shell, but it is softer, considerably longer and thicker, and contains a much larger kernel, full of sweet-smelling oil. The inner bark of this tree makes a good purple stain, but is said to vary its shade with the month in which it is peeled off.

The *hazel-nut* (*corylus avellana*) is exactly like that of Europe.

The *Delawares* change their dwelling-place too often to cultivate orchards, but among the Iroquois some are found. Neither of them know any thing of flower-gardens.

No fruit-tree is so much esteemed by the Indians as the *maple* (*acer saccharinum*), of which they make sugar. They have two species, the soft and the hard maple.

The sap of the latter is remarkably sweet. The wood has beautiful veins, and is used in cabinet work. It grows chiefly about springs, upon an eminence, and its flower is red. The soft maple yields more sap, but not of so sweet a taste. Nor are the veins of the wood so beautiful. It grows chiefly in rich meadows and valleys, and has a white flower, straight stem, and fewer branches than the hard. The leaves are larger, and of a dark green color. The wood is split with more ease, though very tough and hard. The largest of these trees is about two or more feet in diameter. Those of a middle size, young and still growing, yield the most sap. The Delawares call it the stone tree, on account of the hardness of its wood, but the Iroquois, sugar tree. The sap is found in the greatest plenty and perfection in spring, which is about February on the Ohio and Muskingum, and March in the more northern countries. Then the season of sugar-boiling commences, though near the Muskingum, sugar is boiled both in spring, autumn, and winter, in case of need. The method of proceeding is as follows :

Each family provides brass kettles for boiling, and a number of smaller and larger wooden troughs or dishes, made of bark, for receiving the sap. When every thing is prepared, an oblique incision is made in the tree, which is renewed twice or thrice during the time of its running. A thin wedge of about three or four inches broad being forced into the lower part of the incision, a funnel made of bark is introduced, by which the juice is conveyed into the wooden troughs or dishes.

The sap flows most plentifully, when it freezes at night, and the sun shines in the day. At night it commonly ceases to run, when the weather is either warm or rainy, or when it has not frozen for a night or two. The state of the weather determines the length of the flowing season to be

one

one or two months. Towards the end of it the sap begins to flow once or twice in great quantities both by day and night; but after that, it is not so good, and only fit for treacle. The sap, which is of a brown color, is put into brass kettles, and, without any further addition, boiled upon a slow fire, till it becomes as thick as honey; then more is added and boiled down, which becomes of a still darker color. Out of these kettles it is poured into broad wooden dishes of about two inches in depth, and stirred about in them till it is cold, by which the sugar is granulated, and becomes as fine as the West Indian. If they have no dishes of this kind, they let it cool in the kettles, and form it into cakes, which, when cold, are very hard. This sugar is used by the Indians either to sweeten their victuals, or in the place of bread: and it is thought more wholesome, and sweeter than our common brown sugar.

Sugar-boiling is chiefly the employment of women, and they find it very lucrative. A kettle holding between sixty and seventy quarts, with two of a smaller size for ladles, will boil with ease near two hundred pound of sugar in one season, besides a considerable quantity of treacle. There is seldom any want of sap, for the maple is uncommonly full of it. Instances have been known, of one tree producing above three hundred quarts of good sap for sugar, and as much more for treacle. About thirty-five or forty quarts of sap make one pound of sugar; thus about eight pound of sugar, and as many of treacle, may be collected from one tree. In common these trees will last eight or nine years, and the sap flows, even when the stem is cut all round.

*Tobacco* (*nicotianum tabacum*) is originally an American plant, and was not known in Europe before the year 1584. The Indians consider it as one of the most essential necessities of life. The species in common use with the Delawareans and Iroquois is so strong, that they never smoke it alone, but mix it with the dried leaves of the *sumac* (*rhus glabrum*), or with another herb, called by them *degokimak*,  
the

the leaves of which resemble bay leaves, or with the red bark of a species of willow, called by them *red wood*.

The common drink of the Indians at their meals is nothing but the broth of the meat they have boiled, or spring water. But they likewise prepare a kind of liquor of dried bilberries, sugar and water, the taste of which is very agreeable to them.

The wild Indians have a most insatiable inclination for spirituous liquors, and use them to excess. Brandy, and particularly rum, with which, alas! the Europeans have made them acquainted, destroy more lives than all their wars.

*Breeding of cattle* is still less attended to by the Indians than agriculture. They would rather hunt game in the forests, than tend cattle at home. Some indeed have begun to keep black cattle to get milk and butter, but most Indians are satisfied with dogs, pigs and horses.

Their dogs, especially those among the Delawares, are of the wolf kind: When irritated, they show their teeth; but will never attack a wolf, though furiously set on. The pigs do not differ from those of Europe. The horse is a very favorite animal with the Indians. They are never used in husbandry, but only for riding, and are not well fed. They are commonly sent, with a bell about their neck, into the meadows or forests to seek their own food; and return sometimes by night only, to lick the earth, impregnated with urinary salts, in the neighbourhood of the huts. If the Indians want to ride, they must first go to the forests to catch their horses. Each Indian knows the sound of his own bell, and the horses the call of their master, and if he brings them corn, they are easily taken.

Grass grows in great abundance in spring, summer, and autumn, both in the open country and in the forests. In rich soils it grows in some places so high that a man on horseback can but just reach the top of the stalks. When it is withered, the Indians set it on fire, both to make room for the new crop, and to destroy young sprouts of trees.

There

There are also *musbrooms* of different kinds, which are so agreeable to the horned cattle, that they are hardly to be kept from dispersing in search of them. Many springs are impregnated with common salt or saltpetre, and both black cattle and horses resort to them in numbers.

Beside the common horse-fly, there is a species which gives great uneasiness to horses and cattle of all kinds. They even attack men, penetrate through the skin, and suck so much blood, that they swell to the size of a hazel-nut, and then fall off.

The Indians take but little pains to provide store of winter-provision for their cattle, for the snow is seldom deep, and the weather generally mild. Thus the cattle can always find food, especially in low grounds, where the grass remains green, and begins to grow plentifully towards the end of March, or beginning of April. A species of winter-grass grows even in winter around the springs, which is much relished by the cattle. But in woodlands, the horses find little more than the small branches of young trees, chiefly of *sassafras* (*laurus sassafras*), which grows there in abundance; except a species of green moss, growing upon the bark of most trees, and much resembling hay in appearance.

## CHAPTER VII.

### *Of the Manner of Hunting and Fishing among the Indians.*

**H**UNTING is the principal and most necessary employment of the Indians, and next to war, the most honorable. For this reason, all Indians, but chiefly the Delawares, are very expert and experienced huntsmen.

The boys learn to climb trees when very young, both to catch birds and to exercise their fight, which by this method is

is rendered so quick, that in hunting they see objects at an amazing distance. In detecting and pursuing game, they almost exceed the best-trained dog, in following its course with certainty. They run so swift, that if a deer does not fall upon the first shot, they throw off their blanket, and seldom fail to overtake him.

Their contrivances for decoying and securing the game are innumerable. They study this from their infancy, and many remain whole years in the woods by way of practice.

Formerly the chief weapons used by an Indian hunter were bows and arrows, armed at the point with a longish sharp stone of a triangular shape. Even to this day, many of the west and north-west tribes make use of no other weapons. They have the advantage of the gun in not making the game so shy. The Delawares and Iroquois are now very expert in the use of rifle-barrelled guns. The Delawares, when at home, practise shooting at a mark. They are not unacquainted with the use of the bow and arrow, but never employ them but to kill such game as are not worth powder and shot. In purchasing fire-arms and powder, a good hunter uses particular caution, to have both of the very best quality.

Before an Indian sets out for a long hunt, he usually shoots one or more deer, and keeps a feast of sacrifice, inviting the old men to assist him in praying for success. Some bathe and paint before they set off, but the most superstitious keep a fast both before and during the season. When they fast, they taste nothing, but are neither gloomy nor dissatisfied. They say that fasting peculiarly helps them to dream, and in dreams they pretend to be informed of the haunts of the game, and of the best method of appeasing the wrath of the bad spirits, during the time of hunting. If the dreamer fancies that he sees an Indian, who has been long dead, and hears him say, "If thou wilt sacrifice to me, thou shalt shoot deer at pleasure;" he immediately prepares a sacrifice, and burns the whole or part of a deer, in honor of the apparition.

Besides

Besides this ceremony, most hunters endeavour to procure a hunting *beson*, to which they ascribe the power of procuring them success. The *beson* is a preparation made by old men, who are no more able to hunt, consisting of roots, herbs, and certain seeds, sold by them at a high price. There are several sorts, but every one is desirous to get the best, if it should even cost him the greater part of his property.

One sort of *beson* is taken inwardly, and occasions a violent vomiting, but this is not in common use. According to their opinion the *beson* will prove mischievous, unless every ceremony annexed to its use is attended to with the most scrupulous exactness. If a huntsman shoots nothing for several days, he swallows a small dose, and observes the rules prescribed to him in the strictest manner. If another day passes without success, without doubting the efficacy of his *beson*, he ascribes his ill luck to some other cause, frequently to the presence of a missionary. Some falsely pretend, that they can deprive the deer of their smell, and bring all the game they wish for within gun-shot.

When a whole party goes out to hunt, they chuse the most expert for their captain, particularly if he is a member of the council. He must watch over the due observance of the customs, usual in hunting, for instance, that no one leaves the party, till the season is at an end. If one has shot a deer, but another has followed and killed it, the skin belongs to the first, and either the half or whole of the meat to the latter. If several take aim at once, but they cannot determine, which of them killed the game, the skin is given to the oldest of the party, even if he did not shoot with them, and he is then said to have killed the animal. Old men therefore, though no more able to shoot well, generally get their share of skins, if they only shoot now and then, though they do not hit the mark. The flesh is always divided into equal shares, but the old men are first served. They have in general, but the Unamis in particular, a custom, that when a huntsman has shot a deer, and another Indian joins him, or only

only looks at a distance, he immediately gives him the whole animal, and goes in pursuit of another.

The Indians commonly stay three or four weeks, and often several months, at their hunting places. During the rainy season, the inundations are so sudden, that they are sometimes obliged instantly to take to their boats, and much game perishes in the low grounds. Some who do not chuse to join a hunting party, go either alone, or take their wives and children with them, and build bark huts in the wood, as a place of rendezvous. When these single huntsmen kill a deer, they take the skin and as much of the flesh as they can carry; the rest they hang upon a tree for the use of such who pass that way. The meat brought home is either immediately eaten, or roasted and laid up in store. The prime pieces are cut off and stuck on skewers into the ground on that side of the fire towards which the smoke is driven, being frequently turned round. When they are well done, they are taken off, and when cold, put into a bag, or strung upon a cord, and hung in the air.

Autumn is the best season for hunting, comprehending the months between September and January, the game being then fat, and their skins in perfection. They chiefly hunt *deer*.

The North American deer (*cervus elaphus*) are red from May to September; when they cast their coat, and nature provides them with a grey and very close fur for the winter. They have an acute smell, and shed their horns in January. In running, their tail, which is about a foot long, stands upright, and the inside being white, is seen at a great distance. They generally bring forth in June.

White deer are seldom seen in these parts. These have generally in summer some red, and in winter some grey spots. The Indians call a white deer the king of the deer, and believe that the rest flock about, and follow him.

Further north, especially about Onondago and the great lakes, the deer are much larger than on the Muskingum; and  
about

about two hundred miles to the south-west, they are much smaller.

In former times the Indians killed only as much game as they wanted for food and clothing, as the dress both of the men and women was made entirely of skins. These animals of course were then very numerous every-where. But now, when a large buckskin sells for a Spanish dollar, the game is pursued for the sake of trade, and a clever huntsman will shoot from fifty to one hundred and fifty deer in one autumn, and consequently they must decrease very fast in number.

The Indians prefer hunting deer in large companies. Having surrounded a considerable tract of country, they set the dry leaves and grass on fire. The poor animals fly towards the middle to escape the flames, and the hunters closing in upon them, by following the fire, kill them with certainty, so that hardly one escapes. As the principal object in shooting them is their skin, the flesh is left in the forest, and devoured by the wild beasts and carnivorous birds.

The North American *Elk* (*cervus alces*) is a much larger but more timid animal than the deer, almost equal in size and bulk to an horse. They are not met with near the rivers Ohio and Muskingum, but said to be in great numbers further north. The elks seen now and then in the country of the Iroquois, come from Canada.

The *moose deer* does not differ much from the elk in figure, except that its legs are longer and its tail shorter. The Delawares and Iroquois hunt neither elks, moose deer, nor buffaloes. The *Buffaloes* (*bos bison*) are taller than the common oxen. Their horns are thick, short, and black. Their heads are broad, with much hair on the forehead, hanging over their eyes, which, with a long beard, gives them a frightful look. They have a bunch upon their backs, covered with long hair, or rather with a soft down, of a brown or mouse color, mixed with the same long hair, which clothes their whole body. Their legs are remarkably short. They are afraid of men, and a single dog will chase a whole herd,  
but

but when wounded, they attack their enemy with fury. If a female buffalo is shot, the calf will stand quietly till the huntsman has skinned its dam, and then follow him into his hut. Buffalo-beef is of a good taste, but the Indians set no great value on the skin.

These animals appeared some time ago in great numbers on the banks of the Muskingum, but as soon as a country begins to be inhabited, they retire, and are now only found near the mouth of that river. But on the banks of the Sioto and further south, they are said to feed in large herds.

When the season for hunting deer is past, the bear-hunt begins, and is continued from January till May.

The *Bear*, common to North America (*Ursus arctos niger*) is quite black, has short ears, a thick head, a sharp mouth, very short tail, and large strong paws. It climbs the highest trees, in search of grapes, chestnuts, and acorns, and is very fond of honey, which renders its flesh remarkably juicy and relishing.

There is likewise a kind of bear, much larger than the common, with much hair on their legs, but little on their bodies, which appear quite smooth. The Indians call this animal, the king of the bears, because the others are said willingly to follow it.

All North American bears are carnivorous. Therefore the flesh of game left by the Indians in the forest, is to them a welcome repast. The larger species is remarkably voracious, and in the country of the Iroquois, they seize upon women and children, and even upon men unarmed. Towards the end of December, the bears, being extremely fat, retire to their winter haunts. There they prepare either in hollow trunks of trees, caves, or the thickest part of the forest. Most of them forsake their cover in the beginning of spring, but if they have young, not till May. During this period they are said to eat nothing, but live on their own fat.

No Indian will shoot a bear during the season for hunting deer, but when this is over, they immediately prepare for the

bear-hunt. They are remarkably expert in finding out the haunts of these animals. If the bear will not leave his retreat in an hollow tree, they cut down the tree, and commonly kill him with the first shot. The Iroquois use wooden traps to catch those bears, whose hiding-places are in the swamps. The Indians value bears on account of their flesh, which is juicy and well flavored, nor does their fat grow soon rancid. Their skins are no great object for trade, being very cheap, and they rather keep them to sit or sleep upon, for which their long hair renders them peculiarly adapted. The white people buy the fat of the bears, and sometimes use it instead of butter, or oil for salad.

The *Beaver* of North America is of a dark brown color, and not different from that found in Europe. The amazing sagacity of these animals, displayed in building their dwellings, in their whole œconomy, and the value of their hair or down, are so well known, that a circumstantial account would in this place be superfluous. They are caught in snares, nets, and iron traps, or killed with clubs. The Indians prepare a sweet-smelling oil, by which they decoy them into their traps. They were formerly found in great numbers on the Muskingum, but are greatly decreased by the destruction made amongst them. Though the skin is the most valuable part of the beaver, yet the Indians frequently make a meal of their flesh, especially of their fishy tail. Some Indians will never suffer the dogs to gnaw beaver bones, lest the spirits of the beavers might be enraged, and spoil the chase in future.

The beaver-hunt is undoubtedly the most advantageous for the Indians, on account of the high price of their skins. There is therefore no season in the year, in which these animals are not pursued. The beaver-hunt is principally attended to by the Iroquois, and the deer-hunt by the Delawares.

It may probably be acceptable to have a short account of some other animals found in these parts. Some of them are

hunted by the Indians; partly for their worth, and partly on account of the mischief they do.

### QUADRUPEDS.

The *Panther* of North America (*felis discolor*) is of the size of a large shepherd's dog, about four feet long, with small short ears, a thick head, like a cat, short legs, sharp claws, and a long tail. The skin is of a grey color, mixed with reddish hair. Its cry resembles much that of a child, but this is interrupted by a peculiar bleating like that of a goat, which betrays it. It gnarls over its prey like a cat. Its flesh is eaten by many, and the skin furnishes a very warm covering.

The panther lives in thick woods, and frequently climbs trees to lie in wait for hogs, deer, and other animals. It possesses astonishing strength and swiftness in leaping and seizing its prey, but if it misses its aim at the first spring, it never attempts a second. When it has killed an animal, it devours but a small part, and when again pressed by hunger, seeks new game. When hunted, even with a small dog, it never attempts any defence on the ground, but leaps into a tree, from which it darts upon its enemy. If the first shot misses, the hunter is in imminent danger. They do not attack men in common, but if hunters or travellers approach a covert, in which a panther has its young, their situation is perilous. Whoever flies from it, is lost. It is therefore necessary for those threatened with an attack, gently to withdraw, walking backward, and keeping their eyes fixed upon it, and even if they miss their aim in endeavouring to shoot it, to look the more stedfastly at it. Indian courage and presence of mind is required to do this, but many a-one has saved his life by this expedient.

The most terrible enemy of the deer, elks, and moose deer, is the *Cuquar* (*felis concolor*), in size about as big as a wolf. It seizes its prey, either from an ambush, or it climbs a tree, and watches till one of the above animals approaches for  
shelter,

shelter, when it darts upon its prey, seizes its throat, and throws it down; then winding its long tail round its neck, devours it with ease. The only means for the poor animal to save itself, is immediately to run towards a lake or river, when the cougar leaves its hold, being extremely averse to water. The bears are much afraid of it, and even fly from its carcase.

The *Mountain-cat* (*felis catus ferus*) resembles in shape a common cat, but is much larger, having reddish or orange-colored hair, with black streaks. It is very savage, and will even attack deer, leaping upon their necks like a cougar, and sucking their blood. They generally pursue hogs.

The North American *Wolves* (*canis lupus*) are in size smaller than those of Europe: grey, and sometimes black. They are very numerous, but as their skins are not much valued, the Indians pursue them merely as noxious animals: for now and then they break into their hunting huts, steal their game, or tear their deer-skins. They attack men but seldom. The Indians even tame them, and use them as pointers. They are terrible enemies to deer, and sometimes go out in pursuit of these innocent animals in large troops, howling dreadfully.

There is a species of *Wild boar* (*sus scrofa*) not so large as tame pigs, but otherwise the same in appearance, and much eaten by the Indians.

On the banks of the Ohio and Muskingum, red, grey, and black *Foxes* are numerous; on the Mississippi, silver-colored are met with.

The *Raccoon* (*urus lotor*) is somewhat larger than a common cat: it has a pointed snout, and makes use of its fore-paws, both to convey its victuals to its mouth, and to dig up small muscles out of the sand, when it cannot get acorns or chestnuts. Its hind legs resemble those of a bear. It is fattest in autumn and winter, when it lives in hollow trees, like a bear, without seeking food. In a severe winter it retires for two whole months, otherwise only for four weeks. Its flesh is wholesome, and tastes much like that of a bear, and its hair is useful to hatters.

The *Otter*, or *Minx* (*mustela lutra Canadensis*), is very common, and if closely pursued will attack dogs, and even men. In summer it lives upon fish, but in winter upon bark and field fruits. Its flesh is unwholesome, and never eaten but in a famine. Sometimes the otter has been known to take a long journey over land, crossing from one brook to another.

Another species of otter lives in the same manner, but its peculiarity consists in a fur, of a deeper black than any other animal, so that it has become proverbial in America. Its tail is round, and without hair. It lives chiefly in the neighborhood of the springs of rivers, and smells of musk.

The *Porcupine* (*histris cristata*) is never seen near the Muskingum, seldom near the Ohio, but frequently in the country of the Iroquois. It lives in hollow trees, and climbs them pretty nimbly. The Indians eat it with great relish; its flesh tastes like pork, and is commonly fat. The American porcupine differs from that of other countries, in shape, and in the length of its quills. It is about the size of a common dog, in shape something like a fox, but its head resembles a rabbit. Its quills are of a dark brown color, the largest being about the thickness of a straw. These are its weapons, and as it cannot run swiftly, it always turns its back towards its enemy, and no dog attacks it with impunity.

The *Opossum* (*didelphis opossum*) is about a foot long, of a greyish white color, and carnivorous. If it finds a dead deer, it creeps into the carcase, and devours it. It climbs trees, and sleeps hanging to a branch by its tail. If a man approaches it unawares, it never attempts to escape; but lies down as dead, not moving a limb, though handled and turned about; but when again left to itself, creeps off slyly, as soon as its enemy is retired to some distance. The female has a bag under her belly, in which she carries her young, till they grow too large for this receptacle, and then begin to run after her. If she meets with a fallen tree in her passage,

she either walks round, or lifts her young one by one over the stem, and then proceeds on her journey. When pursued, the opossum takes refuge in a tree, and hangs upon the smallest branches; where its enemy dares not venture to follow. The flesh of this creature tastes like pork, and is eaten by some white people, but not in general by the Indians.

The *Coati* (*viverra nasua*) is somewhat smaller than a beaver; the legs much resemble those of the beaver, but its body is shaped like a badger, and its head like that of a fox, except that the ears are short, round, and bare. It climbs trees, for their fruits, especially nuts, which it conveys to its mouth with its fore-paws. The Indians think it good food, especially in the nut season.

The *Badger* (*ursus meles*) burrows in the ground, and feeds on grass, water-melons, and pumpkins. It chews the cud; and when pursued, if far from its hole, climbs trees for safety. Its flesh is relished by the Indians.

The *Stinking weasel*, or *Skunk* (*viverra putorius*), is rather smaller than a common ferret. Its fur is shining, of a dirty grey color, interspersed with black spots, and its tail long and bushy, like that of a fox. Its common haunt is the thicket. It has a gentle and mild countenance, but goes out of its way for no creature whatever, and whoever approaches too near it, is ill rewarded for his curiosity. For when in fear, or irritated, it ejects from its hinder parts a moisture, intolerably foetid, upon its pursuer, to the distance of several feet, filling the whole atmosphere for near an hundred paces with a stench so offensive, that no human creature can bear it even for one minute, and exceeding every thing nauseous in the animal creation. Cloaths infected by it must be buried a long while in fresh soil, before the bad smell vanishes; and the wearer must bathe and wash himself all over, before he can appear in company. If it touches the eye, it occasions the greatest pain, or even utter loss of sight. A dog, whom the skunk has thus besprinkled, runs about howling, as if cruelly beaten, and rolls on the ground

to get rid of the pain or stench. The flesh of this animal is wholesome and well-flavored, if the bag containing the stinking moisture be carefully extracted. But if in performing this operation one drop is spilt, the whole house and every thing in it is immediately pervaded to an intolerable degree. This creature is very troublesome when it gets into cellars and storehouses, for no one will venture to drive it away by force, as its stench would do infinitely more damage than its depredations.

There is a small wild animal in the country of the Iroquois, called *Martin* (*mustela martes*), but probably belonging to the *Sable* tribe (*mustela zibellina*). Their furs being much valued, the Indians catch them in wooden traps, and sell the skins to the white people.

The *Hares* in these parts (*lepus timidus*) are small and not numerous, being continually pursued by birds and beasts of prey. Towards the north they are of the same size as those in Europe, and sometimes found with a snow-white fur.

The *Ondathra*, *Zibet* (*castor zibethicus*), or *Musk-rat*, so named from a great quantity of odorous matter found in its body, is not much larger than a water-rat. It is also called by some the beaver-rat, its appearance somewhat resembling that of a beaver. Its tail however is not proportionably broad, but oval. It builds its dwellings with nearly the same art as the beaver, choosing the neighborhood of a river, though able to live entirely upon dry ground. Its food is leaves and roots in winter, and strawberries, raspberries, and other field-fruit in summer. This animal does much damage to mill-dams by its burrowing.

There are several sorts of *Squirrels* in North America, of which the *grey squirrel* (*sciurus niger, cinereus, vulgaris*) is the largest, and the *red*, the smallest in size. Both these are rarely met with; but *black squirrels* are every where in great numbers. Their flesh is tender, and eaten by the Indians in case of sickness, but not as common food.

The *ground squirrel* (*sciurus glis*) lives under ground, and is somewhat smaller than a common rat. They do great damage

damage to the Indian corn, pumpkins, and water-melons. When the Indian corn is ripe, they lay in a good store of it for the winter, with as many hazel-nuts, chesnuts, and acorns, as they can get. Their storehouses are frequently found to have several compartments, each containing one kind of fruit.

The *flying squirrel* (*sciurus volans*) has a thin membraneous continuation of the skin of the sides and belly, by which its hind and fore-legs are connected. This supports it in leaping or flying from one tree to another, if the distance be not too great. But it cannot raise itself from off the ground.

### SERPENTS

Abound in the countries of the Delawares and Iroquois, with great variety. The most dangerous are the *Rattlesnakes* (*crotalus horridus*), of which there are two sorts, black and yellow. The latter are the largest, being when full grown nearly six feet long, and nine inches in circumference. Their skin is beautifully marked. The back is brown, intermixed with a reddish yellow, and crossed by a great number of jet black streaks, diversified with sportive tints of gold. Their belly is of a light blue. The black rattlesnake has the same variety of streaks, but of a darker shade. Both kinds have two small very sharp teeth in the upper jaw, which they draw in and out with great swiftness and force. These have a small bag at the root, which discharges a poisonous juice, when they bite. The rattles at the end of their tails, from which these serpents derive their name, are rings of a horny substance, connected together like the links of a chain, one being added every year, till they have about twenty. When the rattlesnake stirs, these rings rattle and betray him. They seldom attack passengers, but never go out of their way, lying quiet, till they perceive danger; then they rattle with their tail, coil themselves together, with their heads erect in the centre, and in this form dart two or three times with great fury at their enemy. Their bite immediately occasions a fever, with a cold shivering, the wound begins to swell, and the swelling spreads in a short time over the whole body. In hot weather their bite is sometimes at-

tended with instant death, but the Indians are so well-acquainted with the means of cure, that there are but few instances of death occasioned by the bite of this serpent. A beast, bitten by a rattlesnake, may recover in twenty-four hours, with proper management. If neglected, death is inevitable. Pigs are excepted from the dreadful effects of their bite; they will even attack and eat them. It is said, that if a rattlesnake is irritated, and cannot be revenged, it bites itself, and dies in a few hours. This animal is said to possess another peculiar property, *viz.* that of gazing with fixed eyes upon a bird or squirrel, and by a kind of fascination, stupifying them in such a manner, that the poor creature falls from the bough, and becomes an easy prey to its enemy, who by licking it all over, and covering it with a kind of slime, facilitates its passage down its throat. The rattlesnakes inhabit rocky, mountainous, and uninhabited places, and are extremely prolific. Towards the end of the year they creep into their holes, and twist themselves together, having to appearance but little life. About the time of their revival in spring, many die, and they have been found lying dead in large heaps, infecting the air with an intolerable stench. Our missionaries have discovered a small species of the rattlesnake, near the river Muskingum, of hardly one foot in length. No serpent is found in these parts in such numbers as the rattlesnake.

Many other kinds of serpents are found in the Indian country of different sizes, colors, and properties; black, yellow, copper-colored, green, and variegated. Some can climb a tree, and are said to enchant birds and squirrels like the rattlesnake. Some are supposed to emit a poisonous breath, and perhaps the magic power of the rattlesnake consists merely in this property. Others are strong enough to seize upon the largest birds of prey, when attacked by them, and to squeeze them to death, twisting their bodies about them.

Some live in the water, and prey upon fish. They are not all poisonous; perhaps such only being armed with  
poison

poison in whom there is a want of strength. Most of them first cover their prey with slime, and then swallow it whole, by slow degrees, and seemingly with pain.

All serpents cast their coat in spring, and then appear in their greatest beauty. The new skin of the large black serpent is a fine shining jet.

There are but few *Lizards* (*lacerta*) in the country.

Of the *Land-tortoise* (*testudo coriacea*) there are seven or eight species of various colors. The smallest are the most beautiful, but their bite is counted venomous.

The largest American *Frog* is the *Bull-frog* (*rana boans*). It inhabits rivers and large brooks. They are about six times as large as the common frog, and receive their name from their croaking, which resembles the bellowing of a bull, but is far more penetrating. A few bull-frogs will make a noise, almost too much for human ears to bear, especially at night.

The common frog (*rana pipiens*) is brown, does not croak, but has a note, like a short whistle. In spring they are heard all night. The Iroquois catch them at night by the light of a torch, and eat them either fresh or dried. Green frogs are but rarely met with in rivers and brooks.

The *Tree-frog* lives upon trees, either cleaving to the bark or creeping into the crevices. Their color so exactly resembles that of the tree, to which they attach themselves, that they are hardly to be distinguished from it. In some places they assemble in such numbers in summer, that the ears of passengers are almost stunned with their croaking.

### BIRDS:

The common *Eagle* (*falco leucocephalus*) has a white head and tail, and builds its nest in the fork of some lofty and thick tree. It lays the foundation, with a great quantity of branches, repairing it every year. The strength and courage of this bird are remarkable. Every morning it goes out in search of prey, and returns to the nest with birds, squirrels,

squirrels, snakes, and fishes, for its young. Fish now and then prove destructive to them: For in attacking large fish, it sometimes cannot disengage its talons soon enough, but is drawn under water and drowned. The eagle is particularly fond of young game, but when hungry, will pick up muscles, and carrying them to a great height in the air, drop them upon a rock, in order to open them. This species of the eagle is numerous; but there is another, which our missionaries have seen nowhere but on the banks of the Ohio and Muskingum. The Indians call it the *forked eagle* (*falco furcatus*) from its tail being forked. It soars to an astonishing height. If it approaches the dwellings of the Indians, they always look upon it as a token of change of weather or rain. It feeds upon snakes and other creatures like the white-headed eagle, but is continually on the wing during its repast. It builds upon high trees, but in as concealed a manner as possible.

The *Crane* (*ardea grus*) is commonly found upon large plains, and near to rivers. When hit by a shot, it attacks its pursuer, and has great power in striking with its wings. The Indians eat its flesh, but not in common.

*Wild Swans* (*anas cygnus*) are numerous both on the Ohio and Muskingum. According to the account of the Indians, their flesh tastes like that of a bear, and is fat. In the countries bordering upon the great lakes, a very large species of swan is found, called the *Trumpeter*, from his voice resembling the sound of a trumpet.

The *Pelican* (*pelicanus onocrotalus*) has a large bag hanging from its nether jaw, which is the receptacle for the fish it gathers for its young. As they are generally bloody when drawn out, this may have given rise to the fable of the pelican's feeding its young with its own blood, drawn from its breast.

*Wild Geese* (*anas anser ferus*) appear in spring and autumn, and remain long in the country. Some continue during the winter, others only during the summer. Most of them pass into a warmer latitude towards winter, and go to the north in summer,

summer, where they build in the neighborhood of the great lakes, and return in autumn with their young.

*Wild Turkeys* (maleagris gallopavo) flock together in autumn in great numbers, but disperse in the woods towards spring. They are larger than the tame turkeys, and commonly perch so high upon the trees, that they cannot be shot but with a ball. In winter their plumage is of a shining black, but changes in summer to a light brown, with white spots upon the wings. Their eggs are much sought after, and relished by the Indians. There is a species of wild turkeys, which are not eatable, their flesh having a most disagreeable flavor.

*Owls* are in great number and variety, some large, others small, but all very noisy in the woods at night. The large *white owl* (*strix nyctæa*) and the *little owl* (*strix passerina*) go in quest of prey even at mid-day.

The *Fishing-hawk* or *Osprey* (*falco haliaëtus*) seizes upon its prey with astonishing velocity. They say, that when it hovers over the water, it possesses a power of alluring the fish toward the surface, by means of an oily substance contained in its body. So much is certain, that, if a bait is touched with this oil, the fish bite so greedily, that it appears as if it were impossible for them to resist.

The *Heron* (*ardea Americana*) has long legs, large wings, and a lean body.

There are two other birds of prey, which live upon fish, but I cannot find their names. One is larger than an eagle; the other small, and builds its nest in the earth, digging its way into steep banks, and forming avenues to its nest, just wide enough to creep in.

The *Night-hawk* or *Goat-sucker* (*caprimulgus Europæus*), called also night-swallow, is rather smaller than the common hawk, flies extremely swift, and is seldom seen but in the dusk of the evening, when it frequently pursues the traveller, wantonly flying about his head. These birds flock together, and fly very high in the air before a thunder storm; towards evening they approach the dwelling-houses, perching upon  
the

the trees, and singing with a mournful note, till toward midnight. If one of them happens to perch upon the roof of an house, the superstitious Indians believe, that it forebodes some great misfortune. Their appearance in spring may always be considered as a certain sign that the frost is over.

The *hosppe*, *raven*, *crow*, and *pigeon-baruk*, are very common.

*Pheasants* (*phasianus Colchicus*) are not valued by the Indians, and the woods would swarm with them, had they not so many destructive enemies among the birds of prey. They multiply very fast, one hen laying above twenty eggs at a time. In winter they shelter themselves from the birds of prey under the snow, and run thus a considerable way from one place to another.

The *Wild Ducks* (*anas ferus*) are birds of passage, like the wild geese, but there are some kinds in America that stay there during the summer season. One kind builds its nest in hollow trees, hanging over the water, and when its young are hatched, it throws them into the river, and swims off to some other part.

The *Loon* (*colymbus*) is larger than a duck, but not eatable. It is noted for its swiftness in diving, and therefore difficult to shoot. The Indians make pouches of its skin, large enough to hold their pipe, tobacco, flint and steel, knife, &c.

The *Partridges* (*tetras perdix*) are small. They are mostly found in cultivated grounds; their flesh is tender, and of a fine flavor.

A few green *Parrots* (*psittacus*) are seen in the woods in summer, but are in greater numbers further to the south.

The white *Gull* (*larus*) is frequently seen near rivers and lakes.

The *Wild pigeon* (*columba migratoria*) is of an ash grey color. The cock is distinguished by a red breast. In spring they take their passage to the north, and in autumn return to the south. In some years they flock together in such numbers, that the air is darkened by their flight. Wherever they alight, they make as much havock among the trees and  
garden-

garden-fruits as the locusts. The noise they make is so intolerable, that it is difficult for people near them to hear, or understand each other. In the year 1778 they appeared in such great numbers, that the ground under their resting-places was covered with their dung above a foot high, during one night. The Indians went out, killed them with sticks, and came home loaded. They delight in shooting these wild pigeons, and sometimes kill thirty at a shot. At night, a party of Indians frequently fall out with torches made of straw or wood, and when they get among the birds, light them. The pigeons being dazzled by the sudden glare, are easily knocked off the branches with sticks. Such a party once brought home above eighteen hundred of these birds, which they killed in one night in this manner. Their flesh has a good taste, and is eaten by the Indians either fresh, smoked, or dried. When the Iroquois perceive that the young pigeons are nearly fledged, they cut down the trees with the nests, and sometimes get two hundred young from one tree.

The *Turtle-doves* are smaller than the wild pigeons, and always fly in pairs.

The *Mocking-bird* (*turdus polyglottus*) is somewhat larger than a thrush, and in great numbers. Its song is much like that of a nightingale. The latter is seldom seen in America. But this mimicks the notes of other birds, and even the barking of a dog, and mewing of a cat.

The *Wipperwill* is grey, smaller than a turtle-dove, and generally found in corn-fields. It has received its name from the sound of its voice, which is heard all night long.

The *Blue-bird* is so called from its color, which is a beautiful azure. It makes its appearance in spring before any other summer bird.

There is a bird in these parts, called by the Indians, *the bird of the Great Spirit*, and probably a species of the bird of paradise. It has a beautiful shape, and is as large as a swallow. Its neck is a light green, and four or five feathers,  
three

three times the length of its body, variegated with gold and purple, extend from its tail.

*Snipes*, woodpeckers of different sorts and colors, thrushes with red breasts, swallows, starlings, cat-birds, finches, tom-tits, and wrens, are every where found in great numbers.

The *Colibri* (*trochilus mellifugus*) is the most beautiful of all American birds, and considerably smaller than the wren. The beauty of its plumage is beyond description. One species of these birds has a crest upon its head of the most splendid colors, its breast is red, and the belly white: The back, wings, and tail, are of the richest light green, which, intermixed with tints of gold, cover the rest of its body. It flies like a bee about the flowers of the field, and without perching about them, sucks their honey, which is its only food. This has given it the name of the honey-bird. As it flies very swift, and makes a buzz in the air by the rustling of its wings, it has also received the name of *humming-bird*.

### FISHING.

I am now to describe one of the most favorite diversions of the Indians next to hunting, namely, that of *fishing*. Little boys are even frequently seen wading in shallow brooks, shooting small fishes with their bows and arrows.

The Indians always carry hooks and small harpoons with them, whenever they are on a hunting party; but at certain seasons of the year they go out purposely to fish, either alone, or in parties. They make use of the neat and light canoes made of birch-bark, as described above, for this purpose, and not only venture with them into spacious rivers, but even into the large lakes, and being very light, the waves do not break into them as easily as into European boats. They caulk them with the resinous bark of a species of elm, which they first pound, to prepare it for use. Another kind of canoes are made of the stems of large trees of light wood,  
chiefly

chiefly cypress. These stems are excavated chiefly by fire, and finished with an hatchet. They look like long troughs, and are of various sizes.

There is a particular manner of fishing, which is undertaken in parties, as many hands are wanted, in the following manner: When the *Sbad-fish* (*clupea alofa*) come up the rivers, the Indians run a dam of stones across the stream, where its depth will admit of it, not in a strait line, but in two parts, verging towards each other in an angle. An opening is left in the middle for the water to run off. At this opening they place a large box, the bottom of which is full of holes. They then make a rope of the twigs of the wild vine, reaching across the stream, upon which boughs of about six feet in length are fastened at the distance of about two fathoms from each other. A party is detached about a mile above the dam with this rope and its appendages, who begin to move gently down the current, some guiding one, some the opposite end, whilst others keep the branches from sinking by supporting the rope in the middle with wooden forks. Thus they proceed, frightening the fishes into the opening left in the middle of the dam, where a number of Indians are placed on each side, who standing upon the two legs of the angles, drive the fishes with poles, and an hideous noise, through the opening into the above-mentioned box or chest. Here they lie, the water running off through the holes in the bottom, and other Indians stationed on each side of the chest, take them out, kill them and fill their canoes. By this contrivance they sometimes catch above a thousand shad and other fish in half a day.

In Carolina the Indians frequently use fire in fishing. A certain kind of fish will even leap into the boats, which have fire in them.

Among those fishes, with which the rivers and lakes in the countries belonging to the Delawares and Iroquois are most plentifully stocked, the following deserve to be mentioned:

The *Eagle-fish* has no scales, and its flesh tastes well. In the river Muskingum they are small, but very large in the river Ohio.

There is a fish much resembling the eagle-fish in shape, for which I can find no name. It has an excrescence upon its head, formed much like the bill of a goose, but broader, and about six inches long. With this it penetrates into the sand to seek its food. Its mouth is below the head.

Another (*lophius vespertilio*) nearly resembling the eagle-fish, has four short legs, short fins, a wide mouth, and is about a foot and an half in length.

The *Buffalo-fish* is thus called both by Indians and Europeans, on account of its being heard sometimes to bellow in the water. Its length is about a foot and an half, or even two feet, and its breadth five or six inches. It has a curved back, prickly fins, a narrow mouth, and a small head, in which two white stones are found, flat on one, and a little convex on the other side. It has no teeth, but at the entrance of its throat there are two strong flat bones with grooves, exactly fitting each other. With these it can crack the hardest muscles, which are its chief food, and serve to bait the hook in angling for it. But the Indians commonly pierce this fish with a iron prong, of their own making. If any one should venture to put his finger into its mouth even when to appearance half dead, it would crush it to pieces.

The largest fish in the river Muskingum is the *Sturgeon*, measuring about three or four feet in length.

*Salmon* (*salmo salar*) are deemed the best and most valuable fish caught in these parts. They grow to a very large size, and have red spots like trout. They are caught with great ease in autumn, when they ascend the rivers and brooks, but the salmon-fishery is attended to during the whole summer season.

*Trout* (*salmo fario*) are found in great plenty in all fresh brooks. Some of those caught in Lake Superior are said to be of peculiar excellence, and to weigh above fifty pound.

In

In winter they are hung in the air to dry, and will freeze so hard in one night, that they keep as well as when salted.

*Eels* (*muræna anguilla*) are seldom caught in the rivers Muskingum and Ohio. But in the great lakes, the Indians catch them in baskets, and get frequently some thousands in one night, which they dry in the air. They are generally very fat.

The *Electrical Eel* (*gymnotus electricus*) possesses a peculiar electrical quality, infomuch that if any one touches it, or merely the water which immediately surrounds it, he is instantly seized with a strong electrical shock; but it may be safely caught with silken nets or lines. All other fishes avoid it, except a few species of crabs, upon which its electrical quality seems to have no effect.

The *Cat-fish* (*silurus catus*) is about eighteen inches long, of a light brown color, without scales, having a large round head like a he-cat. Three or four sharp and strong horns of about two inches in length, grow upon its head, its fins are bony and very hard, and its weight is commonly five or six pounds. The flesh of this fish is very rich, and in taste resembles an eel.

The above mentioned *Shad* (*clupea alosa*) weighs about four pounds, and when pickled is not unlike an herring in flavor.

The *Rock-fish* is large, and some are found to weigh above ten pound. It has strong bones, and its flesh is white, of an agreeable taste.

*Pike* or *Jack* (*esox lucius*) grow to an astonishing size in the river Ohio.

In some places *Carp* (*cyprinus carpis*) are also found.

The *Black-fish*, called thus by the Indians, has large, brown scales, a small head, and a small, round, soft mouth with no teeth in it. Its shape is not broad, but round. It is reckoned one of the best flavored.

The *River-tortoise* of these parts is a species different from that found in Pennsylvania, which has a hard shell. The shell of this is quite soft, and its head small and pointed

like a sea-tortoise. The Indians shoot them, for they are not easily caught in any other way, as they seldom venture out of the water upon the banks of the river.

Large *Crabs* are found in all rivers, which have the benefit of the tide. The mode of catching them in use among the Indians, is to tie a piece of meat to a string of twisted bast, which they throw into the stream. The crabs lay hold of the meat, and are easily drawn out.

In the spring of the year 1756, two seals (*phoca vitulina*) came up the river Susquehannah to Wajomick, about four hundred miles from the sea, and were shot by some Indians. They could not sufficiently express their astonishment at the sight of these unknown animals. At length a council was summoned, to consider whether it would be proper to eat them or not; when an old Indian rose and observed, that as God had sent them, they could not but be good to eat. They approved of his opinion, made a feast, and found the flesh a very palatable dish.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### *Trade of the Indians. Their Mode of Travelling, Dancing, and other Amusements.*

**T**HE goods, sold by the Europeans to the Indians, consist chiefly of the following articles:

Cloth, linen, ready-made shirts, blankets, cottons, callimancos, thread, worsted and silk lace, powder and shot, rifle-barrelled guns, wampom, knives, colors, wire, brass kettles, silver sleeve and other buttons, buckles, bracelets, thimbles, needles, rings, looking-glasses, combs, hatchets, and other tools. For these they exchange deer, beaver, otter, racoon, fox, wild-cat, and other skins, &c.

As the Delawares are the best huntsmen, they have consequently more intercourse with the European traders, who, in time of peace, bring their wares very frequently into the Delaware towns, and carry on a far more considerable trade with them than with the Iroquois and other Indian nations.

Most goods have a fixed price; yet an Indian is often tempted to purchase an article at a very exorbitant price. But if in a short time he should repent of his bargain, he may return it, and the fixed price is repaid.

The Indians cannot easily deceive a trader: but they are greatly pleased, if they can purloin, or in any manner deprive a trader of his goods. They are fond of buying upon credit, promising to pay when they return from hunting. But if on their return they find other traders in the country, they barter with them, and trouble themselves no longer about their creditors. If the latter remind them of their debts, they are offended; for to pay old debts seems to them to be giving away their goods for nothing.

When the Indians suspect a war approaching, they keep it secret, and take as many goods upon credit as they can get. For as soon as the war breaks out, all debts are cancelled, and the poor traders are the first in danger, not only to lose their property but their lives, nor do they even dare venture too soon among them, after peace is re-established. In the late Indian war about the year 1763, there being a general appearance of peace, a numerous body of traders ventured to go with a great quantity of goods into the country of the Hurons. The latter heard of it, and sent a party of warriors to meet them; but perceiving that the traders were too powerful for them, they had recourse to the following stratagem: They told the traders, that the war having broke out afresh, a large body of warriors had set out to kill and plunder them; but that they, moved with compassion, came with all haste to prevent it, and to point out a mode by which they might escape with their lives, *viz.* that they should suffer themselves to be bound and kept by them

as prisoners. When afterwards the other troop, whom they declared to be very near at hand, should come, and see that they were prisoners, they would do them no harm. Then they would escort them with safety into their villages, and not suffer them to lose any of their goods. The traders foolishly believed them: they suffered themselves to be bound, and even assisted in binding each other, but no sooner had they done this, than they were all murdered by their pretended friends. The Hurons enriched themselves with the spoil, and boasted every-where of their address in deceiving the white people.

The most ruinous part of the Indian trade is that of rum.

In peace, and especially about the time of their annual sacrifices, the dealers in rum infest the country, abusing the simplicity of the Indians, from the shameful desire after gain. For when they once get into the practice of drinking, they will sell all they have, for nothing is so useful or precious which they will not part with for rum. Of this a missionary saw a remarkable instance in Shomokin on the Susquehannah. A dealer in rum, placing himself upon a spot of ground where many Indians were assembled, with a small barrel, into which he had put a straw, invited any one to come and suck gratis. An Indian man approached with pensive mien, and slow steps; but suddenly turning about, ran off precipitately. Soon after, he returned and did the same. But the third time, he suffered himself to be seduced by the trader to taste a little. He had hardly tasted it, before he began to barter all the wampom he had for a dram: After this, he parted with every thing he had, even with his gun, and the blanket he wore, to purchase more.

They have frequently been moved by sorrow and remorse for the loss of what was most useful and valuable to them, to entreat the chief magistrates of the Europeans to prohibit the importation of rum into their country. But these prohibitions are of little avail; for if even the rum-traders are kept back for a time, the Indians will go in search of them,  
and

and many of their own nation, especially the women, carry on this traffic.

The repeated resolutions and orders of their own Chiefs and Captains, prohibiting the importation of rum, have had no better effect in preventing this evil. The lawgivers themselves are often the first to transgress, and the Indians are cunning enough to find means of procuring it. For example, they appoint a sacrifice of rum, in which nothing but rum is used, and as the Chiefs never hinder any thing which has the appearance of an act of devotion, they cannot prevent them from getting it.

In trading among themselves, they make no scruple of deceiving each other in the most shameful manner. The Indian trader demands an exorbitant price, well knowing that unless the buyer were in great distress, or fully intent upon purchasing the bargain, he would much rather deal with an European. Wampom supplies the place of money, being of as much value to them as gold, silver, and jewels are to the white people. The Cherokees, who of late have had much intercourse with the Delawares, carry on a pretty brisk trade with a kind of tobacco-pipe heads, of a black color, light weight, and remarkably neat workmanship.

When the Indians are going on a journey, they pretend to be careless about the weather: yet in their prayers they frequently ask for a clear and pleasant sky. The food they take with them, is the flour of Indian corn, which they either eat dry, or mix with sugar and water. This makes a cooling and nourishing draught. They also boil it into a kind of soup.

They never take bread of Indian corn for a long journey, for in summer it will spoil in three or four days, and is unfit for food. As to meat, they find it every-where in the forest. Formerly they carried fire with them, using a kind of fungus for this purpose. But now they are generally provided with an European tinder-box. They are never in great haste in travelling, for they seem every-where

at home in the forests. They seldom forsake their sleeping-place very early, first eating a hearty meal, and examining their clothes, which often want mending, before they start. This is very troublesome to Europeans, who are straightened for time, or wish to be soon at their journey's end, and yet it is by far the best to let them have their own way, lest they should grow sulky; for their assistance as guides is most essentially necessary. But when they have once started, they will seldom stop, till after sun-set, when they seek a night's lodging in some convenient place. If it rains, they peel some trees, and in a very short time build an hut of bark, or rather a roof fixed upon four poles, stuck into the ground, under which they may sleep dry.

We have already observed, that they travel through the woods for days together, without any trace of a path, and yet never go astray. Difficulties never prevent them. If they meet with rivers and brooks, in which the waters are so high, that no European would judge it possible to pass over, they are not intimidated, but swim across the most rapid current with great strength and dexterity.

If they travel in company, they have all things in common. They usually appoint one to be their leader, and the young men hunt by the way. If they kill a deer, they bring it to the rendezvous, lay it down by the fire, and expect, that the leader will distribute it among the whole party. When the chiefs travel, they generally take some young men with them, to hunt for them.

The thickness of the woods, and the various kinds of plants and long grass, which entangle the feet of a traveller, render a journey in these countries very troublesome. The musquitoes are also a great torment, in passing through the woods. The Indians defend themselves at night from their attack, by lying in the smoke of their fires.

In some parts, bands of robbers infest the woods, who attack and plunder travellers; nor do they even spare their own countrymen. They commonly consist of persons expelled

pelled from their respective tribes, on account of some enormous crime, which rendered them infamous. In the country of the Iroquois and further north, where the winters are severe with much snow, the Indians are provided with snow-shoes, which enable them to walk over the deepest snow. These shoes are made of hoops, rounded in front, wide in the middle, and running to a point behind. The soles consist of small thongs of deer-skin, woven like a net with wide meshes, that the snow may easily pass through. Towards the fore-part of the shoe, near the middle, is a cross piece of wood, with two small holes at each end, through which leather straps are drawn. By these straps it is fastened to the foot, which rests upon the cross wood, the longer part of the shoe dragging behind. On the banks of the Mufkingum, where there is less snow, such shoes are not in use, and therefore the Delawares are not so well fitted out for a winter's journey as the Iroquois. The sledges in use among the Indians, are made of two thin boards, fastened sideways together, about two feet broad, and six long. They are bent upwards in front, and have little hand-rails on each side.

If a single Indian has occasion to pass a river or bay, he soon builds a canoe: taking a long piece of bark, of proportionable breadth, to which he gives the proper form, by fastening it to ribs of light wood, bent so as to suit his purpose. But if there are more in company, they make a large canoe, as above described, ingeniously constructed of pieces of bark, carefully sewed together. Large canoes do not easily overfet, being broad bottomed: they will carry a great weight, but seldom last longer than one year. Formerly they were in common use, but are now only made in case of necessity, the Indians being furnished with proper tools, with which they build boats with ease. If the voyage is expected to be long, many Indians carry every thing they want for their night's lodging with them, namely, some slender poles, and rush-mats, or birch-bark.

When the men are at home, they amuse themselves with diversions of various kinds, in which the women join them as much as their time will permit.

*Dancing* is their most favorite amusement. All solemn meetings are celebrated with a dance, nor does a night pass, in which there is not a dance in one family or other, to which the young people of both sexes resort with eagerness.

The Delawares and Iroquois have different modes of dancing. The common dance is held either in a large house, or in an open field around a fire. In dancing they form a circle, and always have a leader, whom the whole company attend to. The men go before, and the women close the circle. The latter dance with great decency, as if engaged in the most serious business; they never speak a word to the men, much less joke with them, which would injure their character. They neither jump nor skip, but move one foot lightly forward, and then backward, yet so as to advance gradually, till they reach a certain spot, and then retire in the same manner. They keep their bodies strait, and their arms hanging down close to their bodies. But the men shout, leap, and stamp with such violence that the ground trembles under their feet. Their extreme agility and lightness of foot is never displayed to more advantage than in dancing. Their whole music consists in a single drum. This is made of an old barrel or kettle, or the lower end of a hollow tree, covered with a thin deer-skin, and beat with one stick. Its sound is disagreeable, and serves only to mark the time, which the Indians, when dancing even in the greatest numbers, keep with due exactness. When one round is finished, they take some rest, during which the drummer continues to sing, till another dance commences. These dances last commonly till midnight.

Another kind of dance is only attended by the men. Each rises in his turn, and dances with great agility and boldness, extolling his own or his forefathers' great deeds in a song,

song, to which the whole company beat time, by a monotonous rough note, given out with great vehemence at the commencement of each bar.

Some dances held upon particular occasions differ much from the above. Of these the chief is the dance of peace, called also the *calumet* or pipe-dance, because the *calumet* or pipe of peace is handed about during the dance. This is the most pleasing to strangers, who attend as spectators; its appearance being peaceable, and not so dreadful as the former. The dancers join hands, and leap in a ring for some time. Suddenly the leader lets the hand of one of his partners go, keeping hold of the other. He then springs forward, and turns round several times, by which he draws the whole company round so as to be enclosed by them, when they stand close together. They disengage themselves as suddenly, yet keeping their hold of each others' hands during all the different revolutions and changes in the dance: which, as they explain it, represents the chain of friendship. A song, made purposely for this solemnity, is sung by all.

The war-dance, held either before or after a campaign, is dreadful to behold. No one takes share in it, but the warriors themselves. They appear armed as if going to battle. One carries his gun, or an hatchet, another a long knife, the third a tomahawk, the fourth a large club; or they all appear armed with tomahawks. These they brandish in the air, to signify how they intend to treat or have treated their enemies. They affect such an air of anger and fury on this occasion, that it makes a spectator shudder to behold them. A Chief leads the dance, and sings the warlike deeds of himself or his ancestors. At the end of every celebrated feat of valor, he wields his tomahawk with all his might against a post fixed in the ground. He is then followed by the rest, each finishing his round by a blow against the post. Then they dance all together, and this is the most frightful scene. They affect the most horrible and dreadful gestures, threatening to beat, cut, and stab each other. They are  
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however amazingly-dextrous in avoiding the threatened danger. To complete the horror of the scene, they howl as dreadfully as in actual fight, so that they appear as raving madmen. During the dance they sometimes found a kind of pipe, made of reed, which has a shrill and disagreeable note. The Iroquois use the war-dance even in times of peace, with a view to celebrate the heroic deeds of their Chiefs in a solemn manner.

The sacrificial dance is held at the solemnization of their sacrifices.

The Indians are naturally given to gambling, and frequently risk their arms, furniture, clothes, and all they possess, to gratify this passion. The chief game of the Iroquois and Delawares is *dice*, which indeed originated with them. The dice are made of oval and flattish plum-stones, painted black on one, and yellow on the other side. Two persons only can play at one time. They put the dice into a dish, which is raised alternately by each gambler, and struck on the table or floor with force enough to make the dice rise and change their position; when he who has the greater number of the winning color, counts five, and the first who has the good fortune to do this eight times, wins the game.

The spectators seem in great agitation during the game, and at every chance that appears decisive, cry out with great vehemence. The gamblers distort their features, and if unsuccessful, mutter their displeasure at the dice and the evil spirits who prevent their good fortune.

Sometimes whole townships, and even whole tribes, play against each other. One of the missionaries happened to be present, when two Iroquois townships, having got together a number of goods, consisting of blankets, cloth, shirts, linen, &c. gambled for them. The game lasted eight days. They assembled every day, and every inhabitant of each township tossed the dice once. This being done, and the chance of each person noted down, they parted for that day. But each township offered a sacrifice in the evening, to ensure success to their party.

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This was done by a man going several times round the fire, throwing tobacco into it, and singing a song. Afterwards the whole company danced. When the appointed time for the game was at an end, they compared notes, and the winners bore away the spoil in triumph.

Cards, skittles, and foot-ball, were introduced among them by the Europeans.

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## CHAPTER IX.

### *Diseases of the Indians, and their Cure. Funerals and Mourning of the Savages.*

THE Indians here spoken of have in general a greater number of diseases than the Europeans, which is chiefly owing to their manner of living, especially in hunting, for they do not walk leisurely through the woods, to come suddenly upon their game, but run with such swiftness and perseverance that they even weary the deer, and sometimes follow it to the distance of ten miles from their huts. Besides this, they lift and carry burdens without the least thought or caution about the consequences. An Indian makes nothing of dragging a deer of one hundred or one hundred and fifty pound weight home, through a very considerable tract of forest; at least he affects not to feel its weight, even when it is evident that he is quite exhausted. Sometimes they fast from morning till late at night, and then, making a sudden transition from hunger and want to the greatest plenty, they gratify their voracious appetites without constraint. The painful consequences of these irregularities are too visible in old age.

The women carry every thing on their heads, fastened by a thong round their foreheads. By means of this, they frequently support above an hundred weight, the load being placed so

as to rest also upon their backs. This may be the cause of the frequent pains and stiffness of the neck and back, with which the old women are so frequently afflicted.

The most common diseases among the Indians are the pleurisy, weakness and pains in the stomach and breast, consumption, rheumatism, diarrhoea, bloody flux, agues, and inflammatory fevers. Epilepsy and madness are not frequent. Floodings are common among the women, even in old age.

The small-pox was brought by the Europeans into the country, and is one of the principal causes of their dislike to them. For they detest and dread this disease more than any other, and are never more destitute of courage and prudence, than when it appears among them. They leave their nearest relations to die in the woods, and content themselves with bringing them a little food and drink. The patients themselves appear in despair, and know not how to support life with patience. Most of them die before the small-pox appear.

For some time past the venereal disease has also made its appearance among them. They charge the Europeans with having introduced also this plague.

The Indians are in general bad nurses. As long as a man can eat, they will not own that he is ill; and never pronounce his case dangerous, until he has entirely lost his appetite. If a patient is become sore, from long lying, they put him upon a bed of straw or hay near the fire, and make a hole under him to serve as a bed-pan. A thin soup of pounded Indian corn without butter or salt, is the common diet of the sick. Such as do not approve of this regimen, eat and drink what they please, though dangerously ill.

Their general remedy for all disorders, small or great, is a sweat. For this purpose they have in every town an oven, situated at some distance from the dwellings, built either of stakes and boards covered with sods, or dug in the side of a hill, and heated with some red-hot stones. Into this the patient creeps naked, and the heat soon throws him into such a

profuse sweat, that it falls from him in large drops. As soon as he finds himself too hot, he creeps out, and immediately plunges himself into the river, where he continues about half a minute, and retires again into the oven. Having performed this operation three times successively, he smokes his pipe with composure, and in many cases the cure is complete.

The women have either an oven for their own use, or do not attempt this mode of cure.

In some places ovens are constructed large enough to receive several persons. Some chuse to pour water now and then upon the heated stones, to increase the steam, and promote a more profuse sweat. Many Indians in health, make a practice of going into the oven about twice a week to renew their strength and spirits. Some pretend by this operation to prepare themselves for a business which requires mature deliberation and artifice.

If the sweat does not answer in removing the disorder, other means are applied. Most Indians believe, that no medicine has any efficacy, unless administered by a professed physician, which many persons of both sexes pretend to be. They have learnt their art either by instructions received from others, or by experiments made with different herbs and plants. Old men, who can hunt no more, commence physicians, in order to procure a comfortable livelihood. One is acquainted with the virtue of herbs, another with that of barks; but they seldom know how, and when, to suit the medicine to their patient's case, and thus many fall victims to their ignorance. They generally make a secret of their knowledge, which commonly perishes with them. Some however leave it as an inheritance to their children or friends, by instructing them before their death.

An Indian physician never applies his medicines without accompanying them with mysterious ceremonies, to make their effect appear supernatural. He thinks this the more necessary, because his patient believes his illness to proceed from

from an invisible agent. He therefore prepares his roots and herbs with the most singular ceremonies, and in mixing them up, invokes the aid of the Great Spirit, with whom he pretends to live in great intimacy. He also accompanies his directions and advice with various gesticulations and enigmatical expressions. He pretends to drive the bad spirit, who has brought on the disorder, into the desert, and there to bind him fast. For this reason he demands the strictest obedience to his prescriptions, and frequently assures his patient with great emphasis, that whoever despises him and his medicines, must infallibly perish.

These physicians also assert, that they have received in a dream a commission from above to exercise their art, in which a power was imparted to them to heal the sick. This trick is frequently played off with success, when their good reputation is on the decline. They require an enormous fee. If a patient sends for a physician, his fee must be ready, making no mean appearance, when he enters the house. If it is but small, the patient must not expect either much medicine, or many ceremonies, and even the medicines are not deemed of great efficacy. Therefore if he is not rich enough himself, his relations frequently make up the deficiency. The physician then proceeds in good earnest, affects a grave and solemn countenance, pronounces with great confidence the name of the disease, points out its nature and origin, and foretels the event. He then proceeds to prescribe the diet, and the particular sacrifice necessary for the occasion, and lastly produces his medicines. If the patient begins to recover, he ascribes it to the skill of his physician, but if he should grow worse, he discards him, and employs a second, third, and fourth, till he is reduced to the last degree of poverty.

In disorders peculiar to females, the female physicians know many very powerful modes of cure. In hard labors, which though not frequently, yet sometimes happen, they are very ready in administering the most efficacious assistance.

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If mothers cannot suckle their children for want of milk, they prepare a very wholesome substitute. But they also keep their knowledge a profound secret.

The ceremonies, used by the Indian physicians in performing their cures, are various. Many breathe upon the sick, pretending that their breath is wholesome, and afterwards spirt a certain liquor made of herbs out of their mouth, over the patient's whole body, distorting their features, and roaring dreadfully. Sometimes the physician creeps into the oven, where he sweats, howls and roars, and now and then grins horribly at his patient, who is laid before the opening, frequently feeling his pulse. He then pronounces sentence, and foretels either his recovery or death. One of the missionaries happened to be present, when an Indian physician had put on a large bear-skin, so that his arms were covered with the fore-legs, his feet with the hind-legs, and his head was entirely concealed in the bear's head, with the addition of glass eyes. He came in this attire with a calabash in his hand, accompanied by a great crowd of people into the patient's hut, singing and dancing, when he grasped a handful of hot ashes, and scattering them into the air with a horrid noise, approached the patient, and began to play several legerdemain tricks with some small bits of wood, by which he pretended to be able to restore him to health.

The common people believe that by the rattling of the calabash, the physician has power to make the spirits discover the cause of the disease, and even to evade the malice of the evil spirit who occasioned it. Notwithstanding the Indians are convinced of the imposition practised upon them, yet they continue to employ the physician, fearing the consequences of his hidden art to destroy them by poison. They are therefore consulted in all cases, both internal and external. Yet many a patient is saved by the good advice of a kind neighbor, after having employed several physicians without success.

An Indian is now and then obliged to become physician even against his inclination. For if a patient expresses peculiar confidence in him, and persists in asking his advice and assistance, he is fearful of refusing, lest the consequences might be some time or other fatal to him. If he is rash, and fortunate enough to cure his patient, his fee is as great as that of the most skilful practitioner.

In dangerous cases, their treatment is remarkably bold and violent, as they suppose that a violent disorder requires a violent cure. They are acquainted with various excellent remedies for inflammatory fevers, and are capable of foretelling pretty soon whether their patient will survive or not, by the immediate effect of their medicine. If the patient soon rejects it, they do not expect his recovery, and experience frequently justifies their conjectures. In internal disorders, which the Indians are least acquainted with, they generally prefer the advice of an European physician, for whom they have great respect. Even the Indian physicians endeavour to learn as much from them as they can. When the Indians joined the French against the English in 1756, the venereal disease was introduced among them, for which they knew no remedy. But having seen several persons cured by European surgeons, they soon made the trial themselves, and are said to be successful in it.

One great fault of their physicians is, that they know not how to proportion the strength of their medicines to that of the patient's constitution. External injuries they treat pretty well, and especially are well skilled in healing bruises and wounds. They also extract splinters, pieces of iron, and balls, so carefully that the wound is not enlarged by the operation. They are perfect masters in the treatment of fractures and dislocations. The former occur less frequently than the latter. If an Indian has dislocated his foot or knee, when hunting alone, he creeps to the next tree, and tying one end of his strap to it, fastens the other to the dislocated limb, and lying on his back, continues to pull till it is reduced.

In burnings and chilblains they use a decoction of beech leaves, as a speedy and successful remedy. A warm poultice, made of the flour of Indian corn, is laid upon all boils and impostumes, till they are ripe, when they are opened with a lancet. In letting blood, a small piece of flint or glass is fastened to a wooden handle, and placed upon the vein; which they strike, till the blood gushes out. Teeth are drawn with a common pair of pincers, and if the patient moans or cries out during such uncouth operations, he is heartily laughed at by the physician and the company present.

Rheumatism is considered by them as a mere external disorder. They therefore prescribe nothing inwardly, but scarify those parts of the body where the pain is most violent. In cupping, they make small incisions on the skin with a knife, upon which they place a small calabash, and for a lamp use a piece of lighted birch-bark. Some indeed take medicines inwardly, which often effect a radical cure. If a decoction of two or three different roots will not answer, they make a composition of twenty various sorts. Yet bathing and sweating are considered as the most powerful remedies. Some apply the bark of the white walnut to the part affected, by which the pain is frequently removed, and an eruption produced in some part of the body. It is extremely acrid, and occasions a pungent pain on that part of the skin to which it is applied, which afterwards appears as if it had been scorched. For the head-ach they apply a small piece of this bark on the temples, and for the tooth-ach, on the cheek, near to the tooth affected. A strong decoction of it used warm to a fresh wound, is an excellent styptic, and prevents a swelling of the parts. But after it has been applied for a day or two, it must be changed for a decoction of the root of sarsaparilla, which is of such a healing quality, that the wound closes in a short time.

The Indians are remarkably skilled in curing the bite of venomous serpents, and have found a medicine peculiarly

adapted to the bite of each species. For example: The leaf of the *rattlesnake-root* (*polygala Senega*) is the most efficacious remedy against the bite of this dreadful animal. God has mercifully granted it to grow in the greatest plenty in all parts most infested by the rattlesnake. It is very remarkable, that this herb acquires its greatest perfection just at the time when the bite of these serpents is the most dangerous. The Indians are so well convinced of the certainty of this antidote, that many will suffer themselves to be bitten for a glass of brandy. The leaves are chewed, and immediately applied to the wound, and either some of the juice or a little fat or butter is swallowed at the same time. This occasions a parching thirst, but the patient must not be suffered to drink. *Virginian Snake-root* chewed, makes also an excellent poultice for wounds of this kind. A decoction of the buds or bark of the *white ash* (*fraxinus Carolina*) taken inwardly, is said to be a certain remedy against the effects of this poison. Salt has lately been found to be a powerful antidote; and if immediately applied to the wound, or dissolved in water, and used as a lotion, no danger is to be feared. The fat of the serpent itself, rubbed into the wound, is thought to be efficacious. If the cure be neglected, the consequences are terrible. But even those who are cured by the above means, have a certain annual sensation of the dreadful symptoms felt when first bitten.

The flesh of the rattlesnake dried, and boiled to a broth, is said to be more nourishing than that of the viper, and of service in consumptions. Their gall is likewise used as a medicine. The same means are applied for the recovery of cattle that have been bitten, and their efficacy appears even sooner than in men.

The skin, shed annually by the rattlesnakes, is dried and pounded fine by the Indians, who use it internally, for many purposes. A decoction of the bark and root of the *thorny ash* (*aralia spinosa*) is used as a purifier of the blood. The Indian physicians make up their medicines in very large draughts: for if their apparatus does not make a formidable show, it is thought

thought of little or no effect, and the medicines being much diluted, may be taken in large potions without injury.

I will here insert a brief catalogue of some officinal plants in use among the Indians.

The *Toothach-tree* (*zanthoxylum clava Herculis*) resembles the ash, and is thus called, because the Indians use its wood as a remedy against tooth-ach.

The *Tulip-tree* (*liriodendron tulipifera*) grows in Pennsylvania, and all the southern provinces, and is one of the tallest and stoutest trees. The stem is frequently seven yards in circumference, and is used for boards, boats, dishes, spoons, and cabinet-work. Its flower has a magnificent appearance, but the fruit gives it that particular name, which resembles a tulip closed. Some Indians consider the fruit, and the bark of the roots, as a powerful specific against agues.

*Dogwood* (*cornus florida*) is neither tall nor bulky. Many believe its virtues to be the same as those of the Peruvian bark.

*Wild Laurel* (*laurus æstivalis*) grows in abundance in low rich grounds: The berries are smaller than those of the common laurel, but have nearly the same taste. The wood has a strong aromatic smell and taste, and the Indians prepare a medicinal draught from it.

*Sassafras* (*laurus sassafras*) rises sometimes to more than thirty feet in height; but in general, and particularly in northern latitudes, seldom exceeds that of a common shrub. The bark and root is preferable to the wood itself. The flowers serve for tea, and the Indians also use the berries as a medicine.

The *Canada shrubby elder* (*sambucus Canadensis*) resembles the elder, and bears a small berry of a reddish hue and aromatic smell. A decoction of the wood or buds is an excellent remedy in agues, and the Indians use it likewise for inflammations.

The *Poison-ash* (*rhhus vernix*) is remarkable for poisoning some persons at a distance, when the wind carries its exhalations towards them; although others may touch, or even chew its bark and leaves without the least prejudice. Its

poison is not deadly; but produces a swelling of the whole body, with an eruption, which, when ripe, resembles the small-pox. The Indians cure it by drinking saffron-tea, and using a salve made of cream and marshmallow.

*Wintergreen* (*pyrola umbellata*) has a white flower. The berries are red, as large as floes, smooth and round, and ripen in winter under the snow. The Indians eat these berries as a stomachic.

A species of *Liverwort* is considered as an efficacious remedy in consumptive disorders.

*Virginian Poke* (*phytolacca decandra*) is a large herb, with leaves about six inches long, and two broad, bearing a red berry, called by some pigeon-berry, the pigeons being extremely fond of them. Applications of the roots to the hands and feet are used as stimulants in fevers.

*Jalap* (*convolvulus jalappa*) grows in abundance in the Indian country, and is prescribed as a purgative. In the rheumatism of the legs they roast the roots, then slit and apply them to the soles of the feet as hot as the patient can bear.

*Ipecacuanha* is used not only as an emetic, but also as an antidote against the bite of serpents.

*Sarsaparilla* (*smilax sarsaparilla*) grows in great abundance in the country of the Iroquois. The root is used in medicine, and its virtues are well known.

*Canadian Sanicle* (*sanicula Canadensis*); a tincture of its root prepared with brandy is applied to wounds.

A species of *Scabious* (*scabiosa succisa*) commonly called Devil's-bit, on account of the singularity of its root, is also used as a medicine.

*Bloodwort* (*sanguinaria Canadensis*). The root of this plant when broken, emits some drops of the color of blood, which is a strong and dangerous emetic.

*Cuckoo-pint* (*arum maculatum*) has a root like a small nut; when tasted it inflames the tongue by its pungency, leaving a tingling sensation, without affecting any other part of the mouth. When dried it loses this power, and is made use of in complaints of the bowels.

*Virginian*

*Virginian Snakeroot* (*aristolochia serpentaria*) is excessively bitter, and much in use among the Indians as a sudorific and stomachic.

*Ginseng* (*panox quinquefolium*), a plant brought first from Corea to Europe by way of Japan, grows wild in North America. In China and other countries in Asia, this root is deemed an universal remedy, in every kind of disorder. When chewed, it is an excellent stomachic. Formerly it was very dear, and sold in Holland for twenty-five florins a pound. But about thirty years ago a merchant in North America received a commission to send a large quantity of this root to London. He employed some Indians to collect as much as they could get, for which he rewarded them handsomely. Its price of course was greatly lowered, when found in such plenty.

One of the most favorite medicines used by the Indians is the *Fossil oil* (*petroleum*) exuding from the earth, commonly with water. It is said that an Indian in the small-pox, lay down in a morass to cool himself, and soon recovered. This led to the discovery of an oil-spring in the morass, and since that time many others have been found both in the country of the Delawares and the Iroquois. They are observed both in running and standing water. In the latter the oil swims on the surface, and is easily skimmed off. But in rivers it is carried away by the stream. Two have been discovered by the missionaries in the river Ohio. They are easily found, by the strong smell they emit, and even those in rivers and brooks may be smelt at the distance of four or five hundred paces. The soil in the neighborhood of these springs is poor, cold, loamy, or covered with sand. Neither grass nor wood thrives in it, except some small crippled oaks. It does not seem to proceed from a vein of coals, for no coals have been as yet discovered in the neighborhood of the springs, but strata of sand-stone only. And in the neighborhood of the coal-pits, on the banks of the Muskingum, not the least sign of an oil-spring has hitherto been discovered, though the Indians have made the most diligent search.

This oil is of a brown color, and smells something like tar. When the Indians collect it from a standing water, they first throw away that which floats on the top, as it smells stronger than that below it. Then they agitate the water violently with a stick, the quantity of oil increases with the motion of the water, and after it has settled again, the oil is skimmed off into kettles, and completely separated from the water by boiling. They use it chiefly in external complaints, especially in the head-ach, tooth-ach, swellings, rheumatism, dislocations, &c. rubbing the part affected with it.

Some take it inwardly, and it has not been found to do harm. It will burn in a lamp. The Indians sometimes sell it to the white people at four guineas a quart.

One of the most melancholy causes of painful disorders and sudden deaths among the Indians is the use of poison. There is no want of poisonous herbs and trees for this purpose, and their noxious qualities are very different. One kind of poison operates by slow degrees, but brings on certain death in three or four months. Another sort causes a lingering illness, which may last a year or longer, but cannot be removed by any means whatever. A third species of poison kills in a few hours, but its effect may be prevented by a timely vomit. This is generally taken by those Indians who destroy themselves.

The Nantikoks instructed the Delawares and Iroquois in preparing a peculiar kind of poison, which is capable of infecting whole townships and tribes, with disorders as pernicious as the plague. The Nantikoks, who were the wretched inventors of this art, have nearly destroyed their own nation by it. They pretend that this method is inefficacious, unless a company of murderers unite in the same design. The Delawares have attempted to extirpate this shocking evil, but in vain, and they are therefore always in danger of poison.

The forcerers are supposed to occasion certain uncommon diseases. The Indians pretend, that a skilful forcerer may kill a man in the space of twenty-four hours without  
poison,

poison, merely by the black art, even at a distance of four or five hundred miles. Others are said to have the power of causing a long and lingering disorder by witchcraft. As soon as their physicians suppose the patient to be bewitched, they know not how to proceed. But if they perceive, that the patient merely imagines himself bewitched, they encourage his suspicions, that they may have the reputation of counter-acting even the power of magic, in case their medicines succeed in removing the complaint.

The Indians say that their poison and witchcraft has no effect upon the white people, because they eat so much salt in their victuals. But this is merely a pretence for deception, as there are instances of Europeans having fallen victims to their skill in poisoning.

Immediately after the death of an Indian, the corpse is dressed in a new suit; with the face and shirt painted red, and laid upon a mat or skin in the middle of the hut or cottage. The arms and effects of the deceased are then piled up near the body. In the evening soon after sunset, and in the morning before day-break, the female relations and friends assemble around the corpse, and mourn over it. Their lamentations are loud in proportion to the love and esteem they bore to the deceased, or to his rank, or the pains he suffered in dying; and they are repeated daily, till his interment.

The burying-places are at some distance from the dwellings. The graves are generally dug by old women, as the young people abhor this kind of work. Before they had hatchets and other tools, they used to line the inside of the grave with the bark of trees, and when the corpse was let down, they placed some pieces of wood across, which were again covered with bark, and then the earth thrown in, to fill up the grave. But now they usually place three boards, not nailed together, into the grave, in such a manner that the corpse may lie between them. A fourth board being laid over it as a cover, the grave is filled up with earth. Now and then they procure a proper coffin.

They used formerly to put a tobacco-pouch, knife, tinder-box, tobacco and pipe, bow and arrows, gun, powder and shot, skins and cloth for clothes, paint, a small bag of Indian corn or dried bilberries, sometimes the kettle, hatchet, and other furniture of the deceased, into the grave, supposing that the departed spirits would have the same wants and occupations in the land of souls. But this custom is almost entirely abolished in the country of the Delawares and Iroquois.

If they have a coffin, it is placed in the grave empty. Then the corpse is carried out, lying upon a linen cloth, full in view, that the finery and ornaments, with all the effects left by the deceased, may appear to advantage, and accompanied by as great a number of friends as can be collected. It is then let down into the coffin, covered with the cloth, and the lid being nailed down, the grave is filled up with earth. During the letting down of the corpse the women set up a dreadful howl, but it is deemed a shame in a man to weep. Yet in silence and unobserved, they cannot refrain from tears. At the head of the corpse, which always lies towards the east, a tall post is erected, pointing out who is buried there. If the deceased was the Chief of a tribe or nation, this post is only neatly carved, but not painted. But if he was a captain, it is painted red, and his head and glorious deeds are portrayed upon it. This is also done in honor of a great warrior; his warlike deeds being exhibited in red colors. The burial-post of a physician is hung with small tortoise-shells or a calabash, which he used in his practice.

After the burial the greater part of the goods left by the deceased are distributed among those who assisted in burying him, and are not related to him. The rest is given to the strangers present, each receiving a share. Such distributions consequently cannot be expected at the funeral of children or very poor people.

After the ceremony is over, the mother, grandmother, and other near relations retire after sunset, and in the morning  
early,

early, to weep over the grave. This they repeat daily for some time, but gradually less and less, till the mourning is over. Sometimes they place victuals upon the grave, that the deceased may not suffer hunger.

The first degree of mourning in a widow consists in her sitting down in the ashes near the fire, and weeping most bitterly; she then rises and runs to the grave, where she makes loud lamentations, returning again to her seat in the ashes. She will neither eat, drink, nor sleep, and refuses all consolation. But after some time she suffers herself to be persuaded to rise, drink some rum, and receive comfort. However, she must attend to the second degree of mourning for one whole year, that is, to dress without any ornaments, and wash herself but seldom. As soon as she appears decent, combs and anoints her hair, and washes herself clean, it is considered as a sign that she wishes to marry again.

The men alter neither their dress nor manner of living during the mourning.

The Nantikoks have this singular custom, that about three, four, or more months after the funeral they open the grave, take out the bones, clean and dry them, wrap them up in new linen, and inter them again. A feast is provided for the occasion, consisting of the best they can afford.

When an Indian of rank dies, embassies are frequently sent from very distant Indian tribes, to condole with the relations. The ambassadors deliver their message with the most ceremonious solemnity, and wipe off the tears with presents. When a Chief is in mourning, no complaint is brought before him, and no advice asked in any affair of state; even the most important embassies from other nations cannot be attended to by him, till the mourning is over, and he is comforted. This is commonly done by delivering a string or fathom of wampom, and addressing him to the following effect: “ We bury the remains of the deceased, and cover  
 “ the grave with bark; that neither the dew of heaven, nor  
 “ rain, may fall upon it. We wipe off the tears from your  
 “ eyes, and take all sorrow from your heart. We put your  
 “ heart

“ heart in good order, and make it cheerful, &c.” The mourning is then over, and he enters again upon his office.

But when rich Europeans intend to comfort a Chief, they not only give a string of wampom, but wrap the corpse of the deceased in a large piece of fine linen; laying another piece upon the grave, and wipe the tears from his eyes with silk handkerchiefs. This means, they make him a present of linen and silk.

When a Chief dies, an embassy is sent by the neighbors to assure the whole nation of the share which they take in this calamity.

When the Cherokees sent a formal and numerous embassy to the Delawares in Goschachguenk to renew their alliance with them, Netawatwees, the first in rank among the Delaware Chiefs, was dead. The ambassadors therefore halted about two miles below the town, and sent word that they had arrived thus far. The day after some captains went down to bid them welcome and to give them joy on their arrival. In the speech made upon the occasion they said: “ We extract the thorns from your feet, which you have  
“ got on the journey; we take away the sand and gravel  
“ between your toes; and the wounds and bruises made by  
“ the briars and brushwood, we anoint with balsamic oil;  
“ we wipe the sweat off your faces, the dust off your eyes;  
“ and cleanse your ears, throats, and hearts from all evil,  
“ which you have seen or heard by the way, or which has  
“ entered into your hearts.” A string of wampom having been delivered in confirmation of this speech, the captains, accompanied by a large number of Indians, conducted the ambassadors to the town. On entering, the Cherokees saluted the inhabitants by firing their pieces, which was answered in the same manner by the Delawares. Then the first ambassador began a song, during which they were brought to the council-house, every thing being prepared for their reception.

All being seated, the first ambassador of the Cherokees expressed his sorrow at the death of the Delaware Chief,  
and

and the share he took in the general national mourning. He said; "I wrap up his remains in cloth, I bury them, and cover the grave with bark. I wipe the tears off the eyes of the weeping nation, clear their ears and throats, and take away all sorrow from their hearts." He then confirmed his speech by delivering a string of wampom. After this a pipe of tobacco went round among the chief ambassadors of the Cherokees, and as many captains of the Delawares, and the ceremony closed with a feast. The day following the subject of their embassy was taken into consideration.

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## CHAPTER X.

*Historical Account of the Indians since the Arrival of the Europeans. Political Constitution of the Delawares and Iroquois.*

MOST of the Indian nations, which our missionaries have visited, inhabited formerly that part of the East coast of North America, which now belongs to the Thirteen United States, from which they have been driven by the European settlers. The Indians relate, that, before the arrival of the Europeans, some prophets pretended to have received a divine revelation, from which they foretold, that a people would come to them from a country beyond the great Ocean, and even pointing out the very day of their arrival. They further relate, that upon seeing a ship arrive on that day, they addressed their countrymen, "Behold, the Gods come to visit us." Upon their landing, the white people were adored by the Indians, to whom they made presents of knives, hatchets, guns, and other articles. But the Indians,

not knowing their use, kept them carefully, wore them about their necks on solemn festival days, and even worshipped and offered sacrifices to them.

In the beginning it appeared as if the Europeans and Indians would live peaceably and quietly together. In the year 1781 there were still some very aged Indians living on the banks of the Muskingum, who were present when the first houses were built in Philadelphia. They related that the white people treated the Indians at that time with the greatest kindness, so that they appeared to be but one nation. But when the Europeans began to settle along the navigable rivers, and extended their agriculture and commerce over a great part of the country, the deer retired into the woodlands, and the Indians followed them. At last the Europeans began to attack the few Indians, who remained in their old towns, and obliged them to retire.

Thus the arrival of the Europeans occasioned the emigration of many nations. One nation crowding in upon the other, drove it out of its settlement, or lessened its territory. During all these changes the Iroquois remained unmolested in their country, where they live to this day. The Delawares lived formerly in the country about Philadelphia, extending towards the ocean, in the Jerseys, about Trenton, Brunswick, Amboy, and other places. According to their own account, they made continual inroads into the towns of the Cherokees, who then lived on the banks of the Ohio and its branches. Sometimes a party of Delawares mixed slyly and undiscovered in the nocturnal dances of the Cherokees, and falling upon them unawares, murdered many of them.

The wars between the Delawares and Iroquois were more violent, and of more ancient standing. According to the account of the Delawares, they were always too powerful for the Iroquois, so that the latter were at length convinced that if they continued the war, their total extirpation would be inevitable. They therefore sent the following message to the Delawares: "It is not profitable, that all the nations should

" be

“ be at war with each other, for this will at length be the  
“ ruin of the whole Indian race. We have therefore con-  
“ sidered of a remedy, by which this evil may be prevented.  
“ One nation shall be the *woman*. We will place her in  
“ the midst, and the other nations who make war shall be  
“ the man, and live around the woman. No one shall touch  
“ or hurt the woman, and if any one does it, we will im-  
“ mediately say to him, ‘ Why do you beat the woman?’  
“ Then all the men shall fall upon him, who has beaten her.  
“ The woman shall not go to war, but endeavour to keep  
“ peace with all. Therefore if the men that surround her  
“ beat each other, and the war be carried on with violence,  
“ the woman shall have the right of addressing them, ‘ Ye  
“ men, what are ye about, why do ye beat each other? we  
“ are almost afraid. Consider that your wives and children  
“ must perish, unless ye desist. Do ye mean to destroy your-  
“ selves from the face of the earth?’ The men shall then  
“ hear and obey the woman.”

The Delawares add, that not immediately perceiving the intention of the Iroquois, they had submitted to be the *woman*: The Iroquois then appointed a great feast, and invited the Delaware nation to it, when, in consequence of the authority given them, they made a solemn speech, containing three capital points: The first was that they declared the Delaware nation to be the *woman* in the following words: “ We dress you in a woman’s long habit, reaching down to your feet, and adorn you with ear-rings;” meaning, that they should no more take up arms. The second point was thus expressed: “ We hang a calabash filled with oil and medicines upon your arm. With the oil you shall cleanse the ears of the other nations, that they may attend to good, and not to bad words; and with the medicine you shall heal those, who are walking in foolish ways, that they may return to their senses, and incline their hearts to peace.” The third point, by which the Delawares were exhorted to make agriculture their future employ and means of subsistence, was thus worded: “ We deliver into your  
“ hands

“ hands a plant of Indian corn and an hoe.” Each of these points was confirmed by delivering a belt of wampom, and these belts have been carefully laid up, and their meaning frequently repeated.

Ever since this singular treaty of peace the Iroquois have called the Delawares their *cousins*. The three tribes of the Delawares are called *comrades*. But these titles are only made use of in their councils, and when some solemn speech is to be delivered.

The Iroquois, on the contrary, assert that they conquered the Delawares, and that the latter were forced to adopt the defenceless state and appellation of a *woman*, to avoid total ruin.

Whether these different accounts be true or false, certain it is, that the Delaware nation has ever since been looked unto for preservation of peace, and entrusted with the charge of the great belt of peace, and chain of friendship, which they must take care to preserve inviolate.

According to the figurative explanation of the Indians, the middle of the chain of friendship is placed upon the shoulder of the Delawares, the rest of the Indian nations holding one end, and the Europeans the other.

Such was the state of things in 1755, when a war broke out between the Indians and white people, into which the Delawares were enticed by the Iroquois. For this purpose a new treaty was made, by which, according to the expression of the Indians, the woman's dress of the Delaware nation was shortened so as to reach only to their knees, and an hatchet was given into their hands by way of defence. The Iroquois then solicited their assistance against the white people, as auxiliary troops. They even proposed, at a council held at Pittsburg, to take their woman's dress away, and clothe them like men. But the Delawares being unwilling to take an active part in the war, and well aware that the Iroquois only fought their ruin, one of their Chiefs in the name of the rest, thus addressed them: “ Why do you want to rob  
“ the woman of her dress? I tell you, that if you do it, you  
“ will

“ will find creatures in it, ready to bite you. But if you  
“ have an inclination to fight, we will try our fortune, and  
“ see which of us shall obtain the victory.” This bold  
challenge the Iroquois passed over in silence for that time,  
but were extremely enraged at it; and soon after fell upon  
them, at the instigation of the English, took many captives,  
especially of the Monfy tribe, whom they delivered over to  
the English, destroyed their towns on the Susquehannah, and  
killed their cattle. The Delawares have not yet forgiven the  
Iroquois, for this cruel piece of treachery; and from the  
character of the Indians in general it is not to be supposed,  
that they ever will: Even in the late war, they exerted them-  
selves very courageously in revenging this perfidious treat-  
ment.

About eighty years ago the Delawares came to the river  
Ohio, and were obliged to retire up the Delaware river from  
the encroachments of the Europeans. To revenge the insult  
given them by the Cherokees, who had suddenly fallen upon  
them, some hundreds of Delaware warriors went into the  
country of their enemies. The latter fled before their ar-  
rival, and the warriors finding the land near the Ohio very  
pleasant, and the beaver-hunt in Beaver Creek very produc-  
tive, they settled there, and were followed in time by many  
of their countrymen. Afterwards the Hurons, who were  
owners of that country, made it over to them in a formal  
treaty, and the Kikapus made them a present of a large tract  
of woodland on the Wabash, bordering upon their towns,  
for the purpose of hunting. At present the Delawares call  
the whole country as far as the entrance of the river Wabash  
into the Ohio, Alligewinengk, that is, “ a land, into which  
“ they came from distant parts.” They lived here in peace  
till 1773. But when soon after the Iroquois sold a large tract  
of land on the east side of the Ohio to the Europeans, many  
of the Delawares were obliged to retire to the Muskingum.

The warlike Shawanose formerly lived in Florida, and were  
reduced to a very small number by their long wars with the  
Mofchko nation. Part of them retired to the Ohio, and the  
rest to the Susquehannah, without having any fixed habita-  
tion.

tion. At length they obtained permission from the Delawares to live upon their land, under their protection, and were called *nephew* in common with the Mahikans.

The Shawanose now call the Delawares *grandfather*. All the nations, in league with the Delawares, joined the alliance of the latter with the Shawanose, by which they are so secure, that no nation will easily venture to attack the Shawanose. Afterwards they lived for some time in the forks of the Delaware, and then in Wajomik on the Susquehannah, where they greatly increased in numbers. Sometime after they moved to the western branch of that river, and thence to the Ohio above Great Island.

Their increased population, and the strong confederacy between them and the Delawares encouraged them soon to gratify their warlike disposition, and to commence hostilities against the Cherokees. The latter proved often victorious, and pursued the Shawanose into the country of the Delawares, killing some of the latter. This brought on a new war between the Delawares and Cherokees. The Cherokees had always been a powerful people, but had many enemies among the nations, and of these the Delawares were most to be dreaded. They were therefore the first to propose peace, and sought their friendship in particular, acknowledging them to be their *grandfather*. By their mediation they also obtained a peace with the Six Nations. This happened in 1768. The Shawanose remained for some time on the Ohio, then moved to Logtown, and thence to the river Sioto. But in 1780 the troops of the Congress drove them away, and destroyed their towns, on account of their frequent incursions into the settlements of the white people, and the murders they committed. Thus they were compelled to seek a dwelling further to the west.

The numbers in this and other Indian nations are not easily ascertained. For the Indians themselves are either ignorant of this subject, or are unwilling to give a true account, for they would have the Europeans to believe that they are a very numerous and powerful race.

Before the arrival of the Europeans, their numbers were far greater than at present; for some of the nations are now reduced to a few hundreds. But as they have different languages, they must be still considered as separate nations. A nation, able to raise one thousand warriors, is considered as strong by the Indians. The Chippeways, who are about fifteen thousand in number, are accounted the most considerable.

Their decrease is owing to intemperance, drunkenness, poison, irregular marriages, and the many wars they carry on, not only with the Europeans, but with each other, at their instigation. The small-pox may likewise be deemed a principal cause of it.

Yet small as some Indian nations are, each remains separate from the rest, without intermixing with their neighbors, from whom they endeavour to distinguish themselves as much as possible. Even in forsaken dwellings, the Indians can discover of what nation the former inhabitants were, by the manner in which the posts or beams are placed.

Most nations are divided into tribes, each forming a separate republic within the state. The first tribe of the Delawares is called the *large Tortoise*; the second, the *Turkey*; the third, the *Wolf*.

The land inhabited by the Indian nations has no fixed boundaries. The country in which a nation first settled, became its property without dispute. But when one nation drives out another, the conquerors claim the land taken in war as their due and lawful property, even though they do not inhabit it. Thus the Moshkos in Florida do not inhabit the country, formerly possessed by the Shawanose, but they consider it as belonging to them by right of conquest.

Each nation is careful to ascertain its own district, and will suffer no encroachments, on account of hunting. They willingly receive such nations as have been expelled by others, as this increases their strength and influence; and are always sorry to lessen their numbers by emigrations.

Detached Indian families living among the white people on the banks of rivers, and on that account called River-Indians, are generally a loose set of people, like our gypsies. They make baskets, brooms, wooden spoons, dishes, &c. and sell them to the white people for victuals and clothes.

The Delawares and Iroquois, like all other Indian nations, have no regular political constitution. They know no magistracy, law, or restraint. This they call liberty, and there is nothing, which they value more. Each of them may remove and settle when and where he pleases. Sometimes a family retires into a solitary place, to avoid being annoyed by drunkards. Others live alone, in order to carry on the profitable traffic in rum, more to their own advantage.

The building of a town is not undertaken by the command of a Chief, or by the unanimous vote of the Council, but by the concurrence of a few individuals, who agree to assist each other in building and planting.

Each nation however, considering itself as a united body, has a kind of government of their own choosing. Chiefs are appointed in every Indian nation, and, though improperly called kings by some, are in fact nothing more than the most respected among their equals in rank.

The Delaware nation being divided into three tribes, has three principal Chiefs, of whom the *Unami* is esteemed the first in rank, and consequently the first man in the whole nation. Each Chief has his counsellors, who are either experienced warriors, or aged and respectable fathers of families. These constitute the council, appointed to watch over the welfare of the tribe. In matters regarding the whole nation, the three Chiefs and their counsellors send representatives to attend a general council.

The *Chief* must always be a member of that tribe in which he presides, but is not chosen by his own tribe, but by the Chiefs of the other two tribes. The latter, with their counsellors and whole tribes, meet at an appointed place, and then move on in procession with singing, towards the town where the election is to take place.

The two Chiefs having entered the council-house at the east-end, and seated themselves around two or three fires, the inhabitants of the town bid them welcome; after which, one of the Chiefs opens the business by explaining the aim of their meeting, and mentioning the name of the Chief elect. He then proceeds in a singing tone, "We wipe the tears off your eyes, clear your ears and throats, remove all sorrow and mourning on account of the death of the late Chief from your heart, and comfort you;" after which he solemnly declares the Chief elect to be Chief of the tribe, and places him upon the seat of his predecessor. He then exhorts the young people to be obedient to their new Chief, whenever he shall require their assistance, confirms his speech with two belts, and receives a solemn promise from the young people, that they will fulfil their duty. He likewise addresses the wife of the new Chief, who is attended by several women, and admonishes her, as the representative of her whole sex, to be obedient and subject to the new Chief, which she promises in the name of all the women. Finally he lays before the new Chief the duties of his office; regarding the preservation or re-establishment of peace; admonishing him not to meddle with affairs of war, and to keep his people from it; continually to attend to the welfare of his nation, and willingly to hear their remonstrances, if he should commit a fault. The new Chief promises to act in strict conformity to these injunctions. All these speeches are sung, and confirmed by belts. Thus the new Chief enters upon his office, by consent of the whole nation, and whoever obtains the office of Chief in any other way, is not regarded.

A Chief, duly elected, and solemnly invested with his office, is beloved and respected by his people, who safely confide in his measures. If he is intelligent and skilful enough to gain the esteem and affection of the Captains and the people, the former support his authority, and assist him in every possible way. A Captain is the Chief's right hand. He must undertake every thing committed to him by the Chief, even

at the hazard of his life, for his duty as Captain requires this of him. But if he is either wounded or killed by the enemy, the whole nation joins in revenging his death.

But a Chief ought above all things to secure the good-will of his counsellors, for without their assistance he becomes a mere cypher. The Chief Netawatwees used to lay all affairs of state before his counsellors for their consideration, without telling them his own sentiments. When they gave him their opinion, he either approved of it, or stated his objections and amendments, always alledging the reasons of his disapprobation. Thus he kept them active, and maintained great respect.

The rich are likewise considered as principal supporters of the Chiefs, as they can furnish them with wampom upon an emergency. Upon extraordinary occasions, a voluntary contribution of wampom is made by the whole tribe or nation. The usual expences are defrayed from the treasury-chest of the council, which is never suffered to be empty. Both this and the archives of the council are under the care of the Chief.

A Chief is indeed empowered and obliged, with the advice of his counsellors, to keep good order amongst his tribe, and to decide in all quarrels and disputes; but he dare not venture to command, compel, or punish any one, as in that case he would immediately be forsaken by the whole tribe. Every word that looks like a command is immediately rejected with contempt by an Indian, proud of his liberty. The Chief must endeavour to rule over his people merely by calm reasoning and friendly exhortations. Sometimes he cannot succeed, even with the best intentions, and must have recourse to artifice. He even dare not confide altogether in his counsellors. He is therefore cautious, and endeavours to gain by slow degrees, what cannot be effected at once. The Chiefs are in general friendly, courteous, hospitable, affable men, kind to all, and their house is open to every Indian. Even strangers, who come on business, put up in the Chief's house, and are accommodated with the

best

best it affords. The ambassadors of other nations always lodge with the Chief, but if their number is too great, they are put into a separate house, and provided with every thing at the public expence. The Chief is empowered to prevent all disorders proceeding from the use of spirituous liquors, and to prohibit their importation, but they are seldom either inclined, or resolute enough to do their duty in this respect, or to set an example of sobriety.

Another duty of the Chief is that of keeping the people together, to prevent any unnecessary dispersion. But if he is neither beloved nor respected, the Indians appear like sheep without a shepherd.

The punishment of assaults, murders, and other atrocious crimes, is not committed to the Chief, but to the injured family, nor has he power to grant a pardon.

He must provide for his own maintenance, for no one is under any obligation to supply his wants. But as he has so many guests at his house, who require a great quantity of provisions, his friends and other Indians furnish him with game, and the women assist his wife in her plantations.

When one Chief intends to pay a visit to another Chief, he sends him a piece of tobacco, with this message: "Smoke of this tobacco, and look towards my dwelling, then thou shalt see me coming towards thee on such a day."

The principal duty of the first Chief of the Delawares is to maintain the peace and covenants made between them and the rest of the Indian nations and the Europeans. He therefore carries on a kind of correspondence with them, with a view to be always acquainted with their disposition towards his people. He also sends embassies, but generally with the advice and consent of the two other Chiefs. If the Europeans or Indians send a disagreeable message, the Chief's answer has always a double meaning. It would be deemed very rude to require an explanation, and against the law of the state to give one.

For small mistakes, the Chief is admonished by his people;

but for any misdemeanor, which may prove injurious to the commonwealth; for instance, if he should suffer the young people to commit outrages, or murders, which may be laid to the charge of the whole nation, and involve them in a war, or if he should not do every thing to prevent it in the first instance; he is reprimanded by the two other Chiefs, with the same ceremonious solemnity used at his installation, and must promise to fulfil his duty better for the future. If he continues to neglect it, they all forsake him, and his power is at an end.

The strings and belts of wampom, and the great seal, which were in possession of the Chief by virtue of his office, are carefully preserved by the council after his death, until a new Chief is appointed.

The sons of Chiefs cannot inherit their father's dignity, being considered as strangers on account of their mother; but a grandchild, great-grandchild, or nephew, may succeed him. In general, some person, who lived in intimacy with the deceased Chief, and is well acquainted with the affairs of the state, is chosen his successor; and among the Delawares this is law. But with the Chippeways, the son of a Chief has a legal right to succeed his father.

Affairs of importance are always laid before the council, and without its consent, no proposal can be put into execution. The council-house is either the house of the Chief, which is commonly large and roomy, or a building erected for that purpose. The counsellors are called together by a servant, and each sits down upon the ground, around a large fire, provided with pipe and tobacco. Women are never admitted to the council, and a few only are allowed to be present, to hand the victuals and keep up the fire, which they esteem a great honor. Provisions must always be in plenty in the council-house; for eating and deliberating take their turns. Above all, the strings and belts of wampom must be placed in due order, for whatever is said without being confirmed by them, is vain, and without effect. They are so used to this custom, that when they communicate the contents

tents of a message, merely in private conversation, they cannot do it without something in their hands, either a strap, a ribband, or a straw.

Cool deliberation always precedes a speech in the council. The principal Chief opens the debate by a speech, setting forth the subjects, upon which he desires the advice and opinion of the Council, in plain and explicit terms, commonly strongly expressed, but now and then in a more disguised manner. These speeches are always in a figurative style. For instance, if they wish to express the re-establishment of peace between two nations, they say: "We make a road, extending above five hundred miles through the wood; we root out the thorns and brushes, remove all the trees, rocks, and stones out of the way, transplant the mountains, strew the road with sand, and make every thing so clear and light, that one nation may look towards the other without any interception." Each counsellor has full liberty to utter his sentiments without restraint, and having made his speech, he sits down. The solemn speeches of the Delawareans are characterized by much animation, and a pleasing flow of words. The behavior of the speakers is perfectly consistent with the dignity of the assembly, and the importance of the subject. No one interrupts the speaker, but all sit as silent and attentive as if engaged in an act of devotion. No stranger can be present at their councils, without a sensation of respect.

When all have spoken, one of them is called upon to sum up the principal parts of the different speeches, in a concise manner. This is done extempore, and the necessary amendments proposed, every subject being carefully brought into as short and comprehensive a point of view as possible.

No guests are admitted to any consultation, if the early promulgation of it might lead to doubtful consequences. Otherwise every one may be present as a hearer; but the women must stand without.

If a Chief thinks it unsafe to mention from what quarter he has received the message under consideration, he says,

that some one rose out of the ground, as he was sitting by the fire at night, who, delivering a string or belt of wampom, had whispered into his ear, and then retired again into the earth.

In general the Chief does not speak in council, but has his own speaker, to whom he communicates his sentiments, and leaves him to expatiate upon them. The speaker has seldom any time to prepare or arrange his subject, the different heads being only briefly named, or left for him to collect from the conversation of the Chiefs. He must then be able to comprise the whole in a speech, well arranged and uninterrupted, which requires a clear and open understanding, a faithful memory, experience in the affairs of the state, and knowledge of the figurative language, and of the terms peculiar to their mode of delivery.

The Indian speakers aspire to a certain elegance of expression in their public speeches, which is directed more by the rules of ancient custom, than those of oratory. Young men, destined for this office, are admitted as hearers in the council, and to a familiar intercourse with the Chiefs, who instruct them faithfully.

They are first employed as ambassadors, to give them an opportunity of exercising themselves, in speaking in public, till they are qualified to step forth as speakers in council. Though in affairs of the whole nation, nothing can be done without the consent of the council, yet even then the people cannot be compelled by force to do any thing against their inclination. For though the council should determine upon something of great advantage to the tribe or nation, yet each member has full liberty to assist in putting it into execution or not.

The Delawares are celebrated for their courage, peaceful disposition, and powerful alliances. For almost all the nations living in their neighborhood are in league with them, especially the Mahikan, Shawanose, Cherokees, Twichtwees, Wawiachtanos, Kikapus, Moshkos, Tukachshas, Chippeways, Ottawas, Putewoatamen, and Kaskaskias. All these

these call the Delawares, Grandfather. The Delawares have never been at war with any of them, excepting the Cherokees, as above mentioned, and have even maintained their friendship with the warlike Hurons. Their political views seem to center in an endeavour to gain and preserve the good-will and friendship of other nations. They treat all strange Indian visitors with great honor and hospitality, that they may return with a proper impression of their good character. Of late years they have amazingly increased their reputation, through the good management of their late Chief Netawatwees. This wise man spared no pains to conciliate the affection of all his neighbors. He sent frequent embassies to his grandchildren, admonishing them to keep peace, and proved in truth, a wise grandfather to them.

Thus much of the Delawares. We will add a few remarks concerning the Iroquois or Six Nations.

An Iroquois has such an exalted idea of his greatness and liberty; that he will admit of no equal in rank, but the king of England, he being a sovereign, and the English in general, only subjects. However, the English governors frequently take the liberty of addressing the Chiefs of the Iroquois in their public transactions to this effect: "We and you are brothers, but the king of England is our and your father;" and they condescend to put up with it.

The chief passion of the Iroquois is for war, to which they are trained up from their infancy. There are few Indian nations, excepting those living at a great distance, against whom they have not carried on very cruel wars, and of long continuance. Ever since the year 1600, they have had frequent wars with the French.

The political constitution of the Six Nations nearly resembles that of a republic. Each of them is independent of the other, or, as they express it, have their own fire, around which their Chiefs, Captains, and Counsellors assemble, to take the particular concerns of their nation into deliberation. But they have a large common fire, burning at Onondago,

to which the Great Council, consisting of all the Chiefs of the Six Nations, resort.

In the year 1745, August Gottlieb Spangenberg, a bishop of the United Brethren, spent several weeks in Onondago, and frequently attended the great council. The council-house was built of bark. On each side six seats were placed, each containing six persons. No one was admitted besides the members of the council, except a few, who were particularly honored. If one rose to speak, all the rest sat in profound silence, smoking their pipes. The speaker uttered his words in a singing tone, always rising a few notes at the close of each sentence. Whatever was pleasing to the council, was confirmed by all with the word *Nee*, or *Yes*. And at the end of each speech, the whole company joined in applauding the speaker by calling *Hobo*. At noon, two men entered, bearing a large kettle filled with meat, upon a pole across their shoulders, which was first presented to the guests. A large wooden ladle, as broad and deep as a common bowl, hung with a hook to the side of the kettle, with which every one might at once help himself to as much as he could eat. When the guests had eaten their fill, they begged the counsellors to do the same. The whole was conducted in a very decent and quiet manner. Indeed, now and then one or the other would lie flat upon his back to rest himself, and sometimes they would stop, joke, and laugh heartily.

All public business between any nation and the Iroquois, must be brought to the great fire in Onondago. To attempt to gain over, or bribe one or the other member of council, would be highly dangerous to both parties. Bribes would raise the jealousy of the whole assembly. If presents are made, they must be divided among all in equal shares. This is an inviolable article of their confederacy, the transgression of which would weaken their union. As they know that their whole strength lies in harmony, they punish every thing tending to subvert it with the greatest severity. Thus  
bribery

bribery avails as little as a threat. In general their government is severe, but founded upon good principles. They have likewise agents amongst other nations, to watch over their own interest.

The Six Nations made themselves so respected by the English and French, that these two nations vied with each other in seeking and renewing their alliance with them. The Indians call a treaty of peace and its confirmation, polishing the chain of friendship, taking the rust off, and making it bright and shining. Both nations received their deputies with great pomp and solemnity, and made them rich presents. The English on such occasions frequently bought large tracts of land from them, and secured the purchase by a deed of sale, signed by the Chiefs of the Iroquois in the Indian manner. All these transactions were public, and every one was admitted. When the English governor made any proposal, desiring the opinion of the Indians, their usual answer was: "We have comprehended the meaning of our brother, the governor; we will now consider it among ourselves, and when our answer is ready, notice shall be given to the governor, that we may meet again." If they accepted of the terms, the payment agreed upon was delivered to them in exchange for the deed of sale. This consisted chiefly in a certain quantity of Spanish dollars, besides which, a present was added of blankets, guns, powder and shot, hatchets, knives, looking-glasses, colors, &c. These articles were divided among the Six Nations, so that each received a proportionate part, which was afterwards distributed to the people by their respective Chiefs.

The Iroquois are particularly attentive to the education of young people for the future government of the state; and for this purpose admit a young boy, generally the nephew of the principal Chief, to the council and solemn feast following it, and even to the feast given by the English governor.

Each nation has its principal, and each tribe its particular Chief. The Iroquois require a Chief to be, if not the best,

at least, a very skilful hunter, and to be liberal of his game. He must also be a good physician, and able to advise and assist the sick in every circumstance. It is his duty to take care of orphans, to harbor strangers, and to keep good order in the town. But as he has no more power of compulsion than a Delaware Chief, he must keep up his reputation by a prudent, courteous, and winning behavior.

Most of the nations, living beyond the United States, are more or less connected with the Iroquois. Some are called *brothers*, as the *Hurons*; others *cousins*, which implies a degree of subordination. From the latter, they expect now and then a tribute of wampom; they point out the place of their dwelling, and even dispose of their land at pleasure. They even once sold a piece of land, formerly belonging to the Delawares. The latter having never been conquered by the Iroquois, refused to agree to the bargain, and would not quit their dwellings: upon which the Iroquois threatened to murder them all, if they remained upon it, and thus drove them away by force. They willingly permit their *cousins* to dwell upon their land, and amongst them, but they are never admitted members either of the great or special councils. When an Indian of the Six Nations goes to war, and he meets with a *cousin*, he makes him carry his bundle. They are therefore more feared than beloved by their neighbors.

In the year 1756, ten nations living west of Philadelphia, entered into an alliance against the Iroquois. They were supported by the French, then at war with the English. It seemed as if the ten allied nations were to act against the English, but the Iroquois soon perceived the contrary. When peace was concluded between the two latter powers, they still kept up their confederacy, and have probably lessened the power and influence of the Iroquois.

The political constitution of the Mahikans, Shawanose, Cherokees, Hurons, and others, resembles in a great measure that of the Delawares.

In the late war between Great Britain and her Colonies, most of the Indians took part with the English. The consequence was, that in the year 1779, the Iroquois were entirely driven from their country by the troops of the Congress. Their towns were all destroyed, and they thus experienced a fate which probably had never before befallen them.

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## CHAPTER XI.

### *Wars among the Indians, and Ceremonies attending the Establishment of Peace.*

ACCORDING to the most authentic testimony of the oldest Indians, their wars were formerly carried on with much greater fury, and lasted much longer, than in the present times. Some were even hereditary. The ruins of former towns are still visible, and several mounds of earth show evident proofs that they were raised by men. They were hollow, having an opening at the top, by which the Indians let down their women and children. whenever an enemy approached, and placing themselves around, defended them vigorously. For this purpose they placed a number of stones and blocks on the top of the mound, which they rolled down against the assailants. On these occasions great numbers of both parties were killed, and generally buried together in one large hole, and covered with earth. These graves are still visible in many places, and their antiquity may be known by the large trees which grow upon them.

The offensive weapons formerly in use were bows, arrows, and clubs. The latter were made of the hardest wood, not quite the length of a man's arm, and very heavy, with a large  
round

round knob at one end. Their weapon of defence was a shield made of the tough hide of a buffalo, on the concave side of which they received the arrows and darts of the enemy, but this is now entirely laid aside by the Delawares and Iroquois, though they still use bows, arrows, and clubs of war. They now arm the knobs of their clubs with nails and pieces of iron. They formerly used guns merely for pleasure on festival days, but now they are become excellent marksmen, both in war and hunting. When they attack an enemy, they take several balls in their mouths, ready to load again, or hang them in a pouch round their necks. They likewise make use of an hatchet and long knife.

The army both of the Delawares and Iroquois consists of all their young men, among whom there are even boys of fifteen. The warriors are under the command of the captains, especially in times of war, and do nothing without their consent. They neither leave the troop, nor go an hunting, and as they know that their life and honor in a great measure depends upon the prudent conduct of their captain, they obey him with pleasure.

A Captain among the Indians, is what we should call a commander or general. He has several subordinate officers, in proportion to the number of troops under his command. The rank of Captain is neither elective nor hereditary. The first occasion to this appointment is generally a dream, early in life, which a young man or his friends interpret as a destiny for the office of Captain. He therefore endeavours to attain to the necessary qualifications for this dignity, and to prove his prowess by feats of valor. The Indians reckon prudence, cunning, resolution, bravery, undauntedness, and especially good fortune, to be the qualifications, without which no one can aspire to so distinguished an office. If a leader, who has not yet the rank of Captain, has the good fortune, not to lose a man of his troop in six or seven engagements, and to bring prisoners and trophies of victory to the camp; he is declared a Captain without further ceremony.

But

But if he loses men, and cannot replace them with prisoners; his authority is at an end, and he dare not think of the office. If an Indian loses his son, or one of his near relations in war, whom he highly valued, he gives an hatchet and a belt of wampom to a leader, who wishes to become a Captain, and desires him to go and take a prisoner, to supply the place of the deceased, and comfort the afflicted family. If he is fortunate in his exploit, he immediately hangs the belt round the prisoner's neck to denote, that he shall be received into a family, and upon delivering him over to his employer, receives the belt as a reward, or token of remembrance of the valorous deed which paved his way to the rank of Captain. But if he is unsuccessful, his attempt is considered as the temerity of an unskilful fellow, and he cannot hope for the appointment. Thus, as good fortune must chiefly decide in this promotion, there are not many Captains. There are however a few in each tribe.

To begin war is called by the Indians, *to lift up the hatchet*. They always pretend to have the most just and important reasons for it; among which, they chiefly urge the necessity of revenging injuries done to the nation: but the honor of being distinguished as great warriors, is no small motive. This operates principally with the Iroquois, for they know of no greater merit than to kill or take a great number of enemies. The Captains are capable of pressing these two leading principles, on the minds of their people, with all the force of warlike eloquence:—"The bones of your murdered countrymen," say they, "lie uncovered; they demand revenge at our hands, and it is our duty to obey them: Their spirits loudly call upon us, and we must satisfy them. Still greater spirits, watching over our honor, inspire us with a resolution to go in pursuit of the murderers of our brethren. Let us go and devour them! Do not sit inactive! Follow the impulse of your hereditary valor! Anoint your hair! Paint your faces! Fill your quivers! Make the woods echo with your voices! Comfort the spirits of the deceased, and revenge their  
" blood!"

“ blood ! ” &c.—Inflamed by such exhortations, they seize their arms, sound the war-whoop, and pant with impatience to imbrue their hands in the blood of their enemies ; and then act together against their common enemy, as if one soul inspired them.

If a whole nation is going to engage in a war, their previous considerations are circumspect and slow, and they carefully weigh all the proposals made, comparing the probable advantages or disadvantages that may accrue to the State.

A Chief cannot begin a war without the consent of his Captains: nor can he accept of a war-belt, but under the condition of its being considered by the Captains. He must endeavour to preserve peace to the utmost of his power. But if the Captains are unanimous in declaring war, he is obliged, as it were, to deliver the care of his people, for the present, into their hands, and to lay down his office. Yet his influence tends greatly either to prevent or encourage the commencement of a war: For the Indians believe, that a war cannot be successful without the consent of the Chief ; and the Captains endeavour, on that account, to live in harmony with him.

If war is determined on, and they wish to ensure the assistance of any nation in league with them, they notify it by sending a piece of tobacco, or by an embassy. By the first they intend, that the Captains shall smoke their pipes and consider seriously, whether they will take share in the war or not. The embassy is entrusted to a Captain, who carries a belt of wampom, upon which the aim of the embassy is described by certain figures, and an hatchet with a red handle. Having previously informed the Chief of his commission, he proceeds to lay it before the council: he first lays the hatchet down upon the ground, and then delivers a long speech, holding the war-belt in his hand. He closes his address, by desiring them to lift up the hatchet, and delivering his belt. If this is complied with, nothing more is said, and this act is considered as a solemn promise to lend every assistance.

But

But if neither the hatchet is lifted up, nor the belt accepted; the ambassador concludes, that the nation chuses to remain neutral, and returns home: Some Indians declare war, by sending a red hatchet to the nation they intend to attack. This is a dangerous commission, and frequently attended with the death of the messenger. The nation challenged in this manner is often so instantly enraged, that, without consulting their Captains, a small party sets out to wield a similar hatchet, or with a red lance or dart to pierce the heart of the first man belonging to the nation that sent the challenge. If they wish to provoke their enemy to the last degree, they disfigure the body of the slain, as if they would say, that they do not look upon them as men. But the Iroquois and Delawares, and the nations connected with them, do not declare war by a formal message; but rather send out a small party, seize the first man they meet, belonging to the nation they intend to engage, kill and scalp him; then cleave his head with an hatchet, which they leave in it, or lay a war-club, painted red, upon the body of the victim. This is a formal challenge; in consequence of which, a Captain of the insulted party takes up the weapons of the murderers, and hastens into their country to be revenged upon them: if he returns with a scalp, he thinks he has avenged the rights of his own nation.

The preparations for war are soon made: they do not carry much baggage; a bundle of citamon, as described above, consisting of pounded Indian corn and maple sugar, is all the provision they want. Besides this, the Captains and others procure a *beson*, to preserve themselves from stabs and shots. In the year 1774, the Shawanose carried their war-beson upon a pole, among the ranks, in the battle they fought with the white people: but the beson-bearer himself was shot, the whole Indian army routed, and the beson became a prey to the conquerors.

One of the most necessary preparations for war, is to paint themselves red and black; for the most horrid appearance is then thought the greatest ornament. Some Captains fast,

and attend to their dreams, with a view to gain intelligence of the event of the war. The night previous to the march of the army is spent in feasting, at which the Chiefs are present; either a hog, or a couple of dogs are killed. Dog's flesh, in particular, is said to inspire them with the true spirit of war: even women have been seen to partake of this feast, and to eat dog's flesh with great greediness. Now and then a warrior is inclined to make a solemn declaration of his warlike inclination: he holds up a piece of dog's flesh in sight of all present, and devours it, pronouncing these words: "Thus will I devour my enemies!" After the feast, the Captain and all his people begin the *war-dance*, and continue till day-break, when they are quite hoarse and weary. They generally dance all together, and each in his turn takes the head of the hog in his hand. Spectators are admitted, and may even join in the dance. Then the Captain marches through the town, all his people following in a single row. When they reach the end of the street, they fire their pieces, and the Captain begins the *war-song*. As both their friends and the women generally accompany them to the first night's encampment, they halt about two or three miles from the town, dance the *war-dance* once more, and the day following begin their march.

They have commonly a long and tedious march into the enemies land, and their provisions are soon exhausted. They are therefore obliged to spend some days in hunting. The camp is formed without any regularity, and they pitch their tents, as each finds most convenient. As long as they are in a country where they fear no attack, they take no precaution. They disperse in the woods to hunt; but return to the place of rendezvous exactly to the time appointed. No one has any precedence during the march, not even the Captain. They divide their provisions in equal shares, even if each man should get only one morsel of bread or meat.

Sometimes they set out in small parties of ten or twenty in company, that they may not suffer so much for want of provisions. The Captain is very attentive to every man in  
his

his troop, being answerable for all. If but a few are weary, he orders all to halt, till they have recovered. The chief excellence of a Captain consists in knowing how to form an attack, so as to kill or take many enemies, and lose none, or but a few of his own men.

The Indian warriors possess astonishing perseverance and patience, encounter incredible dangers, and live upon the most scanty fare. For as soon as they enter the enemies country, they can hunt no longer, for fear of being betrayed, and though they have always provisions for some days, yet being frequently under the necessity of hiding themselves for several weeks in the woods, before they can venture to attack the enemy, they suffer incredibly from hunger and other inconveniences.

Before they make an attack, their chief concern is to reconnoitre every part of the country. With this view they dig holes in the ground, preferably in a hillcock, covered with wood, in which they keep a small charcoal fire: from which they watch the motions of the enemy, unobserved. If they only seek a prisoner or a scalp, they venture even in the daytime to put their design in execution. They skulk behind some bulky tree, and creep slyly around the stem, so as not to be perceived by a passenger. As soon as he has turned his back, they kill him either with one shot, or leaping upon him, cut him down with their hatchets. In either case they seldom miss their aim. They then retire precipitately, thinking themselves well rewarded, even with one scalp only, for all trouble, distress, and danger sustained on the march.

But in case of an attack upon a whole family, or town, they prefer the night, when their enemies are in profound sleep. During the day they behave with the greatest caution, not even whispering to each other, but explaining their meaning only by signs and looks, creeping about upon all fours to gain intelligence. When the night fixed for the attack sets in, they all lie flat upon the ground in perfect silence, waiting the first sign given by the Captain, upon which they creep along till within gunshot of their enemy. Upon a second sign given, they leap up all together, discharge

their pieces, and then fall upon their enemies with hatchets and clubs. They kill, scalp, and take prisoners as many as they can find; set fire to the houses, and never stay for plunder. Having thus obtained their aim, they fly back with the utmost speed into the woods, to which they have already marked the nearest road, and take no rest till they think themselves in safety. To avoid being pursued, they disguise their foot-marks as much as possible, as they would be easily traced by Indians. But if, in spite of all their caution, they are closely pursued, they kill the prisoners, scalp them, and disperse in the woods, in order singly to escape into their own country with more ease. They generally suffer excessive hunger and fatigue by the way, living upon the bark of trees, wild herbs and roots.

Even in open war, they think it more honorable to distress the enemy by stratagem than by combat. They examine their situation, and if they find that a surprise or attack would expose them to danger, they retire. But if they seem secure, they lurk behind trees, houses, or rocks, fire upon the unwary foe, and hide themselves again. The Europeans, unacquainted with this mode of fighting, suffered greatly by it in former times.

The cruelty of victorious Indians is without bounds: when they have quenched their thirst for blood, they return into their native country. The wounded are treated with great tenderness, and the means applied seldom fail in restoring them. Those who are dangerously wounded, are carried by the rest, and none left to perish, without the greatest necessity. They even carry off their dead, or at least their scalps, lest they should fall into the hands of their enemies: which makes it hard to determine how many have been killed in action.

All the slain of the enemies are, if possible, *scalped*. The Indians perform this operation in the following manner: They place their foot on the neck of the victim, seizing the hair with the left hand, and twisting it very tight together, in order to separate the skin from the head. Then they cut it all round with a sharp knife, and tear it off. This opera-

tion is often performed in a minute, and under certain circumstances is fatal, but not always. The scalp is painted red, placed upon a red pole in token of victory, to the great satisfaction of the whole nation, and carefully preserved in memory of their courage and prowess, in avenging the cause of their country.

They like to carry off their prisoners alive, but bound, till they are no more in fear of their pursuers. In the night they are fastened to the ground, with their arms, legs, and necks bound to large stakes, and for greater security, a cord passes from them to a free Indian, who immediately awakes if they attempt to move. Yet, notwithstanding these precautions, they sometimes escape. The European prisoners are immediately shorn after the manner of the Indians, and their heads and faces painted red, so as hardly to be distinguished from the Indians themselves. If any dispute arises between two warriors about a prisoner, he is immediately killed, to put an end to it.

Prisoners are not ill treated, as long as they are in the hands of the warriors, but fare with them alike. But they have so much the more to suffer in the towns of the victorious people. The warriors, upon their approach to the first town in their own country, repeat the death-whoop, according to the number of scalps, trophies, or prisoners in their possession. Upon this signal, men, women, and children, run out to meet them, placing themselves in two rows. The warriors step forward into the midst, with the scalp-poles and prisoners, and force the latter to dance for the amusement of the spectators. An house or post is then shown them in the village, to which they are ordered to go. As soon as they set out, the people begin to strike at them with switches, clubs, hatchets, or their fists. If they gain the house or post, though ever so bruised and bloody, they are perfectly safe. Indians acquainted with this barbarous custom, escape great part of these cruelties, by running towards the mark with all their might. Female prisoners are frequently rescued by the women, who take them between their ranks, and carry them to the town.

The warriors then take good care of their prisoners, wash and dress their wounds, and when their meals are ready, serve the prisoners first, not from compassion, but that they may look well, and do honor to the triumph they celebrate in passing through all the towns of their nation, till they arrive at their own home.

Before the warriors proceed, the prisoners are led out for the amusement of the inhabitants. They fasten strings of bells, or deers-claws, to the feet of one of them, to make a rattle during the dance, presenting him with a parcel of small sticks. He takes as many as he pleases, and returns the rest. These determine the number of short dances he has to perform; which he does with great alacrity, to the rattling of a calabash filled with small stones, and marking the time. After each round, he relates one of his heroic deeds, and delivers a stick. Thus he continues to dance and tell his stories, till all his sticks are spent. Though the spectators should not understand his language, yet they guess his meaning by his looks and gestures. Sometimes the prisoners are compelled to sing the death-song, which is as follows:

“ I go to death, and shall suffer great torture; but I will  
 “ endure the greatest torments inflicted by my enemies with  
 “ becoming courage. I will die like a valiant man, and go  
 “ to those heroes, who have died in the same manner.”

This ceremony is performed in every town, through which they must pass. When they at length arrive at the residence of the conqueror, many of the prisoners are received into the families, to supply the places of the slain, or of relations lately deceased, and are immediately considered as members of the nation. Without this custom, many Indian tribes would have been exterminated long ago. But their true character suffers a visible change by the naturalization of foreigners.

The new inhabitant meets with the best treatment, his wounds are dressed, and he is well clothed. The best food in the house is given him, and all the family is engaged in comforting and encouraging him. Female prisoners are generally given to men, and well treated: boys and girls

are

are either received into families, as servants, or sold to the Europeans. If prisoners, thus admitted into families, behave well, they have every thing they want, nor are they put to much labor, which in general is little regarded by an Indian. But if they run away, and are taken, their lives are in danger. Even the nation to whom the runaways belong, will not always receive them, but treat them as ungrateful beings; they therefore turn out vagrants, and infest the woods. Indian names are given to European prisoners, upon their reception into Indian families, to perpetuate the memory of the most beloved among the slain or deceased. Many of them find the manner of living among the Indians so well suited to their inclinations, that upon an exchange of prisoners being made, they refuse to return to their own country. But should the pardoned stranger lose the good-will of the widow of the deceased, she soon puts him to death, that he may become servant to her first husband in the land of spirits.

Those unhappy prisoners who are condemned to die, may sooner or later expect to suffer the most excruciating tortures, and a lingering death. The Indians flock to these executions from all parts, as to some great solemnity, with a view to gratify their cruel and revengeful disposition. The poor victim is fastened naked to a stake, placed at some distance from a large fire. His body is sometimes painted black, and his head ornamented with raven feathers. One plucks his nails out by the roots, another bites one of his fingers off, thrusting it into his tobacco-pipe, which he offers to the sufferer to smoke. Others crush his fingers and toes between stones, or scorch his skin with red-hot irons, or torches. Some with their knives cut pieces from his body, rubbing salt into the raw flesh. Then they desist, with a view to prolong his tortures, which sometimes continue three or four days. Sometimes they compel him to dance round the stake, mangled and burnt as he is, tied by a short rope. Should he happen to cry or show any sign of pain, he is derided and despised by his tormentors; but if he remains un-

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concerned,

concerned, his bravery is extolled. At length, being rendered insensible by excess of pain, an end is put to his torments by a stroke of the tomahawk, and the mangled body is thrown into the fire.

This inhuman method of treating captives is particularly in use among the Iroquois and Shawanose; and they have but lately given several horrid proofs of their cruel disposition. Indian warriors commonly bear the most dreadful torments, without any marks of concern, and die with undauntedness, singing the great deeds done by them against their enemies with provoking defiance. Some even endeavour still more to enrage their tormentors by these bravadoes, that they may the sooner dispatch them.

Now and then a condemned prisoner is released by ransom. Some years ago, a young Shawanose Indian was taken by the Cherokees, and condemned to die. He was already tied to the stake, and every preparation made for his execution, when a Cherokee woman arrived with a parcel of goods, and throwing them down at the feet of the warrior to whom the prisoner belonged, begged for his release, alleging that she was a widow, and would adopt the captive as her son. Her request was granted, the captive released, and delivered over to her, and on the same day walked up and down the village well dressed. His protectress relied so much upon his fidelity and devotedness to her, that she permitted him to visit his family and friends in his own country. He proved faithful, and no persuasions and entreaties of his relations could prevail upon him to forsake her. But there are instances of their refusing the most considerable ransoms offered to release a condemned captive from their fury. In the year 1779, some English merchants offered goods to the amount of several hundred dollars, as a ransom for a white captive, without any effect.

It has been frequently said that the savages devour their prisoners. It may indeed have been a custom now and then with some; and some converted Indians have of their own accord confessed to our missionaries, that they had done it; but

but it is not general. The Delawares and Iroquois never do it. Formerly they have been known in the height of their fury to tear an enemy's heart out of his body, and devour it raw; but at present this is seldom or never practised.

When one Indian nation wishes to persuade another to join in a war against an Indian or European enemy, they send a captive to that nation, with these words, "We send you this prisoner, to make some broth," and frequently gain their aim. The prisoner is not devoured, but executed without mercy.

Since the Delawares and Iroquois have ventured to make war with the Europeans, their wars among each other have been less frequent. With the white people they gain greater advantages, take more prisoners, and more scalps, and can sooner make peace with them, than with the Indians.

At present almost all Indian nations join in a war against the white people.

Even if a nation should remain neutral, some of the common people will not rest satisfied, but join the warriors. This was the case in the war between England and her colonies. The Delaware Chiefs had in the beginning resolved to be neutral, and exhorted their people daily, not to suffer themselves to be persuaded to take share in the war. The nation in general remained firm in this resolution, and neither entreaties nor threats could prevail upon the Chiefs to depart from it. Yet several Delaware Indians went to join the army.

The Indians need not much provocation to begin a war with the white people; a trifling occurrence may easily furnish a pretence. They frequently first determine upon war, and then wait a convenient opportunity, to find reasons for it; nor are they much at a loss to find them.

It has occasioned much surprize, that notwithstanding the prevailing fear of the Six Nations, lest the Europeans should become too powerful, they have sold them one tract of land after the other. Some thought it was done, merely for the sake

fake of the presents offered by the purchasers. But experience has shown, that this selling of land proved the best pretence for a war. For when the white people had settled upon the purchased territory, they drove them away again. They have frequently continued their hostilities against the white people, even during the settling of the peace, or renewed them soon after. In such a critical juncture, the Europeans cannot sufficiently guard against the Indians, especially against the Iroquois. They will treat a white person, who is ignorant of their evil designs, with all apparent civility, and give him victuals and drink, but before he is aware, cleave his skull with an hatchet.

Some years before the war broke out between England and her colonies, the Shawanose began to be very troublesome, and some white people were obliged to fly the country. One of them separating himself from his companions, got amongst a party of Iroquois, in sight of a Delaware town, who gave him victuals, and then murdered him. The character of the Delawares is not so treacherous. If they once shake hands with a white man, and speak friendly to him; he may judge himself safe, and trust their fidelity.

In times of war, the Indians generally fall first upon some defenceless farmers, and thus spread terror and dread over the whole neighborhood, the inhabitants of which, immediately forsaking their houses and plantations, cattle and furniture, fly for their lives. They make no distinction between the different European nations, but exert their cruelty upon all, without respect to innocence, age, or sex. In a war with Europeans, every human being with a white skin is considered an enemy. A messenger of peace must not expect to be treated according to the rights of nations, by which his person is rendered sacred. They seldom pardon a white man, if he even lays down his arms, and submits himself a prisoner. Once they stormed a small fort, and took between forty and fifty Europeans, men, women, and children, without losing a man. This easy victory ought to have inspired them with lenity, but they murdered the greatest part of them in cool blood, dashing even the children

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to pieces against the trees. The Iroquois have more especially been guilty of these barbarities.

They never make peace till compelled by necessity. But as soon as terms of peace are proposed, the Captains lay down their office, and deliver the government of the state into the hands of the Chiefs. A Captain has no more right to conclude a peace, than a Chief to begin war. If peace is offered to a Captain, he can give no other answer than that he will mention the proposal to the Chief; for, as a warrior, he cannot make peace. If the Chief inclines to peace, he exerts his power again, takes the hatchet out of the hands of the Captain, and desires him to sit down; that is, to make a truce. The latter is then obliged to cease from all hostilities, and to keep his men quiet. But the Chief, knowing that this state of inactivity is not agreeable to the Captain, generally chuses him to be the deputy at the ensuing treaty. This is most willingly accepted, for the Captain acquires by this commission an accession of honor and respect.

An embassy of peace, as in general every other embassy, is never committed to one man only. Two or more are always nominated. Sometimes fifteen or twenty persons are chosen ambassadors, according to the strength of the nation in treaty with the other. But one of them is appointed head of the embassy, and it is he that settles the preliminaries, makes speeches, and delivers the strings and belts of wampom. His companions attend in silence, and now and then remind him in case he should forget any part of his commission.

Such an ambassador must not only be an intelligent man, universally respected, but he ought to possess great strength of body to endure the fatigue connected with his employ. When he receives his commission in council assembled, every article to be explained to the other party is dictated to him more than once, and he is called upon to repeat it over and over again, till he can pronounce it without hesitation.

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When a speedy peace is required, the ambassadors must travel day and night, which they easily do, with respect to the road, as they are able, even in a dark night, to distinguish the most obscure path through the woods, hardly discernible by an European eye.

Such an embassy carries the pipe of peace before them, answering to our white flags of truce, and the respect shown to it is such, that an insult offered to the bearer is accounted a crime of the most heinous kind, which the Great Spirit will surely revenge. This pipe is used only in making peace, or settling alliances. The French call it *calumet*, and it has commonly a large head of red marble, three inches deep, and six or eight inches wide. But the red color being the color of war, it is daubed over with white clay, or chalk. The pipe is made of hard black wood, four foot long, and wound round with a fine ribband, neatly decorated with white corals by the women, who endeavour to display their art to the best advantage. Sometimes ornaments are added, made of porcupine quills, with green, yellow, and white feathers.

The ambassadors begin their songs and dances, upon their approach to the town of the opposite party, and are then invited to the dwelling of the head-Chief, where they live very conveniently, as long as the negotiations last.

The meeting is opened by the head-Chief or President, who smokes for a short time out of the pipe of peace, after it has been devoutly turned towards the heavens and the earth. This ceremony is of such importance, that no European governor or ambassador can make peace with the Indians without it.

Afterwards the pipe is handed about among all the ambassadors and members of the council, when each of them takes it up very cautiously, and smokes for a short time. This ceremony being performed, the first man of the embassy or speaker opens his commission, commonly in the true pompous Indian style. He does not appear inclined to make any submission, though his nation is perhaps driven to the  
brink

brink of ruin. All his oratory is displayed to convince the opposite party that it is their interest, not only to make a truce, but to establish a lasting peace. The speaker ought to be well acquainted with every thing relating both to the state of his own people, and to that of the other nations; and to be able to give every one the title due to him. He begins by delivering a string or belt of wampom, and his first address is commonly as follows: "Brother (Grandson, "Father, &c.) I bring this string of wampom, to clear your "eyes, that they may see keenly; to clear your ears, that "they may hear well; and with it I smooth your throat, "that my words may slide down easily; for I do not come "in vain, &c." He then propounds the main subjects of his discourse, in short sentences, confirming each of them by a string or belt of wampom. Having fulfilled every part of his commission, he adds, "Now I have done."

If the strings and belts are handed about in the assembly, and considered attentively; it is a proof that the message is well received. The answer is then given with the same solemnity. The ambassadors having withdrawn, the message is duly considered, each string or belt reviewed, the answer agreed upon, and the strings and belts necessary for its confirmation placed in order. Then the ambassadors are again called, and the president, or any other speaker appointed by the council, holding a string of wampom in his hand, addresses them in the following manner: "Brother (Cousin, "or Grandfather), this string of wampom bids you welcome. "I will extract the thorns out of your feet, which you have "got on the journey; I will cleanse your feet from all dust "gathered by the way; and I will remove the weariness "occasioned by the journey, that your knees may recover "their firmness and strength, &c." Then follows the rest of the answer, expressed in short sentences, and confirmed by strings and belts, delivered to the head of the embassy. The treaty being closed to the satisfaction of both parties, a hatchet painted red, or a war-club, is buried in the ground,

in token of a cessation of all hostilities on each side. They make use of the following expression to signify the stability of the peace thus concluded: "Upon this hatchet we will plant a tree, which shall grow up and reach unto heaven, &c." All the strings and belts exchanged on the occasion are carefully preserved by each party.

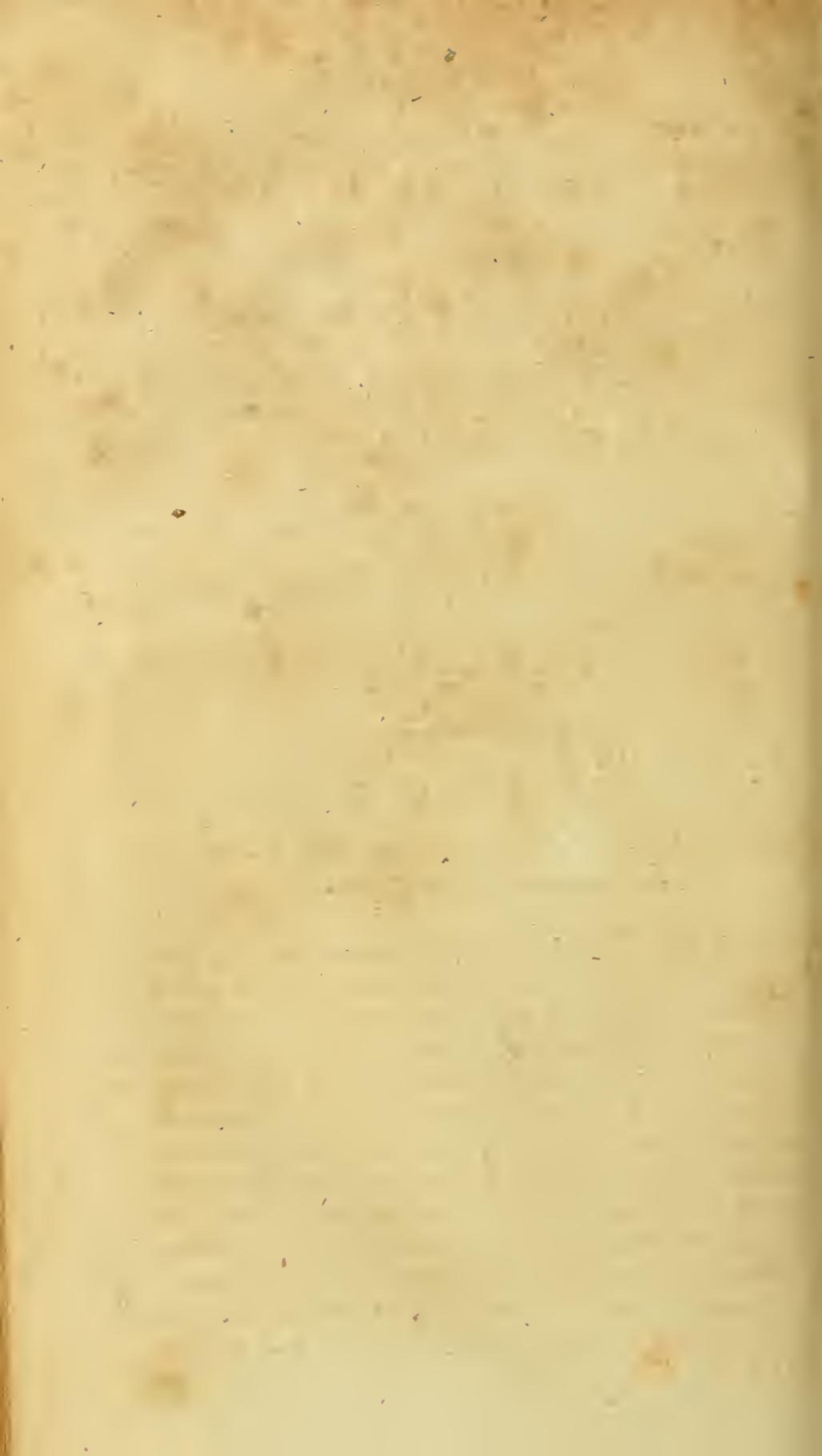
But if the message is not well received, the president will not accept the tokens of confirmation, and though the ambassadors lay them down upon the ground before him, he pushes them away with his stick, and no one dare touch them, but the person who brought them, which is considered as a great reproach to him. The same mode of refusal is observed in case a nation is called to join in a war, or to do any thing disagreeable to them.

When the ambassadors return home with the refusal, the Delawares throw the belt or string of wampom thus rejected, into the council-house; and there it lies till some old woman takes it away.

If two Indian nations enter into a treaty of alliance, a pipe of peace is exchanged between them, which is then called the pipe of covenant. It is carefully preserved, and generally lighted in council whenever any thing occurs relating to the ally, and each member smokes a little out of it. This reminds them in the most expressive manner of the covenant, and the time of its establishment. When the covenant is renewed, the principal ceremony is an exchange of the belts of friendship, which are often from twenty to thirty in number. The principal belt is white, with two black streaks down the sides, and a black spot on each end. By these the two nations are denoted, and the white streak in the middle signifies, that the road between them is cleared of all trees, brambles, and stones, and that every hindrance is removed, to make way for perfect harmony. These ceremonies are always attended with dancing, and as every belt is accompanied by a speech, they often  
continue

continue many days. At the concluding speech, the Indians generally make use of this expression, that their friendship shall last as long as the sun and moon give light, rise and set; as long as the stars shine in the firmament, and the rivers flow with water.

END OF PART I.



# H I S T O R Y

OF THE

## M I S S I O N

OF THE

### UNITED BRETHREN

AMONG THE

Indians in North America.

## PART II.

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### CHAPTER I.

*Establishment of a Mission among the Indians in  
North America by the Brethren.*

**T**O preach the Gospel to the Heathen, especially to the nations described in the preceding Part of this work, with an intent that the fruits thereof should remain, was an attempt attended with no small difficulty. Yet as early as the year 1727, which was soon after the restoration of the Unity of the Brethren, they began to take the conversion of the Heathen in general into the most earnest consideration, believing themselves called by God to preach the Gospel of Jesus Christ to heathen nations, and especially to such, who till then had been left totally ignorant, and whose instruction was not attended to by any other denomination.

After much serious deliberation, the first missionaries from the Church of the Brethren were sent in the year 1732 to

St. Thomas, an island in the West Indies, under Danish government. Others went in the year following to Greenland, and their labors were crowned by God with success, as may be seen at large in the history of these missions.

Not long after, the Brethren had an opportunity of introducing the Gospel to the Indians in North America. For when the Elector of Saxony expelled the followers of Schwenkfeld from his dominions, such of them as resided ever since the year 1725 in Berthelsdorf (a large village in Upper Lusatia, belonging to Count Nicolas Lewis von Zinzendorf and Pottendorf), resolved to go to Georgia in North America, and the Count endeavored to procure a free passage and kind reception for them, from the trustees of the colonies in Georgia residing in London. They therefore left Upper Lusatia in 1734, but upon their arrival in Holland, changed their minds, and went to Pennsylvania. However, the trustees of Georgia, not willing to break off their engagements with Count Zinzendorf, offered to grant him a tract of land in Georgia, to be cultivated by the Brethren. Their offer was accepted, the Brethren hoping by these means to become acquainted with the Creeks, Chikasaw, and Cherokee Indians, and some Brethren resolved to go thither for this purpose. The first company set out from Herrnhut in November 1734, conducted by the Brethren John Toeltschig and Anthony Seyffart, attended with the best wishes and prayers of the whole congregation.

Count Zinzendorf gave them written instructions, in which he particularly recommended, that they should submit themselves to the wise direction and guidance of God in all circumstances, seek to preserve liberty of conscience, avoid all religious disputes, and always keep in view that call, given unto them by God himself, to preach the Gospel of Jesus Christ to the Heathen; and further, that they should endeavor as much as possible to earn their own bread. A promise was likewise given that, as soon as they had settled in Georgia, an ordained minister should follow them.

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They met in London with the Rev. Augustus Gottlieb Spangenberg, late Theologus Adjunctus of the University of Hall in Saxony, who had been dismissed from that place on account of some misunderstandings between him and other divines of that university, almost in the same manner as Counsellor Wolf had been dismissed some time before.

Upon this Mr. Spangenberg went to Herrnhut, and not only became a member of the congregation of the Brethren, but assisted in the ministry. He was then commissioned to treat in London with the trustees of Georgia and General Oglethorpe, then governor of that province, concerning the voyage of these Brethren and their settlement in that country. The worthy General procured the money necessary for their equipment and other expences, and the trustees granted them houses in the town of Savannah, with a piece of ground, till they could clear and cultivate a district given them on the river Ogeeche, and form a settlement upon it. Mr. Spangenberg accompanied them thither, and this first colony arrived in Georgia in the spring of 1735; their number was afterwards increased by a larger company that followed in summer, conducted by David Nitschman. These Brethren settled in the town of Savannah, and God blessed their industry in such a manner, that, in a short time, they not only procured a sufficient maintenance for themselves, but even repaid the money advanced for them in London, and were also enabled to serve their poor neighbors. With the trustees in Georgia, they bore the character of peaceful, quiet, and pious people, not seeking outward advantages, but merely the salvation of the Heathen. It appeared so evidently advantageous to the State in general, that the Indians, who were the aborigines of the country, should be brought to the knowledge of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, that government was very willing to encourage and promote this humane undertaking. The first attempt made by the Brethren was the establishment of a school-house for Indian children of the Creek nation living in their neighborhood, about five miles above the town, on an island of the river Savannah,

called Irene. Many Indians living here in one place, this gave the Brethren an opportunity to preach the glad tidings; that unto them also was born a Savior, who had redeemed them, and purchased for them freedom from sin, and eternal salvation. Most of these Indians understood some English, heard the Brethren gladly, and frequently brought their Chief, or king, Tomo Tschatschi, to hear, as they expressed it, *the great word*. They also made frequent visits to the Brethren at Savannah; and from the accounts of this colony, transmitted by Mr. Spangenberg in the year 1736, it appears, that the Indians in general were well inclined towards the Brethren, and knew very well how to distinguish between them and other white people, who came either merely in pursuit of gain, or led a dissolute life.

Thus this small colony began to prosper, and appearances, both as to externals and the conversion of the heathen, were favorable. Brother Peter Rose and his wife, Anthony Seyffart, Biener, and other Brethren, lived in the school-house, and being thus among the Indians, with whom they continually conversed, they succeeded in their attempts to learn the language. They found an able assistant in the Rev. Benjamin Ingham, an English clergyman, who came to America with the second colony, and having conceived a great regard for the Brethren during the voyage, proved very serviceable in regulating and promoting the aim of the school.

In 1737 the Rev. Peter Boehler, of the university of Jena, was chosen and ordained minister of the colony in Georgia, and arrived there the year following. Brother John Toeltchig returned to Europe in company of Mr. Ingham. Mr. Spangenberg having fulfilled his appointment in establishing the mission in Georgia, went to Pennsylvania, and from thence to St. Thomas to hold a visitation in that mission. He then returned, and remained in Pennsylvania till 1739. Through him the Brethren were made attentive to other Indian nations, especially the Iroquois, or Six Nations. Mr. Spangenberg received the first account of them from Conrad Weisser, a justice of the peace, and interpreter to the government in

Pennsylvania. The governor and proprietor of Pennsylvania had sent this man, in the winter of 1736, to treat with the Iroquois concerning a war ready to break out between them and the Indians of Virginia, and to endeavor to settle the dispute amicably. On this journey of near five hundred miles he suffered great hardships. The weather was uncommonly severe, and he had to force his way, mostly on foot, through deep snow, thick forests, brooks, and rivers, carrying provisions for several weeks on his back. He happened to meet with two Indians on the road, who, seeing that he was almost broken down by hardships, bid him take courage, adding, that what a man suffered in his body, cleansed his soul from sin. These words made an impression upon him: he prayed to God for strength, and was supported.

The Rev. Mr. Spangenberg, to whom he related this, mentioned it in a letter to Herrnhut, and the Brethren immediately became desirous of finding an opportunity to instruct these blind, yet thinking heathen, in the only true way, by which man may be cleansed from sin.

Meanwhile the prosperity of the colony of the Brethren in Georgia received an unexpected check; for the neighboring Spaniards endeavoring to expel the English from Georgia, the latter called also upon the Brethren to join in taking up arms against them. This they refused, having declared, when in London, that they neither could nor would bear arms on any consideration. They repeated their declaration to the trustees in London in a proper manner, and received an exemption from any personal interference with the war. But the people being dissatisfied with them on this account, some of the Brethren, having repaid all the money advanced to them, left their flourishing plantations in 1738, and retired into Pennsylvania. Those that remained enjoyed peace for some time; but the war breaking out again, another application was made to them in 1739 to take up arms, and not willing to repeat their complaints, all of them, with their Minister, Peter Boehler, left the country, and in 1740 joined their brethren in Pennsylvania. Thus the mission

among the Indians in Georgia, after so promising a beginning was at once suspended.

The Brethren, however, wishing, if possible, to preserve the small influence they had gained amongst the heathen, soon after accepted of an offer made to them by the Rev. Mr. Whitefield, to assist him in his establishment in Georgia; and Brother John Hagen was sent thither in 1740. Their view was, that he should not only renew and cultivate the acquaintance made with the Creek Indians, but endeavor in time to go to the Cherokees, learn their language, and preach the Gospel to them.

Hagen, to whom this commission was very important, employed all his leisure time with great faithfulness in endeavoring to accomplish this end. He first went to visit the Creek Indians, with whom the Brethren had lived; but found only the women at home. The men were all gone with General Oglethorpe to fight against the Spaniards, and their chief, Tomo Tschatschi, was dead. Thus, for the present, all prospect of success was at an end. He therefore directed his attention more particularly to the Cherokees, but had then no opportunity of seeing or conversing with any of them at Savannah, their country being between three or four hundred miles distant; nor could he go thither without forsaking the service of Mr. Whitefield, and acting contrary to his instructions. Besides this, an account was received that the small-pox had raged among the Cherokees, and, in a short time, destroyed a great part of that nation. The survivors were very much dejected, believing this calamity to be a punishment for having suffered themselves to be seduced by the white people to drink brandy, and on that account they now abhorred all Europeans. Under these circumstances Brother Hagen would have been neither welcome, nor able to effect any thing amongst them. However, of the 160 Cherokees who had gone to war against the Spaniards, many were brought to Savannah in a dying state: These he visited, preached the Gospel to all who understood English, and even endeavored to learn their own language for that purpose;

purpose; but finding their hearts and ears shut against him, and that no fruits were to be expected, he was obliged to desist, and returned some time after to Pennsylvania. At the same time the Europeans were much terrified by a report that the Indians were determined to take away the life of one European for every Indian who had died of the small-pox, and to clear the country of all white people. They had even made a beginning to put their murderous intentions into execution, and actually attacked one plantation.

Mr. Spangenberg had meanwhile visited Germany in 1739, where the written account he gave to the Brethren at Herrnhut, of the deplorable state of the poor savages in North America, made such an impression upon them, that several single Brethren resolved to venture their lives in endeavoring to make these heathen acquainted with their Creator and Redeemer. Twelve were nominated as candidates for this mission, and one of them, Christian Henry Rauch, was sent, in 1739, from Marienborn to New York, to seek an opportunity to go and preach the Gospel to the Indians.

No extensive plan was aimed at; but the instructions given to such missionaries by Count Zinzendorf, then warden of the congregations of the Brethren, were nearly to this effect: "That they should silently observe, whether any of the heathen had been prepared by the grace of God to receive, and believe, the word of life. If even only one were to be found, then they should preach the Gospel to *him*, for God must give the heathen ears to hear the Gospel, and hearts to receive it, otherwise all their labor upon them would be in vain. He also recommended to them to preach chiefly to such heathen, who had never heard the Gospel; adding, that we were not called to build upon foundations laid by others, nor to disturb their work, but to seek the outcast and forsaken."

Brother Rauch arrived at New York, July 16, 1740. He knew nothing of the people to whom he should declare the Gospel, nor did he know where, and in what manner, he should seek after them; but he was assured of his call, and placed a full confidence in God, that He would assist him, and lead him to

those heathen to whom he was sent. Having no acquaintance in New York, and not knowing to whom to address himself on his arrival, it afforded him great pleasure, unexpectedly to meet with the missionary Frederic Martin, from St. Thomas, by whom he was soon introduced to some pious people. He informed the latter of his views, but instead of giving him any encouragement, they represented to him, that many well-meant, and very expensive attempts had been made to christianize the Indians, but in vain: That they indeed had a church, in which sermons were preached to them, from time to time, and also a schoolmaster, appointed to instruct their children, but they remained in their old sinful course, and were as much addicted to drunkenness, as ever. On this account, no European could dwell among them with safety.

The missionary heard their objections patiently, and expressed his gratitude for their friendship and concern for his welfare, but did not suffer his confidence in God to be shaken in the least. In sole reliance upon Him, who has promised "that his word shall not return void, but accomplish that which he pleases, and prosper in the thing whereto he sends it," he betook himself to prayer, and commended himself and his mission to God. Some days after, he heard that an embassy of Indians had arrived at New York, to treat with government. He went in search of them, and rejoiced that he was able to speak with them in the Dutch language, which they understood, though imperfectly. These were the first heathen he had ever seen. They were Mahikander Indians, ferocious in appearance and manners, and much intoxicated. Having waited till they were sober, he spoke with two of them, called Tschoop and Shabafch, and without ceremony inquired whether they wished for a teacher, to instruct them in the way to salvation? Tschoop answered in the affirmative, adding, that he frequently felt disposed to know better things than he did, but knew not how, or where, to find them; therefore, if any one would come, and instruct him and his acquaintance, he should be thankful: that they were all poor and wicked,

wicked, yet he thought that it might answer a good purpose, if a teacher would come and dwell with them. Shabafch also giving his assent, the missionary rejoiced to hear this declaration, considered it as a call from God, and promised immediately to accompany them on their return, and to visit them and their people; upon which they declared him to be their preacher, with true Indian solemnity. Some days after, he visited them again, but found them so much intoxicated, that they could neither speak nor stand. Upon his third visit he found them sober, and having agreed to set out before them, they promised to call for him at Mr. Martin Hoffman's, on North River. Here he remained some days, waiting in vain for his companions, and then going in search of them to a neighboring Indian town, they missed him, and proceeded on their journey. However, he soon learnt that they lived in Shekomeko, an Indian town, about twenty-five miles east of North River, on the borders of Connecticut, a province of New England near the Stiffik mountain, and accordingly he set out for that place. Before his arrival, Tichoop and Shabafch had announced him as the man whom they had appointed to be their teacher.

He arrived in Shekomeko August 16th, and was received in the Indian manner with much kindness. He immediately addressed them concerning the aim of his visit, nearly to the following effect: "I come hither from beyond the great ocean, to bring unto you the glad tidings, that God, our Creator, so loved us that He became a man, lived thirty years in this world, went about doing good to all men, and at last for our sins was nailed to the cross, on which he shed his precious blood, and died for us, that we might be delivered from sin, saved by his merits, and become heirs of everlasting life. On the third day he rose again from the dead; ascended into Heaven, where he sits upon his throne of glory, but yet is always present with us, though we see him not with our bodily eyes; and his only desire is, to show his love unto us, &c." They heard this unexpected address with great attention, and, to appearance, not without impression. But on the next day, when he began to speak with them on the same

same subject, he perceived with sorrow, that his words excited derision, and at last they openly laughed him to scorn. Not discouraged even by this behaviour, he was indefatigable in visiting the Indians daily in their huts, representing to them the total depravity of their hearts, and their blindness as to spiritual things, extolling the grace of God revealed in Christ Jesus, and the full atonement made by him, as the only way by which they might be saved from perdition.

In the beginning it appeared, according to his own words, as if the devil had strongly fortified his kingdom amongst them, and shut out every good impression. The small success gained by the ministry of many clergymen, both of the English and Roman Catholic churches, proved too evidently the truth of the observations made by his pious friends in New York. For drunkenness and every other vice prevailed among the Indians in the most shocking degree, and robberies and murders were nothing uncommon. Nor would they listen to one word of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, but mocked and laughed, whenever his name was mentioned. These were Mahikander Indians; but the Iroquois were no better, though some of them, having been baptized by Romish priests, wore beads and crucifixes, which they considered merely as additions to their Indian finery.

On this occasion the missionary not only suffered in his mind, but had also to struggle with outward distress and famine. In travelling from one Indian town to the other, he suffered excessive heat and fatigue in the woods, having neither the means to keep an horse, nor money to hire a boat. Nor would any one receive him into his house; so that, according to his own expression, he was as one always seeking, and never finding. But he soon forgot this and every other grievance, when he discovered, that the word of the cross began to be the power of God unto salvation. Tischoop, the greatest drunkard amongst them, was the first, whose heart was powerfully awakened through the grace of Jesus Christ. He asked the missionary, what effects the blood of the Son of God, slain on the cross, could produce in the heart of man. Had the missionary received the most valuable present,

sent, it would not have afforded him a pleasure in the least degree equal to what he felt in hearing this question from a soul who sought salvation. His heart burned within him, whilst he testified to this poor heathen of the power of the blood of Jesus. Soon after this, Shabasch was also awakened, and the labor of the Holy Spirit became remarkably evident in the hearts of these two savages. Their eyes overflowed with tears, whenever Brother Rauch described to them the sufferings and death of our Redeemer. They often lamented their former blindness in worshipping idols, and their ignorance of their God and Savior, who had loved them so much, that he died to save them.

These proofs of the power and grace of God were soon made public. The neighboring Christians in Shekomcko, and particularly the inhabitants of Reinbeck, were stirred up, and became eager to hear the Gospel. They desired the missionary to preach to them in a barn, and many received an abiding blessing. Thus he continued to labor a whole year, never omitting an opportunity to beseech and encourage the heathen to come to Jesus Christ.

But some white people, conceiving their interests would be injured, if the Indians were converted to Christianity, began to stir up the heathen against Brother Rauch, representing him as a man seeking only to deceive and mislead them; by which they were so much irritated, that they at last threatened to shoot him, unless he left the place. He therefore thought it most advisable to depart for a while, and sought shelter with a Mr. Rau, a farmer in the neighborhood. This man first started many objections to his plan of christianizing a set of savages, more like incarnate devils than human beings. But when the missionary declared his confidence and faith, founded upon the power of that blood which Jesus Christ had shed for these savages also; adding, that he intended to earn his bread among them with the labor of his hands, and with the little skill he had acquired in medicine; the farmer, admiring his zeal, offered him lodging and board, on condition that he should instruct his children;

dren; for, added he, "we white people are as wicked and ignorant as the heathen." The missionary considering this as a gracious direction of Providence in his behalf, commenced schoolmaster. But though he attended to this charge with all faithfulness, yet he did not neglect in his leisure hours to make daily visits to the Indians in Shekomeko, though attended with imminent danger of his life: for the white people of that neighborhood continued to prepossess the minds of the heathen against him, by spreading all manner of lies and false accusations, pretending that he only intended to carry away their young people beyond the seas, and to sell them for slaves. Even Tschoop and Shabasch were filled with mistrust, and became disaffected towards him. Some Indians being told, that, if they attended to him, they would certainly go to the devil, left the place to avoid him. Thus not only contempt, mockery, and insults were, as he expresses himself, his daily bread, but several white people sought even an occasion to beat and abuse him. This he avoided by great caution, and a mild deportment. Some threatened to hang him up in the woods; others endeavored to make the Indians drunk, that they might murder him in a drunken frolic. Once an Indian ran after him with his hatchet, and would doubtless have killed him, had he not stumbled and fallen into the water. Even Tschoop, whom he cordially loved, was so much irritated, that he sought an opportunity to shoot him. Shabasch did not seek his life, but avoided him everywhere. Notwithstanding all this, he followed these two persons with patience and much love, praying for them, and sowing the word of God in tears. He was prudent and cautious in all his steps, never suffering his confidence in his Almighty Protector to be shaken, but acting from a good conscience, with firmness and courage. This appears very evident in a letter written by him at that time, in which he expresses himself thus: "I am the most unworthy of all my Brethren, and am convinced, that our Savior does not stand in need of me. And yet he favors me to be his servant. I feel truly as weak as a worm, and

" am

“ am ashamed before him, when I consider my poverty  
“ and insufficiency: Did he not support me daily and hourly,  
“ I should long before now have been overpowered by the  
“ rage and opposition of Satan. But the strength of the  
“ Lord is made perfect in my weakness. Indeed I am now  
“ called *to believe*, what might seem impossible; for there is as  
“ yet not the least trace of that glory of God, which shall  
“ once be revealed among the gentiles. Yet I will continue  
“ to preach the death of the Lord Jesus, for my soul hungers  
“ and thirsts after the salvation of these heathen. To gather  
“ souls for Him, is the chief desire of my heart, and I proceed  
“ upon the word of my Lord in spite of the combined force  
“ of the enemy; for no gate of Hell is so well secured as to  
“ resist the power of Christ to burst it open, &c.”

In these confident hopes he was not disappointed. The Indians began to admire his perseverance, courage, meek and humble behavior, and changed their minds. He frequently spent half a day in their cottages, ate and drank with them, and even lay down to sleep among them with the greatest composure. This latter circumstance made a particular impression upon them, and especially upon Tschoop. Once observing the missionary lying in his hut, fast asleep, he confessed that he was struck with the following thought: “ This man cannot be a bad man, he fears no evil, not even  
“ from us, who are so savage, but sleeps comfortably, and  
“ places his life in our hands.” Upon further consideration he was at length convinced, that all the accounts spread by the white people to his prejudice, proceeded merely from malice. He then endeavored to convince his countrymen, and succeeded so well, that in a short time the former confidence and friendship between the Indians and the missionary was established. They heard his testimonies of the love of Jesus to sinners with renewed eagerness, and began to relish the truths of the Gospel.

Thus the missionary had the joy to see that his labor was not in vain in the Lord; several were powerfully moved by his preaching, and Tschoop was again the first who wiped away  
the

the tears from his eyes, by expressing his anxious concern and desire to experience the power of the blood of Jesus in his heart. It may be easily conceived, how great the joy of Brother Rauch was, when he heard this declaration; and with what eagerness and energy he preached the word of atonement to the poor repenting prodigal. And by this word, the divine power was manifested in him in so effectual a manner, that he not only afterwards became a believer on Jesus Christ, but a blessed witness of the truth amongst his own nation.

The change which took place in the heart and conduct of this man was very striking; for he had been distinguished in all parties met for diversion, as the most outrageous, and had even made himself a cripple by debauchery. Some time after, he related the occasion of his conversion in the following manner:—"Brethren, I have been an heathen, and  
 " have grown old amongst the heathen; therefore I know  
 " how heathen think. Once a preacher came and began to  
 " explain to us that there was a God. We answered—  
 " 'Dost thou think us so ignorant as not to know that?  
 " Go back to the place from whence thou camest.' Then again  
 " another preacher came and began to teach us, and to say—  
 " 'You must not steal, nor lie, nor get drunk, &c.'—We  
 " answered—'Thou fool, dost thou think that we don't know  
 " that? Learn first thyself, and then teach the people to  
 " whom thou belongest, to leave off these things. For who  
 " steals, or lies, or who is more drunken than thine own  
 " people?' And thus we dismissed him. After some time  
 " Brother Christian Henry Rauch came into my hut, and sat  
 " down by me. He spoke to me nearly as follows:—"I  
 " come to you in the name of the Lord of heaven and earth:  
 " He sends to let you know, that he will make you happy,  
 " and deliver you from the misery, in which you lie at pre-  
 " sent. To this end he became a man, gave his life a ran-  
 " som for man, and shed his blood for him, &c. &c.' When  
 " he had finished his discourse, he lay down upon a board,  
 " fatigued by the journey, and fell into a sound sleep. I  
 " then thought: What kind of man is this? There he lies  
 " and

“ and sleeps. I might kill him, and throw him out into the  
“ wood, and who would regard it? But this gives him no  
“ concern. However, I could not forget his words. They  
“ constantly recurred to my mind. Even when I was asleep,  
“ I dreamt of that blood which Christ shed for us. I found  
“ this to be something different from what I had ever heard,  
“ and I interpreted Christian Henry’s words to the other In-  
“ dians. Thus, through the grace of God, an awakening  
“ took place amongst us. I say therefore, Brethren, preach  
“ Christ our Savior and his sufferings and death, if you would  
“ have your words to gain entrance amongst the heathen.”

Tschoop having thus become obedient to the Gospel, Shabafch was soon reclaimed. Though the powers of darkness were constantly at work, not only to keep the Indians in general under the slavery of sin, but particularly to seduce Tschoop and Shabafch from the right way, yet the grace of Jesus prevailed, inasmuch that, in a short time, a small company was collected, consisting of such, who, convinced of their miserable state by nature, expressed a most earnest desire to be delivered from it. Nor were these merely transient emotions; but many Indians, both in Shekomeko, Wachquatnach, Pachgatgoch, and other neighboring towns, were powerfully convinced of the truth of the Gospel. They attended the meetings diligently, and with so good an effect, that in many a very visible change was effected both in their lives and manners.

The missionary also took much pains with the Indians of all ages, to teach them more of the Dutch language, of which some understood a little. He even taught some to read, that they might be the better able to comprehend his words, and to interpret them to their countrymen. In June 1741 he paid his first visit to the Brethren in Pennsylvania, whither, as has been mentioned above, all those Brethren and Sisters who had left Georgia had retired, and by the desire of the Rev. Mr. Whitefield had settled upon a piece of land purchased by him for the establishment of a negroe school. The house intended to be erected for this purpose,  
and

and of which he actually laid the foundation, was called *Nazareth*, from which afterwards the whole manor received its name. Mr. Whitefield having desired the Brethren to finish the building, they undertook it, though attended with great danger; the Indians refusing to quit the country, and threatening to murder the Brethren. However, the Brethren were obliged to leave this place in the year 1740.

After this, a respectable merchant offered to sell them a piece of land about ten miles south of Nazareth in the forks of the Delaware, on the Lecha, an arm of the river Delaware, and Bishop David Nitschman arriving in 1740 with a company of Brethren and Sisters from Europe, they resolved unanimously to buy this land and make a settlement upon it. It was wild and woody, at a distance of eighty miles from the nearest town, and only two European houses stood in the neighborhood, about two miles up the river. No other dwellings were to be seen in the whole country, except the scattered huts or cottages of the Indians. In this place the Brethren built a settlement, called *Bethlehem*, which by their perseverance, industry, and the accession of several colonists from Europe, increased considerably from time to time.

Some time after, the Reverend Mr. Whitefield offered the manor of Nazareth to the Brethren for sale. They accepted the offer, finished the house, and Nazareth became by degrees a very pleasant settlement. The disputes with the Indians concerning the possession of this manor, which in the beginning threatened serious consequences, were at length settled, partly by the Brethren giving way in some instances, that they might not lose the good will, of the Indians, and partly by the issue of a treaty with the Iroquois, and their kind interference, as may be seen from Cranz's History of the Brethren, and Spangenberg's Life of Count Zinzendorf. I have hinted at the first establishment of Bethlehem and Nazareth, not only because the elders of these congregations have hitherto been appointed to care for, support, and attend to the external and internal welfare of the mission among the Indians, but on account of the

close connexion of these Congregations with the believing Indians, in whose prosperity they have always taken the nearest share, and rendered the most effectual services to this mission.

About the time of Christian Henry Rauch's visit in Bethlehem, in the summer of 1741, many Delaware Indians lived in the country, who were not well disposed towards the Brethren. The latter omitted no opportunity of showing a kind disposition to serve them in various ways, and some Brethren even made it their business to preach the Gospel to them: one of them, called Christian Froelich, became acquainted with their captain; his name was Jan, and he could speak a little English. The captain at length conceived such an affection for Brother Froelich, that he offered to make him a present of his son, a boy of about eleven years old. He once invited him to a grand feast, conducted nearly in the same manner as described in the First Part of this work: After the conclusion of the feast, made as usual with a full Indian chorus, the captain asked Brother Froelich, How he liked it? He answered, "If you knew the Son of God, of whom I spoke to you yesterday, your joy and pleasure would be much more substantial." The captain immediately interpreted Brother Froelich's words, and what he had told him of Jesus Christ, the Son of God, to which Froelich added some words by way of exhortation. They were astonished at an address so new, and a general silence ensuing, Brother Froelich continued: "You have just prayed, and sang in your way, and now I beg you to allow me to pray and sing to Jesus, the Son of God; perhaps he may cause you to feel something in your hearts, though you do not understand my words." They gladly assented, and the hut was immediately swept clean. Froelich then kneeled down in the midst of them, and prayed to God our Savior, that he would have mercy upon this poor blind people, for whom he had shed his precious blood. He was so much moved, that he accompanied his prayer with many tears; and several of the Indians could not help weeping with him. One of them even rose, and

taking him by the hand, said, "Indeed I have felt something  
" in my heart."

To return to the history of the missionary Chr. H. Rauch. Having strengthened himself in faith and love during his abode with the Brethren at Bethlehem, he returned to his mission. Bishop David Nitschman went with him, the mission among the heathen being one of the principal objects of his attention in visiting America. He therefore wished with his own eyes to see the seed of the Gospel spring up, and to observe the work of grace prevailing among the Indians. He found great reason to rejoice at the blessing attending the preaching of the word of God, and upon his return made a very favorable report of what he had seen in Shekomeko.

The Brethren meanwhile considered how they might send assistants to labor in this hopeful work of the Lord, and Martin Mack, one of the Brethren from Georgia, and afterwards Bishop and superintendent of the mission among the Negroes in the Danish West India islands, was appointed thereto. In October 1741 the Brethren Buettner, Pyrlaeus, and William Zander, arrived from Europe to assist in the mission. Brother Rauch was indefatigably employed in attending both to the instruction of his host's children, and to the conversion of the savages. The declarations of the latter, who were under concern for the salvation of their souls, supported and strengthened his faith and courage, and it gave him infinite joy when Tschoop came to him of his own accord, and dictated the following letter to the Brethren in Pennsylvania: "I have been a poor wild heathen, and for  
" forty years as ignorant as a dog. I was the greatest drunk-  
" ard, and the most willing slave of the devil; and as I knew  
" nothing of our Savior, I served vain idols, which I now  
" wish to see destroyed with fire. Of this I have repented  
" with many tears. When I heard that Jesus was also the  
" Savior of the heathen, and that I ought to give him my  
" heart, I felt a drawing within me towards him; but my  
" nearest relations, my wife and children, were my enemies  
" and

“ and my greatest enemy was my wife’s mother. She told  
 “ me, that I was worse than a dog, if I no more believed in  
 “ her idol; but my eyes being opened, I understood that  
 “ what she said was altogether folly, for I knew that she had  
 “ received her idol from her grand-mother. It is made of  
 “ leather, and decorated with wampom, and she being the  
 “ oldest person in the house, made us worship it, which  
 “ we have done, till our teacher came and told us of the  
 “ Lamb of God who shed his blood, and died for us ignorant  
 “ people. I was astonished at this doctrine, and as often as  
 “ I heard it preached, my heart grew warm. I even dreamt  
 “ often, that our teacher stood before me, and preached to  
 “ me. Now I feel and believe that our Savior alone can  
 “ help me by the power of his blood, and no other. I  
 “ believe that he is *my* God and *my* Savior, who died on the  
 “ cross for *me* a sinner. I wish to be baptized, and frequent-  
 “ ly long for it most ardently. I am lame, and cannot  
 “ travel in winter, but in April or May I will come to you.  
 “ The enemy has frequently tried to make me unfaithful;  
 “ but what I loved before, I consider more and more as  
 “ dung. I am your poor wild Tschoop.”

At the end of the year 1741, Count Zinzendorf came to Pennsylvania as ordinary of the Brethren, with a view to see not only their establishments in general, but especially the fruits of their labor among the heathen.

Soon after his arrival Brother Gottlob Buettner was sent on a visit to Brother Rauch in Shekomeko, to invite him to a synod of the Brethren to be held at Oly. This visit proved a true cordial to him: Brother Buettner spent ten days with him, rejoicing with amazement at so glorious a work of God begun amongst these wild heathen; and January 14, 1742, he preached for the first time to thirty-two Indians upon the words, *He hath delivered us from the power of darkness, and hath translated us into the kingdom of his dear Son.*

The Indians hearing that these two Brethren intended to set out for Pennsylvania, Shabash, Seim, and Kiop obtained leave to accompany them, to visit the Brethren there; but

Tfchoop, being lame, could not undertake so long a journey at that time. They left Shekomeko January 22d, but being on foot and in the company of Indians, were refused admittance at some inns, and at others, not only laughed at, but their bills were purposely overcharged. However, the Lord helped them through all difficulties, and they arrived at Oly, February 9th, by way of Philadelphia. Here they found Count Zinzendorf and many laborers and ministers of various denominations assembled together. The appearance of the three Indian visitors, whose hearts were filled with the grace of Jesus Christ and the love of God, made a deep impression upon all present. Soon after their arrival a party of Delaware Indians came to see them, to whom they immediately spoke of Jesus Christ, their God and Savior. They likewise declared to the Brethren how much they wished for baptism. Having received the Gospel with a believing heart, been faithfully instructed in the doctrine of salvation, and earnestly desiring to obtain mercy and pardon in the blood of Jesus, the synod first declared them candidates for baptism, and then resolved without delay to administer holy baptism to them in the presence of the whole assembly.

February 11th, 1742, being the day appointed for this important transaction, was indeed a day never to be forgotten in the annals of this mission. The presence of God was sensibly felt during the morning prayer. But immediately after, some ill-disposed people coming from the neighborhood, raised such disturbance that the whole company was upon the point of dispersing, and of postponing this transaction for the present. However, peace and quietness being happily restored, there was a solemn meeting in the afternoon, in which Brother Christian Henry Rauch, and his assistant Brother Gottlob Buettner, were ordained deacons by the two bishops, David Nitschman and Count Zinzendorf. After this act, preparations were made in a barn belonging to Mr. Van Dirk (there being no church in Oly) for the baptism of the above-mentioned Indians, which

was to be administered by the missionary, Christian Henry Rauch. The whole assembly being met, the three catechumens were placed in the midst, and with fervent prayer and supplication devoted to the Lord Jesus Christ, as his eternal property; upon which Brother Rauch, with great emotion of heart, baptized these three firstlings of the North American Indians into the death of Jesus, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, calling Shabash, Abraham; Seim, Isaac; and Kio, Jacob.

The powerful sensation of the grace of God, which prevailed during this sacred transaction, filled all present with awe and joy, and the effect produced in the baptized Indians astonished every one. Their hearts were filled with such rapture, that they could not keep silence, but made known to all the white people who came into their hut, what great favor had been bestowed upon them. They preached a whole night to a party of Delaware Indians, who were in the neighborhood, and by the providence of God were just at that time led to return to Oly. When one ceased, the other began, and their animated testimony of Jesus filled their hearers with admiration. Soon after this, they set out with Brother Rauch, went first to Bethlehem, and having spent some days with the Brethren to mutual edification, they proceeded on their journey, full of spirit and life, in the company of their beloved teacher. When they came home, they testified to all their relations and friends of the grace bestowed upon them by God, and their words made an abiding impression in the minds of the heathen.

On the 16th of April in the same year the first sacramental transaction was performed in Shekomeko, in the midst of an heathen country. Brother Rauch had then the comfort to administer holy baptism to his dearly beloved Tfschoop, whom he called John. This man, who formerly looked more like a wild bear than a human creature, was now transformed into a lamb, and whoever beheld him, was amazed at so evident a proof of the powerful efficacy of the word and sacrament of the Lord. The account of this baptismal transaction,

and above all things, the visible and in every point of view remarkable change effected in the minds and conduct of the four new baptized converts, raised the astonishment of all the savages far and near. And indeed the difference between the countenances of the believing Indians and those of the savages was such, that it was remarked by all who saw them. The fire of the Gospel began now to spread, and kindle in the hearts of many heathen: nothing could be more enlivening than to see them coming from different places, from 25 to 30 miles distant, to Shekomeko, to hear the new preacher, who spoke, according to their expression, of a God who became a man, and had loved the Indians so much, that he gave up his life, to rescue them from the devil and the service of sin. The bold and undaunted testimony delivered by the missionary, of the atonement made by Jesus Christ our Savior, confirmed by the words and deportment of the new-baptized, penetrated into the hearts of the savages, and it appeared as if the Lord would gain a rich harvest in those parts, as a reward for the travail of his soul. As to the new-baptized, no one evinced a more striking growth in grace than John. He possessed also a peculiar gift, of expressing himself in a plain, intelligible, and convincing manner. In a letter he dictated to Count Zinzendorf he describes his former state, and adds, "that he had perceived  
" the first emotion in his heart during the preaching of the  
" cross of Jesus, and that it immediately struck him as  
" something more than common, for he felt himself warmed  
" by it. That his teacher had repeatedly told him, that no  
" one but the crucified Savior could help him, and that he  
" always was ready to help him, if he would only submit;  
" but that having loved so many other things, he de-  
" spaired of being ever able to give them up. That he had  
" cleaved fast to the world, and was full of self-love, mak-  
" ing a god of his belly: fearing also the reproach of man,  
" and yet convinced that, unless he surrendered his whole  
" heart to our Savior, he would be damned on account of  
" unbelief, &c." In another letter he sent to the Count, he concludes

concludes a more extensive description of the uneasiness and anxiety of his heart, occasioned by his former abominable course of life, with these words: "But now I am happy, for I know that our Savior has done much for me; I am now as much humbled as I was sorrowful. As soon as I felt that I loved him, I immediately wished for brethren, who loved him also. Therefore I love my brother Rauch, and you, and all my brethren here, and all brethren everywhere, even those whom I shall never see in this world. All who love the Lord Jesus I love and salute. I rejoice more and more because our Savior makes others likewise happy, and not me only. I am always glad when our Brethren make known to us his word; it is sweet to my taste, and I attend closely, that I may be as the Bible directs. And it is easy. There are men who say, The Bible is a hard book; but I have not come so far, as to find it hard, it is all sweet and easy; I therefore wait patiently till I come to the hard part: As yet I only know that it is easy and sweet, and can add nothing more, except that I feel the power of our Savior's blood.

"JOHN, your Brother."

Brother Gottlob Buettner was hindered from returning immediately to Shekomeko; however, he labored to the utmost of his power to spread the Gospel among the Indians, partly by travelling from Bethlehem to different parts of the country, and partly by preaching the word of God to those Indians who visited Bethlehem. He says, in a letter written to Europe, "I often think of my brethren in all our congregations, praying with great fervency of spirit, that they may all be entirely devoted to the Lord; for there are so many places where our Savior's name is not mentioned, much less worshipped, that if even two hundred witnesses were employed in America, yet many places would be left without the benefit of the Gospel."

## CHAPTER II.

*Travels of Count Zinzendorf among the Indians.  
Establishment of the first Settlement of Christian Indians.*

**I**N the year 1742, Count Zinzendorf, who made the conversion of the heathen an object of his particular attention, undertook three different journies to visit the Indians.

Before he set out, the missionaries, Frederic Martin, Gottlieb Israel, and George Weber, had arrived in Bethlehem, from St. Thomas, with one of their negroe-converts, and there met Brother Rauch and the Indian, John, from Shekomeko. Count Zinzendorf rejoiced exceedingly to be able to converse with these men, formerly the most blind and savage of human beings, but now lovers of God our Savior, and happy believers.

Having frequently conferred with the above-named missionaries concerning the labor among the heathen, he set out from Bethlehem on the 24th of July, with his daughter Benaigna, eleven Brethren, and three Sisters, some of whom spoke English and Dutch, and others a little of the Indian language. He had likewise an Indian guide and interpreter. Their first visit was to the Indian Patemi, who lived not far from Nazareth. He was a man of a remarkably quiet and modest deportment, spoke English well, and had regulated his housekeeping much in the European style. An account he gave of some ceremonies used at the Indian sacrifices, afforded an opportunity to the Brethren to speak to him of the great sacrifice made by the Lamb of God for our sins, which he attended to with much earnestness, and very willingly listened to the admonitions given him by the Count.

In Cliftowacka, they called upon an old Indian whom the people considered as a priest, and whose grandson was sick unto death. The Count prayed for the child, recommend-  
ing

ing it to its Creator and Redeemer. Then Brother William Zander, who was in the Count's company, made known the will of God concerning our salvation to the old Indian, who, as he understood English, afterwards interpreted Brother Zander's words to the Indians assembled in the house, to which they appeared to listen very attentively. From thence the travellers proceeded to another Indian town, chiefly inhabited by Delawares. They were overtaken on the road by a severe shower, accompanied with thunder and lightning. On their arrival the captain's hut was very civilly offered to them for shelter, and having dried their clothes and had a good night's rest, they prosecuted their journey over the Blue Mountains, an European trader, called Remberger, joining their company.

In Pochapuchkung they pitched their tents near the habitation of an Indian physician, who not only seemed to attend to what was told him of Jesus Christ, the Redeemer of mankind, with much emotion, but also repeated it to twelve Indians assembled before the tent, with great energy.

July the 30th they passed a very high and wild range of hills, near the river Schuilkil. The Count perceiving a party of Indians on the opposite bank, waded immediately through the river, which was about three or four feet deep, but was received by the people with such marked coolness, that he returned with an heavy heart. However, soon after, an Indian followed him, to beg the whole company to come over to them, and the Count crossed the water a third time. He had now no reason to repent of his trouble, for the Indians earnestly desired to hear the word of God, which Brother Zander preached to them with power and energy. The last Indian town visited by the Count was Meniolagomekah, from which he returned straight to Bethlehem.

Though his first journey did not appear to be of any great consequence, yet it tended to establish both a better acquaintance and firmer friendship with the Indians; and some years after, both the Indian guide he had employed, and

and almost all the inhabitants of Meniolagomekah, turned with their whole hearts unto the Lord.

About this time a letter arrived from Shekomeko, dictated by the Indian John to the Congregation in Bethlehem, of which the following is an extract :

“ My dear Brethren and Sisters,

“ I love you much. The sensations of my heart  
 “ I cannot describe. I feel that I love my Savior; but I see  
 “ that much is still wanting. Formerly I did not know what  
 “ it was to be a truly humble sinner, but now I find, that the  
 “ poorer in spirit I am, the more happiness I enjoy. I per-  
 “ ceive plainly, that there is no true pleasure but in com-  
 “ munion with our Savior, nor will I have any, but in him.  
 “ I cannot be humble enough, when I consider what he has  
 “ done for me; for I was a very bad man, cold as a piece of  
 “ ice, and dead as a stone. His blood has softened and  
 “ warmed me. This is all I can say to my friends, the  
 “ heathen Indians, for I always think, that when they feel  
 “ the power of our Savior’s blood in their hearts, they will  
 “ be better in one hour, than I have been in two years:  
 “ they know already, that all this is truth, for they now  
 “ perceive that all those that continue in sin, do not believe  
 “ on the great Son of God. Nothing is so important to me,  
 “ as to hear of the blood of my Savior. I also perceive that  
 “ it is the only thing which can melt the hearts of men. I  
 “ am now like a piece of wood in his hands, and he may form  
 “ me according to his good pleasure. I am ready to do every  
 “ thing that is written in the Bible, with a willing heart.  
 “ And I find it true, that I can do all things through Christ  
 “ which strengtheneth me. I also believe that all what  
 “ my teachers say, is really contained in the Bible, and the  
 “ experience of my heart tells me, that it is. For my heart is  
 “ also a book. I find in it every thing that I must tell and  
 “ preach to my friends. I am also convinced, that it is very  
 “ needful for us to form such a congregation, as the Bible  
 “ describes, and to follow the rules contained therein. I  
 “ long for it much, for we are a very wild people, but our Sa-  
 “ vior can make us tame and tractable. If we only be-  
 “ come

“ come his good and willing children, then every thing will  
“ be easy, and may he grant us this grace for his blood’s sake.  
“ I salute all the Brethren and Sisters most cordially, being  
“ your poor finner,

“ JOHN from amongst the Heathen.”

This letter, written in simplicity, though deficient in expression, gave great pleasure both to Count Zinzendorf, and to the whole congregation at Bethlehem, being an evident proof of the great change wrought in the heart of this man, lately so wild and savage. In August, the Count set out in company of Conrad Weisser to visit the people at Tulpehokin. On the 14th, he met with a numerous embassy of Sachems, or heads of the Six Nations, returning from Philadelphia. Though they were extremely wild, and had, on the same day, shot one of their own people, yet he would not omit so good an opportunity of preaching the Gospel, but desired Conrad Weisser to tell them, that he had a word from God to them and their nations, which he and his brethren would proclaim to them: further, that his intention was neither to buy land, nor to trade, but to point out to them the way to everlasting life. Conrad Weisser added: “ This is the man, “ whom God hath sent both to the Indians and to the white “ people to make known his will unto them,” confirming his words, after the Indian custom, by a present of a piece of red cloth. At first the Indians seemed not well disposed, and it was doubtful, what answer would be returned. But the wife of one of the ambassadors just then entering the hut, with a child in her arms; it immediately ran to the Count, and began to play with him. Upon this the father immediately saluted Brother Zander, whom he had seen before; and this circumstance made so good an impression upon the rest, that they immediately held a council. After about half an hour’s consultation, the ambassadors of the Onondago and Cajuge nations came to the Count, and addressed him as follows: “ Brother, you have made a long voyage over the “ seas to preach to the white people and to the Indians. You  
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“ did not know that we were here, and we knew nothing of you. This proceeds from above. Come therefore to us, both you and your brethren, we bid you welcome, and take this fathom of wampom in confirmation of the truth of our words.” Thus a kind of covenant was made between the Brethren and the Six Nations, which was at that time of great importance, for the influence of these nations being very great, they might have considerably obstructed the progress of the Gospel, had they been enemies.

Having a great desire to see the missionary Christian Henry Rauch at Shekomeko, the Count left Bethlehem again on the 21st of August with his daughter Benigna and Brother Anthony Seyffart. They passed over the Blue Mountains to Meniffing and Sopus, where they were joined by another party of Brethren coming from New York, and arrived on the 27th in Shekomeko, after passing through dreadful wildernesses, woods, and swamps, in which they suffered much hardship. The missionary received them into his hut with inexpressible joy, and the day following lodged them in a cottage of bark, erected for them. Count Zinzendorf afterwards declared this to have been the most agreeable dwelling he had ever inhabited. The joy he felt at seeing what the Lord had done in this place was very great, and his heart was filled with the most pleasing hopes for futurity. His chief and indeed most agreeable employment was to converse with the four baptized Indians. In a letter written at that time, he mentions, that his joy over them increased every day. It happened that a clergyman passing through Shekomeko, called on the Count, and entered into a dispute with him concerning the person of the Son of God. The Indian John lay ill on the floor, and began to pray that Jesus Christ would reveal himself to the clergyman. When he was gone, John exclaimed, “ O how will this man be once ashamed, when he learns to know the Lord Jesus !”

During the Count's abode at Shekomeko the following articles were drawn up :

1. As the conversion of whole nations does not at present appear to be at hand, the missionaries ought not to seek for a speedy increase of numbers, but to do their utmost, that the firstlings be well established in faith and love.

2. To this end, great attention and faithful care should be bestowed upon the few who are converted.

3. The Gospel must be preached to all who will hear it; yet none must be baptized but such in whom true life from God, and a living faith in Jesus Christ, is perceptible.

4. Still greater caution is necessary in admitting the converts to the Lord's Supper: and none but such who have proved their faith by their works, and walk worthy of the Gospel, can be admitted to this Sacrament.

5. The missionaries should endeavor to give the converts a clear insight into all divine truths contained in the Scripture; but must be careful, that not merely their heads be filled with knowledge, but that their hearts enjoy and experience the power of the word of God.

6. At the earnest request of the baptized, such regulations shall be made at Shekomeko (as far as circumstances permit) as may be necessary in establishing an apostolical congregation of Jesus, according to the wisdom granted unto us by God.

7. For this purpose, rules and statutes shall be agreed upon, and their observance duly attended to in love and meekness.

8. The four firstlings of the Indian nation shall be first taken into consideration, and appointed assistants of the missionaries in the important work of God amongst their nation, not because they were the first who were baptized, but because a peculiar power of grace and spirit evidently rests upon them. John shall be appointed Indian teacher and interpreter, Abraham elder, Jacob exhorter, and Isaac servant. Further it was

9. Resolved, that six heathen, who were very desirous to receive this seal of the remission of their sins, should be baptized.

Agreeably to these resolutions, a Christian congregation was established in Shekomeko, statutes and regulations were made

made and agreed upon, and the above-mentioned four firstlings were appointed assistants, and blessed for their office with imposition of hands. The Count frequently declared, that they were true servants of God among their nation, to whose conversation, he and his company had often attended with astonishment. On the same day the missionary Rauch administered holy baptism to the six above-mentioned catechumens. This transaction was attended with particular grace and unction: Kaibus was called Timothy; Kermelok, Jonah; Herries, Thomas; Abraham's wife, Sarah; Isaac's wife, Rebecca; and Herries's wife, Esther.

Thus the first congregation of believing Indians established by the Brethren in North America consisted of ten persons. Their sincerity, faith, and love, afforded inexpressible joy to the Brethren; and it was remarkable with what esteem they were treated, even by the wildest savages.

September the 4th, the Count took publicly an affectionate leave of these worthy people, and, surrounded by a large number of Indians, sung an hymn of thanksgiving in the Dutch language; upon which he with his company set out for Bethlehem, accompanied by some unbaptized Indians as guides. Two of them, having answered several questions put to them in presence of the whole congregation with cheerfulness and great emotion, were baptized by the Count and Gottlob Buettner, and called David and Joshua. This was the first baptism of Indians in Bethlehem.

Towards the end of September Count Zinzendorf set out upon his third journey to the Indians, and particularly to those who then lived on the banks of the Susquehannah, a large river flowing into Chesapeak Bay. As there were some towns upon this river, in which Indians of different nations lived together, he took with him Brother Martin Mack and his wife, who could speak the Mahikander language well, and the two Indians Joshua and David, who understood Low Dutch. Conrad Weisser, a man well acquainted with the customs and manners of the Indians, was also willing to accompany him. The river Susquehannah not being navigable in autumn, they took the land-road, through thick woods,  
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low swamps, and over unfrequented and steep mountains, and after much fatigue arrived, on the 28th of September, at Shomokin, a populous Indian town.

The Count was in hopes to find Shikellimus here, who was one of the above-mentioned ambassadors of the Six Nations, for whom he had conceived a particular regard; but Conrad Weisser knowing that he was sent with a message to Onondago, informed the Count that he could not expect to see him. However it so happened, that Shikellimus had met with another captain, to whom he entrusted his commission, and returned to Shomokin. Thus upon the arrival of the Brethren, the Count and Weisser were not a little surprised to see Shikellimus coming to meet them. A savage stepping up to the Count, presented him with a fine melon, for which the latter gave him his fur-cap. Shikellimus kept hold of the Count's hand, repeatedly expressing his pleasure at his arrival, and endeavoring to learn the aim of his coming from Conrad Weisser. The latter told him, that the Count was a messenger of the living God, sent to preach grace and mercy; to which Shikellimus answered, that he was glad that such a messenger came to instruct their nation.

The day after, he came to the Count's tent, and sat down between him and Conrad Weisser the interpreter. The Count first asked Shikellimus, whether he would listen to him attentively; and then proceeded to acquaint him with his motives for taking so long a journey, speaking to him of the grace which Jesus Christ was now willing to impart to these heathen nations. Shikellimus made answer, that the Count's motive was very agreeable to him, and that he would certainly do every thing in his power to forward his design. And indeed he performed his promise, by endeavoring to serve the Brethren wherever he was able. One day the Brethren had assembled to pray the Litany; but the Indians having just then a feast, and making a great noise with drums, music, and singing, the Count sent word to Shikellimus by Conrad Weisser, that the Brethren were going to call upon their God; upon which he immediately procured a general silence.

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On the 30th the Count and his company proceeded on their journey, but Joshua, the Indian guide, being ill, Brother Martin Mack and his wife staid at Shomokin to attend him. Shikellimus having led the whole company on horseback through the Susquehannah, which was then fordable, they took the road to Otstonwackin, and spent that night in the wood. The day following they were met by an Indian who understood French and English, besides a great number of Indian languages. When they approached to Otstonwackin, this Indian rode forward of his own accord, and probably procured the friendly reception the Brethren met with in that place. Otstonwackin was then inhabited not only by Indians of different tribes, but also by Europeans who had adopted the Indian manner of living. Among the latter was a French woman, Madame Montour, who had married an Indian warrior, but lost him in a war against the Catawbas. This woman kindly entertained the Count and his company, and they rested at her house for two days.

From hence Brother Peter Boehler returned with Joshua and David to Bethlehem, and Conrad Weisser went to Tulpehokin, promising to return to the Count at a fixed time; but Martin Mack and his wife, from Shomokin, proceeded in the Count's company to Wajomick.

This place was then inhabited by the Shawanose, a very depraved and cruel people, always at enmity with the Europeans, and invited thither by the Iroquois with a view to protect the silver-mines, said to be in the neighborhood, from the white people. The Brethren encamped in the midst of this savage tribe, and staid twenty days with them. The Shawanose thought, that, as Europeans, they came either to trade or to buy land, and though the Count endeavored to explain the true aim of his coming, yet some suspicion remained. However, he did not omit any opportunity to speak both with the chiefs and the people concerning the way to salvation; and upon some his words appeared to make so great an impression as to give him hopes that they would receive the Gospel; but upon the whole their hearts seemed shut  
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against the truth; and the principal chief or king betrayed a particular enmity on all occasions. Yet the abode of the Brethren in this place led to a better acquaintance with the Indians, and the more the Count saw their great blindness and depravity, the more fervently he offered up prayers in their behalf to God our Savior, as the light to enlighten the Gentiles. Whenever he withdrew into his own tent for this purpose, he only fastened the entrance with a pin, and not one of the savages ventured to enter. It appeared afterwards that the savages had conspired to murder him and his whole company. But God in mercy prevented it; for Conrad Weisser, who could not possibly know any thing of their design, being detained in some town beyond his appointed time, became so uneasy, that he hastened back to Wajomick, and arrived just in time to discover and prevent the execution of this murderous plot.

The return of the Count to the cultivated parts of Pennsylvania was rendered very troublesome, and even dangerous, by the late season of the year, and the great floods; but by the mercy of God, they all arrived safe in Bethlehem November 9th. Meanwhile Brother Gottlob Buettner and his wife had left Bethlehem, and arrived at Shekomeko on the 1st of October, to the great joy of Brother Rauch. These two messengers of peace preached the Gospel with unanimity and zeal, either in English or Dutch, and John, Jonathan, and other baptized Indians interpreted and confirmed their words both in public and private, with great energy. The missionaries likewise read the Bible to the baptized, with a view by degrees to make them well acquainted with the Holy Scriptures; the latter asking questions, or desiring explanations, by which their growth in grace and knowledge was greatly promoted. The Indians also from the neighboring towns made frequent visits to Shekomeko, and seemed never tired of hearing the word of God. Many savages, who formerly had lived like wild beasts, worshipping idols, bloody-minded, and eagerly pursuing all manner of vices and

abominations, flocked now together to hear the Gospel of their Savior, and his atonement; and some were so much moved, that they ceased not to weep during the discourse; some fell upon their faces, and by other signs shewed how deeply the words had penetrated and humbled their hearts. When they returned home, they told all their friends and neighbors, with great rapture, what "great words" they had heard from the Brethren. This was indeed a gracious time of visitation from the Lord. Several brought even their children to the missionaries, begging them to care for and instruct them. Thomas and Esther came and made them a present of their daughter, adding, that they could not educate her as they ought. She was afterwards called Martha in baptism, became a member of the congregation in Bethlehem, and was appointed schoolmistress at a settlement of the Brethren called Litiz.

More Indians having, upon their earnest request, been baptized, a weekly meeting for the baptized only was now instituted, in which they were addressed as persons, who had received mercy; they sung and prayed together, and concluded with imparting to each other the kiss of peace. (Gal. xiii. 12.)

This meeting was frequently distinguished by a most powerful sensation of the presence and peace of God, and the blessed influence it had upon the conduct of the baptized, astonished even the neighboring Christians. Jonathan once related, that the above-mentioned farmer, John Rau, had asked him, how it happened, that now he was not as fond of hunting as formerly? "True," answered he, "I am not, and do not intend to be as great an huntsman as formerly; my desire is now after our Savior; all things belong to him, and he gives them to whom he will. Formerly I was intent upon nothing but shooting and killing; but now my heart is fixed upon my Savior and his wounds; and when I go out and shoot a deer, I thank him for his gifts." A savage being present, replied, "Is it the devil then, who gives the  
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“dear to the heathen Indians?” This gave Jonathan an opportunity to speak to him of the great love of God towards the just and the unjust, for he giveth food to all flesh.

In the above-mentioned meetings of the baptized many useful admonitions were given, and they were particularly exhorted to be diligent at their work, that they might pay their debts and eat their own bread. If any one of them acted not conformably to the rule of the Gospel, he was led with meekness to a confession and amendment of his error.

December 6th, 1742, a burying-ground was laid out for the use of the baptized, and the child Lazara was the first interred in it. A week after this, the missionaries had the joy to administer holy baptism to fifteen persons upon the same day.

Towards the close of the year, Brother Martin Mack and his wife arrived at Shekomeko, and Brother Rauch went on a visit to Bethlehem. Abraham said, “Formerly I used to think, that there was no man like Brother Rauch in the world, but now I am satisfied, if only his Brethren live with us.” Brother Mack, immediately upon his arrival, conceived such a love for the Indians, that, according to his own expression, his heart was knit to them. He acknowledged, with gratitude to God, the grace bestowed upon his wife, towards whom the Indian women had great confidence, so that she even established societies or classes among them, in which they met to converse about the state of their souls, and the Lord laid a special blessing upon these meetings. Brother Mack says in one of his letters, “John is a gifted and zealous witness of Jesus Christ, whom I cannot hear without astonishment. Abraham is a venerable, manly, and solid Brother, preaching to all by his unblameable walk and conversation; he is also possessed of gifts to testify of our Savior with energy and power.”

At the end of the year 1742 the number of baptized Indians in Shekomeko was thirty-one, most of whom were baptized in that place and a few in Bethlehem, where they frequently visited. They were all of the Mahikander tribe,

for the Iroquois seemed more willing at that time to promote the Gospel among others, than to receive it themselves.

About this time the Brethren became more than ever convinced that great caution and circumspection would be requisite in their labors, for many tribes among the Indians bore an irreconcilable hatred towards the Europeans, and were much dreaded by them. For these reasons, a suspicion might easily arise in the minds of the Christian magistrates, as though the Brethren were secretly in league with the hostile Indians, their conduct towards them differing so much from that of other Europeans.

### CHAPTER III.

*Count Zinzendorf returns to Europe in the Beginning of the Year 1743. More Missionaries are sent to Shekomeko. Account of their Manner of living. First Visits paid to Pachgatgoch and Potatik. First Celebration of the Lord's Supper, and Consecration of the first Chapel in Shekomeko. Better Regulations made for the Service of the Congregation. Endeavors of some Enemies to oppose the Labors of the Brethren among the Indians. First Visit in Freehold and other Places.*

**T**HE eagerness with which the Indians received the Gospel of Jesus Christ our Savior, soon called for a greater number of laborers in this harvest. But that the Brethren might everywhere follow the same principles in spreading the Gospel, and in their attendance upon the baptized among the different heathen nations, to whom they were sent, Count Zinzendorf drew up some articles for the instruction of the missionaries in general, founded upon the doctrines of the holy Scriptures, and upon the experience hitherto acquired by the missionaries.

This worthy nobleman, having done every thing in his power towards the conversion of the heathen in North America, and the furtherance of the Gospel among them, returned to Europe in the beginning of the year 1743. Previous to his departure he sent Brother Joseph Shaw to Shekomeko, as school-master of the Indian children. Brother Rauch, who had married in Bethlehem, returned to Shekomeko, and continued to labor there jointly with the Brethren Buettner and Mack. Not long after, the Brethren Pyrlaeus, Senseman, and their wives, went to serve the same mission, and also Frederic Post, who afterwards married a baptized Indian woman. Brother Buettner and his wife remained in Shekomeko during the greatest part of the year 1743. The other missionaries spent most of that period in visiting other places, especially Wechquatnach and Pachgatgoch, the inhabitants having earnestly and repeatedly desired the Brethren to come and instruct them. They freely told the missionaries that some people in Freehold had offered them rum, if they would kill Brother Rauch; and expressed their astonishment, that the white people were so enraged, that the doctrine of Jesus Christ should be preached to the Indians, when they themselves were amused with so many foolish things. By this it was evident, that the enmity of many so called Christians against the work of God among the heathen had not wholly subsided; but the missionaries were quiet, blessing them that cursed them, yet never suffering themselves to be disturbed in their important calling, and sacrificing every convenience of life to this blessed service.

They earned their own bread, chiefly by working for the Indians, though the latter were not able to pay much for the produce of their labor. They lived and dressed in the Indian manner, so that in travelling to and fro they were taken for Indians. But whenever they could not subsist by the work of their own hands, they were provided with the necessaries of life, by the Brethren at Bethlehem.

In their calling and service they met with much opposition and many hard trials. The cunning and power of Satan and his emissaries seemed constantly employed against them, and

frequently brought them into distress and danger. But God our Savior mightily supported them, and imparted to them extraordinary courage and faith, to resist and destroy the machinations of the enemy. Strengthened by many undeniable proofs of the power and grace of God, they remained unshaken in their resolution to preach the Gospel with boldness, sensible of their own insufficiency, but in humble reliance upon the support of the Lord, to whom they made constant prayer and supplication, with full assurance of being heard. Brother Buettner was once going to visit some neighboring heathen, and was suddenly seized with a vomiting of blood. He kneeled down, and prayed to the Lord, that he would strengthen him, having a great way to walk before night. His prayer was heard, and he performed his journey.

Most of those Indians, who visited at Shekomeko and were truly awakened, lived in Pachgatgoch, about twenty miles from Shekomeko, in Connecticut. They first addressed the magistrates, and begged for a Christian minister; but their petition being rejected, they sent to the Brethren, begging that a Brother would come, and preach to them "the sweet words of Jesus." Upon this the missionary Mack and his wife went thither on the 28th of January, and took up their abode with the captain of the town, whose whole family was awakened. The savages received him with great joy, and observed, that he and his wife must love them very much, to travel so far to visit them, in this bad season of the year. Mack assured them it was so, and then informed them of the aim of his visit.

During his stay at Pachgatgoch, a man arrived there belonging to a sect, called the New Lights, and preached to the savages full two hours, declaring that God was exceedingly wroth with them, and would send them all to Hell. The poor heathen, who were already convinced of, and alarmed at their wretched and forlorn estate by nature, could find no comfort in this doctrine, but came to Brother Mack, to desire, that he would preach to them; adding, that this  
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white man held a doctrine different to that preached in Shekomcko, not speaking a word of the blood of Jesus. When Brother Mack began to speak of the happiness of those who believe in the Lord Jesus, and by him are delivered from the power of sin and its condemnation, there was a great emotion among the people, and they observed among themselves, how happy they should be, if the Lord would be as gracious to them, as he had been to their countrymen at Shekomcko. Upon another occasion, when Brother Mack was conversing with them of our Savior, a woman began to weep bitterly, and said: "I know, that my heart is very bad, but I cannot help myself." Brother Mack pointed out Jesus unto her, as the only help in time of need, and taking this opportunity to declare to them, that freedom from the dominion of sin was obtained alone through faith in the crucified Jesus, they all said: "Yes, this is true, this is the right way, of which we have hitherto been ignorant: these are not mere words, they proceed from our teacher's heart."

Their various questions proved often a welcome opportunity to bring the Gospel home to their hearts, and to declare the whole counsel of God concerning their salvation. This produced such an effect, that Brother Mack observed in one of his letters: "I cannot describe what these people feel, when we speak to them of the Lamb of God and of his sufferings; they seem all alive, whenever the discourse turns upon this subject." In general, the love of God kindled in the hearts of many in this place.

From Pachgatgoch Brother Mack went on a visit to Potatik, about seventy miles further inland. He had been expressly invited by the captain of the place, who formerly was so violent an enemy to the Gospel, that he threatened to tomahawk or shoot any one who should dare to speak a word of Jesus Christ.

Brother Mack and his wife left Pachgatgoch on the 4th of February. At taking leave the people wept, and earnestly entreated them to return soon. In Potatik they entered the first hut they arrived at. The Indian received them in the kindest manner, and inquired, whether they came from

Shekomeko, adding, that it appeared so to him by their countenances. He then told them, that he had begun, about a year and a half ago, to go to church. Being asked his reasons for it, he made answer, that his late daughter in her last illness was much afraid of being damned eternally: that on this account she had sent for a Christian preacher, who heard her complaints, and then advised her not to do any work on Sunday, not to steal, nor to lie, but to go diligently to church, and to pray much, and then she would become acceptable to God: that upon this, his daughter addressed him, "Father, I perceive that this advice comes too late, for I am now going to die, but you must not wait so long, else you will be also lost;" and soon after expired: that ever since that time he had endeavored to do good; but found, that he could not well accomplish it. As to doing no work on Sunday, this was easy, but as to the rest, he could not help transgressing, and that repeatedly. The preacher, whose advice he asked, told him that he did not come often enough to church. But he found that he always remained the same, being like a man chained down, and not able to move. Brother Mack asked him, whether he believed on the Lord Jesus Christ our Savior? He answered, "No, I cannot say I do." This gave the missionary an opportunity of declaring to him, that if he believed on Jesus Christ, the eternal God, who became a man, and redeemed him from the power of Satan with his own precious blood, then he would not only become free from stealing, lying, swearing, and the like, but be delivered from the dominion of all sin. He declared, that he had never heard of this before, expressed great joy at Brother Mack's arrival in Potatik, brought him to the other heathen, and gave them an account of the conversation between him and the missionary. Meanwhile a large number assembled, to whom Brother Mack made known the aim of his journey, desiring them to permit him and his wife to live with them in their huts for a few days. They behaved very friendly, being not able sufficiently to express their surprise, that merely on their account, he should have undertaken so long a journey through  
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the woods. Messengers were immediately dispatched to call the Indians from the neighboring places, and all the towns-people assembled in the evening. They asked many questions, and were astonished at all they saw and heard, but more especially, that the missionary and his wife could venture to come and eat and sleep with them. They had already heard of the grace bestowed upon their countrymen at Shekomeko, and knew how notoriously wicked the inhabitants of that place had formerly been. To this Brother Mack replied, "It is the desire of the Lord our Savior to grant unto you the same happiness, and he requires you only to deliver yourselves over to him; wretched as you are he will gladly forgive your sins, deliver you from the yoke of Satan, and make you a people well-pleasing unto him."

They considered these words as being of great importance, and continued their conversation with the missionary till midnight. As soon as the latter left off speaking, they repeated his words to one another in their own language, adding, that they had never heard any thing like it. Many of these Indians spoke Dutch and English, and the rest conversed with Brother Mack in their own language, his wife being the interpreter, having been brought up among the Mahikander Indians. The day following an English gentleman visited the missionary, and kindly offered him a lodging in his house, representing the danger of living constantly with the Indians. But Brother Mack answered, that having come hither merely on their account, he wished rather to stay with them. Some Indians overhearing this conversation, were greatly surprised, and told the rest, how much more the missionary loved them, than any one had done before; adding, that but few people of that description were in the world, and expressing their thankfulness to the missionary and his wife in the kindest terms. Brother Mack improved this opportunity to describe the great love of Jesus unto all men, observing, that all those in whose hearts the love of God is shed abroad, are constrained to love their fellow-men with a true and genuine love. The captain then came forward, and addressed his people, observing, that if they

they intended to be converted, they should do it with their whole heart, for when he should resolve upon it, he intended to do so. The next day, very early, a woman came to the missionary, and told him, that she had not slept all night; for his words had sunk into her heart, and made her uneasy; that she therefore considered this as a sign, that the Lord intended to make her happy.

Brother Mack was also frequently visited by the Europeans, who were amazed at his intrepidity in dwelling among the Indians. One of them listening to a conversation between Sister Mack and the Indian women, asked an Indian who stood by, what he thought of her? His answer was: "She believes what she speaks; I never heard any one speak with such confidence, for her words proceed from her heart." Another time, the captain accidentally stepped into Brother Mack's hut, when some Europeans were there on a visit. He addressed them immediately: "You ought to be ashamed of yourselves to have been so long amongst us, and never to have told us any thing of what we hear from this man. He tells us what he has felt in his own heart, shows us the state of our hearts, and hits the mark exactly. But you chatter and read in books, and never do the things you preach to others. From him we learn how we may be saved."

To this bold address the Europeans made no answer. Brother Mack also visited the English minister, who seemed well pleased with the labor of the Brethren among the Indians.

When he mentioned his intention to return to Pachgatgoch, all the Indian inhabitants assembled, to take leave of their guests. He asked them, whether they would remember him in love, but they could hardly make any reply for weeping. He then kneeled down and prayed for them, recommending them to the mercy of God. They wept much, and said: "We feel that we are great sinners, and now you go and leave us alone." Having spoken some words of consolation, he set out on his return to Pachgatgoch.

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Here he was met by the missionary Buettner and the Indian Joshua; and soon after, six Indians belonging to this place were baptized. Great grace prevailed among the people, and, according to the account of the missionaries, it was evident that the Holy Ghost was poured out upon them at their baptism. They afterwards spent great part of the night in prayer, and in the day-time went about preaching Christ to their own countrymen. Among those, who were then baptized, was the captain of Pachgatgoch, Mawefeman, named Gideon in baptism, and a son of the Indian brother Isaac in Shekomeko. About two months before, the latter went to visit his father, whom he had not seen for eight years. But as he did not relish the Gospel, he soon felt himself uneasy at Shekomeko, and retired to Pachgatgoch. Here the awakening had just commenced, his uneasiness increased, and he was no longer able to resist the grace of God and the power of his word, but sought and found remission of sins in the blood of Jesus. The edifying example of the six firstlings at Pachgatgoch influenced many other Indians. They soon made a visit in Shekomeko, accompanied by twenty-seven Indians, both from Pachgatgoch and Potatik, who came to hear the "sweet words of life." This enlivened the missionaries greatly, and gave them boldness in preaching the Gospel.

The idea of the first love, spoken of in Rev. ii. 4. was here realized and eminently obvious in the declarations of the baptized Indians, concerning our Savior and their experience of his grace, and in their behavior towards each other. Gideon begged, that a missionary might come to reside in Pachgatgoch, and four deputies arrived from Potatik to ask the same favor. This occasioned Brother Mack to go thither a second time. He found them all very eager to hear the Gospel. Above twenty baptized Indians from Shekomeko went with him, and were his faithful fellow-laborers. John was remarkably animated, to the astonishment of all his countrymen. He had a peculiar gift to render the subject he was speaking upon, clear and perspicuous. Sometimes he made use of figures, after the Indian manner. For  
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instance, in describing the wickedness of man's heart, he took a piece of board, and with charcoal drew the figure of a heart upon it, with stings and points proceeding in all directions: "This," said he, "is the state of a man's heart; while Satan dwells in it, every evil thing proceeds from it." With Indians, this simple figure tended more to illustrate his discourse, than the most elaborate explanation. Joshua and Gideon bore likewise very powerful testimonies of the doctrine of our Lord's atonement; for having an experimental knowledge of it in their own hearts, they could not hold their peace.

During the time of Brother Mack's second visit in Potatik, Gideon remained in Pachgatgoch. Here he was one day attacked by a savage, who, presenting his gun to his head, exclaimed: "Now I will shoot you, for you speak of nothing but Jesus." Gideon answered: "If Jesus does not permit you, you cannot shoot me." The savage was so struck with this answer, that he dropped his gun, and went home in silence. During his absence, his wife had been taken extremely ill, and as Brother Mack just then returned to Pachgatgoch, the poor savage ran to meet him, begging that he would come and tell him and his wife something of God, though only two days had elapsed since he had resolved to shoot every one who should speak to him about conversion. Brother Mack went with him, and found a great number of Indians gathered together, to whom he and his Indian assistants, Joshua and Gideon, preached redemption in Christ Jesus with such power and unction, that the poor people were greatly affected.

It was a very moving sight, to see the good people of Pachgatgoch take leave of the missionary and his company. They all met together, and declared, that though he had been a fortnight with them, they were yet very hungry after his words, and then begged, that he would preach to them once more; upon which he spoke for some time of the power of the blood of Christ. When he had finished, Joshua rose and continued the discourse, and being hindered by his

tears

tears from proceeding, Samuel continued, and then Gideon confirmed it. The emotion among the hearers was such, that Brother Mack declared, he had never seen any thing equal to it.

The conference of Elders in Bethlehem, to whom the superintendency of this mission was committed, sent now and then a Brother to visit the missionaries in Shekomeko. During the course of this year, Bishop David Nitschman, and the Brethren Peter Boehler, Anthony Seyffart, John Hagen, and Nathanael Seidel, spent some time there, and were filled with wonder and gratitude, in beholding the powerful effects of the spirit and grace of God among these heathen.

Some years ago, Anthony Seyffart wrote in a letter to me: "I still remember with great pleasure what I frequently saw in the year 1743 at Shekomeko, where the Indians, in large bodies, upwards of an hundred in number, upon hearing the Gospel of our Savior, wept over their misery and transgressions, praying for the remission of their sins. Thus those lines in an ancient hymn were here realized:

"And tho' a bear, he's soften'd to a lamb;

"Tho' cold as ice, his heart is set on flame."

Some Brethren went also from Bethlehem to preach in different Indian towns in the neighboring countries, especially among the Delawares, though at that time they had positively declared, that they would not hear any thing of the God of the Christians. We must here observe, that during these journies, which were frequently attended with much fatigue and danger, they were much encouraged and comforted by a book in use among the Brethren, containing words of Scripture for each day in the year, which proved at times very applicable to their circumstances. Two of these messengers of peace were on one day obliged, both to pass through a forest on fire, and to cross a large brook, which had overflowed its banks. The text for that day was, *When thou passest through the waters, I will be with thee:*

*thee: and through the rivers, they shall not overflow thee: when thou walkest through the fire, thou shalt not be burnt; neither shall the flame kindle upon thee: Isa. xliii. 2.* Though these visits were not productive of any immediate good, yet the kindness, with which the Indians were treated by the Brethren, left a strong impression upon their minds, and the fruits appeared in due season.

The Indian congregation in Shekomeko continued to increase in number and grace; there was only one thing wanting, namely, the administration of the Holy Communion, and the missionaries began to think it wrong to withhold this great gift, granted by Jesus Christ himself, in his last testament, to his whole church, from this congregation of believing Indians. After much serious deliberation, ten of the baptized were nominated to be the first, who should partake of the Lord's Supper. They were previously instructed in the doctrines contained in the Holy Scriptures, relating to this sacrament, viz. that in the Holy Communion they partook of the body and blood of Jesus Christ, according to his word; that they were thereby united to him by faith, and would receive a repeated assurance of the forgiveness of their sins. Then the missionaries prayed over them, recommending them to the faithful tuition of the Spirit of God, that he himself might prepare their hearts for this blessed enjoyment.

March the 13th was the great day on which the firstlings of the Indian nations should be admitted to the participation of this sacred repast. The baptized first met to partake of a love-feast; according to the custom of the apostolic churches, during which, the great grace already bestowed upon them, and the future blessings to be imparted unto them by our Savior, were spoken of. Afterwards the candidates for the Lord's Supper had the Pedilavium (John, xiii. 14.), and having been confirmed with imposition of hands, this solemn meeting was concluded with the kiss of peace. Then this small congregation of Indians enjoyed the Holy Communion, according to the institution of our Lord Jesus Christ

in remembrance of his death. At this opportunity his divine presence was felt in such a manner, that the hearts of all present were filled with love and awe; all were melted into tears. The missionary writes: "During the subsequent meeting for adoration and thanksgiving, we were overcome with weeping, and whilst I live, I shall never lose the impression this first Communion with the Indians in North America made upon me."

At the second Communion on the 27th of July, twenty-two Indians were present, among whom were some from Pachgatgoch. The day following one of them declared, that he never thought any one could feel so happy in this world; but that he could not find words to express his sensations. Most of them made the same declaration.

The believers being much intent upon forsaking every thing belonging to, or connected with heathenism, and desiring to walk in all things worthy of their heavenly calling as a church of God, they unanimously agreed to make even more statutes and regulations than those recommended to them by Count Zinzendorf, to which every one, who would live amongst them, should conform. And that these statutes might be strictly complied with, they appointed Brother Cornelius, formerly a captain among the savages, to be overseer. Having accepted of the charge, he called the inhabitants together, explained the statutes to them in a very engaging manner, and afterwards acted in his capacity as overseer, with great faithfulness and to general satisfaction. However, one day, after the Communion, he came and begged to be dismissed from this office, alledging, that he had felt such happiness during the sacrament, that he had resolved to retire from all public business, and to devote his whole time to an uninterrupted intercourse with our Savior. Nevertheless he was easily persuaded to keep his post till another brother should be found to succeed him, with this condition, that he should no more be called Captain, for, added he, "I am the least amongst my brethren."

In July the new chapel at Shekomeko was finished and consecrated, some of the elders of the congregation at Bethlehem

lehem being present. This building was thirty feet long and twenty broad, and entirely covered with smooth bark. The daily meetings were now regulated in a better manner. The congregation usually met every forenoon to hear a discourse delivered upon some text of Scripture. Every evening an hymn was sung. A monthly prayer-day was likewise established, on which, accounts were read concerning the progress of the Gospel in different parts of the world, and prayer and supplication made unto God for all men, with thanksgiving. The prayer-days were peculiarly agreeable to the Indians; especially because they heard, that they were remembered in prayer by so many children of God in other places. Both on these days, and on all Sundays and festival days, Shekomeko seemed all alive, and it may be said with truth, that the believers showed forth the death of the Lord, both early and late. One day above one hundred savages came thither on a visit, and one of the missionaries observed, that wherever two were standing and conversing together, our Lord Jesus, and his love to sinners, as the cause of his bitter sufferings, was the subject of conversation. The zeal of the baptized Indians in testifying of our Savior was such, that they were thus employed even till after midnight.

The missionaries were also daily excited to thank and praise God, for the manifold proofs of the labor of his Spirit in the hearts of the Indian Brethren and Sisters. Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and John, and their wives, were well established in the principles of the Christian faith, and observed all the instructions given in the Scriptures concerning holy matrimony, how in that state they should conduct themselves according to the will of God. Even when any of them displeased the missionaries by improper conduct, the latter were often comforted, by seeing their readiness to acknowledge their fault, and their desire to be led again into the right way. Jonathan spent several days in great uneasiness. He had had a dispute with some of his brethren, and though he was willing to ask pardon of the Lord, yet he could not be satisfied, but whenever he prayed to him,  
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was always led in his heart to own his fault before his brethren. At last he did so, and this circumstance taught him to know himself still better. Another baptized Indian had suffered himself to be seduced to drunkenness by some wicked Indians. The whole congregation were grieved on this account; but the Brethren were desired in the public meeting, not to treat their brother harshly, but rather to recommend him in prayer to the pardon and mercy of Jesus; as he most sincerely repented of his fault. After some days, he was assured of the forgiveness of the congregation, and readmitted to their fellowship. An old Indian, called Solomon, who was awakened, but could not submit to own himself so great a sinner as he really was, removed with his whole family from Shekomeko, promising to return, perhaps in three weeks. But that same evening he came back, and declared, that he could not leave the place; upon which the Indians observed to one another, that Solomon could not run away from our Savior. Jonas, whose wife was still unbaptized, and had resolved to leave him, asked the missionaries, how he should conduct himself in this case, promising to follow their advice, as a child. He was advised to behave with meekness and kindness, but yet to show firmness in his conduct towards her, and John was desired to speak to the woman, and to persuade her to return to her husband. This had so good an effect, that she said, "It is true, my heart is so bad, that I must do evil, though I would not." John having told her with great energy how she might be delivered from that evil heart, she returned, staid with her husband, and some time after was truly converted to the Lord.

Shekomeko was now sufficiently supplied with missionaries; so that nothing might be neglected in Pachgatgoch, another Martin Mack and his wife removed thither, built an Indian hut of bark, and being surrounded on all sides with hills and rocks, frequently called to mind the favorite lines, sung by the ancient Bohemian Brethren:

" The rugged rocks, the dreary wilderness,  
 " Mountains and woods, are our appointed place.  
 " 'Midst storms and waves, on heathen shores unknown,  
 " We have our temple, and serve God alone."

Yet for the Lord's sake, he and his wife were contented to live here in poverty, and gladly to suffer hardships. But the great awakening in Pachgatgoch soon raised the attention of the whole neighborhood, especially of some white people, who did every thing in their power to seduce the Indians to forsake the Brethren. For having been accustomed to make the dissolute life of the Indians, and chiefly their love of liquor subservient to their advantage; they were exceedingly provoked, when they saw, that the Indians began in truth to turn from their evil doings, and to avoid all those sinful practices, which had hitherto been so profitable to the traders. They first spread every kind of evil report against the missionary and his intentions, and finding that these were not listened to, they persuaded a clergyman of the church of England in the neighborhood, to join in their measures. A parish overseer was therefore sent to tell the Indians, that they should send to New England for a minister and schoolmaster, and that the governor would pay their salaries. To this, the Indians answered, that they had teachers already, with whom they were well satisfied, and upon the overseers observing, that the Brethren preached false doctrine, they replied: " You never disturb your  
 " people in their way of living, let it be ever so sinful, and  
 " therefore do not disturb us, but suffer us to live as we  
 " are taught. There are many churches in your town  
 " and various sects, each of whom calls the doctrine it pro-  
 " fesses, the only right way to heaven, and yet you grant  
 " them full liberty; therefore, permit us likewise to believe  
 " what we please, though you should not think it right.  
 This answer only tended the more to enrage the adversaries. They publicly branded the Brethren with the names of papists and traitors, and the missionaries Mack, Shaw, and Pylacus (the two latter being on a visit in Pachgatgoch), we take

taken up as papists, and dragged up and down the country for three days, till the governor of Connecticut, hearing their case, honorably dismissed them. Yet their accusers insisted on their being bound over in a penalty of 100l. to keep the laws of the country. Being not fully acquainted with all the special laws of the province, they perceived the trap laid for them, and thought it most prudent to retire to Shekomeko. Many of the believing Indians followed them, and the rest made repeated visits to the missionaries. However, Brother Mack's wife ventured, some months after, to go on a visit to the Indian women at Pachgatgoch.

Here she heard, that the enemies continued to take much pains to entice the Indians to forsake their connexion with the Brethren, and to desist from going to Shekomeko. One of them endeavored to represent it as great folly in them, to fatigue themselves by so long a journey, when, if they would come to hear him preach, he would even give them money. Gideon answered: "We do not desire to hear your words for money: I and my friends seek the salvation of our souls, and on this account, the road to Shekomeko never seems too long, for there we hear the enlivening words of the Gospel."

Meanwhile the missionary Rauch had visited the country about Albany, Shochary, and Canatshochary on the North River, and on the 23d of August arrived at Freehold, where he found a large company of Indians gathered around a dying person. As soon as the patient heard that a teacher had arrived from Shekomeko, he exhorted his countrymen to hearken to his words, and addressing the missionary, bequeathed to him his hut in case of his death, which happened that same night. Brother Rauch having made known the aim of his coming, the Indians held a council, and sent him word, that they had resolved to intreat him to dwell with them, and to instruct them in the knowledge of God; for that they had long wished to become like the people in Shekomeko. He immediately began to tell them of the love of God our Savior to lost sinners, and of the sufferings

and death of Jesus. Some smiled, others were still, and seemed struck with wonder. But about three weeks after, some white people came and endeavored to irritate the minds of the Indians against him. They even distributed rum amongst them, with a view that in a drunken frolic they might set their dogs at the missionary, or even kill him: and though the savages refused to do this, yet they lost their confidence, Brother Rauch having being described as a deceitful and dangerous man. Notwithstanding all this opposition, some of the most savage of these Indians were gained for the Lord. One of them publicly burnt his idols, and in a speech delivered to his countrymen on this occasion, lamented his former blindness and ignorance of the true God, exhorting them all to surrender their hearts to the Lord Jesus. His discourse was so full of energy, that many were struck with conviction, and some became truly concerned for the salvation of their souls. Towards the close of the year, several of the inhabitants of Freehold were made partakers of the grace of God; but others, not conceiving how such a change could possibly be wrought in man, suspected Brother Rauch of sorcery, and that he could make people like himself, by some kind of magic spell.

Amidst all these endeavors to convert the Mahikander and Delaware nations, the Iroquois were not forgotten. But a thorough knowledge of the Maquaw or Mohawk language being required, to be able to preach the Gospel to them, Brother Pylaeus went to Tulpehokin, where he remained three months with Conrad Weisser to study this language, and afterwards moved with his wife into the interior part of the Iroquois country, and took up his abode with the English missionary, in Juntarogu. Conrad Weisser had an inclination to follow him, and, on his way, called at Shekomeko. He was a man possessed of a thorough knowledge of the Indians and their manners, and though willing to assist, had always doubted the possibility of their conversion. His astonishment at what he saw and heard in this place, is evident from the following letter written to Brother Buettner,

missionary at Shekomeko: "I was very sorry not to have  
 "seen you at Shekomeko, owing to your indisposition. But  
 "the pleasure I felt, during my abode there, has left a deep  
 "impression upon me. The faith of the Indians in our  
 "Lord Jesus Christ, their simplicity and unaffected deport-  
 "ment, their experience of the grace procured for us by  
 "the sufferings of Jesus, preached to them by the Brethren,  
 "has impressed my mind with a firm belief, that God is  
 "with you. I thought myself seated in a company of pri-  
 "mitive Christians. The old men sat partly upon benches,  
 "and partly upon the ground for want of room, with great  
 "gravity and devotion, their eyes steadfastly fixed upon their  
 "teacher, as if they would eat his words. John was the  
 "interpreter, and acquitted himself in the best manner.  
 "I esteem him as a man anointed with grace and spirit.  
 "Though I am not well acquainted with the Mahikander  
 "language, yet their peculiar manner of delivery renders  
 "their ideas as intelligible to me, as to any European in this  
 "country. In short, I deem it one of the greatest favors  
 "bestowed upon me in this life, that I have been at Sheko-  
 "meko. That text of Scripture, "Jesus Christ, the same  
 "yesterday, and to-day, and for ever," appeared to me as an  
 "eternal truth, when I beheld the venerable patriarchs of  
 "the American Indian church sitting around me, as living  
 "witnesses of the power of our Lord Jesus Christ, and of his  
 "atoning sacrifice. Their prayers are had in remembrance  
 "in the sight of God, and may God fight against their  
 "enemies. May the Almighty give to you and your as-  
 "sistants an open door to the hearts of all the heathen. This  
 "is the most earnest wish of your sincere friend,

"CONRAD WEISSER."

Brother Pyrlaeus did not meet with the reception he might have expected from the English missionary. This gentleman's mind had been already influenced against the Brethren, and therefore, from the beginning, he started many difficulties, and then told him without reserve, that he could

not assist him in his endeavors without exposing himself to severe reproof; that as to himself, he was weary of his labor among the Indians, their language being so difficult, that after many years study he found himself unable to preach in it; that he therefore had only written a few sermons with the assistance of a friend, which he read to the Indians now and then, but without observing the least change in their conduct, for they would not even leave off drinking, and painting their faces. Pyrlaeus finding himself narrowly watched on all sides, and his presence not agreeable, removed to another place about thirty miles off, where he found more opportunity of studying the language, though obliged to submit to great hardships. For example; he and his wife lived in an house, in which they slept for a whole fortnight upon the bare ground, without the least covering. They were likewise continually tormented by all kinds of vermin and troublesome insects. But their love to the Indians made them willingly bear all these inconveniences. Sometime after, Pyrlaeus was invited to a conference in Shekomeko, and accompanied Brother Anthony Seyffart to Canatshochary, with a view to make further progress in the Mohawk language. From Bethlehem, Brother Bruce and his wife went to Otstonwackin, where they staid one month, and on their return expressed some hopes, that the inhabitants of that town were inclined to receive the Gospel.

Brother Senseman went from Shekomeko up the North River, where he visited Sohekants and Skathkak, and his words found entrance into the hearts of some. For all these endeavors the Brethren thought themselves amply rewarded by the success of the mission in Shekomeko; where, at the close of the year 1743, the congregation of baptized Indians consisted of sixty-three persons, exclusive of those in Pachgatgoch, and a great number of constant hearers, some of whom were powerfully awakened.

## CHAPTER IV.

*Severe Persecution of the Missionaries, and of the Congregation at Shekomeko. Their Conduct under these Trials.*

**H**ITHERTO the labor of the Brethren among the heathen had met with no opposition of any consequence, and in the first months of the year 1744, the church had rest and was edified. Shekomeko being the chief residence of the believers, frequent visits were made to this place from the awakened people in Pachgatgoch and Potatik, which were returned at different times by the missionaries, and their Indian assistants.

Brother Buettner was from January till May in Bethlehem, and Frederick Post was recalled.

The missionaries Mack, Shaw, and Senfeman, served the Indian congregation in Shekomeko, and their diary contains many pleasing proofs of the blessed effects of the grace of Jesus Christ in the hearts of the believing Indians, of which I will quote a few :

A sick brother said, that, whenever he felt impatience, he prayed to our Savior to deliver him from it, and that his prayer was always heard.

Jonathan meeting some white people, who had entered into so violent a dispute about baptism and the Holy Communion, that they at last proceeded to blows, "These people," said he, "know certainly nothing of our Savior, for they speak of him, as we do of a strange country."

A trader was endeavoring to persuade the Indian Brother Abraham, that the Brethren were not privileged teachers. He answered: "They may be what they will, but I know what they have told me, and what God has wrought within me. Look at my poor countrymen there, lying drunk before your door. Why do you not send privileged teachers,

“to convert them, if they can? Four years ago I also lived like a beast, and not one of you troubled himself about me; but when the Brethren came, they preached the cross of Christ, and I have experienced the power of his blood, according to their doctrine, so that I am freed from the dominion of sin. Such teachers we want.”

In February some Indian deputies arrived in Shekomeko from Westenhuck, to inquire whether the believing Indians would live in friendship with the new chief. Upon this the Indian Brethren preached the word of God to these people, adding: “When we once shall all believe in our Savior, these embassies will be unnecessary, for we shall be very good friends of course.”

An Indian woman, who was baptized by a preacher in Westenhuck, paid a visit to the believers in Shekomeko, and told them, that not having been guilty of any open offence for two years after her baptism, she thought herself thoroughly converted. But by the persuasions of her relations, who represented to her that dancing was no crime, the preacher himself having quoted from Scripture, that there was “a time to dance,” she had at length been persuaded to attend an Indian feast, where she was overcome by wantonness, and had ever since led a shameful life. Alarmed at her situation, she came hither to seek for help, if any might be found. The Indians described to her the great love of Jesus Christ to poor repenting sinners, exemplified in the history of Mary Magdalene.

The Indian Brother Daniel was asked upon his death-bed, whether he was contented to die? To this he answered, with a smile, “that he was satisfied with whatever our Savior should do with him.” During his whole illness he preached the Gospel to his countrymen, and his happy departure to the Lord produced a great emotion in the hearts of all present. The whole congregation in Shekomeko accompanied his corpse to the grave, and the missionary having prayed the liturgy as usual, the Indian John stepped forward and delivered an emphatic discourse to the company present, concerning

cerning the joy of a believer in the hour of death, which made a great impresson upon all.

In the same manner several of the baptized departed this life in this year, rejoicing in God their Savior, and their happy exit proved a great comfort and edification to the survivors.

The Indian congregation consisted now of four classes; communicants, baptized, candidates for baptism, and catechumens; and the Lord laid a peculiar blessing upon each of them. The Holy Communion was very highly prized by the communicants, as the most important of all transactions on earth. They examined their own hearts, preparatory to every enjoyment, with such strictness, that the missionaries who spoke with each individual separately, found more cause to comfort and encourage them, than to advise them to abstain from it. John expressed himself concerning this sacrament to the following effect: "That as he could firmly believe in every thing spoken by our Savior, so he was sure that he partook of his flesh and blood in the Holy Communion, because the Lord himself had declared it." Another communicant said: "I am frequently brought very low by the consideration of my great weakness and sinfulness, but whenever I approach to the Lord's Supper, I am revived." An European man being once present as a spectator when the sacrament was administered to the Indian congregation, declared afterwards, that though he had received the Communion many hundred times, yet he had never perceived its powerful effect on the heart, as at this time, though only a spectator; adding, that this was truly the supper of the Lord, and that, whilst he lived, he should never lose the impresson it had made upon him.

Thus was the Indian congregation situated, when suddenly a most violent persecution arose. Some white people in the neighborhood continued to do every thing in their power to seduce the Indians from their connexion with the Brethren, not only by base insinuations, but by endeavoring to promote drunkenness and other crimes amongst them.

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The most dangerous of all their insinuations was, that the Brethren, being allied to the French in Canada, fomented the disturbances which then took place, and intended to furnish the Indians with arms, to fight against the English. This falsehood they spread about with such boldness, that at last the whole country was alarmed and filled with terror. The inhabitants of Sharen remained under arms for a whole week together, and some even forsook their plantations.

March the 1st, Mr. Hegeman, justice of the peace in Filkentown, arrived in Shekomeko, and informed Brother Mack, that it was his duty to inquire, what sort of people the Brethren were, for that the most dangerous tenets and views were ascribed to them. He added, that as to himself, he disbelieved all those lying reports concerning them, and acknowledged the mission in Shekomeko to be a work of God, because, by the labor of the Brethren, the most savage heathen had been so evidently changed, that he, and many other Christians, were put to shame by their godly walk and conversation: but that, notwithstanding his own persuasion, it would be of service to the Brethren themselves, if he was suffered minutely to examine into their affairs, with a view to silence their adversaries. Hearing that Brother Buettner was absent, he only desired that he might be informed of his return, and thus left them. After that, the Brethren remained unmolested till May, when Brother Buettner returning to Shekomeko, the missionaries informed the justice of the peace of his arrival. Upon this, a corporal came on the 14th, to demand their attendance on the Friday following in Pickipfi, about thirty miles off, to exercise with the militia. But their names not being inserted in the list, they did not appear. Soon after, a similar message being sent, and the names of the missionaries Rauch, Buettner, and Shaw expressly mentioned, Brother Buettner went some days previous to the time appointed, to Captain Herrman in Reinbeck, and represented to him, that as ministers called to preach the Gospel to the heathen, they ought to be exempted from military services. The captain replied, that they would be  
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under a necessity to prove and swear to the validity of their calling; but dismissed them for the present. On the 18th of June another summons was issued, to require their attendance on the 23d. The day following a justice of the peace, with some officers and twelve men, arrived from Pickipisi at Shekomeko. He informed the missionaries, that two companies had been ready to march, to arrest them, but that he had prevented it, with a view to examine the whole affair himself. He then desired to know who had sent them, and what their business was? Brother Buettner replied, That they were sent hither by the bishops of the protestant church of the Brethren to preach the Gospel to the heathen. The justice observed, that though he considered the accusations brought against them, respecting the Indians, to be groundless; yet if the Brethren were papists, as a clergyman in Dover had positively asserted in a letter but lately written, they could not be suffered to remain in the country; and that, in general, every inhabitant of this land was called upon to take two oaths, of which he delivered a written copy. One was: "That King George being the lawful sovereign of the kingdom, he would not in any way encourage the Pretender." The other: "That he rejected transubstantiation, the worship of the Virgin Mary, purgatory, &c." Brother Buettner assured him, that the missionaries could assent to every point contained in the oaths, but that he hoped, they would not insist upon their swearing; for though he did not condemn those who took a lawful oath, yet he wished, for conscience sake, to be excused; that he would however submit to every punishment inflicted upon perjured persons, if he were found acting contrary to his asseveration made by *Yes* or *No*. The justice expressed his satisfaction for the present, but engaged the missionaries in a penalty of 40l. to appear before the court in Pickipisi on the 16th of October. He then visited the Christian Indians in their plantations, and took leave with much civility.

June 22d, the missionaries went to Reinbeck in obedience to the summons received. As they were setting out, John said: "Go, Brethren, go in peace; I know to whom you are going, but our Savior is greater than they." They were now called upon in public court to prove that they were privileged teachers. Buettner produced his written vocation, and his certificate of ordination, duly signed by Bishop David Nitschman, adding, that the protestant church of the Brethren had been declared by the Archbishop of Canterbury to be an episcopal and apostolical church; and therefore they hoped, that they were entitled to the same toleration enjoyed by other protestant communities. All these evidences being rejected by the court, Buettner added: "Well then, Sir, if our sincere verbal declarations, proved by written documents and testimonies, that we have demeaned ourselves amongst the savages as Protestant teachers, do not suffice; and you are ignorant of the tenets of our church, and do not chuse to grant us the same privileges which other Protestants enjoy; we submit, and you have power to dictate our punishment, for we are subject to the magistrates, and cannot oppose them, nor would we, if we even could. We rather chuse patiently to suffer." This firm declaration had some effect upon the commander of the militia and the justice, Mr. Beckman. He assured the missionaries, that he had no idea of punishing them, but only wished to examine into their affairs, and therefore desired them to appear before the court to be held at Pickipfi in October next, by order of the governor of New York. He then invited them to dinner, and dismissed them with much civility.

But the accusations of their enemies increasing very fast, and a great stir being raised among the people, the magistrates thought proper to hasten the examination, and the missionaries were obliged to appear in Filkentown on the 14th of July, their friend John Rau kindly accompanying them. They were first called upon to take their oath; but they remained stedfast in their request to be excused. Three

witnesses

witnesses were then heard against them. But their evidence being partly without foundation, and partly nugatory and trifling, it made no impression upon the court. John Rau was next examined. He answered, that he had known the Brethren from their first coming into the country, and could say nothing but what tended to their honor; that he had frequently been present with his whole family at their meetings, and had never seen any thing to justify the strange accusations brought against them. Upon this the court broke up, and they were again honorably acquitted.

Meanwhile the adversaries of the Brethren had repeatedly accused them of the above-mentioned dangerous views before the then governor of New York, till he at length resolved to send for them, and to examine into the truth of these reports. The Brethren, Buettner and Senseman from Shekomeko, and Shaw from Bethlehem, went accordingly to New York, and found upon their arrival, that the attention of the whole town was raised. They were regarded as disturbers of the public peace, deserving either imprisonment, whipping, or banishment. But Mr. Beckman, who had examined the Brethren in Reinbeck, happening at that time to be in New York, publicly took their part, and affirmed, that the good done by them among the Indians was undeniable.

August 11th, these three Brethren were ordered before the governor and the court, and each separately examined. The same questions were put, and nearly the same answers given, as in the foregoing examinations. But at the close Brother Buettner addressed the governor to this effect: "We are subject to God and the magistrates, and would rather patiently suffer than oppose them. But our cause is the cause of God, to whom the souls of all men belong. For his sake we live among the savages, to preach the Gospel of Jesus Christ unto them. We neither desire to gain money, nor covet their land, nor shall we ever have these views. The Lord our Savior has supported us hitherto, and he will support us for the future: for we are in his hands, and place unlimited confidence in him, being assured, that  
" nothing

“ nothing can befall us, without his permission. By him  
“ we have been taught to be faithful and obedient to those  
“ whom he has appointed to rule over us, not from motives  
“ of policy, but for conscience sake. Hitherto we have led  
“ under them a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness  
“ and honesty, and we wish always to do so. But we are  
“ resolved to suffer every thing rather than to act contrary  
“ to our conviction. We therefore humbly intreat your Ex-  
“ cellency not to burthen our consciences by the exaction  
“ of an oath, and to consider, that though we are poor peo-  
“ ple, and suffer contempt and every other affliction, yet we  
“ stand under the protection of God, who is Lord over the  
“ consciences of all men. We also pray most earnestly, that  
“ we may be allowed to proceed unmolested in the blessed  
“ work of the conversion of the heathen, promising to show  
“ all due obedience and subordination to your Excellency  
“ upon every occasion, as we are in duty and conscience  
“ bound to do.” Upon this the Brethren were informed  
that they should remain in town, till further orders from the  
governor.

The day following they were examined by the council upon the same questions, and notwithstanding Brother Buettner's gentle remonstrance, were informed, that it appeared most proper for them to quit the country. They should however still wait for a final decision from the governor. This they received by his secretary, August the 21st, implying, that they had leave to return home, but should live according to their religious tenets, in such a manner, that no suspicions might arise concerning them. The secretary added a certificate of their acquitment in writing, to secure them against any injury from the mob.

The Brethren Buettner and Shaw arrived in Shekomeko, on the 9th of September; but Brother Senseman went to Bethlehem, to give an account of the above-mentioned transactions.

Brother Buettner was however obliged to go again to Pikipi in October, the summons being yet in force. He had  
already

already suffered greatly in his health, and was detained there two days in very severe weather. At last, by the interference of a friend, his cause was brought forward, and having received a dismission from the governor himself, he was liberated for the present, without further examination. When he came home, John related what he had felt, in considering the proceedings of the white people, and how his wife, thinking of Brother Buettner, while at work in the forest, at length grew so heavy and sorrowful that she wept, and cried aloud: "My God, why do these men plague Brother Buettner? why will they not let him come home? He is ill, has done nothing amiss, and instructs us how we may be saved." John added, that he had comforted his wife, and reminded her, that the disciples of Jesus had not fared any better.

The Brethren Mack and Senseman visited the Indians in New England, and it appeared as though many of them received the Gospel as a message of peace.

It now appeared plain to every candid observer, that the accusations against the Brethren arose either from misconception or malice. Many people, and even some of distinguished rank among the magistrates, acknowledged the sincerity of their views, and the good arising from their endeavors; for the preaching of the Gospel had produced so evident a change in the conduct of the Indians, that every beholder was amazed at it. Their adversaries therefore were obliged to adopt other measures, and now endeavored, either to make them take the oaths, or quit the country. This scheme succeeded. They exerted all their influence to gain an act of assembly in New York, dated in October, by which all suspicious persons were enjoined to take the oaths of allegiance, and in case of refusal, to be expelled the province. Another act passed, positively prohibiting the Brethren to instruct the Indians.

The missionaries could do nothing but silently obey, and thus left off meeting the congregation. But the Indian Brethren continued to meet together, and the power and  
grace

grace of God was made manifest among them in an extraordinary manner.

December the 15th, the sheriff and three justices of the peace arrived at Shekomeko, and, in the name of the governor and council of New York, prohibited all meetings of the Brethren, commanding the missionaries to appear before the court in Pickipfi, on the 17th instant. Brother Buettner being very ill, the Brethren Rauch and Mack appeared, when the above-mentioned act was read to them, by which the ministers of the congregation of the Brethren, employed in teaching the Indians, were expelled the country, under pretence of being in league with the French, and forbid, under a heavy penalty, never more to appear among the Indians, without having first taken the above-mentioned oaths of allegiance. Buettner wrote in this view to Bethlehem: "We are either to depart, or to incur a heavy penalty. They threaten to seize upon all we possess. We have but little, and if they take away that little, then we shall yet have as much left as our Lord had, when on earth."

Amidst these heavy trials the Brethren found great comfort in adhering to that Scriptural advice: quietly to wait for the salvation of the Lord. Therefore when the fathers of families in Shekomeko resolved to make complaint concerning the unjust treatment of their teachers, and to present a petition to the governor of New York; the missionaries persuaded them with kind words, to be still, and patiently to suffer.

Meanwhile Bishop A. G. Spangenberg, to whom the care of the affairs of the Brethren in North America had been committed, arrived in New York. His first step was, to visit the persecuted congregation at Shekomeko. He arrived with Captain Garrison on the 6th of November, and staid there till the 18th. In an account he sent to the congregations of the Brethren concerning this visit, he writes:

"The nearer we approached to Shekomeko, the more veneration we found amongst all ranks of people, for the great work  
" of

of God in that place: The justice of the peace at Milfy,  
 about four miles from Shekomeko, accompanied us, and  
 on the road declared, that he would rather suffer his right  
 hand to be cut off, than treat the Brethren conformably  
 to the act passed against them, for that he was thoroughly  
 convinced, that the grace of God had by their means  
 wrought miracles in that place. But when, upon our  
 arrival, we were eye-witnesses of it, then, dear Brethren,  
 dead indeed must that man be, who could refrain from  
 shedding tears of joy and gratitude for the grace bestow-  
 ed upon this people. It is impossible to express what is felt  
 here; God himself has done the work. As we rode into  
 the town, we met a man standing by the road side, with  
 a most remarkable countenance. We immediately thought  
 of John, as described to us by Count Zinzendorf, and  
 ventured to address him by that name; nor were we mis-  
 taken; he received us with great kindness, and brought  
 us immediately to the missionaries. Then the venerable  
 Elder Abraham came to see us, saluted us, and though he  
 was marked after the Indian custom, with the figure of a  
 snake upon each cheek, yet the grace of our Savior was  
 so visible in his countenance, that we were struck with awe  
 and amazement. The rest of the assistants came one  
 after the other, and bid us welcome in the most affec-  
 tionate manner. Indeed there was not one of the con-  
 gregation, who did not express joy at our arrival. They  
 appeared altogether as meek as lambs. While we were  
 thus surrounded by our Indian Brethren and Sisters, I took  
 up a Bible, and the following text occurred to me: *Who-*  
*soever shall do the will of my Father which is in Heaven, the*  
*same is my mother, and sister, and brother.* An Indian who  
 had deviated from the right path, wished to be re-ad-  
 mitted, but the Brethren could not trust him as yet.  
 When we afterwards held a love-feast with all the bap-  
 tized, seventy in number, he came likewise, stood at a dis-  
 tance, and looked upon his Brethren with repentance and  
 contrition in his countenance. We called him forward,  
 PART II. F “ upon

“ upon which he went and sat down in a corner. During  
 “ the love-feast, the presence of the Lord was powerfully  
 “ felt. I spoke of the happiness granted unto us, by virtue  
 “ of the sacrifice made by Jesus Christ, appealing to their  
 “ own experience, and they affirmed what I said, to be true  
 “ I then spoke of following our Savior’s steps, and of  
 “ what we have to observe as his disciples. Afterwards  
 “ Isaac exhorted the Brethren to be continually humble and  
 “ low in their own eyes, never to forget the sufferings and  
 “ death of Jesus, and not only to think on it in Shekomeko  
 “ but in the woods, and when out an-hunting, &c. We  
 “ closed our love-feast with prayer and supplication, and  
 “ with tears commended these precious souls, and our  
 “ venerable Brethren who have labored amongst them, to  
 “ God, our Almighty Savior, being greatly comforted and  
 “ edified by their faith and firmness under such heavy  
 “ trials.”

Bishop Spangenberg then inquired minutely into the cir-  
 cumstances of each individual, exhorting them all to remain  
 faithful to the Lord, and firmly to believe, that he would  
 not forsake them. In doing this he found much reason to  
 rejoice over the course of the congregation, and the decla-  
 rations of the believing Indians.

The congregation had not increased so much in numbers  
 in the past, as in the foregoing year, eight persons only  
 having been baptized. But their growth in the grace and  
 knowledge of our Savior was very evident, and notwithstand-  
 ing grievous temptations and snares, purposely laid in their  
 way, most of them had walked worthy of the Gospel.  
 Brother Buettner wrote at the close of this year to Bishop  
 Spangenberg, concerning two of the baptized, who had  
 deviated, “ Rejoice with me, for I have found the sheep which  
 “ were lost. Jonathan is again become my brother, and  
 “ not only he, but Jonah also, who has been unhappy for  
 “ these thirteen months past. I write this with tears o.  
 “ thanks and praise to God. My heart followed Jonathar  
 “ wherever he went, and I thought we must go and seek  
 “ fo

“for him, though he were forty miles off, hunting in the woods, &c.”

This being resolved on, Brother Rauch set out after him, to offer him forgiveness, and peace with his Brethren, if he would accept of it. When Jonathan perceived him coming, he was frightened, and stood like one thunderstruck. The missionary accosting him in a friendly tone, told him the aim of his visit, adding, that if he should fly to the distance of two or three hundred miles, the Brethren would still seek after him. Jonathan could make no reply for amazement, but only said in broken sentences: “Does Buettner remember me still? Are you come merely to seek me? Have you nothing else to do here? I am wretched, I am in a bad state.” Brother Rauch perceiving that his heart was touched, and powerfully awakened, said nothing more that evening. But in the morning Jonathan repeated his questions, adding more to the same purpose, and then, from a truly broken and contrite heart, began to weep most bitterly. Nor could he comprehend how the Brethren could possibly love such a miserable sinner, who had grieved them so much. Brother Rauch answered, “We love you still; but your Savior loves you much more.” Upon this he gave full vent to his tears, spoke much of the state of his heart, and described his wretched and woful condition. When the missionary left him, he begged that the Brethren would pray for him, and promised to return soon. Brother Buettner, whose heart burned with love towards this poor straying sheep, thought the time long before he could receive him into his arms; for he was meditating day and night, how he might lead souls to Christ, preserve them for him, and recall those who had gone astray; and when thus engaged, he forgot eating and drinking, and even his bodily weakness. At length his dear Jonathan arrived in Shekomeko, and with him the above-mentioned Jonah, but very bashful and full of fears. Brother Buettner immediately ran to meet him, receiving him as the father received his prodigal son. Jonathan entirely recovered his former peace and happiness,

piness, and ever after walked in a steady course. The grace of Jesus operated also most powerfully upon the heart of Jonah; he was afterwards beloved by all, as a true disciple of the Lord Jesus, and his walk proved an edification to the whole congregation.

## CHAPTER V.

*The Missionary GOTTLOB BUETTNER departs this Life. The other Missionaries are compelled to leave Shekomeko. The Congregation at Bethlehem send Visitors. Hardships endured by the latter. Baptism of the first Indians of the Delaware Nation. Some Account of the internal Course of the Congregation at Shekomeko. Bishop Spangenberg goes to Onondago in their behalf. Doubtful State of the Mission at the Close of the Year 1745.*

**T**HE return of the above-mentioned lost sheep, was one of the last pleasing events, of which that faithful servant of Jesus Christ among the Indians, Gottlob Buettner, was witness.

Frequent attacks of spitting of blood had, for a considerable time past, gradually weakened his constitution; but the hard life he led among the Indians, and above all the persecutions, attended with frequent and troublesome journies in bad weather, and with many grievous afflictions in mind and body, increased his infirmities, and hastened his dissolution. He fell gently and happily asleep in Jesus, February 23d, 1745, in the presence of all the Indian assistants. Having exhorted them with his dying lips, to abide faithful to the end, he desired the Indians to sing that verse:

“O may our souls ne'er moved be,  
“From thee, my faithful Savior, &c.”

with

with others of the same import, and, while they were yet singing, breathed his last, and entered into the joy of his Lord.

The Indians wept over him, as children over a beloved parent. Indeed he had loved them with the tenderness of a mother, and for three years, so intirely devoted himself to their service, that every faculty he possessed was wholly employed for their good. To show their regard, they dressed his corpse in white, and interred his remains with great solemnity in the burying-ground at Shekomeko, watering his grave with numberless tears: they even used to go and weep over it for a long time after. The following words were inscribed upon his tomb-stone:

“ Here lies the body of Gottlob Buettner, who according  
 “ to the commandment of his crucified God and Savior,  
 “ brought the glad tidings to the heathen, that the blood  
 “ of Jesus had made an atonement for their sins. As many  
 “ as embraced this doctrine in faith, were baptized into the  
 “ death of the Lord. His last prayer was, that they might  
 “ be preserved until the day of our Lord Jesus Christ. He  
 “ was born December 29th, 1716, and fell asleep in the  
 “ Lord, February 23d, 1745.”

After his burial the believing Indians held a council, to consider whether they should not quit Shekomeko; fearing that, if left to themselves, they might be gradually overcome by sinful seductions; especially as the Elders in Bethlehem were compelled, by the act above mentioned, to recall all the missionaries from Shekomeko, that they might not give further occasion for suspicion, by continuing to reside there. The grief felt by these faithful witnesses of Jesus Christ in leaving their beloved congregation, was past description. But they patiently submitted to wait till God should reveal their innocence, and dispel the raging storm. However, the congregation in Shekomeko continued to meet in their usual order, to edify each other, and only now and then one or more Brethren, acquainted with the language, were sent to visit and advise with them. They conversed

in an edifying manner with each individually, and sometimes held conferences with the Indian assistants, attending likewise the meetings held by them. The grace of God so powerfully prevailed among them, that the hearts of these visitors were filled with wonder and praise. A missionary wrote to Bethlehem: "I arrived in the evening at Isaac's cottage, and found it filled with Indians, before whom Isaac was bearing a glorious testimony of our Saviour and his atonement. I would not enter, but went out into the wood, kneeled down, and thanked our Saviour for the abundance of his grace, praying that he would continue to reveal himself among them."

The Indians came frequently to Bethlehem, and sometimes spent several weeks there in large companies. They were always received with great cordiality and friendship. Conferences were held with the most faithful and approved among the assistants, treating of the course of the congregation. Thus they acquired a better knowledge of the duties of their office, in watching over the spiritual welfare of the people committed to their care, and always returned home, strengthened in faith.

Meanwhile the persecutions against the Brethren engaged in the mission, did not cease, and sometimes they were even cruelly treated. Nor can it be denied, that some occasion was given by the inconsiderate zeal of the awakened Indians. They would often boldly reprove the white people for their sinful way of life, and whenever they were interrogated, spoke the truth without any reserve or caution. For instance, a Dutch clergyman in Westenhuck, asked an Indian, whom he had baptized, whether he had been in Shekomeko? whether he had heard the missionary preach, and how he liked him? The Indian answered: "That he had been there, and had attended to the missionary's words, and liked to hear them; that he would rather hear the missionary than him, for when the former spoke, it was as though his words laid hold of his heart, and a voice within said: That is truth; but that  
" he

“ he was always playing about the truth, and never came to the point: that he had no love for their souls, for when he had once baptized them, he let them run wild, never troubling himself any further about them; that he acted much worse than one who planted Indian corn, for,” added he, “ the planter sometimes goes to see whether his corn grows or not.

Upon another occasion, a white man asked John: “ Whether the Brethren were papists?” John wished to know, who the papists were; and when he heard of the worship of images, he answered, “ that he supposed those people were more like papists, who worshipped their cows, horses, and plantations, as they had also done formerly.” The white man replied: “ But why are the people so enraged at the Brethren?” John answered: “ Why did the people crucify the Lord Jesus, and throw Paul bound into prison?”

These bold, but often unseasonable reproofs increased the enmity of the adversaries, and those Brethren who travelled about in the concerns of the missions, had to suffer much oppression and persecution on that account. This was the case with the Brethren Frederic Post, and David Zeisberger.

The latter went with the Brethren from Georgia to Pennsylvania as a boy, and having turned with his whole heart unto the Lord, resolved to devote himself wholly to the service of God among the heathen. Having last year received some instruction in the Iroquois language from Brother Pyrlaeus, he travelled with Brother Frederic Post at the beginning of this year into their country, with a view to improve in it. The political conduct of the Six Nations had of late appeared very suspicious, and the Brethren being accused of an intention to assist the French in the war against England, it was no wonder that the aim of their journey appeared doubtful. The enemies of the mission soon accused them of treacherous views, and accordingly they were unexpectedly arrested in Albany, and after much abuse, brought to New York, and

confined in prison. The text appointed for the day of their imprisonment happened to be, “*Blessed are ye when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely for my sake.*” Matt. v. 11. These words comforted and encouraged the Brethren in prison, and they spent their time very usefully, in making further progress in the language of the Iroquois.

The Lord at this time inclined the heart of Mr. Thomas Noble, a respectable merchant in New York, to care for them. He visited them in prison, sent them provisions and other necessaries; and dispatched his clerk, Henry van Vleck, to Bethlehem, with an account of the calamity which had befallen them. Among the many visits they received in prison, one from a New England gentleman appears worthy of notice. He beheld them with great earnestness, and at last broke out in these words: “*Though you are unknown to me, yet I am fully convinced that the accusations brought against you, are all lies, and I believe that you suffer this for Christ’s sake. I am amazed at your resignation; but indeed it cannot but be a blessed situation, to be imprisoned for the name of Jesus Christ, for all who love the Lord Jesus, must expect to be hated and persecuted.*”

After repeated examinations, the Brethren being found innocent of every charge brought against them, they were at length dismissed, and returned to Bethlehem after seven weeks imprisonment.

When the missionary, Brother Mack, his wife, the widow of the late Brother Buettner, and Brother Post’s wife, besides several small children, returned from Shekomeko to Bethlehem, they met with much trouble, through the enmity of some enraged justices at Sopus. Brother Post’s wife, being an Indian woman, furnished a pretence for detaining the whole company as traitors. The mob assembled, and great mischief might have followed had not Colonel Loewenstein very providentially arrived, and having publicly reprimanded the justice who detained them, set them at liberty; however, they were insulted by

the mob, and had to suffer much in the open street from the cold and violent rain, before they were permitted to proceed on their journey, loaded with curses and reproaches.

Brother Mack closes his report with these words: "I considered the importance of our Lord's advice; *Pray for them* which despitefully use you and persecute you."

Yet amidst all these tribulations, the Brethren were greatly comforted by perceiving, that their labor was not in vain in the Lord.

In April they had the joy to baptize the first fruits of the Gospel among the Delaware nation. The frequent visits of the Brethren to the Delaware towns had as yet been attended with little success; but the believing Mahikans, inhabitants of Shekomeko, having contracted an acquaintance with many Delawares, who travelled through their country to Philadelphia, and these two nations understanding each other, both speaking a dialect of the same language, the Mahikans became the apostles of the Delawares.

The above-mentioned firstlings were a man and his wife, who had for some time eagerly heard the word of life, with an impression upon their hearts, but suffered themselves to be prevented from asking for baptism, by their numerous family connexions. At length they were enabled to surmount all these difficulties, expressed a great desire after the remission of their sins in the blood of Jesus, and begged for baptism. They were accordingly baptized in Bethlehem, and called Gottlieb, and Mary. Being both of the royal tribe, their high-born relations were greatly displeased at a step, which, according to their notions, was a disgrace to their rank, and therefore first sent a message, merely to desire, that they would return on a visit to their friends. But the baptized, fearing that their souls might suffer harm, would not go. Upon this the relations resolved to take them away by force, and thirty-six of them, among whom were several young warriors, came to Bethlehem in this view, behaving at first in a very turbulent manner. Being  
led

led into a large hall, they were plentifully served with meat and drink. Gottlieb and Mary partook of their repast, and other Indian Brethren and Sisters, who happened to be in Bethlehem on a visit, came to bid them welcome. Bishop Spangenberg also, with some of the elders of the congregation, went and expressed satisfaction at their visit. Amazed at so kind a reception, their anger abated, their countenances were softened, and conversation became lively. After dinner, Gottlieb and Mary, with other Indians, accompanied them to the lodgings prepared for them. Here they opened their commission, and, addressing Gottlieb, said, that they had heard that he and his wife were baptized, and had become slaves of the white people. But as they loved them, they could not help coming to hear the truth of the matter. Gottlieb, glad of so favorable an opportunity to bear a testimony to the truth, boldly answered, "that he had been formerly a wicked man, and a lover of evil, as they all might well remember; but having heard, that God was manifest in the flesh, and had died for man, and would deliver all those, who believe in him, from their sins, he had wished to experience the truth of it, that he might no more be obliged to serve sin and the devil. By receiving this doctrine, he had not become a slave, but remained as free as formerly." The other Indians present, confirmed Gottlieb's speech; and exhorted them to become likewise partakers of the grace of Jesus Christ. The savages seemed extremely uneasy during the whole conversation, and early the next morning set off on their return. Some time after, they sent a message to Gottlieb, desiring, that having so great a knowledge of God, he would come and instruct them. He hesitated a long while, but at last went, and was immediately asked why he had not come sooner. He answered: "You know that when a child is just born, it cannot speak. Thus I could not speak immediately after my conversion, but now I am come to tell you something of our Savior." He then preached the Gospel to them; describing the happiness to be found

in Jesus, and returned full of joy and comfort. In September he had the satisfaction to see his own brother follow him, who also was baptized, and called Joachim.

Another Delaware Indian was taken ill on the road to Bethlehem, where he had paid frequent visits to the Brethren, but without expressing the least concern for his soul. But now he sent to them, begging that they might come to see him, "for the sake of that great love they were known to bear to the Indians." His request was granted, and having spoken with great contrition of the evil state of his heart, he recommended himself to the remembrance and prayers of the Brethren. They heard soon after, that he departed this life in the same hour, in which he was included in the public prayers of the congregation. He had two wives, and exhorted them, to go immediately after his death to Bethlehem, and to turn to Jesus. One of them followed his advice, and was baptized the year after.

A synod having been appointed to meet this year in Bethlehem, the Brethren Rauch and Bishop were sent to Shekomeko with a letter, desiring the Indian congregation there to send a deputy.

The aim of a synod having been explained to them, the fathers of families met to chuse a deputy. They were first addressed, with a view to explain in what manner a Brother sent by them to the synod, should act; namely, in their behalf, with their spirit, and supported by the prayers of the whole congregation: that if any one had a concern, of whatever kind it might be, he might entrust the deputy with it, who should mention it to the synod, which would be the same as though he himself were present. That the deputy would bring back the answers, with the blessing of the synod, and communicate to them what he had enjoyed. Their unanimous choice fell upon Jonathan, and they declared, that they could impart to him every thought of their hearts. At taking leave, they sent various messages to the congregation. Jacob said: "I salute the  
"congre-

“ congregation, and let them know, that when my heart  
 “ is at peace with our Savior, I am also at peace with  
 “ them. I have found reservedness towards my Brethren  
 “ to be a great sin, for the Lord knoweth our hearts,  
 “ &c.” Others spoke to the same effect, and their great  
 love to the congregation at Bethlehem was particularly evident on this occasion. Indeed this brotherly love was mutual, and their deputy brought a renewed confirmation of it, upon his return from the synod.

Perhaps nothing could be a more evident proof of the change wrought in the disposition of the believing Indians, than their wish to have their children educated in Bethlehem, that they might be preserved as much as possible from seduction. For the love of the heathen Indians towards their children is so excessive, that they cannot bear to be deprived of the sight of them, for any length of time. But now the parents most earnestly besought the Brethren to take their children, and to educate them in the fear of the Lord. This request was granted to several, some time after.

As the character of a whole community may be known from certain traits in the dispositions of its members, I will insert a few extracts from the diary of the Indian congregation of 1745.

In a conversation of the Indian assistants, one of them began to weep; being asked the cause of his weeping, he answered, that he had seen a man, working so hard, that his shirt and whole body seemed bathed in sweat; he immediately thought on the sweat and anguish of our Savior in the garden on his account, which melted his heart into tears.

John related, that during the late rumor of war, he happened to enter an English town, the inhabitants of which were all in great dread of the Indians. The people soon surrounded him, to inquire what news he brought from the Indian country: he answered, “ News of all kinds; but the  
 “ most interesting news to me are, that it is good to believe

“ on

“on the Lord Jesus Christ;” upon which the people left him to go quietly about his business.

A baptized woman's cottage was burnt down, while she was working in her plantation, and but few of her goods were saved. When she returned home, every one expressed great sorrow for her loss, upon which she replied: That she had been on that very day, while at work, considering, that she had gained all her property by an illegal traffick with rum, and therefore she was satisfied to lose it in this manner.

An Indian Sister gave a love-feast to the whole congregation, in token of her joy over the conversion of one of her country-women. On this occasion a brother related with great humility, that having been lately present at an Indian feast, he had been seduced to enter into some of their old heathenish practices, but feeling immediately strong rebukes of conscience he left off on a sudden. This occasioned much inquiry on the part of the Indians, which he answered, by desiring them not to compel him to do any thing which might destroy the peace of God in his heart.

An Indian woman from Menissing paid a visit to John, and told him, that as soon as she had a good heart, she would also turn to the Lord Jesus. “Ah,” replied John, “you want to walk on your head! How can you get a good heart, unless you come first to Jesus?”

An European being present when a Brother from Bethlehem came to visit the Indians, and seeing the affectionate manner in which they received him, declared afterwards, that of all the people he had ever seen, none were possessed of such sincere affection as these Indians.

An Indian assistant addressed the baptized in their meeting in the following manner: “My dear Brethren and Sisters; I have nothing to say to you but a few words concerning Jesus. Jesus labored hard to gain salvation for us, even so that his sweat was as great drops of blood falling to the ground. And now Jesus says to us: ‘I have redeemed you all, I have given my life and blood for you.’ Therefore let us give him our hearts. We may now receive eternal  
“life;

“life; but by virtue of his blood alone. Whosoever believeth in him, shall live eternally; but whosoever does not believe, will certainly die in his sins. However, none need die, but all *may* have eternal life if they come to Jesus, for he will receive them gladly, &c.”

Though we had reason to be thankful that a mutual intercourse could be kept up between Bethlehem and Shekomeko, yet it was evident, that the suspension of the regular service of the missionaries would finally be productive of harm to the congregation. The Holy Communion could not be administered to them, and thus the poor Indians were deprived of one of the most powerful means of growth in grace. The catechumens could not be baptized in Shekomeko, and the few who were baptized during this period, came in that view to Bethlehem. The discourses of the Indian assistants were indeed attended with blessing to the hearers, being dictated by hearts, filled with the love of Christ, and an experimental conviction of the truth of what they advanced. They were the language of the heart, and consequently went to the heart: but they could not be called doctrinal. Now though the missionaries never detained themselves long in discussing doctrinal points, yet they wished to follow the commandment of our Savior, and to teach them all things, which he commanded his disciples; for which, more knowledge and gifts were required, than the Indians could be expected to possess. It appeared likewise, that the calumnious insinuations, incessantly urged by the enemies of the mission, had made some impression on the minds of a few of the baptized. The Brethren were so strongly accused of an intention to reduce the believers to a state of slavery, that even one of the assistants began to listen to it, and to lose his confidence towards the missionaries. He soon acknowledged his error with many tears; but yet this circumstance proved, in what danger these good people were of suffering shipwreck in the faith, and the Brethren were therefore very desirous of placing them, if possible, out of the way of temptation. They therefore resolved to propose, that they should remove out  
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of the province of New York, and settle upon some eligible spot in Pennsylvania. The plan was, first to place them in the neighborhood of Bethlehem, and then to remove them to Wajomick on the Susquehanna, where they might have enjoyed perfect liberty of conscience, and been less exposed to the seductions of the white people, and not called upon to take share in the war. An account was also received, that the Shawanose, a few excepted, had removed from Wajomick to the Ohio. But that no difficulty might be made on the part of the Iroquois, to whom this country belonged, the Brethren resolved to send an embassy to the great council at Onondago.

Bishop Spangenberg, Conrad Weisser, David Zeisberger, and Shebosch, were willing to undertake this commission, and set out for Onondago in May. They suffered many hardships by the way, but experienced also some remarkable proofs of the kind providence of God. Having been without provisions for several days, they found a quarter of a bear, hung up for the use of travellers by an Indian hunter, who could not carry it off, according to a custom described in the First Part of this work. Such timely relief they received more than once, and were therefore encouraged to assist other hungry travellers whom they met on the road. One day they found two Iroquois warriors, who had lost all their provisions, were almost naked, and had travelled near 500 miles. One of them was also on the road to Onondago. Conrad Weisser asked him, how he intended to reach that place in such a situation? His answer was: "God, who dwells in heaven, has created the earth and all creatures therein, and he feeds numbers of men and beasts in the wilderness. He can and will feed me also." While they were in company with the Brethren, they received their full share out of the common kettle, and thus he was fed according to his faith.

Bishop Spangenberg and his company being arrived in Onondago, the great council renewed the covenant made between Count Zinzendorf and the Iroquois, with great solemnity;

lemnity; the three Brethren were adopted as their countrymen, each receiving a peculiar name, and their proposal to remove the congregation of believing Indians to Wajomick, was well received by the Iroquois. But contrary to all expectation, the Indians in Shekomeko refused to accept it. They alledged, that the governor of New York had particularly commanded them to stay in their own town, promising them his protection; and that, on this account, they could not leave the country, without giving new cause for suspicion, and encouraging a new persecution against the missionaries: they further intimated, that if even they should emigrate, their unbaptized friends and relations would yet remain there and enter upon their old sinful courses, which would grieve them exceedingly. Abraham in particular was very zealous in dissuading the Indians from acceding to the above proposal, by representing, that Wajomick lay in the road of the warriors to the Catawas, and in a country abounding with savages; that the women were so wanton, that they seduced all the men; and consequently their acquaintance might prove very hurtful to the young people, &c.

But soon after this, an event happened, which obliged the Indians to follow the advice given them by the Brethren; for the white people came to a resolution, to drive the believing Indians from Shekomeko by main force, under a pretence, that the ground upon which the town was built, belonged to other people, who would soon come and take possession. The Indians applied for help to the governor of New York, but finding their petition not attended to, and that they would be at last compelled to emigrate, they began to take the proposal made by the Brethren into more serious deliberation; and as several expressed an inclination to live near Bethlehem, their visits to that place became more frequent towards the close of the year.

The situation of the congregation at Shekomeko became now very distressing. The white people seized upon the land, and even appointed a watch to prevent all visits from Bethlehem. The war between the English and French  
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occasioned a general alarm. The Indians were afraid of both parties, but the English mistrusted their neutrality, and in some places went even armed to church. The unbelieving Indians in Westenhuck made several attempts to draw the Christian Indians in Shekomeko into their party; and some Christians in the neighborhood exerted themselves, to persuade them to join their congregations, partly by contemptuous insinuations against the Brethren in general, and partly by accusing the missionaries of base views. The believing Indians were poor, and frequently obliged to spend much time among immoral people to get a livelihood. Many of them were deeply in debt, contracted both by their profligate lives previous to their conversion, and by suffering great impositions from some bad neighbors. These debtors were now subject to much ill treatment, and even threatened with imprisonment. Not seeing any possibility of paying their creditors, and not willing to run away, they had no other refuge, but to beg the congregation at Bethlehem to assist them, which was done with great willingness. But the greatest grievance was this, that after the entire removal of their faithful missionaries, some had not only fallen into deviations, but even into a sinful course, which soon occasioned a division among them, and even much slander, ending at last in confusion and misery.

This melancholy change of affairs caused the most pungent grief to the Indian assistants, and to the congregation at Bethlehem; to whom these things were mentioned by the former, with great sorrow, and the Brethren united in most fervent prayer and supplication to God, for this poor persecuted people, that he would help and relieve them by his mighty power.

## CHAPTER VI.

1746.

*Emigration from Shekomeko. Temporary Residence of the converted Indians in Bethlehem and Friedensbuetten. Establishment of Gnadenbuetten. Journeys to Shomokin and Wajomick.*

**I**N the beginning of 1746, Bishop Frederic Cammerhof came from Europe, to assist Bishop Spangenberg in the superintendency of all the establishments of the Brethren in North America, of which the mission among the Indians was a principal object. Both bishops therefore, with the elders of Bethlehem, zealously exerted themselves to afford some relief to the oppressed congregation in Shekomeko. His Excellency George Thomas, governor of Pennsylvania, being apprized of the situation of the Christian Indians, had ordered, that all who took refuge in Pennsylvania should be protected in the quiet practice of their religious profession. The Brethren however could not immediately give up the idea of removing the Indians to Wajomick in the free Indian territory, and wishing to prevail upon them to agree to this proposal, sent the missionary, Martin Mack, in March, to Wajomick, accurately to survey the country. He travelled in company with two Delawares of great respectability, who had visited Bethlehem. They showed the tenderest concern for his safety on the road, carrying him through brooks and rivers upon their shoulders. The aim of this journey was not obtained and as no persuasions could prevail on the Indians to move thither, they invited them to Bethlehem, permitting them to build and plant near the settlement. At this period the congregation in Shekomeko was persecuted more than ever. Their enemies reported, that a thousand French troops were on their march to the province, with whom the Indians of Shekomeko would join, and then ravage the country with  
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fire and sword. This rumor spread such terror, particularly in Reinbeck, that the inhabitants demanded a warrant of the justice to go and kill all the Indians at Shekomeko. Though the warrant was not granted, it was soon known in Shekomeko, that it had been demanded, and the grievances and oppressions suffered by the Indians rose at length to such a pitch, that though their attachment to Shekomeko was very great, some of them at last resolved to accept of the invitation of the Brethren at Bethlehem.

Thus ten families, in all forty-four persons, left Shekomeko in April, with sorrow and tears, and were received in Bethlehem with tenderness and compassion. Several of them immediately built cottages near the settlement. Their morning and evening meetings were regulated, and the service performed in the Mahikan language. This comforted them in some measure for the loss of the regular service at Shekomeko, which was most precious to them. Soon after, two Indian girls were baptized in Bethlehem Chapel, in presence of the whole congregation, and a great number of friends, and this solemn transaction proved again some consolation to their countrymen. The Indian emigrants now conceived a lively and confident hope, that they would not suffer materially by their removal from Shekomeko. What most encouraged them was this, that after a due examination, whether they still lived in the faith of Jesus Christ, in brotherly love, and unity of spirit, they were permitted to partake of the Holy Communion at Bethlehem. Their faith and inward life being thus strengthened, the Brethren endeavored to introduce some good regulations for their conduct. To this end a council was formed, consisting of all the fathers of families, at which the baptized mothers were permitted to be present. This is not usual with the Indians, but having found that hitherto many salutary resolutions, formed in the council by the men, had failed, owing to difficulties generally raised by the women, it was thought proper to admit them also, that they might hear the reasons and be convinced of the

propriety of the regulations proposed. This had the desired effect, and every thing was done to general satisfaction.

This small Indian settlement, called Friedenshuetten, or Tents of Peace, was established merely for temporary convenience; the Brethren judging that an Indian town could not be supported so near to Bethlehem. They therefore did all in their power to procure a piece of land, where the Indians might build, plant, and live in their own way, and at length purchased two hundred acres, situated on the junction of the rivers Mahony and Lecha, beyond the Blue Mountains, about thirty miles from Bethlehem, and the same distance from Wajomick. The missionary Martin Mack went with some white Brethren, and some of the Indian assistants, to mark out the new town, which they called Gnadenhuetten, or Tents of Grace. Some days after, other Indians followed, and being much pleased with the situation, they resolved this year to plant both near Bethlehem and at Gnadenhuetten, and that the men should remain in either place, as circumstances required; that thus the clearing of ground and building at Gnadenhuetten might speedily advance. The Indians were diligent, cheerful, and active, and used to speak to each other of the ease with which they now could labor, since their souls were engaged with the Lord Jesus, who labored hard for them; ascribing their good progress and the preservation of their bodies, not so much to their own efforts and prudence, as to the grace and mercy of God. The Brethren were much edified by these declarations, acknowledging them to be the blessed effects of the Gospel, and a full reward for all the trouble and pains they had bestowed upon these nations.

When the news of this new Settlement reached Shekomeko and Pachgatgoch, many of the Indians in those places were also induced to remove to Gnadenhuetten, so that in a short time the latter place contained more Christian Indians than the two former. Their enemies, though resolved

solved to expel them from Shekomeko, saw with regret, that they all emigrated to Bethlehem, and to deter the remainder from following their brethren, raised a malicious report, that the last party of emigrants had been murdered on the road. These false rumors were not credited, and a number of Indian families, who were just then preparing for the journey, set out without fear. One of them said, "If we must be obliged either to stay here, or to go to another place, and not to Bethlehem, you might as well take our lives from us." Thus one family after the other departed in such cheerful reliance upon the gracious protection and support of the Lord, that all who saw and heard them were edified.

During this period, divine service was daily and regularly attended to in Shekomeko, and the Indian assistants bore witness to the truth of the Gospel before many travellers who passed through the town. Their discourses were plain, but powerful, and proceeding from their experience, left a good impression upon many. Their manner of singing hymns was particularly edifying. After the discourse they treated the strangers with great hospitality, and when they had no other place to accommodate them, spread their table in the chapel; conversing with them about the salvation of their souls in an useful manner.

The emigration from Shekomeko and Pachgatgoch to Gnadenhuetten was attended with no small embarrassment, both to the Indians and the congregation at Bethlehem. Whenever a family intended to emigrate, the neighboring traders brought bills, demanding payment, and the Indians, neither able to read or write, were compelled to submit to frequent impositions. The Brethren assisted them to the utmost of their power. Most of the Indian parents urged the placing of their children in the schools at Bethlehem and Nazareth. Though their education proved expensive, their request was always granted. Their temporary residence near Bethlehem, (where the Brethren were obliged to provide them with all the necessaries of life) occasioned

caused an expence, which they could never expect to be reimbursed. The settling at Gnadenhuetten was also expensive. The land being covered with forest trees, and thick shrubs, was cleared and planted. The Brethren joined the Indians in this work, and had their meals in common with them. But the latter being unacquainted with husbandry and unable to bear much fatigue, the heaviest work of course fell upon the white Brethren. Considering this work as done in the service of God, they spared no exertion, and were the more desirous of completing the building of Gnadenhuetten, being well convinced, that the present mode of life, entirely different from that to which the Indians were accustomed, was prejudicial to their health. The common table, though convenient, could not be continued, chiefly on account of its singular appearance to the heathen Indians. The white Brethren, who had the care of the provisions, being necessitated to be frugal in the distribution, the Indian Brethren could not treat their visitors with their usual profusion. Thus the savages conceived a notion, that the Christian Indians suffered want, and were become slaves to the white people, especially when they saw them perform manual labor, to which Indians were not accustomed. As soon therefore as circumstances would permit, each family was put into possession of its own lot of ground, and having received some instruction relative to the cultivation of it, began its separate housekeeping.

In July the congregation at Gnadenhuetten received its regulations, the different offices were appointed, the rules of the congregation made public, and the chapel consecrated with great solemnity; all present and future inhabitants of this place being recommended with prayer and supplication to the grace and protection of God our Savior.

In Shekomoko the prospect appeared daily more precarious. The rumor of the war between the French and English, increased. The French Indians having made an inroad  
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into the country within a day's journey from that town, setting fire to the houses, and murdering the inhabitants, the English called upon all who were able to bear arms, to rise in their own defence. Consequently the Christian Indians remaining in Shekomeko received the same message, and began now to acknowledge their error, in not following the salutary advice given them by the Brethren. Several joined the army, and the rest lived in continual apprehension and dread, nor could they be visited by Brethren from Bethlehem till the 24th of July 1746, when the Brethren Hagen and Post were sent thither by the elders at Bethlehem. They held a love-feast with the remaining baptized, and by a written deed of gift, secured the chapel to the Indians, as their property. They then recommended them in prayer to the good Shepherd who laid down his life for the sheep, that he would not suffer them to stray, nor to be plucked out of his hands.

Thus the Brethren concluded their labors in Shekomeko with sorrowful hearts, yet praising God, who had first caused the light of the Gospel to shine unto the heathen in this place. Within the space of two years, sixty-one grown persons had here been made partakers of holy baptism, exclusive of those baptized in Bethlehem.

The converted Indians were now dispersed in different places, at a considerable distance from each other, *viz.* in Gnadenhuetten, Bethlehem, Pachgatgoch, Wechquatnach, and Shekomeko. Some were so much attached to the latter place, that notwithstanding the war, and other troubles, they could not resolve to emigrate. Gnadenhuetten now became a very regular and pleasant town. The church stood in the valley, on one side the Indian houses forming a crescent, upon a rising ground; and on the other, stood the house of the missionary and the burying-ground. The road to Wajomick and other Indian towns lay through the settlement. The missionaries tilled their own grounds, and every Indian family their plantation, and on the 18th of

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August,

August, they had the satisfaction to partake of the first fruits of the land, at a love-feast.

Christian Rauch and Martin Mack were the first missionaries who resided here, and administered the Word and Sacraments to the congregation, and their labor was attended with blessing. They were succeeded by other missionaries who were occasionally removed; the Brethren being of opinion, that frequent changes of the ministers of the congregation might be useful, in preventing too strong an attachment to, and dependence upon men, and fixing the hope of the Indians more upon God alone. Those who lived near, or in Bethlehem, found their growth in the grace and knowledge of the Lord Jesus Christ greatly promoted by the conversation of the European Brethren and Sisters. They were filled with joy and comfort, and endeavored to be useful to their countrymen in all places, by communicating to them their experience, both by conversation, and by letters; several having learned to write at Bethlehem, and others dictating letters to Europeans.

Brother Frederic Post staid some time in Pachgatgoch, living in the Indian manner, preaching the Gospel, and at the same time working at his trade as a joiner. The Brethren of Bethlehem and Gnadenhuetten went also frequently to Pachgatgoch and Wechquatnach, wishing to prevent the spark of truth, yet glimmering in those places, from being entirely extinguished.

However several distressing things occurred during this dispersion of the Indians. Some men who could not persuade their wives to leave Shekomeko, left them there. Some women would not be detained by their husbands, but went alone to Bethlehem and Gnadenhuetten. The most serious remonstrances against such disorderly proceedings seemed all in vain: parents also left their children, and children deserted their parents. These things occasioned much altercation, and good order was interrupted. Even some who removed to Gnadenhuetten, became confused and unhappy, and at length left the place. The enemies of the Brethren

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were likewise active, and endeavored to prejudice the minds of the Indians against Bethlehem, and Gnadenhuetten. Even some of the clergy were persuaded to spread false reports concerning them from their pulpits, and several of those left at Shekomeko were so far influenced by them, that they resolved to petition the governor to grant them more land, that more Indians might settle there. They hoped likewise, that the missionaries would then be induced to return and live with them; but in case this should be refused, they purposed to desire the governor to send a minister to them, adding, "they all set forth what is in the Bible." They could not agree concerning this proposal; yet this circumstance served as a pretext to a neighbor in Westenhuck, to prejudice them against the Brethren. He even enticed them to repair thither, and by promises, and by means of dancing and drinking, endeavored to persuade them to leave their congregation. But they were not to be thus deceived, and upon their return, observed to each other, that they had led a miserable life at Westenhuck, having been merry at the expence of an uneasy conscience.

Those Indians who had imbibed prejudices against the Brethren, endeavored now to hinder those families that wished to emigrate to Gnadenhuetten, from leaving Shekomeko. They made use of the most persuasive arguments, and finding them of no avail, endeavored to procure the interference of government; but the Indians being declared a free people, their attempt failed. The misery of the Christian Indians who had not left Shekomeko, daily increased by the continuation of the war, and by frequent messages, requiring them to take up arms against the French. The confusion occasioned thereby in Shekomeko and Pachgatgoch was great. The missionaries at this time could not interfere, because government was falsely led to suspect them. Some of the deluded Indians even pleaded, that the Brethren had forbidden them to join the militia. A white man had the assurance, publicly to assert, that the Brethren  
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were in possession of three thousand stand of arms for the use of the Indians who should join the French, and make inroads into Pennsylvania. Upon this, government ordered, that the Brethren in Bethlehem should send a deputy to Newtown in Jersey to be publicly examined. Here their innocence was fully proved, the above-mentioned man with other false accusers confounded, and a heavy fine levied upon him. But Mr. Henry Antes, the deputy, exerted himself in his behalf, and procured his release. He had also the satisfaction to bear a powerful testimony concerning Jesus Christ our Savior before a numerous assembly. This circumstance likewise convinced the Brethren, that great care and circumspection was required, in propagating the Gospel among the Indian nations. They were soon after comforted, by hearing that God had wrought conviction in the hearts of those who had been thus deluded. The correspondence of the Indians was chiefly useful, in causing many who had erred, to recover the rest, by bearing witness to the truth. One, who was threatened by his relations with death, unless he disavowed all connexion with his pastors, replied, "I know the Brethren are just, and I am to blame." Another being also threatened with death, while preparing to return to the congregation, boldly answered, that he would not act otherwise, nor would he rest, till he was again united to his brethren, and though they might kill him, they could not destroy his soul, which being redeemed by the blood of Christ, was of much greater value than his body.

Several who owned their deviations, and repented of them wrote or dictated very penitential letters to the congregation. Jacob began his letter thus: "I am like a child whose father loves him dearly, clothes him well, and give him all he stands in need of; afterwards the child becomes refractory, deserts his parent, and despises his counsel. At length through folly, the child loses all the good things he possessed, his clothes become ragged, and nakedness and want follow. Then remembering, how we

“ he fared, he repents and weeps day and night, scarcely  
“ presuming to return. This is precisely my case.” Many  
letters of this import were read to the Indian congrega-  
tions at Gnadenhuetten and near Bethlehem, and some-  
times to the European Brethren there, and always heard  
with great emotion. Those who could neither write, nor  
dictate letters, came to Bethlehem and Gnadenhuetten, ac-  
knowledged and lamented their errors, before the public  
assembly, begging pardon of all present. All these peni-  
tents were received with open arms, and publicly assured  
of the forgiveness of the congregation, and many tears of  
love and joy were shed by all present on this affecting oc-  
casion.

The Brethren perceiving, that, notwithstanding the rage  
of their enemies, God blessed their labors in behalf of the  
Indians in a very eminent degree, their desire to spread  
the Gospel among the heathen daily increased. In this  
view, the Six Nations or Iroquois were the principal ob-  
jects of their consideration, having already contracted an ac-  
quaintance with them, by means of several journies made  
to their towns. These nations also knew well, how to dis-  
tinguish between the missionaries, who came to them from  
motives of benevolence, and other white people, who had  
no object in view but trade.

In the foregoing year, Brother Martin Mack and his  
wife went to Shomokin, a town belonging to the Iroquois,  
where they staid two months. During this period they  
not only suffered much illness, and troubles of various  
kinds, but frequently were eye-witnesses to the most hor-  
rid and diabolical abominations, practised by the savages,  
more in this place than in any other, and several times  
they were in danger of being murdered by drunken In-  
dians. Yet their fervent desire to gain souls for Christ,  
and his precious and comfortable words, *I am with you al-  
ways*, inspired them with such consolation, that according  
to Brother Mack's own expression, their hard fare in a poor  
Indian cottage afforded them more real pleasure, than all  
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the luxuries of the most sumptuous palace could have done. God also granted them the favor, to find now and then an open door to preach the word of life. They employed their time in assisting the Indians in their plantations; and Indian corn being their only food, they were perfectly contented. From Shomokin they went on a visit to Long Island, a large island in the River Susquehannah, where they were received with much kindness, especially by the chief. At present the Gospel itself did not seem to make an impression upon them, but rather the account of the change, wrought on the Indians in Shekomeko, whose profligacy had been notorious. Here drunkenness seemed to the missionary to be the greatest obstacle in the way of the Gospel. Even the chief got so drunk one evening, that he fell into the fire, and burnt the flesh off one of his hands. Upon Brother Mack's return to Shomokin, a travelling Shawanose fought to terrify him, by accosting him in a very rough manner: "Good people," said he, "what is your business in this place? The Iroquois do not permit any one to come and instruct the Indians. You are like pigeons, wherever one perches, a large number flock together; and thus, wherever you settle, not only one or two, but a whole tribe gathers about you." Instead of returning any answer, the missionary preached the Gospel to this savage, and having sowed in tears, and offered up many fervent prayers for these poor people, who seemed dreadfully entangled in the snares of Satan, he returned to Bethlehem. The journey was attended with much difficulty, especially to his wife, then pregnant, for they were frequently obliged to creep up the steep mountains upon their hands and feet.

The account given by Brother Mack concerning the state of the Indians in Shomokin, made the elders of the congregation at Bethlehem wish to send a missionary to reside there and to preach the Gospel to these savages. They found a good opportunity of doing this in the year 1746. The Iroquois sent word by Shikellimus, their agent or deputy

in Shomokin, to Mr. Conrad Weiffer, interpreter to government, requesting him to represent to the governor of Pennsylvania, that for want of a blacksmith, they were frequently upon the slightest occasion, obliged to travel above an hundred miles to Tulpehokin, or even to Philadelphia, to get work done; they therefore begged that a blacksmith might be sent to reside in Shomokin. Shomokin seemed a very dangerous place of residence for an European, the air being unwholesome, and the Indians noted as bad paymasters; not to mention their extravagance in drinking, and its dangerous consequences to an European. Yet the Brethren received the message sent by Conrad Weiffer with pleasure; and the governor of Pennsylvania readily granted permission to send them a blacksmith. Accordingly Brother Mack went in company of an Indian to Shomokin to consult with chief Shikellimus and his council, upon the business, and to agree, that in case the Brethren should send a blacksmith to reside there, he should stay with them no longer than they preserved their faith and friendship with the English nation.

Soon after this the small-pox broke out among the Indians, first at Bethlehem and then at Gnadenhuetten. Eighteen persons departed this life, among whom were several very useful and valuable assistants, whose loss the missionaries most sincerely lamented, *viz.* John, Isaac, David, Jonas, Abraham, and his wife Sarah. The following is a brief account of their lives:

JOHN was one of the first fruits, and several letters inserted above, are a striking proof of his real conversion to the Lord. As an heathen he distinguished himself by his sinful practices, and as his vices became the more seductive, on account of his natural wit and humor, so as a Christian he became a most powerful and persuasive witness of our Savior among his nation. His gifts were sanctified by the grace of God, and employed in such a manner, as to be the means of blessing both to Europeans and Indians. Few of his countrymen could vie with him in  
point

point of Indian oratory. His discourses were full of animation, and his words penetrated like fire into the hearts of his countrymen; his soul found a rich pasture in the Gospel, and whether at home, or on a journey, he could not forbear speaking of the salvation purchased for us by the sufferings of Jesus, never hesitating a moment, whether his hearers were Christians or heathen. In short, he appeared chosen by God to be a witness to his people, and was four years active in this service. Nor was he less respected as a chief among the Indians, no affairs of state being transacted without his advice and consent. Shortly before his last illness he visited Bishop Spangenberg, and addressed him thus: "I have something to say to you; I have examined my heart closely, I know that what I say is true. Seeing so many of our Indians depart this life, I put the question to myself, whether I could resign my life to the Lord, and be assured that he would receive my soul. The answer was: Yes, for I am the Lord's, and shall go and be with him for ever." During his illness, the believing Indians went often and stood weeping around his bed. Even then he spoke with power and energy of the truth of the Gospel, and in all things approved himself, to his last breath, as a minister of God. His pains were mitigated by the consideration of the great sufferings of Jesus Christ, and his departure to him was gentle and placid, as that of a faithful servant, entering into the joy of his Lord.

ISAAC was also one of the first fruits, and formerly known as a great forcerer, but he was made a miracle of grace. After his baptism he became remarkably tender-hearted and benevolent, and by his peculiar gifts was well qualified for his office as servant, both in the congregation at Shekomeko, and in attending strangers. His happy departure was a most convincing proof of his living faith.

DAVID, baptized in the year 1742, was a true lover of the Lord Jesus Christ, and a blessed witness and laborer  
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amongst his countrymen, whom he also served as interpreter. He was once testifying the truth of the Gospel to a white man who visited Gnadenhuetten, and in the course of his conversation asked him, how it happened, that, though the white people could read and write, and knew enough of our Lord's incarnation, sufferings, and death, they could yet be so indifferent about him, and even hate him. The white man asked him in reply, whether he could read; he answered: "I have five significant letters, which I study at home; and in the forest." The European asked with astonishment, what letters they were: David's answer was: "They are the five wounds of my crucified Savior, these I consider daily, and find always new lessons for my heart."

THOMAS was also a faithful minister and blessed witness of the truth among his countrymen. Some years after his death several were converted, who owned that they had received the first convictions by means of the powerful testimony of this man, and could never after forget his words concerning our Savior Jesus Christ.

JONAS was John's assistant in teaching, and having a particular gift in the leading of souls, he was universally beloved and esteemed. He was remarkably chearful during his last illness, predicted the hour of his departure, and desired, that all the believing Indians present might assemble around his bed, to whom he delivered a most moving farewell discourse, flowing from his inmost soul, reminding them of their former unhappy course as heathen without God in the world, extolling the grace of God now revealed to them in Christ Jesus, and begging them with many tears to abide faithful unto the end, and to follow the advice of their teachers. He then added: "I shall now soon go and see my Savior, and those wounds which I have preached unto you, and by which I am healed." Further he foretold, that the enemy would repeat his endeavors to seduce and confound them, and to sift them as wheat, advising them

not to give ear to his insinuations, but to cleave to Jesus, who would defend and protect them. This discourse left an indelible impression upon all present, and was frequently repeated when his name was mentioned in conversation. Having taken an affectionate leave of his wife, he addressed the missionary, Christian Henry Rauch, with a chearful countenance, saying: "May I not hope soon to depart? I am weary and wish to rest, for I have finished my work;" and immediately expired.

ABRAHAM, another of the first fruits, was a Chief much respected on account of his wisdom and grave deportment. He was appointed Elder of the congregation at Shekomeko, and in this office maintained a very distinguished character, possessing the esteem of all the Brethren and Sisters. His wife, Sarah, was a faithful assistant in the care of the women, and distinguished herself by her good understanding and propriety of conduct.

Dreadful as the small-pox appears to the Indians in general, the believers notwithstanding showed but little fear. The chearful, contented, and happy disposition of those who departed this life by means of this contagion, was edifying to all who were witnesses of it, and many wished soon to follow them into a blissful eternity; for the grace of God prevailed most powerfully throughout the whole congregation.

Among those Indians who resided this year in Bethlehem, was a woman, near eighty years old, and quite blind. She had last year expressed a wish, to be brought to Bethlehem; declaring, that if she could only reach that place, she should be baptized and go to God. At length, after a year's delay, her friends, who were enemies to the Gospel, resolved to comply with her request; and putting her into a cart, which they drew themselves, they reached Bethlehem after a tedious journey of twenty days. Here she heard the Gospel with great eagerness, but falling sick, began most earnestly to beg for baptism, which was administered to her on her death-bed. After this awful and blessed transaction she exclaimed, "Now my time is come; I shall now go home and see the Lord my Savior. This was wanting a year ago, I  
" always

always said, that I must first come to Bethlehem and be baptized, and then I should depart this life." The day following, in the morning, she fell asleep in the Lord.

Towards the close of the year, Bishop Spangenberg and other Brethren paid a visit to the Indians in Wajomick, by whom, according to Bishop Spangenberg's expression, they were received as angels, sent from God, and their words heard with uncommon eagerness. The aim of this visit was, to reach the word of the cross to these Indians also, and to establish a covenant of friendship between them and the Mahikan nation, to which most of the believing Indians belonged, the Brethren having not yet given up all hopes of establishing a settlement in those parts.

## CHAPTER VII.

1747, 1748.

*Summary View of the internal Regulations of the Congregation at Gnadenhuetten. Beginning of a Mission in Shomokin. Cammerhof's troublesome Journey to that Place.*

THE Indian congregations in Gnadenhuetten and Friedenshuetten now received their proper regulations, though the latter place was by degrees entirely forsaken. Their form of worship was the same as that in all other settlements of the United Brethren, as far as circumstances could admit. The congregation met twice a day, early in the morning and in the evening after their work, to sing and pray, and sometimes to hear a discourse upon the text of Scripture appointed for the day. By these discourses, the missionaries endeavored gradually to make their people better acquainted with all the saving truths of the Gospel. Several parts of the Scriptures, translated into the Mahi-

kan language, were also publicly read and expounded. A peculiar blessing rested upon these meetings, as likewise upon their singing hymns in fellowship.

Children of baptized parents were baptized soon after their birth, but the baptism of adults was always administered on Sundays, or other festival days. The catechumens received previous instructions in the leading truths of the Christian religion, and were publicly interrogated concerning their future views. After they had declared their sentiments, they were absolved by imposition of hands, and then baptized in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, and after solemn prayer and thanksgiving, the blessing of the Lord was pronounced over them.

The particular meetings of the baptized and communicants were held here in the same order, as they had been formerly regulated in Shekomeko. The children had likewise the meetings, in which they were addressed in a manner suitable to their capacities. Meetings were also held separately with the married people, widowers, widows, single Brethren, single sisters, boys and girls, in which each of these divisions of the congregation were exhorted to be made partakers of the blessings, purchased for them in their respective station by the merits of Christ Jesus, that they might learn to show forth his praise, both in soul and body.

The Holy Communion was administered to the communicants every month. This great and solemn transaction continued to be attended with the most distinguished blessing powerfully strengthening their faith and hope. The Indians therefore called the communion day, the *great* day, and surely indeed it was, for the missionaries could never find words sufficient to extol the power and grace of God, revealed on these occasions.

The missionaries were likewise earnestly engaged in faithfully caring for each individual soul, and in leading the forward with gentleness, wisdom, and patience, following the directions of the Spirit of God. In providing for the women, the wives of the missionaries, and also Indian  
sisters.

sisters, appointed for that purpose, assisted with great success, and in this view their presence was required in all the conferences relating to the whole congregation. It was required of those, who were thus entrusted with the care of souls, not only to question every individual concerning the state of their minds, previous to the Holy Communion, but that they should at other times be ready to hear and consider the complaints and remarks of each member of the congregation.

In the conversations held by the missionaries with the Indian assistants, they endeavored to instil scriptural principles into their minds; they also attended to their remarks and proposals, promoting true brotherly love among them, as fellow-laborers in the work of the Lord; that thus, by their united exertions, the welfare of the congregation might be furthered. It must be owned, to the glory of God, that most of them walked worthy of their important office, being respected by the whole congregation. Occasionally the daily meetings were committed to the care of the most experienced and gifted amongst them. Their discourses were animated, plain, and powerful, and it gave peculiar satisfaction to the missionaries, to find such an apostolic spirit resting upon them. They frequently heard with great emotion, how zealously these assistants preached salvation by the death of Jesus, being filled with fervent desire to lead souls to Christ: they always made the Scriptures the foundation of their discourse; adding, "Thus hath God, our Creator, loved us; thus he hath done to save us; every sinner may approach confidently unto him. Thus *we* have been taught; *we* have received the Gospel and experienced the truth of it." Sometimes they met with opposition. Once a savage declared to them, "That he had firmly resolved to continue in his Indian belief and manner of living; that he had once endeavored to reform, and in this view spent some time with a christian moralist, who told him what he ought to do, but lived contrary to his own precepts; that he had also resided a long time among the white people, who had

“ the *great book*, which taught them how to live, but that they  
 “ lived like Indians, committing all manner of evil; in  
 “ short, that he had never seen a man who lived agreeably  
 “ to the directions contained in that book.” The Indian  
 assistants answered with great cheerfulness: “ Observe our  
 “ teachers, they live according to the precepts contained in  
 “ the great Book, we also endeavor to do it, and are happy  
 “ in so doing.” Others, who acknowledged the excellency  
 of the doctrine, declared, “ that it would be very impolitic  
 “ in them not to have bad hearts, lest the white people, who  
 “ were now afraid of them, chiefly on account of their bad  
 “ hearts, should afterwards do with them what they pleased.”  
 The believers contradicted this assertion, by quoting their  
 own example: “ When the traders come,” said they, “ and  
 “ offer their rum to you, you suffer yourselves to be imme-  
 “ diately deceived; you get drunk, and then they do with  
 “ you what they please, therefore your bad hearts cannot de-  
 “ fend you against them, but make you an easy prey to their  
 “ cunning. But when they come to us, we refuse their rum,  
 “ and thus they cannot treat us as they please; our hearts,  
 “ which believe in Jesus, resist their temptations and defend  
 “ us against them.”

With regard to rules and orders, they were always made  
 in the council of the congregation, and persons nominated  
 to watch over their due performance. The missionaries gave  
 particular attention to a very circumspect education of the  
 youth of both sexes, in the fear and admonition of the Lord,  
 and in this view a weekly conference was held with the pa-  
 rents.

Besides their labor in the congregation, the missionaries  
 never omitted to follow those who had strayed, with love and  
 patience, and in this blessed work received much help from  
 the Indian assistants. When any poor lost sheep returned to  
 the congregation, the joy of the flock was great; but when  
 members of the congregation conducted themselves in such  
 a manner, that they could no longer be suffered to dwell  
 in the place, sorrow was as general. Sometimes those,  
 who

who would not hearken to advice, were publicly recommended to the prayers of the congregation, but if any refused reproof and did not leave the place of his own accord, notice was given, that he could no longer be considered as an inhabitant of Gnadenhuetten. Though this was always an afflictive expedient, yet the missionaries could not act otherwise, unless they had suffered the congregation to degenerate into a corrupt and mixed multitude. They feared nothing more than a Laodicean course. When the least symptom of this appeared, they ceased not to cry unto the Lord, until a new fire of grace and love was kindled; and thus strengthened, they proceeded with renewed courage. By keeping up a continual intercourse with the Elders at Bethlehem, they received great support, and were encouraged by frequent visits and letters received from them, which they communicated to the congregation.

When a believer obtained the end of his faith, and departed this life rejoicing, it gave occasion to all the survivors, to examine their hearts, whether they were duly prepared to commend their souls to the Lord Jesus, whenever he should call them hence.

The Indian congregation having continued almost uninterrupted in the above-mentioned pleasing and regular course till 1754, I shall only take notice of a few remarkable occurrences.

At the synods of the Brethren, two of which were held in Pennsylvania in the year 1747, the care of the Indian mission, and the propagation of the Gospel in general, was a chief object of consideration. Some Indian deputies were present at these and other synods, and approved themselves useful and active members. The conversion of the negroes in New York was likewise taken into consideration, and Brother Christian Froelich received a commission, to attend and teach the Gospel to them, as circumstances would permit.

Various journies were made to Shekomeko, Pachgatgoch, and Wechquatnach, both by the European and Indian Brethren from Bethlehem and Gnadenhuetten. In spring, the missionary, Martin Mack, went again to Shomokin, and hav-

ing agreed with Shikellimus and his council, respecting the terms, upon which a blacksmith should be sent by the Brethren to dwell with them, the Brethren, John Hagen and Joseph Powel, went thither in June, to build an house for this purpose, and having finished it in a few weeks, Brother Anthony Schmidt and his wife removed to Shomokin that same month and began to work. Brother Hagen having departed this life in September, Brother Mack and his wife went to Shomokin to superintend the new mission. They visited the Indians diligently, and improved every opportunity to preach the Gospel to them. But they found much cause to lament the abominations practised here. Among other instances of savage barbarity, they saw one of the most lamentable nature: a Mahikan woman, having lost one child already by poison, had the misfortune to lose her last child only four years old, by the same means, applied by a noted murderer. Her violent lamentations at the grave and continual repetition of the words, "The forcerer has robbed me of my only child; ah! the forcerer has murdered my only child;" moved all, who heard her, with the greatest compassion. Sister Mack endeavored to comfort her, by describing Jesus Christ as the friend and Savior of all the distressed. During this conversation she asked with great earnestness; "Do you believe that my child is now with your God?"—"I do," replied Sister Mack, "because our God is a friend of the children; and if you learn to know him, you may in eternity, find your child with him; for he is not only *our* God but also *your* God, and loves all men. He loved them so much, that he became a man and died for you and me, that we all might be saved if we receive him, &c." This declaration left a abiding impression upon the mother and her husband.

Brother Mack had also the pleasure to see, that a girl thirteen years old, upon hearing his testimony, turned with her whole heart to the Lord. She often told her mother how she conversed with Jesus; even after her parents left Shomokin, she remained in the same mind, and, whenever an opportunity offered, sent word to Sister Mack th

she still loved our Savior. After some time she fell sick, and perceiving that her dissolution was at hand, earnestly admonished her mother to love the Lord Jesus, and to return to the Brethren at Shomokin. Before her departure she desired that a small token, by way of remembrance, might be sent to Sister Mack. With this her last request the parents complied, contrary to the usual custom of the Indians, who generally bury the property of the deceased with them.

The residence of the Brethren at Shomokin, was attended with great expence and inconvenience, all necessaries of life being conveyed to them from Bethlehem. Shomokin being a place, through which the Iroquois used to pass in their way to Philadelphia and Virginia, and when going out on hunting, the Brethren there found a good opportunity of becoming acquainted with a great part of that nation, and of preparing the way, for the propagation of the Gospel among them.

Several missionaries, both in Bethlehem and Gnadenhuetten, were now studying the Maquaw or Mohawk language, the chief dialect of the Iroquois, to qualify themselves for this work, and Brother Pyrlaeus, who had already become a proficient in the Mahikan language, so that he could instruct others and even compile a hymn-book for the use of the congregation in Gnadenhuetten, was by his time also able to instruct in the Mohawk language, and spent his time, from four o'clock in the morning till late in the evening, in this employment, except when prevented by the duties of his office as minister.

As the Indian languages had no words for many new ideas and objects, the Brethren were obliged to enrich them with several English and German words, and by degrees, custom rendered these new terms intelligible. Several Indian Brethren at Gnadenhuetten were also desirous of learning the German language, but they never made much progress. But those Indian single Brethren and Sisters, who had requested and obtained leave to live at Bethlehem, and more particularly the children, educated in the schools, learnt

German with ease. Though the Brethren had purposed to send the Indian children home, as soon as their parents had built their cottages, yet it could not so generally be done, for some parents, perceiving that their children would be much better educated in the Brethren's schools than at home, begged earnestly, that they might not be sent back. An Indian sister even bequeathed her two children to Brother Spangenberg, that he might adopt and educate them for the Lord. The children themselves were extremely unwilling to quit the schools at Bethlehem, and many entreated so earnestly, that they at last prevailed upon the Brethren to keep them. Even several children in Gnadenhuetten would not rest, till their parents procured leave for them to go to the Bethlehem schools, and at that time their earnest and repeated request could not be denied, without the appearance of cruelty. Nor was this measure without its good effects. The evident proofs of the grace of God operating in the hearts of these Indian children, gave great joy to their teachers and overseers, and care being taken that they should not lose their native tongue, many of them became very useful to the mission by the knowledge they acquired of the German or English languages.

The support of the Indian congregation in Gnadenhuetten was a principal object of the attention of the Brethren in the year 1747. It was an evident proof of a change of heart, that the Indians went diligently to work, and planted the fields, portioned out to each family; but not having land sufficient, the Brethren bought a neighboring plantation for their use. This gave them great pleasure. One of them said, "It seemed hitherto, as if we had lain in a short bed, never able to stretch at full length, but now we lie in a large one." A saw-mill being erected at Gnadenhuetten many Indians had the means of earning money, by cutting timber and conveying it to Bethlehem in floats down the Lecha. Hunting however remained the chief support of the people, and from fifteen to twenty deer or bears were frequently shot in one day. If provisions proved scarce,

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they got wild honey, chefnuts, and bilberries in the forests.

Still a continual supply of provisions was required from Bethlehem; for the Indians of Gnadenhuetten were frequently visited by various companies, chiefly Delawares and Shawanose, whom they not only received with kindness, but also entertained, rejoicing that these heathen had thus an opportunity of hearing the Gospel.

Nothing made so good an impression upon the savages, as that peace and harmony prevailing among the believers, and their contentment amidst all troubles. This gave great weight to their testimony of Jesus Christ, for it was evident that nothing but faith in, and love to him could create that display of benevolence and cheerfulness in the conduct of the Indian Brethren, the reverse of which appeared so general in the unconverted.

The visits of savages were agreeable to the missionaries, as they conceived hopes, that some might be gained for Christ; but sometimes proved troublesome, on account of their wild and disorderly conduct. Circumspection was always required in treating them properly. By severity their future visits would have been prevented; yet disorder could not be permitted, lest the believing Indians should suffer. The following mode seemed the most prudent: Those, who, excited by curiosity, came to pass a day or two, were welcome. The Christian walk of the Indians proved edifying to them, and the observance of the rules of the settlement prevented all mischief. But if any expressed an inclination to live at Gnadenhuetten, they were then told, that drunkenness, fighting, games, &c. were not permitted; and yet, with every precaution, these evils could not be entirely prevented. Thus twenty-six Indians came from Pachgatgoch to Gnadenhuetten, pretending that they wished to live there and hear the Gospel. There being no room for them in Gnadenhuetten, they began to build in the neighborhood; but it was soon evident, that they were not sincere, and their conversation proved hurtful to the Christian Indians, so that  
even

even some families were seduced. These poor people with those who left the congregation soon found reason to repent. One, named Gideon, expressed his regret in the following terms: "When I left you, I thought I might still retain life in my heart, though I left the believers, but alas! I find it far otherwise: my other brethren, who have done the same, are all spiritually dead, and in pursuit of the world, and it would have been better for me to have remained with you."

In January 1748, Bishop Cammerhof and Brother Joseph Powel went to Shomokin. They suffered so much on their journey from the great quantity of ice, water, and snow, that they were frequently in danger, and their journal cannot be read without astonishment; but the Lord helped them through all difficulties. The Bishop found by the way several opportunities to preach the Gospel with good effect to bewildered Christians, and this proved sufficient consolation for all the fatigue and danger he had endured.

The intention of his journey was to make some regulations, by which the Gospel might be more easily propagated among the Iroquois, Shomokin being a central town. He had several conferences not only with the Brethren there, but with Shikellimus and his council, before whom he bore a powerful testimony of the salvation purchased by the death of the Lord Jesus Christ, which left a deep impression upon them. On his return, he experienced many singular proofs of the gracious providence of God, who heard his prayers. The Brethren in Bethlehem considered it their duty to encourage those in Shomokin by frequent visits, their situation being attended with many difficulties. Their house was frequently injured by the violent storms of thunder and rain prevailing in that district. Sometimes the plantations were destroyed by hail; earthquakes shook their dwellings, and filled them with apprehension: but their principal danger arose from the drunkenness of the Indians, whose fury  
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in that state threatens the lives of all who interfere with them. The Brethren were also often alarmed by parties of warriors of different nations, then at war with the Catawas, passing to and fro with captives. They treated their prisoners with great cruelty, and the Brethren, as white people, were often in danger of being murdered in their riots. But their confidence in God remained unshaken; otherwise, witnessing such horrid abominations, and subjected to great abuse and insult, their courage and faith might have been subdued, had not the hand of God in mercy supported them.

About this time, the missionaries Martin Mack and David Zeisberger went to Long Island, and Great Island, situated in the west branch of the Susquehannah, above Otstonwackin. They found many people ill, but did not venture to give them medicine; for had only one of the patients died, the Indians, without hesitation, would have blamed the missionaries. Being exceedingly affected at the sight of these people, addicted to every heathenish vice, and now tormented by famine and sickness, they endeavored to describe to them the love of Jesus Christ their Savior, ever ready to help all those who believe in him. But they found few disposed to hear; the Indians quoting the bad example of the Christians in the neighborhood, as a sufficient cause for rejecting their doctrine. Thus they returned with sorrowful hearts from their labor; having several times been in danger of losing their lives, by the brutality of the savages.

## CHAPTER VIII.

1748, 1749.

*Synod held by the Brethren in Quitopehill. Occurrences in Gnadenbuetten. Johannes de Watteville's Arrival. He goes in search of several straying Indians. Awakening in Meniolagomekah. Various Accounts.*

SOON after Bishop Cammerhof's return from Shomokin, a synod was held in Quitopehill; in which the mission among the Indians was considered with much attention, and the following principles renewed and approved:

1. The Brethren do not think, that they are called to baptize whole nations; for it is more to the purpose, to gain one converted soul, than to persuade many to take merely the name and outward form of Christianity.

2. We are not discouraged by the dangers and hardships attending the labor among the heathen, but always bear in remembrance, that our Lord endured distress and death itself, to gain salvation for us, and rested not till the great work was finished. If, after the most strenuous exertions of soul and body, one soul is gained for Christ, we have an ample reward.

3. We will continue to preach nothing to the heathen but Jesus and him crucified, repeating the same testimony of his Gospel, till the hearts of the heathen are awakened to believe; being fully convinced, that the power of the cross is the word of God, which is alone able to bring souls from darkness into light.

4. The missionaries should never reject any heathen, not even the most abandoned and profligate, but consider them

as persons, to whom the grace of Jesus Christ ought to be offered.

A remarkable opportunity soon offered to act according to the last rule. A dissolute Indian woman came to Gnadenhuetten, pretending to have the best views, but secretly endeavoring to seduce several persons. Her evil intentions being fully proved, she was called upon to appear before the Indian assistants, and informed, that this town was built only for such, who being weary of sin and the service of Satan, were desirous of being saved, but that salvation extended even to the greatest harlots, murderers, and thieves, if they were truly penitent, since God our Savior had become a man, shed his blood and died for them also. Therefore Indians of this description were likewise welcome, if they truly wished to be delivered from the power of evil. But that Gnadenhuetten was not a place of residence for such, who persist in sin; nor would such persons find companions here; that she therefore must now leave the town, but as soon as she should sincerely change her mind, she should be received with pleasure.

As soon as she appeared before this venerable company, she was overcome with awe; and, during the above address, her very countenance bespoke the condemnation of her conscience. She then left the house with tears, and removed to another place. About a year after, the Brethren had the pleasure to see this woman converted. She married an heathen Indian, who was afterwards much disfigured in a drunken frolic. This misfortune caused the poor man seriously to reflect on his conduct, and his wife reminding him of the Brethren, they both went to Bethlehem and Gnadenhuetten, declaring their wish to know by experience, that God had saved the Indians also, by the shedding of his precious blood. They believed, were afterwards baptized, and named Daniel and Ruth.

Some instances also occurred about this time, showing the pernicious influence of seduction among the converted Indians, which much afflicted the missionaries.

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Another synod being held at Bethlehem in June 1748, some of the most approved Indian Brethren were appointed assistants in the work of God in their nation. For their encouragement this was done in a solemn and public manner. Nicodemus (one of their number) departed this life in Gnadenhuetten in August. He was a man of a distinguished character, and his conversion was a miracle of grace.

As an heathen he was exceeded by none in the practice of evil, and much given to drunkenness. On hearing the word of the cross, he was one of the first, who experienced its saving power, and was baptized in December 1742. From a turbulent spirit he became patient, lowly and humble in heart, but strong in faith. In his walk and conversation he was an example to all, and whoever knew him before, beheld him now with amazement. By degrees, he became much enlightened in the divine truths of the Gospel, and was appointed elder of the congregation at Gnadenhuetten, in which office he was universally respected. His walk with his God and Savior was uninterrupted, and his faith daily strengthened by contemplating the sufferings and death of Jesus. He prayed without ceasing, both for himself and his countrymen, whom he greatly loved. If he perceived any insincerity among them, his concern was evident. He was very attentive to new objects, and as his manner of speaking was very figurative, his conversation proved highly instructive and useful. Once looking at the mill at Gnadenhuetten, he addressed a missionary: "Brother," said he, "I discover something that rejoices my heart. I have seen the great wheel and many little ones; every one was in motion and seemed all alive, but suddenly all stopt, and the mill was as dead. I then thought; surely all depends upon one wheel, if the water runs upon that, every thing else is alive, but when that ceases to flow, all appears dead. Just so it is with my heart, it is dead as the wheel; but as soon as Jesu's blood flows upon it, it gets life and sets every thing in motion

"and

“and the whole man being governed by it, it becomes evident, that there is life throughout. But when the heart is removed from the crucified Jesus, it dies gradually, and at length all life ceases.” Upon another occasion he said, “I crossed the Lecha to-day in a boat, and being driven into the rapid current, was forced down the stream and nearly overfet. I then thought; this is exactly the case of men who know not the Lord Jesus Christ, they are irresistibly hurried away by sin, cannot help themselves and in danger of being eternally lost: but as soon as our mighty Savior takes the helm, we receive power to withstand the rapid stream of this world and sin.” When the doctrine of the Holy Ghost became more clear to his mind, he once compared his body to a canoe, and his heart to the rudder, adding, “That the Holy Ghost was the master sitting at the rudder and directing the vessel.” He was very diligent in his attendance on the heathen visitors, and his unaffected and solid conversation, but especially his fervent prayers in their behalf, made a lasting impression upon them. In his last illness, he thought much of the resurrection, and said: “I am now an old man and shall soon depart to the Lord; my body will soon be interred in our burying-ground; but it will rise most glorious; and when our Savior shall call all those, who have fallen asleep in him, they will rise to newness of life and glory.” His countenance appeared at the same time as serene as that of an angel; he repeated his ardent desire to be at home with Jesus, and assured his friends, that his joy in the Lord had almost overpowered all sensation of pain, adding, “I am poor and needy and therefore amazed at the love of my Lord Jesus Christ, who is always with me.” Thus he remained cheerful, till his happy departure, which fully proved the reality of his faith.

Among the Indians baptized in the year 1748, two merit attention, Christian Rénatus and Anna Caritas. The former was an inhabitant of Meniolagomekah, a celebrated warrior of the Delaware nation, of a gigantic form, and rendered

rendered terrible by his exploits. He was formerly a great drunkard, and noted throughout the country as a monster of iniquity. But true faith in the Lord Jesus changed his conduct. Being present at a baptism in Gnadenhuetten, he was so much affected, that he could not refrain from tears. He owned with sorrow his former sinful life, and fought and found pardon and peace in the redemption of Jesus. The report of his conversion and baptism caused great astonishment among the Indians and white people, many of whom came to Gnadenhuetten to examine into the truth of it. To all these visitors, he joyfully declared what the Lord had done for his soul. Anna Caritas, was the first fruits of the Shawanose, a sensible old woman. She had long resided among the white people, but felt an impulse to see the Brethren. Her employers, who greatly esteemed her, as a good servant and housekeeper, could not persuade her to stay, but she went to Bethlehem in the depth of winter, believed in Jesus Christ, and would not depart, till her urgent request for baptism was granted.

The years 1748 and 1749, were also distinguished in an extraordinary manner by the return of many lost sheep. Brother David Bischoff was unwearied in following them. God also laid a particular blessing upon the services of Bishop Johannes von Watteville, who went in September 1748, to North America, to hold a visitation in the Brethren's settlements. One great object was to become acquainted with the Indian congregation. For this purpose he went to Gnadenhuetten in September; staid three days, preached the Gospel with fervor, and rejoiced at the grace prevailing there. Some Brethren arriving from St. Thomas, at the same time, all joined in praising God our Savior for his abundant love to the poor human race, and for the power of his atonement, evidently displayed on the heathen of different nations and colors. The Bishops von Watteville and Cammerhof proceeded with the Brethren Martin Mack and David Zeisberger to Wajomick,  
Nesko-

Neskoeko, Wabhallobank, and Shomokin. The former spent three weeks on this journey; visiting the Shawanose, Chikafas, and Nantikoks, preaching everywhere the precious Gospel of Jesus Christ. In Shomokin he renewed the covenant made between the chief Shikellimus in the name of the Iroquois and Count Zinzendorf, from whom he delivered a present, and received the following answer: "Tell Johanan" (this being the name given to the Count by the Indians), "that his brethren the Six Nations salute him, for they love him, and desire him to salute all his Brethren, whom they love likewise."

In December he went with Bishop Cammerhof and Nathaniel Seidel to Shekomeko, Wechquatnach, and Pachgatgoch. In Shekomeko they found every thing destroyed, except the burying-ground. Their chief object was to look after the lost sheep, and they were so fortunate as to find many of them either at home, or at their hunting huts. God blessed their endeavors with great success; though the contrast between those who had continued stedfast, and the backsliders, was evident in their very looks and behavior. The missionaries were not discouraged, but preached the Gospel to them again, earnestly exhorting them to confess all their deviations with contrite hearts before the Lord, to crave his mercy and pardon, and to devote themselves anew unto him, who has received gifts for the rebellious also. They assured the penitent, that the congregation, whom they had offended, was ready and willing to readmit them to fellowship. This message of consolation, had the desired effect. The deluded people confessed their transgressions with many tears. Nathaniel said, "I know, that I belong to my Savior, and to his people. My horses often stray far into the woods, but always return to my hut, and thus I will return and seek our Savior and the congregation." He added, "If a coal is taken from the fire, it loses its heat, and is extinguished; thus also my heart has lost its fervor, having strayed from the fellowship of the believers."

All who bemoaned their unfaithfulness, received a public assurance of the pardon of the congregation, having previously made known their situation to the missionaries. Most of them were also soon after readmitted to the Holy Communion, and the Brethren experienced on these occasions something of that joy, which is in heaven over repenting sinners. They had also the comfort to baptize twenty Indians, among whom were two boys.

Upon their return, these three Brethren went to a town in the Jerseys, where Mr. Brainard had preached the Gospel to the Indians, baptized about fifty, and made some good regulations among them. They wished him all possible success. The Brethren in Bethlehem were also of opinion, that they ought not in the least to interfere with the labors of this good man among the Indians, but rather to support him with their prayers.

In 1749, thirteen Indian boys, educated in the school at Bethlehem, Nazareth, and Fredericktown, were with a negro boy baptized. This transaction made a blessed impression upon the European and Indian Brethren. The custom of dressing the catechumens, who were to be baptized, in white, was now first introduced into the Indian mission.

About this time two grown persons were baptized in Bethlehem, one of whom called Keposh, had formerly been head-chief of the Delaware nation, and was now near eighty years of age. Many years ago he was taken ill and to all appearance died. The Indians having made every necessary preparation, sent messages to the different towns, to invite his friends to the burial, but at the end of three days, to the astonishment of all present, he awoke from his swoon. He wondered at the number surrounding his bed, knew nothing of the intention of their meeting, nor what had happened to him. He informed them, that a shining figure of a man clothed in white robes, had appeared to him as flying in the air, who, lifting him up from the earth, showed him a catalogue of his, at

his people's sins, exhorting him to return and reform his life, and to reprove the Indians, on account of their wicked ways. This story was well known among the Indians, before they heard the Gospel. It is also certain, that the man actually strove to amend his life, but finding no power in himself to resist evil, and remembering the injunctions laid upon him, believed the Gospel, as soon as he heard it. He was called Solomon in baptism, and became a very respectable and useful member of the congregation. His eldest son had strong convictions and an inward call to turn to the Lord, but the hopes to succeed his father in his dignity, made him long hesitate. At length, not able to resist the powerful operations of the Holy Ghost, and being anew awakened by attending the baptism of some Indians, he immediately went to Bishop von Watteville, sold his lost estate, and begged to be baptized. His request was granted, not long after the baptism of his father.

Brother David Bruce was now appointed to the care of the Christian Indians in Pachgatgoch and Wechquatnach, who since the before-mentioned visit had again formed a regular settlement. He chiefly lived in an house in Wechquatnach belonging to the Brethren, called Gnadensee, but sometimes resided at Pachgatgoch, whence he paid visits to Westenhuck, by invitation from the head-chief of the Maikan nation, sowing the seed of the Gospel, wherever he came. But as he was not ordained, Bishop Cammerhof with Brother Gottlieb Bezold, went again in March 1749, to Shekomeko, Pachgatgoch, and Wechquatnach, to strengthen the believers, and to administer the Sacraments to them. Twenty Indians were then added to the church by baptism. Brother Bruce remained in this station till his happy departure out of time, which, to the great grief of the Indian congregation, took place this year. He was remarkably chearful during his illness, and his conversation edified all who saw him. Perceiving that his end approached, he called the Indian Brethren present, to his bed-

side, and pressing their hands to his breast, besought then fervently, to remain faithful unto the end; and immediately after fell asleep in the Lord. His funeral was committed to one of the assistants, who delivered a powerful discourse upon the solemn occasion to the company present, among whom were many white people, who had often heard our late Brother's testimony of the truth with blessing. Brother Abraham Bueninger was appointed his successor, and at leisure hours was very diligent in instructing the children.

Bishop Johannes von Watteville having been on a visitation the negroe-mission in St. Thomas, returned to North America June. Meanwhile the Brethren Cammerhof, Nathaniel Sedel, and others went to Meniolagomekah, upon repeated invitations from the Chiefs. Their labor was not in vain and a door was opened there for the Gospel. The chief of this place, a young man of rank, generally called George Rex, and his wife, were soon after baptized in Bethlehem and both became useful assistants in the Indian congregation. Soon after this the Chief's grandfather, being hundred years of age, and quite blind, was also baptized and fell happily asleep in Jesus, soon after his baptism. From that time forward, Meniolagomekah was diligently visited by the missionaries; and many of the inhabitants receiving the Gospel, a regular establishment of Christian Indians was formed, and a separate burying-ground allotted there. This place being only one day's journey from Bethlehem, it was generally attended by the missionaries from Gnadenhuetten, and by them served with the word and Sacrament. The communicants came also occasionally to Gnadenhuetten, and partook of the Communion there.

In May, many of the Indians of Gnadenhuetten went to Bethlehem, to see three Christian Greenlanders, who were returning to their native country, conducted by the late missionary Matthew Stach. There were at the same time in Bethlehem, a boy and a young Indian woman from Berbice in South America, so that the Brethren there had the satisfaction

the heathen of three different nations and languages, namely  
Arawacks, living in the 6th, Mahikans and Delawares  
in the 41st, and Greenlanders in the 65th degree of north  
latitude. In this month, thirty believing Indians who for-  
merly removed from Shekomeko to Wechquatnach, went  
to live at Gnadenhuetten. This town now became an  
object of admiration to the whole country, and the increasing  
number of its inhabitants, afforded a convincing proof of the  
power of the Gospel, to change the hearts of men. Evil  
reports were not wanting, and thus these people had  
to their share of the reproach of Christ. This was like-  
wise the case with the small congregation at Meniolago-  
nekah, where the enemy with much pains influenced the  
minds of the people, by bitter and false accusations. Yet  
they could not succeed; chiefly owing to the firmness of the  
above-mentioned Chief, named Augustus in baptism, a man of  
very sound understanding and strong in faith. He ex-  
plained all things fully to the believers, declaring his mind  
to the following effect: "I know both the Brethren, and  
their intentions well. When I hear base charges against  
them, I give them no credit; first chusing, by enquiry,  
to explore the truth. I know that Satan envies the  
peace my brethren enjoy, and therefore thus assaults  
us." The converted Indians were also soon accustomed  
to be called Moravians, or Herrnhuthers. Those savages  
also, who were enemies to the Gospel, endeavored by various  
inventions to confound the truth. A message was sent to  
Gnadenhuetten to this effect: "That a conjuror, who  
was dying in Wajomick, had disappeared in the night,  
and two days after returned from heaven, where God had  
told him, that he had appointed sacrifices for the In-  
dians, to atone for their sins, but had given the Bible to  
the white people only; and though it contained many ex-  
cellent things, yet he considered it as an abomination, that  
the Indians should walk in the same way. He added,  
that the white people were wise and cunning, and if the  
Indians meddled with them, they would all be devour-

“ed, especially their children, whom they strove to get into  
 “their power; further, that God had commanded him to  
 “make this known to all the Indian tribes.” The mes-  
 senger added: “That the man who had been with God had  
 “summoned all the Indians to meet on the river Sus-  
 “quehannah, to hear him; after which he intended to  
 “come to this town, to relate the affair himself, for the  
 “words he had heard were so important to him, that he  
 “could not keep them in his breast.” The Indian Bre-  
 thren heard this message with patience, but after assuring  
 the messenger, that his employer had not seen the true  
 God, they preached the words of life to the deluded man  
 with great power and demonstration of the Spirit. The im-  
 pression made upon the messenger was such, that he not  
 only published throughout the country what he had heard  
 at Gnadenhuetten, thus frustrating the intentions of the  
 false prophet, but turned with all his heart unto the Lord,  
 and was baptized some time after.

In July, deputies from the Six Nations arrived in Phi-  
 ladelphia to form an alliance with the English government:  
 and the Brethren Johannes von Watteville, Spangenberg,  
 Cammerhof, Pyrlaeus, and Nathaniel Seidel went likewise  
 thither, to renew with them the covenant made between  
 the Brethren and the Six Nations. At the request of the  
 latter, the Brethren promised to visit their people.

In September Bishop Johannes von Watteville went again  
 to Gnadenhuetten, and laid the foundation of a new church;  
 that built in 1746 being now too small, and the mis-  
 sionaries now and then obliged to preach out of doors.  
 The Indian congregation alone consisted of five hundred  
 persons. In October the Bishops von Watteville and Spangen-  
 berg returned to Europe. Their labor in the Indian con-  
 gregation was blessed with rich fruits. Spangenberg was  
 succeeded by Bishop John Nitschman; and Bishop Cammer-  
 hof continued indefatigably attentive to the conversion of  
 the heathen. In November he visited the Indians at Sho-  
 mokin, and on the banks of the Susquehannah.

A school of three classes, for children, boys, and young men, was established this year at Gnadenhuetten; and a master appointed for each class. Mistresses were also appointed, for the classes of the girls and young women. The Indian youth being very willing to learn, it was a pleasure to their instructors to see their progress. A regulation was also made for the maintenance of poor widows and orphans, who were placed in different families, and provided, as relations, with every necessary of life.

About this time Mr. Brainard and several of his Indian converts visited Gnadenhuetten.

Towards the end of the year the Indian congregation suffered a great loss by the decease of the wife of the missionary Martin Mack, who had devoted all her time and strength in the service of the Lord among the heathen, to the great prejudice of her health. Her departure occasioned general sorrow. Among others, who departed this life in 1749, I will only mention Shikellimus in Shomokin. Being the first magistrate and head-chief of all the Iroquois Indians, living on the banks of the Susquehannah, as far as Onondago, he thought it incumbent upon him, to be very circumspect in his dealings with the white people. He mistrusted the Brethren at first, but upon discovering their sincerity, became their firm and real friend. Being much engaged in political affairs, he had learned the art of concealing his sentiments, and therefore never contradicted those, who endeavored to prejudice his mind against the missionaries, though he always suspected their motives. In the last years of his life he became less reserved, and received those Brethren who came to Shomokin into his house. He also very kindly assisted them in building, and defended them against the insults of the drunken Indians, being himself never addicted to drinking, because, as he expressed it, he never wished to become a fool. He had built his house upon pillars for safety, in which he always shut himself up, when any drunken frolic was going on in the village. In this house

Bishop Johannes von Watteville and his company visited, and preached the Gospel to him. It was then, that the Lord opened his heart; he listened with great attention, and at last with tears, respected the doctrine of a crucified Jesus, and received it in faith, as a message, full of grace and truth. During his visit in Bethlehem a remarkable change took place in his heart which he could not conceal. He found comfort, peace, and joy, by faith in his Redeemer, and the Brethren considered him as a candidate for baptism, but hearing that he had been already baptized by a Roman Catholic priest in Canada, they only endeavored to impress his mind with a proper idea of the importance of this sacramental ordinance, upon which, he destroyed a small idol, which he wore about his neck. After his return to Shomokin the grace of God, bestowed upon him, was truly manifest, and his behaviour was remarkably peaceful and contented. In this state of mind he was taken ill, was attended by Brother David Zeisberger, and in his presence, fell happily asleep in the Lord, in full assurance of obtaining eternal life, through the merits of Jesus Christ.

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## CHAPTER IX.

1750, 1751.

*Journey of the Brethren Cammerhof and David Zeisberger to Onondago. Account of Gnadenbuctten. Bishop Cammerhof's Decease. Various Accounts.*

THE most remarkable occurrence in 1750, was the journey of Bishop Cammerhof and Brother David Zeisberger to Onondago, the chief town of the Iroquois. They set

set out from Bethlehem on the 14th of May, having obtained a passport from the governor of Pennsylvania, requesting all subjects of the British government, to forward their undertaking, and to lend them all possible assistance. The Brethren Mack, Bezold, and Horsfield accompanied them to Wajomick, where they made an agreeable acquaintance with the chiefs of the Nantikok tribe, one of whom, eighty-seven years of age, was a remarkably intelligent man. These chiefs desired to know why the Brethren so frequently visited their people. This Bishop Cammerhof answered, by preaching to those assembled for that purpose, the will of God concerning their salvation, inviting them to Jesus, that they might be made partakers of the riches of his grace; adding, that this was the only reason, why the Brethren came into their country. This declaration was well received, and proved a blessing to many at Wajomick. An Iroquois of the Cajuga nation was their guide, and conducted them to Tiaogu, about one hundred and fifty miles up the Susquehannah. They spent the nights on shore in huts made of the bark of trees, and gave each night's lodging a name, the first letter of which was cut into a tree by the Indians. Bishop Cammerhof had the satisfaction to find all the Indians whom he had baptized on the banks of the Susquehannah in a pleasing course. They had remained faithful to the Gospel, and their meek and chearful behaviour proved that their souls were alive in the faith of Jesus Christ. Their heathen neighbors came likewise to see the Brethren, complaining, that the former were entirely perverted since their baptism, not living in their usual Indian manner, nor ever joining in the diversions and customs of their countrymen; thus unintentionally giving them so good a character, that Bishop Cammerhof greatly rejoiced, and praised God for his goodness towards them.

The inhabitants of Tiaogu, a considerable Indian town, as well as those of other places, were surprized to find, that the Brethren were going to Onondago, and were acquainted with the head-chiefs of the Six Nations, and as their  
guide

guide purposely spread this account, wherever they came, it gained them great respect.

From Tiaogu they proceeded by land, and daily met with difficulties, almost insurmountable at first appearance. On the 19th of June they reached Onondago, the chief town of the Six Nations, situated in a very pleasant and fruitful country, and consisting of five small towns or villages, through which the river Zinochfaa runs. They were lodged at the house of the head-chief Ganassateko, who received them with much cordiality. The intention of this journey was, both to fulfil the promise of a visit to the great council of the Iroquois, made last year to the deputies in Philadelphia, and to obtain leave for some Brethren to live either in Onondago, or some other chief town of the Iroquois, to learn the language, and to preach the Gospel to them.

Bishop Cammerhof and David Zeisberger having notified their arrival to the council in the usual manner, they were admitted and received as the deputies of the church of the United Brethren on both sides the ocean, and their message taken into consideration; the council then consisting of twenty-six elderly men of venerable appearance. The consultations upon the message lasted long, many questions were put to the Brethren, and many belts and fathoms of wampom delivered. Bishop Cammerhof was the speaker, and David Zeisberger, who spoke the Maquaw language fluently, interpreted. Ganassateko was the speaker on the part of the council. But as most of the counsellors were now and then in liquor, their business was frequently interrupted. During a suspense of this nature the Brethren obtained permission from the council, to make a journey into the country of the Cajuga and Senneka Indians, as far as Zoneshio, the chief town of the latter. They spent about a fortnight on this journey, endeavoring to bring the Gospel among these tribes, but it proved a difficult and dangerous undertaking, not only as to the journey itself, but especially through the ferocity of the  
Indians.

Indians. They suffered much from the savage and drunken Sennekas, especially from the women, who in a state of intoxication were desperate. Thus their intention was frustrated, and they ascribed their safe return merely to the merciful preservation of God. On their arrival, they found that the chiefs had not proceeded any further in their cause. They therefore renewed their petition, and were so successful, that on the 20th of July, with the usual ceremonies, they received the following decision:

“That the Iroquois and the Brethren on both sides the great ocean should regard each other as brothers; that this covenant should be indissoluble, and that two Brethren should have leave to live either in Onondago, or some other town, to learn their language.”

The Brethren praised God for the success of their application, set out immediately on their return, and having travelled about sixteen hundred miles, arrived in Bethlehem on the 17th of August. The Indian congregation at Gnadenhuetten rejoiced the more at their safe return, having been apprehensive, that they might meet with some mischief among the Iroquois.

The missionaries had meanwhile been active in leading the converted Indians into a more regular course in their marriages, without restraining their native liberty too much. Having duly considered this matter in the conference of the Indian assistants, it was agreed, that the marriage ceremony should be performed in the church, and the banns regularly published. The married people were also exhorted, to conduct themselves in this state according to the will of God, as revealed in the Holy Scriptures.

At this time there was great want of suitable missionaries among the Indians. Thirty or forty Indians from Meniolagomekah, baptized and unbaptized, came hither both on Sundays and festival days. The inhabitants found it difficult to lodge them, and thus lost the opportunity of celebrating those days, as they wished. The Elders therefore lamented, that they could not send a regular missionary to Meniolagomekah,  
nor

nor to those places, where at that time the desire of the people to hear the word of God was general; for there was a great awakening, which extended over the whole Indian country, especially on the Suiquehannah.

In many places the Indians met to converse about God. Nothing gave them more pleasure, than when a Brother preached to them the word of life. Nathaniel Seidel and David Zeisberger, who went to Europe, at the latter end of this year, were commissioned to bring over some assistants for this work. Such opportunities were generally made use of by the Indian Brethren, to write or dictate letters to Count Zinzendorf, Bishop von Watteville, or other friends in Europe. These letters contained a plain, yet nervous declaration of their experience, were usually communicated to the congregation, and heard with much pleasure.

In Pachgatgoch, Bishop Cammerhof and Brother Grube preached and administered the Sacraments this year. Brother Bueninger continued to serve this small congregation, which encamped in huts around his cottage, and God blessed his labors. Most of the baptized at Wechquatnach had removed to Gnadenhuetten.

The Brethren at Bethlehem considering that the inhabitants of the latter place might thereby be straitened for land, purchased a tract of ground on the north side of the Lecha, which was portioned out among the inhabitants by drawing lots, to the satisfaction of all. Two Brethren were appointed to keep watch during the meetings of the congregation, partly on account of the danger attending the fires in the woods, which are frequent in those parts, partly to attend visitors and travellers, and to prevent disorders. In this duty all took their turn.

Among those baptized in 1750, was one Tadeuskund, called Honest John by the English. His baptism was delayed some time, because of his wavering disposition. But having once been present at a baptism, he said to one of the Brethren: "I am distressed, that the time is not yet come, that I shall be baptized and cleansed in the blood of  
"Christ."

“Christ.” Being asked how he felt during the baptism, he replied: “I cannot describe it, but I wept and trembled.” He then spoke with the missionaries in an unreserved manner, saying that he had been a very bad man all his life, that he had no power to resist evil; that he had never before been so desirous to be delivered from sin, and to be made partaker of our Lord’s grace; and added, “O that I were baptized and cleansed in his blood.” He received this favor soon after, and was named Gideon.

The missionaries hesitated also about baptizing another Indian, living in Meniolagomekah, called Big Jacob. He had been many years an enemy to the Gospel and its ministers, endeavoring with all his might and cunning to retard the progress of the truth. But, during a severe illness, the Spirit of God operated upon his heart, his wretched state was revealed to him, and being in great distress of mind, he asked advice of the Brethren. Cammerhof and others visited him diligently, pointed out Jesus unto him as the Savior of the afflicted, and were convinced, that he desired to be converted with all his heart. He owned his sinful life; his countenance, formerly savage and fierce, was changed into that of a true penitent, and he constantly repeated his desire after baptism. He said to Brother Cammerhof: “I earnestly desire to be cleansed by the blood of our Savior, and pray him to have mercy upon me, and to enable me to love him above all things.” Being asked whether he believed that none could save him but the true God, who had become a man, died on the cross, and shed his blood as an atonement for sin, he replied: “I believe that nothing can save and cleanse me from sin, but the blood of Christ alone, this I chiefly desire to experience.” Brother Cammerhof asked further, whether he was willing to devote himself to our Savior, as his entire and eternal property, upon which he answered: “O yes, if he receives me, he will also give me strength and grace to live to him alone, that I may no longer serve sin and Satan.” He was then baptized, and named Paul. God sealed this transaction, by a remarkable

remarkable perception of his divine presence; and Paul remained faithful to the end.

Such instances of the power of the Gospel had the most blessed effects upon all, and the Indian assistants improved them for the instruction and encouragement of their Brethren. Augustus's brother complained, that he was not good enough to be baptized; Augustus answered: "Dear brother, I also thought to become good, before I could venture to approach unto the Lord; but he permits us to come unto him poor and needy as we are, that we may be cleansed with his blood. Then he dwells in our hearts, and by his Spirit, leads and teaches us, what to do, and what to leave undone."

In 1757, the congregations and missions in North America suffered a great loss, by the decease of Bishop John Frederick Cammerhof, who had served them with great faithfulness and success; he was never intimidated even by the most imminent danger, but at the risk of health and life, defied all perils, to gain souls for his Lord and Master Jesus Christ. He considered Gnadenhuetten as a jewel of inestimable value. When he resided in Bethlehem, he regularly went to that place once a month. The Indian congregation respected and loved him sincerely. There was so much sweetness and benevolence in his character, that even the wildest savages held him in great esteem. This was proved by many remarkable instances. A savage Indian on the Susquehannah having been severely reprov'd by him for his wicked life, and exhorted to seek remission of sins, through faith in Jesus, was so much exasperated, that he followed him into the wood, with a determination either cruelly to beat, or to kill him; when overtaking him, he found him so mild and friendly in his behaviour, that, immediately repenting of his wicked design, he gave ear to Cammerhof's admonitions, and returned home with a very different disposition from that he set out with. Some time after, he began to consider his wretched state, turned to Him who had power to deliver him from sin, and was baptized by the  
very

very man he had purposed to destroy. Bishop Cammerhof had baptized eighty-nine Indians during the four years he resided in North America. The last baptismal transaction he performed in January at Gnadenhuetten. On the 28th of April it pleased the Lord to call this faithful servant into his eternal joy. The Indians were deeply affected by his death, mourned over his loss, as over that of the best of parents, and even in the year 1782, their journal mentioned, that he was held in grateful remembrance among them.

The missionaries severely felt this stroke, and their only consolation was, that the Lord never forsakes his people. They renewed their covenant together, to remain faithful to the end, and were strengthened in spirit by the prosperity of the Indian congregation. One of them expresses himself thus in a letter written at that time: "Whoever has not  
" seen a congregation like this, can never conceive a true  
" idea of it from description, nor judge of the joy we feel in be-  
" holding a people of God, gathered from among the hea-  
" then: how attentive are they to the word of the suffer-  
" ings and death of Jesus; how upright and unreserved;  
" how contrite if they have done amiss; how cordial and  
" sincere in their love to each other; how compassionate to-  
" wards the distressed or deluded; how affected by holy  
" baptism; how strengthened and comforted by the enjoy-  
" ment of the Lord's Supper! When this description is  
" compared to their former state, words are inadequate to  
" extol the power of the cross of Jesus Christ so gloriously  
" manifested. We are thereby excited to love them most  
" cordially; and are willing, for their sakes, to endure all  
" hardships." The sincere declarations of the believers af-  
" forded infinite pleasure to the missionaries. Solomon said,  
" I sometimes walk out alone, and shed tears of joy in con-  
" sidering the Lord's goodness towards me." Joshua de-  
" clared, that lately he could not sleep the whole night for glad-  
" ness, meditating upon the Lord Jesus, and what he has done  
" for us; that he was ready to burst into tears of joy when-  
" ever he reflected upon the grace conferred upon him. He  
" added: "I have devoted myself anew unto my Savior,  
" and

“ and will live unto him alone ; I can no where else be hap-  
 “ py.” Joshua had a particular conversation with another  
 Indian called Job, who pretended to great wisdom, hav-  
 ing read much in the Bible and got many texts by heart  
 Job asserted, that we were very defective mortals, and no  
 able to live conformably to the precepts of Jesus Christ  
 adding, “ That as even those, who walked with our Lord  
 “ and Savior on earth, could not act according to his will  
 “ how much less could we think of doing it now.” “ Ah,”  
 replied Joshua, “ it is not sufficient to plead, that we are de-  
 “ fective mortals, though to feel our poverty of spirit and help-  
 “ lessness is essential ; for this will induce us to seek the Lord  
 “ who will not suffer us to call in vain, but even before  
 “ we seek him, is favorably disposed towards us ; if we only  
 “ come to him with all our misery, he is ready to help us  
 “ immediately. Suppose you had travelled a great way, and  
 “ coming into a town, told the people that you were hun-  
 “ gry. If you then hear, that in such an house lives a  
 “ man who gives food to every one, who comes to him  
 “ would you hesitate a moment to go and get a meal  
 “ I mean, if you are really famishing, and know that you  
 “ must either eat or die ? Thus, my friend, it is with our  
 “ being poor and defective mortals. It is not the speaking  
 “ but the feeling of it, that drives us to our Savior, and he  
 “ then gives us grace and power to act conformably to his  
 “ precepts. But without him we can do nothing, and  
 “ you will always remain a poor helpless sinner, till you  
 “ come unto him. It is true, those who followed our  
 “ Lord upon earth found it difficult to obey his precepts  
 “ the cause might be this, they saw him with their eyes  
 “ but they had not experienced the power of his blood ; so  
 “ the Bible says, that after our Savior’s resurrection, it was  
 “ easier to believe in him, than before. Have you not  
 “ read of many hundred Brethren and Sisters, who, after  
 “ that event, were one heart and one soul ? We may ex-  
 “ perience the same, it is not difficult to believe in him  
 “ and do his will.” Other Indian Brethren who were pre-  
 sen

sent at this conversation, confirmed Joshua's words with energy, from their own experience.

The edifying declarations of the communicants concerning the blessings they enjoyed at the celebration of the Lord's Supper, gave great consolation to the missionaries, and raised an eager desire in those, who were not yet admitted, to attain to this great privilege, though they confessed themselves unworthy.

Among the number of Indian visitors in 1751, was a Shawanose and family, who had travelled above three hundred miles, to become acquainted with the Brethren and their doctrine, of which he had heard various reports. He stayed a month at Gnadenhuetten, with his relations, and they all escaped a blessing from their visit.

Another visitor, who had formerly heard the Gospel in Gnadenhuetten, but then resisted convictions, related, that soon after his return, his child was taken dangerously ill. Fearing that the poor infant would not obtain eternal life, not being baptized, he ran into the woods, and cried to God, in the anguish of his soul, that he would in mercy restore its health; promising, that he would then devote to his service both his child and himself. After giving vent to his tears, his heart was comforted, and on his return he found the child better; he therefore came now to Gnadenhuetten, to request the Brethren, to take him and his family under their protection. Tears flowed while he spoke; he obtained permission to live in the place, and was baptized with his whole family.

Pachgatgoch being near two hundred miles from Bethlehem, the missionaries, to whom that post and Potatik were committed, stood in need of some occasional relaxation. Brother Senseman therefore went in February 1751 to Pachgatgoch, and took the care of the congregation and schools till July, when Brother Bueninger, after having rested during this time in Bethlehem, resumed his successful labors. In his leisure hours he worked in the plantation, and gave a good example, by encouraging the Indians to in-

dustry, that they might not suffer famine in winter, which too often happens through neglect. By this the Indians became so attached to his gentle directions, that even when they were employed in the harvest by the white people, they begged him to attend them, that he might warn them against danger; for, said they, "We are like sick people just recovering, and continually fearing a relapse."

In this year the above-mentioned Chief of Westenhuck, who had been long acquainted with the Brethren and visited Bethlehem, departed this life. He spoke of our Savior to his last breath, and his friends testified, that they had never known any one depart this life with more serenity and happiness.

The state of the congregation in Meniolagomekah became very precarious, the white people endeavoring to drive away the Indians, insisting that they were the lawful proprietors of the land. Augustus, in the name of the baptized, who wished to withdraw from the consequences of such a dispute, declared, that they would not refuse to quit their land, though they had long possessed and planted it. All applications made by the Brethren to purchase it were ineffectual, and it came into the possession of a man, who was no friend to our Indians. Thus the latter foresaw, that they would soon be compelled to quit the country.

The Brethren Nathaniel Seidel and David Zeisberger having returned from Europe in October, went to Gnadenhuetten, and brought a student, John Jacob Schmick, to serve the Indians. He was appointed school-master, and proved a successful missionary among them.

Soon after, the Brethren Zeisberger and Gottlieb Bezold went on a visit to the Susquehannah, Neskopeko, Shomokin, Wajomick, and other places, visited the Nantikoks and Shawanose, comforted the dispersed Indian Brethren, who, from their external connexions, were obliged to reside among the savages, and omitted no opportunity of preaching the Gospel. Bishop Spangenberg also returned from Europe in December, to the great joy of the congregations at Bethlehem and Gnadenhuetten, and assured them of the love and fervent prayers of all their Brethren in Europe.

## CHAPTER X.

1752, 1753.

*Spangenberg's Labors in Gnadenbuetten. The Nantikoks and Shawanose send an Embassy. Their Transactions. Notice given to Government. Zeisberger's Journey to Onondago. Accounts of Gnadenbuetten, Pachgatgoch, and Meniolagomekah. Second Embassy from the Shawanose and Nantikoks. Doubtful Consequences of it. Zeisberger's second Journey to Onondago. Various Accounts.*

THE return of Bishop Spangenberg to North America was of great service to the Indian congregation: he knew it from its infancy, was esteemed as a father, and knew how to guide its members, with that patience, wisdom, and gentle restraint, best adapted to their character and circumstances. On this account his advice was a great support to the missionaries in attending to their various duties.

His first business was, to encourage them, by solemnly renewing his covenant with them to persevere in the service of the Lord, though attended with the greatest difficulties. He then spoke with every individual belonging to the Indian congregation, and found cause to praise God for the happy situation of mind, in which he found most of them. He likewise spoke with each of them concerning that good order and discipline, essentially requisite for the preservation of the congregation. This was well received, and the council came to the following resolutions:

That the parents should take more care of their children; that the schools should be regularly attended and never missed, but upon the most urgent necessity; that the Indian assistants should pay more attention to the young people, visit the families

milies in their dwellings, taking notice, whether the children were at home with their parents, or at school; whether strangers were in the town; whether people had assembled, whose conversation or behaviour might prove hurtful; whether any were ailing or distressed; and communicate their remarks to the missionaries in proper time.

That no begging should be suffered, but every one endeavor to earn his bread by diligently attending to his business.

That in their dealings with the white people, they should guard against running into debt, and in general regulate their affairs, so as to make provision for winter and spring: that all the infirm and aged should carefully be attended to; and their wants relieved. That notice should be given, when any intended to be absent from his usual employ.

That no shooting should be permitted on Sundays or festival days, neither in the town nor its neighborhood, and that the greatest caution should be used in proving their guns near the houses.

That no occasion should be given for disturbance either by the inhabitants, or by strangers; and that, in case any should happen, the latter be sent away and the former reprov'd; and if unwilling to return to order, desired to quit the settlement.

That every housekeeper in Gnadenhuetten should sign an agreement, promising to demean himself conformably to these statutes, and in case he should alter his mind, to sell his plantations to the settlement, and leave the place.

It must undoubtedly be ascribed to the grace of God alone, that the Indians, who naturally despise all restraint, not only joyfully agreed to these orders and regulations, but lived in strict compliance with them.

The visits of strange Indians were an object of continual attention, a work of God being observed in the hearts of several. Yet as lodging them in the families became not only troublesome, but the conduct of many, gave offence to the young people, the council resolved to build an house  
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purposely for the reception of strangers. Another was built and appropriated to the use of the baptized Indian visitors from Bethlehem, Meniolagomekah, Pachgatgoch, and other places. The former was called the Strangers' Inn. Towards building the latter, the Brethren in Bethlehem contributed money, and the Indians afforded their work. Each house was superintended by an housekeeper, who paid every attention to the comfort and convenience of his guests.

A present of a spinet having been made for the use of the chapel at Gnadenhuetten, the singing of the congregation was improved, and Brother Schmick played upon it, to the satisfaction and edification of all. He also taught a young Indian to play, who succeeded him.

Some Indian assistants having visited their countrymen on the Susquehannah, and preached the Gospel to them, the head-chief of the Nantikok nation sent two deputies to the Brethren with a fathom of wampom to solicit further acquaintance. In June, Bishop Spangenberg, Zeisberger, and Seidel, went to Shomokin and Wajomick. In return for this visit, a large embassy was sent by the Nantikoks and Shawanose to Gnadenhuetten, to establish a covenant with the Brethren. The deputies, with their attendants of women and children, were in all one hundred and seven persons. Their transactions were performed with due Indian solemnity. July 14th two deputies arrived from Wajomick to announce the arrival of the embassy on the following day. Every one was active in procuring accommodations and provisions for such a large party, and on the 15th a messenger arrived, being sent ten miles forward, with two strings of wampom. He addressed the Brethren thus: "We are now coming to you. Gnadenhuetten is a place which delights us. We first thought to go to Bethlehem, but being fatigued and having nothing to eat, we rest with you at present. The heat was great, and we subsisted on nothing but bilberries." The Indian Brethren having sent them four large loaves, they appeared some time after, slowly moving towards the place, in Indian file; the leader singing a song, till he came to the

first house, where they halted. Abraham went to meet them, and giving his hand to the leader, conducted them to the inn. After dinner, at their own request the Indian assistants preached Jesus to them, as crucified to redeem us from sin.

Having received an account of this extraordinary visit, Bishop Spangenberg and some other Brethren arrived from Bethlehem on the 16th, and the missionaries and assistants being assembled, he conversed with the Indian Chiefs, bid them welcome, and invited them and their people to supper. They intimated, that perhaps their young people might have leave to dance, but were told, that the believers found no pleasure in such things, because their God and Savior was their only joy; to which Bishop Spangenberg added, "Brethers! you are the fathers of your people, therefore say to them, "Do not dance here, for the Brethren disapprove of it." This address being well received, their behaviour was very orderly. After supper, a verse of thanks was sung in the Indian language. July 17th, the Indian Chiefs were informed, that their words should be heard in the afternoon. For this purpose, and that all the people might be present, the whole assembly met upon a rising ground. A large blue cloth being spread in the middle, and mats properly placed, on one side for the Chiefs, and on the other for the Brethren, the Nantikoks and Shawanofe gathered around their Chiefs, and the inhabitants of Gnadenhueten around the missionaries; the women and children forming a circle around the whole assembly, at some distance, yet so that they could understand the words of the speakers, who always rose up to deliver their speeches. On each side a fire was kindled, and a small basket, filled with tobacco, placed in the centre.

The speaker of the embassy, an old Chief called Joinnopiom, delivered his message with great gravity and many significant gestures in five different speeches. During each he held some strings and belts of wampom in his hands, and at the close of each sentence was applauded by one or another part

party. Whenever he made a period, another Chief, named White, took up the string or belt, and repeated it in English. Then Nathanael, an assistant, took the same string or belt, and repeated the period in the Mahikan language, and he was followed by Bishop Spangenberg, who did the same in German.

The first speech contained the usual preface, that the two nations, the Nantikoks and the Shawanose, being one in mind, would clear the ears and eyes of their Brethren the Mahikans at Gnadenhuetten, and of the white Brethren at Bethlehem. He then observed, that it gave pleasure to the Chiefs, that the Brethren would speak to their people of Him who dwells above; that their women and children were also pleased with it. "That even the children in the womb, after their birth, would thank the Chiefs, that they had done this for their good." This latter sentence concluded each speech.

In the second, he regretted that the Mahikans, by living at so great a distance, had become strangers to them, but now seeing their faces, they acknowledged the Mahikans to be their elder brother.

During the third, he held a belt consisting of six rows of wampom, curiously interwoven, which he explained to be the chain of brotherhood, to remain unbroken, as long as God should suffer the world to stand.

He began the fourth by saying, "'Tis a great pity that we do not understand each other." Bishop Spangenberg replied, "But yet it is well, that we may all understand each other, for by translating your words into so many languages, we remember them all, and not one falls to the ground." The speaker then proceeded to request, that both parties might consider themselves as brethren, and assist each other in all circumstances of life, to the utmost of their power. This was greatly applauded.

The speaker having seated himself, produced a triple string of wampom, and rising, laid hold of one string and uttered these words: "I have now said all I had to say, and this

“concludes my speech.” Then taking the other two strings he added: “My brother Mahikan and my brother from Bethlehem, you have feated yourselves together and are become one. Three months hence we intend to visit Bethlehem, but we will send a messenger five days before our arrival, and announce it to you, in the name of the Chiefs. We have sent word to the Six Nations, that last spring you gave us to understand, that you would tell us the ‘great words’ of God, our Creator, and that we have made a chain of friendship with you and should visit you. They were well satisfied and pleased with it.” An universal shout of applause confirmed these words. Chief White added, “that their wives and children intended to return from Gnadenhuetten to Wajomick, but that he and some other Chiefs should now proceed to Bethlehem.” About five in the evening the assembly broke up, and the Nantikoks and Shawanose having had their meal, Bishop Spangenberg preached to them in the English language, repeating in a concise but powerful manner, the history of our Lord’s life, sufferings, and resurrection, to which they were very attentive. One of the Chiefs desired his people to stay, while he in his own language and manner translated to them what Bishop Spangenberg had said.

On the following day provisions were prepared by the inhabitants of Gnadenhuetten, that they and their guests might all dine together at the close of the conference. A general collection of wampom was made, and the strings and belts necessary for the answers, prepared by the Indian Sisters. Meanwhile the Brethren from Bethlehem and the Indian assistants agreed upon an answer to be given to the Nantikoks and Shawanose; the second conference began in the afternoon, and all being placed as on the foregoing day, Bishop Spangenberg rose and said:

“Brothers, Chiefs of the Nantikoks and Shawanose, being united; you have travelled far with your people; you have suffered much by the way from heat and famine; your feet are weary and dusty; when you came to us, b  
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“ this string of wampom (holding it up) you wiped our  
“ eyes, cleaned our ears, and cleared our inward parts,  
“ that all evil might depart and give room to goodwill.  
“ And with this same string you told us, that the words we  
“ have spoken to you in the spring, were satisfactory, and that  
“ your women and children, even those yet in the mother’s  
“ womb, would rejoice to hear the Gospel of Jesus Christ.  
“ You also declared by this string, that you and the Shawanose  
“ were one, as we white Brethren of Bethlehem and our  
“ Indian Brethren are one. Brother, take this string (hold-  
“ ing up a double one), we thank you for coming, dry your  
“ sweat, wipe the dust off your feet, refresh yourselves,  
“ satisfy your hunger; cool yourselves and be chearful; and  
“ may God bless the word, which we shall preach to you  
“ and your children.” Upon this, Chief White took the  
string from Bishop Spangenberg, and repeated his speech  
in the Nantikok language, the Indians applauding each  
sentence. Bishop Spangenberg again rose with the first belt  
of wampom given by the Nantikoks and Shawanose, and  
repeated the whole speech, delivered the preceding day,  
the Nantikoks and Shawanose confirming each sentence  
with loud applause; then hanging the belt upon his arm,  
he took up another and said, “ Brothers, ye Chiefs of the  
“ Nantikoks and Shawanose, being one: we rejoice greatly,  
“ that we have found our brothers. It shall ever remain as  
“ you have said; we will be one, it is as you have declared,  
“ the Brethren of Bethlehem and those of Gnadenhuetten are  
“ one. This shall last as long as the world.” Chief  
White having repeated all this in the Nantikok language, Bi-  
shop Spangenberg rose with a second belt given by the In-  
dians, repeating their words; and holding up the belt, said  
in answer, “ Brothers, ye Chiefs of the Nantikoks and  
“ Shawanose, being one; we, the United Brethren of Beth-  
“ lehem and Gnadenhuetten, will hold this chain unbroken,  
“ no link shall be torn off, nor shall rust corrode it; and may  
“ God, the giver of all good, grant us grace to preserve it;  
“ it shall continue firm between us and our children.” This  
speech being repeated, he rose as before, and said, “ Brothers,  
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“ what you have told us, is perfectly agreeable to us; we  
 “ delight to serve our fellow-men; even if our enemies  
 “ should call upon us, we would gladly relieve them; there-  
 “ fore if our dear brothers the Nantikoks and Shawanose  
 “ want our help, we shall always be willing to serve you;  
 “ our children think so too.” White having finished the  
 repetition of this speech, Bishop Spangenberg said, “ Bro-  
 “ thers, we thank you that ye have spoken so much with us;  
 “ we have received all your words, and not one has fallen to  
 “ the ground. It is well, that you intend to visit us at Beth-  
 “ lehem. When brothers visit each other often, all suspici-  
 “ ons are done away, and mutual love is promoted. We are  
 “ glad to hear, that you have given notice to the Six Nations  
 “ of what we told you in spring, namely, that we wish to  
 “ make you acquainted with your God and Creator. It is  
 “ well, that this be done daily. The Six Nations have been  
 “ united with us these ten years; we have also visited them  
 “ at Onondago, and two, here present, have been there.”  
 Hereupon he delivered to them a tanned deer skin, saying,  
 that they should mend their children’s shoes, if torn by the  
 way; adding, that sixty bushels of flour and eighty pounds  
 of tobacco were ready for them, as a present; all which  
 was received with expressions of great joy. The victuals being  
 placed before them, the Chiefs appointed some servants to  
 distribute them to the people, and every thing was conducted  
 with sobriety and in good order. After dinner, the aged  
 speaker rose, and said: “ We are very well satisfied and  
 “ thankful, and shall rest well.” Before they departed he  
 delivered a long speech to his people, to this effect: “ that  
 “ they should look upon the Brethren at Bethlehem and Gna-  
 “ denhuetten as their brothers, and do them every service in  
 “ their power.” The Chief of the Shawanose having done  
 the same to his people, they all retired to their respective  
 lodgings.

July 19th, Bishop Spangenberg and his company returned  
 to Bethlehem, and many of the Nantikoks and Shawanose re-  
 solved to accompany their Chiefs thither. On the 20th some  
 deputies

deputies from Bethlehem met them with refreshments, upon which they sent a messenger forward, with a string of wampom and the following words: "Brother, I come to visit you; I have no business to transact, but shall be glad to see you in your own house." They soon appeared drawn up in Indian file. The men held their pieces with the muzzle downwards, and an old Chief, carrying the pipe of peace, sang these words: "I rejoice, that I may visit my brethren." Upon entering Bethlehem, Bishop Spangenberg gave them his hand; then turning about, walked before the whole company into Bethlehem, where they were received by the inhabitants, with sound of trumpets, and lodged in huts, erected for them. They staid here several days, and made a solemn covenant with the Brethren, attended with the same ceremonies and speeches as in Gnadenhuetten. The Brethren here directed their chief attention to the conversion of these heathen, and to make them acquainted with their Creator and Redeemer.

Bishop Spangenberg preached again to them, and they were present at two baptisms, during which they appeared much affected. The regular and chearful course of the congregation at Bethlehem seemed to leave a deep impression upon their minds. One of the oldest Chiefs declared his thoughts concerning himself and his people as follows: "Brethren, we are altogether buried in sin; have patience with us, in the course of a year or two a change may take place. We are like colts in training. Your words please us much. We feel something in our hearts, and though we do not comprehend it all, we shall understand it by degrees, but our motions are slow."

Having informed them of the covenant made between the Brethren and the Iroquois, renewed last year by Brother Cammerhof, and shown them the strings and belts of wampom ratifying the same, they were desired to consider of the best means of cultivating an acquaintance, and of preaching the Gospel to them, to which they promised to return an answer in three months. Then the Brethren, Sisters, and

and children gave them some useful presents, and all was concluded by a speech from the oldest speaker, expressing their gratitude, and confirmed by shouts of applause. On the 25th of July they returned home.

Notice was immediately sent to the government in Philadelphia of this embassy. This was the more needful, as the enemies of the Brethren had even inserted calumniating reports into the public papers, concerning the late Bishop Cammerhof's journey to Onondago, made in 1750, with a view to alarm government. The principal accusations were, that Brother Cammerhof intended to persuade the Indians to join the French against the English; that he advised them not to sell any more land to the English, and that he had endeavored to prejudice their minds against Mr Conrad Weisser, interpreter to government. Though his Excellency, James Hamilton, governor of Pennsylvania, was convinced of the falsity of these and other accusations by conferring with Bishop Cammerhof himself, yet these public calumniators could not be silenced; and therefore when Bishop Spangenberg waited upon the governor in the summer of this year, he gave his Excellency a full and satisfactory explanation, with a view to prevent any suspicion, showing in the most unequivocal manner, that the Brethren were, from every public and private motive, attached to government from sincere affection. This declaration had the desired effect.

Two deputies were likewise sent to the great council of the Mahikan nation at Westenhuck, to acquaint them with the embassy of the Nantikoks and Shawanose, with which they appeared much pleased; and as a proof of their satisfaction, made Abraham, an assistant at Gnadenhuetten, a captain. The Brethren were sorry for this step, fearing that it might tend to the prejudice of this valuable man, and the event proved their fears to be just.

In July 1751, the Brethren Zeisberger and Gottfried Rundt, accompanied by Martin Mack, set out for Onondago, agreeably to the article of treaty, by which the great council permitted two Brethren to reside there and learn the language.

Shortly before they reached that town they were met by twenty Chiefs of the Oneida tribe, belonging to the Six Nations, who with great vehemence opposed their proceeding on their journey, pretending to be entirely ignorant of the covenant made between the Brethren and the Iroquois at Onondago, and frequently repeating these words, "You are wicked men, we have been warned against you by the white people, and therefore forbid you to proceed at your peril; what business have you to learn the language? other people are engaged to do that." The Brethren did not suffer themselves to be so easily repulsed, and relying on the help of the Lord, desired that a solemn council might be held on the following day by the Chiefs, to consider their business. This being granted, Brother Zeisberger addressed them so powerfully that they changed their minds, and having contemplated the strings of wampom, which the Brethren were carrying to the council in Onondago, and considered their meaning, they granted them full liberty to proceed, adding: "We are convinced that your business is not a bad one, and that your words are true." The Brethren arrived the same evening at Onondago, and were lodged in the house of one of the Chiefs.

They soon made their arrival known to the great council, giving an account of the death of Bishop Cammerhof, and renewing their covenant made with the Iroquois two years ago, begging likewise that, according to leave given, the Brethren David Zeisberger and Gottfried Rundt might be permitted to reside among them, and to learn their language. The council returned an answer the same day, that these Brethren should have liberty to dwell among them and to learn their language; they also expressed their sorrow at the death of so worthy a man as Cammerhof, "who loved the Indians so much, and had proved himself among them as an upright man, without guile." Finally they renewed the mutual covenant between them and the Brethren, and the speaker, to show his earnestness, squeezing both his hands very fast together, said: "Thus all the Chiefs are disposed:" the rest  
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pronounced a loud tone of affirmation. Thus no opposition was made, but rather a dispute arose among the Chiefs, which nation should receive the two Brethren first. Brother Mack having returned to Bethlehem, the Brethren began a regular house-keeping, and experienced so much attention, respect, and assistance from all quarters; that they often exclaimed with amazement: "This is the Lord's doing." They lived in the Chief's house, and by particular appointment of the great council, all councils were held in it, that the Brethren might become well acquainted with their manner of treating subjects. They were also permitted to enter every house in the town, that they might have sufficient opportunity of conversing with the people, and learning their language.

Thus they lived in harmony and peace, availing themselves of their unreserved intercourse with the Indians, to preach to them the words of life. They earned their bread by surgical operations, chiefly by bleeding, and by the labor of their hands. When the Indians got drunk and troublesome, they retired into the woods, till the frolic was over.

From Onondago they made a journey into the country of the Tuscaroras and Cajugas. In the latter, they found great opposition from the white people, and were so much abused by a rum-trader, that the Indians were obliged to interfere and deliver them from his hands by force. Upon their return to Onondago, they found the men in readiness to set out on their winter hunt, and thus as none but the women would be at home, they resolved to return to Bethlehem for some time, and arrived there in December.

In Meniolagomekah, the missionary Grube and his wife inhabited a miserable cottage. Among other inconveniences, they had to suffer their share of a general famine in those parts, but were comforted under all outward affliction, by perceiving, that the Gospel entered with power into the hearts of the heathen.

The course of the congregation in Pachgatgoch became more pleasing, Bishop Spangenberg preached the Gospel in  
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the power of the Spirit of God, one of the assistants from Gnadenhuetten being interpreter. By degrees, the number of constant hearers increased so much, that a resolution was taken to erect a large chapel and school-house. All the inhabitants took their share in this work, with great willingness, and the missionaries were excited to praise God for the grace bestowed on these people, naturally given to sloth, but now ready to perform the hardest labor, for the cause of the Gospel. When the house was finished and solemnly dedicated to the service of the Lord, the missionaries rendered thanks unto him, that during the whole work, there had not been the least appearance of dissatisfaction. The declarations of the Indians plainly proved the effects of the grace of God. Conversing one day familiarly together, they were heard to say: "We used formerly to meet for the purpose of drinking, dancing, fighting, and other revellings, but now we assemble to rejoice, that our Savior has delivered us from these things, and to thank him, that he has drawn us unto himself." Joshua, Samuel, and Martin, who were employed as interpreters in the meetings, agreed together, that when one, whose turn it was, found himself rather lukewarm in heart, he should mention it, that another might interpret in his stead. In general, the declarations made by the Indian Brethren and Sisters, and even by the children at Gnadenhuetten, gave great joy and comfort to the missionaries.

Agreeably to the promise made last year, another embassy of Nantikoks and Shawanose arrived at Bethlehem, by way of Gnadenhuetten, in March 1753. It consisted of twenty-two persons. Among the retinue were three Iroquois Indians, with whom Brother Zeisberger had lodged, and their joy in seeing each other was mutual. Many baptized Indians came likewise from Meniolagomekah and Gnadenhuetten, to be present at the transactions of this embassy. One part of their commission was, to thank the Brethren, in the name of the two nations, for their liberality towards them during the famine last autumn, declaring that they must

must all have perished for want, had not the Brethren of Bethlehem sent them timely relief. They observed, that, after many consultations, they could not find any method of becoming acquainted with the language of the Brethren; adding, that at the desire of the Iroquois, the Nantikoks would retire further inland; but that they would not forsake the friendship of the Brethren, but visit them often. They also made a proposal in the name of the Iroquois, that the Indians in Gnadenhuetten should remove to Wajomick, yet not against their own inclination; observing however, that in case of a removal, the land should not become their property, but remain in the possession of the Iroquois. They earnestly besought the Brethren not to suspect any evil motives, but rather to believe the reverse. The Brethren in Bethlehem should hold them by one, and they, the Nantikoks and Shawanose, by the other hand, and thus keep them safe. During this last part of the speech, the speaker changed countenance, and began to tremble, well aware that this proposal would be acceptable neither to the Brethren at Bethlehem, nor to the Indians at Gnadenhuetten. However, both he and the other Chiefs were relieved from their fears, when they heard the answer of the Brethren implying, "that they would not determine any thing positively against it, but must insist upon this point, that no means of constraint should be used on either side." Yet some mistrusted their honesty, though they concealed the suspicions for the present, not conceiving why the Iroquois should propose the transplanting of the converted Indians from Gnadenhuetten, without alleging any plausible reason, and that not immediately, but through the intercession of the Nantikoks and Shawanose. The event proved that they were not mistaken. The deputies of the congregation agreed to the proposal, on condition that they should have full liberty to take their teachers with them. It was further resolved that no idle rumors should be credited by either party. If any thing material occurred, inquiry should be made, and the real truth ascertained. T  
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same ceremonies accompanied these consultations, as before described.

Many meetings were held, on account of the heathen visitors, chiefly in the English language, and all united in prayers, that God would cause his word to bring forth abiding fruit. It was evident in many, that they did not hear the doctrine of the sufferings and death of Jesus, in vain. Some were once looking at a painting of our Lord's crucifixion: "Behold," said one of them to another near him, "how many wounds he had, and how they bleed; I have also heard the Brethren say, that he was sorrowful unto death, and prayed in an agony, in such a manner, that the sweat ran from him like drops of blood." The other listened with astonishment, and seemed lost in thought. Having spent a week agreeably in Bethlehem, they returned to Wajomick, towards the end of March.

It appeared that these visits did more harm than good to the inhabitants of Gnadenhuetten. Not only the people at large became fond of forming alliances with other nations, but several Indian Brethren, who were not as yet well established and rooted in Jesus Christ, began to think again of their heathenish customs. Some forsook the congregation, and brought themselves into distress of mind and body; others lost their cheerfulness and serenity, became gloomy and shy, and much time elapsed, before they were restored. The missionaries felt the most pungent grief on these occasions; they were however comforted in some measure, by observing, that none of those who thus left the congregation, were enemies to it, but valued the Gospel, the power of which they had felt, retaining a sincere love for the Brethren. The missionaries remarked, that it was evident, that our Savior had truly conquered the hearts of the baptized; for though they strayed for a time, yet He bore them with patience; many were reclaimed, and departed this life as ransomed sinners. Thus they always found reason to moderate both their joy and grief over the course of the Indian flock. The greater number remained faith-

ful, and by the grace of God overcame the temptations, cleaving to Jesus Christ to the end.

The presence of the Lord attended their daily worship, particularly on festival days, and the missionaries were comforted and strengthened by their voluntary declarations, whenever they were visited. Michael speaking of his dwelling in Gnadenhuetten, said to a missionary: "I have lived  
" in Shekomeko, there our Savior followed me faithfully,  
" and when I removed hither, he preserved me. Here I  
" have heard words which are a cordial to my heart; I  
" continue to hear, and am strengthened. I would sooner  
" die than be persuaded to leave you." An Indian sister declared, "That both at home and abroad she had been  
" in an uninterrupted intercourse with God her Savior;  
" that thereby her love towards him had been greatly strength-  
" ened, and her joy in the Holy Ghost increased;" and  
" that she would therefore cleave to him for ever." One of them said: "My heart is poor and needy, but it belongs to  
" our Savior, and all the good I possess, proceeds from him.  
" When I converse with him, I am always happy at the  
" foot of the cross. I am hungry and thirsty, and long  
" for that great day, on which we shall celebrate the Lord's  
" Supper. I will remain the property of our Savior, trust-  
" ing that he will keep me."

The joy and confidence with which the Indians met their dissolution, was the most evident proof, that they had lived by faith in the Son of God, and were animated with the assurance of everlasting life. Thus the edifying departure of Gottlieb, the first-fruit of the Delaware nation, gave particular joy to the missionaries. Before he expired, he said to Brother Martin Mack: "I shall soon depart to  
" my Savior; this makes me rejoice, because I know that I  
" shall go to him as a poor but pardoned sinner." He was so moved at uttering these words, that his tears prevented him adding more, and soon after he fell asleep in Jesus.

The unbaptized showed more faith in Jesus Christ, in their dying moments, than was expected. A mother who wept bitterly over her unbaptized son, living on the Susquehan-

nah, out of the reach of any missionary, and at that time sick unto death, was comforted by his own declarations. Upon her going to see him, he addressed her to the following effect: "Dear mother, I am very ill, and shall probably die, but do not weep so much; I shall not be lost; for I am assured, that Jesus our Savior, the God whom the Brethren preach, and who was wounded for me also, will receive me:" and in this firm hope he died rejoicing.

April the 22d, Brother Zeisberger returned to Onondago with Brother Henry Frey. Both were treated with the same esteem, as before, and with the greatest hospitality, as long as the Indians themselves had any thing to eat. However, the war between the English and French gave the Brethren much uneasiness, and the great council intimated, that they would do well to leave the place, if it should extend farther towards Onondago, promising to give them timely notice. They attempted to preach the Gospel in the adjacent parts, but were much weakened by various diseases, suffering famine with the inhabitants. Brother Zeisberger having made good progress in the language, and omitted no opportunity to preach salvation to all men; returned to Bethlehem with his assistant, after half a year's residence in Onondago, by advice of the great council, and on account of the troubles of war.

About this time, the small congregation of Indians, settled at Wechquatnach, were driven away by their neighbors; and some retired to Wajomick. Thirty-four of these people having given satisfactory proofs of their sincerity, obtained leave to remove to Gnadenhuetten.

The possessor of Meniolagomekah did not proceed so far, as to expel the Indian inhabitants, and the cause of the Gospel flourished, in defiance of all opposition. An Indian assistant came every Sunday to this place, to serve as interpreter to Brother Bueninger, who was preacher and schoolmaster. An instance of the simplicity of one of the Brethren whom he instructed in writing, gave him pleasure.

He brought him a prayer written out of the fulness of his heart, as follows: "My dear Savior! my name is Nathaniel! I will open my whole heart to thee, in writing, in thy presence: I am very deficient in every thing. I find that I have not yet devoted my whole heart unto thee; and yet thou hast died for me. Jesus Christ! I wish I was so, that thou couldst rejoice over me! dear Savior, I would willingly live so as to please thee." An old man of seventy-two, came and told him that he had lived long with the white people in the Jerseys, with whom he had frequently conversed about religion. He had seen people of all denominations, and wished to know, which religion was the best. Brother Bueninger answered, that he would not take upon him to judge, but that in all men *one* thing is required, which is, to believe in, and love Jesus Christ, the creator of all things, who became a man, died for our sins and rose again for our justification. Whoever in any denomination experiences the truth of this, is saved, and possesses eternal life.

The Brethren Martin Mack and Grube visited Shomokin and several places on the Susquehannah, endeavoring to reclaim the straying sheep, and to awaken the heathen from the sleep of sin. With this view, Grube made a journey into several neighboring places, and was graciously preserved amidst many surrounding dangers. In one place, several ill-designing Shawanose and Delawares came to his Indian host, and unknown to him, demanded his life, alledging "That he was a wicked man and a seducer." His host answered: "You mistake your man, I have never seen any thing amiss in him; he is in my house, and I will defend him there, nor shall any man on earth dare to injure him." The day after, he accompanied Brother Grube part of the way to Shomokin, but did not tell him in what danger he had been. Some time after he believed the Gospel, turned with his whole heart unto the Lord, and then related this circumstance.

Brother Christian Froelich was meanwhile engaged in visiting the negroes in several parts of the Jerseys, by whom

he was well received. He preached the Gospel to above a hundred of them, and likewise visited them in their plantations. At New York he heard of a criminal who was to be hanged the following day, whom he with another Brother visited in prison. Here he described to him the great love of Jesus to all repenting and returning prodigals, encouraging him to turn unto the Lord, by quoting the instance of the pardoned thief; and great indeed was his joy, when he saw the poor criminal receive this word of comfort and pardon, with a believing heart, and with numberless tears of unfeigned repentance.

## CHAPTER XI.

1754.

*Beginning of severe Troubles. Many Inhabitants of Gnadenhuetten leave that Place. Meniolagomekab deserted. The Troubles cease for a time. The Indians remove from Gnadenhuetten. Brother Martin Mack's Visit to Wajomick. Various Accounts.*

THE course of the Indian congregation had hitherto been, in general, pleasing and unmolested, notwithstanding its various defects and vicissitudes; but now troubles began, both of the most unpleasant kind, and grievous in their consequences. They chiefly originated in the above-mentioned proposal to transplant the congregation from Gnadenhuetten to Wajomick.

For the reasons above stated, the Brethren in Bethlehem long wished, that the converted Indians might withdraw into that country, and make a settlement. But it gradually became evident, that the savages were secretly determined

to join the French, and commence hostilities against the English. They first wished to furnish a safe retreat for their countrymen, the Indians of Gnadenhuetten, that they might the more easily fall upon the white people in those parts. In this view the Iroquois had called the Nantikoks from Wajomick into their neighborhood, to make room for the Christian Indians. They supposed this step would not be disagreeable to the Brethren at Bethlehem, the believing Indians at Shekomeko having nine years ago obtained leave from the great council at Onondago, by means of a treaty with Bishop Spangenberg, to move to Wajomick. Thus their plot appeared upon the whole well contrived, and the pressing invitation sent to the converted Indians to go to Wajomick, was part of the scheme.

In this point of view the Brethren at Bethlehem had no reason to rejoice at the offer, nor could the missionaries encourage the Indians to accept of it; yet they ventured not to dissuade them, lest it should be again reported, that they made slaves of their Indians, and deprived them of that free exercise of their judgment, upon which the savages pride themselves so much. They therefore never interfered in the consultations of the inhabitants of Gnadenhuetten on this subject. The latter were averse to quit their pleasant settlement, more especially after they discovered the true motives of the Iroquois, justly fearing, that they would at last be deprived of their teachers, and even of all intercourse with the Brethren. Several however got the better of their scruples, and resolved to move to Wajomick.

Abraham and Gideon were the most active in promoting this affair. The latter, formerly called Tadeuskund, who had waited long for baptism, as mentioned above, soon proved by his whole behavior, that the doubts of the missionaries concerning his steadiness were too well founded; for he was like a reed, shaken with the wind. Hearing that the heathen Delawares had nominated him their chief, he began

gan to side with Abraham, who being now a captain of the Mahikan nation, insisted, that the converted Indians, having once accepted the invitation, could not refuse going to Wajomick. These two men sought to make a party, and though they did not meet with much success at first, yet it occasioned much contention between husbands and wives, parents and their children. They gained their point so far, that on the 24<sup>th</sup> of April, sixty-five persons, and shortly after five more, removed from Gnadenhuetten to Wajomick without a missionary. Most of them burst into tears at taking leave, promising, that they would cleave unto the Lord Jesus, and remain faithful. Fifteen more repaired to Neskopeko without any invitation; and all representations of the inevitable injury which would accrue to their souls, were in vain. To see these people depart, filled the missionaries with the most pungent grief. They and the Elders of the congregation at Bethlehem, could do nothing, but wait in silence, and comfort themselves with considering, that though the enemy designs mischief, God has all things in his power, and can bring good out of evil.

Gnadenhuetten had scarcely suffered this great loss of inhabitants, when it was partly supplied from another quarter. The new proprietor of Meniolagomekah declared that the Indians should quit that place. The believing Indians applied immediately to the Brethren, who sent them a cordial invitation by the missionary Martin Mack to remove to Gnadenhuetten. Their joy was inexpressible. They said: "Let us instantly break up! our Brethren have opened their arms to receive us, and call unto us, to fly to them in our distress." They got ready in great haste, and before the end of April, the whole congregation, consisting of forty-nine persons, moved to Gnadenhuetten.

The Indian assistants were now excited to new zeal and watchfulness, in promoting the real welfare of their people. They owned, that their former deficiency in love to God our Savior, and the consequent want of true brotherly love, had weakened their hands in the execution

of their office. They now solemnly renewed their covenant, to be faithful unto the Lord and his people.

Soon after, it became necessary for the inhabitants of Gnadenhuetten to remove to the north side of the river Lecha, the land on the Mahony being too much impoverished, and other circumstances requiring a change of situation. Jacob, an assistant, expressed himself concerning the future course of the congregation, thus: "When the snakes come forth out of the ground in spring, they have still their old winter-coat on; but by creeping through a narrow hole, they rid themselves of the old skin, and appear as new-born. Thus I wish, that we may leave every thing by which we have displeased the Lord in the old place, and bring nothing into the new, that is not well-pleasing to him."

In the removal of the buildings, the chapel only excepted, the Indians were kindly assisted by the congregations at Bethlehem, Nazareth, Christiansbrunn, and Gnadenthal, who furnished not only workmen and materials, but even contributions in money. Unanimity and diligence contributed so much, towards the progress of this work, that the first twenty houses were inhabited by the 4th, and the foundation-stone of the new chapel laid, on the 11th of June. Bishop Spangenberg offered up a most fervent prayer, and delivered a powerful discourse on this solemn occasion. The houses were soon after completed, and a regulation made in all the families for the children of each sex to be properly taken care of. The dwellings were placed in such order, that the Mahikans lived on one, and the Delawares on the other side. The Brethren at Bethlehem took the culture of the old land on the Mahony upon themselves, made a plantation of it for the use of the Indian congregation, and converted the old chapel into a dwelling, both for the use of those Brethren and Sisters who had the care of the plantations, and for missionaries, passing on their visits to the heathen.

A synod was held in New Gnadenhuetten, from the 6th, to the 11th of August, and the chapel consecrated. Many Indian assistants were invited to this synod, the chief intention being maturely to consider the situation of the Indian mission.

Towards the end of June, the missionary Mack feeling a strong impulse to visit the emigrants at Wajomick, set out for that place with Brother Gottfried Roessler. The rivers were much overflowed; but no difficulties or perils could deter him from proceeding. God graciously regarded his faith, and saved him out of many dangers, in a manner almost miraculous. He was greatly comforted, when he found that the Indian Brethren had not departed from the Lord, but that even some, whose conduct at Gnadenhuetten had not been the most pleasing, had turned to Him with their whole heart, and received pardon and peace. They were very desirous to have a missionary residing amongst them, and in this view proposed to send deputies to Onondago, who should likewise request the council to grant them land on the Susquehannah as their hereditary property, where they might all live together undisturbed, as a church of God. Some of them had borne such testimonies of our Lord and Savior to the neighboring heathen, that when the missionary arrived, they were prepared to hear him with gladness, though formerly particularly attached to their heathen sacrifices, to which they ascribed all the good they enjoyed. One observed: "I am one of those, who wish to hear your words, for I believe, that I have hitherto been in the wrong, and shall miss of salvation. I am therefore uneasy, and desirous to know the right way." Others spoke to the same effect, and Brother Mack preached with great freedom, pointing out the right way, by inviting them to become partakers of the free grace, offered unto us through the meritorious sufferings of Jesus. He found here several of the baptized, who had formerly strayed from Shekomeko, and rejoiced to have this opportunity of assuring them again of his love; but he felt  
much

much uneasiness in discovering an Indian book circulated here, which the savages affirmed to contain every thing they wanted to know, of God, of the world, and of hunting; and consequently affirmed that the Bible was useless. By this delusion the poor heathen were more confirmed in their unbelief. The missionary found all the people living on the Susquehannah in great fear and dread, both of the inroads made in the country by the Catawas, then at war with the Six Nations, and of the French, who threatened the Indians with fire and sword, unless they acted in concert with them against the English. Besides this, the people of New England, who laid claim to Wajomick, were advancing, and intended to seize the land by force.

Soon after Brother Mack's return, the Brethren Grube and Gottlieb Rundt set out on a visit to Wajomick and Neskopekko; in both places their discourses were so well received by the Indians, that they desired the interpreter to repeat them. The Brethren were always sorry to be obliged to preach to the heathen by an interpreter; and therefore soon began to look out for men, who might make it their principal study, to learn the language of the heathen to whom they were called. For this purpose two students, Fabricius and Wedstaedt, came this year to Gnadenhuetten, the former to learn the Delaware, and the latter the Shawanose language. Fabricius made a quick progress, and was soon able to compose some Delaware hymns, and to translate several parts of the Scriptures into the Delaware language: Brother Grube did the same, and kept a singing-school for the boys and young brethren, by which he himself greatly improved in the language, for the Indians always corrected him if he made any fault. His scholars learnt the hymns and tune with great ease, and one of them brought him an hymn composed by himself. Brother Schmick likewise had made so quick a progress in the Mahikan dialect, that he preached fluently, translated the history of our Savior's sufferings composed some hymns, and now and then translated short accounts of the Missions among the Greenlanders and Negroes  
which

which were read to the Indian congregation. David Zeisberger spoke the Maquaw language fluently; yet the learning of these difficult languages was greatly impeded by the total want of the proper means of instruction.

The congregation at Pachgatgoch, consisting of more than 100 Indians, proceeded this year in a pleasing course. The missionaries praised God, especially for the unreserved manner in which the Indians owned their defects and asked advice. One of them said, "that he was in doubt, how he should behave in future, his heart being as unbroken as that of a stubborn horse." He added: "A man may have a very wild horse, but if he can only once make it eat salt out of his hand, then it will always come to him again; but I am not so disposed towards our Savior, who is continually offering me his grace. I have once tasted grace out of his hand, yet my heart still runs away; even then, when he holds out his grace unto me. Thus we Indians are so very stupid, that we have not even the sense of beasts."

As to externals, they had much disturbance towards the close of this year. Four white people having been murdered by some unknown Indians at Stockbridge; the inhabitants of the neighboring town of Sharen were in the utmost consternation, and the magistrates sent a peremptory order to Pachgatgoch, that no Indian should set foot upon their land, under pain of death. A suspicion arising, that one of the murderers was secreted here, the Brethren were obliged to submit to disagreeable examinations, by which however their innocence was fully proved.

In this year Brother David Zeisberger returned to his post in Onondago, with Brother Charles Frederic, and resided there almost a whole year. The great council was again kind enough to assemble in the house, in which these Brethren lodged; and a council held soon after their arrival, deserves particular notice. They had in consideration a message sent by the Nantikoks, desiring the Iroquois seriously to weigh the cause, why the Indians so remarkably diminished

nished in number, adding, that in their opinion, it proceeded merely from drunkenness; that they should therefore resolve to drink no rum for the space of four years only, and it would then appear that they would increase; that then also they would not be so often ill, nor die so early; for all this was owing to their drinking rum. They said, that drunkenness was also the reason that the Indians did not plant at the proper season, and thus suffered so much by famine. This was more earnestly enforced by a drawing upon wood, representing that God fees those who get drunk, and how the devil would hereafter torment all who are addicted to this vice on earth.

Though this remonstrance was made with great earnestness, yet the members of the great council themselves could not resolve to attend to it, but continued to drink as usual, which at length proved so troublesome to the Brethren, that they begged and obtained leave to build a small house for their private use. This dwelling, though very small, was the neatest in Onondago, and proved such a comfortable retirement, that they resolved to stay there during the winter. They earned their livelihood by cutting timber, grinding hatchets, and chiefly building houses for others; yet they frequently suffered want, and were obliged to hunt or seek roots in the forest. The Indians would sometimes express their astonishment at their submitting to live in poverty, merely out of love to them; and their chusing to suffer hunger, when they might have plenty in their own country. But the Brethren thought themselves sufficiently rewarded, when now and then they could enter into a familiar conversation with the Indians, and describe to them the love of God, the Savior of all men, which made him die for them also.

In New Gnadenhuetten, the missionaries had much reason to rejoice at the internal course of their congregation. Bishop Spangenberg having returned from Europe, took great pains to teach, exhort, and comfort the whole congregation and every division of it, particularly instructing the parents

to educate their children in the fear of the Lord; and even attending to the children with the greatest diligence. God abundantly blessed his labors, and the missionaries were much indebted for his advice and assistance in the performance of their respective duties. Notwithstanding the grief occasioned by the above-mentioned divisions, they had now occasion to rejoice at the many instances of the power of the Gospel on the hearts of the heathen visitors, and at the confidence and faith of many Indians, who departed this life. A child seeing its mother weep, said shortly before it expired, "My poor mother, why do you weep so much? you need not be anxious about me, for I am going to our Savior." The latter end of a brother called Jephtha, above 100 years old, was truly edifying: he sent for all his children, and taking an affectionate leave of them made them promise, that they would faithfully adhere to Christ and to his congregation, and never suffer themselves to be seduced by the world. He then expressed his desire to depart and to be with Christ, and soon after fell asleep. He had been an Indian of great rank; and the lawful possessor of a large tract of land in the district of New York, but was expelled by the white people.

The external troubles of Gnadenhuetten still continued. The inhabitants were not only charged with a kind of tribute, to show their dependance upon the Iroquois, but received the following very singular message, brought by the above-mentioned old Chief of the Shawanose, called Paxnous, and Gideon Tadeuskupd, who had proved unfaithful to their cause: "The great head, that is, the council of the Iroquois in Onondago, speak the truth, and lie not: they rejoice that some of the believing Indians have moved to Wajomick, but now they lift up the remaining Mahikans and Delawares, and set them also down in Wajomick; for there a fire is kindled for them, and there they may plant and think on God: but if they will not hear, the great head, or council, will come and clean their ears with a red-hot iron:" that is, set their houses on fire, and send musket-balls through their heads. Paxnous then

then turned to the missionaries, earnestly demanding of them, not to hinder the Indians from removing to Wajomick; for that the road was free, therefore they might visit their friends there, stay with them till they were tired, and then return to their own country. These last words occasioned much reflection and uneasiness in the minds of the believing Indians, as they supposed them to be a sure token, that the Iroquois only pretended to favour them, but in truth had evil designs against their peace. They gave no answer, but said, that they should consult their great council in Bethlehem, concerning the contents of this message.

## CHAPTER XII.

1755.

*New Troubles in Gnadenhuetten. Journeys to the Susquehannab, Pachgatgoch, and Shomokin. A War suddenly breaks out. Ravages committed near Shomokin. Consternation throughout Pennsylvania. The Mission House on the Mahony attacked by the Savages. Eleven Persons murdered. Deliverance of the Congregation at Gnadenhuetten. Dangerous Situation of the Brethren in Bethlehem.*

THIS was the congregation situated, at the beginning of the year 1755; a year of great trouble and affliction. The more the inhabitants of Gnadenhuetten considered and debated upon the above message, sent by the Iroquois, the more their uneasiness increased, and a variety of opinions took place. Some thought best, to repair to Wajomick; others refused to emigrate. The adversaries, especially those in Neskopeko, used all their endeavors to strengthen the former, representing the inevitable danger they would expose themselves to, in disobeying the orders of the

the Iroquois: these insinuations had also too great weight, especially as the believers could not forget that threat, that their ears should be cleaned with a red-hot iron.

Meanwhile the Brethren at Bethlehem had received authentic intelligence, that the removal of the Indian congregation to Wajomick did not originate in the great council of the Six Nations, but that only the Oneida tribe, with the warlike Delawares and Mahikans, had formed this plan, and falsely ascribed it to the Iroquois in general. It had been likewise discovered, that several persons of character in Philadelphia joined them in endeavoring to remove the Christian Indians to Wajomick, hoping, that the people of New England would thereby be prevented from taking possession of that place, to which they themselves laid some claim. The Brethren heard also, that the happy course of the baptized Indians at Wajomick had not been of long duration, and that many of these poor people had not only suffered in their own hearts, but had done harm to others. All this tended to increase the scruples of the Brethren with regard to the removal of the Christian Indians; and though they did not chuse to inform them of the stratagem made by the Oneidas, Delawares, and Mahikans, nor of the schemes of the gentlemen of Philadelphia, yet they could not refrain from giving them a faithful and timely caution. The elders of Bethlehem sent therefore a deputation to Gnadenhuetten, in the beginning of February; consisting of the Brethren, Christian Henry Rauch, Nathanael and Christian Seidel, who appointed a meeting of all the baptized, to converse with them in a friendly and cordial manner, as fathers speak with their children. Having first reminded them of the rich grace they had received from God our Savior, they declared the deep grief, felt by the Brethren for every one, who had gone astray, and relapsed into heathenism. They showed, from recent instances, the misery of all who thus slighted the grace of God, pointing out the true signs of an hour of temptation, and representing the imminent danger of giving ear to seducers. They further

ther observed, that the Brethren did not prohibit any one from leaving Gnadenhuetten, but would only guard them against all hurt to their souls, and thus, on some future day, be able to prove to them, that in warning them, they had discharged their duty. Then kneeling down with the whole congregation, they with many tears recommended this beloved people to the grace, mercy, and protection of God.

This declaration of the Brethren produced the desired effect in most of the Indians. Several who had not only deviated, but endeavored to draw others aside, publicly and of their own accord, owned their transgressions, begging forgiveness of the rest; which was granted with joy. The missionaries observe in their account, that perhaps the powerful grace of God was never more evident, than in seeing an Indian, naturally obstinate and inflexible to the last degree, appear before a whole body of people as an humbled sinner, confess his faults, and ask pardon of God and of those whom he had offended. Some however, still supposing that the above-mentioned message was really sent by the head-chiefs of the Iroquois, and that they must follow their dictates as obedient children, would not yield to conviction.

However when Paxnous returned on the 11th of February with thirteen persons in his retinue, to demand an answer to the message he had brought last year, they were all so far agreed, that an answer was delivered to him in Bethlehem, with a belt of wampom, to the following effect: "That the Brethren would confer with the Iroquois themselves, concerning the intended removal of the Indians at Gnadenhuetten to Wajomick."

Paxnous, being only an ambassador in this business, was satisfied, and even formed a closer acquaintance with the Brethren. His wife, who heard the Gospel preached daily, was so overcome by its divine power, that she began to see her lost estate by nature, prayed and wept incessantly for the forgiveness of sins in the blood of Jesus, and earnestly begged for baptism. Her husband, having lived thirty-eight years with her in marriage, to mutual satisfaction,

tisfaction, willingly gave his consent, prolonged his stay at Bethlehem, was present in the chapel, and deeply affected when his wife was baptized by Bishop Spangenberg, during a powerful sensation of the presence of God. The day following they returned home, Paxnous' wife declaring, that she felt as happy as a child new born. Frederic Post accompanied them to Wajomick, partly to look after the baptized, who lived dispersed on the Susquehannah, and partly to lodge those missionaries, who should visit them either from Gnadenhuetten or Bethlehem.

Not long after, another message was sent from Wajomick to Gnadenhuetten, commanding the baptized in a severe tone, and for the last time, to go to Wajomick. To this they answered undauntedly, "No one has persuaded us to live at Gnadenhuetten; it is our free choice, and therefore here we will stay; where we may both hear the words of our Savior, and live in rest and peace." An Indian brother said, "What can the head-captain of the Six Nations give me in exchange for my soul? He never considers how that will fare at last!" Another said, "God, who made and saved me, can protect me, if he please. I am not afraid of the anger of men; for not one hair of my head can fall to the ground, without his will." A third expressed himself thus: "If even any one should lift up his hatchet against me and say, Depart from the Lord and the Brethren; I would not do it." Thus most of them declared their reliance upon God, and remained firm.

The congregation in Gnadenhuetten had now a short time of rest, and proceeded in the usual order, to general edification. The Brethren availed themselves of this period, as well to renew the observance of those principles, laid down in the synods and other conferences, concerning the missions among the heathen, as also to send missionaries to preach and administer the sacraments to the Christian Indians residing in other places, and to spread the Gospel among the heathen far and near.

In this view, the Brethren Christian Seidel and Henry Grey went to Wajomick and Neskopeko. In returning from

the latter place they were graciously preserved from imminent danger. Some Indians, who were averse to the preaching of the Gospel, lay in ambush in the wood, intending to tomahawk or shoot them, but providentially missing the direct road, the Brethren escaped.

Christian Seidel went twice this year to Pachgatgoch, baptized several Indians, administered the Lord's Supper to the communicants, passing through Oblong, Salisbury, Shekomeko, and Reinbeck, where his animated testimony of the Gospel was well received by many. He rejoiced greatly over the small church of God in Pachgatgoch, which truly deserved the character given it by an Indian brother: "Me-  
 "thinks," said he, "we are a small seed, sown in the  
 "ground, where it first lies dormant, but gradually springs  
 "up, gets into ear and ripens. Our Savior has planted  
 "such a small seed in this place: it has sprung up, the  
 "plant is now nursed, and I wish that we may all ripen  
 "and bear fruit." They were even an example to their  
 Christian neighbors. One of them visited a separatist, and conversed with him and his family till past midnight, concerning his first awakening, and what the Lord had since done for his soul, not without blessing. Another being questioned by a company of Christians concerning the fear of death, replied, "I am not afraid, for now I have no more  
 "a bad conscience. My Savior died for me upon the  
 "cross: I believe in Him, and shall live with Him for ever,  
 "because He himself has promised it." They heard him with astonishment, and said, "You are an Indian of a particular  
 "turn of thinking indeed."

As to externals, the troubles at Pachgatgoch increased. The neighborhood being in great dread of the French, the young people were called upon to serve against them. Some of the baptized suffered themselves to be persuaded to take the field, and repented, when it was too late.

The missionary, Brother Grube, went meanwhile to the west branch of the Susquehannah, and to Quenishachshackki where some baptized Indians lived. The Chief opposed him but he preached the Gospel wherever he found an opportunity

In June and July, the Brethren Christian Seidel and David Zeisberger, who had returned from Onondago in spring, went again to Wajomick and other places on the Susquehanna, shunning neither difficulties nor danger, but exhorting the Indians residing there, who then suffered great hunger, to put their trust in the grace and mercy of God our Savior. They were soon followed by Martin Mack and an Indian assistant from Gnadenhuetten, who preached the gospel in all places with great power, in the Mahikan language. During one of his discourses, he observed a strange Indian listening with great attention, who had travelled 300 miles from the north-west country, and related the occasion of his journey as follows, viz.: His elder brother, living in his house, had been many days and nights in great perplexity, wishing to learn to know God, till at length he resolved to retire into the woods, supposing that he should succeed better, in a state of separation from all mankind. Having spent many weeks alone in great affliction, he thought he saw a man of majestic appearance, who informed him, that there were Indians living to the south-east, who were acquainted with God and the way to everlasting life; adding, that he should go home again and tell the people what he had seen and heard. "This," said the Indian, "is the reason, why I am come hither. When I heard my brother speak, I felt immediately a desire to go in search of the people he described. Now I have heard your discourse, and your words have been welcome to my heart." He then sat out on his return, rejoicing to be able to make known this discovery to his countrymen.

Soon after Brother Mack's return, Brother Schmick, his wife, and an Indian assistant, went to the country on the Susquehanna, and the declarations of many, both baptized and unbaptized Indians, proved, that God was with him and blessed his testimony.

In Shomokin the sufferings of the Brethren increased so much, as to be almost insupportable; but they improved every opportunity to preach the cross of Christ with boldness and

fervency, in which they were also greatly encouraged by visits from the Brethren at Bethlehem.

At this time all was peace in Gnadenhuetten : but suddenly the scene changed, and fear, horror, and inexpressible distress filled the whole country. A cruel Indian war, occasioned by the contest between the English and French, burst at once into flames, spreading terror and confusion, especially throughout Pennsylvania.

The first outrage was committed about five miles from Shomokin; where the French Indians fell upon six English plantations, plundered and set fire to the dwellings, and murdered fourteen white people. The three Brethren, Kiefer, Roessler, and Wesa, residing in Shomokin, were exposed to the most imminent danger: but not willing to forsake their station without advice from Bethlehem, Wesa went thither to represent their situation. He was accompanied part of the way by Brother Roessler; but as the latter was returning to Shomokin, he was stopped by white people, and obliged to follow Wesa to Bethlehem. Upon hearing that Brother Kiefer was left alone in Shomokin, the Brethren, Anthony Schmidt and Henry Frey, immediately set out to conduct him home, but being considered in Tulpehokin as deserters, they were not permitted to proceed, and obliged to return. This however did not deter them; but J. Jacob Schmick and Henry Frey went in all haste to Wajomick, and brought the following formal message to the Chief Paxnous: "Go and conduct our brother in Shomokin safe home." Paxnous immediately sent his two sons, giving them proper instructions, how to rescue Brother Kiefer, if he even should be in the hands of the enemy. Meanwhile Kiefer had set out alone to go to Wajomick, and was met on the road by Paxnous' sons, who conducted him safe to Gnadenhuetten.

Every day disclosed new scenes of barbarity committed by the Indians. The whole country was in an uproar, and the people knew not what course to take. Some fled to the east; some to the west. Some sought safety in places from which others had fled. Even the neighbors of the Brethren in  
Bethlehem

Bethlehem and Gnadenhuetten forsook their dwellings, fearing a sudden invasion of the French Indians. But the Brethren made a covenant together, to remain undaunted in the place allotted to them by Providence. The peace of God comforted them in a special manner, and preserved their hearts from fear and despair.

However, no caution was omitted; and because the white people considered every Indian as an enemy, the Indian Brethren in Gnadenhuetten were advised, as much as possible, to keep out of their way; to buy no powder or shot, but to strive to maintain themselves without hunting, which they very willingly complied with.

November 18th, some messengers arrived in Gnadenhuetten from the Indians at Wajomick, who, with many complaints, delivered the following message: "We, being friends of the English government, are in great fear and distress. We are in danger of being attacked on all sides by enemies, who are much enraged. We are no less afraid of the white people, who suspect us of having been accessory to the murders, committed in various places. We wish to speak of these matters to the governor of Philadelphia. But we cannot go thither without a proper passport. We are in danger of being murdered by the white people. Tell us therefore what to do." The Brethren in Bethlehem could give no answer to this message; for they were nearly in the same predicament with these Indians, and knew that the rage of the enemy was more particularly directed against them. They therefore mentioned the request of the Wajomick deputies to the justices of the county of Northampton, upon which they granted them the desired passport. By this circumstance and other accounts, received at the same time, it was evident, that the Christian Indians at Gnadenhuetten, being considered as friends to the British government, were in the most imminent danger of being destroyed by the French Indians; and dreadful reports multiplying fast from all quarters, some were so much intimidated, that they fled into the woods. The greatest num-

ber staid in the place, resigned to the will of the Lord, and giving the most encouraging assurances, that they would not forsake each other, but remain united in life and death.

But God had otherwise ordained. On a sudden the mission-house on the Mahony, described in the former chapter, was late in the evening of the 24th of November, attacked by the French Indians, burnt, and eleven of the inhabitants murdered. These were, Brother Gottlieb Anders, his wife, and daughter of fifteen months old; Martin Nitschman and his wife Susanna; the married sister Anna Catharine Senseman; Leonhard Gattermeyer, a widower; and the single Brethren Christian Fabricius, George Schweigert, Martin Preffer, and John Frederic Lesly.

The circumstances attending this catastrophe were as follows: The family being at supper, they heard an uncommon barking of dogs, upon which Brother Senseman went out at the back-door, to see what was the matter. On the report of a gun, several ran together to open the house-door. Here the Indians stood with their pieces pointed towards the door, and firing immediately upon its being opened, Martin Nitschman was instantly killed. His wife and some others were wounded, but fled with the rest upstairs into the garret, and barricadoed the door with beds. Brother Partsch escaped by jumping out of a back-window. Brother Worbas, who was ill in bed in an house adjoining, jumped likewise out of a back-window and escaped, though the enemies had placed a guard before his door. Meanwhile the savages pursued those who had taken refuge in the garret, and strove hard to burst the door open; but finding it too well secured, they set fire to the house, which was soon in flames. A boy, called Sturgeous, standing upon the flaming roof, ventured to leap off, and escaped, though at first, upon opening the back-door, a ball had grazed his cheek, and one side of his head was much burnt. Sister Partsch seeing this, took courage, and leaped likewise from the burning roof. She came  
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down unhurt and unobserved by the enemies, and thus the fervent prayer of her husband was fulfilled, who in jumping out of the back-window, cried aloud to God to save his wife. Brother Fabricius then leaped also off the roof, but before he could escape, was perceived by the Indians, and instantly wounded with two balls. He was the only one, whom they seized upon alive, and having dispatched him with their hatchets, took his scalp and left him dead on the ground. The rest were all burnt alive, and Brother Senseman, who first went out at the back-door, had the inexpressible grief to see his wife consumed by the flames. Sister Partsch could not run far, for fear and trembling, but hid herself behind a tree, upon an hill near the house. From hence she saw Sister Senseman, already surrounded by the flames, standing with folded hands, and heard her call out: " 'Tis all well, dear Savior, I expected nothing else!" The house being consumed, the murderers set fire to the barns and stables, by which all the corn, hay, and cattle were destroyed. Then they divided the spoil, soaked some bread in milk, made an hearty meal, and departed; Sister Partsch looking on unperceived.

This melancholy event proved the deliverance of the Indian congregation at Gnadenhuetten: for upon hearing the report of the guns, seeing the flames, and soon learning the dreadful cause from those who had escaped; the Indian Brethren immediately went to the missionary, and offered to attack the enemy without delay. But being advised to the contrary, they all fled into the woods, and Gnadenhuetten was cleared in a few minutes; some who already were in bed, having scarce time to dress themselves.

Brother Zeisberger, who had just arrived in Gnadenhuetten from Bethlehem, hastened back to give notice of this event to a body of English militia, which had marched within five miles of the spot: but they did not venture to pursue the enemy in the dark.

November 25th, at three in the morning, Brother Zeisberger arrived in Bethlehem with the melancholy account of the murder of so many of our people, and at five it was made known to the whole congregation. The grief, occasioned by these doleful tidings, may be better conceived than described. Though all were affected with the deepest grief, yet a perfect resignation to the adorable will of the Lord prevailed in the whole congregation. He has not promised unto his followers, an exemption from the troubles and calamities of this world, but requires of them, by patiently suffering their share of the general distress, to demean themselves as true children of God. The Brethren, Worbis, and Partsch with his wife, arrived soon after, and related the further particulars of this afflicting event.

Part of the fugitive Indian congregation joined Brother Senseman, and another part flocked to the missionaries Martin Mack, Schmick, and Grube, and their wives, who notwithstanding the darkness of the night, had set out on the road to Bethlehem, and by the mercy and protection of God arrived there safe. Brother Shebosch remained alone in Gnadenhuetten, and by walking up and down the streets the next day, encouraged several of the Indian Brethren and Sisters, who had hid themselves in the neighboring woods, to return. The missionaries Martin Mack and Grube went also from Bethlehem towards Gnadenhuetten, to seek those of the congregation who were still missing; for being thus scattered, they were in danger of being killed, not only by the hostile Indians, but by the white people, who were much enraged at all Indians without exception. God granted success to these faithful missionaries: for having found most of the fugitives, they returned with them, and with those collected in Gnadenhuetten by Brother Shebosch, praising the Lord for their deliverance. All these Indians were lodged, clothed, and fed by the inhabitants of Bethlehem, with great kindness. Such as were still missing, fled to Wajomick, which place they reached in safety.

As soon as the French Indians had been driven from those parts, the remains of the Brethren and Sisters, killed on the Mahony, were carefully collected out of the ashes and ruins of their dwellings, and solemnly interred. Amidst all this affliction, it gave us some comfort that the bodies of the Brethren and Sisters had not fallen into the hands of the savages, that of Brother Fabricius was only burnt on one side.

The Brethren considered this disastrous event, not merely in a political point of view, but traced the providence of God in it, who permitting this evil to take place, had graciously averted a much greater. Just about that time, nothing less was intended, than to destroy the whole work of God committed to the care of the Brethren in North America, and even entirely to overturn their whole establishment in that country. A bitter enemy of the Gospel had forged a letter, perhaps without considering the dreadful consequences of his malice, pretending that it had been written by a French officer in Quebec, and intercepted by the English. This letter was published in all the newspapers, and stated, "That the French were certain of soon conquering the English, for not only the Indians had taken their part, but the Brethren were also their good friends, and would give them every assistance in their power." The general suspicion raised by this lying accusation was increased by the calm and steady behavior of the Brethren. That cheerfulness, which proceeded from their resignation to the will of God, and enabled them to continue uninterrupted in their usual daily employments, was misconstrued by the deluded multitude as a certain proof of the truth of the above-mentioned charge. It was therefore generally asserted, "That the Brethren were certainly in league with the Indians and French, for otherwise they would not be so contented, nor transact their business with such composure of mind." The common people were exceedingly enraged, and the Brethren were under continual apprehension of being attacked by the mob: nor could Government

vernment have defended them, though well convinced of the sincerity of their intentions. Travellers were not safe in the streets and inns. Bishop Spangenberg was insulted by an inn-keeper, who with one hand lifting up a large stake and threatening to knock his brains out, held in the other the newspaper containing the above-mentioned letter. Bishop Spangenberg endeavored to pacify him, but his answer was: "If what I say of the Brethren were not true, it would not be printed here." In the Jerseys a public declaration was made with beat of drum, that Bethlehem should be destroyed, and the most dreadful threats were added, that in Bethlehem, Gnadenhuetten, and other places, a carnage should be made, such as had never before been heard of in North America. It afterwards appeared, from the best authority, that a party of an hundred men who came to Bethlehem, were purposely sent to seek an opportunity of raising a mob; but the friendly and hospitable treatment they met with from the Brethren, who knew nothing of their intentions, changed their resolution. The suspicion against the Brethren gained daily more ground in all the English colonies, and every body considered them as snakes in the grass, and friends to the French. But after the attack made upon the Brethren on the Mahony became publicly known, the eyes of the people were opened. Even before the remains of the murdered persons were interred, many hundred people came from distant parts, and seeing the settlement in ashes, and the corpses of the Brethren and Sisters burnt and scalped, were fully convinced of the untruth of the reports against them. Many shed tears, and smiting upon their breasts, exclaimed: "Alas, how greatly have we sinned against an innocent people, accusing them of being in league with the Indians and French." One said: "I myself have entertained these wicked thoughts, and I am now not only convinced of their innocence, but find that they are the first in this country, against whom the rage of the savages has been directed. Ah, what should we have had to answer for, had we followed our design of exterminating

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“nating the Brethren, and destroying their men, women, and “children, upon the supposition that they were our enemies.” Thus the sting of the adversaries in a great measure lost its power, and the Brethren now praised and thanked the Lord, who, by permitting the enemy to shed the blood of a few of their number, and to burn their dwellings, had entirely destroyed the designs of Satan, to deliver them altogether over to the fury of an enraged mob. And had Gnadenhuetten remained standing on the old spot, then in all probability, the Indian congregation would have been attacked, and suffered a much greater carnage than that at the Mahony. It was likewise a consolation to the Brethren, that there had been no occasion to stain their hands with the blood of the enemy, but that all could join, together with the blood of their murdered Brethren, to cry for mercy and forgiveness from God for the murderers.

It could not then be ascertained, to what nation the latter belonged, but they were, most probably, partly Shawanose, formerly residing in Wajomick, who went over to the French in great numbers, and partly Delawares, who were enemies both to the English and the Iroquois, though they pretended that the latter had put the hatchet into their hands, and encouraged them to go to war.

Under these circumstances the fugitive Indian congregation in Bethlehem presented a petition to Government, declaring their loyalty, and recommending themselves to the protection of the governor and other magistrates. His Excellency assured them of his good will and protection, advising them to remain in Bethlehem for the present. And as both they and the missionaries had left their effects and harvest in Gnadenhuetten, he kindly ordered a party of soldiers to march into those parts, to defend the property of the Christian Indians, and the country in general. But on New Year's Day 1756, the savages attacked these troops, set fire to Gnadenhuetten and the mill, and destroyed all the plantations; by which the Indian congregation and its missionaries were reduced to the greatest poverty.

The situation of the Brethren in Bethlehem became now very critical, by the number of Indians residing in the place. The savages insisted upon their taking up arms against the English, threatening to murder them in case of refusal. Moreover, a set of fanatics sprung up, who demanded the total extirpation of the Indian tribes, lest God's vengeance should fall upon the Christians, for not destroying the Indians, as the Israelites, by his command, had destroyed the Canaanites of old. These people were greatly incensed against Bethlehem, on account of the protection and assistance granted to a race of beings, deemed by them to be accursed. The inhabitants of Bethlehem, therefore, considered themselves as sheep ready for slaughter; and when they went to bed, never knew whether they should rise the next morning. Fathers and mothers wept over their children, representing to themselves the cruelties they might expect to endure from the fury of the blood-thirsty savages.

Yet resignation to the will of the Lord was the general disposition of all the inhabitants; not one sought safety by leaving the town, but the chief concern of each individual was, to be prepared and willing at every moment, by day and night, to appear before the presence of God, and to enter into eternal rest. They were led the more firmly to unite in praying unto God, in the words of Hezekiah: "*O Lord our God, we beseech thee, save thou us, that all may know, that thou art the Lord, even thou only,*" not only from the common boastings of the Indians: "We shall soon see, whether the God of the Brethren be able to deliver them from our hatchets;" but likewise from the ridicule of a white neighbor, who had said: "The Brethren are continually speaking of our Savior, and praying to him; now we shall see, whether He can save them." He heard them, and filled their hearts with joy, peace, and extraordinary cheerfulness, proceeding from a firm reliance upon his protection. The daily worship of the congregation was attended with so powerful a sensation of the presence of God,  
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and of brotherly love, that all the letters received at that time from Bethlehem, seemed dictated by a spirit of thanks and praise. The courage of the Brethren in keeping their station, proved a comfort and protection to the neighbors; for if they had fled, nothing could have obstructed the inroads of the savages. The whole country from Bethlehem to Philadelphia would have been exposed to their ravages, and even Philadelphia itself have been rendered unsafe: so that government considered the Brethren's settlements as a bulwark, raised up in defence of the neighboring country. It afterwards appeared, that the Indians frequently remarked in their councils, that if they could only put the Brethren to flight, every thing else must yield to them. They therefore formed various plans to attack their settlements with their combined force. Though the Brethren firmly relied upon the help of the Lord, they neglected nothing that might tend to their safety. The children were brought from the different schools to Bethlehem. Bethlehem itself was surrounded by pallisadoes, and well guarded both night and day, Europeans and Indians taking their turn with great willingness; though this duty was attended with inconvenience, as sometimes forty were out upon guard at night, most of whom had to attend their usual business, in the day-time. In every other settlement of the Brethren in North America, a discreet person was appointed to give the proper directions, and to keep strict watch. Even those at work in the plantations were guarded. This was chiefly committed to Indian Brethren, who esteemed it a favor, to be thought worthy of such an important charge. "Who am I," said one of them, "that I should watch over children of God? I, poor man, am not worthy of this grace. Nor can I do it properly. Therefore watch thou thyself over them, gracious Savior, for thou alone canst protect them!"

This watchfulness was not only a necessary caution, but proved very effectual in defending the place, for the Brethren were, according to their own expression, surrounded  
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by wolves, tygers, and wild beasts: the savages continuing by murder and fire to lay waste the neighboring country, and wherever they came, to do as much mischief as they possibly could. They plundered and destroyed several villages so near to Bethlehem, that the flames of the houses were distinctly seen. The murderers approached even near to the place itself, lurking about with torches, and endeavoring to shoot burning wadding upon the thatched roofs. They attempted five or six times in the night, to make a sudden attack upon this and some other settlements of the Brethren, but when their spies, who always precede, observed the great watchfulness of the inhabitants, they were afraid and withdrew, as they themselves afterwards owned. Once in the day-time, a party of them came to attack a large field in which about forty sisters were picking flax, whom they intended to seize and carry off prisoners, and were already close to it, creeping upon their bellies in the Indian manner. But perceiving a strong guard of Indian Brethren with their pieces loaded, just as they were rising from their ambush, they made off, and thus an engagement was avoided; for which the Brethren always thanked and praised the Lord. For though they were very unwilling to shed the blood of their enemies, yet they were resolved, at all events, to defend the women and children entrusted to their care, and consequently must have fired upon and killed many of the assailants, which would have caused them and the missionaries inexpressible grief.

God raised also some friends among the savages, who prevented much mischief. Four soldiers, who deserted from their regiment lying at Easton, and fled to the Indians, told them, that they came from Bethlehem, and had seen the Brethren cut off the heads of all the Indians, who fled to them from Gnadenhuetten, put them into bags and send them to Philadelphia, where they got fifty Spanish dollars a head, and that they had only left two of these poor fugitives alive, to use them as spies. Upon hearing this, the Indians were so enraged, that, though not very well disposed towards  
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the Indian congregation, a large party set out, with a view to murder all the Brethren and to burn their settlements. But Paxnous, the above-mentioned Chief of the Shawanose, a man of great authority among his people, sent after them, with orders not to hurt the Brethren, whom he knew to be perfectly innocent; as they would find, upon a nearer examination. When the savages still persisted in their intentions, he sent a messenger with a large belt of wampom, and an express order for them immediately to return; adding, that he positively knew, that those people, whom they intended to destroy, were good men. Many obeyed and returned, and the few that remained, not thinking themselves a match for the Brethren, dispersed. Neither watchfulness nor strength could have saved them if they had been attacked by so large a force. Sometimes well-disposed Indians, hearing of a plot laid against them by the warriors, would travel all night to warn the Brethren, and thus their schemes were defeated: not to mention other instances of the providence of God in their behalf.

Both the firmness of the Brethren and their good political regulations, caused their distressed neighbors in great numbers to take refuge in their settlements. Hundreds of women and children came even from distant places, crying and begging for shelter, some almost destitute, having left their all, and fled in the night. Some Brethren were once going with three waggons to fetch corn from a mill beyond the Blue Mountains, when they were met by a great number of the inhabitants of that country, who were in the greatest distress and consternation, the savages having attacked their towns, murdered many white people, and set fire to their dwellings. The waggons therefore returned, loaded with these wretched people, many of them having escaped from the enemy, almost without any covering. As long as there was room, these poor fugitives were protected and fed. Bethlehem, Nazareth, Friedensthal, Christiansbrunn, and the Rose, were at this time considered as asylums for all, who fled from the murder and rapine of the hostile Indians, and  
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the empty school-houses and mills were allotted to them for a temporary residence.

Thus God in his wisdom wrought an extraordinary change of affairs. The same people, who were but lately suspected of a secret correspondence with the enemy, and of merely affecting confidence in God from treacherous motives, now protected and defended those, who in ignorance had calumniated and threatened them with destruction.

It may easily be conceived, that the Brethren were brought into great straits, by the number of people resorting unto, and depending upon them for subsistence. There had been a great drought during the summer, and they reaped but half the usual quantity of corn and fruit.

The loss, sustained by the destruction of Gnadenhuetten, the mill, and the Mahony farm, was very considerable. Besides this, the savages had set fire to upwards of a thousand bushels of wheat, belonging to the Brethren in different places. Their trades had greatly failed by the troubles of the war; the expence of providing for the Indian congregation, who were entirely impoverished, fell wholly upon them; the fugitives from other places were lodged, fed, and many of them cloathed; and the troops marching through the settlement, whose number frequently exceeded a thousand in one week, were supplied gratis with provisions.

The Brethren however did not lose courage, but exerted themselves with all frugality to procure the necessaries of life for their guests and themselves, relying upon the support of our heavenly Father in this extraordinary emergency, and upon the active benevolence of the European congregations. Nor were their prayers in vain, or their hopes disappointed.

## CHAPTER XIII.

1756, 1757, 1758.

*Situation of the Indian Congregation at Bethlehem. Continuation of the Indian War. Attempts to negotiate a Peace. The Savages still continue to commit great Cruelties. Situation of the Congregation at Pachgatgoch, and of the Baptized Indians, living on the Susquehannab. Building of Nain. The Troubles of War subside on the Borders of Pennsylvania. Various Accounts.*

AT this period, the Indian congregation had rest, dwelling safely under the care and protection of the Brethren in Bethlehem. The latter viewed their edifying course with joy, and afforded them all the assistance in their power. They were under the care of the missionaries Mack, Grube, and Schmick. Having hitherto been very much crowded, near seventy persons lodging in one house; two summer huts and a large hut for their daily meetings were built in spring. Both these and the schools were continued in the usual order. The Indians frequently attended the meetings of the Bethlehem congregation, and both old and young increased in the knowledge and grace of Jesus Christ. Several were particularly fervent, in devoting themselves with soul and body unto the service of the Lord. One circumstance however proved very distressing to the Indian Brethren. They could not venture to hunt, the English having promised a reward of one hundred and fifty pieces of eight for every living Delaware, and one hundred and thirty for every scalp. Indeed an exception was expressly made in favor of the Indians at Bethlehem; but at any distance from

the town, they would have been taken for enemies, and shot by the white people, who were greatly enraged at the Indians in general. The governor of Pennsylvania therefore thought proper, to warn our Indians by a letter, from straying far from home. This advice they promised to follow, and the Brethren kept them to a strict observance of their promise. They prayed fervently, that God would not only preserve the Indians committed to their care, but graciously avert the destruction of any hostile Indians, by the guards at night, lest it should occasion a report throughout the country, that the Brethren enriched themselves by the Indian scalps. The Lord heard their prayer, and prevented this evil. Part of the Indian Brethren earned their livelihood by doing all kind of work as day-laborers and during the harvest in the year 1756, they guarded the reapers. The Indian Sisters made baskets and brooms. Yet this was not sufficient to procure a maintenance, and they were relieved by collections made for that purpose in other congregations of the Brethren.

Meanwhile the savages continued their depredations, and the governor of Pennsylvania published a proclamation, by which he declared war against all Indian nations, who should persist in hostilities, inviting all those, who would lay down their hatchets, to meet at a treaty of peace. Colonel Johnson and Mr. Croghan went to Onondago, to treat with the Iroquois. The governor sent likewise an embassy to the Delawares, who spoke as yet in a very high tone and another to the Indians on the Susquehannah. At his Excellency's particular request, one of the Indian Brethren from Bethlehem accompanied the latter. Several Indians accepted the invitation given by government, and came to Bethlehem, where they were well received.

The confidence placed in the Brethren was now so great that both the English and the Indians twice attempted to hold the congress at Bethlehem. The second time, Mr. Croghan and a chief officer from Onondago came and insisted much upon it, adding, that the Iroquois had likewise de-  
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etermined, that it should be held here. Bishop Spangenberg earnestly entreated him, not to urge it, "because the number of children then at Bethlehem, might receive great prejudice in their tender minds, having been hitherto carefully preserved from the very name of many vices, but too commonly practised on such occasions. This remonstrance was kindly attended to, and the congress appointed to be held at Easton, the Indians being safely conducted to that place. On their journey, the captain of those savages, who had attacked and burnt the house of the Brethren on the Mahony, was killed by Tadeuskund in a violent dispute.

No final agreement however was made at Easton; the Indians received presents from the English, and promised to return at a fixed period. Tadeuskund, who behaved as if he were king of the Indians, and very justly was called the "Trumpet of War," undertook to go to all those nations, which had lifted up the hatchet, to persuade them to agree to a permanent peace.

After this congress, Bethlehem had a great number of Indian visitors, who were lodged in some houses belonging to the Brethren, on the other side of the Lecha. For safety's sake, the justice of the peace, residing in Bethlehem, examined every new-comer concerning his intended stay, by which they were kept in order, though several of them did no good to the Indian congregation by their visit. The Brethren saw with particular regret, that Gideon Tadeuskund, baptized by them, had not only become one of the chief captains of the hostile Indians, but took great pains to raise dissensions among the baptized, and to draw them from their attachment to the Brethren. However, his attempts were then in vain; even his baptized wife declared, that as she belonged to the people of God, she would live and die with the Brethren. The visits and residence of some others in Bethlehem proved the means of their eternal salvation. They heard the word of reconciliation, owned their sins, tasted the rich comforts held forth in the

doctrine of Jesus Christ, and seeing living witnesses of the great truth, that Jesus came into the world to save sinners, they sought fellowship with them.

Among those who at this time obtained leave to live with the believers, one declared his sentiments in the following energetic manner:

“I beseech the Brethren to permit me to dwell with them. I will not abide with them only for a few days, months, or years, but as long as I live: if the Brethren are persecuted, I will even die with them. This is my sincere determination. I desire not to save my life, if I could; nor do I seek an easy or convenient life among them, provided I gain life for my soul.” He then began to weep aloud, and added: “Now you know, what I came for.” An Indian woman said: “For several days past, I have been very sorrowful, and pray, that our Saviour would have mercy upon me, and impart faith unto me. I consider the Sisters as fine flour, but I am nothing but chaff, and know that I cannot be saved and brought to God, unless I am cleansed from all my sins in his blood, and baptized into his death.” She and several others were soon after baptized. Even some of the incendiaries came to Bethlehem, with their families, being driven thither by hunger and distress, and were lodged beyond the Lecha, at the request of government. They received their daily portion of provisions from Bethlehem, and the Brethren thanked God for this opportunity of doing good to their enemies.

Though both the magistrates and the Brethren show great kindness to the Indians, yet the savages continue to commit murders in Allemaengel; and a lance, lost to them on the road, proved them to be some of the worst people, who had attended the congress at Easton. Roving parties infested the borders of the country, the public roads, and all those places in which they feared no resistance, so that the small colonies of Brethren settled in Allemaengel and Bethel on the Swatara, who had held out with u

ommon patience, were at last obliged to take refuge, the former in Bethlehem, and the latter in Lebanon. Every outrage of the savages was a new source of danger to the Indian congregation, for many of the white people even now suspected their peaceable dispositions. But God in mercy loved them, and gave them favor in the eyes of the chief magistrates. The governor himself came to Bethlehem on the 17th of November 1756, visited them in their dwellings, and behaved in a very kind and condescending manner towards them.

Towards the close of the year, the small-pox broke out among the Indians; and it was so regulated, that all those, who were infected, should retire beyond the Lecha, where all possible care was taken of them.

Amidst all these troubles, Pachgatgoch was not forsaken. The missionary Jungman and his wife, and the single Brethren Eberhard and Utley, resided there. The daily worship and schools continued in their usual course, and the magistrates gave them protection. To the latter they freely showed every letter they received, thus preventing any suspicion, as though they were in league with the French; which some enemies had insinuated. Here we cannot omit some very painful instances of the power of Satan. Even a few of the baptized relapsed into heathenism. One of these wretched people, being drunk, ran against a large kettle of soap, boiling over the fire, overset it, and was scalded to death. Another stabbed his wife, wounded another Indian, and at last killed himself. These dreadful examples caused the rest to consider their own state, and earnestly to reflect on the miserable end of such, who reject the grace of God our Savior.

Wajomick was entirely forsaken by the Indians in 1756, and they settled in or near Tiaogu. Many of them having been baptized by the Brethren, refused to be concerned in the war, but nevertheless suffered great harm to their souls, during the late troubles. They were likewise in imminent danger of their lives. Their declaration,

that they belonged to the Brethren, and would not fight, enraged the savages, who threatened to tomahawk every one of them; and the white people, desirous of obtaining the high reward set upon Delaware scalps, watched every opportunity to kill them, so that they durst not venture out. Added to this, they suffered much from famine and cold, not being able to procure any cloathing, and the Brethren, to their great grief, saw no possibility of coming to their assistance.

In January 1757, public service began to be performed in Bethlehem in the Indian language, the litany being translated into the Mahikan dialect by the missionary Jacob Schmick. Several parts of the Scriptures and many hymns were also translated into the Delaware language for the use both of the church and the schools. The children frequently came together and sang praises to our Savior, commemorating his death and sufferings, in German, Mahikan, and Delaware hymns.

Meanwhile the ravages of the wild Indians still continued. They went out in parties of twenty and thirty, murdering and plundering the country people. The baptized Indians received a message from their heathen countrymen living on the Susquehannah, desiring them to come and live there but their reply was, "that, if it were the will of God, they would rather suffer themselves to be destroyed with the Brethren, than prove unfaithful to him."

Tadeuskund was continually marching to and fro with large parties of warriors, pretending to use all his endeavor to make peace. In these circuits he came frequently to Bethlehem, where it evidently appeared, that he and the other warriors chiefly sought to persuade the Indian congregation to go to Wajomick: but finding neither persuasions nor threats of any avail, they, with great assurance represented at a congress of peace held at Lancaster in April, that their friends were kept prisoners in Bethlehem, and not even permitted to hunt, begging that they might be sent to Wajomick. The magistrates replied; that

he Indians were a free people, and might go wherever they pleased: but this and other circumstances led the Brethren to endeavor to procure a proper residence for the Indian congregation; as they had hitherto been in Bethlehem only as guests. The Indian assistants and fathers of families being convened, they were unanimous in declaring, that, as they would not live after the vain traditions received from their forefathers, but after the will and commandments of Jesus Christ, they therefore must necessarily live separated from the other Indians, amongst whom they and their children would suffer inevitable damage in their souls, as they had already experienced. The Brethren at Bethlehem gave immediate information of this resolution to government, and the Indians accompanied it by a petition to the governor, recommending themselves to his future protection, and begging leave to build a town in the neighborhood of Bethlehem. To this a very favorable answer was given, and the Brethren obtained the consent of government to give them land, about a mile from Bethlehem, where they built a regular settlement, and called it Nain.

Meanwhile some Delaware families moved in May to Gnadenhau, a place belonging to the Brethren; and the missionary Grube and his wife went to live with and serve them with the Gospel.

June 10th, the first house was built at Nain, but the troubles of the war greatly retarded the progress of the other buildings. The internal course of the Indian congregations both in Bethlehem and Pachgatgoch was edifying. Many hundred savages heard the Gospel in both places, and several who believed were baptized. Among the latter were two accomplices in the Mahony murder.

Towards the close of the year 1757 it seemed, that peace would be established in these parts. But on the Susquehanna the troubles increased, the French endeavoring to entice the Indians, to withdraw to the Ohio, where they might join the Iroquois against the English. Many also were persuaded; even Paxnoux and some of the baptized were

drawn into the snare, and though not engaged in the war, were brought into spiritual and temporal misery, to the great grief of the Indian congregation. Some turned again to the Lord, confessed their deviations, and departed this life in reliance upon the merits of Jesus, as pardoned sinners. Others returned to the congregation, among whom were several of the former inhabitants of Gnadenhuetten. These might indeed be considered as patients, dangerously ill; having by their transgressions and infidelity, grievously loaded themselves with spiritual diseases. In this state they were received with the greater love and compassion, and their repentance was not in vain.

The history of the year 1758 furnished many instances of the mercy of that good and faithful Shepherd, who seeketh his lost sheep in the wilderness. Benjamin wrote a letter to the Indian congregation, owning his transgressions; and with many repenting tears declared his sincerity. His wife, Abigail, related, that she frequently went out into the wood, crying unto the Lord, that he would bring her back unto his people; that she had been exceedingly persecuted among the savages, and frequently thought herself surrounded by devils; but that she well knew, that our Savior would not have suffered her to come into such distress, had she walked uprightly before him. Her mother added, "When I heard, that so many of our brethren and sisters were killed by the savage Indians, I wept exceedingly, and took it so to heart, that I wished I had died with them. I counted the days and weeks, and when four weeks were elapsed, I tied a knot in this string, and now I have twenty knots. So long was I obliged to live among the savages. Now I most earnestly entreat the congregation, to pardon all my sins against God and his people. Receive me again, I have devoted myself anew to Jesus, and as long as I live in this world, I will cleave to him alone."

The joy, occasioned by the return of such poor straying sheep, could not meet with a severer check, than when others, who had stood firm in the greatest dangers, suffered them-

selves to be led astray by sordid considerations, exchanging peace of mind for uneasiness and trouble. This was, alas! the case with Augustus, one of the assistants, whom his brother-in-law, Tadeuskund, found means to seduce and turn from the simplicity which is in Christ Jesus, by representing to him, that in Wajomick he would be a man of much greater respectability, than in Bethlehem. The Brethren indeed used every persuasion to reclaim both him and Tadeuskund, who with about 100 of his followers, lived this year for a long time in the neighborhood of Bethlehem. In the beginning hopes were entertained of his return; he owned his dreadful deviations, and seemed truly contrite. Once he said: "As to externals, I possess every thing in plenty; but riches are of no use to me, for I have a troubled conscience. I still remember well, what it is to feel peace in the heart, but I have now lost all." He even sent to beg the Brethren to appoint some one to preach the Gospel on the other side of the Lecha, where he and many other Indians lived, who were ashamed to go to Bethlehem chapel. But, alas! he soon turned back, and all hopes of his recovery were lost; he now even endeavored to destroy the peace and comfort of the Indian congregation, taking occasion from the present negotiations of peace to raise a disturbance. Matters having been so far settled, that the English government made peace with 300 Indian deputies, met at Easton, as representatives of ten nations, Tadeuskund pretended that this peace had been agreed to upon a private condition, viz. that government should build a town on the Susquehannah for the Indians, send and maintain teachers for them, and give orders that those Indians living with the Brethren should move thither. Government had never given the Brethren the least intimation of such a measure, yet Tadeuskund pretended to have received full commission, to conduct all the Indians, and consequently also those of Bethlehem, to Wajomick, demanding their compliance with these proposals; promising, moreover, that fields should be cleared and ploughed, houses built, and provisions provided; that their teachers should

attend

attend them; that they should live there unmolested; and that he himself would have no other teacher; and finally, that they should be at liberty to choose a detached place where they might dwell by themselves. To this the Indian Brethren replied, That they rather chose to live in their present situation; their wives, young people, and children, being well provided for; they therefore begged him to use his interest, to procure them peace and safety here; that this did not imply, that they intended to forsake him, but that they should remain his good friends. Tadeuskund, much enraged by this answer, behaved very insolently, uttered some severe threats, and set out for Philadelphia in great wrath.

Here a general peace with all the nations was in agitation, and those Indians likewise, who had moved from the Susquehannah to the Ohio, were invited to come to the treaty, though not present at the congress held at Easton. As government could find no European who, at the risk of his life, would undertake to deliver this message, Brother Frederic Post, then in Bethlehem, who had fled from the rage of the savages in Wajomick, was prevailed upon to perform the journey. He went twice to the Ohio, and was successful in persuading the Indians, to send deputies to the treaty. July 1st, he arrived with them in Bethlehem, and thence proceeded to Philadelphia with three Indian Brethren, who were called by government. The missionary, Gottlob Senseman, accompanied them, and afterwards gave them that testimony, that their walk and conversation had been worthy of the Gospel, and had made a good impression on the minds of several gentlemen in power.

Meanwhile Augustus endeavored to persuade the congregation, that all Indians, living among the white people, would be obliged to remove to Wajomick, especially those residing at Bethlehem. Though not a word passed upon this subject during the whole treaty at Philadelphia, yet the Indian Brethren became perplexed, Augustus always mentioning government as his authority. The Brethren moreover received authentic information, that several enemies to the conversion of

of the heathen were very active in using every effort in their power to disperse the two Indian congregations at Bethlehem and Pachgatgoch. When Tadeuskund therefore returned from Philadelphia, and with great violence demanded their final answer, they thought prudent to give it in the following words: "If the Chiefs and the Governor have positively determined, that we shall not live here any longer, but remove to the Susquehannah, we will do it, but not by our own choice. This year we cannot think of moving, on account of the number of our children and old people."

Tadeuskund pretended to be satisfied, and his departure would have given great satisfaction, had he not seduced Augustus and his whole family to leave the believers and to follow him. But God in mercy prevented the bad consequences, which were apprehended from their great influence upon the minds of others. Many even declared, that they would never leave the place, their hearts revolting at the idea of being separated from their brethren. Jacob said, "I cannot conceive it possible for me to live any where but with you. I have now lived sixteen years with the Brethren. I consider myself as a young child, which, when supported with both hands, may stand or walk, but as soon as left to itself, instantly falls. The Brethren lead me to our Savior; but if I am separated from them, I must fall." However, with a view to silence the adversaries, the Brethren declared publicly and repeatedly, that if any Indian wished to leave Bethlehem, he should have perfect liberty to depart; and if any one behaved improperly, he would even be desired to go away, contrary to his inclination.

Amidst all these troubles, the building of Nain had made such progress, that the Indians could remove thither in autumn, October 18th, their chapel was consecrated, to the great joy of the believing Indians. The same regulations were made at Nain as before at Gnadenhuetten. The public and private worship was attended with peculiar blessing, and the Brethren at Bethlehem frequently assisted the missionaries. Those appointed to preserve order, were diligent  
in

in the performance of their duty, and great attention was paid to the schools. In general, the education of youth was particularly attended to in this period, and the parents were often exhorted to encourage it. The Indian assistants were also of great use to the missionaries, by their timely and unreserved remarks, made upon proper occasions. Joshua, happening to be present, when some mothers were correcting their children, in a fit of passion, on account of their levity and disobedience, gave them a severe reprimand, adding: "My dear Sisters! I perceive, that you have a very wrong idea of the behavior of your children. Children of God ought not to behave thus. Whence proceeds their levity and disobedience? From you; therefore you ought first to be ashamed, and to beg the Lord's pardon, praying for grace, to give your children a better example: if you become more earnest and diligent in your prayers to him in their behalf, you will do more good than by this harshness; for they are as yet tender sprigs, and you must study the true method of rearing them." The mothers humbly thanked him for his advice, nor was it given in vain.

Nain had now as many Indian visitors as Bethlehem. The missionaries had once an opportunity of conversing with twenty strange Indians, baptized by Romish priests; telling them, that a true and living faith in Jesus Christ is the only way to happiness, and that they would grossly deceive themselves, if they continued in sin, and rested their hopes upon the mere form of baptism.

Among other visitors, a very wild young Indian attracted the notice and compassion of the Brethren. He happened to be in one of the huts, when the school-bell rung, upon which a child of three years exclaimed: "I am now going to school, to learn to sing a verse." Hearing this, he addressed the father of the child: "I have not yet forgiven my mother, that she took me away from the Brethren: I had a feeling of the grace of God in my heart, and, after I had left them, used in spirit to place myself among the children at school, and thought I heard them sing; but when

"I con-

“I consider my present state, and what a bad life I lead,  
“being a wild Indian, I always lay the blame to my mother.  
“I wish to be converted, but cannot find the way. Alas,  
“alas! I am a wretched man!”

About this time, most of the baptized who moved to Wajomick in 1754, or fled to the Susquehannah, after the attack of the savages upon the Mahony farm, returned, and desired to live at Nain. But they were all lodged beyond the river Lecha, until they had given full proof of their true repentance and change of heart. When this was perceived, they were gladly readmitted to fellowship.

In these years many Indian Brethren and Sisters ended their race. It often happened, that the dying believers made their surviving relations give them their hands, in token of promise to remain faithful to the end, and to forsake neither the Lord nor the congregation; which was always attended with a remarkable impression upon their minds. The edifying departure of an aged Brother, Michael, whom the missionaries in their letters used to call the Crown of the Indian congregation, deserves particular notice. In his younger days he had been an experienced and courageous warrior. In an engagement which was kept up for six or eight hours with great fury, he undauntedly kept his post at a tree, though above twenty musket-balls lodged in it. He was one of the first, who turned with his whole heart unto the Lord, was baptized in 1742, and remained in an happy, even course. His walk was an honor to the doctrine of Christ, his mind chearful, and his end calm and full of joy. The serenity of his countenance, when laid in his coffin, made a singular contrast with the figures, scarified upon his face when a warrior. These were as follows: upon the right cheek and temple, a large snake; from the under-lip a pole passed over the nose, and between the eyes to the top of his forehead, ornamented at every quarter of an inch with round marks, representing scalps: upon the left cheek, two lances crossing each other; and upon the lower jaw the head of a wild boar. All these figures were executed with remarkable neatness.

## CHAPTER XIV.

1759, 1760, 1761, 1762.

*Rejoicing at the Conclusion of Peace. Increase of the Congregation. Account of Pachgatgoch. Building of Wechquetank. Various Accounts. Bishop Spangenberg returns to Europe. Melancholy Occurrences in Pachgatgoch. Frederic Post is unsuccessful on the Ohio.*

THE French having taken and burnt Fort Duquesne, destroyed the works, and left the place; the English built a new fort on the same spot, called Fort Pittsburg. After this, the whole scene of the war in North America shifted, and from the beginning of the year 1759, neither Pennsylvania, nor the neighboring provinces, were disturbed by the Indians. This caused universal joy in all the settlements of the Brethren, but particularly in Nain, where public thanks and praises were offered up by the whole congregation to God our Savior, not only because he had preserved the Indian congregation, during the above-mentioned severe calamities and grievous trials, in one mind and in fellowship of heart, but had also caused his word to penetrate into the hearts of many savages, even in the midst of war and bloodshed; so that, being awakened from the sleep of sin, they were baptized into the death of Jesus.

Nain soon increased and became a very pleasant settlement. A separate burying-ground was made for its inhabitants, and they provided a church-bell, by a collection raised among themselves. Those Indians who had retired to Nazareth, removed now to Nain, and became more established in grace. The single Brethren built an house for their own use, and Brother Rothe being appointed to attend and instruct

struct them, he was very diligent, when at home, in conversing with them about the word of God. They had their own family worship, and while he served them as teacher and exhorter, his constant familiar conversation with them, gave him an opportunity of making a good progress in learning the Delaware language.

The measles appearing at Nain in March 1759, the Indians were greatly alarmed; but when, out of forty-seven who were infected, not one died, those who had been so timid and terrified, for a while, at the appearance of death, were ashamed of their fears; knowing that the dissolution of this mortal body, would have translated them into the presence of Christ, their beloved.

The harvest proved this year remarkably plentiful, both in the gardens and plantations; they were likewise successful in hunting, and were graciously preserved in many dangers. A young Indian called Joshua, was in great danger of his life. He had shot a young bear; and the dam hearing the cry of its whelp, rushed upon him in great rage. Joshua screamed so loud for fear, that she was terrified, and suffered him to escape.

Among the visitors, the heathen teacher Papunhank from Machwihilusing deserves to be noticed. For several years he had been zealous in propagating his doctrines of heathen morality: but as both teacher and hearers were addicted to the commission of the most abominable vices, and grew worse and worse, several of the latter began to doubt, whether Papunhank were a teacher of truth; and being questioned, he frankly confessed, that he could not act in conformity to his own doctrines. When he heard the Gospel of the crucified Jesus, preached at Nain, he observed, that he had always believed in a Supreme Being, yet he never knew, that, from love to man, God himself had become a man, and died to save sinners, but that now he believed, that this was the saving doctrine he wanted. Then, bursting into tears, he exclaimed: "O God! have mercy upon me, and grant, that the death of my Savior may be made manifest unto  
" me."

“me.” Some time after, he was present at a baptism in Bethlehem, and told one of the Brethren, that during that transaction, he had felt something in his heart, to express which, he could find no words in the Indian language, and that now his most fervent prayer was, that that God, whom the minister had described before the baptism, might reveal himself unto his spirit. Under these impressions he went home, called his people together, and in a most pathetic manner related what he had experienced, adding: “My dear people, I have told you many good things, and pointed out a good way; but I have now learnt, that it was not the right one. If we wish to be saved, we must look to that Jesus, whom the Brethren preach.”

The congregation at Pachgatgoch was served at this time by the missionary Grube, whose discourses proved useful, both to his congregation and to strangers. The missionaries here became also acquainted with several Indian separatists, who were formerly baptized by the Presbyterians, but afterwards excluded from their fellowship. They then chose a preacher from their own number, who once brought seventeen of his congregation to Pachgatgoch. They had three or four meetings every day, and conversed much with the Indian Brethren, but their conduct proved no honor to that Savior, in whose name they had been baptized. Pachgatgoch was much troubled by recruiting parties, and many young people suffered themselves to be deceived by their insinuating representations of the life of a warrior: others were glad by this opportunity to escape from their creditors among the white people. Painful as this was to the missionaries, they could not oppose it, as the recruiting officers acted under the authority of government, and therefore only earnestly exhorted the Indians to remember the grace imparted unto them; praying the Lord to deliver them from the misery, into which they would infallibly plunge themselves, by their inconsiderate conduct. It gave them no less concern to perceive that some Christian neighbors endeavored to insinuate to the awakened Indians, that they need not be baptized;

baptized; so that even one who had formerly most earnestly begged for baptism, died without receiving it.

At Nain the number of inhabitants increased so fast, by the return of many who had strayed during the troubles, that it became expedient to divide the congregation. In this view, fourteen hundred acres of land were purchased by the congregation at Bethlehem behind the Blue Mountains, where a new settlement was begun, and called Wechquetank. In April 1760, the missionary Gottlob Senseman went thither with thirty baptized Indians, whose number soon increased. In a short time the necessary buildings were completed, and the same regulations made as at Nain. April 28th, the congregation met together for the first time in the open air, and this new settlement was recommended in prayer to the grace and protection of God. May 6th, the missionary moved into his house, and on the 26th of June, the chapel was consecrated. Bishop Spangenberg and other Brethren went frequently to Wechquetank, and a continual intercourse was kept up between this new settlement and Nain.

In both places, the public testimony of the precious Gospel, the special cure of souls, the schools, and the converse with a number of Indian visitors, continued to be attended with great blessing. Among the visitors was the above-mentioned moralist Papunhank, his wife, and thirty-three of his followers, in whom it appeared, that what they had heard during their last visit, was not in vain. They were followed by some Nantikoks, who made another attempt, to persuade the believing Indians to move to the Susquehannah, but the latter declared at once against the proposal, confirming likewise the words of the missionaries, that no Indian residing in Nain and Wechquetank, lived there by compulsion, but by their own free choice.

In August 1760, the affecting news of the death of Count Zinzendorf arrived at Bethlehem. This event was publicly made known in Nain, Wechquetank, and Pachgatgoch, and the impression it made upon the Indian congregations, was a proof, how much they valued this servant of God, and faith-

ful witness of the Gospel among the Indians. They wept over his loss, and thanked the Lord for the blessings imparted unto them by means of his labors. Jacob said: "I am exceedingly grieved to hear it; I conceived a great love for this man of God at my baptism in Oly, and hoped to see him once more in this world. That is now over, but as long as I live, I shall not forget him!" Esther said: "He was the first who pointed out the wounds of Jesus unto me, when I was in Shekomeko, as the source from whence all salvation flows. His words penetrated into my heart; I felt a fervent love towards our Savior, and could surrender myself up to him. And now he is gone before us to our Savior, and sees the marks of those wounds which he described." Others who had seen and known him, as a man entirely devoted to the service of God, frequently described him to others, expressing their sorrow for his death in similar terms.

The course of the children this year gave the missionaries particular pleasure. Rosina, an orphan, being under the care of an old unbaptized relation, said the night before her decease: "Dear grandmother, I am baptized, and cleansed in our Savior's blood, and shall now soon go to him; but I beg you, to seek to be likewise washed, and saved from your sins by the blood of Christ, that you may become as happy as I am; otherwise, when you go hence, you will not be with the Lord." This exhortation from a dying infant, made such an impression upon the old woman's heart, that she became anxiously concerned about her salvation, wept for the remission of sins in the blood of Jesus, begged for baptism, and was added to the church.

A child, called Rachel, thinking herself alone and unobserved, uttered the following short prayer: "Dear Savior, take me home unto thyself; I am weary of this life; my heart desires to be with thee: and thou knowest that it would be much better for me, to be in thy presence." Sophia hearing, that an Indian brother met with a misfortune in hunting; his gun going off unawares, and the ball,

passing

passing through his mouth, having torn him in a shocking manner; she prayed most fervently for her father, who was then in the forest: "Dear Savior, thou knowest that my father is hunting. Thou seest him, wherever he is. Preserve him, I pray thee, and bring him safe home."

The missionary Schmick being appointed in this year to the service of the congregation at Nain, Martin Mack went to Pachgatgoch, to relieve Brother Grube, pursuing the plan of his labors, which had been attended with so much blessing. The recruiting parties still continued to pass through. An English captain one day asked a baptized Indian, whether he had a mind to be a soldier. "No;" answered he, "I am already engaged."—"Who is your captain?" replied the officer.—"I have a very brave and excellent Captain," said the Indian, "his name is Jesus Christ, him I will serve, as long as I live, and my life is at his disposal;" upon which the English captain suffered him to pass unmolested. Nain became now more known in the country, and the inhabitants had the confidence of their European neighbors, having given undeniable proofs of their good disposition towards the white people. They had even exerted themselves in recovering several white children, who were taken prisoners in the war, and not being restored to their mourning friends after the conclusion of peace, were supposed to be dead. Their return afforded inexpressible joy to their afflicted parents.

In February 1761, a white man came weeping to Nain, begging that a few Indian Brethren would assist him and his wife in searching for their little daughter, whom they had lost the day before. Some Indian Brethren set out immediately, discovered its footsteps, and at length the child itself. It lay about two miles from the parents house; covered with an old coat, and almost perished with cold. The parents spread the report of the good disposition and success of the baptized Indians all over the country, and both this and similar occurrences tended not only to quiet the minds of the white people with respect to this Indian town, the vicinity

of which to their settlements had appeared terrible to some; but rendered it even desirable.

In August 1761, the English government had another treaty at Easton with the deputies of many Indian tribes, which occasioned frequent visits to Nain. Tadeuskund arrived with a retinue of above one hundred Indians, and according to the list of this year, six hundred and fifty-two travellers were provided with food and lodging during their stay in Nain and Bethlehem. The missionaries and Indian assistants both here and in Wechquetank were very active in preaching the word of God to all that would hear, and its power was made manifest in many. But they were sorry to perceive in the above-mentioned moralist Papunhank, that, though he appeared very desirous of knowing God, the Creator of all things, yet he wished to keep his post as a teacher of the people, persuading them, that he also was found in faith. Brother Schmick, therefore, told him the truth, in private, wishing at the close of his conversation, that the Holy Ghost would impart to him a true sense of his unbelief, and of the great depravity of his soul, and that he might have an earnest desire for the pardon and remission of his sins, in the blood of Jesus: "then," added he, "you will soon learn to know your God and Savior Jesus Christ, as your Creator and Redeemer, and experience the saving power of his precious blood, to deliver you from the fetters of sin." Joachim, an assistant, entering the room, added, "Papunhank, you speak much of your faith, but you have not a grain. Your faith is much the same, as mine would be, if I should now pretend to believe, that I had a pair of stockings on, when my legs are bare and cold. What kind of faith would that be?"

In Autumn 1761, a report was circulated in Nain, that an Indian had been killed by a white man in the Jerseys. The whole country, still sensible of the cruelties attending an Indian war, was thereby filled with fear and dread. Tadeuskund also, returning from Philadelphia, brought the melancholy news, that the war would soon break out again,

and that the Indians ascribed it solely to the Christians and their rum trade. Many fled from their dwellings, and the Brethren were chiefly anxious about the fate of Wechquetank, which lay most exposed to the incursions of the enemy. However the troubles ceased for the present, and peace and order were restored.

In Spring 1762, David Zeisberger visited the Indians who had returned to Wajomick, but especially Abraham, who had sent word, that he was sick. They all listened with great attention to the Gospel; many lamented the woeful condition into which they had plunged themselves, by acting contrary to their convictions and the repeated advice of the Brethren. Soon after Augustus and his wife Augustina, who had both been seduced by Tadeuskund, visited Nain, confessed their unhappy state to the missionaries, owning with many tears their sins, and expressing a great desire to return, if the Lord and his people would but receive such wretched prodigals. Their repentance being truly sincere, the Brethren willingly forgave and readmitted them to their fellowship. They also received pardon and comfort from God, as the only balsam to heal their afflicted souls. They then returned to Wajomick, but the flux raging in those parts, the patients, again, sent a message to Bethlehem, begging that one of the missionaries would come to them. Brother David Zeisberger therefore went, had the satisfaction to attend many of them in their last moments, and saw them depart with joy, in reliance upon the death and merits of our Savior. Augustus was of that number. Before his departure, he sent for his friends, and addressing them with great emotion, "You know," said he, "that I have led a very unhappy and wicked life during my stay here. I was poor in purse, and very miserable in heart, owing to my unfaithfulness and disobedience. I pray you to forget all this, for I have returned unto the Lord, and wept for mercy and for the forgiveness of my sins; and my good and gracious Lord has had mercy upon me, and pardoned all my transgressions. The Brethren have also forgiven me.

“ Now my trembling heart is comforted; and I shall soon go  
 “ unto my Savior: remember my wicked life no more;  
 “ avoid my bad example, think on God your Savior, and fol-  
 “ low him and his people: thus alone you will prosper.  
 “ And now,” added he, “ I will lie down and rest,” and ex-  
 pired immediately. His wife died some days before, and her  
 sister, Tadeuskund’s wife, followed him soon to eternal  
 rest.

Daniel, another baptized Indian, went to Nain, and said;  
 that during a late illness he had felt the fear of death, and  
 therefore begged leave to stay there, that he might hear daily  
 of our Savior, if he should be taken ill. He was soon after  
 seized with the flux, and prayed without ceasing for comfort  
 and peace in Jesus. His prayers were heard, and he re-  
 ceived a divine assurance of eternal happiness, which made  
 him greatly desire to depart and to be with Christ, and thus  
 his last moments were truly edifying. Thus the good Shep-  
 herd found and saved these poor sheep, concerning whom  
 the missionaries had been much perplexed, scarcely expect-  
 ing ever to see their return.

In Nain many pleasing fruits of the Gospel appeared in  
 the numerous visitors, especially in the year 1762, when go-  
 vernment held another council with the Iroquois, Dela-  
 wares, and other Indian tribes, at Lancaster. Almost all,  
 who attended this council, went to Nain, where they heard  
 the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and many experienced its  
 power to the salvation of their souls. One said, “ Never  
 “ did I hear any thing like this, that my God and Creator  
 “ will receive and save sinners who come unto him; and  
 “ that they may even come loaded with their sins.” He  
 added: “ Praised be God, that I came and heard such sweet  
 “ words,” and burst into a flood of tears. A young Nan-  
 tikok, who had spent a month at Nain, was taken very ill,  
 after his return to Philadelphia. Before his death, he said  
 to his two brothers: “ In Nain, they teach the right way  
 “ to eternal life. There I have often heard, that our Creator  
 “ became a man, died on the cross for our sins, was buried,

“ rose again, and ascended up into heaven, and that who-  
“ ever believes in him, shall not perish; but when he dies,  
“ shall live with him for ever. If you wish to hear these  
“ good words, go to Nain; and when I die, suffer my bones  
“ to rest quietly in the earth, and do not remove them, accord-  
“ ing to your custom.” Soon after, his brothers came to  
Nain, and related this story, adding, that their brother had  
prayed much to God, crying for mercy and pardon, to his last  
breath.

In the year 1762, Bishop Spangenberg returned to Europe.  
The pain the Indian congregation felt, at taking a final  
leave of this beloved and respected servant of God, was very  
great. From the year 1736, and especially since 1744, God  
had blessed his labor and activity in his cause in North  
America, in an extraordinary manner, and his love and faith-  
fulness towards the Indian congregation will never be for-  
gotten. The Bishops Peter Boehler and Nathaniel Seidel,  
succeeded him in the general superintendency of the con-  
gregations in North America, and paid particular attention  
to the mission among the Indians.

Among those, who in their last hours proved, that they  
had lived in the faith of the Son of God, Abigail deserves  
to be mentioned. Her cheerfulness, composure, and great  
desire to be with Christ, was edifying to all who saw her.  
She said; “ I am now soon going to my Savior, who loved  
“ me unto death; I have him in my heart. O how do I  
“ rejoice, that he has received me poor sinner in mercy!”  
She likewise exhorted her husband and friends, to devote  
themselves to the Lord and abide in him, upon which she  
departed rejoicing, aged twenty-five. The departure of  
Peter was equally edifying. Before his end, he said to a  
missionary: “ My body is very ill, but my heart is well, and  
“ by day and night in communion with our Savior, to whom  
“ I depart with great joy.”

A boy, called Abraham, not yet four years old, was not  
only remarkably patient and resigned during his last illness,  
but his conversation proved an abiding blessing to his father,

who happened then to be in an unhappy state of mind. On the day before he died, he asked him, "Father, do you love me?" The father replied, "Yes, I do;" upon repeating his question, he received the same answer. "But then," added he, "do you love our Savior?"—"No," replied the father, "I am just now very poor and miserable."—"Ah," said the child, "if you do not love our Savior, you cannot love me as you ought." Another child, though very ill, whenever it heard the bell ring, begged its parents to carry it into the chapel, and when they sometimes replied, "You are ill, lie down and rest;" it used to say, "No, first we will go to the chapel, and there hear words of our Savior, then I will lie down." Thus filled with love to Jesus, the poor child remained cheerful and resigned, till its soul took flight.

The congregation at Pachgatgoch was supported in the year 1762 under many difficulties. The neighboring country being much resorted to by Europeans, the Indians were confined to very narrow limits. One piece of land after the other was taken from them, by which they lost the means of their support. Thus they were obliged to run into debt, and to live dispersed among the white people, to earn a livelihood. If they could not pay, they were treated with the greatest severity, and even their poor furniture taken from them. This behavior exasperated the unbaptized Indians to such a degree, that they abused the baptized on account of their sobriety and better management of their outward concerns, attacking them on the highway, and in other places, and cruelly beating them. This occasioned some of the baptized to waver, and to become low and dispirited. Some young people were even seduced to sin, and brought into misery. A certain melancholy pervaded the congregation, and the missionary himself began to lose courage. At length the Lord strengthened him with new power, and he revived, when he perceived the grace attending his testimony of the Gospel, which not only the Indians, but likewise the Europeans, came in great numbers to hear. The continued friendship and countenance of the magistracy proved like-

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wife an encouragement. The justice of the peace frequently exhorted the Indian congregation to be obedient to their teacher, adding, that if any thing displeasing should occur, they ought first to go to the missionary, and endeavor amicably to settle their disputes; for he would determine in all cases, whether the affair required the interference of the magistrate. Thus many complaints were removed, for the missionaries always advised the baptized Indians, rather to suffer injury, than to go to law with any one, according to the advice of the apostle (1 Cor. vi. 7.).

Nothing could be done as yet, to serve those baptized Indians with the Gospel, who had retired to the Ohio. Brother Post chose to live about a hundred miles beyond Pittsburg in Tuscarora town, intending to begin a mission among the Indians there. The Brethren wished him all possible success; and upon his sending to Bethlehem for an assistant in his housekeeping, who might have an opportunity of learning the Delaware language, Brother John Heckenwaelder offered to go thither, and soon made good progress. But Brother Post's view of establishing a mission, failed.

## CHAPTER XV.

1763.

*Flourishing State of the Congregations at Nain and Wechquetank. Zeisberger's Journey to Machwihilusing on the Susquehannah. War breaks out. Dangerous Situation of Nain and Wechquetank. Attack made by the Savages upon an Irish Settlement. The Indians of Wechquetank fly to Nazareth. Nain beset on all sides. The whole Indian Congregation is brought in Safety to Province Island, beyond Philadelphia. Murder of the Indians in Canestoga and Lancaster. Troubls of the Indian Congregation in Province Island.*

**I**N the beginning of the year 1763, the congregations in Nain and Wechquetank enjoyed peace and prosperity. The good regulations made among them were improving every day, new houses were built, and even the outward appearance of these settlements, gave great pleasure to every thinking mind. March 2d, the foundation-stone was laid for an enlarged chapel at Nain, which was consecrated on the 29th of May following.

But the greatest prosperity of these congregations was the gracious visitation of God our Savior, in the hearts of the Indians, which was particularly evident during Lent and the Easter holidays. They then devoted themselves anew unto the Lord, as his eternal property, and all declared, that during these days they experienced what they could not express in words; it was truly, as if Christ crucified was set forth before their eyes. One said: "I feel, that I have been the  
" reason of all his bitter sufferings, but now I rejoice that  
" he

“ he has overcome for me, and liveth for ever.” An old blind Indian Sister could not sufficiently express her gratitude to our Savior; that he had showed such mercy unto her soul, and condescended to alleviate her spiritual trouble. “ When-  
 “ ever I feel oppressed, he appears unto my spirit, I view  
 “ his pierced side, his wounds in hands and feet, and then  
 “ every thing which would diminish my consolation in him,  
 “ leaves me.”

This joy in the Lord in both places, was connected with an earnest desire to follow those who had strayed from the congregation; and to see them return to the enjoyment of peace and comfort. On this account the death of Tadeuskund in April, gave them great pain. He was burnt in his house at Wajomick, without having given any proof of repentance. The drunken savages, seeing his house in flames, set fire to the whole village, which was soon consumed to ashes. Among those who returned, and were received with joy, was Sarah, Abraham's widow, who came with her daughter from the Susquehannah to Wechquetank, and begged earnestly for re-admission. She declared, that she would not have forsaken the congregation, but for her husband; and that he had said to her before he died; “ I am  
 “ guilty of having led you to this place; forgive me, return  
 “ to our Savior, beg him to show mercy unto you, and en-  
 “ treat the Brethren to receive you again.” She followed his advice, the inhabitants of Wechquetank received her gladly, and a small cottage was built for her.

In May 1763, Zeisberger and the Indian Brother Anthony went up the Susquehannah as far as Machwihilufing. The occasion of this journey was a report of a remarkable awakening in those parts, and that the Indians were very desirous of seeing some one, who could point out to them the true way of obtaining rest and peace in their consciences, Papunhank having lost all his credit by the apparent inefficacy of his doctrines. Before Brother Zeisberger reached the town, he was met by an inhabitant of Machwihilufing, called Job Shelloway, who spoke English well, and told him, that their  
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council had met six days successively, to consider how they might procure a teacher of the truth; that they had come to no resolution, except to desist from attending Papunhank's sermons, not believing that he preached the genuine word of God. Brother Zeisberger, whose heart glowed with desire to preach the Gospel, considering this as a call from God, hastened to the town, where he was kindly received and lodged by Papunhank himself. In the evening the whole town assembled, desiring that he would preach the word of God to them. In their speech made to him, they said: "We all greatly rejoiced at your arrival, and said to each other: 'These are the people whom we have so long waited for; they will show us the right way to salvation.'" Brother Zeisberger then spoke from the abundance of his heart, and great power attended the word of reconciliation. He concluded his discourse thus: "This, this alone, is the pure and genuine doctrine of salvation: thus it is written in the Bible, thus I have experienced it in my own soul, and therefore am assured, and assure you, that there is no other way to obtain salvation, but alone through the Lord Jesus Christ, who became a man, died, and is risen again for us." Anthony confirmed the missionaries words from his own experience, and though fatigued by the journey, continued preaching, and extolling the power of the blood of Jesus, before his astonished countrymen, till after midnight. The next day, at five in the morning, the people assembled again; for the women being then engaged in planting, they desired to hear the "great word" before they went to the fields. The same was done every day during their stay. Messengers were then sent to a party of Indians who had removed about twenty miles higher up the river, to invite them also, to come and hear the Gospel, which they did with great eagerness. Brother Zeisberger experienced here in a particular manner, how pleasing it is to preach to souls already awakened by the Spirit of God to seek after a Savior and Deliverer, and having perceived that some had already endeavored to lead a pious and virtuous life in their  
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own strength, doing good, with a view to merit heaven; he proved to them in a discourse held for that purpose, that this was not the right way to come to God, but that we must all, without exception, come first to Jesus Christ, as wretched and forlorn sinners, and receive hearts cleansed and changed by the power of his blood; before we can do works acceptable unto God; but that then it would be a pleasant duty to do good and to keep his commandments.

The emotion occasioned by Zeisberger's discourses was general. Some wept day and night for the remission of their sins; even Papunhank was so moved in these meetings, that he cried aloud for mercy through Jesus Christ. The fathers of families assembled, and resolved to send a message to Bethlehem, to request that they would send a teacher to live with and preach the Gospel to them. With this message Brother Zeisberger and his companion returned to Bethlehem, where, after mature deliberation, it was thought best, that he himself should return to Machwihilusing, as resident missionary, and he gladly accepted of this call. On the road he had the misfortune, in making an hut for his night's lodging, to wound himself very dangerously with an axe, so that he fainted away, from a loss of blood. But the Indian assistant, Nathanael, who accompanied him, soon procured an healing plant, known to him, and applied it to the wound, by which Brother Zeisberger not only recovered from his swoon, but to his great astonishment, the wound soon closed and healed. After suffering many hardships, they at length arrived safe in Machwihilusing, where they were again kindly received by Papunhank and the whole town, and Brother Zeisberger rejoiced to find the people still eager to hear the word of God.

Soon after this, some well-meaning people of a different persuasion arrived at Machwihilusing, having been invited by other Indians to preach in the neighborhood. Brother Zeisberger received them kindly, and was willing, that they should speak to the people. But the Indians having summoned a council of all the men, invited these new teachers  
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to be present. Papunhank then addressed them in the name of the rest, giving them an account of their former proceedings, adding, that God had heard their prayers and sent the Brethren to them; whose words made such an impression upon them, that they could not but believe their doctrine to be the truth, and therefore desired no other. Upon this the teachers expressed themselves satisfied; and wished Brother Zeisberger much success, justly observing, that he had undertaken a very arduous task. The missionary having used no manner of influence in the above decision of the Indians, was greatly encouraged to preach faith in Christ Jesus with unwearied perseverance. Many of his hearers came from Wajomick and other places, some above 100 miles distant. Others sent word that they should soon come and live there, that they might also be instructed in the Gospel, and it appeared as if the Lord would set up his standard in this place: Papunhank, a man naturally vain and high in his own conceit, was in a short time so overcome by the divine power attending the word of the cross, that he cast all his own righteousness aside, bemoaning his wretched life and the total depravity he found within himself; with true contrition. The extraordinary change wrought in him was remarkably obvious; he would hardly eat or drink, and at length came to Brother Zeisberger, confessing the gross sins he had been guilty of in his former life, though a preacher of morality, and begged earnestly to be baptized. His request was granted on the 26th of June. At his baptism, he made a solemn declaration of his faith before all the people, relating how his almighty Savior had convinced him of his sinfulness and depravity. He added, that he had formerly preached to them, believing himself to be a good man; not knowing, that he was such a miserable creature, yea the chief of sinners amongst them, and now begged them to forgive and forget every thing he had formerly done! After this affecting speech, Brother Zeisberger baptized this firstling of the Machwihilusing Indians into the death of Jesus. This transaction was attended with so powerful a sensation  
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of the presence of God, that the whole assembly seemed overcome with awe and devotion, and the missionary was filled with praise and thanksgiving. He was named John, and his whole demeanor bespoke the regeneration of his heart: Another Indian, who had formerly been Papunhank's opponent, was baptized after him, and called Peter. This man seemed at a loss how to express his joy of heart, and said, that now his heart was easy, and freed from a burden which but lately appeared insupportable to him.

But in the midst of all this joy, at the power and blessing of the Gospel, Brother Zeisberger was unexpectedly recalled to Bethlehem, the most dreadful intelligence having been received, of hostilities committed by the Indians near the great lakes of Canada and on the Ohio, where they had murdered several hundred white people. They had begun to make incursions into Pennsylvania, and there was much reason to fear a repetition of those dreadful scenes exhibited in 1755. The above-mentioned fanatics revived their doctrines, publishing every-where, that this new war was a just punishment of God, because the Europeans, like the Israelites of old, had not destroyed the Canaanites, and therefore declared that all Indians, without exception, ought to be put to the sword.

The inhabitants of Nain and Wechquetank were most alarmed on this account. The men, who were then hunting at a great distance from the settlements, were recalled in haste. Both congregations joined in sending an humble address to the Governor of Pennsylvania, in which they testified their abhorrence of the cruelties committed by their countrymen, and begged his Excellency's protection. He answered, that as long as they should keep themselves out of the war, he would do every thing in his power to screen them from danger.

It was then said, that the Iroquois would not suffer any murder to be committed on the east side of the Susquehannah; and as the province of Pennsylvania had engaged some companies of soldiers, dressed much like Indian warriors, to defend

defend the frontiers, and these troops came into the neighborhood of Nain and Wechquetank, the Indian Brethren thought themselves in no great danger of being surprized by the hostile Indians. But what then promised to ensure their safety, proved the source of inexpressible distress, as the following narrative will show :

Four strange Indians from the Ohio, pretending to wish to hear the Gospel, visited Wechquetank, Nain, and Bethlehem. They proved afterwards to belong to a band of murderers, who were meditating an attack upon the country, but wished first to remove their friends and relations from Wechquetank. But observing so many soldiers in every part of the country; they hastened back with fear and precipitation. The soldiers then suspected some dangerous correspondence between the Christian Indians and the enemy; and our people, finding that they had to fear an attack both from the white people and the savages, came to a resolution not to oppose the former, but boldly to defend themselves against the latter. They even consented, by desire of the officers, to wear a certain mark, by which the white people might know them to be peaceful Indians.

All the neighbors attended now to the motions of the Indians at Wechquetank; many calling it their only staff of consolation, and resolving not to fly, as long as the Christian Indians maintained their ground, but frequently repeating their request, that if their flight was resolved upon, they might be informed in time to save themselves.

In August, Zachary and his wife, who had left the congregation in Wechquetank some time ago, came on a visit, and did all in their power to disquiet the minds of the Brethren, respecting the intentions of the white people. A woman, called Zippora, was persuaded to follow them. But these poor people verified that saying of our blessed Savior: "*He that loveth his life, shall lose it.*" On their return, they staid at the river Buchkabuchka over-night, where Captain Wetterhold lay with a company of soldiers, and went unconcerned to sleep in a hay-loft. But in the night they  
were

were surprized by the soldiers; Zippora was thrown down upon the threshing-floor, and killed: Zachary escaped out of the house, but was pursued, and with his wife and little child put to the sword, though the mother begged for their lives upon her-knees.

After this event, the soldiers became still more suspicious of the Indians of Wechquetank, naturally supposing, that Zachary's four brothers, living there, would endeavor to revenge his death, and that all the inhabitants would take their part. They therefore prohibited the Indians to hunt, threatening to kill the first they should meet in the forest: however Captain Wetterhold was at last persuaded to desist from this measure, by the firm and repeated remonstrances of the missionary, Brother Grube. Thus peace was restored for some time, and the congregation at Wechquetank was greatly encouraged by the steady and intrepid conduct of their missionary. He always comforted them by admonishing them to be of one mind, and steadfastly to keep to their resolution, not to forsake each other, but to hold out together to the last extremity, and bear the fatigue of watching by turns. He cared for them as a father, and was never weary of speaking in their behalf to the officers of the militia, though sometimes roughly treated. The most difficult task he had, was to pacify a party of Irish freebooters, who in great rage declared, that no Indians should dare to show themselves in the woods, or they should be shot dead immediately, and that if only one white man more should be murdered in this neighborhood, the whole Irish settlement would rise in arms and kill all the inhabitants of Wechquetank, without waiting for an order from Government, or for a warrant from the justice of the peace.

The same threatening messages were sent to Nain, and though the Indians were under the special protection of Government, and received legal passports whenever they travelled, or went out to hunt at a small distance from the settlement, it was next to a miracle, that they returned home

safe. They were frequently disturbed by false alarms: but on the 8th of October, a messenger arrived at midnight, with intelligence, that the savages had attacked an Irish settlement, eight miles from Bethlehem, and killed a captain, lieutenant, several soldiers, and a Mr. S——, whose wife narrowly escaped, though she was the sole cause of all this mischief, by dropping some inconsiderate words against a company of Indians, who lodged there.

This dreadful event placed the congregations at Nain and Wechquetank, and their missionaries, in a critical situation, both the savages and the white people being their enemies. The latter were now so enraged against all the Indians, that they thirsted after revenge. Thus situated, the Brethren could do nothing but resign themselves to God, their Almighty Protector, awaiting the fulfilment of his will, and depending upon his help in the time of trouble. In both places a strict watch was kept by night and day. The Indian Brethren were full of faith and courage: one of them said: “Wicked people are as weak as worms in the fight of our Savior; he can and will protect us, and cause fear to come upon them.” His words were verified the very next day, for on the 9th of October, about fifty white men assembled on the opposite side of the Lecha, with a view to surprize Nain in the night, and to murder all the inhabitants. But a neighboring friend representing the danger and difficulty of such an attempt in strong terms, the enemy forsook their intentions and returned home. This very merciful preservation excited the Indian congregation to join in praise and thanksgiving to God, and to adore him for his protection.

The same day on which Nain was in such imminent danger, a party of outrageous Irish freebooters came to Wechquetank, fully intending to murder all the Indian inhabitants, accusing them of having been accomplices in the murder committed in their settlement. Brother Grube could hardly restrain them, by representing the impossibility of their having been present, he and his people being daily in danger

of being attacked by the savages, and on that account not daring to venture out of the place. But when he saw that the exasperated people would not refrain from revenging the murder of their countrymen, by shedding the blood of these innocent Indians; he was obliged to endeavor to pacify them by presents, and by giving them enough to eat and to drink, brought them at length to reason. At departing, they were heard to say, that if the Indians of Wechquetank did not soon quit that place, they would return and execute their barbarous design. The text of Scripture appointed for that day was: "*God shall help her, and that right early,*" Psa. xlv. 5.; which being particularly impressed upon Brother Grube's mind, proved a great consolation unto him. In the evening-meeting he delivered a discourse upon it, by which his intimidated congregation was much strengthened, and encouraged never to doubt of the help of the Lord. During the night, all the men were upon the watch; several spies were discovered lurking about the settlement, and a fire at some distance betrayed a neighboring encampment, so that a sudden attack was suspected. This was probably prevented solely by an extraordinary violent rain, which fell during this dark and gloomy night.

It was now apparent, that it would have been temerity in the extreme, to postpone their flight any longer, and the missionary received an express from Bethlehem, with the most pressing solicitations, to break up immediately and to retire with his whole congregation to Nazareth, promising that waggons should be provided and sent to meet them. When they were preparing to depart, ten musket-shots were heard near the settlement, the report of which alarmed the Indians, who, supposing that the savages had attacked the white people, resolved to go out in defence of the latter. The missionary urged them not to quit the place, upon which they formed a circle to repel any attack. Meanwhile Brother Grube's wife was engaged in comforting the Indian Sisters, and he exhorted the Brethren to stand firm, and to expect deliverance from God. Peter answered: "Very true; only

“don't you stand before me, but go behind, for I will be shot first.” Suddenly the party from whom the attack was feared, marched off with the Indian war-whoop, and it was afterwards discovered, that they were a party of soldiers who wished to draw our people into the field, to fight them.

The waggons arrived soon after from Nazareth, and the whole congregation set out on the 11th of October, not without regret, that they were obliged to quit so pleasant a spot as Wechquetank, with good houses and large plantations especially as they were obliged to leave their harvest, and great part of their cattle behind them. The Brethren kept a good look-out on both sides of the road through the woods especially during the night, when they encamped in the open air; and on the day following the Lord conducted them safe to Nazareth, where they were received with great joy, welcomed at a love-feast, and liberally provided with cloathing and every thing necessary. Thus the congregation at Nazareth had likewise the pleasure to entertain an Indian congregation, as Bethlehem had done in 1755.

Some days after their arrival, the governor sent for Brother Grube to Philadelphia, and gave him an opportunity to speak fully with him, concerning the bitter accusation made against the Brethren. His Excellency was convinced of their falsity, and spoke of the mission with great kindness. Upon the missionary's informing the Indian Brethren of the good disposition of the governor towards them, they expressed their joy and gratitude, in the most lively terms. They had now, for several weeks together, a time of rest and peace, and their edifying walk afforded much pleasure to the congregation at Nazareth.

In the mean time, the congregation at Nain was blockaded on all sides. The savages continued to lay waste the country with fire and sword, and killed most of the New England people living in Wajomick. This increased the fury of the white people against the Indians in general, and the inhabitants of Nain ventured no longer to go to Bethlehem

in business, as the white fugitives, who had resorted thither from various parts, abused and assaulted them. An European Brother was therefore appointed to carry their messages. No Indian ventured to fetch wood, or to look after his cattle, without a white Brother to accompany him, or a passport in his pocket. Even at home the men were obliged to keep strict watch, by day and night, that they might meet quietly in the chapel, defend the Sisters in gathering the crops from the plantations, and spend the night with their families in safety. They agreed, that, in case of an attack from the white people, the Sisters and children should assemble in the chapel, and the Brethren and boys in some houses appointed for that purpose: that Brother Jacob Schmick, then missionary at Nain, should go to meet the enemy, and endeavor to persuade them to desist from their purpose; but that if the savages should venture an attack, the Indian Brethren would all join in marching against them, firmly believing, that the Lord would assist them to conquer their enemies.

In this trying situation they held out patiently for four weeks, though much fatigued by watching during the cold nights. The peace of God and the brotherly love, which then prevailed in a great degree among them, preserved their courage and patience.

Their joy was every morning renewed, when, after the fears of the night, they met together in the chapel, and strengthened themselves in fellowship, by considering the Word of God, and experiencing the consolations of his Spirit.

Having made such good regulations, that the enemy could not attempt an attack without danger, they began to flatter themselves, that Government would support them with more energy, and procure for them rest and safety in their own dwellings. But unexpectedly, their affairs took a different turn. October 19th, an harmless Indian, called Renatus, son of the venerable aged Jacob, was unexpectedly seized, as the murderer of one of the Irish settlers, and his person having

been sworn to by the widow, he was conveyed to Philadelphia and imprisoned.

It may easily be conceived, how soon the report of this transaction spread through the country, and how the fury of the white people rose against the Indian congregation at Nain. They therefore expected nothing less than a cruel death. But God inclined the hearts of the chief magistrates to protect them, before it was too late. November 6th, an express arrived from Philadelphia, bringing an order, that all the baptized Indians from Nain and Wechquetank should be brought to Philadelphia, and be protected in that city, having first delivered up their arms. The congregation at Bethlehem was exhorted to offer up prayer and supplication to God, that he would prevent all the pernicious effects this measure might have upon the mission among the heathen, and grant grace and strength to our Indians, to approve themselves, under these circumstances, as true children of God, and to possess their souls in patience. The day following, a message was sent to Nain, to acquaint the Indian congregation with the order of Government. They were comforted by the text for that day, "*What time I am afraid, I will trust in thee,*" Psa. lvi. 3.; and though all, as one man, lifted up their voices and wept, yet they expressed themselves fully resigned to the will of the Lord, and ready patiently to go whither they were ordered; but declared that they would rather die than leave their teachers. Being assured that the missionaries would not forsake them, they prepared for the journey on the 7th of November, the congregation at Bethlehem generously providing them with sufficient cloathing, of which they stood greatly in need. As soon as the sheriff, Mr. Jennings, arrived, the Indian Brethren delivered their guns to him, with a composure of mind, which most strikingly proved the change wrought in them, for an heathen Indian would rather part with his head than with his gun.

In the mean time the Indians of Wechquetank, then at Nazareth, were likewise informed of the above-mentioned order

order of Government, and showed the same obedience. They set out on the 8th of November in waggons, with the best wishes and prayers of that congregation, numberless tears being shed by the emigrants upon leaving this place of rest. At noon they arrived in Bethlehem, and went directly to the chapel, where Bishop Peter Boehler delivered a farewell discourse upon the text for the day, "*Make thy way straight before my face.*" Psa. v. 8. The congregation at Bethlehem furnished them also with apparel, and with sympathizing hearts bid them farewell.

On the same day in the afternoon the congregation at Nain emigrated. They felt great pain in leaving this place, where the Lord had so graciously walked in the midst of them, and went in silence, weeping, towards the Lecha, where they were joined by the congregation of Wechquetank. Thus the whole Indian flock was again united, and entered upon their pilgrimage in the name of the Lord, the congregation of Bethlehem standing spectators, and as they passed, commending them to the grace and protection of God with supplication and tears. It was a most affecting sight, to behold these beloved people, among whom were many aged, infirm, and sick persons, besides pregnant women, and young children, proceeding patiently, ignorant of what might be their fate. They derived great comfort from this, that their faithful teachers did not forsake them; the missionaries Grube and Schmick with their wives, and the single Brethren David Zeisberger and John Rothe going with them. Other Brethren accompanied them to Philadelphia, and the sheriff cared for them as a father. The sick, the aged, and children were conveyed in waggons, the rest went on foot. As the rains had made the roads very heavy, many staid behind through fatigue, one fell down and dislocated his arm, and two lost their companions in the dark. They suffered most from the malice of some white people on the road, who abused and loaded them with curses. In passing through Germantown they were insulted by the populace, who spoke of nothing but burning, hanging, and

other modes of punishment, to be inflicted on them. A party of malicious people had even resolved, immediately upon their arrival, to do them some mischief, but the night and the violent rains prevented it.

November 11th, they arrived at the barracks in Philadelphia, in which, by order of Government, they were to be lodged: but the soldiers quartered there, forcibly refused them admittance, in spite of the positive command of the governor. Thus the poor Indians were detained in the street, from ten o'clock in the forenoon to three in the afternoon. A dreadful mob gathered around them, deriding, reviling, and charging them with all the outrages committed by the savages, threatening to kill them on the spot; which they certainly would have done, had the Indians returned evil for evil. But they were all silent, and afterwards said that they had comforted themselves, by considering what insult and mockery our Savior had suffered on their account. The missionaries, who, for their zealous interference and endeavors in behalf of their congregations, were treated with contempt, declared that they ascribed it to the miraculous providence of God alone, that they were not sacrificed to the fury of this misinformed and exasperated mob.

After five hours delay, the magistrates, perceiving that the soldiers persisted in refusing to admit the Indians into the barracks, sent an order, that they should proceed. Thus they passed along through this great city, thousands following them with such tumultuous clamor, that they might truly be considered as sheep among wolves. They were at length conducted six miles further, to Province Island, in the river Delaware, which joined the main-land by a dam, and there lodged in some large buildings. They afterwards acknowledged this circumstance with gratitude, as a gracious providence of God, for in the barracks at Philadelphia they would not have enjoyed rest. The text of the day gave them great comfort, "*I will teach thee in the way thou shalt go.*" Psa. xxxii. 8.

Here they settled as well as circumstances would permit; and the missionaries assisted in bringing their affairs into some order and regularity: they had their usual meetings every day, which at that time proved a great comfort to their souls. The rest of the time was spent by each family as usefully as possible. At first they were in want of fire-wood and provisions, but Brother Zeisberger's petition in their behalf was kindly attended to by the governor, and by his order they were afterwards well supplied with all things. Several gentlemen in Philadelphia, especially some of the people called Quakers, humanely endeavored by benefactions to render the inconvenience of their situation less grievous. Though curiosity led many inhabitants of Philadelphia to visit the converted Indians, yet they enjoyed peace and safety in this place. Wechquetank was burnt by the white people, and in the night of the 18th of November, some incendiaries endeavored to set fire to Bethlehem. The oil-mill was consumed, and the fury of the flames was such, that the adjoining water-works were with great difficulty saved from destruction.

Towards the end of the month, John Papunhank came with twenty-one Indians to Bethlehem, seeking protection. They were directed to Philadelphia, and thence proceeded to the Indian congregation. Brother Frederick William von Marfchall went from Bethlehem to Philadelphia, and devoted his services to the Indians, as agent in their transactions with Government.

The Brethren felt the greatest gratitude, in seeing the rest and protection enjoyed by this persecuted congregation during their exile, more especially when they heard with grief and horror, that a party of peaceable Indians, who had long lived quietly among the white people, were attacked on the 14th of December in the small village of Canestoga near Lancaster, by fifty-seven so called Christians from Paxton, and fourteen of them murdered in their huts. The rest fled to Lancaster, where the magistrates protected, and lodged them in the work-house, a strong building and well secured. They were

were however followed by the murderers, who marched into the town at noon-day, broke into the work-house, and though the Indians begged their lives on their knees, yet these barbarians cruelly murdered them all, throwing their mangled bodies into the street. They then departed with a dreadful shout of victory, threatening that the Indians in Province Island should share the same fate.

Government indeed issued a proclamation against these outrages, forbidding any one to molest the Indians in Province Island, under the severest penalties, and promising a reward of 200l. to any who should bring the two ringleaders of the above party to justice. But it soon became evident, that an incredible number of persons, and even many of the inhabitants of Philadelphia, were in a secret connexion with the ringleaders, and people in general showed so little respect for Government at that time, that none were taken up, though they walked publicly in the streets, and even stood before the governor's house, bidding him defiance. As he feared a general mob, he thought it then most prudent to take no notice of them. The rioters however became more numerous and daring, and both in Paxton and other parts of the county of Lancaster, many hundred persons agreed to go to Philadelphia and not to rest, till all the Indians, taken into protection by Government, were massacred.

December 29th, intelligence was received in Philadelphia, that a large party of these people were on the road, intending to fall upon the Christian Indians. The governor instantly sent word to the missionaries, advising them to be upon their guard, and on the 31st of December early, when the danger seemed approaching, sent some large boats, ordering them and their people immediately to go on board and to take flight. In a short time they were all on board, and rowed to Leek Island, where they were to expect further orders. Some hours after, the missionaries received a letter from his Excellency, in which he informed them, that it had been altogether a false alarm, that they therefore should  
return

return to Province Island, where they should soon receive a proper guard, and might keep the boats for their use. They immediately returned with joy to their former habitations, comforted by the text for the day: "*The Lord is my strength and my shield; my heart trusted in him:*" (Psa. xxviii. 7.) and closed this remarkable year with prayer and thanksgiving, for all the proofs of the help of God in so many heavy trials.

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## CHAPTER XVI.

1764. 1765.

*The Christian Indians are ordered to go to the English Army, but countermanded, and lodged in the Barracks at Philadelphia. Distress during their Confinement: yet not without Blessing. Renatus is released from Prison. Peace concluded. The Indian Congregation leaves the Barracks. Troublesome Journey to Machwibilusing on the Susquehannab.*

THE Indian congregation had scarcely celebrated the Lord's Supper at the commencement of the year 1764, and renewed their covenant to show forth His death in their walk and conversation, when the troubles broke out afresh.

Government having received more certain information, concerning the murderous intentions of the rioters, resolved to bring the persecuted congregation into safety, and to send them by way of New York to the English army, and particularly to recommend them to Sir William Johnson, agent for

for the Crown among the Northern Indians. January 4th, late in the evening, the missionaries received orders to prepare for this journey, without loss of time, and at midnight they set out, proceeding by water to a place about five miles from Philadelphia, where they found Mr. Lewis and Jacob Weifs ready to conduct them. They passed early and almost unobserved through Philadelphia to the house of the Brethren, where a number of Brethren and Sisters met to receive them, having provided a breakfast for them in the meeting-hall. Here they were visited by the commissary, Mr. Fox, who was appointed by Government to direct their future journey. This gentleman was so struck at the sight of these poor emigrants, that he immediately ordered a number of blankets to be distributed among them; that they might defend themselves better against the severe cold. Waggons being provided for the aged, the blind, the sick, the children, and the heavy baggage, they set out, accompanied by the missionaries, amidst so great a crowd of people, that they could hardly proceed. The mob cursed and reviled them in a dreadful manner, but no one ventured to lay hands on them. Several Brethren accompanied them a little way out of town, and some miles further they were met by Captain Robertson with seventy Highlanders, who had been in the last engagement with the Indians, and were ordered to escort them. These soldiers behaved at first very wild and unfriendly, being particularly troublesome to the young women by their profane conversation, but were persuaded by degrees to conduct themselves with more order and decency. The commissaries Messrs. Fox and Logan went with them as far as Trenton, where the latter addressed them in the name of the governor, declaring the governor's abhorrence of the murders committed in Canestoga and Lancaster upon the innocent Indians, and delivering two belts of wampom, desiring that they might be sent to the Iroquois. By the first, they were exhorted to make peace, having begun the war without cause; to the second, some pieces of black cloth and handkerchiefs were added, for the friends of the poor murdered Indians,

to "cover the graves of their relations, and to wipe away their tears," with this assurance, that Government would severely punish the murderers.

Mr. Logan having delivered this speech, the Indians took leave of both gentlemen, expressing their humble thanks to them and the governor, for the many favors they had received during these troubles. In Trenton, the commissary Mr. Epty took charge of them, and provided every thing needful for their convenience on the road.

In all places, but especially in the towns through which their road lay, the mob insulted the Indians; but God prevented mischief, and led them safe to Amboy, where two sloops were ready to carry them to New York. They were just ready to go on board on the 11th of January 1764, when a messenger unexpectedly arrived from the governor of New York, with strict orders, that not one Indian should set foot in New York territory. Captain Robertson was ordered by General Gage to prevent them from proceeding; and the ferrymen were likewise prohibited, by a severe penalty, to cross the river with them. Mr. Epty immediately sent an account of these proceedings to Philadelphia, desiring further orders.

In the mean time the travelling congregation lay in the barracks at Amboy, where they were visited by the Brethren Nathaniel Seidel from Bethlehem, and Gambold from New York. They held their daily meetings in the usual order, and in the peace of God, great numbers of people being present, at whose request, the missionary Grube preached in the open air. The white people, who thus attended the meetings of the Indians, were highly pleased with their devotion, especially with their singing; and conceived a more favorable opinion of them. One of the soldiers exclaimed: "Would to God, all the white people were as good Christians, as these Indians."

According to orders sent by the governor at Philadelphia, the Indian congregation set out with cheerfulness on their return, in full confidence that the Lord in his good providence,

dence, for wise purposes, best known to himself, had ordained their travelling thus to and fro. This belief supported them under all the difficulties they met with in their journies, made in the severest part of winter. Their guard of Highlanders under Captain Robertson was now relieved by one hundred and seventy men from General Gage's army, commanded by Captain Schloffer, one party leading the van, and the other bringing up the rear. These soldiers had just come from Niagara, and had suffered much from the savages near Lake Erie, which rendered them in the beginning so averse to the Indians, that nothing favorable could be expected from them; but God in mercy changed their disposition, their unfriendly behavior soon softened into cordiality, and they conversed familiarly with the Indian Brethren, relating their sufferings in the war with the savages.

The daily meetings were held without molestation, and attended by great numbers of white people, who heard them with astonishment and edification. Near Brunswick they were in great danger in passing over the ice, and the infirm and aged were obliged to creep over the frozen rivers upon their hands and feet. However, the journey was performed with safety. January 24th, they arrived in Philadelphia, where they were lodged in the barracks. They first met to render thanks to God for the blessing and support, experienced from him during this singular peregrination, and especially, that he had preserved their souls from harm, in conversing with the soldiers, some of whom were inconsiderate and wild. In the barracks of Philadelphia, they were guarded by day and night, regulated their meetings and housekeeping, and hoped to have found rest and safety. But soon after their arrival they were so disturbed by the mob, especially by the young people, that the first guard granted to them, was not sufficient for their protection. The ringleaders of the above-mentioned murderers endeavored by force to put their wicked designs into execution. They marched in large bodies towards Philadelphia,

phia, giving out, that having been highly offended by the proclamation, lately issued by the governor, they now would not rest, till all the Indians protected by Government, were delivered over to them.

This occasioned the guard at the barracks to be doubled, and the magistrates were at length obliged to repel force by force. February 3d, eight heavy pieces of cannon were drawn up before the barracks, and a rampart thrown up in the middle of the square. The citizens, and even many young Quakers, took up arms, and repaired to the barracks to assist the soldiers in defending the poor Indians, who had in the mean time been brought in great haste out of the lower into the upper story. At midnight, the governor himself visited them, bidding them be of good cheer, and soothing their fears by his condescending behavior. Several persons of distinction likewise came, and showed their friendly disposition towards the Indians: some even staid in the barracks, supposing they could be no where more safe.

February 4th, intelligence was received of the approach of the rioters; every body prepared to receive them, and the whole town was in an uproar. The report of guns was heard, and the soldiers made a dreadful noise. The eighteen pounders were discharged, and our poor Indians, having never heard the report of such large cannon, were excessively terrified; for they stood so near the building, that several windows were broken by the shock. The rebels however did not venture to approach, and the citizens returned home. But in the night between the 5th and 6th a report prevailed, that the rioters were again on the road, and the whole town was in motion. The church bells were rung, the streets illuminated, and the inhabitants, being waked out of their sleep, were ordered to attend at the town-house, where arms and cartridges were distributed among them. Two companies of armed citizens repaired to the barracks, and four more cannon were mounted. Thus the following day was spent in terror and hourly expectation of the rebels: the white Brethren at Philadelphia were also exposed to much abuse and

and slander from misinformed people, who ascribed all these disturbances to them and their Indian converts. The Indians, who were repeatedly told by their friends, that the rebels thirsted after their blood, considered themselves as devoted to slaughter, and though they were very thankful for the spirited preparations made by Government for their defence, yet placed their only hope in the Lord. Some said with composure and resignation: "God can help us, if he pleases; but if it be his will, we will willingly suffer." Some examined themselves, and finding they had not sufficient faith to go cheerfully out of time, turned in their distress to the Lord Jesus, who made these trials a blessing to them. The missionaries rejoiced greatly, that these afflictions manifestly proved that their conversion was not the work of man, but of God himself.

At length certain information was received that the rioters, hearing of the preparations made to receive them, had resolved to proceed no further. Some gentlemen were deputed by Government to ask them what they had to complain of. After much insolent behavior, they asserted, that there were several murderers among our Indians, whom they had seen at Pittsburg, and demanded that they should be delivered up. To pacify them, one of the ringleaders was invited to enter the barracks, and to point out the people spoken of. Accordingly he examined every individual, but did not find one, whom he could charge with any crime. They then gave out, that the Quakers had secretly taken six of our Indians out of the barracks and hid them in a place of safety. This was also investigated and proved false, upon which the rioters marched off, and, as they declared, relinquished their design for the present. Yet it was very evident, that their plan was first to murder our Indians, and then, by taking advantage of the general consternation, to overturn the whole form of government, and thus to spread devastation and misery over the whole country.

The Christian Indians in the barracks now offered up praises and thanksgiving to God, that he had so graciously defeated

defeated the designs of their enemies. The missionaries reminded them of the beautiful words of Scripture appointed for these days of anxiety and danger. The first was: "*Let the righteous be glad, yea exceedingly rejoice.*" Pf. lxxviii. 3. "*Lord, it is nothing with thee to help, whether with many, or with them that have no power.*" 2 Chron. xiv. 11. And for the day when the rioters departed: "*Hitherto hath the Lord helped us.*" 1 Sam. vii. 12.

People of all ranks came to see the Indians, who were now literally become a spectacle to thousands. Their opinions concerning them were various. Some could not conceal their animosity both against them and the Brethren; many pitied them, as innocent sufferers, and congratulated them on their escape; others, not being able to comprehend how the missionaries could continue with them under such afflicting circumstances, expressed great reverence for their patience and love towards their congregation, and knew not how to show sufficient honor to these faithful ministers of the Lord. The public worship of the congregation, especially on Sundays, was attended by such crowds of hearers, that the chapel could not contain them; yet the greatest silence and order was preserved. Some were pleased with the singing of the Indians, others heard the Gospel attentively, and believed in the word of the cross. Several soldiers who had been a long time in camp, were glad to hear the sweet words of the Gospel again, after having been deprived of it for six or seven years. The Indians also, who came with John Papunhank from Machwihlufing, and several Indians from the Jerseys, who had applied to Government for protection and were quartered in the barracks, had here a good opportunity of hearing the Gospel, and to most of them the word of the cross proved the power of God unto salvation.

About this time four single Indian women, who had lived several years in the house of the single Sisters at Bethlehem, but were no more safe in that place, were also sent to the barracks, and all who saw them admired their serene, modest

appearance, and prudent conduct. The soldiers respected them, and never disturbed them in their apartment. In general the latter deserve that good testimony, that they always treated our Indians with kindness; and the friendly and wise conduct of the officers, who kept strict order among their men, cannot be sufficiently praised.

Another attempt to send the Christian Indians to the army having failed, and it appearing that their removal from the barracks could not be soon effected, the missionary Grube commenced an English school with the Indian youth, who took great delight in learning; and all the Indian families began to settle for a long stay. The missionaries met the congregation morning and evening, and at stated times administered the Holy Communion. They also baptized several, who had heard and believed the Gospel, and the grace of God was powerful in the congregation. As to externals, Government provided every thing needful for their ease and support. The continual visits of strangers, though sometimes attended with inconvenience, convinced many who were ill-disposed, both of their innocence and true conversion unto the Lord.

However, their present situation was a hard trial, and more afflicting to some of them, than all past dangers. Though it was rendered as easy as possible, they considered it little short of imprisonment. The good quality of their victuals, to which they were not seasoned, was as ill suited to the state of their stomachs, as the want of bodily exercise and proper employment to that of their minds. Their living so close together began by degrees to appear insupportable; the men could not go into the forest to hunt, which being against their very nature, a spirit of independence and liberty began to arise in them, especially in the young people; some of the latter grew low-spirited, others dissatisfied, and even refractory. Many suffered through their conversation with the strange Indians quartered in the same barracks. Thus the missionaries found their task very difficult, being obliged to hear all the complaints of the dissatisfied; Government also

also justly looking to them for that good order and subordination, necessary for the common peace.

Early in March, our Indians sent John Papunhank and another Indian Brother as messengers of peace to the warring Indians, to inform them that they were all alive, and to desire them to lay down the hatchet. Encouraged by the reply they received, they addressed Government, and begged earnestly, that they might be safely escorted to the frontiers, from whence they would find their way to General Johnson. As the war with the Indians still continued, Government could not grant this request. By this refusal, their uneasiness increased. Nor was this all. As the summer advanced, fevers and the small-pox broke out amongst them, which occasioned such dread and horror, that many meditated their escape from the barracks.

In this distress God blessed the perseverance of the missionaries, whose friendly and encouraging admonitions at length prevailed. Their uneasiness was changed into a perfect resignation to the will of the Lord. It was now a pleasant duty to visit the sick, and their declarations, testifying of their living faith in Jesus Christ, and full assurance of eternal life, proved an edification to many strange visitors. The humane relief afforded to them by that benevolent man, Jacob Weifs in Philadelphia, was such, that God alone can reward him for his great attention and labors of love.

Fifty-six of these patients had the favor to be released from all misery, pain, and distress, by a most happy translation into everlasting bliss. The missionaries express themselves thus in their report: "We cannot describe the joy and fervent desire which most of them showed in the prospect of seeing their Savior face to face: and we saw with amazement the power of the blood of Jesus in the hearts of poor sinners." Jacob, an aged Indian and father of Renatus, then unjustly imprisoned, deserves to be noticed. He was one of the first fruits, baptized in Oley in 1742. His walk was steady; he was respected by

all as a father in Christ; and his conduct was always serene and chearful. The imprisonment of his son greatly affected his mind. He knew his innocence, and was under much concern, lest he should begin to waver in his faith and to doubt of the fidelity and just judgment of God our Savior, and perhaps even suffer himself to be seduced by wicked people to drown his distress by drinking. The father therefore seldom left him in prison; till the Lord took him to himself by means of the small-pox. The Brethren in Philadelphia intended to bury his remains in their burying-ground, but some evil-minded persons filled up the grave in the night; in consequence of which the corpse was interred in the public burying-ground, the missionary Schmick performing the service, according to the Brethren's Liturgy. The other Indian Brethren and Sisters, who died of the small-pox, were buried in the Potter's Field, a burying-ground belonging to the people called Quakers. A week after the death of Jacob, his daughter-in-law, and soon after, her infant son, followed him into eternity. Poor Rénatus, upon hearing these tidings, wept most bitterly. "This," said he, "is almost too much to bear; to lose my father, my wife and child, while I myself am confined in prison!"

In due time, the Lord had mercy upon this afflicted man, and graciously delivered him from his bonds. The missionaries visited him frequently, and he spent most of his time in reading an hymn-book, which was left in his cell. After an imprisonment of eight months and many examinations, occasioned by repeated accusations brought against him upon oath, that he was the person who murdered Mr. S. in the Irish settlement, he was at last sent with a guard from Philadelphia to Easton, to take his trial. The witnesses having been summoned, the missionary Schmick attended on his part, accompanied by Brother Rothe. The trial took place on the 19th of June, and the jury having been shut up a whole night, at length brought in their verdict, *Not Guilty*; upon which he was immediately dismissed. The word of Scripture for that day was: "*God meant it unto good, to bring it to pass, as it is this*  
"day,

“*day, to save much people alive.*” Gen. 1. 20. This was verified. By the above verdict the adversaries entirely lost their aim, which was to cast a general odium upon the believing Indians, and to render the Brethren’s mission universally suspected. The Brethren therefore praised God for this decision, and the court at Easton gained much credit in the opinion of the Indians.

July 4th, our Indians had the satisfaction to see their beloved Renatus return, and join them in the barracks. Having often bemoaned his fate, they could not sufficiently express their thankfulness to God for his deliverance. He spoke out of the abundance of his heart, praising and giving glory to the Lord his Redeemer.

In autumn, the confined Indians made another effort to procure their enlargement, and Government granted passports to some of the most steady, with leave to go to the Susquehannah: but could not with prudence extend this permission to all. This occasioned a return of the former uneasiness in the minds of some young people, which greatly distressed the missionaries, who at this time labored under various bodily complaints. However, according to their own report, they forgot every hardship, as often as they contemplated the unwearied faithfulness and sufferings of the Lord Jesus on our account.

In the mean time the negotiations were continued, and the Iroquois being reconciled, they compelled the other Indian nations to lay down their arms.

December the 4th, 1764, was the happy day, on which an account of the peace arrived in Philadelphia; and on the 6th, a proclamation was published by Government in all the public papers, that hostilities should cease. Our Indians were soon informed of the conclusion of the war, and their joy on this occasion, which exceeded all description, was manifested in thanksgivings and praises to the Lord, to whom all power is given, both in heaven and on earth.

Soon after, those Indian Brethren, who had been on the Susquehannah, returned with a circumstantial detail of the

miserics endured by the Indians during the war, on account of their refusing to take share in it. Joshua said, "We thought ourselves great sufferers here in the barracks, but our sufferings bear no comparison to those of the Indians in the woods, and we now acknowledge, that the Lord mercifully directed our affairs, as our teachers have often told us."

The congregation at Pachgatgoch, whose situation was very distressing in the year 1762, was still more oppressed during the war, and at length so much dispersed, that nothing remained, but the hopes, that they might unite again in time of peace.

The troubles of war being nearly at an end, the Brethren in Bethlehem seriously considered, in what manner to provide a settlement for the believing Indians; where they might enjoy more safety. It could not be expected, that they would remain long unmolested in the neighborhood of the white people; they were therefore advised to settle in the Indian country on the banks of the Susquehannah. They resolved to go first to Machwihilusing, which had been deserted in the late war, and where the old huts were still standing. The missionaries and Indian assistants therefore applied to Government: the latter desired General Johnson, to assist them in putting this design into execution. To their inexpressible joy, they obtained leave to depart on the 26th of February, and in the following days, preparations were made, Government supplying them liberally with necessaries. Mr. Fox even procured a grant, by which our Indians were to be provided with flour, from their arrival on the Susquehannah, until their new-planted Indian corn should be ripe, and an order was issued, for them to receive it from Fort Allen, lately built upon the site of Old Gnadenhuetten. This arrangement proved a great convenience to them.

In the mean time the missionary Grube, who last year went to Bethlehem on account of illness, returned to Philadelphia to take leave of his beloved congregation in the barracks. He brought a formal vocation to the missionaries

Schmick and Zeisberger, to move with the Indian congregation to the Susquehannah, which they gladly accepted, Government also approving of their appointment. March 18th, the Indian Brethren delivered the following address to the governor:

“ We, the Christian Indians now residing in the barracks,  
“ and intending to return with our wives and children unto  
“ our own country, approach unto you, to take our leave,  
“ and to return to you our most sincere thanks. We ac-  
“ knowledge 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. As a father, you have provided us with food  
“ and raiment. You have nursed us in sickness and buried  
“ our dead. We have likewise heard with joy, that you  
“ will in future give us flour until our corn is ripe. We  
“ thank you more particularly that we have been allowed  
“ to have our teachers with us, during these heavy trials,  
“ who have instructed us daily in the word of God. They  
“ have shown us the way to salvation, so that we are now  
“ become acquainted with our Creator, and can love all men.  
“ We therefore greatly rejoice, that our teachers Schmick  
“ and Zeisberger go with us into the Indian country, that  
“ they may continue to instruct us in the doctrine of salva-  
“ tion. Your kindness, protection, and benevolence, will  
“ never be forgotten by us. We shall bear your goodness in  
“ our hearts; we shall speak of it to the other Indians. As  
“ long as we live, we shall remain true friends to the Eng-  
“ lish. We also beg permission to request of you, to give us  
“ powder and shot, that we may provide food on the journey.  
“ Finally we pray, that God may bless you! We, the un-  
“ derwritten, do this in the name of all our people, re-  
“ maining your faithful friends,

“ JOHN PAPUNHANK; JOSHUA;  
“ ANTHONY; SHEM EVANS.”

This address was graciously received; and the missionaries added their grateful thanks both to the governor and to Mr. Fox, who as commissary for Government had cared for the Indians, from beginning to end, with unwearied attention. The latter replied with tears, "I have willingly done what I could, knowing their innocence." Joshua went likewise to Mr. Fox, to thank him in the name of all the Indian Brethren and Sisters, and was well received. March 20th, the text of the day being, "*Abraham rose up early in the morning, and went unto the place, of which God had told him,*" the Indian congregation set off from the barracks of Philadelphia with great joy, attended by some friends from the city, who wished them the Lord's blessing. Their departure was very peaceful, and they unanimously rendered praises to God our heavenly Father, for all the love, grace, preservation, and support experienced during their residence of sixteen months at this place. After a troublesome but safe journey, the travellers arrived at Nain, where they were welcomed by the Bethlehem congregation with great tenderness, and rested for some time in this place, so much valued by the former inhabitants, the daily meetings being held in the usual order, to their great comfort.

Every thing being settled for their journey, and several of them having sold their houses at Nain to the Brethren at Bethlehem, Bishop Nathanael Seidel, with part of the Bethlehem congregation, went to Nain, to attend a solemn farewell meeting of the Indians. The missionary Grube delivered the discourse, recommending this beloved flock in a fervent prayer to the faithful Shepherd, who gave his life for his sheep, and thus closed his blessed labors among these people, in which he had shown an extraordinary degree of faithfulness for the space of thirteen years.

April 3d, the whole congregation broke up and proceeded on their journey, passing through Bethlehem, to take leave of their former faithful neighbors, so closely united to them in the bonds of brotherly love. At parting, many tears were shed on both sides. Government had appointed the following

ing gentlemen to conduct them to the frontiers: Mr. Moore, justice of the peace, Mr. Kuhlin, high-sheriff, Lieutenant Hundfecker, and Mr. Epty, whose names I here insert with gratitude for their kindness and attention to our Indians. Some Brethren from Bethlehem accompanied them likewise part of the way.

Waggons were provided for the children, the sick, and infirm, and for the heavy baggage: but they had a very difficult journey; for though peace was re-established, yet the enmity of many white people against the Indians was still so great, that, to avoid danger, they were obliged to take a long circuit. They also met with stormy weather attended with snow, and were obliged to take up their nights' lodgings chiefly in the woods, every family building an hut and keeping up fires all night. Sometimes they were obliged to stay all night in a swamp, not finding any dry ground near them. Hunting was their chief support. They carried the loads, which were not put in the waggons, over high, steep, and rocky hills, in small parcels, being thus often obliged several times to double the road. In some parts they cut their way for some miles, through the woods and once even for five miles together. The Brethren waded through many brooks and rivers: and for the women and children they made rafts, but the strong current often carried away the trees they had cut down for this purpose, before they could be fixed together, and they once lost twenty-five in this manner. Some rivers were so broad and deep, that they were obliged to encamp on their banks, till they had built canoes sufficient to cross them. The greatest difficulty they met with, was the want of provisions, whenever they passed through regions where there was neither game nor fish. Those, who had something in store, were always willing to distribute. At last their whole stock of flour was consumed, and it was an affecting sight to see them receive their last portion. They were frequently happy to find wild potatoes, the disagreeable flavor of which hunger alone could render palatable. To satisfy the children who cried for hunger, they peeled chestnut

chestnut trees, and made them suck the sweet juice under the bark; and even the grown people were obliged to do the same. They had frequently no other drink, but muddy water found in puddles. Some died during this journey. Once they were greatly terrified in the night, by the woods being on fire, and burning fiercely all round their encampment from ten till one in the morning. At length they arrived at the Susquehannah, and got a few boats from Lechawachneck to proceed up the river. Some went forward by land to Machwihilufing, and procured more boats; but yet, for want of a sufficient number, many were obliged to proceed along the banks of the river, and were much fatigued by the stony roads over the hills. But all these trials were forgotten in their daily meetings, in which the presence of the Lord was most sensibly and comfortably felt. These were always held in the evening, around a large fire, in the open air. Thus they spent the Passion Week, in blessed contemplation of the meritorious sufferings of Jesus, and celebrated Easter in joyful commemoration of his resurrection, calling to mind their fellowship with the fifty-six Indian Brethren, who departed to the Lord in Philadelphia, looking forward with joy to the time, when they also should arrive in that place, where we shall see Jesus face to face, and praise him in perfect happiness. His presence supported them under all afflictions, insomuch that they never lost their cheerfulness and resignation, and when at last they arrived safe at Machwihilufing on the 9th of May, after a journey of five weeks, they forgot all their pain and trouble, for joy that they had reached the place of their future abode.

Thus ended the painful pilgrimage of the Indian congregation, which commenced with their flight from Wechquetank and Nain in 1763; and all with one accord declared, that unless God himself had spread his wings over them, they never should have lived to see that day. To Him be all the glory!





# H I S T O R Y

OF THE

## M I S S I O N

OF THE

### UNITED BRETHREN

AMONG THE

Indians in North America.

#### PART III.

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##### CHAPTER I.

1765, 1766.

*The agreeable Beginning of Friedenshuetten on the Susquehannah. Zeisberger's Journey to Cajugu and Onondago. The Indian Congregation has rest and is edified.*

**A**S a mariner rejoices, who after a long and severe storm has reached his desired haven, so likewise did the Indian congregation and her faithful teachers rejoice. They now forgot all their former distresses, and with offers of praise and thanksgiving, devoted themselves anew to Him who had given them rest for the soles of their feet. They began their labors with renewed courage, and pitching upon a convenient spot on the banks of the Susquehannah, built a regular settlement, which they called Friedenshuetten (Tents of Peace). It consisted of thirteen Indian huts and upwards of forty houses, built of wood in the European manner,

covered with shingles, and provided with windows and chimnies. A small, but convenient house was erected for the missionaries, and in the middle of the street, which was upwards of eighty feet broad, stood the chapel, neatly built, and covered with shingles. Next to the houses the ground was laid out in gardens, and between the settlement and the river, about 250 acres were divided into regular plantations of Indian corn. Each family had their own boat. The burying-ground was situated at some distance, at the back of the buildings.

During the building of Friedenshuetten, the aged, infirm, and children, were lodged in the old cottages found on the spot. The rest dwelt in bark huts, and met for divine worship in the open field, whenever the weather was dry. In rainy weather, the Brethren and Sisters assembled in small companies, in their huts, to sing and praise the Lord for his mercies. His presence and peace, and the brotherly love and concord which universally prevailed, greatly strengthened them. It was a pleasure to see how judiciously they planned and executed the work of each day. They appeared like a swarm of busy bees: each knew his proper task, and performed it readily. Some were employed in building houses; others in clearing the land; some in hunting and fishing, to provide for those at work; others cared for the housekeeping. The missionaries were not idle, but made their own gardens and plantations.

The stock of bread bought by our Indians of their neighbors being soon consumed, a party of forty Brethren set out for Fort Allen, to fetch part of the corn given them by the government of Pennsylvania. But when they had got half way, they were obliged to return, hearing that the white people in the Irish settlement were again exasperated against them; two men having been murdered there, and the Christian Indians being accused of the deed; though it was impossible, that they could have had the least share in it. Herbs and roots therefore supplied the place of bread, till intelligence was brought, that Sir William Johnson had settled

tled a general peace with all the Indian nations, in the name of the king of England. This encouraged the Brethren to set out again. Accordingly almost all the men went to Fort Allen, and soon returned with their corn; praying for blessings on the English government for its liberality towards them. They had received enough to serve them till their own corn was ripe, and God granted so rich an harvest, that they had not even room enough for their store.

The building of Friedenshuetten being so far completed, that the proper regulations and statutes of a Christian settlement could be renewed and established, a meeting was held for this purpose, to the satisfaction of all; and the same regulations made as formerly in Gnadenhuetten, Nain, and Wechquetank. As to the internal state of the congregation, it appeared that our Lord Jesus Christ had granted a double portion of his grace to his beloved Indian flock, and would now lay a special blessing upon them. The sensations of his divine presence attending the preaching of the Gospel, the administering of the sacraments, and all the meetings of the congregation, prevailed so powerfully, that the missionaries found frequent cause to exclaim in raptures of joy, "Behold how he loveth them! (John, xi. 36.) and delighteth to dwell among the children of men."

October 20th, 1765, the sacrament of Holy Baptism was administered for the first time in Friedenshuetten to the wife of the Indian Sakima. Her declarations on this occasion, gave great pleasure to the missionaries. She said, "I feel very happy after my baptism, but have not yet enough. I now long more than ever for our Savior." Her husband was present during her baptism, but could scarcely bear to stay, for emotion, and immediately went into the woods to give vent to his tears. Upon his return, he saluted his wife, and bursting into tears, said, "O! how do I rejoice that you are cleansed in the blood of Christ. Ah! when shall I have that favor?" Before the close of the year, this grace was also imparted to him. He was baptized on Christmas Day, and such a general emotion was perceptible during his baptism,

baptism, that the whole company wept together with the missionary and catechumen; thus, without words, expressing the joy and gratitude of their hearts, in seeing how graciously Jesus receives sinners. Many unbaptized were so powerfully awakened, that they ardently desired the same favor. One of them observed: "If I should see the water for baptism brought into the chapel and hear the missionary say, Whoever wishes to be baptized, come hither, I should not hesitate a moment to accept of so great an offer."

John Papunhank, the first Indian baptized at Machwihlusing, was also the first who was here made a partaker of the Lord's Supper, and it became every day more evident, that God himself had truly converted him. His large acquaintance, and especially the fame of Friedenshuetten, drew a great number of visitors from all parts, and the missionaries, who in August received Brother Rothe as an assistant from Bethlehem, had here the desirable opportunity of extolling the grace of Jesus before great numbers of heathen. Many believed the glad tidings, turned to the Lord, and received joy and peace in the Holy Ghost. Some who did not immediately comprehend the words of the missionaries, entreated the Indian assistants to repeat the discourse. The assistants most readily complied with their request, and were anew enlivened, by the repetition of the precious words of the Gospel, the truth and power of which they had experienced. Among the visitors were many Indians, belonging to the Cajugu, one of the Six Nations, or Iroquois. These seemed better prepared to receive the kingdom of God, more unreserved, and less entangled with political affairs than the other Iroquois. It was observed with pleasure, that Brother Zeisberger, by repeatedly residing at Onondago, had brought the Brethren and their cause into great esteem among the Iroquois. Once during his absence from Friedenshuetten, the missionary Schmick asked some of the Cajugu Indians, whether they knew Zeisberger? As soon as they heard his name, they expressed much joy, and placing two fingers together, said: "We are one: are you  
" also

“also one with him?” Schmick answered, “We are brethren.” They then asked, “Are you one of the Brethren of Bethlehem?” Answer: “Yes, they are all my brethren.”—“Well,” said they, “you must come to us, and build your house in our town.” They then went to the chapel, saw and heard what they never before had been witnesses to, and were powerfully struck with the gospel of Jesus Christ our Savior.

Beside the stated times for the daily service of the congregation, the missionaries were often called upon to preach the word of salvation; for the visitors came into their dwellings, begging to hear more of those sweet and comfortable words, and it seemed as if they could never be satisfied with hearing, so that frequently the missionaries had scarce time to eat or rest.

A reputed forcerer, in the neighborhood of Friedenshuetten, not venturing to enter the chapel, stood before the window to hear the sermon. When it was over, he said to an Indian Brother, “I am indeed a very wicked man, and know, that I have committed many sins; yea, I am so loaded with them, that they weigh me down; but if I knew, that Jesus would accept of, and help me, I would nevertheless go to him and pray him to save me.”

The Indians wishing to live here in peace and safety, soon after their arrival sent a messenger with a string of wampom to the Chief of Cajugu, who as plenipotentiary of the Iroquois, claimed the lordship over all the lands on the Susquehannah, to inform him and his people, that the governor of Pennsylvania had defended them against the rage of the white people, and fully provided them with food for a whole year: that with his approbation they had settled on the Susquehannah, and pitched on a spot of ground, upon which they intended to build, and with their families to live in peace, if their uncle approved of it. They likewise desired leave for their teachers to live with them, who would tell them the great words of their God and Creator, as they had done for many years; adding, that they loved them, their children, and all the Indians, instructing them in the

way to salvation; and that, without their assistance, the believing Indians could not be happy. The Chief of Cajugu having received this message in due form, transmitted it to the great council in Onondago, and as soon as he received an answer, invited some deputies from Friedenshuetten to Cajugu, whom he welcomed in the name of the Iroquois, comforting them in the usual manner about the loss of their friends in Philadelphia, and informing them that peace was now re-established. But the answer he gave to the request of the Indians was unexpected; viz.: "that  
" the place they had chosen for a settlement was not proper,  
" because all that country had been stained with blood, there-  
" fore he would take them up and place them in a better  
" situation, near the upper end of the Cajugu Lake. They  
" might take their teachers with them, and as to their doc-  
" trines, believe and hold what they pleased, and be unmo-  
" lested in their daily worship." This proposal to remove to the Cajugu Lake might have been well meant, yet our Indians did not approve of it, on account of the want of deer and other game, without which they could not subsist. They therefore postponed giving an immediate answer, and the deputies only gave the Cajugu Chief hopes, that they would reply, when the Indian corn was ripe. He therefore sent the following message to Friedenshuetten in the spring of 1766: "That he did not know, what sort of Indian corn  
" they might plant, for they had promised him an answer,  
" when it was ripe: that his Indian corn had been gathered  
" long ago, and was almost consumed, and he soon in-  
" tended to plant again; they ought therefore to keep their  
" promise." As it was evident that our Indians preferred living in Friedenshuetten, four deputies were chosen, with whom Brother Zeisberger went in April to Cajugu. They arrived there on the 30th, and took up their lodging with the Chief, who knew Brother Zeisberger from his former stay at Onondago. He received them kindly, but did not seem pleased with their message, and spoke rather contemptuously of the labor of the Brethren among his people; adding, that

that he had seen many Indians baptized by the French in Canada, but never found the least difference between them and the unbaptized. This made the deputies almost afraid to propose their message in council; but Brother Zeisberger encouraged them, by assuring them, that God was present also in this council, and would direct every thing according to His good pleasure.

Of this they were fully convinced, for their message had the desired effect. It was as follows: "That having formerly been ignorant of God, they had now been taught to know him as their Creator and Redeemer, and had received from him life and salvation, loving Him above every thing, because He loved them so much. They therefore could and would no more live after the manner of the Indians, but having found their joy and pleasure in our Savior, they had quitted all sinful ways, and now endeavored to walk conformably to the word of God, which they, on that account, must hear often, and therefore met twice a-day to be instructed by their teachers: they also endeavored to preserve their children from evil: they would not go to war; but keep peace with all men, and therefore not meddle with the Indian state-affairs; they could consequently not agree to live near an Indian town, and as Friedenshuetten was well situated, and they had built and planted, they desired to remain there." As the Cajugus and the deputies did not perfectly understand each other's language, and the interpreter of the council found it difficult accurately to translate the message, the council desired the missionary, who spoke both the Cajugu and the Delaware language, to interpret, which he readily did, and then added the following in the name of the white Brethren: Brother, you have heard the request made by your cousin: you see that their cause is good, and you love what is just. You have received them into your arms, which they consider as a great favor shown to them. I and my brethren are thankful for it; pray now extend your love towards them, and grant their request, that my brethren

“in Bethlehem may rejoice with me. You have land enough, therefore give a small piece to your cousins who believe in God, that they may live among you in rest and peace.” This and the former speech had such an effect upon the council, that not only their request was granted, but the council gave them a larger tract of land, than they had desired, extending beyond Tiaogu; telling them, to make use of it as their own, and promising that the heathen Indians should not come and dwell upon it. They were allowed to have their teachers, and exhorted to be obedient to them and finally a resolution was taken, which among the Indians can never be too frequently repeated, on account of many lies being carried to and fro, that neither party should believe any evil report, without due examination.

The deputies were almost beside themselves for joy at this unexpected success; and when the result of the negotiation was mentioned to the congregation, the joy was so general that several exclaimed, “This is the Lord’s doing, and a sure proof of his great love towards us!”

These rejoicings were soon disturbed by an Iroquois Indian, from Zeninge, who gave the Indians of Friedenshuette a circumstantial account of a great council held by the Iroquois in Zeninge, at which he pretended to have been present, and in which the Chief of Cajugu was reprimanded for having given land to the Indians of Friedenshuette without their consent; because he well knew that the said lands had been given to other Indians, who had fled from them during the war; but would return to seek their former dwellings and then become troublesome to the believers: that the Cajugu Chief had said in apology, that he only did it from motives of pity, not being willing to refuse the petition of the deputies; and the time had been too short to communicate with the great council concerning the business.

As the Brethren believed that the Chief in Cajugu had granted their request, with full consent of the council, and yet the account given by the Indian from Zeninge bore the appearance of truth, and bad consequences might follow.

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Brother Zeisberger went to Bethlehem for advice. The affair appeared to the Brethren of such moment, that they desired him to go to Onondago, to learn the truth, and to renew his covenant of friendship with the Iroquois. The missionary undertook this journey with Brother Gottlob Senselman from Bethlehem, and about the middle of October 1766 they set out from Friedenshuetten for Onondago, with an Indian Brother.

In Zeninge they attempted to speak to the inhabitants, of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, but found no ears to hear. The Chief observed, that though they heard no sermons and knew not God, yet they were the best Indians, and no one could allege any thing against them. However, the Brethren, to their great molestation, found the contrary; for that very day the whole village was drunk to such a degree, that they committed the most shameful excesses.

After enduring many hardships, both by land and water, they arrived, October 26th, at Onondago, where they were well received, and lodged in the same house, in which Brother Zeisberger had formerly resided. At their request the council assembled the very next day, and the English flag was displayed upon the council-house, in honor of the missionaries. Brother Zeisberger's address was heard with great attention. He spoke of the labor of the Brethren among the heathen, their views in preaching the Gospel, of the present state of the Indian congregations, but chiefly of their late transactions with the Chief of Cajugu; finally requesting the council of the Iroquois explicitly to declare, whether what was settled between them and the Cajugu Chief, had been done with the knowledge and approbation of the council, or whether the Cajugu Chief had acted for himself alone. The Chiefs inquired minutely concerning the establishment and constitution of Friedenshuetten, expressing great regard for Brother Zeisberger, whom they considered as belonging to the Iroquois. The latter in return assured them of his affection and regard, but still more of the great love of their Creator and Redeemer towards them

them and all men. According to their custom they referred his message to a future deliberation, promising an answer.

The Brethren made use of this interval to go to Cajugu. On the road they met with a dangerous passage over the outlet of a large lake, which was remarkably deep, crossing it upon two slender trees, which bent so much under them, that they were up to their knees in water.

In Cajugu they had a friendly conversation with the above-mentioned Chief, and learnt that the alarming account given by the Indian from Zeninge, was altogether false. They likewise refuted many false accusations made by enemies of the Brethren, to his entire satisfaction, and then returned without delay to Onondago. Here they received the following answer of the council, with all the formality and ceremonies usual on such occasions; viz.: "That the Cajugu Chief was " without doubt their plenipotentiary, and the guardian of " all the lands on the Susquehannah; and that all he had " settled with the deputies from Friedenshuetten had the " full approbation of the great council: that they were well " pleased with the settlement of the believing Indians in Frie- " denshuetten, where the great council had now ' a council " fire' committed to the care of the believing Indians, and " which they should consider as a matter of the greatest im- " portance: that they much approved of the white Brethren " dwelling as teachers among the Indians on the Susquehan- " nah, to instruct them, which the Delawares stood particu- " larly in need of, it having appeared in the late war, that " they were peculiarly given to evil ways, and that the great " council wished the constitution and church-service to re- " main the same at Friedenshuetten, as hitherto." The con- clusion of the speech ran thus: "When your Indians, our " cousins, have any thing to treat of with us, they shall have " full liberty, to come straight to us, and settle their affairs " without the interference of any other Chief, who may not " be of the same mind with them."

By this deliberate declaration of the council of the Iro- quois, the Brethren received for the first time legal permis-

sion to preach the Gospel in those countries possessed by the Indians. The great council itself seemed to have no inclination at present to receive the Gospel. One of the council told Brother Zeisberger, that lately a minister from New England came and offered to live among and preach to them; but they had refused, saying: "that as soon as they chose it, they would let him know: for the present, he might return to his own home." This anecdote was purposely mentioned as an hint, that the Brethren should not attempt to carry the Gospel too far into the country belonging to the Iroquois. The missionaries, Zeisberger and Senseman, returned thanks to the Lord, for the success of their negotiations, and the account, given on their return to the congregation at Friedenshuetten, occasioned universal satisfaction and gratitude.

In the year 1766 the inward and outward state of this settlement was truly blessed, and an extraordinary number of Indian visitors came from all parts. These were not only struck with the exterior regular appearance of the place, declaring, that it was the most beautiful and regular Indian town they had ever seen, but they paid great attention to the Gospel, and its power in their hearts was often remarkably evident. Frequently the whole assembly was so moved, and the weeping of the congregation so general and loud, that the missionaries were obliged to stop and give vent to their own tears. Some, who heard the Gospel for the first time, seemed suddenly roused from the sleep of sin, and having mourned over their transgressions and found pardon and peace with Jesus, began, by faith in Him, truly to taste the sweetness of the doctrines of the Gospel. This was generally followed by a desire to dwell with the believers. An Indian, for instance, having with his wife spent the Passion-week and Easter in Friedenshuetten, and speaking together of what they had heard of our Savior and his love to mankind: the woman said, "I never before heard any thing like this; what I then felt I cannot express; but my heart was most tenderly moved." Her husband asked her, "What would

“you now wish to do? I would willingly know it.” She answered, “I am glad that you ask me, I have only waited for this; my wish is, to love and believe in our Savior; but I should find it difficult without you. I cannot live here alone; nor can I part with you.” He said, “I will not hinder you; for if I did, and you should be lost, I should bring your guilt upon myself, and I have, alas! sins enough of my own. God forbid I should do this! We will rather both beg leave to live here, that we may hear daily of our Savior, learn to love him, and become happy people.” They then came to the missionaries, related their conversation, and obtained leave to live in Friedenshuetten. Her sister expressed her sensations during the reading of the history of our Lord’s sufferings, to the following effect: “My heart tells me, that my sins have occasioned the torments, distress, wounds, and death of our Savior. When I heard that he had suffered all this to redeem me, a child of hell, from Satan, sin, and eternal death, and to grant unto me everlasting life, I felt, that I ought to love and believe on Him, in order to obtain salvation, for otherwise I should be lost.” Another said, “I am often terrified when I consider, that I have heard the Gospel so long, and have not yet attained to saving faith.” On these occasions the Indian assistants were all alive, and in their element. Nothing gave them more joy, than when the conversation of their visitors afforded an opportunity to testify of the truth: the assistant Joseph, for instance, was one day speaking with the wife of the Delaware Chief, Newallike, concerning the love of our Savior to poor sinners, which he had truly experienced. She answered: “All that may be true, but I cannot be forgiven, for I have sinned grievously against God.” Joseph replied: “You may nevertheless find forgiveness with our Savior. I formerly thought as you do, but found it otherwise. Our Savior has forgiven me many and great sins. He is even now the same gracious Savior, and has died for your sins also; shedding his blood upon the cross. As soon as you truly believe

“this,

“ this, you will taste his love, and be assured, that he will  
“ forgive all your sins.” Another visitor, who had already  
received the usual belt of wampom in token of his being  
elected captain, returned it of his own accord, and made  
the following sincere declaration to the assistants: “ I am  
“ concerned for my salvation: my sins, which are many, lie  
“ heavy upon me; sometimes I despaired of all help; but  
“ when I heard that our Savior receives the worst of sinners,  
“ it encouraged me to hope, that even I might be saved. I then  
“ prayed to our Savior: ‘ Have mercy upon me, and let me  
“ feel, that there is grace, even for such a wretch as me.’ He  
“ heard me, and I saw him as crucified for me; I was con-  
“ vinced that I have wounded him with my sins, and this  
“ made me weep. I then said, ‘ Dear Savior! I desire to  
“ be healed and saved by thy wounds, and to be washed from  
“ all my sins in thy blood. I often thought and felt, that,  
“ to be truly converted, I should bid farewell to the world;  
“ and therefore returned the belt of wampom. I do not  
“ desire any such honor among the Indians; if I may only  
“ obtain mercy, receive the forgiveness of my sins, become  
“ a child of God and live happy among his people; then I  
“ have all my heart can wish for.”

An heathen Indian had asked the assistant Abraham a great  
many questions, but none relating to the state of his soul:  
at length Abraham said: “ I am surprised to see you so desir-  
“ ous to know every thing, and yet not to hear you ask  
“ one question. Do you know your Creator? This is  
“ the one thing needful! Study to know Him, and you  
“ will find out many things, of which, as yet, you know  
“ nothing.”

Many of those who, during the troubles of the war, had  
strayed from the congregation, returned again and were gladly  
received, especially when they were so hungry and thirsty after  
the Lord Jesus and his grace, as one of them declared him-  
self to be, in the following manner: “ I am like one plunged  
“ into water, and every moment expecting to be drowned.  
“ Nothing can save me, unless our Savior, and his people,  
“ pardon

“pardon my past deviations.” Among those, who earnestly desired baptism, was a young Nantikok. He said: “I have experienced something remarkable in my mind to-day; I have a great desire to be saved, but, alas! feel myself a slave of sin and Satan, and it is as if he kept me fast bound, unwilling to quit me, though I strive to get from him; for I am resolved to become the property of our Savior.” Upon another occasion he burst into a flood of tears, and said: “Brethren, have mercy upon me; I am the most wretched creature upon earth; ever since yesterday morning I have felt nothing but sorrow, anxiety, and perplexity. I can find no place, where I can bear my existence. This whole afternoon I have lain like a dead man; I have no strength, and am quite exhausted. Have mercy upon me; O that I were baptized and washed from my sins in the blood of our Savior; that alone can help and give me rest.”

But as he could not dwell at Friedenshuetten, unless he were baptized, the missionaries could not come to a speedy determination, on account of a strange custom peculiar to the Nantikok tribe (as mentioned in the First Part of this work), viz.: that when a Nantikok dies, the relations come, dig up the corpse, wherever it is buried, cut off the flesh, and carry away the bones. It was however at last impossible any longer to refuse the earnest petition of this Indian, and he became the first fruits of the Nantikok tribe; Brother Zeisberger baptizing him by the name of Samuel.

The great change, obvious in all those, who believed in Jesus and were baptized, was so astonishing to the heathen visitors, that many were obliged to confess, that the words of the Brethren must be true, for otherwise it would be impossible that the mere belief of them, should make them willing and able to deny the world and every ungodly lust, and at the same time to be so serene and chearful in their countenances and behavior.

However pleasing and desirable it might be, to behold such undeniable proofs of the power of the Gospel, yet it

frequently occasioned long visits, and as some people of suspicious characters prolonged their abode at Friedenshuetten, the missionaries fearing some painful consequences, and especially that the young people might be seduced by them, resolved to make some permanent regulations in regard to visitors. To this end they chose some of the oldest and most respected members of the congregation, to whom they gave a commission, to meet and speak with all strange Indians, especially with those, who wished to become inhabitants of Friedenshuetten, to examine into their views, and to declare to them with kindness and firmness, that all who were not truly desirous to turn unto their Creator and Redeemer, should positively not dwell in the place, nor even stay in it for any considerable time. This was done accordingly, and the faithfulness, prudence, and undauntedness, with which these men executed their commission, was very edifying. They had no respect of persons, nor did they spare their own kindred, more than strangers. The good effects of their zeal were soon visible, and several dangerous people quitted the place, and among them a Nantikok physician, who had murdered several of his own nation by his vile practices, and, as it appeared, still retained the same malicious intentions.

Another perplexity arose from the rum trade, which the heathen Indians made frequent attempts to introduce into Friedenshuetten. An order was therefore found necessary, that the strangers' servants should examine these people immediately upon their arrival, to know whether they intended to stay all night, in which case their rum was immediately secured, and not delivered to them till the following morning, when they proceeded on their journey. Whoever refused to comply with this order, was desired to leave the settlement without delay. These regulations were strictly attended to.

The white traders gave the most trouble to the settlement. They were not contented with trading in Friedenshuetten, but even endeavored to make it a place of common resort. In

1766 a large company of them came from Paxton, with an intent to gain a footing here, staid several weeks in the place at different times, and occasioned much levity and dissipation among the young people. The missionaries themselves could not interfere, lest they should appear to usurp some kind of jurisdiction over the Indians. They therefore left the whole management of this affair to the Indian assistants, to whom the police was committed, and who at length were so much grieved at the disorders occasioned by these disagreeable guests, that they resolved to oppose it with firmness. They met accordingly, desired an interview with the Paxton people, and Anthony declared to them, in the name of his brethren, that for the future they would not suffer Friedenshuetten to be made a rendezvous of traders, nor should they be permitted to have their store-house upon this land, nor to stay above two or three days in the settlement. The traders were enraged at this declaration; but the Indians remaining firm, they were obliged to quit the place. These measures were the more zealously taken, because the Iroquois had already sent several serious remonstrances, desiring that Friedenshuetten might not be made a place of traffic.

In this year a solemn embassy arrived in Friedenshuetten, sent by the Delawares in Gofchgoschuenk on the Ohio, the Delamattenos and Gachpas, for themselves and thirteen other nations. They proceeded by way of Zeninge to Onondago, and thence home again. Their view was to establish a general peace among all the Indian nations. They therefore invited all "to lay hold of the chain of friendship," and declared all those who refused to do it, to be enemies. Our Indians agreed to it of course, giving them a string of wampom in token and confirmation of their desire to promote and share in the general peace.

Sometimes messages were sent to acquaint them with the distress and famine prevailing among different nations, who recommended themselves to their generosity; other deputies announced the arrival of large companies, passing through on their travels, desiring victuals and lodging; and the

the great willingness of the Christian Indians to assist and serve their fellow men to the utmost of their power, was soon spread abroad throughout the country.

Their generosity was frequently followed by want, which they cheerfully bore, as true children of God, not tormented by the cares of this life, but content with little, relying upon the daily bread given them by their heavenly Father, who does not forget even the meanest of his creatures. Upon such an occasion a poor woman said: "I have been thinking how poor I am: I have nothing of my own; and where shall I get enough for myself and my child? This made me uneasy, and immediately I prayed thus to our Savior: 'Forgive my care and anxiety about outward matters. Thou thyself hast been very poor in this world, and hast even not had as much of thine own, as I have.' This thought comforted me, and my heart was satisfied."

Besides the want occasioned by the extraordinary number of visitors, the locusts did very great mischief to the fields and plantations. The missionaries mention their swarms to have amounted to millions in number.

The chief means by which the Indians provided a livelihood for themselves and their families, was by hunting bears, elks, and deer, and catching beavers, foxes, and racoons. But as the Brethren were on that account necessitated to go into parts above a day's journey distant from the settlement, the missionaries always advised them, not to choose such hunting places, where an unnecessary intercourse with the savage Indians might lead them astray; several lamentable instances of seduction having made this caution necessary. Another article of food was maple sugar, which is described in the First Part of this work. The congregation council agreed, that those employed in this business should keep together as much as possible, as well to be able to assist each other in the work, as to meet sometimes in prayer. Some who would not follow this advice, were exposed to danger, and were then left without assistance. One of the women having separated herself from the rest, fixed her hut near  
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the banks of a river, which unexpectedly overflowing in the night, inundated the whole country to such a degree, that she and her daughter were obliged to take refuge upon the roof, and were almost starved before the waters subsided.

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## CHAPTER II.

1767, 1768.

*Accounts from Friedenshuetten. Brother David Zeisberger's Journey to Goshgoshuenk on the Ohio. Apprehensions of an Indian War. Hostilities fortunately prevented. Brother Zeisberger's second Journey to Goshgoshuenk with a view to establish a Mission. He finds Entrance in the Beginning, and afterwards violent Opposition.*

FRIEDENSHUETTEN increased so fast, and the numbers who attended constantly to hear the Gospel were so great, that on January 2d, 1767, they began to build a more spacious church, which being completed by the 18th of February, was consecrated in the name of God, to whom the whole settlement and mission was commended anew, with fervent prayer, that he would bless the preaching of the word, and prevent every evil, which might injure His cause in this place.

The strange Indians, who constantly attended, were of various tribes and nations, chiefly Mohawks, Cajugu, Senekas, Tutelas, Delawares, Mahikans, Wampanose, Nantikoks, and Tuscaroras. Many were driven by the famine then prevailing, to take refuge in Friedenshuetten; others preferred the road through Friedenshuetten in their way to different parts of the Indian country, wishing to see a  
place

place so renowned for its hospitality. Thus at one time seventy-five Tuscaroras from Carolina, and at another fifty-seven Nantikoks from Maryland came, driven by hunger, and staid there some weeks. This proved an opportunity for them to hear the word of God, and several were on this occasion so far awakened, that they thanked God for the famine they had suffered, without which they never should have gone to Friedenshuetten, nor heard the Gospel of salvation. This consideration made our Indians always willing to feed the hungry, and even to connive at the impositions of some, who abusing their generosity, ate up their provisions, leading an idle and profligate life, without ever attending to the word of God.

In the mean time enemies were not wanting, in different parts, who were more particularly enraged at the missionaries, believing that they alone occasioned the Christian Indians to separate themselves from the rest, forming as it were a detached tribe, who would not enter into the customs peculiar to the Indians, and even endeavoring to make more profelytes. The Nantikoks of Zeninge were more particularly exasperated, and threatened to kill Brother Schmick, because he had, according to their expression, so many Indians in his arms, holding them fast, and endeavoring to grasp more, and thus to rob them of their friends. The scripture text for the day, on which he received this threatening message, greatly comforted him: "*The Lord is my helper, and I will not fear what man shall do unto me.*" Heb. xiii. 6.

About Whitfuntide the small-pox broke out in Friedenshuetten; the same mode of proceeding was therefore adopted as during the time that the measles raged in Bethlehem. All the patients were immediately conveyed over the river into some houses fitted up for that purpose, and properly attended. The nurses afterwards could not sufficiently thank and praise the Lord, for all the proofs of his mercy and grace shown unto them and their patients; for his presence in the midst of them, and for the great consolation afforded  
unto

unto them in meditating upon his precious words in their daily meetings.

In autumn 1767, the missionary David Zeisberger made a journey to the Ohio, hearing that some Indians in that part of the country, were desirous to hear the Gospel. He set out from Friedenshuetten on the 30th of September, in company with Anthony and John Papunhank, two Indian assistants, the whole congregation uniting in prayer for his preservation on this dangerous journey. They passed through Tiaogu, a part of the Delaware, and a part of the Senneka country. His intention was to visit Gofchgschuenk, though he received every-where a very unfavourable account of the inhabitants. He was however neither intimidated by these reports, nor by the great hardships he suffered on the road, a detail of which would hardly be believed by a stranger to that country. They had frequently to cross over plains many miles in length, overgrown with such high grass, that a man on horseback was completely covered by it; and when either dew or rain had fallen, our travellers were wet through. October 6th, they reached a forsaken Indian town. Brother Zeisberger observed with pleasure the first grove of silver-fir he had ever seen in North America, at one of the sources of the river Ohio. His Indian companions had never seen these trees before. The further they penetrated, the more horrid the wilderness appeared, and it cost them immense labor to work their way through the thicket. Having thus proceeded four days through a country of so dreadful and uncouth an appearance, that the missionary was at a loss to find words to describe it, they met at length the first time with an hut in the midst of the forest, in which they took up their night's lodging, having hitherto spent the nights in the open air, wrapped up in blankets, and suffering great inconvenience from the continual rains.

Upon their arrival at the first Senneka town, the appearance of a white man was so uncommon a sight to the inhabitants, that one of them immediately set out on horseback,

to announce this to the Chief of the next town, near thirty miles off. Brother Zeisberger therefore expected an unusual reception, and indeed upon his arrival he was met and accosted by the Chief in a very rough manner. His mild behavior however had so much influence upon the Chief's mind, that he conducted him to his own house and invited him to eat. After dinner a conversation of near two hours took place, in which the Chief expressed his astonishment at the missionary's undertaking so considerable a journey, which no white person had ever done before, and desired him fully to explain his views. Brother Zeisberger seized this favorable opportunity to declare the Gospel unto him. The Chief then with great warmth asserted that this word of God was not intended for the Indians. Among other remarks; he made the following: "If this be true, that the Creator of heaven and earth came into the world, became a man, and suffered so much, I assure you, that the Indians are not in fault, but the white people alone. To them God has given the Bible: but as for the Indians, they are a different creation. To them he has given the beasts of the forest for food, and their employ is to hunt them. They know nothing of the Bible, nor can they learn its contents: these are much too difficult for Indians to comprehend." The missionary answered this and other similar objections with such energy, that he was at length satisfied; became very friendly, and confessed, that he had at first taken Brother Zeisberger for a spy, sent by the white people, and that this was the cause of his first rough address. But being now convinced of the sincerity of his views, he would not prevent his proceeding to Gofchgoschuenk, but would only give him a serious caution, not to trust the inhabitants of that place, who had not their equals in wickedness and thirst for blood. Brother Zeisberger answered: "That if they were really so wicked a people as described, then they stood so much the more in need of the Gospel of their Redeemer, but that at all events, he did not fear them, as they could not injure him in the least,

“without the permission of that God, whom he served.” After this he reached with his companions another town of the Senneka Indians, just as they were celebrating a great feast. Here he was obliged to stay and partake of two sumptuous meals, lest they should imagine, that he despised the Indians. He found no opportunity of preaching the Gospel, but prayed the more fervently to the Lord, that He would soon open the eyes of these blind heathen, and grant them to experience a true joy in God their Savior. October 16th, our travellers arrived at Gofchgoschuenk; where, to their great surprize, they were well received and lodged in the house of one of John Papunhank’s relations.

Gofchgoschuenk, a town of the Delawares, consisted of three villages, lying on the banks of the Ohio. The missionary lodged in the middle village, and soon after his arrival, sent his two companions to request of the inhabitants, that they, with their neighbors in the two other villages, would assemble, and hear the “great words” he had to tell them. He was much pleased to find here several persons, who knew him from his first visit at Machwihilufing in 1763, where they had heard him preach. These people also remembered the outward order, observed in the Brethren’s meetings, and now of their own accord, persuaded the men to place themselves on one side, and the women on the other. The missionary then informed them, that the only aim of his coming was, to bring to them also, the great good tidings, by which they might be brought from darkness into light, and obtain communion with God and a full enjoyment of eternal happiness through faith in Jesus Christ. According to his own account, he felt great cheerfulness in preaching the Gospel for the first time in this wild country, being strengthened in spirit, boldly to declare, that life and salvation is to be found only in the death of our crucified Savior. The Indians, who hear the Gospel for the first time, frequently feel a powerful emotion of heart raised by a subject so new; but as the words and expressions made use of, are partly at first unintelligible to them, they always beg for frequent

frequent repetitions, and thus Anthony and John Papunhank were engaged, till past midnight, in explaining and repeating "the great words" uttered by Brother Zeisberger. This gave them also an opportunity to bear a powerful testimony against all heathenish customs, superstition and infidelity, their own behavior proving the power of the blood of Christ, to deliver us from sin.

The whole town of Gofchgoschuenk seemed to rejoice at the novelty of this visit. Many, according to the missionary's account, could never hear enough of this great truth, that Christ came into the world to save sinners. They exclaimed frequently during the discourse, "Yes, that is certainly true; that is the only way to happiness!" A blind Chief, called Allemewi, was more powerfully awakened, as also a woman, said to be 120 years old, who, at her request, was carried from the lower to the middle village, to hear the good words of her Creator and Redeemer before she died.

Brother Zeisberger found however that the description given him of the people of Gofchgoschuenk, by the above-mentioned Senneka Chief, was, alas, too true. He had never yet seen the abominations of heathenism practised to such a degree. In his report he makes use of these words: "Satan has here great power: he even seems to have established his throne in this place, and to be adored by the heathen; working uncontrouled in the children of disobedience." But he was grieved above measure at the abuse of the holy name of God, in the midst of their most shameful and diabolical superstitions. This proceeded from the Indian preachers, described in the First Part of this work, who spoke much of God, and declared, that their most execrable heathenish practices were all done to his glory, and even at his command.

A preacher of this description, called Wangomen, was just then in Gofchgoschuenk, who frequently told the people, in his public orations, that he was at home in the side of God; walking in and out, so safe and sure, that neither

ſin nor ſatan could hurt him in the leaſt : but as to the God, whom the miſſionary preached, and who became a man and died on the croſs for us, he knew nothing of him, neither did he acknowledge him to be the true God. The viſit of Brother Zeiſberger was of courſe very diſagreeable to this man. Yet he was always preſent at the meeting, behaving quietly and with attention, and frequently converſed with the miſſionary and his companions. It even appeared as if their teſtimony of the truth had wrought ſome conviction within him, and made him rather leſs confident in his endeavors to oppoſe the Goſpel by his preaching. However this proved ſoon to be otherwiſe, for when Brother Zeiſberger, before his return, aſſembled all the men and aſked them, whether they wiſhed theſe viſits to be repeated, and they unaniſmouſly declared their aſſent, Wangomen alone was ſilent; and the reſt inſiſting that he ſhould declare his mind, he began a public diſpute, and by drawing a figure upon the ground, endeavored to explain, that two ways led to happineſs, the way of the Indians being ſtraight, and leading more immediately to God, than that of the white people. The miſſionary fought with meekneſs to convince him of his error; but Wangomen became bolder, declaring, that though he had been intimately acquainted with God theſe many years, and enjoyed a familiar intercourſe with him, he had never known that God had become a man, and ſhed his blood; that therefore the God whom Brother Zeiſberger preached could not be the true God, for otherwiſe he ſhould have been acquainted with this circumſtance. The miſſionary then declared, in the power of the Spirit, that the god whom he, Wangomen, preached to the Indians, and whoſe ſervant he was, was no other than the devil, the father of lies. Upon this Wangomen answered in a more moderate tone: “ I cannot underſtand your doctrine, it is quite new and ſtrange to me.” Brother Zeiſberger replied: “ I will tell you the reaſon of it: Satan is the prince of darkneſs; where he reigns, all is dark, and he dwells in you: therefore you are ſo dark, that you can comprehend nothing of God and  
“ his

“his word. But when you return, and come as a wretched and lost sinner to Jesus Christ our Savior, calling on him for mercy; then it may be, that he will have mercy upon you and deliver you from the power of Satan. Then, and not before, you will begin to understand something of God and his word; but now you cannot comprehend it. It is not yet too late: the Lord grants you time to repent, and if you turn to him, you may yet be saved. Do not delay, make haste, and save your poor soul.” After this spirited address, flowing from a heart, filled with love to the poor man, Wangomen seemed struck with awe, and confessing his misery and ignorance, joined the rest in requesting another visit. The Indians even met in council, Wangomen being present, resolved to beg the Brethren to send a missionary to reside among them, and committed their request to Brother Zeisberger. Having delivered several discourses to them, which were attended by an extraordinary display of the power and grace of God, many tears being shed by his heathen audience, he closed this visit, with praise and thanksgiving to God for his mighty deliverance, and set out on his return. Having with his companions borne much fatigue, famine, and bad weather with great cheerfulness, they arrived at Friedensshuetten on the 5th of November. The report made of his journey caused universal rejoicing in that congregation, and he soon after set out for Bethlehem to give an account of the situation of affairs on the Ohio.

In February 1768 Friedensshuetten was again disturbed, intelligence having been received, that a white man had murdered ten Indians near Shomokin, four men, four women, and two children. Our Indians were exceedingly alarmed, fearing that the Indian nations would soon join to revenge this horrid act of cruelty. They were greatly concerned for the safety of their teachers, who, as white people, are considered as outlaws, and in danger of being sacrificed to the fury of the enraged savages; for the latter never inquire in such cases, whether any one be innocent or guilty, but if

he have a white skin, they look upon that as a sufficient reason to take his life, to revenge any murder committed by the white people upon an Indian. Our Indians therefore resolved never to suffer the missionaries to be left alone, but to keep strict watch about their persons. In the mean time, this dreadful event was mentioned both to Government and to General Johnson. The former immediately issued two proclamations, offering a reward of 200l. for the apprehending of the murderer of the ten Indians, promising to punish him with death, and sent this declaration with two strings of wampom to all the Indians, living on the Susquehannah, desiring, that they would not break the peace. The same message was sent to Friedenshuetten, and at the express desire of the governor of Pennsylvania communicated to the Indians in public assembly, and then sent forward to other towns. Soon after a special message was sent to our Indians by Sir William Johnson, desiring that if they knew any of the relations of those persons, murdered near Shomokin, they would send them to him, that he might dry up their tears, comfort their afflicted hearts, and satisfy them respecting all their grievances. The General also invited the Chiefs of the Iroquois and other Indian nations, living on the Susquehannah and the Ohio, to an amicable convention. Friedenshuetten was likewise called upon to send delegates, and several neighboring Chiefs insisted upon it. But our Indians had no inclination to go, not wishing to interfere with any political affairs, and knowing from experience that these journies and negotiations were attended with more harm than good to the souls of the delegates. They therefore gave the Cajugu Chief full commission to appear and treat with the rest in their name. But their adversaries seized this occasion, to molest and perplex the believing Indians, pretending that General Johnson and the whole assembly of Chiefs had resolved to consider them as enemies, for having refused to send delegates, and to destroy them and their settlement. Improbable as this appeared, great uneasiness was occasioned in Friedenshuetten; and the missionary,

missionary, Brother Schmick, was hardly able to pacify the minds of the people. At length their fears were removed, certain intelligence being received, that, far from being disaffected towards them, the General publicly praised their conduct, and expressed a wish that many such Indian towns as Friedenshuetten might be established in the country. The Chiefs of the Iroquois expressed likewise great regard for this settlement.

Peace and friendship being thus re-established between the English and Indians, through the benevolent exertions of General Johnson, and the Iroquois having settled their disputes with the Cherokees, all fear of an Indian war vanished, and the minds of the people were set at rest. The so-called king of the Cherokees was led in solemn pomp through the whole country of the Iroquois, accompanied by the Oneida Chief, and every where received as a friend. They also came to Friedenshuetten, and the Oneida Chief availed himself of this occasion to declare the great joy which he and the whole council at Onondago felt, when they considered, that the Indians here learned to know God, and had teachers residing among them, to instruct them in His ways; exhorting our Indians, never to depart from them, but to remain firm and faithful. In confirmation of this, he delivered a string of wampom, and the Indians, by another string, declared in reply, that it was their chief desire, to grow daily in the knowledge and love of God their Creator and Redeemer, adding their fervent wish, that all the Indian nations might become acquainted with their God and Savior: for then peace and benevolence would infallibly reign among them.

The joy felt by the Indians at the restoration of peace was somewhat lessened by an unexpected account, received at this time, that the Iroquois had sold ail the country eastward of the Ohio, in which Friedenshuetten was included, to the English. They justly apprehended, that this would give rise to new troubles, nor were they mistaken.

In the mean time the Indians at Gofchgoschuenk on the Ohio were persuaded by an Indian preacher, living about a day's journey from that place, to send a message to Friedenshuetten. This man hearing of Brother Zeisberger's visit last year, and inquiring minutely into his doctrine, without being able to gain satisfactory information concerning it, expressed great concern on that account, adding, that though he was a preacher himself, yet he perceived that his doctrine was not true; that he had heard many other preachers, who likewise did not preach the truth; that this had been revealed to him in a dream, in which somebody appeared, and told him, that they were all false teachers. This made him eager to hear the doctrine of the Brethren, because it might perhaps point out the true way to God. The messengers therefore earnestly desired, that a missionary might visit them again; or rather, according to their former request, come and live at Gofchgoschuenk.

During this period a resolution had been taken in Bethlehem, that Brother Zeisberger should go again to Gofchgoschuenk, take Brother Gottlob Senseman from Bethlehem, and some Indian families from Friedenshuetten with him, stay there some time and endeavor to establish a regular mission. He and Brother Senseman left Bethlehem in April 1768, and Brother John Ettwein (afterwards consecrated a bishop of the Church of the United Brethren) accompanied them to Friedenshuetten. Here they found the above-mentioned messengers from Gofchgoschuenk, who immediately set out with the joyful news, that the Brethren were on the road, and would settle in that place. May 9th, they proceeded with the three Indian Brethren, Anthony, Abraham, and Peter, with their families, partly by water down the rivers Susquehannah, Tiaogu, and Ohio, and partly by land across the country. But they soon discovered their error in not having previously informed the Iroquois of this journey, and obtained their consent. Near Tiaogu, a party of twenty captains came up with them, and endeavored by a belt of wampom, in the name of the Iroquois, to prohibit their

their proceeding to the Ohio, and to compel them to return. But Brother Zeisberger boldly refused to comply, and having informed them of the aim of their journey and returned their belt, he assured them, that every step should be taken to fulfil their duty to the Iroquois, with which the captains at last seemed satisfied. The Cajugu Chief sent likewise a message to Friedenshuetten, to inquire into this business; but soon after, on visiting that settlement, was pacified by the missionaries, who owned their omission, and asked his pardon. Our travellers proceeded now with good courage. Those who went by land, were obliged to pass through many fires in the forest, which rendered the air extremely hot, and filled it with smoke and suffocating exhalations. They lost several nights rest, by the dreadful howlings, and even bold attacks of the wolves, who sometimes ventured so near their fires, that they were obliged to drive them away by pelting them with firebrands. In general all went well, and after a journey of five weeks, they arrived, June 9th, at Gofchgoschuenk, the inhabitants having sent a boat, laden with provisions, up the Ohio to meet them. The joy on their arrival seemed general, and they were not a little surprized, when they were lodged in the house of the above-mentioned preacher Wangomen, which was large and roomy; he having retired with his family into another, merely to accommodate his guests.

Brother Zeisberger did not neglect, immediately upon his arrival here, to send a message to the Cajugu Chief to inform him of the purpose of his journey; and Chief Allemewi sent also the following message to the Senneka Chief, residing at Zoneschio, to whom the country in which Gofchgoschuenk lay, belonged: "Uncle! this is to acquaint you, that some of our friends and two white Brethren are arrived with us, whom we invited to tell us the great words of our God and Creator. You have often sent messages to us, admonishing us to lead a good life, and to follow after virtue. This we have not yet done. But now we have resolved to change our lives, and to banish far from  
" us

“ us all heathenish customs; such as feasts, dancing, and  
 “ drunkenness; and our Brethren, who are now with us,  
 “ shall instruct us in the word of God.”

This indeed was the chief employment of the Brethren. Brother Zeisberger preached every day, held morning and evening meetings, and sung hymns in the Delaware language, which his new audience had never before heard. All these meetings were attended by great numbers, and it was curious to see so many assembled to hear the Gospel, with faces painted black and vermilion, and heads decorated with clusters of feathers and fox tails, which were much in use among the young people. They were very eager and apparently glad to hear the word of reconciliation, and the power of God attending it, enlivened and comforted the missionary.

The Brethren now resolved to build a blockhouse for themselves, that they might preach the Gospel more uninterruptedly. They chose for this purpose a convenient spot, at a small distance from the town, and completed the work in a short time, being assisted by the inhabitants and even by the young people. They also planted Indian corn, having received land ready cleared from the inhabitants, who also helped them in planting. The believing Indians, the two above-mentioned messengers sent to Friedenshuetten, and some families from Gofchgoschuenk, erected their huts around the missionary's house, thus forming a small village separated from the town. To this a great number resorted, and there the Brethren ceased not, by day and night, to teach and preach Jesus, and that God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself.

They also found here, that the natural man is not willing to acknowledge himself as wretched as he really is, and nothing was more difficult, than to convince these Indians, that unbelief in Jesus Christ is the greatest sin. One of them assured the missionary very seriously, that the greatest crime he had ever committed, was his having stolen two sheep and an hen from the white people.

The Gospel having been preached for some time with great power, a violent opposition succeeded, which was chiefly occasioned by the malice of the captains, as was afterwards discovered by Chief Allemewi. These people pretended to possess a certain mysterious art, by which they could kill any man in a manner unperceived, poison springs and rivers, and spread sickness throughout whole villages. They feared that if any of their party were converted, their secret would be disclosed, and thus the whole class of captains be in danger of losing their lives, by the just revenge of the populace. Upon their secret instigation therefore, a number of active adversaries made their appearance, when least expected. The greatest enemies of the missionaries were the old women, who went about, publicly complaining, that the Indian corn was blasted or devoured by worms; that the deer and other game began to retire from the woods; that no chestnuts and bilberries would grow any more, merely because Brother Zeisberger preached a strange doctrine, and the Indians began to alter their manner of living and to believe on God. One in particular, who was unusually enraged against him and his doctrine, protested with vehemence, that whoever went to his meetings and believed his words, would be tempted and tormented by Satan, and that therefore all men should carefully avoid the company of the white teacher. The force-rers appointed sacrifices to appease the wrath of those spirits, who were offended by the presence of the Brethren, and offered hogs by way of atonement. An Indian, who had been baptized in New England, raised scruples in the minds of the hearers, by insinuating, that the white people enslaved all the baptized Indians, as he had experienced in New England and Friedenshuetten. Others spread a report, that some New England Indians had been on the other side of the great ocean, and brought a letter from the King of England to all the Indians in North America, cautioning them, against following or believing the Brethren living at Bethlehem, for that they would lead them straight to Hell.

Others

Others endeavored to terrify the people, by asserting, that as soon as the Brethren had gained sufficient power, and the baptized Indians were superior in number, they would kill all the unbaptized. Soon after, five Indians of the Senneka tribe, who were remarkably wild, dissembling, superstitious, and averse to the Gospel, came to Gofchgoschuenk, one of whom, being a Chief, declared his great displeasure, that the people had suffered white people to settle amongst them. The Chief in Zoneschio was likewise much enraged, and violently opposed the Brethren's dwelling in Gofchgoschuenk; suspecting, that other white people would soon follow, build a fort, and take possession of the country. He sent therefore the following messages as far as the land of the Shawanose: " Cousins! I perceive that a man in a black coat, that is, a preacher, is come to you. This man will seduce you, and if you attend to him, he will make you forsake your old customs and manner of living. I advise you not to attend to him, but to send him away. If you do not follow my advice, you may possibly find him some day lying dead by the way-side." Many secret messages arrived successively from the Iroquois, and it was afterwards discovered, that their import tended alone, to raise suspicions in the minds of the inhabitants against the missionaries, and to urge them either to banish or kill them. These messages had such an effect upon the minds of the people, that the whole town seemed in confusion, and it was providential, that Chief Allemewi remained a friend and a firm defender of the Gospel. A forcerer was likewise sent from Gekelemukpechuenk, where heathenism and every abomination bore the sway, and every one was in danger of his life, who dared to open his mouth concerning God and his word. This man was commissioned to confound Brother Zeiberger in the presence of all the people, but his aim being frustrated, he retired with shame. An heathen preacher, living at a great distance from Gofchgoschuenk, sent a belt of wampom to Chief Allemewi, threatening that next summer the sun should stand perpendicularly over his head, and  
burn

burn and destroy all the Indian corn in the land. As these messages were soon noised abroad, the adversaries became daily more outrageous, and sometimes so much disturbed the house of the missionary, that he was obliged to desist from preaching.

Wangomen, who had hitherto been a silent hearer, and behaved with great kindness to the Brethren, now threw off the mask, going from house to house, and prohibiting the inhabitants of Gofchgoschuenk to attend the meetings of the baptized. Several, fearing the reproach of men, stayed away, or came only by night to escape observation. Others stood without, hearing in secret, to take, as it were, the word of God by stealth. Young people were forbidden by their parents to visit the missionaries, and parents would willingly have come; but were prevented by their children. Those who went boldly to the meetings, were abused, and persecuted in various ways. Some were even driven from their own houses, and took refuge among the Brethren, through whose intercession, they were received and protected by Chief Allemewi in his own dwelling. Here the words of our Savior were literally fulfilled: "*I am come to set a man at variance against his father, and the daughter against her mother, and the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law, and a man's foes shall be they of his own household.*" Matt. x. 35, 36. The missionaries, to use their own expression, seemed to live in a close and pernicious atmosphere; for they saw themselves encompassed with bitter enemies, who wished daily to take away their lives. Even many of those, who had shown the greatest joy upon their arrival, were so far changed, that they were ready to stone them. Some advised openly, to kill the white people. Others demanded, that not only the missionaries, but all the baptized Indians, should be murdered and thrown into the Ohio; and the friends of the Brethren were afraid of being murdered in the night. Two Indians even entered into a covenant to kill the missionary. One evening several disagreeable visitors made their appearance, at a late hour, with an intent to murder them,

but had not the courage to execute their bloody deſign. The Brethren therefore thought themſelves no longer ſafe, when alone in their houſe, but always kept ſome of the baptized Indians with them, as a guard; and even theſe durſt not venture twenty or thirty yards from their own houſes, without being armed with an hatchet or gun, to keep off malicious people.

Notwithſtanding theſe troubles, the Brethren were reſolved not to quit their poſt, but built a ſmall winter houſe, as a place of retirement, their large houſe being ſeldom free from viſitors, where they might have an opportunity of adminiſtering the Lord's Supper to their Indian Brethren, and keep other meetings with them. The miſſionary never omitted preaching the Goſpel at the uſual time, being firmly reſolved, in ſpite of the rage of Satan, to preach the word of life, in humility and meekneſs, relying upon the Lord for ſafety and defence; and to the praiſe of his holy name it muſt be owned, that at this trying juncture both he and Brother Senſeman were ſo peculiarly ſtrengthened in faith, that no trials could conquer their confidence. The greateſt harmony ſubſiſted between them and the believing Indians, and they mutually exhorted each other to poſſeſs their ſouls in patience, and in the miſt of danger and perfecution to prove by their walk and converſation, what ſpirit they were of.

During theſe troubles the Brethren were greatly encouraged by an unexpected viſit from an Indian woman, who with many tears deſcribed the divine effect produced in her by the word of God, and how ſhe had obtained grace to believe, that Jeſus Chriſt was her God and Savior. The above-mentioned blind Chief Allemewi experienced likewiſe the power of the Goſpel in a particular manner, and he now publicly declared that he intended to believe on Jeſus and to live unto him. Thus the Brethren ſaw that their labor was not in vain in the Lord, and covenanted anew, to ſuffer all things, yea death itſelf, for the ſake of Jeſus and his Goſpel.

It is worthy of remark, that at that very time, when they were daily threatened with death, their ſerious remonſtrances had

had however so good an effect on the greater part of the inhabitants, that the rum trade, which had formerly been carried on to a great extent at Gofchgoschuenk, was entirely abandoned, and neither Indians nor white people were suffered to bring rum into the town. Had this regulation not taken place, the Brethren would have found it impossible to remain there any longer.

The inhabitants of Gofchgoschuenk were at length divided into two parties, one of which opposed the Gospel with all their might, and the other was so much attached to it, as to declare, that they would rather quit Gofchgoschuenk, and build a town in some other place, than be deprived of it. Light and darkness began now to separate from each other. Those who looked for a Savior, dismissed their fears, and attended the meetings publicly and diligently, not suffering the severe weather to prevent them. For this they were exceedingly hated by the opposite party, who called them, *Sunday Indians* or *Shwonnaks*, that is, white people, the most opprobrious name they could invent.

In October 1768, the Brethren Zeisberger and Senseman made a journey of three weeks to the Chief of the Sennekas in Zoneshio, an enemy to the Gospel, to give him and his council a just idea of their dwelling and preaching among the Indians on the Ohio. Chief Allemewi, the head of that part of the inhabitants of Gofchgoschuenk, who favored the Gospel, sent two deputies to accompany them, with the following message: "Uncle! I would let  
" you know, that I have joyfully received the good word of  
" God, brought to me and my people by the Brethren,  
" whom you now see before you. I love to hear this precious word of God every day, for it is not enough to hear  
" it once or twice; but I must be daily instructed in it.  
" Gofchgoschuenk however is not a proper place for it; I  
" therefore beg and intreat you, uncle, to take us up, and  
" place us on the Onenge or Venango rivers, where there  
" is convenience and room to build a town and to make  
" plantations, that we may live alone unmolested by savages  
" and

“ and infidels, and be able to receive all thoſe, who in future  
 “ may wiſh to hear and believe the Goſpel.”

Allemewi ſent alſo meſſengers, with the ſame words, to Pakanke, Chief of the Delawares, and to King Beaver, who lived further weſt. Theſe meſſages were every-where well received, even in Zoneſchio, and the propoſal of the Indians to remove from Goſchgoſchuenk to the Venango, as alſo their reſolution to believe in God, was much commended. They were moreover exhorted, to follow and be obedient to the Brethren. But this being merely the opinion of the council in Zoneſchio, the unfriendly Chief, whoſe aſſent was indiſpenſably neceſſary, being abſent, the affair remained undetermined, and the tedious and dangerous journey of the Brethren proved in vain.

### CHAPTER III.

1769. 1770.

*Beginning of the Miſſion at Tſchechſchequannink. Pleaſing Courſe of the Congregation at Friedenſhuetten. Some outward Trouble and Diſtreſs. The Miſſionaries are obliged to retire from Goſchgoſchuenk. Building of Lawunakhanek on the Ohio. Brother Zeisberger's Journey to Pittsburg. Firſt Baptiſm of Indians on the Ohio. Various Accounts. Lawunakhanek is deſerted. Building of Friedenſtadt on the Beaver Creek. Hopeful State of the Miſſion in that Place.*

**A**MONG the various places which were viſited by the Brethren of Friedenſhuetten, was a town about thirty miles higher up the Suſquehannah, called Tſchechſchequannink, in which a great awakening took place. This was

occasioned by the account given by those who had been at Friedenshuetten, and related with energy what they had seen and heard. At the repeated request of all the inhabitants, the Brethren resolved to send a missionary to reside among them, and Brother John Rothe was appointed to this post. They however thought it prudent, first to send deputies to the Cajugu Chief, and through him to petition the great council at Onondago, to permit a Brother to live among them as a teacher. This being done accordingly, leave was granted without any difficulty, the Cajugu Chief adding, that now he should frequently go to Tſchechſchequannink, to hear the "great word;" being convinced, that that was the right way to come to God and learn to know him.

February 4th, 1769, Brother Rothe moved thither, and preached the day following to all the inhabitants, who were eager to hear. At their request he regulated morning and evening service, which was numerously attended. The proofs of the grace and power of Jesus Christ, prevailing in these meetings, encouraged him boldly to preach repentance and forgiveness of sins in his name. Those who came with their faces painted and their caps adorned with tinkling bells, were, in a friendly manner, desired by their own countrymen first to wash their faces and take off their bells. In March two Indian assistants went thither from Friedenshuetten, to assist the missionary in the instruction of the people, by their edifying walk and conversation. Thus Tſchechſchequannink became as it were a chapel of ease to Friedenshuetten, and as Brother Rothe was not yet ordained, he always went thither with his people to receive the Holy Communion or to attend baptismal transactions.

About half a mile from Tſchechſchequannink the savages used at stated times to keep their feasts of sacrifice. On these occasions they roved about in the neighborhood, like so many evil spirits, making such hideous noises and bellowings, that the air resounded far and near; but they never approached near enough to molest the inhabitants of Tſchechſchequannink, where the preaching of the Gospel continued unin-

interrupted, and the power of the Spirit of God was made manifest to the hearers. A white man, being present at a meeting, and seeing the Indians moved to tears by the words of the Scripture, said to Brother Rothe, "I am baptized, and call myself a Christian, but my heart is far from being touched by the Gospel." Concerning this emotion, which even caused the wildest savages to shed tears, an Indian thus expressed himself: "Whenever I saw a man shed tears, I used to doubt his being a man. I would not have wept, if my enemies had even cut the flesh from my bones, so hard was my heart at that time; that I now weep, is of God, who has softened the hardness of my heart." Brother Rothe had the pleasure to see many similar proofs of the power of the word of God, and it appeared for some time, as if all the people in the town and neighborhood of Tſchechſchequannink would turn to the Lord. Some time after an enmity against the Gospel began to show itself. Some said openly, "We cannot live, according to the precepts of the Brethren; if God had intended us to live like them, we should certainly have been born amongst them." A division likewise arose between the Chiefs of the town and the neighboring country, one of whom, called James Davis, became a follower of the Gospel, and on that account was persecuted and reviled by the rest. The forcerers threatened, that first his cattle, then he himself, and soon after the missionary should die. Others were persecuted in the same manner, both by the heathen Chiefs, the forcerers, and by their nearest relations.

These troubles however were not able to hinder the progress of the Gospel in Tſchechſchequannink, and on the 18th of May, Brother Rothe had the joy to see the Chief, James Davis, baptized in Friedenshuetten, being the first fruits of Tſchechſchequannink. Others were soon partakers of the same grace, and their chearful countenances and godly walk fully proved the true conversion of their hearts. The baptized conversed of their own accord with the heathen visitors, concerning the power of the Gospel, and frequently

made an abiding impression upon them by their energetic and experimental declarations. A strange Indian expressing his desire to believe in Jesus, Samuel exhorted him to consider well what he said; adding, "A man must know what he is about, and whether he intends to devote himself to the Lord for life; or he may become seven times worse than he was before."—"Yes, indeed," replied the heathen, "the devil is very strong."—"But our Savior," returned Samuel, "is much stronger."

The glorious work of God in Friedenshuetten, flourished uninterruptedly throughout the year 1769. The believers grew evidently in the grace and knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ, and a great many of the heathen visitors were awakened from the sleep of sin. Several of these had been robbers and murderers; who now appeared hungry and thirsty after grace in the blood of Jesus, and by their unaffected declarations gave the missionaries inexpressible satisfaction. One being asked, by Brother Schmick, why he wept so much, and what he wished for? answered, "Alas! I wish to obtain life eternal; my sinful heart longs for our Savior and his cleansing blood. You know, that I have often told you my desire, but to-day I have felt such an eager longing after our Savior in all the meetings, that I know not what to do, for the uneasiness of my heart. I cry continually, 'Lord have mercy upon me! remember even me, a wretched sinner, forgive me all my sins, and wash me in thy blood: take my heart, bad as it is, my soul and body, and save me.'" Another spent almost two whole nights in tears. The missionary inquiring into the cause of it, he answered: "Well may I weep, when I do not feel our Savior and the power of his blood in my heart! for without this, I am a lost and undone creature; I wish to be saved, and to believe in and love Jesus. I considered what might hinder me. Is it my wife," said I, "or any thing else that is in the way? My heart told me, It is not my wife; if I had no wife, I should be contriving to get one. It must be something else. It is my own bad heart!"

When such poor and needy sinners, weeping for mercy, were afterwards absolved in the name of Jesus, and baptized, *their* joy, and that of the congregation, was inexpressibly great. A venerable old man, ninety years of age, was baptized, fell ill, died, and was buried within five days, the whole congregation praising God that he had lived to receive mercy in his old age, and to depart as a reconciled sinner, in so edifying a manner. Indeed the great difference between the baptized and the heathen was never more striking than on their death-beds.

As to outward matters, the course of the congregation at Friedenshuetten was very edifying. The missionaries rejoiced particularly to see industry, diligence, a desire to learn, and a benevolent behavior towards strangers, become universal. A Chief residing on the Ohio, having heard many good and evil reports concerning Friedenshuetten, came purposely to see the Christian Indians, and to inform himself of the truth. He afterwards said: "I had heard, that when "strange Indians come to you, you pay no regard to them, "and that you are a disdainful set of people. But now I "am convinced that this is a falsehood, and therefore I will "not believe any evil report of this place."

Whenever any Chiefs came to Friedenshuetten, the missionary, Schmick, used to invite them to dinner, especially the Chiefs of the Iroquois; and being unaccustomed to such hospitable treatment from the generality of the white people, it made a good impression upon their minds, and was of great service to our Indians by removing misapprehensions; and giving the missionaries an opportunity of conversing familiarly with the Chiefs, and of hearing and answering their scruples and remarks. They were very attentive even to the smallest circumstances; for instance, their measuring the fields geometrically made some suspicious, who looked upon this as a mysterious contrivance to secure the land as their own property. The missionary's house and the church being shown to them, some paintings representing the nativity, the passion on mount Olivet, and the crucifixion, engaged their  
attention,

attention, and gave the missionaries an opportunity briefly to relate to them the history of our Lord, which produced in some a salutary thoughtfulness. Many became friends and defenders of the Brethren, and were reviled for it. Thus a Chief of the Nantikok tribe, a prudent and sensible Indian, being convinced of the truth of the Gospel, and behaving well to the Brethren, was deprived of his office by his own people, but the Chief in Onondago reinstated him with honor. Soon after this he payed a visit in Friedenshuetten, and said: "My people have indeed taken away my belts and strings of wampom; but they were obliged to leave me that understanding, which God has given me; and I may still make use of it, as I please, to do good."

The Brethren now learned with certainty from the Chiefs, that the Iroquois had even sold that spot of ground to the English which they gave to our Indians in the year 1765. They therefore thought proper to send some deputies from Friedenshuetten to Philadelphia, to obtain a new grant of this land from the Governor of Pennsylvania. His Excellency received them and the petition of the Indians very kindly, and returned them an answer in writing, in which he promised, that, as a quiet and peaceable people, they should not be disturbed in their possessions, and that he had ordered the surveyors not to take up any land within five miles of Friedenshuetten. They therefore should consider all reports, of taking away their land, to be without foundation, and if any dared to molest them, he would protect and grant them satisfaction. But he also expected, that they would behave as they had done hitherto, and not join those, who raised disturbances in the country. He sent the same favorable message to the converted Indians in Tschetchschequannink. However, the confusion and troubles which the missionaries had reason to fear, could not be prevented. Before they were aware, one or another European came, pretending that the governor had either sold or given the land, upon which our Indians lived, to them, and contrary to the orders of the governor, the surveyors came to mea-

ſure the land, and were with difficulty convinced of their error.

Towards autumn our Indians began to feel ſome outward diſtreſs. Their proviſions were at an end; and the little they had left, was conſumed by viſitors and travellers. It was very affecting to ſee families of five or ſix children without food, obliged to go ten or more miles from home in queſt of bilberries. Happily no one periſhed with hunger, nor did any one lack his daily bread. They frequently experienced that the Lord liveth, and graciously provides for his people in every time of need: the barrel of meal waſted not; neither did the cruſe of oil fail. 1 Kings, xvii. 14.

The Brethren, who had preached the Goſpel in Gofchgoſchuenk had in the year 1769 reaſon both for joy and ſorrow. Six families and three widows remained firm, deſiring to know Jeſus Chriſt, and neither contempt nor perſecution could ſhake them. Many ſavages alſo became concerned for their ſalvation, and took refuge among the Brethren. One of them was not content to ſtay all day, but remained till midnight, relating his courſe of life; what trouble he had taken to attain happineſs, ſtrictly following Wangomen's preſcriptions, offering many ſacrifices, and paying him twelve fathoms of wampom; but all in vain. He therefore deſired to know the true way to God, for he wiſhed to be ſaved. Such ſouls the Brethren received with particular kindneſs, pointing out to them Jeſus Chriſt as the only way, being ſhort, plain, and eaſy to find, as ſoon as a ſoul is truly deſirous to obtain forgiveneſs of ſin and to forſake the ſervice of Satan. In February they conſidered four perſons as candidates for baptiſm.

The powers of darkneſs however ſoon exerted themſelves with renewed force againſt this growing miſſion. Wangomen, who had been ſome time abſent on his travels, related on his return with great boldneſs, that ſome white people from Virginia having been in Gekelemukpechuenk, and heard the Indian preachers with conviction, confeſſed with tears, that the Indians had the true doctrine, and that

that they would adhere to their faith: for nothing would grow in Virginia, and the famine they suffered was a sign of the wrath of God, because they had not the true faith. These Virginians therefore resolved to be converted next spring to the Indian doctrine. "And now, my friends," exclaimed Wangomen, "you see plainly that we have the true faith; for even the white people themselves intend to adopt it; why will ye therefore go to the white Brethren, and hear and believe them?" Wangomen appointed likewise many feasts of sacrifice, to keep the people from attending the meetings of the missionary. His party began now to rave in a very furious manner, and to commit the most heathenish abominations, even in the presence of the Brethren. At length the rum trade was forcibly introduced, against all the repeated remonstrances of the missionary, the Indian assistants, and Chief Allemewi. This the Brethren and the believing Indians considered as a sign, given by the Lord himself, that they should stay no longer in Gofchgoschuenk, and therefore they began to build boats for their departure.

As they were thus employed, a Senneka Chief came with two other Chiefs to Gofchgoschuenk, and prohibited the missionary, by a black belt of wampom, which always signifies some evil intention, to leave the town, till further orders were received from Onondago. By another string he laid a strict injunction upon all the inhabitants, to refrain from going to hear Brother Zeisberger's sermons, assuring them, that God would be displeased, if they should forsake their antient customs and practices and follow the white people.

Upon this occasion Brother Zeisberger stepping boldly forward, withstood the Chief with great confidence, and took occasion to bear a powerful testimony of the love of God revealed unto man in Christ Jesus our Lord, before the whole assembly. After this, he and Chief Allemewi proceeded to give an answer to the above-mentioned black string, and they both declared with firmness, that if they were not

permitted to go to Venango, they should however certainly quit Goschgoschuenk, and retire fifteen miles further, to a place called Lawunakhannek, situated on the opposite bank of the Ohio.

This they soon after accomplished, and chusing a suitable place in the wilderness, they built a new settlement, where they and the converted Indians might live, with those of the people of Goschgoschuenk, who were awakened, and desired to hear the Gospel without molestation. Their view was not to establish a regular mission-settlement in this place, but only to dwell here for a time, until the present affairs of the Indian mission in general should be more clearly settled.

April 7th, the missionaries and all the converted Indians left Goschgoschuenk, filled with thanks and praises to God for having miraculously preserved them thus far, even in the midst of their enemies. They were accompanied by Alle-mewi and all those who were concerned about their eternal salvation, and assembled that very evening in their new dwelling-place to praise and magnify the name of the Lord, who guideth and protecteth his people in all places by his mighty arm.

Wangomen now gained great ascendancy in Goschgoschuenk, meeting with no resistance. His joy soon got the better of his prudence; he frequently preached in a state of intoxication, and behaved so shamefully, that his hearers were obliged to seize and bind him; and at last became ashamed of their teacher. Yet their enmity to the Brethren continued, and they endeavored to molest them even in Lawunakhannek, inventing threats as coming from the neighboring Chiefs, and omitting no opportunity of showing their animosity. A woman, who had followed the Brethren to Lawunakhannek, went to Goschgoschuenk to buy Indian corn. The person to whom she applied refused to serve her, saying: "I will not sell a grain to the Lawunakhannek people; for you say that whoever believes in God, is happy; but I say, that I am happy, when I have Indian corn  
" enough.

“ enough. You may therefore keep to your faith, worship  
“ God and suffer hunger; I will continue in my old way, wor-  
“ ship Indian corn and eat my fill.”

Meanwhile Brother Zeisberger persevered in preaching the Gospel, and his Indian assistants, Anthony and Abraham, were his faithful fellow-laborers. The latter made it his peculiar province to encourage and edify the newly awakened, and the unbaptized Indians who lived in the place, exhorting them not to stop short in the work of their conversion, but to devote their whole hearts to Jesus, that by virtue of his death a thorough change might be wrought within them; for he had perceived in some, that though they heard the word of God with gladness, they wished to keep to their corrupt inclinations and heathenish manner of living. He addressed them upon this subject emphatically, thus: “ We lead a life of misery,  
“ when we have not a single eye towards our Savior, but be-  
“ lieve on him with only half an heart, and give the other half  
“ to the world. On the contrary, if we are wholly his,  
“ then every thing is made easy. Consider,” said he, “ what  
“ our teachers have done for us: they might live at home in  
“ very good houses, and here they cannot even get a conve-  
“ nient dwelling, but must sit down among the ashes: they  
“ might eat, drink, and live well, but here they must put up  
“ with spoiled Indian corn. All this they undergo, to tell  
“ you the great words of our Savior, and to show you the way  
“ of salvation.” Anthony was diligent in attending and con-  
versing with the visitors, who came in numbers from Gofch-  
gofchuenk and other places to see Lawunakhannek. He en-  
deavored in various ways to serve and edify them, and  
preached the Gospel with great boldness. At the close of one  
of his discourses, he observed: “ I have not received these  
“ things in a dream. The Indians may have revelations and  
“ signs in dreams, but I was in my right senses and broad  
“ awake, when I felt and experienced the power of the  
“ Gospel in my heart.” This saying made a great impression  
upon many of the savages. They said, “ If any thing be  
“ true,

“ true, it is this doctrine ; surely the Brethren teach the right way to happiness.”

The most distinguished character among the numerous visitors was Glikkikan, an eminent captain and warrior, counsellor and speaker of the Delaware Chief in Kaskaskunk. This man came purposely to dispute with and confound Brother Zeisberger, as he had formerly served the Romish priests in Canada ; the Chiefs having appointed him, as the most able speaker, to refute their doctrines. He was likewise a teacher of his people, but never adhered strictly to one opinion, changing his faith, as he received new impressions. He afterwards confessed, that before he left Kaskaskunk, he had well considered, what he intended to reply, by way of confounding the Brethren, and came, as he thought, completely armed at all points. When he arrived at Lawunakhannek his courage failed, and he resolved to hear the Brethren first, and then to reconsider his reply. Anthony, that active and cheerful witness of Jesus, whose heart continually burned with desire to lead souls to their Savior, so that he often forgot to take food and rest, in attending to this blessed work, invited Glikkikan and the Chiefs, who had come with him from Goschogschuenk, to be witnesses of the missionary's defeat, to dine with him, after which he addressed them in the following manner : “ My friends, listen to me ! I have great things to tell you. God created the heavens and the earth, and every thing therein, and there is nothing existing that was not made by him.” He then paused for some time, and proceeded : “ He also created us ; and who is there among you that knows his Creator ? I tell you the truth, no one knows his Creator by his reason alone ; for we are all fallen from God, and rendered blind by sin.” Here he made a longer pause, to give them time to consider his words, and proceeded : “ This God, who created all things, came into the world, and became a man like unto us ; only he knew no sin. But why did he come down from heaven and become a man ? Consider this a little.”

“ little.” After a long pause he added : “ He became a man  
“ and took upon him our nature, that he might shed his blood  
“ for the remission of our sins, and suffer death on the cross,  
“ by which he has purchased for us everlasting life and happi-  
“ nefs, and delivered us from eternal condemnation.” Thus  
he continued to disclose the whole will of God concerning  
our salvation in short sentences, interrupted by pauses for  
contemplation. Glikkikan’s heart was captivated ; he felt  
the power of this precious word, and confessed before the  
Chiefs of Gofchgoschuenk, that all which they had now heard,  
was true. He then attended the usual daily meeting, and  
was exceedingly struck by seeing, when full awake, what he  
declared to have beheld in a vision, several years ago. He  
had dreamt that he came to a place, where a number of In-  
dians were assembled in a large room. They wore their hair  
plain, and had no rings in their noses. In the midst of them,  
he discovered a short white man, and the Indians beckoning  
to him to come in, he entered and was presented by the white  
man with a book, who desired him to read : on his replying,  
“ I cannot read,” the white man said : “ After you have  
“ been with us some time, you will learn to read it.” From  
this time he frequently told his hearers, that there were cer-  
tainly white people somewhere, who knew the right way to  
God, for he had seen them in a dream. Therefore when he  
came hither, and saw the Indians and the short white man,  
Brother Zeisberger, exactly answering to the figure of him he  
saw in his dream, he was much astonished. He now fre-  
quently went to Lawunakhanek, and conversed earnestly  
with the Brethren. He even once reproved the unbaptized  
Indians, who lived there, for the slow progress they made in  
their conversion. “ What,” said he, “ have you heard the  
“ word of God upwards of a year, and not one of you be-  
“ lieves and is baptized ? You are certainly not in earnest  
“ about your faith, for such a long time is not required to  
“ turn unto the Lord.” Upon his return to Kaskaskunk, he  
honestly related the unexpected result of his undertaking, and  
delivered

delivered a noble testimony concerning the Brethren and their labor among the heathen.

Upon this a solemn council was held at Goschgoschuenk, to consider whether they should receive the Gospel? The council was divided in opinion, but contrary to expectation, a great majority agreed to receive the word of God. The following answer was therefore returned to the Senneka Chief, who had given them the above-mentioned charge, not to hear the words of the Brethren: "Uncle, you have brought us words, implying that we are neither to hear, nor believe the doctrine of the white people. This is to let you know, that all our friends in Friedenshuetten have received the word of God, and why should we not do the same? We will therefore hear the word of God, for every one has full liberty to hear or not to hear it. Whoever has no mind to hear, may stay away. For the Indians are a free people, and will never be slaves."

From this time the Brethren were more easy in their minds; a very different spirit seemed to prevail, and an earnest desire after the enjoyment of the grace of our Savior was perceived among the people.

As to their maintenance, the inhabitants of Lawunakhanek met with great difficulties in the beginning. The harvest in their new plantations was not yet gathered; their old stock of Indian corn was spoiled and half rotten, which however they ate with thanks. When that was consumed, they could buy no more throughout the whole country. The Brethren Zeisberger and Senseman therefore, with some Indian Brethren, travelled to Pittsburg in July, and were fortunate enough to procure a further supply.

Here they found the people in great consternation for fear of an Indian war, the treacherous Senneka Indians having stolen upwards of 150 horses, shot above 200 head of cattle, and even murdered some white men, under pretence that the white people had got possession of so much of the Indian country, that on that account they could neither rob, nor do  
them

them injury enough. This gave rise to an opinion in Pittsburg, that all the Indian nations had broken the articles of peace, and therefore the plantations around this fort were all deserted. Brother Zeisberger, who was better acquainted with the situation of affairs in the Indian country, thought it his duty to apprise the governor and officers in Pittsburg of this circumstance, and they so far attended to his propositions, as to lay aside their resolution of considering and treating all Indians as enemies, and resolved to send delegates to the Chiefs of the other Indian tribes, to complain of the injury done by the Sennekas, and to demand satisfaction. The missionary likewise advised, that an agent of Indian affairs might be again appointed in Pittsburg, who should make himself acquainted with their situation, constitution, and usages, preserve a friendly intercourse, hear their complaints against the white people, refer those of the latter to a court of justice, and endeavor to settle all disputes in an amicable manner. This advice was well received in Pittsburg, and the good effects of it soon became evident. Thus the missionary had the satisfaction to do an essential service to the whole country. He likewise took great pains, in passing through several Indian towns on his return, to pacify the minds of the inhabitants, and to advise them to keep peace. God blessed his endeavors in such a manner, that the principal Chiefs of these places agreed with Allemewi from Lawunakhannek to send deputies to Pittsburg, to assure the English of their good disposition towards them. The deputies were well received, treated as peaceable Indians, and returned with a belt of wampom sent to all the Indian nations, by which the Sennekas alone were declared enemies, and the other Indians, friends to the English. But as not only the Sennekas continued to plunder, but even the white people broke their word and frequently did injury to the Indians, the disturbances continued, and the negotiations of peace begun at Pittsburg, were suspended.

The white Brethren at Lawunakhannek having hitherto been content to live in an hunting hut, began on the 1st of September to build a chapel and dwelling-house. They  
inhabited

inhabited it before winter, and consecrated the chapel; and a bell which they received from Bethlehem, was hung in a convenient place.

Soon after they gathered in their harvest, and had a very rich crop, which put the heathen publicly to shame, as they had frequently prophesied, that the crops of all those who believed in Jesus would fail.

Now that blessed period arrived, so long and so eagerly wished for by the missionaries, when they had the inexpressible joy to baptize the firstlings of this country, namely, a married couple and their child. This solemnity, which took place on the 3d of December, was attended with so powerful a sensation of the presence of God, and had such an effect upon the other Indians, that the Brethren were richly comforted for all their sorrows and afflictions. Brother Zeisberger called it, in his report, a festival without its equal. The baptized man was one of the two messengers sent in the spring of 1768 to Friedenshuetten to invite the Brethren to Goschgoschuenk, and could now not find words sufficient to express his gratitude to God for the grace bestowed on him. His wife said afterwards to an Indian sister, that she felt herself to-day quite a new creature, to what she was yesterday, and was inexpressibly happy: "Yet," added she, "I have done nothing to deserve it."

Several inhabitants of Goschgoschuenk who were at this baptism, proposed that a resolution might be taken in the council, that they should all unanimously receive the Gospel. But the missionary represented to them, that this would answer no good purpose; and rather advised, that each should examine his own heart, and know whether he was resolved to be devoted to Jesus Christ or not; as every one might determine this for himself, and had no occasion on this account to ask the consent of the chiefs. Some time after, the blind Chief, Allemewi, desired to be carried to the missionary's house. He seemed full of grief, and at length broke out in these words: "Brethren! I can bear it no longer, I must open my mind to you. I have neither eaten nor slept  
" for

“ for three days and nights; my heart is full within me, and I  
 “ have no reſt night nor day. I am convinced, that I am a loſt  
 “ ſinner, and unleſs my heart ſhall ſoon receive comfort, I muſt  
 “ die, for I cannot live ſo much longer. I am now ſick both  
 “ in ſoul and body.” He trembled all over, as he uttered  
 theſe words. He was adviſed, to reſolve without heſitation, to  
 come unto Jeſus, weary and heavy laden, for then he would  
 find reſt for his ſoul. At length, after much obſtinate op-  
 poſition on the part of his wife and neareſt relations, and  
 after many ſcruples raiſed in his own mind, he reſolved to  
 caſt himſelf with all his miſery upon the mercy of his Re-  
 deemer. His repeated requeſt to be baptized was alſo grant-  
 ed on Chriſtmas-day, when he received the name of Solomon;  
 and afterwards could not ſufficiently expreſs, what the  
 Lord had done for his ſoul. He ſaid, “ Not only my heart  
 “ is at eaſe, but my body is even reſtored to health: in ſhort,  
 “ I feel that I am quite another man. I could not have be-  
 “ lieved, that I ſhould enjoy ſuch happineſs.” The holidays  
 were truly days of grace and conſolation. Many ſcoffers  
 were awakened and wept over their forlorn eſtate. Others  
 begged for baptiſm, and Brother Zeiſberger had the ſatisfac-  
 tion to ſee, even in this country, that no oppoſition is ſo  
 fierce, and no enemy ſo powerful, that may not be overcome  
 by the blood of the Lamb and by perfeverance in boldly  
 preaching the word of the Croſs.

Friedenshuetten took the greateſt ſhare in all theſe pro-  
 ceedings on the river Ohio, and as the prayers of that con-  
 gregation had been fervently offered up unto God in behalf  
 of Brother Zeiſberger and his aſſiſtants during their great  
 ſufferings, ſo likewise they now offered up thanks and praiſes  
 unto him for the happy change in their ſituation. The peace  
 and reſt enjoyed both at Friedenshuetten and Tſchebſche-  
 quannink were gratefully acknowledged as a ſingular mercy of  
 God. In both places the preaching of the Goſpel was unin-  
 interruptedly continued during the year 1770, with power  
 and great bleſſing, the miſſionaries being frequently encour-  
 aged in an extraordinary degree, when they ſaw themſelves  
 ſur-

ſurrounded by ſuch numbers of heathen, and bore witneſs of the power of that blood, which was ſhed for them alſo. The open and ſincere declarations of the awakened gave them great comfort, as they plainly proved, how graciouſly the Holy Spirit labored upon them, to convince them both of their total depravity, and of the neceſſity of turning for help and mercy to Jeſus. An unbaptized Indian ſaid one day with great emotion: “ A year is now elapſed, ſince I firſt ſaid, “ that I would devote myſelf to our Savior; yet I have not “ done it, but deceived him and the Brethren, living in ſin, “ and having no peace of mind. I now ſee that I am full of “ ſin; wherever I look, there is nothing but ſin; yea, it per- “ vades my whole body, and unleſs our Savior has mercy “ upon me, I muſt be loſt, for I cannot help myſelf.” An unbaptized Indian begged with great concern, that his dying child might be baptized, adding, “ If my child is baptized, “ and cleaned in the blood of Jeſus Chriſt, I ſhall be ſatis- “ ed, if it ſhould even die; for then it will go to our Savior.” His requeſt was granted. An Indian woman, 97 years of age, having been baptized by a clergyman of another perſuaſion, was, at her requeſt, received as a member of the Brethren’s congregation, and ſoon after departed this life rejoicing in God her Savior.

It was a matter of no ſmall joy to obſerve the power of the Holy Ghoſt among the young people, for whoſe uſe two new ſpacious ſchool-houſes were built at Friedenshuetten. The miſſionaries conſidered it as a ſufficient reward for all the trouble of inſtructing them, to ſee their good and obedient behavior, and their diligence in learning their leſſons. Nor was it leſs pleaſing to hear them ſing hymns of praife to our Lord and Savior for his incarnation, ſufferings, and death, in the Delaware and Mahikan languages.

The Iroquois, who, as before mentioned, had deceitfully ſold that land to the Engliſh, upon which Friedenshuetten was built, and which they had formerly given to the believing Indians, attempted now to unite them with the ſavage Indians on the Suſquehannah, and to remove them altogether into

the neighborhood of Assimlink, where they all should join in building a large town. In this view they sent a message to Friedenshuetten in April 1770, which was rejected by the Christian Indians, who took this occasion to remonstrate with the Iroquois on their treacherous behavior, and without further hesitation, declared their proposal to be void of common sense and honesty. The Iroquois then sent another message to our Indians, with two Spanish dollars, as their share of the money received for the land sold to the English, assuring them, that Friedenshuetten was expressly excepted and should remain free. But our Indians returned the two dollars, with the following message: "We had no land to sell; it is your land, and the money is likewise yours; take it therefore, for we do not desire to reap the benefit of your labors." The latter part of their message was left unanswered, our Indians knowing it to be an untruth. The same messages being sent to Tschechschequannink, they were answered in the same manner, and the missionaries were glad to perceive, that so little impression was made by them on the minds of the believers. They likewise enjoyed peace and rest, and the general wishes and exertions of all were directed to this one point, richly to enjoy the salvation of God even in the midst of an heathen country, and by a walk conformable to the precepts of Christ, and a benevolent behavior towards all men, to prove a blessing and edification to the neighboring places.

Though the missionaries continually exhorted our Indians to treat their neighbors with kindness and courtesy, yet they always cautioned them against useless visits in other towns, which were often attended with danger, a melancholy instance of which happened to an Indian Sister, on the 11th of May, who being on a visit in a neighboring town, was struck with a tomahawk on the head by a drunken Indian, and killed on the spot.

At Lawunakhannek, the beginning of the year 1770 was distinguished by a gracious visitation of God our Savior. Several heathen, who did not resist the Spirit of God, were added to the fellowship of the believers by holy baptism. A meet-

ing was held with the baptized alone, to remind them of the great grace bestowed upon them, and of the fruits of faith, which were expected in consequence of it. This had a blessed effect, and it was not long before the new baptized became active and zealous in the propagation of the truth. They now visited Goschgoschuenk, their former place of residence, with great boldness, and publicly confessed that they had formerly been slaves of sin, but were now made free through the mercy of God our Savior. This was likewise the topic of their conversation with the visitors, both from Goschgoschuenk and other places, so that there was not an house in Lawunakhannek in which the gospel was not preached. This tended greatly to confirm the public testimony of the missionary, and many a visitor left the place with sentiments, widely different from those, which he brought with him. A strange Indian was conveying a barrel of rum to Goschgoschuenk for sale, but calling at Lawunakhannek by the way, he heard the gospel, was convinced of his unhappy condition without God in the world, resolved to stay with the Brethren and alter his manner of living, and returned the barrel of rum to the trader at Pittsburg, declaring that he would neither drink nor sell any more rum, as it was against his conscience; he therefore begged the trader to take the rum back, adding, that if he refused, he would pour it into the Ohio. The trader and other white people present, were greatly amazed, assured him that this was the first barrel of rum they had ever seen returned by the Indians, and took it back without further objection.

During this time of grace, they were not without persecutions, though it appeared, as if the enemy had lost his power. One of the savages, who had determined last year to murder the Brethren, could not forget it, but resolved to do it this year in January. The better to accomplish his design, he first got drunk, but losing his way in coming to Lawunakhannek, was overtaken by the night and fell asleep in the wood. In the morning when he awoke sober, he lost his courage and returned. Wangomen also took great pains to prevent the

Indians

Indians from coming to hear the gospel, but now his misrepresentations made no impression upon their minds.

About this time a singular circumstance happened, which occasioned another emigration. Lawunakhannek began to be much troubled by the warriors, who frequently passed through. The Sennekas having broken the treaty, but lately made with the Cherokees, murdered several of the latter. The Cherokees therefore caught two Sennekas, cut off all their fingers, and sent them home with the following message: "We had made a perpetual peace with you, and you with us: but the treaty was scarce concluded, when you broke it again: you had promised us to hold fast the chain of friendship, but you have not done it. Now because you will not hold the chain of friendship with your hands, we will cut them off, and send you herewith a specimen." Upon this, hostilities commenced, and as the Brethren and their Indians wished to withdraw from the vicinity of the war, and the numbers of those, who moved to Lawunakhannek to hear the gospel, increased so fast, that they began to want room, they at last resolved to accept of the friendly offer, repeatedly made by the Chiefs in Kaskaskunk, and to settle in the neighborhood of that town.

This resolution occasioned much joy in Kaskaskunk, especially to Glikkikan; and in Lawunakhannek all hands were now diligently employed in building canoes and preparing for the journey. But in order to obviate any harm, that might arise from evil-minded people, who had threatened to hinder them by force from quitting the place, or to kill them by the way, the Brethren informed the council at Goshgofschuenk of their intention. The council sent for them, gave them all liberty to depart, and begged Brother Zeisberger to forget all former injuries and the dangers he had been exposed to in their town, owning, that at that time a band of murderers had sworn to take his life. Brother Zeisberger willingly forgave them, and improved the opportunity, to bear witness to the great and pardoning love of Jesus Christ, whose servant he was. The council further resolved, that considering the Brethren had come to them, merely in this good view,

to teach them the word of God, it was but just, that they should not continue in danger of their lives, and to this end they should be adopted members of the Monfy tribe of the Delaware nation, and be regularly naturalized, by which they should never be considered as other white people, in case of a war with the latter, but be treated as native Delawares. This resolution they ordered to be communicated to the other Chiefs and councils of the Delaware nation, and proposed to appoint an umpire, to watch over the due observance of the peace and covenant, established between them and the white Brethren. The missionaries received this offer with thanks, as an event, that might prove beneficial in its consequences.

April 17th, 1770, the congregation of Lawunakhanek broke up, and set out in 16 canoes, passing down the river Ohio by Pittsburg to the mouth of the Beaver Creek; which they entered, and proceeded up to the falls, where they had to unload and transport their goods and canoes by land. One of these carrying places detained them two days. The frequent repetition of this troublesome work caused them to be very thankful when they met Glikkikan with some horses from Kaskaskunk for their use.

Thus after a tedious journey, during which they had however held their daily meetings as often as their situation would permit, refreshing their souls by the comfortable word of God, they at length arrived on the 3d of May in the country where they intended to build their new settlement. The spot appointed for them could not have been better chosen, and there was good land sufficient to supply an hundred families. They now informed Pakanke, the head chief in Kaskaskunk, and his council, of their arrival. During the formalities usual on such occasions, both Brother Zeisberger, and the Indian deputies, delivered several copious speeches, to give the inhabitants of Kaskaskunk, from the very beginning, a just idea of their new neighbors, and Pakanke bid them welcome in the same number of speeches. Captain Glikkikan could now no longer bear to live at Kaskaskunk, but desired leave to dwell  
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with the Brethren. The latter exhorted him well to consider, that in so doing he would exchange an honorable office, power and friends, for reproach, contempt and persecution. But his declarations were so firm and sincere, that it was impossible for them to refuse his request.

The Indians were now diligent at work in their plantations, and dwelt in the mean time in bark huts. They also built a large hut for the meetings of the congregation, which were numerously attended by the people from Kaskaskunk. The settlement made by the Brethren here, was called Langunto-utenuenk, or Friedensstadt, the Town of Peace.

June 12th, the first baptism was administered in this place, to the wife of the blind chief Solomon, who had formerly opposed her husband with great violence, but afterwards became thoughtful, and anxious to obtain salvation. Glikkikan and others, who had never seen this transaction, were struck with wonder and amazement, and the whole assembly was so powerfully pervaded by the sensation of the presence of God, that the Brethren Zeisberger and Senseman were overcome with joy, and filled with renewed courage, boldly to maintain their post, even under the most grievous oppressions, and gladly to venture their lives in endeavoring to lead souls to Christ.

The Indians in the neighboring country were astonished or rather alarmed to see a people settle among them, so much differing in manners and customs from the heathen, and to hear a doctrine preached, of which they never before had any idea. In some this astonishment was soon changed into displeasure and animosity. Glikkikan's retiring from Kaskaskunk to Friedensstadt, occasioned universal dissatisfaction. His friends spared no pains to prevent it by kind persuasions; but finding them useless, they railed most bitterly against him, calling him a forcerer, by which they even endangered his life. The old Chief, Pakanke, who had always employed him as his speaker, and looked upon him as his right hand, altered his friendly behavior towards the Brethren, and denied his having invited them into the country, charging

Glikkikan with it. He even attacked him publicly, and in great wrath said, "And even you have gone over from this council to them. I suppose you intend to get a white skin?" "But I tell you, not even one of your feet will turn white, much less your body. Was you not a brave and honored man, sitting next to me in council, when we spread the blanket and considered the belts of wampom lying before us? Now you pretend to despise all this; and think to have found something better. Some time or other you will find yourself deceived." Glikkikan replied briefly thus: "It is very true, I have gone over to them, and with them I will live and die." Though Colonel Croghan, an English officer, exhorted Pakanke not to oppose the Brethren, but to suffer all those Indians, who wished to hear the Gospel, to go to them, adding, that they aimed at nothing, but the real welfare and interest of the Indians; and though Pakanke promised fair, yet he remained an enemy, and many were deterred from coming to Friedensstadt. About this time, a very bad epidemical disease prevailed among the Delawares, which took off great numbers, and was ascribed by the heathen to the power of magic. Many of the Chiefs and counsellors at Gekelemukpechuenk and other places conceived a notion, that they could not remedy this evil in any other way, than by unanimously resolving to receive and believe the word of God. As it was soon known that Pakanke was averse to the cause, the Chief and council of Gekelemukpechuenk sent him a black belt of wampom of a fathom in length, with the following message: "There is a contagion among us: many Indians die, and this evil has lasted some years: we shall all soon be destroyed, unless some help be procured. Convene a council upon this belt. Whoever does not receive this belt, shall be considered as an enemy and murderer of his people, and we shall know how to treat him according to his deserts." This message being of mysterious import, Pakanke was left to guess its meaning. But he pretended not to understand, that it implied, that they should receive the Gospel as the only remedy.

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The Brethren found meanwhile, that it would be highly necessary for the cause of the Gospel, to remove a misunderstanding which prevailed among the heathen to the prejudice of the Christian Indians. They asserted, that as soon as the latter changed their mode of living and refused to join in their vices, they likewise withdrew their contributions towards the support of the affairs of the nation, and would no more assist in furnishing the usual quantity of wampom, allowed for the use of the Chiefs. The missionaries therefore took the necessary steps to procure a formal declaration from the believing Indians, in all places, to this effect: "That though they  
" never intended to interfere, either with the affairs of state  
" or with the wars of the savages, yet they were always willing to bear their share of the public burden in times of  
" peace, and to contribute towards the expences attending  
" all measures adopted for the welfare of the nation, which  
" were not meant to molest either the white people or the  
" Indian nations; but upon this positive condition, that the  
" Chiefs, counsellors, and captains of all the different tribes  
" should never claim the least authority over the missionaries,  
" but leave them at full liberty to go where they pleased,  
" and in case of their return to Bethlehem, to send other  
" Brethren in their room." This declaration gave universal satisfaction, was answered by all the Chiefs in very civil terms, and by some, by formal embassies, and prevented much enmity, to which the believing Indians and their teachers might have otherwise been exposed. At Goschgoschuenk, Wangomen was appointed deputy, and sent by the council with a full and concise answer, couched in the most courteous terms, to Friedensstadt, and thence to Pakanke at Kaskaskunk, to inform him and his council of the adoption of the Brethren into the Monfy tribe, desiring him to send the message forward to the rest of the Delaware tribes, and with their consent to the Iroquois, Delamattenoos, and Shawanose, and to appoint and acknowledge the above-mentioned umpire, appointed to watch over the due observance of the covenant, thus made between the Brethren and

the Indian nations. Wangomen executed all these commissions with much punctuality, and appeared to have laid all enmity against the Brethren aside: he was even commissioned by old Pakanke, who also pretended to be reconciled to them, to go in person to Friedenshuetten, and invite the believing Indians to come to the neighborhood of Kaskaskunk and build a town for themselves, upon any spot of ground they might chuse.

In the mean time our Indians began on the 23d of July to build a regular settlement on the west side of the Beaver Creek, erecting block-houses, and working with such perseverance and diligence, that before winter, they and their teachers were safely and conveniently housed. Then the statutes of the congregation were made known to the inhabitants, and every thing regulated as in Friedenshuetten.

Oct. 28th, the missionary John George Jungman and his wife arrived from Bethlehem, to have the care of this congregation, and brought a string of wampom from Colonel Croghan in Pittsburg to Pakanke, desiring him to receive the missionary and his wife with kindness, as they came merely from benevolent motives to promote the welfare and prosperity of the Indians. This unsolicited kind interference of the Colonel gave much pleasure to our Indians and their teachers, and made a good impression upon Pakanke. Brother Senseman returned to Bethlehem in November, having been a faithful and useful assistant to Brother Zeisberger, with whom he willingly shared distress and danger.

Both missionaries rejoiced greatly at the gracious visitation of this country by the Lord. The power of the Holy Ghost was remarkably evident during the preaching of the precious Gospel of Christ Jesus, and the heart of one poor sinner after the other was opened, and led to accept of the gracious invitation, which he gives to all that labor and are heavy laden. Glikkikan was so much moved by a discourse delivered in the daily meeting, that he afterwards wept aloud on his way home. The heathen were astonished,  
that

that such a noted and valiant captain should weep in the presence of his former acquaintance; but the Brethren praised God for such visible proofs, that the word of the cross of Jesus can even break and melt the most stubborn and proud heart of a wild Indian. One of Pakauke's sons, having listened with attention to a sermon, said: "I have understood all I have now heard, and your words have penetrated into my heart: now I believe that they are true." An unbaptized Indian said to a visitor: "Whoever will consider but for a moment, must plainly see, that the doctrine of the Brethren is true; and even though our senses cannot rightly comprehend its meaning, yet our hearts feel something of its power, as often as we hear it."

Many people from distant places, especially from Shennenge, came to hear the comfortable Gospel, which encourages sinners with all their misery to turn to their Redeemer.

As to Friedensstadt itself, the peace of God, brotherly love, and a desire to cleave to and love God our Savior, prevailed most powerfully in the congregation. The baptized improved daily in a Christian walk and conversation, and greatly valued their high and heavenly calling. One of them said to a strange Indian: "I cannot indeed speak much to you at present, but I will give you an opportunity to hear the precious words of our Savior, with which the most delicious food in the world is not to be compared for sweetness;" and then brought him to the chapel. A noted forcerer, who came to see Friedensstadt, stood listening to an Indian Sister, who was boldly declaring the Gospel to some female visitors; and afterwards said that he had a great inclination to try his legerdemain tricks upon her, and to do her an injury. When she heard this, she said: "I do not fear his threats: for if any one could even take away my life by such practices, I should then go home to our Savior, where I should enjoy much greater happiness, than in this life." The labor of the Spirit of God was likewise so evident in the children, and the Lord perfected praise even out of the mouths of babes, in such a manner, that the missionaries were filled with astonishment.

Among

Among the unbaptized and catechumens the awakening was solid and general, and their longing after grace and the remission of sins in the blood of Jesus appeared on all occasions. The missionaries were more particularly rejoiced to see that the above-mentioned Captain, Glikkikan, and a Chief, called Genaskund, who retired with them from Gofchgoschuenk, were the most humble and contrite among all the unbaptized, confessing with great openness their sinful and abominable manner of living among the heathen, praying God for mercy and forgiveness as the most undeserving prodigals, and earnestly requesting to be baptized. They both received this favor on the 24th of December, and remained living and distinguished examples of that divine truth, that no sinner is so proud and depraved, but he may be thoroughly humbled, changed, and converted to God by the power of the blood of Jesus.

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## CHAPTER IV.

1771. 1772.

*The Indian Congregation resolves to leave Friedenshuetten and Tschechshequannink. Troubles in Friedenshuetten. Various Accounts. Troubles in Friedensstadt. Brother Zeisberger's Journey to view the Country on the Muskingum. Building of Schoenbrunn. The Indian Congregation travels from the Susquehannab to Friedensstadt. Building of Gnadenhuetten on the Muskingum. Zeisberger visits the Shawanose. Pleasing Course of the three Congregations.*

**I**N the spring of 1771, Wangomen came to Friedenshuetten, to deliver the above-mentioned message from the principal Chiefs of the Delaware nations to the Indian congregation, and also to invite them and the congregation  
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in Tſchechſchequannink to the Alleghene, that is, to the country on the Ohio. The Chiefs declared, that they would receive the believing Indians into their arms as friends, and permit them to chuse a tract of land, where they might live together as Christians in peace and safety; and that they should bring their white teachers with them, who should be considered as being of the same color with the Indians.

At the particular request of the Chiefs, Brother Zeisberger gave a letter of recommendation to the deputies, assuring the Indian congregation, that this invitation concealed no bad design, but rather, that the Chiefs, being now truly desirous that they and their young people might hear the Gospel, wished on that account alone that Brethren might reside among them: our Indians however mistrusted the contents of this message, and therefore gave the following short answer to Wangomen and the other delegates: "We rejoice, that Pakanke and the other Chiefs have thought on us with so much kindness. But we are as yet too heavy to rise, and when we have lightened ourselves, we will send word to the Chiefs." Some time after Chief Netawatwees in Gekelemukpechuenk repeated this invitation in a pressing manner, which occasioned our Indians to consider more particularly about it, especially as the Wyondats had likewise invited them to move to their land on the Ohio, assuring them, that they would not sell the ground under their feet, as the Iroquois had done.

However no resolution was taken, till the month of May, when Friedenshuetten was visited by the Brethren Christian Gregor and John Loretz, who some time ago arrived from Europe to hold a visitation in all the Brethren's settlements in North America. Bishop Nathanael Seidel accompanied them from Bethlehem, a man known and highly respected by many of our Indians, who expressed extraordinary joy at their visit. The joy of the two European Brethren was great indeed. They saw here for the first time a flock of Christian Indians, and could not sufficiently praise and thank God our Savior, for the gracious work begun among these nations, supported amidst  
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so many and heavy trials, and miraculously preserved, although exposed to so many threatening and imminent dangers.

They devoted their whole time and labor to the service of the two congregations in Friedensshuetten and Tschetschschquannink, conversed with every individual, and delivered several powerful discourses, especially during the Whitsuntide holidays, the interpreters translating their words with great exactness. They baptized several Indians, visited every family, and both their conversation with individuals, their public ministry and their benevolent behavior, tended to the edification and blessing of all the inhabitants. They likewise examined into every particular relating to the inward and outward state of the mission, and in this view held several conferences with the missionaries and the Indian assistants. The above-mentioned invitation given to our people by the Delawares was also maturely considered, and the conference, with the concurrence of the Indian congregation, came to a resolution, that next autumn some families should remove from hence to Friedensstadt, that some regard might be shown to the message; but as to the emigration of the whole congregation, that should be considered and finally decided in Bethlehem. On the return of these visitors and their company to Bethlehem, the Indians took leave of them with the most cordial expressions of love and gratitude, recommending themselves to the prayers and remembrance of all the Brethren in Europe.

David Zeisberger was soon after called from Friedensstadt to Bethlehem to attend a conference, in which the whole situation of the mission among the Indians was maturely weighed and considered. The Brethren were convinced, that the Indian congregations at Friedensshuetten and Tschetschschquannink would not be able to maintain themselves long in these places, partly because the Iroquois had sold the land, and various troublesome demands upon them were continually renewed, partly on account of a contest between the New Englanders and the Indians of Wajomick, by which

Friedenshuetten was much disturbed by occasion of its vicinity. Besides this, the Sennekas by their bad behavior gave our Indians much trouble, the white people being too apt to suspect the latter as accomplices. One of the most powerful arguments in favor of their emigration was this, that the number of European settlers daily increased, both above and below Friedenshuetten, and the rum trade tended to seduce the young people. A final resolution was therefore taken, to advise the Indian congregation, to accept of the proposal repeatedly made to them, to remove to the Ohio, and to consider it as proceeding from a gracious direction of the providence of God.

Brother Zeisberger upon his return mentioned this advice to the Indians at Friedenshuetten and Tschecschequannink, and both congregations resolved to remove in the following spring, and first to go to Friedensstadt. Some families went thither immediately, in order to lay out plantations of Indian corn, both for themselves and the congregations that were to follow them.

During these transactions a very painful circumstance happened at Friedenshuetten. Two wicked men, who bore an implacable enmity to John Papunbank, a man of the most unblemished character, came and pretended to have received full and satisfactory information from the Chiefs at Zeninge and Hallobank, that the said John Papunbank was a dealer in poison, and that he had been the occasion of the late sudden deaths of several people, and of those epidemical disorders which raged in the country some time ago. By this wicked lie the whole settlement was alarmed, and in a great uproar for a whole week. Some looked upon him as innocent, but the greater number were scrupulous, and a few were so far misled by the slanderers, that they even joined them and formed a party, having little less in view, than to take away his life. The missionary, Brother Schmick, convinced of John Papunbank's innocence, took all possible pains to inform and pacify them, but in vain. He then assembled the whole congregation, and John Papunbank declared publicly, "that he

“ never had any poison in his possession, nor even understood  
“ the art of mixing it. That as long as he did not love the  
“ Lord Jesus, his whole heart was full of wickedness, but that  
“ his soul had been washed by the blood of Christ, and his  
“ sins pardoned, when he received holy baptism; that since  
“ that time, he had belonged to the Lord with soul and body,  
“ loving him, and intending to love, serve, and cleave to him  
“ all his life.” By this free and sincere declaration, the greater  
number were fully satisfied, but the above-mentioned party  
were rendered more bitter, and even attacked him in the neigh-  
borhood of the settlement, demanding that he should either  
deliver up his poison or lose his life. He appealed with great  
calmness and composure to the declaration which he had so-  
lemnly and publicly given, and walked away quietly, his ene-  
mies not daring to execute their wicked design. During this  
very dangerous period, his heart was filled with confidence, de-  
pending upon the sure protection of God. He once said:  
“ If the Lord permits, that, by these base lies, I lose my  
“ life, I shall at once be delivered from all misery, and go to  
“ my Savior. I should only pity my wife and child.” His  
wife was however much supported, and like her husband  
cleaved to our Savior, as the best friend in every time of need,  
who is also able and willing to save. In order fully to prove  
his innocence to such, who had been disquieted, he sent  
two messengers with a belt of wampom to the above-men-  
tioned two Chiefs, desiring to know, whether they had ac-  
cused him of such abominable practices? They were  
astonished at the message, solemnly declaring their total ig-  
norance of this whole affair, and thus the innocence of John  
Papunhank was rendered as notorious as the diabolical malice  
of the calumniators. The latter now thought it most prudent  
not to be seen by the inhabitants of Friedensshuetten, who  
most sincerely sympathized with the unmerited sufferings of  
their respected brother. All joined in praising the Lord for  
this discovery, which put a stop to a most detestable business:  
but the sorrow over those brethren who had been so griev-  
ously misguided by the above seducers was also general.  
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They indeed acknowledged their tranſgreſſion, and publicly begged and received the pardon of the congregation; but it was a long time, before they could recover reſt and peace of mind. They ſerved as a remarkable example to ſhow what an hideous and aggravated crime the ſin of calumny is, in the eyes of a juſt and righteous God.

In the year 1771 the Suſquehanna overflowed its banks to ſuch a degree, that all the inhabitants of Tſchechſequannink were obliged to ſave themſelves in boats, and retire to the woods, where they were detained four days. The repairs of their deluged plantations coſt them much trouble. But the inward courſe of the congregation was edifying, and proved often a great bleſſing both to the unbaptized and to the numerous viſitors. Nathanael addreſſed an heathen Indian, who was much concerned about his ſalvation, to the following effect: “It is very eaſy to gain an happy heart, as ſoon as you ſincerely reſolve to part with all ſin, and believe, what is told you of our Savior: for if you aſk, you ſhall receive. But we are naturally averſe to humility and prayer, and therefore receive nothing. I was ſo formerly: but having frequently heard from the Brethren, how happy a ransomed ſinner is, I began to pray, and perſevered, until our Savior granted me pardon and happineſs. Now ſince I am baptized, I think I become happier every day; yea I ſometimes feel as if I ſaw our Savior before my eyes; for I perceive his preſence ſo ſenſibly, that my heart is ready to leap for joy.” Samuel expreſſed himſelf to the following effect: “I thank our Savior daily, that he has brought me to his children. I ſee every day more clearly, how well diſpoſed he was and ſtill is towards me. Many words in the Bible, and alſo in the hymns, which I heard frequently, but of which I never experienced the power, are now exceeding precious to my ſoul, and I rejoice that my knowledge of our Savior increaſes. Wherever I am, I can ſpeak freely to him. I delight to behold him in ſpirit as crucified for me, for I feel, that  
“ his

“ his ſufferings and death are capable to deſtroy the power  
“ of ſin within me.”

Such energetic expreſſions, proceeding from people, who were lately the moſt devoted ſervants of ſin, encouraged thoſe who were newly awakened, to cry for mercy. Many of them confeſſed with great ſorrow and compunction their crimes and tranſgreſſions, and the manner in which they deſcribed their ſtate was truly moving. For inſtance, an heathen Indian, after hearing a ſermon, broke out in theſe words: “ Alas, what a wretch am I! I have perfectly un-  
“ derſtood the words of the miſſionary, and believe them  
“ all to be true; but my heart trembled and quaked for fear,  
“ for I ſit in the miſt of ſin and darkneſs, and you are in  
“ the light.” Another ſaid: “ I now for the firſt time un-  
“ derſtand that pride is a wicked thing. I uſed to believe  
“ that I was not proud, but now I feel that I am a very  
“ proud man, and my pride has prevented my coming to Je-  
“ ſus, and believing on him with my whole heart.” The ſame perſon ſaid on another occaſion: “ Brother, I muſt  
“ tell you what happened to me. I hit my foot yeſterday  
“ againſt a root, and fell; and feeling myſelf impatient on  
“ that account, I thought ſome one was reprovng me in  
“ theſe words: ‘ Conſider thy Savior, how patient *He* iſ!  
“ There thy Creator ſtands, beholding the ſoldiers who are  
“ digging the hole for his croſs; he willingly permits them  
“ to extend his body on the croſs, and to pierce his hands and  
“ feet with the nails.’ This was to me an aſtoniſhing ſight,  
“ and I could not ſleep all night, ſo much was I employed  
“ in contemplating his mercy and love to ſinners.” A boy, who was very ill, thus addreſſed the miſſionary: “ One thing  
“ iſ ſtill wanting: I do not feel that our Savior has waſhed  
“ me from my ſins in his blood. If I ſhould not receive this  
“ favor before I die, I ſhall not go to him, but be loſt for  
“ ever, and yet I wiſh to be ſaved. I therefore pray inceſ-  
“ ſantly to our Savior, that he would have mercy upon me  
“ poor child, and waſh me in his precious blood; then I  
“ ſhall

“shall not fear death, but rejoice that I shall go and be with him for ever.” He was soon after baptized, and received the divine assurance that his sins were forgiven through the merits of our Lord’s atonement.

In the mean time many people followed the Brethren from Gofchgoschuenk on the Ohio to the Beaver Creek, some of whom settled in Kaskaskunk; others, who showed an earnest wish to be converted, and promised to live in conformity to the rules of the congregation, obtained leave to live at Friedensstadt.

The Brethren were at this time incessantly troubled by the most daring lies, propagated by the savages, who even counterfeited letters and messages from the Chiefs to them. In the beginning of the year 1771, a very peremptory message of this kind was brought to Friedensstadt, as coming from the Chief and council at Gekelemukpechuenk; demanding that an Indian woman, lately converted to the truth and baptized by the Brethren, should be sent back immediately, or she should be taken away by force. This message appearing dangerous in its consequences, Brother Zeisberger himself set out on the 5th of March with three Indian Brethren for Gekelemukpechuenk. On the road they experienced great hardships in wading through tracts of deep snow and much water, and did not arrive there until the 13th. They lodged in the house of the head-chief Neta-watwees, where they met with a kind reception, and had soon an opportunity of preaching Jesus and him crucified to the inhabitants, who assembled in great numbers to hear the missionary. Brother Zeisberger then requested a meeting of the council, and read to them the above-mentioned letter. It was then discovered, that neither the Chief nor the council knew any thing of it, but that one of the counsellors present had written it on his own authority, and signed it with two fictitious names. Being thus detected, he was publicly confounded; the whole council expressed great indignation at the contents of the letter, and agreed perfectly with the declaration of the missionary and the In-

dian Brethren, that as they could and would not detain any Indian in their settlement against his will, either by persuasion or force, so no Indian ought to be compelled to leave them, the Indians being altogether a free people, who in all things might act according to their own minds. After this, Brother Zeisberger staid several days in Gekelemukpechuenk, and found many attentive hearers, but likewise many avowed enemies, who, though they dared not publicly to contradict the missionary himself, raged with immoderate fury against his Indian assistants and their testimony. One said to Isaac, "What do you come here for, spreading your new doctrines among our people? I have a good mind to kick you all together out of doors. And even if all the Indians should embrace your doctrine, I certainly would not." This opposition arose chiefly from the insinuations of the above-mentioned Indian preachers, who had so strenuously recommended emetics, as a sure mode of cleansing from sin, that, in this town, the practice was general. The missionary endeavored to convince the people, that though an emetic might benefit their stomachs, yet it could never cleanse their hearts; but that the blood of Jesus Christ the Son of God, applied in faith to our sin-sick souls, was alone able to cleanse and change them. Having recommended these people in fervent prayer to the mercy of God our Savior, he returned with his company to Friedensstadt.

He had scarcely left Gekelemukpechuenk, when a renowned heathen preacher arrived and spread great confusion among the people by declaring, that the missionary was even known to the white people as a noted seducer of the Indians, who, whenever he had drawn a large party aside, sent them over the great ocean and sold them for slaves, where they were harnessed to the plough and whipped on to their work. By these lying insinuations he gained such an ascendancy over the timid minds of the Indians, that he soon became the leader of a large party, and the Brethren were soon convinced, that to plant the Gospel in the country, to which the congregations at Friedenshuetten and Tschech-schequannink

schequannink were now invited, would be attended with great difficulties. Brother Zeisberger says in one of his letters: "Here God must work a miracle, for Satan has many strong holds, which he has well fortified."

In Kaskaskunk the enmity against the Brethren became more general, especially as the lies spread in Gekelemukpechuenk, soon found their way thither, and though it afterwards happened, that their author, an Indian preacher, lost his senses, and ran about the woods raving mad, yet the enmity against the Brethren and all who attended their meetings, did not subside in the least.

To this, we may add the dreadful rumours of war, heard about this time; for which several murders, committed by the white people, seemed to hold out sufficient provocation. Many people were on these accounts led to forsake their dwellings, and to remove to Kaskaskunk and its neighborhood. Thus Friedensstadt was soon surrounded by troops of savages, from whom nothing but disturbance could be expected; which, alas, they too soon experienced. Some, who staid only a few days at Friedensstadt, proved exceeding troublesome by their drunken and riotous behavior, and even threatened to murder all the inhabitants and destroy the settlement.

Brother Zeisberger, who by this time was well known among various Indian tribes, was a marked object of their hatred and malice, and frequently in danger of being shot. Some malicious people came one evening very late to Friedensstadt, and would positively compel the inhabitants to get drunk. When they found all their efforts vain, they threatened to murder first the teachers and then the whole congregation, and made such an hideous roar, that the Indian Sisters fled into the woods, and the Brethren were obliged to keep a strong and strict watch around the dwelling of the missionaries.

Notwithstanding all these troubles, the work of God prevailed and increased in Friedensstadt, and the congregation grew in grace and number. May the 27th, 1771, the founda-

ation-stone of the chapel was laid, and on the 20th of June the building was dedicated unto the Lord, with praise, thanksgiving, and prayer, as a place, where the Gospel should be preached to the poor. The number of constant hearers daily increased; among these, there was one who had lost his scalp in the war, and one of the same party which destroyed the Brethren's house on the Mahony in the year 1755. This man was often so moved in hearing the Gospel, that he shed floods of tears. Another visitor expressed a great desire to know, which was the true way to happiness. He said: "The Quakers maintain that their doctrine is true, the English church asserts the same of theirs, and the Brethren say, that the word they preach, is the word of God." The Indian assistants told him, that if he was truly desirous to be informed, he should come to Jesus, who, though God blessed for ever, became a man and had been wounded for our transgressions. He would then soon learn to know him, and receive a certainty in his heart concerning the way to salvation: but that afterwards it was required, to be obedient to his commandments.

After much opposition and hesitation, Chief Pakanke, hitherto an enemy of the Gospel, resolved at last to go to Friedensstadt. He staid there several days, heard the Gospel with great attention, changed his sentiments, and even exhorted his children to go to the Brethren, hearken to their words, and believe on Jesus.

October 21st, Brother John Heckenwaelder, who was appointed assistant missionary, and November 27th, the four families expected from Friedenshuetten, arrived safe at Friedensstadt. All rejoiced at the resolution of the two congregations to follow them hither, and willingly offered their assistance in making plantations and planting Indian corn for them.

As the enmity of the greater part of the inhabitants of Kaskaskunk and other savage neighbors rather increased, and the latter encroached more and more upon the borders of Friedensstadt, the believing Indians petitioned the Chief  
and

and council at Kaskaskunk for protection, but were told, that their request could not be granted. This was in the beginning of the year 1772. At the same time the Brethren received a kind message from the Chief and council at Gekelemukpechuenk, inviting them and the two congregations at Friedensshuetten and Tscheschshequannink to come and settle in their country, near the river Muskingum, upon whatever tracts of land they might chuse. Upon mature consideration, it was found most expedient, that Brother Zeisberger should first take a journey to view the country on the Muskingum, and there fix upon a spot suitable for a settlement, that he should then consult and settle every thing relating to this affair with the Chiefs at Gekelemukpechuenk, and soon after remove to the new place with a few families from Friedensstadt, and establish a regular mission there; but that the congregations at Friedensshuetten and Tscheschshequannink should first go and dwell in or near Friedensstadt, until it should be proper for them to move to the Muskingum.

Brother Zeisberger set out on this expedition on the 11th of March 1772, with a few Indian Brethren, and on the 16th discovered a large tract of land situated not far from the banks of the Muskingum, about thirty miles from Gekelemukpechuenk, with a good spring, a small lake, good planting grounds, much game, and every other convenience for the support of an Indian colony. This place was about seventy miles from Lake Erie and seventy-five miles west of Friedensstadt. It appeared, that formerly, a large fortified Indian town stood on this spot, some ramparts and the ruins of three Indian forts being still visible. After this discovery he went to Gekelemukpechuenk, and informed the council that the converted Indians had thankfully accepted of their invitation, desiring that the tract of land, he had just now discovered, might be given to them. In answer to this request he heard with great pleasure, that this was the very spot of ground destined by the Chiefs and council for them. They also determined, in a solemn manner, that

all the lands, from the entrance of the Gekelemukpechuenk Creek into the river Muskingum to Tufcarawi should belong to the converted Indians, and that no other Indians should be permitted to settle upon them: further, that all Indians dwelling on the borders of this country, should be directed, to behave peaceably towards them and their teachers, and neither disturb their worship, nor prevent people from going to them to hear the word of God.

Zeisberger praised the Lord for his gracious help in the execution of this important commission, and having again visited the above-mentioned country, took possession of it in the name of the Christian Indians, who were uncommonly rejoiced by the account of his success, given on his return to Friedensstadt.

Five families, consisting in all of twenty-eight persons, were now appointed to begin the new settlement, and were willing to undertake it. Brother Zeisberger set out with them on the 14th of April, and after a safe but tedious journey arrived May 3d at the new land on the Muskingum. The day following they marked out their plantations, erected field-huts, and were all diligently employed in clearing land and planting.

Upon the news of the arrival of the Brethren in Gekelemukpechuenk and its neighborhood, the enemies of the Gospel were so much alarmed that many of them left the place, not being able to bear a doctrine, so directly opposite to their heathenish abominations and sinful manner of living. A neighboring chief even forsook his village, and with all his people moved into a distant country.

Brother Zeisberger began immediately to preach the Gospel in this new settlement, to which he gave the name of Schoen-brunn (the Beautiful Spring). Many attentive hearers came from Gekelemukpechuenk and its neighborhood, and some were so captivated by the word of the Gospel, that before any houses could be built, they earnestly begged leave to stay and settle. This was granted, but their relations soon came and wanted to take them away by force. By this opportunity

portunity however, they likewise heard the Gospel, and felt the power of the word of God so forcibly, that they went away with impressions, very different to those they brought with them. A visitor declared, that he had been seeking the way to salvation many years, and that whenever he found Indians who appeared to know more than himself, he gave them presents, and belts of wampom, hoping that they would instruct him, yet hitherto he had not been able to learn with certainty, how he might be saved. The assistants told him, that he now might find what he had so long been seeking in vain: nor need he bring any presents, for they would instruct him for nothing. Another said to Isaac Glikkikan, “ You was a captain, before you believed the Gospel, and you are a captain still. This you cannot deny, but how was it possible for you to remain a captain, after you believed?”—“ True,” answered Isaac, “ I was formerly a captain, but I was always conquered. Sin always overcame me; and yet a brave captain ought never to be overcome, but should come off victorious. Though I frequently resolved not to get drunk, I could not leave it off, but was obliged to be a slave of the devil. But now I first know what it is to be a brave soldier, and through Christ I can always overcome; sin has lost its former power to force me into its service, for now I desire no more to attend any of your feasts; I have no relish for them, having found something far better, which I wish to see you likewise in possession of.” June 27th, the Brethren in Schoenbrunn partook of the Holy Communion for the first time there, and July 25th the site of the new settlement was chosen and marked out.

In the mean time the congregations in Friedenshuetten and Tſchechſchequannink prepared for their emigration. The Chiefs of the Iroquois were much displeas'd when they heard it, and now endeavored to make our Indians forget their treachery, by giving them fair words and promises, declaring in their own style, “ that they would in future be only one body and one vein with the Indians on the Sus-

“quehannah, and remove every former grievance, in order to prevent that from taking place, of which they had heard a little bird speak.” But our Indians answered, that they came too late, informing them of their resolution to go to the country on the Ohio. At this they expressed much sorrow, but assured the believing Indians that they would remain their friends. Our Indians promised the same on their part. The internal course of the congregations in both places was at that time very pleasing and edifying. The children were not only remarkably diligent in their schools, but also expressed great love to our Savior, frequently meeting of their own accord to sing his praises. Most of the believers were intent upon being so minded in all things, as Jesus Christ was when on earth, and sought to walk in his steps. A brother said one day to the missionary; “I cannot express what I feel, when I meditate upon our Savior, as a little child, or as a boy, when sitting among the doctors in the temple; as a teacher, or as laboring hard for our salvation, and dying on the cross. All is important to one, and when I consider these things, I perceive a peculiar emotion within me.”

As the damage sustained by our Indians in quitting Friedenshuetten was very great, and it could be proved, that they were compelled by the sale of their land to take this step, the Brethren applied to the governor at Philadelphia for redress, which, some time after, was in part granted. Previous to this emigration, the missionary, Brother Schmick, who had spent many years in the service of the Indian congregation, with unremitting faithfulness, obtained leave to return to Bethlehem to rest some time from his labors. May 5th, he and his wife took an affectionate leave of their beloved congregation, and soon after set out for Bethlehem. The missionary John Rothe and his wife were appointed to attend the Indians on their journey, and accepted of this call with pleasure.

May 23d, Brother Ettwein arrived from Bethlehem at Friedenshuetten to accompany that congregation on their

way to Friedensstadt, and brought several presents from the Brethren in Bethlehem to the Indians, which were useful to them on the journey.

June 6th, the congregation partook of the Holy Communion for the last time in Friedenshuetten, and celebrated Whitfuntide with blessing, when John Papunhank, who was the first that had been baptized here, had the satisfaction to see the last baptism in this place administered to his daughter, to the great joy of the whole congregation. June 11th, all being ready for the journey, the congregation met for the last time at Friedenshuetten, when the missionary reminded them of the great favors and blessings, received from God in this place, and then offered up praises and thanksgivings to him, with fervent supplications for his peace and protection on the journey. The company consisted of two hundred and forty-one persons from Friedenshuetten and Tschechschequannink, and proceeded with great cheerfulness in reliance upon the Lord.

Brother Ettwein conducted those who went by land, and Brother Rothe those by water, who were the greater number. The tediousness of this journey was a practical school of patience for the missionaries. The fatigue also attending the emigration of a whole congregation, with all their goods and cattle, in a country like North America, can hardly be conceived by any one, who has not experienced it, much less can it be described in a proper manner. The land-travellers had seventy head of oxen, and a still greater number of horses to care for, and sustained incredible hardships in forcing a way for themselves and their beasts through very thick woods and swamps of great extent, being directed only by a small path, and that hardly discernible in some places, so that it appears almost impossible to conceive how one man could work his way and mark a path through such close thickets and immense woods, one of which he computed to be about sixty miles in length. It happened, that when they were thus rather creeping than walking through the thick woods, it rained almost incessantly.

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In one part of the country they were obliged to wade thirty-six times through the windings of the river Munfy, besides suffering other hardships. However, they attended to their daily worship as regularly as circumstances would permit, and had frequently strangers among them, both Indians and white people; who were particularly attentive to the English discourses delivered by Brother Ettwein. This circumstance alone was sufficient to comfort the Brethren amidst all their fatigue and trouble, as they had no greater satisfaction, than, when opportunities offered, to tell their fellow-men from the experience of their own hearts, how happy that man is, who believes in Jesus, and receives power from him, to become a child of God. The party which went by water were every night obliged to seek a lodging on shore, and suffered much from the cold. Soon after their departure from Friedenshuetten the measles broke out among them, and many fell sick, especially the children. The attention due to the patients necessarily increased the fatigue of the journey. In some parts they were molested by inquisitive, and in others by drunken people. The many falls and dangerous rapids in the Susquehannah occasioned immense trouble and frequent delays. However by the mercy of God they passed safe by Shomokin, and then upon the west arm of the river by Long Island to Great Island, where they joined the land-travellers on the 29th of June, and now proceeded all together by land. When they arrived at the mountains they met with great difficulties in crossing them, for not having horses enough to carry all the baggage, most of them were obliged to carry some part. In one of the valleys they were suddenly caught in a most tremendous storm of thunder and lightning with violent rain. During a considerable part of the journey, the rattlesnakes kept them in constant alarm. As they lay in great numbers either near or in the road, Brother Ettwein happened to tread upon one with fifteen rattles, by which he was so frightened, that, according to his own account, he could hardly venture to step forward for many days after, and every rustling leaf made him dread the approach of a rattlesnake. These venomous creatures

creatures destroyed ſeveral of the horſes by their bite, but the oxen were ſaved by being driven in the rear.

The moſt troubleſome plague both to man and beaſt, eſpecially in paſſing through the woods, was a kind of inſect, called by the Indians Ponk, or *Living Aſhes*, from their being ſo ſmall that they are hardly viſible, and their bite as painful as the burning of red-hot aſhes. As ſoon as the evening fires were kindled, the cattle, in order to get rid of theſe inſects, ran furioſly towards the fire, crowding into the ſmoke; by which our travellers were much diſturbed both in their ſleep and at meals. Theſe tormenting creatures were met with in the greateſt numbers in a tract of country, which the Indians call "*a place avoided by all men.*" The following circumſtance gave riſe to this name: About thirty years ago an Indian affecting the manner of an hermit, lived upon a rock in this neighborhood, and uſed to appear to travellers or hunters in different garbs, frightening ſome, and murdering others. At length a valiant Indian Chief was ſo fortunate as to ſurprize and kill him. To this true account, fabulous report has added, that the Chief having burnt the hermit's bones to aſhes, ſcattered them in the air throughout the foreſt; that they then took a living form, and became *ponks*. In another part of the foreſt, the fires and ſtorms had cauſed ſuch confuſion among the trees, that the wood was almoſt impenetrable. Brother Ettwein was once in great danger of his life by a fall from his horſe. Siſter Rothe with her child fell ſeveral times from her horſe, and once with her foot dangerously entangled in the ſtirrup. Another time ſhe fell into a deep morafs.

Some perſons departed this life during the journey, and among them a poor cripple, about ten or eleven years old, who was carried by his mother in a basket on her back. When he perceived his end approaching, he begged moſt earneſtly to be baptized. His requeſt was granted, ſoon after which he ended a life of miſery, and departed rejoicing. Our travellers were ſometimes under the neceſſity of ſtaying a day or two in one place, to ſupply themſelves with the neceſſaries  
of

of life. They shot upwards of one hundred and fifty deer during the course of the journey, and found great abundance of fish in the rivers and brooks. They likewise met with a peculiar kind of turtle, about the size of a goose, with a long neck, pointed head, and eyes like a dove. It had scales on its back, and on the lower part of the belly. All the rest of its covering was soft, resembling leather of a liver color.

July 29th, they left the mountains and arrived on the banks the Ohio, where they immediately built canoes, to send the aged and infirm with the heavy baggage down the river. Two days after they were met by Brother Heckenwaelder and some Indian Brethren with horses from Friedensstadt, by whose assistance they arrived there on the 5th of August, and were received with every mark of affection by the whole congregation. They now joined in praising and thanking the Lord for the grace and protection, received from him during this tedious journey of eight weeks, for having supported them under the unusual fatigue and hardships attending it, for giving them health and strength to bear many grievous trials, and for preserving them from famine, which they feared most at setting out, and from innumerable dangers and unforeseen accidents, and chiefly for granting them to continue in love and peace.

The preservation of the Indian congregation by God our heavenly Father, was at this time most admirably displayed, and the missionaries acknowledged with humility and gratitude, that neither the inhabitants of Friedensstadt nor their numerous guests lacked any thing, but, contrary to the apprehensions of a great many, had enough and to spare.

The travellers received likewise a present of one hundred Spanish dollars from the friends, commonly called Quakers in Philadelphia, with which they provided a supply of bread for future necessity.

Soon after their arrival in Friedensstadt, Brother Zeisberger came from Schoenbrunn, and several conferences were held concerning the mission in general. The missionaries and their Indian assistants were also employed in revising all the trans-

translations of different parts of the Scriptures and hymns made in the Delaware language. A conference of Indian assistants was likewise appointed for each settlement.

August 19th, the Brethren Ettwein, Zeisberger, and Heckenwaelder went to Schoenbrunn, where they arrived on the 23d. The former, in his report, expressed great pleasure in seeing a country so pleasing in every point of view, and so richly provided with walnut and locust trees; but still more in beholding the new settlement Schoenbrunn, begun under such favorable and promising circumstances. Brother Zeisberger being taken ill, Brother Ettwein went with the deputies, appointed by the Indian Brethren, to Gekelemukpechuenk, to procure renewed assurances of protection from the council. The inhabitants of this place had just received seventy gallons of rum, and were engaged in a drunken frolic, when the news of the arrival of the missionary and the deputies came to the Chief. He immediately gave orders to desist, and after they had regained their sobriety by a sound sleep, called a council, in which the deputies mentioned the arrival of the two congregations of Friedenshuetten and Tischehschequannink in the usual solemn manner; informing them that they intended to build one or perhaps two settlements besides Schoenbrunn. The speaker of the embassy, John Papunhank, took this opportunity, to give the council a full explanation of the sentiments, constitution, doctrine, and worship of the converted Indians. He did this in a solemn and manly style, relating how he had lived formerly, and how God had shown mercy to him. The answer was kind, and a promise given that in return an embassy should be sent to Schoenbrunn.

At Schoenbrunn the Brethren Ettwein and Zeisberger greatly rejoiced at the marvellous dispensation of God our Savior, who had thus placed his Indian flock as a candle upon a candlestick in the midst of the Delaware country, and in the neighborhood of the Shawanose and Hurons. Brother Ettwein then returned to Bethlehem, by way of Friedensstadt, with the most pleasing prospects for futurity.

Some time after a great part of the Indian congregation went from Friedensstadt to the Muskingum, and built a settlement about ten miles below Schoenbrunn, which they called Gnadenhuetten.

During the building of these two places, which was conducted with great chearfulness, Brother Zeisberger with two Indian Brethren made the first journey into the country of the Shawanose, who were generally considered as the most savage among the Indian nations. In the first village, they called at the house of a son of the before-mentioned Chief Paxnous. (See Part II. p. 157.) Here they were kindly received, and their host paid great attention to the Gospel, declaring afterwards, that he was convinced, that the missionary's doctrine was true, pointing out the right road to salvation; that the Shawanose had been long striving to find out the way of life, but that they must own with regret, that all their labors and researches had been in vain; that they had therefore lost all courage, not knowing what they should further do to obtain happiness. This man spoke the Delaware language fluently, and it was therefore very agreeable and useful to the Brethren, that he offered to accompany them through the different towns which they intended to visit. When they came to the chief town of the Shawanose, he advised them to take up their abode with the heathen teacher, as his influence among the people was very great. This man received the Brethren very civilly, and when upon his inquiry into the aim of their visit, Brother Zeisberger answered, that he brought him the words of eternal life, he replied: "This is what we want, and we will hear you with pleasure." An house was immediately fitted up, and both the missionary and his Indian companions found here a desirable opportunity to make known to a great number of attentive hearers, most of whom understood the Delaware language, that God hath no pleasure in the death of the wicked, but that the wicked turn from his way, believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and live. The heathen teacher listened in silence to this precious word for some days, but at length, not able

to contain the emotions of his heart, he made the following declaration to the missionary: "I have not been able to sleep all night, for I am continually meditating upon your words, and will now open to you my whole heart: I believe that all you preach is truth. A year ago I became convinced that we are altogether sinful creatures; and that none of our good works will save us: but we did not know, what to do, to gain eternal salvation. I have therefore always comforted my people, that somebody would come and show us the true way to happiness, for we are not in the right way, and even the day before your arrival, I defired them to have but a little patience, and that a teacher would certainly come. Now you are come, and I verily believe, that God has sent you to make his word known to us."

The Brethren having thus preached Jesus Christ as the light of the world in this benighted country with great cheerfulness, and being upon the point of taking leave, Brother Zeisberger and his company received the following message from the Chiefs and council, the Indian teacher being speaker: "Brother, we rejoice that you have been with us, and brought the word of God, which we have heard with pleasure. We send to let you know, what we have unanimously resolved upon in council. The women indeed were not present, being now engaged in gathering in their crops, but that does not signify, for what we agree to, that we know will be also agreeable to them. We have therefore resolved, that from this time, we will receive the word of God, and live in conformity to it. This we speak not with our mouths only, but also with our hearts. We therefore desire and pray, that not only believing Indians, but also white teachers would dwell among us, that they may teach us how to be saved. We lay this request before you, and though we are a bad people, do not despise us, but grant our petition." The missionary was astonished at a message of such import, from a town of the Shawanose, and promised with pleasure,

to mention their request to his brethren at Bethlehem, but desired them maturely to consider, whether they were in earnest, in wishing to live conformably to the dictates of the Gospel; adding, that if a missionary should come and reside among them, the heathen manner of living must be entirely abandoned, with all ceremonies belonging to it. They declared not only their willingness to part with all things in preference to the Gospel, but assured him, that they would build a new town, where only those should reside who had resolved to believe in God. Zeisberger then inquired of them, whether they might take such a step, without consulting the other Chiefs of the Shawanose tribe, and their grandfather the Delaware nation? But they affirmed, that having long sought the way to eternal life, they had already separated themselves both from the above-mentioned Chiefs and from the Delawares, and were perfectly independent.

Brother Zeisberger returned with his company to Schoenbrunn, highly pleased with the success of his journey. Both here, at Gnadenhuetten, and at Friedensstadt, the Christmas-holidays were celebrated with particular blessing, and young and old were filled with joy, in the contemplation of the meritorious incarnation of God our Savior. Among the numerous visitors was another of those savages who had murdered our Brethren and Sisters on the Mahony, November 24, 1755. He staid a week at Schoenbrunn, heard the word of Christ our Redeemer with attention, and was told, that all who come to him by faith, will be received and not cast out. An Indian assistant closed his conversation with another heathen visitor in the following manner: "Why should we not believe? for the word which is here preached, proves itself to be truth within us." Another added, "That is certainly true; for as soon as I sought the Lord with my whole heart, I found him, and whatever I asked of him, he gave unto me; so that I increased in happiness, and my heart burns sometimes like a flame, for love towards him." A visitor said: "Hitherto I have only *heard*, but now I *believe*, that my Creator be-

"came

“came a man and shed his blood for me. I now desire to be  
 “cleansed by that blood, for I cannot live without it.” A  
 child about ten years of age, having spent a whole night in  
 tears, was asked whether it was ill? It answered: “No, I  
 “have no pain, but feel myself lost, and am like a bird  
 “without air.” One of the unbaptized said: “As I stood  
 “before our Savior, crying for comfort and meditating upon  
 “the name of Jesus, it was as if in spirit I saw my Savior  
 “standing before me, with the marks of his wounds in  
 “hands, feet, and side; I then felt my heart much com-  
 “forted.” Michael said: “I feel that our Savior has made  
 “his abode within me. Ah, how happy am I, I can only weep  
 “for joy and devote myself anew to him.” Eve declared  
 that she had never yet spent Christmas so happily, adding,  
 “I have gained a better insight into that great mystery, that  
 “God was manifest in the flesh.” Abraham, a venerable  
 old man, said: “My heart is full of joy. How happy are  
 “they who devote themselves wholly unto the Lord!”

## CHAPTER V.

1773. 1774.

*Some Account of Schoenbrunn and Gnadenbuetten. The  
 Believers quit Friedensstadt. External Troubles.  
 Brother Schmick returns to the Mission. Brother  
 Zeisberger's second Journey to the Shawanose. An  
 Indian War occasions many Troubles to the Congrega-  
 tion, but does not disturb their internal peaceful Course.  
 The Delawares resolve by a solemn Act of Council  
 to receive the Gospel.*

**T**HE congregations at Schoenbrunn and Gnadenbuetten  
 being surrounded by savage tribes, were obliged to  
 walk with circumspection, lest either their young people or

newly baptized converts, should be seduced by the deceitful intrigues of their heathen neighbors, or the others should be drawn into the political affairs of the Chiefs.

As a strict conformity to the rules and orders already agreed upon and introduced into former settlements, was allowed to be the best preservative against the above-mentioned dangers, the inhabitants of Schoenbrunn and Gnadenhuetten renewed in January 1773 their resolution to adhere to them, the missionaries having previously explained, that they should never consider these rules as a contrivance made to lord it over them, but only as wholesome advice, approved by experience to be most beneficial to the settlements; that on the other hand it was evident, that if they were not attended to, mischief would certainly follow: that the believing Indians ought on that account to be more strict in watching over their due observance than their teachers, and that all who refused to conform, and persisted in their disobedience, should be removed from the settlements. This was unanimously agreed to, and faithfully observed.

The daily worship, the conferences, schools, attendance upon visitors, provision for the poor and sick, and every requisite for the prosperity of the congregation, was regulated in the same manner as formerly in other settlements.

Many journies were now made to Gekelemukpechuenk both from Gnadenhuetten and Schoenbrunn, and the testimony of our Indians concerning the efficacy of the atonement made by Jesus Christ, was a lasting blessing to many of its inhabitants. Great numbers of visitors came likewise from this place, to whom the Gospel was preached by the missionaries and their Indian assistants, which proved a word of life and consolation to all those, who received it in faith. A Chief, called Echpalawehund, heard it with such conviction, that he resolved to renounce heathenism and to live with the Brethren. But being a man much honored and followed by a large party, his sudden resolution occasioned

occasioned great confusion in the town. Some adversaries showed their enmity without any reserve, and insinuated, that the missionaries should be banished the Indian country, as disturbers of the peace, adding, that formerly they had lived in peace and quietness according to the good old Indian way, but now they were told that this and that custom was sinful, and that even their sacrifices were not acceptable unto God. The other party held a council three days successively, and resolved at last, that they would all change their manner of living, prohibit drunkenness and other common vices, not suffer any white traders to enter the town, as they introduced many new sins among them; stave the casks of the rum traders, appoint six men to preserve good order, and, without the aid of missionaries, live exactly after the way of the believing Indians, and then neither Chief Echpalawehund nor any other person among them need leave the town to live with the Brethren. But Echpalawehund, who by this time was acquainted with the true source of all evil, endeavored to explain to them, that if they wished to be delivered from its power, they must turn to Jesus Christ, and that otherwise their resolutions, though good in themselves, would be all in vain, as they had no strength to put them into execution. However, to show that they were in good earnest, they began by seizing upon ten casks of rum belonging to a travelling trader, which they stove in the open street. But alas, before a long time had elapsed, these good resolutions proved abortive, and they were as drunken as ever.

In the mean time the situation of the congregation at Friedensstadt became more alarming than ever. The encroachments of the savages occasioned daily more perplexity and trouble, and the pernicious consequences of the rum-trade became at length insupportable. Sometimes the savages would bring a great quantity of rum close to Friedensstadt, and there drink and rave like madmen. In this state of intoxication they frequently entered the settlement, and the inhabitants were obliged to fasten their shutters and burn

candles by day, as the drunken savages broke all windows that were left open. It was certainly owing to the gracious providence of God alone, that the settlement suffered so little and was not burnt down; for it happened several times, that when they were fully determined to do mischief, they quarrelled among themselves, so that instead of injuring the believing Indians and their teachers, they fell upon each other with their knives, and many an one came off with a mangled face. Yet some forced open several doors in the place, by throwing large stones at them; then entering the houses, they brandished their arms, threatening to murder every soul living; and our Indians were at last obliged, against their inclination, to seize upon several of these rioters and keep them bound, till they got sober, lest they should proceed to greater acts of violence. One day a savage came running like a madman into the settlement, exclaiming that he would kill the white man. He proceeded full speed to Brother Rothe's house, burst open the door, and entered the room like an enraged wild beast. The missionary's wife was excessively terrified, snatched up her child and fled, but the missionary, who was then confined to his bed by illness, sat up in the bed and in silence looked with great undauntedness at the savage, which so much discomposed him, that he stopped short, and the Indian Brethren, hastening to their teacher's relief, seized and bound him with ease.

The whole congregation bemoaned the fate of a young unbaptized man, the son of one of our Indian Brethren, who suffered himself to be seduced to accompany some savages to Kaskaskunk, where he got drunk, and in endeavoring, in company with another, to cross the Beaver Creek, fell in, the ice breaking under him. He thrice attempted to save himself, but in vain; at last pronouncing these words, "It seems I *must* die, and I *will* die," was forced by the current under the ice and drowned.

These circumstances, which admitted of no alleviation, prevailed at length upon the congregation, in the spring of 1773, to quit so disagreeable a neighborhood. April 11th there

there was a solemn baptismal transaction, which closed the public worship of the congregation at Friedensstadt, and praise and thanksgiving was offered up unto the Lord for all his mercies, favors and preservation experienced in this place. The day after, the church was levelled with the ground, the heathen having intimated their intention to convert it into an house for dancing and sacrifice. On the 13th our Indians and their teachers set out in twenty-two large canoes, down the Beaver Creek to the Ohio, proceeding to the mouth of the Muskingum, and up that river to Gnadenhuetten and Schoenbrunn. Brother John Heckenwaelder accompanied those who went by water. But many went strait across the country with Brother John Rothe.

This journey lasted three weeks, and not a day passed, but they found cause to thank the Lord for his gracious help and preservation, especially in passing the numerous falls in the rivers, over which they were obliged to drag the canoes, in performing which some Brethren were in great danger of their lives.

When at length the different parts of the Indian congregation met again together, there was universal joy and gladness. Schoenbrunn was inhabited chiefly by Delawares; Gnadenhuetten by Mahikans; the believers from several other nations being dispersed among them in both places. The dwellings, fields and gardens were portioned out among the families according to their several necessities. Those who had lived here for some time, showed all possible kindness to the new-comers, and thus the latter were in a short time conveniently and comfortably situated and provided with every thing needful.

External troubles however were not wanting. Intelligence was received, that the Iroquois had sold a large tract of land below the Canhawa to the English, to which several nations claimed a right of possession, and that many white people had already settled upon it. The secret views of the Iroquois in this business could not remain unobserved, as they wished to draw the other Indian tribes into a war with

the English, and while both parties were weakening themselves by slaughter, to gain advantages for themselves. The petty wars of the Indian tribes continued, and our Indians being considered as belonging to the Delaware nation, which was appointed peace-maker, they were incessantly called upon to interfere. Thus they were informed, that the Cherokees had declared war against the Wawiachtanos, destroyed a whole town, making no prisoners, but killing all they met, children not excepted. The head-chief of the Delawares in Gekelemukpechuenk was therefore obliged to send an embassy of twelve men to the Cherokees, with proposals of peace, which were accepted. Our Indians willingly contributed twelve fathoms of wampom, towards the expences of this embassy, to the great satisfaction of the Chiefs. But they did not show the same disposition, when called upon to take share in a proposal made by the Delawares to send an embassy over the great ocean to the king of England, to desire that he would make peace between the implacable Iroquois and the Shawanose; and at the same time to beg his majesty to inform them, which of all the Christian persuasions under his government was the best, that they might finally arrive at some certainty concerning that point. It was evident, that such an undertaking could not be carried into execution, and indeed, after many solemn and serious consultations, the whole affair was suspended, and those who had contributed towards the expences of the proposed embassy, were not a little disappointed to find, that the Delaware Chiefs would not return their contributions.

July 4th, 1773, the missionaries in Schoenbrunn had the joy to baptize the firstlings of the Cherokee nation, a man and his wife.

Both here and in Gnadenhuetten the labor of the missionaries encreased so much, that they were obliged to beg for assistants, and to their great satisfaction, the missionary John Jacob Schmick, who had lived in Bethlehem ever since the relinquishing of Friedenshuetten, resolved to enter again into the service of his beloved Indian congregation. But before

he set out, it was found expedient to send a formal embassy, in the name of the believing Indians, to the Chiefs and council in Gekelemukpechuenk, partly to give notice of the arrival of the missionary Schmick, and partly to repeat the declaration given by the Indian congregation concerning their tenets, divine worship, and manner of living; and to request the favor of a renewed confirmation of the promises given by that council, viz. That the believing Indians should be protected against all encroachments and attacks of the savages. Six deputies were therefore chosen, and Isaac Glikkikan was appointed speaker. He delivered with great freedom several speeches before the council and a great number of hearers, which made a deep impression on their minds, and presented the necessary belts and strings of wampom by way of confirmation. In one of these speeches he said: "We have already given you a full explanation of our doctrine and manner of living, and declared, that we have renounced all heathenism, and the sinful practices common among the Indians, with which we have nothing more to do, but wish to lead a life well-pleasing to God. But you have not yet given us an answer, though it is now above a year since, this was done. You have rather troubled us with your own foolish things, which we have entirely put away from us. We therefore declare once more, that we have received the sweet and precious doctrine of the Gospel, not only with our ears, but with our hearts. We have brought the word which God sent unto us, and watch over it as over a great and invaluable treasure; being resolved to preserve it, even to the end of our lives. If any Indian therefore wishes to hear and believe the Gospel, let him come to us; we shall think it a pleasure to instruct him. Therefore send this belt to your nephews the Shawanose, and to your uncle the Delamattenos, &c." The council was in the beginning not much pleased with the information of the appointment of another missionary, and the old Chief, Netawatwees, was of opinion, that they had teachers enough, for the new one would teach nothing but the same doctrine. He was,

however, soon convinced, and agreed to his coming; in consequence of which some Indian Brethren went to Bethlehem and conducted Brother Schmick and his wife safe to Gnadenhuetten on the 18th of August.

In September, David Zeisberger and the two assistants, Isaac Glikkikan and William, made another journey to the Shawanose. They met the head-chief in one of their towns upon a journey. He immediately gave them his hand, and addressing them in an exalted tone of voice, said: "This day God hath so ordered, that we should see and speak with each other face to face." He then entered into a long detail of the practices of the white people, describing their manner of deceiving the Indians, which he illustrated by various instances, and affirmed that they were all alike, sweet in the mouths, but full of bitterness in their hearts, ever intent upon mischief. As he always pointed to the missionary whenever he mentioned the white people, Brother Zeisberger supposed that he intended to deter him from coming any more to the Shawanose. He therefore took this opportunity to give the Chief an idea of the views of the Brethren in teaching the Indians, nor did he omit to preach the Gospel to him, closing with these words: "Though you should not believe my words now, yet a time will come, when all of us must appear before the judgment-seat of God; then every thing will be made manifest, and you will be obliged to confess, that I now have spoken the truth." But the Chief was so exceedingly exasperated against the white people, to whom he ascribed all the misery of the Indians, that Brother Zeisberger's words seemed at first to have little weight with him. However being at length more pacified, he permitted him to continue his visits in the Shawanose towns, but added, that he must expect some day or other to have his brains beat out. The missionary was not to be intimidated by these threats, but went to various places, preached the Gospel of Jesus Christ with great boldness and energy; and, as he expressed himself, loved the word in hope, though he perceived that for the present

present no regular mission could be established among these people.

Soon after his return, the newly-erected chapels in Gnadenhuetten and Schoenbrunn were consecrated with great joy and solemnity.

Among those who departed to eternal rest in the year 1773, Anthony, who has been frequently mentioned in this History, deserves particular notice. His loss was greatly lamented by the missionaries. Ever since the year 1750 he had been a faithful member of the congregation, cleaving to the Lord with his whole heart, and possessing extraordinary gifts for interpreting the discourses of the missionaries. He had a clear insight into the truths of the Gospel, and a fervent zeal to preach the word of reconciliation to his countrymen, for which God had given him mouth and wisdom. He was made instrumental in the conversion of many, and rejoiced greatly at their progress in grace. Distress, danger, and persecution, which he had abundantly experienced, especially at Goschgoschuenk, never diverted him from looking up in faith to Jesus, but rather tended to establish him in the love and knowledge of the friend and preserver of his soul, for whose service he was willing to endure contempt and reviling, and even death itself. Some days before his decease, he said to a company of visitors: "Brethren, I am now going to our Savior, and beg you never to deny your faith. Do not pull down, what the Lord himself hath built among you, but seek to preserve it. Obey your teachers, and follow them in all things. Do not grieve them by disobedience, and suffer no one to seduce you. Think not when I am gone, that our Savior's cause will suffer. He will accomplish the work he has begun, and prepare for himself Brethren qualified for the labor." He fell asleep with the most cheerful countenance, aged 77, and his memory is precious to all who knew him.

The year 1774 proved a time of great trial to the Indian congregations. A war which broke out early in spring between the Virginians and Cherokees, Shawanose, and Senekas,

nekas, occasioned such trouble and confusion throughout the whole country, that the two settlements, Gnadenuetten and Schoenbrunn, had hardly a single day of rest to the end of November. This war was first occasioned by some Cherokees, who having visited Schoenbrunn murdered two white traders on their return. Another European traveller was murdered with a tomahawk by the Sennekas. This made the white people in Virginia fly to arms, and it was soon reported, that they had killed nine Sennekas, and wounded two, without having permission from government to commence hostilities.

The alarm soon became general, and a great part of the Shawanose engaged in the war, going out in small parties to murder the white people. The Sennekas and Virginians did the same; and many white people lately settled on the Ohio, took flight. Those Sennekas who had escaped from the Virginians, came now to Gekelemukpechuenk, and threatened to kill every white man they should meet with. All white traders, therefore, were immediately concealed, and well guarded by the Delawares. As soon as this news reached Schoenbrunn and Gnadenuetten, the Indians, fearing an attack upon the missionaries, kept strict watch.

The protection granted to the white people greatly enraged the Sennekas and Shawanose against the Delawares, and consequently against our Indians. On the other hand, the Delaware nation, as the preserver of peace, was much solicited, both by the English government and the peaceable Indian tribes, to exercise their authority, in endeavoring to re-establish peace and pacify the contending parties. The Delaware Chiefs were sincerely disposed to exert themselves in suppressing the war, and set several treaties on foot, to which our Indians also sent some deputies. But they either proved altogether ineffectual, or only productive of a partial peace; or if a general peace was agreed upon, it was immediately broken. For all these well-meant endeavors, the Delawares were still more hated by those Indian tribes, who were fond of war, and at length called by way of derision,

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*Shwonnaks*, or white people. This exasperated the young men among the Delawares. They could not sit down patiently, and bear this contempt, but repeatedly solicited their Chiefs and captains to join the Shawanose, and go to war with the white people. But as these stood firm, the young warriors ascribed their refusal to the powerful influence of our Indians, in the council, who, as they supposed, were guided and instructed by the missionaries. Thus the settlements were in the greatest danger from this quarter, for the rage of the young savages was such, that they could hardly be kept back from venting their fury upon them. Some even of the principal and oldest Chiefs of the Delawares were so weak, that they sent a solemn embassy to the Shawanose, positively declaring, "that they would not be called *Shwonnaks*, and that if they were thus shamefully reviled, on account of the white teachers who lived in Schoenbrunn and Gnadenhuetten, they took this opportunity of informing them, that they had no hand in it, and never intended to believe in the word of God, much less to live conformably to it; that they had never called the believing Indians into their country, but only connived at its being done by some old fools among them." Though this latter assertion was a palpable falsehood, and it was evident that the Chiefs sent this message merely out of fear, yet the young warriors were so much emboldened by it, that they came in great troops to Gnadenhuetten and Schoenbrunn, and committed outrages, the consequences of which would have been fatal, had not God in mercy protected both settlements by his almighty hand.

As the missionaries were hourly in danger of their lives, it was thought proper to send Brother Rothe and his wife with their two infants to Bethlehem, and the Lord conducted them safe through many dangers. For the greater security of the other missionaries, the Indians sent an embassy to the council of the Delawares at Gekelemukpechuenk, desiring that they would publicly acknowledge their having called the believing Indians and their teachers into the country. They also requested, that the missionaries might be considered as  
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belonging to the Delaware nation, and members of the same body. The council pretended to receive this embassy with great pleasure, but as the answer was, as usual, postponed to some future opportunity, it was of no service to the believing Indians.

The rumours of war and peace varied daily for many months together, keeping our people in distressing suspense. Numerous troops of warriors marched through Schoenbrunn and Gnadenhuetten, some upon murdering parties, others returning with scalps and prisoners, uttering frequent threats, that both places should soon be surprized and laid waste.

Several messages were sent by the Shawanose to our Indians, cautioning them to fly from their settlements and to seek refuge in the towns of the Shawanose, by which two families were so far intimidated, that they left the congregation, to their great detriment. Another message arrived with the news, that 1000 Shawanose were on their march to challenge the Indians in Gekelemukpechuenk, Gnadenhuetten, and Schoenbrunn, to enter the lists with them against the Virginians, and in case of refusal, to murder every one of them, and destroy their towns. Another report mentioned, that the Virginians were on the march, and many people fled from Gekelemukpechuenk and other places, advising our Indians to do the same. But the latter resolved rather to wait, expecting help from the Lord alone. It was afterwards proved, that most of these terrifying reports were nothing but malicious lies, by which some wicked people in Gekelemukpechuenk endeavored to spread terror and confusion among our Indians. Canoes however were always kept in readiness for any sudden emergency, as they were frequently in the night so much terrified by frightful accounts, that all were on the point of taking flight. The Sisters were several times driven from their plantations at noon-day; and all the inhabitants were confined for days and weeks to their dwellings, as several parties of strollers appeared in the neighborhood with a view to seize stragglers. The powers of darkness were indeed severely  
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felt during this dreadful period, and the missionaries and their congregations could do nothing but cry day and night unto God for protection and help in the time of need.

At length the English Government was obliged to proceed to severity, and to march troops into the field. These were strictly charged not to molest the Christian Indians, nor to pass through Schoenbrunn and Gnadenhuetten. They attacked a large party of Shawanose, whom they defeated, made many prisoners, and destroyed four or five of their towns. But as they still refused to make peace, Lord Dunmore, Governor of Virginia, marching with a sufficient force into their country, compelled them to submit and to deliver up all the white prisoners, who were still alive. He then carried off their chief captains and several other Shawanose and Senneka Indians as hostages, and thus established peace throughout the country, to which the Shawanose the more readily agreed, as all their endeavors to draw the great council of the Iroquois in Onondago, and other Indian nations into their schemes, had been frustrated.

From this brief account of the war, we may easily infer that the Indian congregations found great cause to praise and thank God for its happy conclusion. They did this not only in private, but appointed the 6th of November as a day of public thanksgiving, which they celebrated with great solemnity, calling to mind the gracious preservation of that Lord, who had not suffered them to be tempted above what they were able to bear, but supported them graciously. For these his mercies they rendered unto Him songs of praise and gratitude.

The missionaries had again great reason to rejoice, that amidst all these troubles, the internal establishment of the congregations in the grace of God had rather gained than lost ground. The public preaching of the Gospel had never been omitted, and to most of their hearers, among whom were many warriors, the Gospel was not preached in vain. Some, who had attended the meetings with much emotion of heart, returned indeed to their respective homes, but after

a few days came again, to assure the Brethren, that they had meditated by day and night upon what they had heard, and could have no peace, until they resolved to return and to hear more concerning so gracious a God and Savior. A celebrated Indian preacher, hearing the Gospel for the first time in Schoenbrunn, was so struck with conviction, that he could not rest, till he had obtained leave to dwell there. Many sick Indians, women in labor, and travellers who were taken ill in the neighborhood, begged to be carried to Schoenbrunn or Gnadenhuetten, because, as they said, if they should happen to die, they might hope to hear words of their Savior before they departed this life, and be led to turn to him in their distress. Though the missionaries did not expect to see much abiding fruit on these occasions, because a man, in distress, is apt to make good resolutions, but generally forgets them soon after; yet they had the pleasure to see that some of these poor people turned with their whole hearts to the Lord, and joined his people.

There was another striking contrast between the conduct of our Indians and the savages. The former, though frequently interrupted, continued in their usual habits of industry, planting their fields and gardens, boiling sugar, &c. while the latter neglected every thing on account of the war. God blessed the labor of their hands, so much that they had not only sufficient to assist the needy, but even generously provided many warriors, marching through their settlements, with food and other necessaries, to their great surprise. A captain said on this occasion: "I have found your people very different from what I heard them to be, in our towns. There it is said, that when a strange Indian arrives he is sent to make his fire in the wood, and can get nothing to eat: I now hear the contrary from all that have come to us from you; for they have all been lodged and fed. In Gekelemukpechuenk they made wry faces at us, but here all the men, women, and even children, have bid us welcome."

Among those, who in 1774 obtained leave to dwell at Schoenbrunn, was a family from Onondago, who had been formerly acquainted with Brother David Zeisberger. They had been baptized by a Romish priest, and were therefore only solemnly received into the congregation of the Brethren. The man declared, that he had spent several years in great anxiety of mind, laboring to procure rest unto his soul, but could never find any, until he came hither and heard the Gospel of the incarnation, sufferings and death of God our Savior. "And now," added he, I believe that Jesus "Christ shed his blood also for me a poor sinner. I will "therefore be wholly his property. Not a hair of me shall "exist, that does not belong unto him." Chief Newallike, whose name was mentioned in the history of Friedenshuetten, having long hesitated whether he should devote himself to the Lord, could no longer withstand his convictions, but came with his and another family from the Susquehannah to Schoenbrunn. About this time a remarkable emotion was perceived among the unbaptized; some, who had appeared lukewarm, were roused to a sense of their backwardness. One of them said, "Here am I, a poor sinner, who have "lived so long among God's people, and yet have no life in "my heart. Ah, I am ashamed, when I consider, with "what patience our Savior has borne with me hitherto. But "now I cannot remain dead any longer: I desire to receive "eternal life from him, but I know that I must first be "washed from my sins in his precious blood." A whole family, having lived for a considerable time at Schoenbrunn, but showed no signs of true conversion, were therefore informed, that if they knew no reason for their living there, they would do better to remove to some other place. This caused them seriously to reflect. Both husband and wife, who hitherto had been at variance, now agreed to turn to the Lord, begged leave to stay, and the man added that he should even consider it as a favor if they were only permitted to sit without, on the threshold, to hear the Gospel. Their request was granted, and the Brethren had no reason to re-  
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pent: they turned indeed with their whole hearts unto the Lord, were baptized, and remained ever after faithful members of the congregation. An Indian woman, who had been long without spiritual life, came, and declared with many tears, that our Savior had manifested himself to her heart; that she now could believe, that he had received wounds in his hands, feet, and side, for her sins. That having represented to her mind how he stood with the thorny crown, torn and wounded, this had melted her whole heart: "Now," added she, "I desire nothing so much as to be cleansed from my sins in his precious blood." An unbaptized man, who moved from Gekelemukpechuenk to Schoenbrunn, being severely reproved for it by an heathen, answered: "All the Indians know how wickedly I have lived; I had not my fellow in Gekelemukpechuenk, so that my grandfather, Netawatwees, and all my friends, hated me on account of my abominable life, often bidding me to be gone, and never to see their face again. But now that my friends and the other Indians see that I am here and believe the Gospel, they hate me much more than before, when I lived in sin." Chief Echpalawehund came one day to Brother Schmick, and said: "Yesterday our Savior revealed himself to me, and I felt great pain, when I considered how many years I have grieved him with my sins. I prayed to him; 'Have mercy upon me! Thou seest and knowest my wretchedness. Grant me thy mercy, and the remission of my sins. Cleanse my heart; I will devote it unto thee alone!' I then thought, I will cast myself at the feet of Jesus, and never desist until he grants my petition." He soon received the joyful assurance of the forgiveness of his sins, was baptized and called Peter, and not long after became a zealous witness of the truth among the very people, whose Chief he had been. The grace of God and the labor of his Spirit were evident, not only in the hearts of the unbaptized and catechumens in general, but more especially among the young people. Even children were awakened, and the missionaries remarked with great pleasure and gratitude,

tude, that these little ones both in public and private, wept for grace through the blood of Jesus, devoting themselves with soul and body to him, who gave himself a sacrifice for us. It happened about this time that a poor girl of ten years old, being engaged in planting Indian corn, was suddenly crushed to death by the fall of a large tree. This circumstance afforded an opportunity to remind the children, that they ought to be always ready to depart to the Lord with joy, not knowing how soon they may be called hence.

The confidence and courage with which the Indian assistants preached the word of reconciliation to their countrymen was remarkably great at this period. They did this even publicly in the great council at Gekelemukpechuenk, the Chiefs having desired that some of the eldest and most respected among the believing Indians would always attend, and they seldom omitted an opportunity of declaring the truth, as it is in Christ Jesus. One of them spoke in the council concerning the missionaries: "Our teachers," said he, "do not desire your land, nor any external advantage, as other white people do, but their whole aim is, to preach Jesus, and to instruct us daily, how to attain to a better knowledge of God our Creator, by whom we receive peace and joy in our hearts and the hopes of everlasting life." "They love the Indians, and therefore live among us, and we must not look upon our teachers as upon other white people, but class them among our nearest friends and relations." Notwithstanding these declarations the missionaries were however a stone of offence to many of the Chiefs and to a great part of the council at Gekelemukpechuenk, and it was several times proposed to expel them by force. But God brought their counsel to nought, and appointed for this purpose, the first captain among the Delawares, called White Eye. This man kept the Chiefs and council in awe, and would not suffer them to injure the missionaries, being in his own heart convinced of the truths of the Gospel. This was evident in all his speeches, and before the Chiefs and council in behalf of the Indian congregation and their

PART III. I teachers,

teachers, during which he was frequently so much moved, that his tears prevented his words. He likewise declared with confidence, that no prosperity would attend the Indian affairs, unless they received and believed the saving Gospel, sent by God to them, by means of the Brethren. He was therefore unwearied in his endeavors to persuade them to believe, as the above-mentioned declaration of some Chiefs in Gekelemukpechuenk, that they would never hear and believe the word of God, extremely distressed him. This exposed him to much reproach and sufferings, and he had no greater enemy than the above-mentioned old Chief Netawatwees, who was the principal author of that declaration. White Eye however remained firm, and demanded that the Christian Indians should enjoy perfect liberty of conscience, and their teachers safety and protection, adding, that it was but right that the believers should live separate from the rest, and be protected by the Chiefs and council against every intruder. But finding that his remonstrances would not avail, he separated himself entirely from the Chiefs and council. This occasioned great and general surprize, and his presence being considered both by the Chiefs and the people as indispensably necessary, a negociation commenced, and some Indian Brethren were appointed arbitrators. The event was beyond expectation successful, for Chief Netawatwees not only acknowledged the injustice done to Captain White Eye, but changed his mind with respect to the believing Indians and their teachers, and remained their constant friend to his death. He likewise published this change of sentiment to the whole council, in presence of the deputies from Gnadenhuetten and Schoenbrunn. Captain White Eye then repeated the proposal which they had formerly rejected; and the council agreeing to it, an act was made in the name of the whole Delaware nation to the following effect:

“ From this time forward we solemnly declare, that we will  
“ receive the word of God, and that the believing Indians  
“ and their teachers shall enjoy perfect liberty throughout  
“ the

“the Indian country, with the same rights and privileges  
 “enjoyed by other Indians. The country shall be free to  
 “all, and the believers shall have their right and share in it,  
 “as well as the unbelievers. Whoever wishes to go to the  
 “Brethren and to receive the Gospel, shall be at liberty to join  
 “them, and none shall hinder him. But no heathen In-  
 “dians shall settle in the neighborhood of the believers.”

Netawatwees expressed great joy at this act and declaration, and concluded his speech with these words: “I am an old  
 “man, and know not how long I may live in this world. I  
 “therefore rejoice, that I have been able to make this act,  
 “of which our children and grandchildren will reap the bene-  
 “fit: and now I am ready to go out of the world, when-  
 “ever God pleases.” He sent moreover the following mes-  
 “sage to Chief Pakanke in Kaskaikunk: “You and I are both  
 “old and know not how long we shall live. Therefore let  
 “us do a good work, before we depart, and leave a testi-  
 “mony to our children and posterity, that we have received  
 “the word of God. Let this be our last will and testament.”  
 Pakanke accepted the proposal, and he and other Chiefs  
 made it known by solemn embassies in all places where it  
 was necessary. For a still greater security, a treaty was set  
 on foot with the Delamattenoos, who had given this part of  
 the country to the Delawares about thirty years ago, by  
 which a grant was procured, insuring to the believing In-  
 dians an equal right with the other Delawares to possess land  
 in it. And that this transaction might be duly ratified in the  
 Indian manner and the act remain unrepealed, our Indians sent  
 a formal embassy to the Chiefs and council of the Delaware  
 nation, to return their humble thanks for it. The deputies  
 repeated the whole declaration of the council concerning  
 the believing Indians and their teachers, and Netawatwees  
 confirmed it to be their own act and deed, in presence of  
 all the people; adding, that they had called the Indian con-  
 gregation and their missionaries into this country, and that  
 all the words now repeated by the deputies, had been spoken  
 and ratified by this council. Then the deputies proceeded to

return thanks in the name of both congregations, delivering several belts of wampom, which were forwarded to the neighboring nations. They were made without ornaments, and immediately known by their plainness to be the belts of the Christian Indians. Thus this important business was concluded and confirmed in due form.

Meanwhile Gekelemukpechuenk was forsaken by its inhabitants, and a new town built on the east side of the Muskingum, opposite to the influx of the Walhaling. This town was called Gofchachguenk, and Chief Netawatwees chose it for his future residence.

## CHAPTER VI.

1775. 1776.

*Prosperity of the Indian Congregation. Building of Lichtenau on the Muskingum. The Situation of the Indian Congregation rendered dangerous by a long Indian War.*

THE rest enjoyed by the Indian congregation in the year 1775 was peculiarly pleasing, and much favored the visits of strangers, who came in such numbers, that the chapel at Schoenbrunn, which might contain about five hundred hearers, was too small.

Among these was a white man from Maryland, Mr. Richard Connor and his wife, who had lived many years among the Shawanose, but afterwards settled in Pittsburg. The Gospel, which they heard in Schoenbrunn, was so precious to them, that they resolved to leave Pittsburg and live with our Indians. The missionaries being very scrupulous of admitting white people as inhabitants, on account of the above-mentioned suspicions of the Indian nations, represented

sented their scruples, adding, that they would find it inconvenient, to submit to those rules and practices agreed upon as essentially necessary for the welfare of the settlement. But Mr. and Mrs. Connor declared their willingness to comply with every thing, and that they did not desire to claim the least prerogative before the believing Indians, their only view being the salvation of their own souls. They were so urgent in repeating their request, that after mature consideration in the conference of the Indian assistants, their petition was at last granted. They then left Pittsburg, and moved to Schoenbrunn, where they began an Indian housekeeping, and were publicly received as members of the church of the Brethren. They had soon after the satisfaction, after much trouble, to ransom their son of four years old, for forty Spanish dollars, from the Shawanose, who had forcibly detained him.

It was a great pleasure to the Brethren to see the change wrought in the mind of Captain Pipe's wife. She formerly declared that what the Brethren preached, was not true; that she knew better, having been in the mansions of the spirits, where the strawberries and bilberries were as large as apples, and in great plenty. Thither she intended to return, but that she would never go to the Brethren's heaven. On this account she would not come to any meeting for a long time. At length venturing to attend the baptism of a child, the Holy Ghost labored so powerfully on her heart, that she melted into tears, and afterwards declared, that she would no more say, that the Brethren's doctrine was false, being now convinced of its truth and desirous to be saved by it. In this year, Wangomen, the well-known heathen preacher at Goshgoshuenk, visited Schoenbrunn, endeavoring to propagate his foolish doctrines, in order to perplex the minds of the people. But the Indian Brethren opposed him so successfully, that he was utterly confounded. They closed their rebuke with these words: "Go to our children, they can teach you the way to salvation, of which you are ignorant."

After a sermon which treated of the great love of God to man, revealed in the incarnation and death of our Lord Jesus Christ, a strange Mahikan asked an Indian Sister, whether all the people at church had a feeling of this great love of God. She answered: "I cannot tell you whether all feel it, but those who believe and love our Savior feel it certainly. I will introduce a simile. Suppose there was a very delicious meal prepared in this room, and many people attending; those only who eat, can say, that the victuals taste well, the others cannot say so. Thus it is with our Savior. Only those who have tasted of his love can speak of it, and they never forget it." The Mahikan replied: "Your simile is just. Now I will likewise tell you something: When my wife was going to lie in with her first-born, I was impatient to see the child. When I saw it, I thought: This child God has made; and I loved it so much, that I could not forbear looking at it continually. Soon after the child died, and I mourned to that degree, that nothing would comfort me. I had no rest, day nor night, and my child was always in my thoughts; for my very heart cleaved to it. At last I could bear the house no longer, but ran into the woods, and almost lost my senses. The Indians then advised me to take an emetic to get rid of my sorrow. I complied, but the love for my child, and my sorrow for its loss, were not removed, and I returned to the woods. There I beheld the trees and the birds, and considered, that the same God created them who made my child. I then said: 'Thou, O God! who mad'st all things, I know not where thou art, but I have heard that thou dwellest in heaven. Thou hast taken my child, take my sorrow and grief likewise from me!' This was done, and I then could forget my child. From this I conclude, that those who love God are disposed as I was towards the child I so dearly loved; they can never forget him, nor find rest and pleasure in any thing else."

Another visitor was surprized that he had nothing to pay for the missionaries sermons. He said, "I have been here

“ three days, and have heard many excellent words, without  
 “ paying any wampom. This is not so among the Indians, for  
 “ when you want to gain any useful knowledge from the old  
 “ and wise men, you must first give them strings and belts of  
 “ wampom, otherwise they will not instruct you.”

In May 1775 the Chief of a large Shawanose town spent six days agreeably at Gnadenhuetten, accompanied by his wife, a captain, several counsellors, in all above thirty persons. They attended divine worship regularly, and received a good impression from it. At parting the Chief established a bond of friendship with Brother Schmick.

Both these settlements were much troubled by such Indians, who during the former wars, had neglected their plantations, and were thus reduced to famine. Our Indians fed these wretched people as long as they had any thing themselves, but being soon distressed for provisions, were obliged to seek food for their families, by hunting at a great distance from home. On one of those expeditions, a brother having lost his party, strayed into an immense wilderness, where he roved about for a whole week before he found his way home. On his arrival, the whole congregation took share in the inexpressible joy of his wife and children, who had given him over for lost. He was almost starved, looked like a corpse; and it was with difficulty that he was so far restored as to be able to take food. But he could not find words to express his thanks to God our Savior, on whom he placed his sole confidence in this dreadful hour of trial. “ Praised be the Lord,” said he to Brother Schmick, “ who preserved me so long in the woods. Often  
 “ did I cry unto him in my distress: ‘ Thou knowest why  
 “ I went out to hunt, I sought to provide the necessary food  
 “ for myself and my family. Assist me to find my way to my  
 “ wife and children, and to my brethren. Be present with  
 “ me and strengthen me, for I am very faint!’ This prayer  
 “ our Savior heard, and brought me back, for which I can-  
 “ not thank him sufficiently.”

Among those who were baptized in the year 1775, was a son of the well-known Chief Pakanke, in Kaskaskunk, who,

being taken ill in the woods, begged to be carried to Gnadenuetten, where he heard the Gospel, so well adapted to the comfort of all the poor and needy, with eager attention, and begged with tears for baptism. "I only desire," said he, "to be saved, and that our Savior may cleanse my heart in his precious blood, forgive me all my sins, and grant me everlasting life." He then asked Brother Schmick, when Christmas-day would be, and the day being mentioned to him, he wept and said: "Ah, that the Lord would then have mercy upon me, and grant me spiritual life in holy baptism, for on that day I was born into this world." His request was granted, and he was baptized on Christmas-day. About this time an unbaptized man, who was sent away from Gnadenuetten on account of his bad behavior, was exasperated to such a degree, that having painted himself all over black, he entered the house of the missionary Schmick, armed with a large knife, bent upon revenge. But finding only his wife at home, he returned, and soon recollecting himself, went and confessed his sins and unhappy condition, begging earnestly to be re-admitted; and not long after Brother Schmick had the pleasure to baptize him into the death of Jesus. Another, who had been appointed successor to Chief Netawatwees, declined the offer, and would rather believe and be baptized, than promoted to that honor.

Among those called by the Lord into eternal rest was John Papunhank, a man much respected, who cleaved stedfastly unto the Lord, and in every trial gave evident proofs, that he was established in the true faith. The external affairs of the settlement at Schoenbrunn were committed to his inspection, as warden of the congregation. In this office he showed the greatest faithfulness and activity. During the latter period of his life he was remarkably cheerful, and in his last illness never wished to recover, but longed to depart and see Jesus, his Lord and God, face to face. In this blessed hope he fell happily asleep, and his end was edifying to all present. The decease of Joshua was a painful stroke to the missionaries; he was one of the first baptized in the year 1742. As an  
assistant

assistant he showed great zeal and fidelity, preached the Gospel with simplicity and power to his countrymen, and having great gifts and capacity, was very useful and unwearied in translating. He was universally beloved, and being appointed warden of the congregation at Gnadenhuetten, he watched stedfastly over the due observance of the regulations and statutes, himself giving a good example unto others. Shortly before his departure he said to Brother Schmick: "I go to our Savior as a poor sinner, for I am the "poorest and worst of all, and have nothing to plead but the "blood of Christ. His righteousness is my wedding dress." And clothed with this, he fell happily asleep, and entered into eternal rest.

In the year 1775 the disputes between Great Britain and her North American colonies had risen so high, that the disturbances occasioned by them reached the countries situated along the Muskingum and Ohio. I shall mention those troubles only in as far as they had an influence upon our Indian congregations, and may tend to throw light upon their history. The troops and allies of Great Britain I have called *the English*, and the troops and allies of the present United States, *the Americans*.

The Indian mission was brought into an extraordinary dilemma by this war, and it is incredible with what circumspection the missionaries were obliged to act, not to offend either the English or Americans, or the various Indian nations inclining to one or the other party.

In October and November 1775 a treaty of peace was set on foot at Pittsburg, with the deputies of the Six Nations. To this Brother Zeisberger, as missionary, and some Indian Brethren, as deputies, were invited by the commissioners appointed by the American congress. Brother Zeisberger declined attending, but our Indian deputies went to Pittsburg, where the aim to establish peace was only in part obtained. The deputies of the Wyondat or Huron Indians showed much dissatisfaction at parting, being inclined to take the part of the English.

Captain

Captain White Eye took this opportunity to declare both to the commissioners of Congress, and to the Indian deputies, that the Delaware nation had formally resolved to receive the Gospel. This indeed seemed to be the sincere intention of the people of Gofchachguenk, and must be ascribed to the frequent admonitions given them to this purpose by their old Chief Netawatwees. Towards the end of the year a solemn embassy came from Gofchachguenk to Schoenbrunn, to desire that a third settlement might be established. Their address was to the following effect: "Brothers and friends! you told us immediately upon your arrival, that you intended to build two or three towns for the believing Indians. Two are erected, and we perceive that they are well filled with inhabitants. We therefore, having long ago resolved to believe in the Gospel, have thought, upon mature consideration, that it is now time to build the third town, that those of our people, who believe, may have a place of refuge. We therefore desire you to begin as soon as possible. You are to lay the foundation, to plant the word of God, and to make the proper regulations, as you know best. These must not be made only to suit the aged and grown people, but chiefly for our young people and children; for it is our intention, that this establishment shall last as long as Indians exist. We wish particularly, to see our children instructed in reading the holy Scriptures, that they may never forget them. Our eyes look towards you, for we are not able to accomplish it ourselves." The message was duly received, and the deputies having proposed two places for a third settlement, the missionary David Zeisberger went in the spring of 1776 with some Indian Brethren to view them, when, after due deliberation, a spot was chosen with the approbation of the Chiefs and the great council of the Delawares, about three miles below Gofchachguenk, on the east side of the Muskingum, and the settlement was called Lichtenau.

Chief Netawatwees and most of his people expressed great joy on this occasion; but those who did not wish to be disturbed

turbed in the service of sin by the preaching of the Gospel, resolved to quit the neighborhood of the Brethren, and actually left the country.

April 10th, 1776, the Brethren Zeisberger and Heckenwaelder, with eight Indian families, in all thirty-five persons, went from Schoenbrunn to the spot proposed for the building of Lichtenau, and on the evening of their arrival met in the open air to praise the name of that Lord, whom they intended to worship and serve in this place. They first dwelt in huts, as usual on such emergencies, marked out the plantations and gardens, for the settlement on the banks of the Muskingum, and built one street north and south, with the chapel in the center. They were assisted in this arduous work by many Brethren from Gnadenhuetten and Schoenbrunn, and by Chief Netawatwees, who frequently came with a large party of his people to help them. Even some strangers, among whom were four Cherokees, went willingly to work. Thus in a short time, all our Indians, who moved hither with their teachers, left the huts and took possession of their houses. By the preaching of the Gospel here many Indians in Goschachguenk and other places became concerned for their salvation; and as all those, who appeared in earnest, were permitted to settle at Lichtenau, this place soon encreased, and the missionaries had the satisfaction to find, that a better situation could not have been chosen for the preaching of the Gospel. The savages came hither from the most distant parts, and heard it with abiding blessing. Among these strangers one deserves particularly to be noticed, who came from the river Illinois, at the distance of above a thousand miles, and appeared very thoughtful. At last he thus addressed Brother Zeisberger: "Do you think that what you preach is true, and good for us?" The missionary answered, "I preach the word of God, which is truth, and will remain so to all eternity." He replied, "I cannot believe it." His honest declaration pleased the missionary, and he explained to him, that as soon as he should hear

hear the Gospel and perceive its power, he would, without much hesitation, acknowledge it to be truth.

July 28th, 1776, the first baptism was administered in Lichtenau to a nephew of Chief Netawatwees, who was named John. He soon became an active and zealous witness among his countrymen, fearless of the persecution of those, who were avowed enemies of the Gospel. Being advised by an heathen not to speak of what he experienced, because it might eventually cost him his life, he replied, "I will therefore speak the more courageously. Do you imagine, that we fear the sorcery of the Indians, and on that account shut our mouths and conceal what God our Savior has done and suffered for us and all the Indians, when he shed his precious blood for the remission of sins? God forbid: We will tell all men how they may come to Jesus Christ and be saved by him, nor will we hold our peace as long as we live; for this is the commandment of God unto us." Netawatwees, who greatly rejoiced at the change wrought in his nephew, permitted his son to move with his whole family to Lichtenau, and was very thoughtful about his own salvation. He related, that he had made thirteen notches in a piece of wood, by way of memorandum, that he had been thirteen Sundays in Lichtenau to hear the word of God; and that when he considered how often he had heard of his Redeemer, and looked at the notches in the wood, he could not help weeping, although he endeavored to conceal his tears.

Among those who moved to Lichtenau in 1776, was a Chief from Assinink. He had married a white woman, who, as a child, was taken prisoner by the savages about nineteen years ago in Virginia. Being present at a morning meeting for the first time, she burst into tears, saying, "O how do I rejoice, that after the space of nineteen years, I at last hear the Gospel again. I have often desired to live with you, and now God has granted my petition; I never felt happier than when I awoke this morning."

In

In Gnadenhuetten arrived about this time a Chief of the Shawanofe, commonly called Cornstock, with a retinue of upwards of an hundred persons, men, women, and children. His behavior was courteous, and he showed a particular friendship for the missionary Jacob Schmick, to whom he addressed the following speech through his interpreter, an old mulattoe, who had lived twenty years among the Shawanofe: "I greatly rejoice to see you and your wife. I shall never forget the kindness you have shown me during my last visit. Therefore I consider you and your wife as my parents, and declare and own you anew as such." Brother Schmick answered: "This is doing us too much honor. We shall be satisfied if you will consider me as your brother, and my wife as your sister." He seemed pleased, and taking the missionary and his wife by the hand, thanked them, and said: "I will acquaint all my friends that we have established this bond of friendship."

In the year 1776, the Delaware Reading and Spelling Book, compiled by Brother Zeisberger, was introduced into the schools at Schoenbrunn and Gnadenhuetten, and gave great pleasure to the scholars.

The believing Indians, consisting at the close of 1775 of 414 persons, lived now in three settlements, not far asunder, and a constant edifying intercourse subsisted between them. Internally the congregations prospered greatly. The Gospel showed its divine power in the hearts both of strangers and inhabitants. Of the former many were added to the church of God by holy baptism, and the growth of the latter in the love and knowledge of the Lord Jesus Christ, was so conspicuous, that the missionaries could not but acknowledge the mission to have been at that time in the most flourishing state. But their external situation was truly embarrassing. They first received a message in the name of his Britannic Majesty, desiring that our Indians, as well as the others, would strictly adhere to the articles of peace, and remain quiet during the troubles subsisting between the colonies and the mother-country. Our Indians were more especially  
willing

willing to act conformably to the contents of this message, as they loved peace and wished to remain unmolested. Soon after another message was received from the Congress at Philadelphia, giving notice in the kindest terms, that they had appointed an agent of Indian affairs, and that our Indians should correspond with him in all public concerns. Not long after a report prevailed, that the Shawanose had joined the English against the Americans, and were gone out to murder the latter. At last intelligence was brought that the Six Nations would go to war, assist the English, and that the Delamattenoos and other Indian nations would follow their example: but that the Delaware nation, which was appointed to keep the general peace, should not be informed of these proceedings, till it was too late to prevent the war. These and other rumors perplexed our Indians not a little. Being resolved at all events not to meddle with the war, they saw plainly, that they should stand, as it were, between three fires, the English, the Americans, and those Indian nations, who were displeased with their neutrality; all these being suspicious of their conduct. But the greatest concern they had was on account of their teachers, who, in case of an Indian war, must either fly and leave their congregations, or every day be in danger of losing their lives.

The Delaware Chief Netawatwees did every thing in his power to preserve peace among the Indian nations, by sending embassies, and exhorting them not to go to war. He however received a message from the Hurons, "that the Delawares should keep their shoes in readiness, to join the warriors." This message he would not accept, but sent several belts to the Hurons, admonishing them to sit still and to remember the misery they had brought upon themselves, by taking share in the late war between the English and French. These belts were carried to the Chiefs of the Hurons in Fort Detroit; but as it was necessary to deliver them to the Chiefs in the presence of the English Governor, the latter, to fulfil his duty, cut them in pieces, cast them at the deputies feet, and commanded them to depart within half an hour. He even

even accused Captain White Eye of taking part with the Americans, advising him to depart instantly as he valued his head. After this, Congress offered to protect those Indians, who were peaceably disposed, and to place them out of the reach of danger. No Chief would venture to make known this message to his people, the general disposition of all the Indians, the Delawares not excepted, being for war; and the mere mention of this proposal would have occasioned them to go to war immediately, and thus have made bad worse.

The Americans then advised the missionaries to save themselves, and take refuge in Pittsburg. But well knowing that their congregations would fall into the most deplorable circumstances without their teachers, they declined every offer of that kind, and rather resolved to suffer with the people committed to their care, though threatened by the most imminent danger. Brother William Edward arrived in autumn from Bethlehem to assist the mission.

About this time the Hurons and Mingues came into the vicinity of our settlements, and murdered eleven white people upon a plantation not far from Lichtenau. Some of them were even found skulking about at Goshachguenk in search of white people. At length six of them came early in the morning of the 12th of November to Lichtenau, and Brother Heckenwaelder was not a little alarmed, when upon opening his house-door he discovered these savages standing before it. Some Indian Brethren however hastened to his assistance, to whom the savages owned, that they came in search of white people, intending to kill them, but assured them, that they did not mean to hurt the white teachers, but only the white traders.

The Americans now began to march with the Indian warriors in their interest, against the English, and desired a passage through the Delaware country, promising that if they remained quiet, they should suffer no injury. The Delawares however were not a little alarmed, fearing that if the Americans were defeated, the conquerors would plunder and destroy all the Delaware towns, and our settlements would have  
undoubt-

undoubtedly shared the same fate. But as their request could not be refused, silence gave consent.

It now became evident, why, by the providence of God, Lichtenau had been placed so near to Gofschachguenk; for the believing Indians could neither have defended themselves nor their teachers against the insults of the warriors, had they not had constant support from the Chiefs and council of that place. They cautiously avoided interfering with the messages of the Delawares, sent either to the English, the Americans, or the neighboring Indian nations, or with any thing relating to political affairs. One circumstance was very perplexing. The Delaware Chiefs now and then received letters from Pittsburg and other places. As they could not read, they generally applied to the missionaries to know the contents. Sometimes they desired them to answer these letters in the name of the Chiefs. It would have been not only unkind, but even dangerous, to refuse their request, as the Chiefs would have had occasion to doubt their friendship. Innocent as their compliance was, the missionaries wished much to have been spared, fearing lest people, who knew not the connexion of this business, might begin to suspect that they were themselves carrying on a correspondence with the Americans to the prejudice of the English, and the event proved their fears to be just. The more the missionaries stood in need of a sensible and respected Chief in this embarrassing situation, the more they had reason to lament the death of Chief Netawatwees, which happened in Pittsburg, towards the close of 1776. Ever since his sentiments had changed in favor of the Gospel, he was a faithful friend of the Brethren, and being one of the most experienced Chiefs in his time, his counsel proved often very serviceable to the mission. The wish he uttered as his last will and testament, that the Delaware nation might hear and believe the word of God, preached by the Brethren, was frequently repeated in the council by his successor, and then they renewed their covenant to use their utmost exertions, to fulfil this last wish of their old worthy and honored Chief. Upon such an occasion, Captain White Eye, holding the bible and

and some spelling-books in his hands, addressed the council with great emotion and even with tears: "My friends," said he, "you now have heard the last will and testament of our departed Chief. I will therefore gather together my young men and their children, and kneeling down before that God, who created them, will pray unto him, that he may have mercy upon us and reveal his will unto us. And as we cannot declare it to those, who are yet unborn, we will pray unto the Lord our God, to make it known to our children, and children's children."

In the mean time the Hurons continued to commit ravages and murders in all places, attached to the American cause. The Chiefs of the Delawares were more than ever concerned for the safety of the missionaries in Gnadenhuetten and Schoenbrunn, and therefore invited these congregations to come to Goschachguenk, that they might protect the white Brethren in their own town: but the missionaries did not then apprehend this step to be necessary, placing their only confidence in the Lord, who had preserved them in so many dangers, under the shadow of his wings.

A message arrived soon after from the Hurons, signifying that they were unwilling to go to war, but found themselves driven to it; adding, that the Iroquois and all the western nations had united to fight against the Americans, and that the Delawares should now finally declare what party they intended to join. They answered, that they should join neither, but keep the peace, by which they hoped to be most benefited. That even the Americans had advised them so to do, not desiring any assistance from the Indians. This answer, sent by a formal embassy to the Hurons, was well received, contrary to all expectation. It even made such an impression upon them, that they declared to the governor of Fort Detroit, that as he was always urging them to go to war with the Americans, but himself sat down quietly, plainly showing, that he merely sought the destruction of the Indians, they would only have patience till to-morrow, that is, till next spring. If they then should still find, that

he did nothing, they would cast all his belts at his feet, and go to Gofchachguenk to renew their friendship with the Delawares, and to Pittsburg, to make a covenant with the American colonies. They then returned home, and desisted from further hostilities for the present.

The governor of Fort Detroit and the Huron Chief could not comprehend why the Delaware nation was so firm in maintaining peace. At last it was ascribed to the missionaries and their influence upon the deliberations of the council, and it appeared some time after, that, already at that time, a proposal was made to seize the missionaries and carry them to Fort Detroit.

## CHAPTER VII.

1777.

*Lamentable Divisions in Schoenbrunn. The faithful Part of the Congregation forsake the Settlement and emigrate to Gnadenhuetten and Lichtenau. The Indian War becomes more general. Some Missionaries return to Bethlehem. A Troop of Huron Warriors bring Gnadenhuetten and Lichtenau into great Danger. Further Mischief is prevented. A false Alarm occasions the Flight of the Indian Congregation. Their internal Course remains edifying.*

**I**N the year 1777 the troubles continued. The accounts of the advantage gained by the Americans over the English troops, increased the confusion. The Shawanose resolved again to go to war, and turned a deaf ear to their Chiefs, who advised peace. Accounts were received from all quarters that the savages intended to massacre first the

the white people and then all those Indians, who had not joined them in war. The missionaries were always more particularly threatened with death and even the time mentioned when they should be murdered.

During all these commotions, the Chiefs of the Delawares remained firmly resolved, not to interfere in the war between England and her colonies. But the Monfys, one of the Delaware tribes, were secretly contriving to separate themselves from the body of the nation, and to join the Mingues, a set of idle thieves and murderers. However before they publicly avowed their sentiments, they endeavored to gain a party among the enemies of the mission, of whom there were a large number in those parts. At last they even ventured to come into our settlements and sought to decoy some to join them.

Newallike, a Chief mentioned in the foregoing history of Friedenshuetten on the Susquehannah, was the first in Schoenbrunn who was seduced to turn back into heathenism, pretending, that he had in vain endeavored to believe, but not finding it possible; was now convinced that the Christian doctrine was altogether a fable. Captain White Eye, who himself did not belong to the believers, hearing this, answered: "You went to the Brethren, because you could find nothing in the world to set your heart at ease, and firmly believed, that you had found with them all you desired. These are the very words I heard you speak, and now, having hardly begun, you give up already, and return to your former life. This is not acting the part of a man!" The bad example of Newallike was followed by many, and before the missionaries were aware, they found in the midst of Schoenbrunn a party of apostates, who seemed resolved to replace heathenism upon the throne. So severe a stroke these servants of God had not yet felt, and it proved an affliction, infinitely greater than all their former sufferings. They spared no pains, using every possible effort which love could dictate to recover these poor backsliders, to gain their confidence, and lead them to reflect

upon the error of their ways, but all in vain. They therefore resolved, rather than enter into a dispute with so dangerous an enemy, to go out of their way. Added to this, intelligence was received from various places, that the savages, in league with the apostates, were on their way to attack Schoenbrunn. Towards the end of March Brother Zeisberger proposed to the faithful part of the congregation, that they should forsake a place where the Spirit of God had no longer the sway, and move to Lichtenau. The congregation wept aloud on hearing this proposal, but unanimously agreed to it, as the most expedient in the present case, and prepared for their removal. In the mean time the Monfys and the apostate party had nothing less in view, than either to convey the missionaries to Fort-Detroit or to murder them. But their attempts proving vain, they spread false, though very probable reports, that the missionaries and the believing Indians were daily in danger of being surpris'd and murdered by the Huron warriors.

Terrified by succeeding reports, Brother Jungman and his wife, and brother Heckenwaelder, left Schoenbrunn precipitately in the night of April 3<sup>d</sup> with the first party of the Christian Indians. By the way, several of the latter resolved to settle at Gnadenhuetten for the present, the inhabitants of which were not inclined to fly until they were in greater danger; with the rest the missionaries arrived at Lichtenau on the 4<sup>th</sup>. But Brother Heckenwaelder returned soon to Schoenbrunn, where he comforted the remaining believers, held meetings in the regular course, and kept as good order as possible; several idle people having already attempted to take possession of the empty houses. April 19<sup>th</sup> Brother Zeisberger delivered his last discourse in Schoenbrunn. The congregation was much moved, and joined in fervent prayer for the unhappy apostates. Afterwards the chapel was pulled down, as usual in such cases, and all the believers left Schoenbrunn the same day.

It may easily be conceived that the emigration from Schoenbrunn, and the reception of so many persons in Gnadenhuetten

denhuetten and Lichtenau, was attended with great difficulty and inconvenience. The occasion of it was however by far the greatest trouble, and an affliction which the missionaries could not soon forget.

In this month the Chiefs of the Delawares again sent deputies to the Hurons, among whom were two Brethren from Lichtenau, to assure them that they intended to preserve their neutrality, and at the same time to inform them, that the Delaware nation had received the word of God, and thus publicly taken the white teachers at Lichtenau and Gnadenhuetten under their protection. This was done by the advice of Colonel Morgan in Pittsburg, agent for Government, whom the Indian nations highly respected. They had secretly written to inform him of their intention, to remove the missionaries from the settlements, asking his opinion concerning it. The Colonel replied: "I can say nothing to this. The missionaries themselves must know best, what steps to take, for God has sent them hither. My opinion is, that it would be wrong to compel them to go away, for I cannot but consider such a step as the work of the devil, who seeks to hinder and destroy the good work begun among the Indians. Therefore I advise and desire that you endeavor to keep and protect them among you." As soon as these deputies arrived with the Hurons, and it was noised about, that two believing Indians were among them, and that even one of them, Isaac Glikkikan, was speaker of the embassy, they immediately said: "Now we shall hear the truth, for the believing Indians tell no lies." The message was well received both by them and the English Government in Detroit, and in June a very satisfactory answer followed, in which the following was said concerning the missionaries: "That the Delawares should consider them as an invaluable treasure, on account of the good they did among the Indians, being the promoters of both their temporal and spiritual welfare. They therefore should deem themselves fortunate in protecting the missionaries, and by no means part with them."

In 1777 the Americans likewise entered into several treaties with the Indians for peace. As they did not answer the aim intended, a congress of all the Indian nations was appointed to meet at Goschachguenk in June. The Hurons, who were not inclined for peace, found means to prevent it, and in that same month a large party of them went out to murder and plunder the Americans. They even came into the neighborhood of Gnadenuetten, and some Indian Sisters who were on a journey to Lichtenau had nearly fallen into their hands, but hearing their death-song at a distance, escaped by flight.

Towards the end of July another treaty of peace was held at Pittsburg. It had hardly begun, when all hopes of peace vanished at once, a party of Americans having fired upon a body of Senneka Indians, who came to attend the treaty. By this step the savages were again enraged at the white people, considered them altogether as traitors, and vowed revenge.

Soon after this, an embassy of twenty deputies from the Hurons arrived in Goschachguenk. They offered the Delawares the large war-belt three times successively, demanding their assistance to make war against the colonies, and declaring that all the nations on this and the other side of Lake Erie were united as one man, to fight against the colonies. But the Delaware Chiefs remained firmly resolved to preserve peace, returned the war-belt, and sent word to the Huron Chiefs, that they could not comply with their demand, having promised at the treaty of peace, made after the late war, that as long as the sun should shine, and the rivers should flow, they would not fight against the white people: that therefore they had no hand left, to take up the war-belt. The Huron Chiefs returned home, much displeased with this answer, and nothing appeared more probable, than that the Delawares, and of course our settlements would soon be attacked by the surrounding savages. The missionaries were now continually in danger of their lives. Indeed the believing Indians guarded them by day and  
night

night with great faithfulness: but as the danger increased, it was resolved to send some of them home. In May, Brother Heckenwaelder, and in August, Brother Jungman and his wife returned to Bethlehem. The latter having served the Indian congregation for seven years, felt great pain at parting with their beloved flock. God preserved them in many dangers and brought them safe to Bethlehem.

On the very day after their setting out, intelligence was received at Lichtenau that two hundred Huron warriors, headed by their so-called Half-king, were on their march to that place. This caused a general alarm. After mature consideration the Brethren resolved to show no signs of fear, but to gain these savages by giving them a kind reception. Oxen and pigs were killed and other food provided, and the liberality of the Indian Brethren and Sisters in contributing to these preparations was truly remarkable, for they considered it as the only means of saving the lives of their beloved teachers. August the 8th, the warriors arrived in Gofschachguenk, and upon their meeting a number of our Indians from Lichtenau, carrying provisions for them, their surprize and pleasure were equally great. The good humor which this occasioned was improved by the assistants, who soon after sent a solemn embassy to the Half-king and other Chiefs of the Hurons, Isaac Glikkikan being speaker. To give my readers an idea how the Christian Indians address warriors on such occasions, I will insert his speech as delivered on the spot:

“ Uncle! we, your cousins, the congregation of believing  
“ Indians at Lichtenau and Gnadenhuetten, rejoice at this  
“ opportunity to see and speak with you. We cleanse your  
“ eyes from all the dust and whatever the wind may have  
“ carried into them, that you may see your cousin with clear  
“ eyes and a serene countenance. We cleanse your ears and  
“ hearts from all evil reports which an evil wind may have  
“ conveyed into your ears and even into your hearts on the  
“ journey, that our words may find entrance into your ears  
“ and a place in your hearts.” Here he delivered a string

of wampom and proceeded: "Uncle! hear the words of  
"the believing Indians, your cousins, at Lichtenau and  
"Gnadenhuetten. We would have you know, that we  
"have received and believed in the word of God for thirty  
"years and upwards, and meet daily to hear it, morning  
"and evening. You must also know, that we have our  
"teachers dwelling amongst us, who instruct us and our  
"children. By this word of God, preached to us by our  
"teachers, we are taught to keep peace with all men, and  
"to consider them as friends; for thus God has commanded  
"us, and therefore we are lovers of peace. These our  
"teachers are not only our friends, but we consider and  
"love them as our own flesh and blood. Now as we are  
"your cousin, we most earnestly beg of you, Uncle!  
"that you also would consider them as your own body,  
"and as your cousin. We and they make but one body,  
"and therefore cannot be separated, and whatever you do  
"unto them, you do unto us, whether it be good or evil."  
Hereupon another string of wampom, several fathoms in  
length, was delivered. The Half-king replied, that these  
words had penetrated his heart, and that he would im-  
mediately consult with his warriors about them. This being  
done, he returned the following answer to the deputies:  
"Cousins! I am very glad and feel great satisfaction that  
"you have cleansed my eyes, ears, and heart from all evil,  
"conveyed into me by the wind on this journey. I am upon  
"an expedition of an unusual kind: for I am a warrior and  
"am going to war, and therefore many evil things, and evil  
"thoughts enter into my head, and even into my heart.  
"But thanks to my cousin, my eyes are now clear, so that  
"I can behold my cousin with a serene countenance: I  
"rejoice, that I can hear my cousins with open ears and  
"take their words to heart." He then delivered a string  
of wampom, and repeating all the words of the deputies  
relating to the missionaries, he expressed his approbation of  
them, and added, "Go on as hitherto, and suffer no one  
"to molest you. Obey your teachers, who speak nothing  
"but

“but good unto you and instruct you in the ways of God,  
“and be not afraid that any harm shall be done unto them.  
“No creature shall hurt them. Attend to your worship and  
“never mind other affairs. Indeed you see us going to war;  
“but you may remain easy and quiet, and need not think  
“much about it, &c.”

During these transactions the Brethren at Lichtenau were under great apprehensions, fearing the event. The deputies had therefore agreed, that as soon as they should perceive, that the Half-king spoke in an angry tone, they would send a messenger full speed to Lichtenau, before he concluded his speech, that the whole congregation might take flight. So much the greater was the joy of all, when the affair took so favorable a turn, and every one felt himself excited to thank and praise the Almighty Savior of his people, for having heard the numberless sighs and prayers offered up to him at this critical juncture. The word of Scripture for the day was: “*Sing aloud unto God our strength: make a joyful noise unto the God of Jacob!*” Pf. lxxxii. 1. This was done with one accord and with a full heart.

The same day the Half-king, the chief captain and eighty-two warriors came to Lichtenau. They were first shown into the school-house, where the missionaries Zeisberger and William Edwards received them. They shook hands with all they met, and the Half-king spoke as follows: “We rejoice to see our father, and to take him by the hand: from this time forth we will consider you as our father, and you shall own and consider us as your children, nor shall any thing ever disturb your minds in this respect, but our covenant shall remain firm for ever. We will also acquaint the other nations with the proceedings of this day, and they will doubtless rejoice.” Brother Zeisberger answered this friendly compliment in a proper manner, after which the missionaries and some Indian Brethren dined with the Half-king and his officers under a hut made of green boughs: the other warriors seated themselves in the shade in front of the place, and were so richly provided with

with food, that after having made a hearty meal, each could carry a large portion with him to Goschachguenk, to which place they all returned in the evening. The Half-king then sent messengers to the English governor in Detroit, and to the Chiefs in the Huron country to give them an account of the covenant made with the believing Indians, adding, that he and his warriors had acknowledged the white Brethren to be their father, and would ever own them as such.

The news of the favorable turn of this dangerous affair not having reached Gnadenhuetten in time, the missionary Brother Schmick and his wife were persuaded, upon the representation of the Indian assistants, who were much alarmed, to fly to Pittsburg, from whence they proceeded to Bethlehem.

Thus the twomissionaries, Zeisberger and William Edwards, were left alone, to serve two congregations, twenty miles asunder, with no other prospect, but that of successive troubles. The pain they felt under these circumstances may be more easily conceived than described. But God comforted them and strengthened their faith so powerfully, that they renewed their covenant, to remain firm in the service of the Indian congregations, and even to suffer death itself. Brother Zeisberger staid in Lichtenau and Brother Edwards went to Gnadenhuetten. Yet they paid mutual visits, participating in each other's weal and woe, edifying and encouraging each other. They now plainly perceived, how great a favor the Lord had conferred upon them, by permitting the covenant between the Indian congregation and the Huron warriors to take place at this time. Without this they could not have continued to exercise any ministerial functions, or must have done it in secret. But now they could go safely about in the country, and even to the wildest savages, who treated them with respect and kindness. Many of the latter attended the public worship at Lichtenau, nor did their behavior ever cause the least disturbance, Brother Zeisberger received every day visits from people who came to salute him as their father, and some, who were ill,

ill, were much pleased by his willingness and dexterity in granting them relief.

A great number of other warriors, Hurons, Iroquois, Ottawaws, Chippaways, Shawanose, Wampanos, Petawontakas, and some French, joined the Half-king. He kept good order, and would not suffer any extravagance. Sometimes above 200 warriors lay all night close to Lichtenau, but behaved so quietly, that they were hardly perceived, which, among so wild and fierce a people, was a matter of astonishment. The Half-king was particularly attentive to prevent all drunkenness, knowing that bloodshed and murder would immediately follow. He even sent to the Brethren to know, whether his people behaved well, and was glad to hear a good account of them.

The maintenance of so many warriors, and the great numbers who came by hundreds dancing before every house, to beg bread and tobacco, became at last very troublesome to the inhabitants of Lichtenau. They were therefore glad to see them march off on the 22d and 23d of August, especially as so much rum had been lately imported from Pittsburg into these parts, that the whole country around became at last one scene of drunkenness and riot, and the noise and uproar insupportable. But it was now to be feared that the friendly behavior of the Hurons, who were of the English party, might give umbrage to the white people living on the Ohio, and the Delaware Chiefs were hardly able to keep their young warriors quiet, as they were under continual apprehensions of being attacked by the Americans. After some time intelligence was received, that several plans had been formed to surprize and destroy Lichtenau, Gnadenhuetten, and other Delaware towns. But God in mercy defeated them all.

Towards autumn the situation of affairs appeared still more precarious. A dreadful account was received, that an American general had arrived in Pittsburg, who denied quarter to any Indian, whether friend or foe, being resolved to destroy them all. This made the Delawares at length take up arms, alledging, that they must die, whether they fought or not.

Report

Report added, that the Americans would soon march into Gofchachguenk, and one account after the other proclaimed their approach. The Delaware warriors therefore joined the Hurons, who were still in the neighborhood. But the Indian congregation firmly resolved not to take the least share in the war, and to exclude from their fellowship all who did. They could at present take no other determination, than to be ready for flight. A spot of ground on the Walhalding was fixed upon, as a place of rendezvous for the congregations of Lichtenau and Gnadenhuetten, and each family packed up their goods. September 17th, at night, an express arrived at Lichtenau and Gnadenhuetten, with an account of the approach of the enemy. Both congregations immediately fled with their teachers in canoes, and indeed with such precipitation, that they left the greater part of their goods behind. They met, as agreed, at the abovementioned place on the Walhalding, where they encamped, hourly expecting to hear of a bloody engagement in the neighborhood of Lichtenau. Happily before day-break a message arrived, that, what had been taken for the American army was nothing but a great number of horses in the woods. However both congregations remained together on the 18th, to see and converse with each other, and their mutual brotherly love and cordiality was truly edifying. On the following day they all returned to their respective homes.

September 23d, late at night, another message arrived from an American General, and the abovementioned Colonel Morgan in Pittsburg, assuring the Delawares that they had nothing to fear from the Americans. But before the truth was known, a report was spread at Lichtenau that the Americans were in the neighborhood, and every one was again preparing to escape. Brother Zeisberger therefore assembled the congregation after midnight, and acquainted them with the true contents of the message from Pittsburg, upon which all went cheerfully to rest. The Delaware Chiefs returned now to their former system of peace.

In the beginning of October, an engagement took place between a party of Hurons and a troop of American freebooters, who went contrary to the express order of the Governor of Pittsburg, to destroy the Delaware towns, and consequently our settlements among the rest. They were entirely defeated by the Half-king, who killed the greatest part of them.

Soon after accounts were received at Lichtenau, that the Delawares on the Cayahaga and Walhaling prepared to go to war. As these proceedings threatened danger both to them and the congregations of believing Indians, Brother Zeisberger sent a serious remonstrance to the council of the Delawares in Goschachguenk, positively declaring that the believing Indians would forsake the country, as soon as the Delawares went to war.

On this account, the Chiefs in all places were assembled to a general council, in which a resolution was taken Oct. 31st, to preserve peace and neutrality without exception.

During this period of confusion and calamity, when the spirit of murder and the power of darkness greatly prevailed, the work of God proceeded unmolested amongst our Indians. The missionaries reported that a revival of grace, and such harmony and brotherly affection appeared among the baptized, as is generally observed in their first love. Amidst all the disturbances occasioned by the daily marches of warriors through the settlements, they not only did not lose their courage, but were led by various trials to cleave the more closely to the Lord, and to seek help from him. The grace of God was sensibly felt in all the meetings, and the public preaching of the Gospel at Lichtenau, was so numerously attended by strange Indians, that there was want of room. Many were baptized, and some who had been baptized in other communities, were received as members of the Brethren's congregation. The Indian assistants were peculiarly successful in bearing their testimony of the truth. Several went to Goschachguenk, to declare the Gospel to the sick, who could not come to Lichtenau, and their visits were richly blessed. Some  
heathen

heathen teachers indeed attempted to oppose them, but not being able to withstand the power of God, they were confounded. There was also so great an awakening among the unbaptized children both at Lichtenau and Gnadenhuetten, that the parents knew not how to comfort their children, who wept, begging most fervently to be baptized. Among these were the children of an unbaptized Chief from Assinink, called Welapachtschiechen, living at Lichtenau. The father came one day to the missionary, saying, that he could not bear to see his children lying on their faces, weeping day and night, knowing that he could not help, but only weep with them, and that at last he considered himself the cause of their affliction. He therefore would recommend them to the missionary, beseeching him not to delay their baptism on his account, adding, that he should greatly rejoice, if they were preferred and received holy baptism before him. The same Chief addressed the whole council in Goschachguenk in the following words: “ Brethren and friends! We hear  
 “ alarming accounts from all places, let us therefore pray to  
 “ God our Savior with so much the greater fervor, that he  
 “ would help us through these times of danger, for we now  
 “ stand most in need of his help. I dare not as yet consider  
 “ myself as belonging to the believers; but yet, I assure you,  
 “ that I will live and die with these people. Where  
 “ the Brethren live, there will I live also. Whither they  
 “ go, I will follow them. I shall count it a great favor, to  
 “ die amongst them, and if even I should not experience the  
 “ grace to be baptized, yet it shall be once said of me, Here  
 “ lies Welapachtschiechen, who, though he could not be  
 “ baptized, yet remained a follower of the Christian congrega-  
 “ tion to his death.” After this declaration his relations  
 threatened to kill him, unless he left the Brethren. But he  
 was as little influenced by their present threats as by their  
 former flattery, and was soon after baptized. Another  
 awakened Indian, who had obtained leave to live with the  
 Brethren, informed the council of his intentions, declaring  
 that he should not only leave off drunkenness, but renounce  
 the

the heathen manner of living, and remove to Gnadenhuetten. The council praised his resolution, and answered: "You have chosen the best and the safest way; for if you move to Gnadenhuetten, we can believe that you will cease to be a drunkard, for we know that the believing Indians are sober people." The Lord granted the missionaries that consolation also, to see many of those who were unfaithful last spring, return as repenting prodigals, begging for pardon and readmission. One of these, who lay ill of a painful disorder, was visited by the missionary, to whom he confessed that he himself was the only cause of all his misery, but added, that his heart was dead and had no confidence in our Savior, because whenever he thought of returning unto him, he was immediately checked by the greatness of his sins against God and his people, having not only forsaken them, but even spread many evil reports among the savages. He was assured, that he might still obtain mercy and forgiveness through Jesus Christ, who had received gifts for the rebellious also, and at his crucifixion prayed even for his murderers. This proved a word of consolation to his distressed heart.

## CHAPTER VIII.

1778. 1779. 1780. 1781.

*Continuation of the Indian War. Danger and gracious Preservation of the Indian Congregations and their Teachers. Gnadenhuetten quitted, and again inhabited. Schoenbrunn rebuilt. Lichtenau forsaken, and Salem built. The Work of God continues to increase in the midst of Trouble. Brother Grube, Minister of Litiz, visits the Indian Congregation.*

THE war between England and the United States of America, occasioned a continuation of hostilities among the Indian nations. From 1778 to the middle of

1781 nothing very decisive was done, and the war consisted chiefly in small excursions, which though troublesome in a high degree, were yet not productive of much interruption to the Indian congregation. I shall therefore be more brief in my description of this period. It proved a peculiar satisfaction to the missionaries that amidst all difficulties, their correspondence with the Brethren in Pennsylvania was uninterrupted, and as the congregations there were likewise great sufferers by the war, they sympathized with and encouraged each other to endure in patience and faith, hoping confidently for the help of the Lord.

The Hurons continued to commit hostilities against the United States, and the most dreadful accounts were received from time to time of the murders and ravages committed by them and other Indians in the plantations of the white people; and also of the same cruelties exercised against the Indians by the latter. The missionaries and their people were likewise much affected, when on the return of the savage warriors from their murderous expedition, they saw them lead prisoners of both sexes some of whom were wounded and some small children, or carrying dead bodies and scalps through the settlement. Our Indians showed great compassion to the prisoners, gave them food, and would never suffer them to be scourged or otherwise abused in the settlement, as the Indian custom is, whenever they pass through any town with prisoners. Sometimes the brutal savages were greatly enraged at this compassionate prohibition, but they were obliged to obey.

Among these prisoners was an old man, of venerable appearance, and two youths. Our Indians greatly commiserated the former and offered a large sum to the warriors for his release, but in vain. When they arrived at their dwelling-place, the two young men were tortured and burnt alive, in the cruel manner described in the first part of this history. The old man was condemned to suffer the same treatment, but being informed of it by a child, he contrived his escape, was fortunate enough to seize an horse and fled into  
the

the woods. The savages pursued him, but he arrived safe at a place in the neighborhood of Lichtenau, and not being able to proceed through hunger, having eaten nothing but grass for ten days, an Indian Brother found him lying in the wood, more like a corpse than a living creature, so that he had much trouble to bring him to Lichtenau, where he was well nursed. He exclaimed: "Merciful God, be praised, that thou hast brought me, wretched creature, to a Christian people! If it be thy will, that I die in this place, I am happy and contented." But he recovered and was afterwards brought to Pittsburg. During this period many troops of warriors were so far prevailed upon by the friendly and reasonable persuasions of our Indian Brethren, that they gave up their murderous intentions and returned home, by which much bloodshed was prevented. Sometimes however the believing Indians had no other way of defending themselves against the robberies and outrages of the warriors, passing either through or near the settlement, than by sending deputies to represent the injustice of their proceedings and delivering strings of wampom.

These troubles were chiefly felt at Gnadenhuetten. Freebooters belonging to the white people infested every quarter, and endangered the lives of our Indians. They were therefore invited to come and settle at Lichtenau for the present, and removed thither in April 1778. Thus three Indian congregations lived on one spot; the chapel at Lichtenau was enlarged and new houses were built.

In the mean time the Delaware Chiefs were repeatedly called upon by the governor of Fort Detroit and the Indian nations in his interest to go to war, threats being often added to intreaties. But they remained firm and were supported in their amicable resolutions by the good influence of the missionaries and their Indian assistants, who thought it a duty owing both to the Indian congregations and to the country at large to assist in preserving the peace, as by the neutrality of the Delawares, many other Indian nations were kept quiet, not being willing to offend the Delaware

nation, whom they called their grandfather. The government at Pittsburg owned the deportment of the Indian congregation to be a benefit conferred upon the whole country, and Colonel Morgan observed with gratitude, that the fury of the Indian warriors was upon the whole greatly mitigated by the behavior of their Christian countrymen.

Thus the mission enjoyed rest and peace for a considerable time, which was the more agreeable, as the troubles had been of long continuance. But the evil-minded Monsys persisted unweariedly in their endeavors to set the other Indian nations against the Delawares, and especially against the believing Indians and their teachers. Added to this, the United States began now to call upon the Delawares to make war against the Indians in the English interest. This caused the chiefs to waver in their resolutions, and at length they resolved to join the English. They not only lost their friendship for the missionaries and the Christian Indians, who persevered in their amicable disposition, but by degrees became their enemies. They now considered all peaceful people as a check upon their wild behavior, and humanly speaking, the Christian Indians had now nothing but ruin before them, the English Indians having unanimously resolved in a council held at Detroit, that the hatchet should fall upon the head of every one, who should refuse to accept it. Those in league with the United States being of the same mind, the believers were now between two enemies. The first step taken against them was a serious and repeated charge sent by the Delaware Chiefs to the young men to take up arms. This they firmly refused to do, though their situation was rendered very critical, through a malicious report raised by the Delawares, that the Christian Indians intended to take part with the Americans. The missionaries were in the greatest danger, for to their authority and influence alone, their refusal was ascribed. The savages therefore frequently repeated their threats, that the missionaries should be either killed, or carried away prisoners, as they flattered themselves that if these were removed, the Indian congregation would soon be forced to comply.

About this time there appeared numerous instances of the preservation of God. In summer 1778 the missionaries received certain information, that the governor of Detroit intended to send a party of English and Indians to carry them off. Some time after they heard that his design was frustrated by the sudden death of the captain appointed to command this expedition, whose station could not be immediately supplied. Another officer charged the Indians to bring the missionaries dead or alive. They indeed promised, but afterwards neglected to fulfil their word. During the summer of 1779 they were in the most imminent danger, and knew no way to escape. An army consisting of English and Indians, marching from Fort Detroit to Fort Lawrence arrived in Tuskarawi on this side of the Huron towns, and the commanding officer intended to come into the neighborhood of our settlements and to take the missionaries prisoners. But suddenly the news of an attack of the Americans upon the Indian country caused all the Indians in his army to forsake him, upon which he was obliged to return to Detroit. Brother Schebosch on a journey to Pittsburg, got between two parties, one pursuing the other, and did not hear of his danger till after his escape. Several messengers sent out by the Brethren upon necessary business to various places were in danger of being murdered by people, lying purposely in ambush, but God preserved their lives.

That word of scripture was also frequently fulfilled, "*The Lord bringeth the counsel of the heathen to nought: he maketh the devices of the people of none effect.*" The Half-king of the Hurons cautioned the missionaries to be upon their guard, having received authentic information, that a plot was laid against their lives, but particularly against Brother Zeisberger. Some malicious people took great pains to publish a false report, that this missionary was going over to the Americans with all the baptized Indians. The great danger he was in being mentioned to him by letter, his answer was: "If I am in danger, I cannot prevent it, but I commit my work, my fate and my future course to my gracious Lord and

“Master, whom I serve. I remain chearful and confident, though I shall use all caution, not to expose myself without necessity.” Once he had a very narrow escape. A white man from Sandusky, meeting with another who headed a troop of robbers and murderers of the Mingues nation, heard him say, that he hoped to be fortunate enough to carry either all or at least one of the white Brethren to Detroit. This was related to Brother Zeisberger, but being accustomed to such threats, he disregarded them and went about as usual. Being upon a journey with two Indian Brethren, this white man met him with eight Mingues and a prisoner. As soon as he saw the missionary, he called to the party; “See here is the man whom we have long wished to see and to secure; do now as you think proper!” The captain of the Mingues said nothing in reply, but shook his head. After a few questions they walked off. An officer marching from Detroit to Fort Lawrence in 1779 told a white man, that one of his principal views in this expedition was to carry off the missionaries, especially Zeisberger. Upon his representing to him, that the missionaries had done no harm to the English, but were of great benefit in civilizing the Indians, the officer replied, that this was well known, but that if they were removed, then not only the Delawares but many other tribes would join their army.

All the accounts received about this time agreed, that the destruction of the Indian congregations was resolved upon. This proved a great temptation to such as were not well established in the faith, and their fears prevailed upon them to leave the Brethren for a time. But in this circumstance, the mercy of the Lord was peculiarly evident. He had patience with their weakness, and preserved them from the snares of sin, so that they did not suffer damage in their souls. They soon returned, and were ashamed of their want of faith.

The political divisions among the Delawares increased daily. Several took flight, but knew not for what reason. Yet they left their homes, their plantations and crops. Our Indians remained quiet, depending upon God, and many of them

them found, even in this evil day, an opportunity to bear witness to the truth. An American General had once a long conversation with the Indian Brother John Martin, putting various questions to him concerning his faith and other things, which he answered to the General's satisfaction and astonishment. John Martin then added: "Indeed I cannot read in the Bible, but I know what is written in it, having been instructed by my teachers. Now the General may read the Bible himself, and soon know, whether what I say of God, be true."—"Very true," replied the General, "all you have said is true, and I am glad to see an Indian like you. I am now convinced that you are no more heathen, but Christian Indians, and I will assist and serve you, as much as lies in my power."

As the Indian congregations were continually troubled by false alarms, Colonel Gibson gave the missionaries an invitation, to retire with their people to Fort Lawrence or at least to settle in the neighborhood of this fort. This was the more desirable to the governor of Pittsburg, as the troops of the United States were obliged to spare the enemy on account of our settlements, but if they were removed, he knew they would have none but enemies to deal with. This kind offer could however not be accepted with propriety, as the war was always most violent near the forts. Fort Lawrence was even once besieged by the Indians and at length forsaken by the Americans. The Shawanose gave likewise a friendly invitation to all the believing Mahikans or Mousy Indians in the congregation, to move into their country, bring their teachers with them and keep to their modes of worship. But the congregation would not be divided, and remained quiet.

It soon appeared that Lichtenau was too much crowded with inhabitants. A resolution was therefore taken in 1779 that part of the congregation should return to Gnadenhuetten, and that Schoenbrunn should be rebuilt, though not upon the same spot, but on the opposite bank of the Muskingum. Gnadenhuetten was soon restored to its former order and Brother Edwards appointed minister. The build-

ing of Schoenbrunn was attended with greater difficulties than usual. That part of the congregation, which had gone thither with Brother Zeisberger, dwelt for the greater part of the year in huts, and met to worship in the open air, till at length they could move into the new town in December 1779, and consecrate the church.

Lichtenau had been served by Brother John Heckenwaelder, who returned to the mission with Brother Schebosch, and ever since 1778, and hitherto been always the fittest and safest place of residence for the Christian Indians, but now the people of Gofschaguenk, having changed their minds with respect to them, endeavored to molest them in various ways. The robberies, drunkenness, and consequent outrages, incessantly committed by the savages, became an insupportable burthen to the congregation. Added to this, the warriors made it now a constant practice to pass through Lichtenau. It was therefore thought most prudent to quit this place, and build a new settlement. A spot about five miles below Gnadenhuetten was fixed upon, and the settlement called Salem. March 30th, 1780, the last meeting was held at Lichtenau, and the congregation united to praise God for all the blessings received from him in this place. The chapel was then pulled down and the congregation set out: but though Salem was only twenty miles from Lichtenau, a week was spent in performing the journey, as they were obliged to row against the stream. The building of this new settlement, was by the assistance of the Brethren from Schoenbrunn and Gnadenhuetten and the diligence of its inhabitants carried on with such expedition, that already on the 22d of May the new chapel could be consecrated. The day after they partook of the holy communion, and on the 28th, baptism was administered for the first time at Salem. In December 1780 the buildings were completed and many strange Indians visited this settlement.

But even here the evil-minded Delaware Chiefs sought to molest our Indians. They agreed that all the inhabitants of Gofschaguenk, who would not go to war, should settle in  
the

the vicinity of Salem. All remonstrances made by our Indians, were in vain. Their evil intentions were however frustrated.

As to the internal state of the congregation, this period was distinguished by particular grace. The missionaries lived in harmony, serving the Lord with gladness. Among the Indian Brethren and Sisters brotherly love bore the sway, and it was a pleasure to observe the willingness with which they avoided every thing that might tend to disturb it. The labor of the Holy Ghost in their hearts was so evident, that the missionaries forgot all their sufferings for joy. A sermon preached upon our Savior's parable of the sower, gave occasion to many to examine their hearts. One said that he had found himself described in it, for with him the seed had fallen by the way-side and was trodden down and eaten up by the birds. Another was afraid that the word had fallen among thorns, because he found his good resolutions striving against those that were bad, and that he could not devote himself wholly unto the Lord. A third complained that his heart was yet stony, in which the word could not take root. But the most, not being able to deny that in them the gracious word of the Gospel had fallen upon good ground, thanked our Savior in stillness for such undeserved mercy. A missionary speaking with an Indian Brother previous to the Lord's supper, addressed him thus: "Tell me, how is your heart disposed at present?" He replied: "You could not have asked me a more agreeable question: I am ready to answer it every day, and if you was even to wake me at night, I should want no time to consider, for our Savior has given me such an heart, that I am as willing to lay my wants and deficiencies open before my brethren, as to describe the happiness I enjoy." One of the baptized complained to his teachers, "that he had lost our Savior." He was asked, what he meant by this expression, and replied: "I thought I would lead a life altogether void of offence, and used to judge others who have been longer in the congregation than myself, whenever I thought them guilty of any thing

“ which appeared to me not quite conformable to the con-  
“ duct of a child of God. I was resolved to be better than  
“ they, and to keep all the promises I had made to our Savior.  
“ At length I was satisfied with myself, forgot Him, and am  
“ now an orphan without him.” Another of the newly bap-  
tized said to his mother and friends in Goschachguenk :  
“ You are perhaps of opinion, that there is nothing real in  
“ the great Gospel of Christ and his atonement, and that we  
“ only talk of it. I also thought so formerly, and made it a  
“ laughing-stock. But now I can inform you by experience  
“ that it is great and marvellous, and that the power of God  
“ seizes and melts my heart, when I hear what our Savior has  
“ done and suffered for us, and how much it cost him to de-  
“ liver us lost and undone human creatures from the power of  
“ Satan.” Two old men began to question a baptized youth  
concerning his faith, and one of them challenged him to  
spend the night with him in dispute, saying, that he wished  
to see whether a mere boy would be able to give proper  
answers to the questions and arguments of an hoary head.  
But before their conversation had lasted long, the old man  
declared himself satisfied, and admonished the youth to re-  
main among the believers as long as he lived, adding, “ I am  
“ too old and callous, to think of believing.” Another bap-  
tized Indian declared to a visitor : “ I now do not believe  
“ our white teachers in things relating to my salvation, be-  
“ cause *they* say so; but before I was baptized I was con-  
“ vinced of my forlorn estate and then learnt to believe, that  
“ Jesus Christ is my Savior and Redeemer. After my bap-  
“ tism, I experienced a total change within me. My heart  
“ was filled with the love of God and I was inexpressibly  
“ happy. I still feel the same, because our Savior has for-  
“ given me my sins and washed me in his precious blood.”

During the public sermon, there was frequently such a  
general emotion and weeping, that the missionary was oblig-  
ed to stop. Many visitors were overpowered by the grace of  
God, and as many as became obedient to the Gospel, were  
baptized. Among the latter were two white persons, John

Leath

Leath and his wife. He had lived many years among the Indians, and his wife was taken by the savages as a child of half a year old. Some strange Indians, hearing that miracles were wrought at Lichtenau, came to see and hear of them. The Indian Brethren asserted, that undoubtedly miracles were done even now, of which they had perhaps never heard in their lives, and then related, that God the Creator of all things was manifest in the flesh to save sinners, and that he did now save them, even here in Lichtenau. That this his love to us was above all comprehension, and that we should even in eternity never cease to marvel at the wonders of his grace. The heathen heard this testimony with great attention, and as Isaac Glikkikan, one of these witnesses of Jesus, rose to retire to rest, it being midnight, one of the heathen, his former companion, stopped him, saying: "We used formerly to spend many a night in feasting and drinking, and never felt disposed to sleep; let us for once pass a night in considering this great subject, and speak fully about it." Isaac gladly consented and thus they spent the night in asking and answering questions concerning what the Lord Jesus had done and suffered for us. A strange Indian, from the banks of the Mississippi, came to Salem, and having given the missionary a circumstantial account of his travels, of the face of the country on the Mississippi and of its inhabitants, added: "Thus have I roved about, till I am grown old and grey. I have taken great pains to find something profitable for myself and my children, but have not found any thing good. With you I find at once all I wanted; and the cause of my staying so long is, that I may hear as much as possible, and have something to relate to my countrymen, on my return." A heathen woman said to one of the baptized Indians after a sermon: "I could very well live among you, and believe in God, for I am not as bad and wicked as many others, but have always avoided every sinful practice." The Indian Brother replied: "I once thought the same of myself, and esteemed myself more-righteous than other Indians. But

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“ during a discourse I was convinced, that I was the worst of  
“ all, I even thought that our Savior had suffered more on  
“ my account. Upon this I cast myself at his feet with all my  
“ sins, and he forgave me. Now I know of no other good  
“ in me, but that I am a ransomed sinner, and shall  
“ live eternally with my Redeemer. This is enough for  
“ me.” Abraham an assistant, closed a discourse to the  
visitors with the following words: “ Now we have told you,  
“ how you may be saved. If you believe, you will experience  
“ that our words are truth. But if you do not, we have  
“ however done what we ought to do, and you will never be  
“ able to say, that you went to the believing Indians, but  
“ they would not tell you how to be saved.” An Indian  
from the river Wabash inquired very minutely of the Indian  
Brethren at Lichtenau, what their faith was, and what could  
possibly cement them so together, adding, that he believed  
it to be some mysterious charm. In answer to this, his own  
brother, who was baptized, took occasion to declare unto  
him the love and mercy of Jesus Christ with great energy.  
But before he had proceeded far, he was stopped by the  
heathen, who exclaimed: “ I have enough; cease, I be-  
“ seech you, for your words pierce me to the soul. I  
“ cannot express what I feel; but this I perceive, that if I  
“ give way to it, I should be unfit for my office, as messenger  
“ to the Indian nations.” Another heathen Indian came  
weeping to the missionary and said: “ During the sermon to-  
“ day something extraordinary has entered into my heart,  
“ which makes me uneasy. I am convinced that I am a  
“ miserable and depraved creature, and that the evil spirit rules  
“ over me, and my soul must be lost to all eternity, unless a  
“ change takes place.” A murderer, being present at a bap-  
tism, and getting upon a form, to have a full view of the  
ceremony, was so moved, that he crept under the seats. He  
entered afterwards into conversation with Isaac Glikkikan  
and among other things asked him, whether he knew where  
the devil lived. “ That I do,” replied Isaac, “ he lives in  
“ your heart.” An heathen Shawanose said upon another  
occasion:

occasion: "When I first came hither, and heard you speak so much of the wretchedness and depravity of the human heart, I thought, 'Well said, God grant the believing Indians may begin to mend their lives, for they seem to be very bad people. I am not so wicked, and commit no sins, but please my God. I have also always endeavored to serve him and sacrificed enough. But lately I was convinced at your chapel, that I am a very sinful man, and that it is exactly in my heart as in that old basket;' pointing to an old basket full of rubbish, which happened to stand in the room. "The more I formerly felt my pride and self-complacency, the more I am now humbled, so that I can hardly venture to look at a believer, and I desire most fervently, that our merciful Savior would have pity on me and forgive my sins." He then began to weep aloud. Some time after, this penitent was baptized into the death of Jesus, being the first of the Shawanose in this country, who was added to the Christian church. He was so overcome with gratitude, that long after he said to Brother Heckenwaelder: "My eyes are all day filled with tears of joy, and whenever I awake at night, my first thought is, that our Savior was tormented and slain for my sins. Therefore he shall possess my whole heart, yea and even the smallest bone in my body." Ever since his baptism, the death and sufferings of Jesus were so precious to him, that he spoke of them to all who visited him, telling them, that he was no more afraid of death, being assured that his soul was redeemed and saved by the death of his Savior.

The labor of the Holy Ghost was more particularly perceptible in the sick and dying: a sick girl six years old, said with tears: "I now desire nothing more in this world. but to be baptized, and cleansed by the blood of Jesus to whom I wish to depart." Her request was granted to her great joy. An Indian woman, to whom holy baptism was administered on her death-bed, could not sleep the following night for joy, and said: "I now wish the sooner the better

“to depart to Christ, and do not desire to recover.” The day before she died, she asked: “What can make our Savior delay, that he does not take me unto himself?” She was assured that he would soon grant her request. The day following she exclaimed: “Now he appears,” and soon after expired. A boy of eight years old, lately baptized, sent shortly before his departure for Brother Zeisberger and said: “Now I shall depart, but what dress shall I put on?” Brother Zeisberger answered: “You have put on the right dress in holy baptism, when you was clothed with the blood and righteousness of Christ Jesus your Savior: you want no other dress.” The boy replied: “True, O how do I rejoice!” and during Brother Zeisberger’s prayer he departed gently and happily. A sick Indian woman, got her friends to carry her to Lichtenau, and begged Brother Zeisberger to pay her a visit. When he came, she said: “Ah, how glad am I that I am here! I am a miserable creature: I have done nothing all my life, but committed one sin after the other. Indeed I knew not what I did, and was unconcerned about it, but now that I am taken ill, I tremble for fear. All my sins appear before me, and I am afraid to die.” Brother Zeisberger described that Savior to her, who had destroyed him that had the power of death, that is the devil. She received and believed the Gospel, turned with her whole heart to Jesus Christ, and was soon after baptized. All present rejoiced over this poor sinner, and the serenity visible in her countenance after her baptism, astonished every one, but particularly the strangers. She afterwards repeated several times the following ejaculation: “Merciful Savior, take me now home unto thyself.” And soon after added: “It will soon happen, very soon. Our Savior is standing ready. O Jesus take me home.” At last she exclaimed, “Now, now I am going!” and fell asleep. Besides these few mentioned here, many more of our Indians departed unto the Lord. Among these was an old man, who must have been considerably above an hundred

dred years old, for he remembered the time, when in 1682 the first house was built in Philadelphia, in which he had been as a boy.

A Swiss, called Lange, who had set up a blacksmith's shop in Goschachguenk, was at his particular request in his last illness, conveyed in a sledge to Lichtenau and complained to Brother Heckenwaelder of the wretched state of his soul. Among other expressions he said: "Ah what a sinner am I, it is impossible, that a greater should exist any where." Brother Heckenwaelder then preached the Gospel unto him, telling him that Jesus Christ had shed his precious blood for such poor sinners, and would receive even the worst in mercy, if he only sought pardon with a sincere heart. This address had such an effect upon the patient, that he received comfort and departed with joy unto the Lord.

Captain White Eye, who had so often advised other Indians, with great earnestness, to believe in the Gospel of Jesus Christ, but had always postponed joining the believers himself, on account of his being yet entangled in political concerns, was unexpectedly called into eternity, and died of the small-pox at Pittsburg. The Indian congregation to whom he had rendered very essential services was much affected at the news of his death, and could not but hope, that God our Savior had received his soul in mercy.

That the Christian Indians could fervently pray, not only for their friends, but also for their enemies and sincerely wish them well, was very striking and incomprehensible to the heathen. The apostate part of the congregation, who left Schoenbrunn in 1777, were more especially an object of their prayers; for notwithstanding their malicious behavior, they never would consider them as enemies, but rather as strayed sheep. They had also the joy to find that their prayers were graciously heard by the Lord; for most of these unfortunate people, especially the deluded young people, returned as repenting prodigals and begged earnestly for pardon and readmission. This was granted in presence of the whole

whole congregation, whose tears of compassion and joy on such occasions testified of that brotherly love, which distinguishes true disciples of Jesus. Most of them were also received as inhabitants of the new settlements and some died comforted and rejoicing in the Lord their Redeemer. As to the external maintenance of the believing Indians in these heavy times, we cannot sufficiently extol the bounty of our gracious heavenly Father. Besides their own, they had to supply the wants of great numbers of their hungry and suffering countrymen. But all things were added unto them. They had success in hunting, and plentiful crops, so that not one lacked any thing.

In May 1780 Brother Grube, then minister of Litiz in Pennsylvania, went to hold a visitation in the Indian congregations. Brother Senseman and his wife, who were appointed to the service of the mission, went in his company, as likewise the single Sister Sarah Ohneberg who afterwards married John Heckenwaelder. They passed over high hills, as the Seidling, Alleghene and Laurel, which was particularly troublesome to Brother Grube, who had been hurt by the kick of an horse. At Pittsburg he preached the Gospel to a congregation of Germans, and baptized several children, no ordained clergyman being then resident in that country. From this place the Indian Brethren brought him and his company safe to the settlements. The Governor of Pittsburg, Colonel Broadhead, and Colonel Gibson, treated these travellers with great kindness. The latter gave them a travelling tent, and assisted them in every thing requisite for their safe conveyance, as the roads to our settlements were at that time infested with hostile Indians. Indeed the Brethren soon experienced a proof of this. Three white people, who were seeking to get Indian scalps, a large premium being then given for them, lay in ambush near the road, and shot at an Indian, who was but a little way before Brother Grube and his company. But providentially the ball passed only through his shirt sleeve, and the other Indians taking the alarm, the men who lay in wait jumped up and ran off. June 30th, the whole company arrived safe in Schoenbrunn,

brunn, and their arrival gave inexpressible joy to the missionaries and their congregations.

Brother Grube paid visits to all the settlements, staying some time in each, conversing with every individual, even with all the children, and rejoiced greatly at the open and unreserved behavior of both old and young. Besides this, he held many conferences, both with the missionaries, to whom his visit proved a great encouragement; and with the Indian assistants. The discourses he delivered to the congregation and its divisions were likewise attended with distinguished blessing.

August the 15th this venerable man set out on his return, accompanied by Brother Schebosch. At taking leave all the people were in tears. Though he was taken very ill on the journey, he proceeded, and arrived September the 2d, at Litiz, thanking God for his deliverance from so many dangers.

In November 1780, Brother Schebosch returned and brought Brother Michael Jung from Bethlehem to serve the mission. In spring 1781 the missionary David Zeisberger travelled to Bethlehem, and notwithstanding the danger of the roads, was providentially brought safe to the end of his journey.

## CHAPTER IX.

1781.

*The Missionaries Zeisberger and Jungman return to the Settlements. A short Time of Rest. Unexpected Arrival of a Troop of Warriors. The Missionaries are taken Prisoners: released and carried with the whole Indian Congregation to Sandusky Creek. Their Distress in that Place. Most of the Missionaries are brought to Fort Detroit: examined and honorably acquitted. They return to their Congregations.*

**I**N the year 1779 Bishop John Frederic Reichel arrived from Europe to hold a visitation in all the Brethren's settlements and congregations in North America, having a particular charge to endeavor to procure some real and substantial relief for the afflicted Indian congregations. But the disturbances then prevailing, and his other avocations prevented him from travelling into the Indian country. He was therefore glad to be circumstantially informed of every thing relating to that mission, first by the report made by Brother Grube after his visitation and afterwards by Brother Zeisberger himself during his abode in Bethlehem in the summer of 1781. He conferred about the future management of the concerns of the Indian mission both with the latter and with Brother Jungman and his wife, who were again willing to devote themselves to its service. He also wrote a letter of encouragement to each missionary and assistant in that important work, with whom he could not personally converse, exhorting them to persevere in faith in their difficult but blessed labor. He likewise sent a letter to the whole Indian congregation, full of comfort and wholesome advice, admonishing and beseeching them to

continue

continue firm in living faith and love towards Jesus Christ, and to walk in the light of his countenance.

In July 1781 the missionaries Zeisberger and Jungman with their wives arrived safe at the settlements, and the joy of the Indians was like that of children at the return of their beloved parents. The above-mentioned letter of Bishop J. Frederic Reichel was publicly read to the whole congregation, and heard with great attention and joy, in answer to which each individual declared a firm resolution to cleave to Christ our Savior, to love him above all things and to live for him alone in the world.

By a new arrangement, each settlement was provided with proper teachers. Brother David Zeisberger superintended the whole mission, but served particularly the congregation at Schoenbrunn as minister, in conjunction with Brother Jungman. The Brethren Senseman and Edwards served the congregation at Gnadenhuetten, and the Brethren John Heckenwaelder and Michael Jung that at Salem.

At this time, and indeed ever since autumn 1780, the mission enjoyed peace and rest, seeing and hearing hardly any thing of the hostile Indians, except that sometimes warriors passed through one or the other settlement, and that once a party of eighty men, of different nations, pretended that they came to take our Indians with their teachers, and carry them into the land of the Shawanose. These people were however soon brought to reason by gentle persuasion. Nor did the congregation expect any attack from the English, depending entirely upon the sincerity of the declaration given concerning them at Fort Detroit, as mentioned in the former chapter.

But this happy and peaceful period came to an unexpected close in August. It appears, that God for wise purposes had ordained, that this his Indian flock and their teachers should glorify his name in a more conspicuous manner by sufferings, and be a witness of the truth of his Gospel, by giving the most eminent proofs of Christian patience, in the most grievous tribulations. Thus they entered now upon

scenes of distress, hitherto unexperienced and unprecedented.

The most authentic evidence has proved, that the prime cause of all their trouble was a suspicion entertained by the English governor at Fort Detroit, that our Indians were partizans in the American cause, and that the missionaries were set as spies, to carry on a correspondence prejudicial to the English interest. This suspicion was originally owing to the calumnies of the enemies to the mission, and was by them so successfully kept up and aggravated, that the governor of Fort Detroit resolved at last, to rid himself at once of neighbors so troublesome and dangerous. In this view the English agent of Indian affairs went to Niagara, to attend the great council of the Iroquois, of whom he requested that they would take up the Indian congregation and their teachers and carry them away. This the Iroquois agreed to do, but not being willing themselves to lay hands upon them, they sent a message to the Chippeways and Ottawaws, intimating that they herewith made them a present of the Indian congregation to make soup of, which in the war-language of the Indians signifies "We deliver them over to you, to murder them." The Chippeways and Ottawaws refused, declaring that they had no reason to do so. Upon this the same message was sent to the above-mentioned Half-king of the Hurons. This man, who formerly treated both the believing Indians and the missionaries with great kindness, accepted of it, but declared, that he only did it to save the believing Indians from total destruction. However even the Half-king would certainly never have agreed to commit this act of injustice, had not the Delaware Captain Pipe, a noted enemy of the Gospel and of the believing Indians, and the most active calumniator of the Brethren at Detroit, instigated him to do it.

Pipe and his party of Delawares having joined the Half-king and his warriors with some few Shawanose, they all assembled to a war-feast, for which they roasted a whole ox. Here they conferred more particularly about the best mode of  
proceeding,

proceeding, but cautiously, so that only the captains knew the true design of the expedition. Their order was, to bring the missionaries, dead or alive, and the whole business was conducted with such secrecy that our Indians did not hear the least of it till the beginning of August, when news arrived that a party of savage warriors were on their march.

At first, hopes were conceived that this rumor was fabulous. But on the 10th of August the savages made their appearance first in a troop of an hundred and forty, their number gradually increasing to three hundred and upwards. They were commanded by the Half-king of the Hurons, an English captain, and the Delaware Captain Pipe, bearing English colours, which were planted in their camp. When they approached to Salem, the Half-king sent a message to our Indians, desiring them to fear nothing, adding, that he came himself to see that no injury should be done to them; but having good words to speak, he wished to know which of their settlements would be most convenient for a meeting. Now as Gnadenhuetten was in every respect the most proper place, it was accordingly fixed upon. The warriors therefore pitched their camp on the 11th of August on the west side of Gnadenhuetten, and were treated in the most liberal manner by our Indians.

In the beginning the behavior both of the English officer and the savages was friendly. But on the 20th of August the Half-king appointed a meeting of the believing Indians and their teachers, and delivered the following speech: “ Cousins! ye believing Indians in Gnadenhuetten, Schoenbrunn, and Salem! I am much concerned on your account, perceiving that you live in a very dangerous spot. Two powerful, angry, and merciless Gods stand ready, opening their jaws wide against each other: you are sitting down between both, and thus in danger of being devoured and ground to powder by the teeth of either one or the other, or of both. It is therefore not adviseable for you to stay here any longer. Consider your young people, your wives

“ and your children, and preserve their lives, for here they  
“ must all perish. I therefore take you by the hand, lift you  
“ up, and place you in or near my dwelling, where you  
“ will be safe and dwell in peace. Do not stand looking at  
“ your plantations and houses, but arise and follow me!  
“ Take also your teachers with you, and worship God in  
“ the place to which I shall lead you, as you have been ac-  
“ customed to do. You shall likewise find provisions, and  
“ our father beyond the lake (meaning the governor of Fort  
“ Detroit) will care for you. This is my message, and I am  
“ come hither purposely to deliver it.” He then delivered a  
string of wampom; and the missionaries and Indian assistants  
of the three settlements met in conference, to consider this  
unexpected address, and on the 21<sup>st</sup> the latter delivered the  
following answer to the Half-king: “ Uncle! and ye cap-  
“ tains of the Delawares and Monfys, our friends and coun-  
“ trymen! Ye Shawanose, our nephews, and all ye other  
“ people here assembled! We have heard your words; but  
“ have not yet seen the danger so great, that we might not  
“ stay here. We keep peace with all men, and have nothing  
“ to do with the war, nor do we wish or desire any thing,  
“ but to be permitted to enjoy rest and peace. You see  
“ yourselves, that we cannot rise immediately and go with  
“ you, for we are heavy, and time is required to prepare for it.  
“ But we will keep and consider your words, and let you,  
“ uncle! know our answer next winter, after the harvest;  
“ upon this you may rely.”

The Half-king would undoubtedly have been satisfied with this answer, had not the English officer and Captain Pipe urged him to proceed. The consequence was, that the Half-king, in a rough speech held on the 25<sup>th</sup>, expressed great displeasure at the answer of the believing Indians. This was answered by a repeated remonstrance, that his commands were too severe, and that he should only permit the inhabitants of the three settlements to make good their harvest, as they would otherwise be reduced to famine and  
extreme

extreme distress, in attempting to travel to so distant and unknown a country with empty hands. To these remonstrances the Half-king listened with silence. In the mean time the common warriors endeavored to describe the country intended for our people, as a paradise, and by these lies made an impression upon the minds of some, unacquainted with their cunning, who were not unwilling to follow the Half-king. Thus a division arose among our Indians. Some advised, to rise and go with the Half-king, without considering the consequences. Others, and by far the greater number, opposed this measure, declaring that they would rather die on the spot.

This caused great perplexity in the minds of the missionaries. They were now obliged to decide, and plainly saw that they would offend either one or the other party. The more they sought to extricate themselves from this dilemma, the more they discovered themselves beset on all sides. However the meetings continued in their regular course, and the missionaries persevered in exhorting, encouraging, comforting and directing the congregation to put their trust in the Lord, to whom they themselves prayed day and night for deliverance. But at this time his ways seemed truly unsearchable, and they knew not what to ask or pray for. They had nothing left, but to be resigned to His wise leading, and to expect the event in quietness and silence, so that their prayers were all centered in that one petition, "*Thy will be done:*" yet they believed it to be most prudent, to wait the issue, and not to follow the savages, but by compulsion, that if the congregation was brought to distress and misery, they might not be liable to blame and reproach on that account.

It once seemed as if the Half-king would entirely forsake his intentions of using violent measures, but the English officer urged him and his captains to take the missionaries prisoners, alledging, that if he returned to Fort Detroit without them, the governor would be very much dissatisfied. To add to this calamity, some of our people proved unfaithful, and even insinuated to the savages, that if they only seized

upon the missionaries and carried them off, the rest of the congregation would soon follow. Others were so weak, that upon being asked, whether they would follow the Half-king, they replied: "We look to our teachers; what they do, we will do likewise." Thus the whole blame fell upon the missionaries, and they became the main object of the resentment of the savages. Besides this an unfortunate circumstance rendered their situation still more precarious. They had dispatched two Indian Brethren to Pittsburg to give notice of the danger they were in, but without giving them any letters. These messengers were intercepted by the savages, brought back and strictly examined. They told the truth, and nothing prejudicial to the Half-king appeared in it. But the savages would not give up their suspicions, that the missionaries had sent to call the Americans to their assistance. The heads of the party had several consultations, in which, as some of them related afterwards, they resolved to kill all the white Brethren and Sisters. However they wished first to know the opinion of a common warrior, who was highly esteemed amongst them as a forcerer. His answer was, that he could not understand, what end it would answer to kill the white Brethren: that this would only increase the evil, for the chief people among the believing Indians would still exist, if even their teachers were slain. The captains therefore held another council in which they resolved, to kill not only the missionaries and their wives but also all the Indian assistants. This resolution was likewise communicated to the forcerer. He then said: "Thus you have resolved to kill my dearest friends, for most of their chief people are my friends, but this I tell you, that if you hurt any one of them, I know what I will do." They were terrified at his threats and gave up their design.

The savages now became more bold, dancing and making merry in the settlement. Though nothing was denied them, but they were supplied with as much meat as they wanted, yet they shot at the horned cattle and pigs in the road, nor did they suffer the carcasses to be taken away, so that the  
place

place was soon filled with insupportable stench. Small parties of them made inroads into the neighboring country, bringing prisoners to Gnadenhuetten, which was thus rendered a theatre of war and pillage.

At length the Half-king called the white Brethren from Schoenbrunn and Salem with all the Indian assistants to Gnadenhuetten. Some of them however could not forsake their places, wishing to keep order and to protect the sisters and children from the insults of the savages. But the missionaries Zeisberger, Senseman and Heckenwaelder, with some of the assistants, arrived there on the 2d of September, and soon perceived that they should not be well treated. According to their own expression it appeared as though the whole atmosphere was infested with evil spirits.

They were soon summoned before a council of war, and the Half-king insisted upon their giving an immediate answer, whether they would go with him or not, without retiring to consult upon it? But as the missionaries appealed to the answer given already, declaring, that they intended to abide by it, the assembly broke up without further debate. A Delaware captain then called upon Brother Zeisberger and told him in secret, that being adopted as one of the Delaware nation and consequently one flesh and bone with them, the Delaware warriors were willing to protect him. But as this protection was meant to extend only to him and not to his fellow-laborers, he nobly refused the captain's offer; upon which both he and the two other missionaries were immediately seized by a party of Huron warriors and declared prisoners of war. As they were dragged off into the camp a Huron Indian aimed a push at Brother Senseman's head with a weapon resembling a lance, but missed his aim. Upon this a Monfy approached the missionaries, and seizing them by the hair, shook them, calling out in a tone of derision: "Welcome among us, my friends!"

They were then led into the camp of the Delawares, where the death-song was sung over them. During these transactions the Hurons, fearing the resentment of our Indians,

loaded their guns with great haste, and appeared in such a panic, that they hardly knew what they did. They then stripped the missionaries to their shirts and took away their clothes. Meanwhile the whole troop of common warriors ran into the missionaries' house, which they plundered and damaged in a dreadful manner. Indeed some of our young Indians had placed themselves before the house door, armed with hatchets to keep the savages in awe, but they were soon obliged to yield to numbers. However they suffered Brother Edwards to go out unhurt. Not chusing to share a better fate than his Brethren, he went to them into the camp and was made prisoner.

They were now all led into the tent of the English officer, who seeing the pitiable condition they were in, expressed some compassion, and declared that this treatment was utterly against his intention, though indeed the governor at Detroit had given orders to take them away by force, if they refused to go willingly. Having received here some rags to cover themselves, they were now led to the camp of the Hurons, and secured in two huts, the Brethren Zeisberger and Heckenwaelder in one and Edwards and Senfeman in the other. The savages were going to confine the latter in the stocks, but upon his representing to them that that caution was quite needless, they desisted. Nor were the Brethren bound like other prisoners, but only carefully watched. Here they sat upon the bare ground, having nothing to screen them from the cold at night.

Soon after they had been thus secured, they saw a number of armed warriors marching off for Salem and Schoenbrunn, and the consideration of what their families would suffer, was a greater torment to their afflicted minds, than any insult offered to their own persons. About thirty savages arrived in Salem in the dusk of the evening and broke open the mission-house. Here they took Brother Michael Jung, Sister Heckenwaelder and her child prisoners, the former having narrowly escaped being killed by a tomahawk, aimed at his head. Having led them into the street, and plundered the  
house

house of every thing they could take with them, they destroyed what was left, and brought Brother Michael Jung about midnight to Gnadenuetten, singing the death-song. He was confined in the same hut with the Brethren Zeisberger and Heckenwaelder. As to Sister Heckenwaelder, the savages were prevailed upon by the intercession of the Indian Sisters to leave her at Salem till the next morning, when she and her child were safely conducted by our Indians to Gnadenuetten.

During the same night some Hurons came to Schoenbrunn, and suddenly broke into the missionaries' house, where they seized the missionary Jungman and his wife, and the Sisters Zeisberger and Senseman who were already in bed. Without even giving them time to dress, they seemed in haste and out of breath to tell them, that between thirty and forty warriors were on the road to murder them, that they therefore should immediately deliver themselves up to them as prisoners of war, and thus save their lives under their protection; that they would pack up their things and bring them all safe to Gnadenuetten, where they should be returned to them. The poor frightened women believed their words, and Sister Zeisberger even helped the robbers to pack up, till she saw that the beds were cut to pieces and the feathers shook out into the street, in the same manner as was done at Gnadenuetten and Salem. Having also plundered the church of every thing, the savages set off with their booty and prisoners, and proceeded by water to Gnadenuetten. No one was more to be pitied, than Sister Senseman, who had been brought to bed but three days before, and now with her infant was hurried away by these merciless barbarians, in a dark and rainy night. But God who does all things well, did not suffer either her or the child to receive the least injury, by imparting to her an uncommon degree of strength and fortitude. Had she been too weak to follow the savages, she and her infant would have been instantly murdered, according to their usual practice in similar cases. September 4th early, they led this company into Gnadenuetten, singing the death-song.

song. When the Brethren Zeisberger and Senseman saw their wives led captive in procession, I must leave my readers to guess what their feelings must have been, not knowing how this affair would end.

The day following the prisoners obtained permission to see and speak with each other. This produced a scene so moving and interesting, that even the savages seemed struck with astonishment and remorse. The Sisters, who behaved with great composure and resignation, bearing every insult with exemplary patience, were soon set at liberty, as was also Brother Jungman; but as the missionaries' house was almost destroyed, they went to lodge in the house of Brother Shebosch, who had not been taken prisoner, being considered as a native Indian, having altogether adopted the Indian manner of living and married an Indian woman. Here the prisoners were allowed to visit them now and then, and they had the same leave to return their visits. The savages were meanwhile strutting about in the clothes taken from the missionaries, and even compelled their wives to make shirts for them of the linen they had robbed them of.

The night following some malicious people spread a report, that the wives of the missionaries had effected their escape and were gone to Pittsburg. All was uproar and confusion. Brother Heckenwaelder was waked and examined about it, and though he assured the warriors, that the Sisters were nowhere but in their own lodgings in bed, they would not believe it, till they had searched their sleeping place and there found his assertion to be true.

In the beginning of these proceedings the behavior of the believing Indians much resembled the conduct of the disciples of our blessed Savior. They forsook their teachers and fled. When they arrived together in the woods, they lift up their voices and wept so loud, that the air resounded with their lamentations. But soon recollecting themselves, they returned, and having recovered many things belonging to the missionaries, even out of the hands of the robbers, or paid for them, returned them to the owners. They likewise brought

brought blankets to the prisoners, to cover themselves during the cold nights, but secretly and late in the evening, fetching them back early in the morning, lest the savages should steal them in the day time. Some had even courage enough to enter the camp in the day time, and to seize the booty made by the savages, and carry it off by main force.

But now another very dangerous circumstance occurred. A young Indian woman, who came with the savages and was witness to their brutal behavior, undesigningly said to an Indian Sister, that she should never forget the unjust treatment the white Brethren received, nor could she sleep all night for distress. Soon after, without further explanation, she found means to get Captain Pipe's best horse, and rode off full speed to Pittsburg, where she gave an account of the situation of the missionaries and their congregations. As soon as her departure was known, she was instantly pursued. But as she could not be taken, the savages were enraged in the highest degree; they first charged the missionaries with having sent this woman with letters to Pittsburg, to call the Americans to their deliverance. But as it appeared more probable, that Isaac Glikkikan, to whom the woman was related, had sent her, a party of warriors immediately set off for Salem and brought him bound to Gnadenhuetten, singing the death-song. While the savages were binding him, perceiving that they seemed much terrified, he encouraged them, saying, "Formerly, when I was ignorant of God, I should not have suffered any one of you to touch me. But now, having been converted unto him, through mercy, I am willing to suffer all things for his sake." He no sooner arrived in the camp but a general uproar ensued, the savages demanding that poor Isaac should be cut in pieces. The Delawares, who hated him more particularly for his conversion, thirsted for his blood, but the Half-king interfering, would not suffer him to be killed. However they examined him very severely, and though his innocence was clearly proved, yet they attacked him with the most opprobrious language, and

and after some hours confinement, set him at liberty. An account was afterwards received, that upon the report made by the abovementioned woman, the Governor of Pittsburg intended to send a proper force to release the missionaries and their congregations, but was afterwards led to forsake this resolution, which may be considered as a gracious providence of God: for the Indian congregation would then indeed have been between two fires, and the first step taken by the savages would have been to murder all the white Brethren and Sisters.

The five imprisoned Brethren having for four days and nights together experienced in the most cruel manner, what is to be at the mercy of a gang of robbers and murderers, the Indian assistants went to the Half-king and the rest of the captains, and entreated them most earnestly, to set their teachers at liberty. The savages indeed were convinced that the believing Indians would never be persuaded to leave the settlements, unless they were led by the missionaries. On the 6th of September therefore they called them before the council, declared them free, and advised them to encourage the Indians to prepare for their emigration.

Filled with thanks and praises to God they now returned to their beloved people, and went to Salem, where they had appointed the congregations of Salem and Gnadenhuetten to meet them. Here they administered the sacrament, during which a most extraordinary sensation of the presence of the Lord comforted their hearts. They also preached the Gospel with boldness, baptized a catechumen and exhorted all the believing Indians to stand firm and to show that faithfulness which they in a more particular manner owed to the Lord and his cause in these hours of trial and temptation. The daily words of scripture during this afflicting period, were so applicable to their circumstances, that they could not have been better chosen, if the event had been foreseen.

Having thus refreshed themselves for some days in peace and rest at Salem, about 100 savages, who had continually watched their motions and surrounded them at some distance, entered

entered the place on the 10th of September and behaved like madmen, committing the most daring outrages. The missionaries now perceived, that there was no other resource for themselves and their congregation, but to emigrate, as the savages seemed resolved to follow them every where. Having therefore determined to propose it to the congregations, and finding them of the same mind, they quitted Salem on the 11th of September.

But they never forsook any country with more regret. They were now obliged to forsake three beautiful settlements, Gnadenhuetten, Salem and Schoenbrunn, and the greatest part of their possessions in them. They had already lost above 200 head of horned cattle and 400 hogs. Besides this they left a great quantity of Indian corn in store, above 300 acres of corn land, where the harvest was just ripening, besides potatoes, cabbage, and other roots and garden fruits in the ground. According to a moderate calculation their loss was computed at 12,000 dollars, about 2000l. But what gave them most pain, was the total loss of all books and writings, compiled with great trouble, for the instruction of their youth. These were all burnt by the savages. Added to this they had nothing before them, but distress, misery and danger. However they could do nothing, but possess their souls in patience, and go forward, even whither they would not. But God was with them, and the powerful sensation and experience they had of his presence supported their courage. A troop of savages commanded by English officers escorted them, enclosing them at the distance of some miles on all sides. They went by land through Goschachguenk to the Walhalding; and then partly by water and partly along the banks of that river to Sandusky Creek. Some of the canoes sunk, and those who were in them lost all their provisions and every thing they had saved. Those who went by land, drove the cattle, a pretty large herd having been brought together from Salem and Schoenbrunn. Sept. 19th the Half-king overtook them with his troops. He had lain in Salem ever since the emigration of our people, his troops had

had plundered all the three settlements, and even dug up as much as they could find of what the Indians had buried in the woods.

One may easily conceive, that this journey was very tedious and troublesome. However the people went on with great patience. Not one left the congregation under these circumstances: no one laid the blame of these troubles and losses upon others: no dissatisfaction or disharmony took place, but they cleaved together as one man in the spirit of true brotherly love, rejoiced in God their Savior, and held their daily meetings on the road. At Gockhosink, or the habitation of owls, so called from the quantity of these birds resorting thither, they forsook the river and proceeded altogether by land. The savages now drove them forward like a herd of cattle. The white Brethren and Sisters were usually in the midst surrounded by the believing Indians. But one morning, when the latter could not set out as expeditiously as the savages thought proper, they attacked the white Brethren, and forced them to set out alone, whipping their horses forward till they grew wild, and not even allowing the mothers time to suckle their children. The road was exceeding bad, leading through a continuation of swamps. Sister Zeisberger fell twice from her horse, and once hanging in the stirrup was dragged for some time. But assistance was soon at hand and the Lord preserved her from harm. Some of the believing Indians followed them as fast as possible; but with all their exertions did not overtake them till night. Thus they were not delivered out of the hands of the savages till the next morning.

October 11th, they at length arrived at Sandusky Creek, from which the whole country receives its name, being divided into Upper and Lower Sandusky, about 125 miles distant from the settlements on the Muskingum. Here the Half-king with his Huron warriors left them, without leaving any orders for their future observance, and marched into his own country. Thus they were left in a wilderness, where there was neither game nor any other provisions; and  
those,

those, who had suffered themselves to be deceived by the treacherous representations made by the savages of this paradise, were ashamed of their credulity. After roving to and fro for some time, they resolved to spend the winter in Upper Sandusky, where they pitched upon the best spot they could find in this dreary waste, and built small huts of logs and bark to screen themselves from the cold, having neither beds nor blankets, and being reduced to the greatest poverty and want; for the savages had by degrees stolen every thing both from the missionaries and the Indians on the journey, only leaving them the needful utensils for making maple sugar. During the building of these huts, the evening meetings were held in the open air, and two large fires kindled to serve for warmth and light. They so much disliked their situation here, that they gave their town no name, and I must therefore call it Sandusky, from the country and river near to which it lay.

Nothing brought them into greater straits, than the want of provisions, and they frequently thought of the children of Israel in the wilderness, and of that bread, with which they were fed by God from heaven. Some had long ago spent all their own provisions, and depended upon the charity of their neighbors, for a few morsels. Even the missionaries, who had hitherto always lived upon their own produce, were now obliged to receive alms, they and their families being supported by a contribution gathered in the congregation. On this account Brother Shebosch and several Indian Brethren returned as soon as possible to the forsaken settlements on the Muskingum, to fetch the Indian corn, which, as mentioned above, had been left in great quantities in the fields.

Many savages came at that time to Sandusky, not to hear the Gospel, but rather to scoff and laugh at it. The Delaware Captain Pipe boasted publicly, that he had taken the believing Indians and their teachers prisoners, and considered them now as his slaves. The Half-king came to inform them, that they were now under his dominion, and were bound to do whatever he commanded them, even to go to war in his service.

vice. This vain boasting being answered with silence, the savages grew more impudent, and even seemed to have lost all regard for the missionaries. The less prospect there appeared under these circumstances, of gaining the hearts of the heathen by the preaching of the Gospel, the more joy the missionaries felt at seeing several who last year, in times of trial, had forsaken the congregation and wandered about as straying sheep, return unto the Shepherd and Bishop of their souls, and unto his persecuted flock.

But scarce had the missionaries and their people had a moment's breathing-time in this place, when two Delaware captains arrived with the following message from the English governor at Fort Detroit to the Delawares and Hurons: "Children! your father beyond Lake Erie is glad to hear that you have brought the believing Indians and their teachers to Sandusky, for now all nations may be united and all hindrances removed, and the little birds in the wood cannot sing so many lies in your ears. Now the Virginians will sit in the dark and hear nothing more about us, from which we expect to reap great advantages. I leave it to your discretion, to find a dwelling for the believing Indians, wherever you please. In a few days a vessel will arrive from Detroit in the river Miami with goods, where your father will reward you well for your good services. But he requests, that Captain Pipe would conduct the teachers and some of the Chiefs of the believing Indians to him, as he wishes to see and to speak with them himself. He says: 'I know better how to speak with them than you, for I know them, and can better provide and care for them, having plenty of every thing.'"

The missionaries, who long since wished to speak with the governor himself, and to refute the many lies he had heard, by laying the truth before him, were very willing to go, and October 25th the Brethren Zeisberger, Senseman, Heckenwaelder, and Edwards, set out with four Indian assistants for Fort Detroit. But the Brethren Jung-

man and Michael Jung stayed with the congregation at Sandusky. The pain they felt at taking leave of each other, was very great, partly as no one could tell what would be the event of their journey, and partly as they were obliged to leave their families in want of all the necessaries of life. They travelled chiefly by land along the banks of the lake, passing over many swamps, large inundated plains, and through thick forests, suffering great hardships by the way. But the most painful circumstance attending this journey was this, that they received an account, that some of their Indians who went, as above mentioned, to the Muskingum to fetch Indian corn, had been taken and killed by the white people, and that a large body of the latter were marching to Sandusky, to surprize the settlement there. Of this account only so much was true, that Brother Shebosch and five believing Indians had been taken prisoners at Schoenbrunn and carried to Pittsburg. The rest returned safe to Sandusky, loaded with about four hundred bushels of Indian corn, which they had procured in the fields with great trouble. But as the travellers did not hear the truth, it may easily be conceived how great their affliction was, and with what anxiety their minds were oppressed during the journey.

November the 3d they arrived at Detroit, and were immediately brought before the Governor, Arend Scouler de Peyster. He was at first displeas'd, having expected all the missionaries with their families, whom he intended to send all together to Philadelphia. He however assured them, that the only cause for his calling them from their settlements on the Muskingum, was because he had heard, that they carried on a correspondence with the Americans to the prejudice of the English interest, and that many complaints had arisen against them on that account. The missionaries answered, that they doubted not in the least but that many evil reports must have reached his ears, as the treatment they had met with, had sufficiently proved that they were considered as guilty persons; but that these reports were false, would fully appear, if he would only grant a strict investigation of their

conduct. They added, that it would not only cause them great grief, but would also be the ruin of the mission, committed to their care, if they were separated from their congregations, which they were in conscience bound never to forsake. His Excellency then dismissed them, and kindly ordered them to be decently lodged and provided with necessaries. Many English, German and French officers visited them and expressed great compassion, upon hearing how cruelly they had been treated, the marks of which they still bore about them; their clothes were all tattered and torn, and they saw Indians strutting about the streets in Detroit in the very clothes taken from them on the Muskingum.

Their trial was deferred till Captain Pipe, their principal accuser, should arrive, and they felt some uneasiness in considering that the verdict seemed to depend upon the evidence given by this malicious opponent. They had no friend to interfere in their behalf. But God was their friend and stay, and they trusted in him with full confidence; nor were they put to shame.

The 9th of November was the day appointed for the trial. After some ceremonies had passed between the Governor and Captain Pipe, relating to the scalps and prisoners he had brought from the United States, Captain Pipe rose and thus addressed the Governor: "Father, you have commanded us  
" to bring the believing Indians and their teachers from the  
" Muskingum. This has been done. When we had brought  
" them to Sandusky, you ordered us to bring their teachers  
" and some of their Chiefs unto you. Here you see them  
" before you, now you may speak with them yourself, as you  
" have desired. But I hope you will speak good words  
" unto them, yea I tell you, 'speak good words unto them,  
" for they are my friends, and I should be sorry to see  
" them ill used." These last words he repeated two or three times. In answer to this, the Governor enumerated to the captain all the complaints he had made against the Brethren, in his own words, calling upon him now to prove,  
that

that his accusations were true and that the missionaries had corresponded with the Americans, to the prejudice of the English interest. Pipe answered, that such a thing might have happened; but that the missionaries would do it no more, for they were now at Detroit. The Governor was not satisfied with this answer, but peremptorily demanded, that Pipe should answer his first question decisively. Pipe was now greatly embarrassed, began to shift and shuffle, and bending towards his counsellors, asked them what he should say? But they all hung their heads and were silent. On a sudden recollecting himself and rising up, he addressed the Governor: "I said before, that some such thing might have happened, but now I will tell you the plain truth. The missionaries are innocent. They have done nothing of themselves, what they have done, they were compelled to do." Then, smiting upon his breast, he added, "I am to blame, and the Chiefs who were with me in Gofschaguenk; we have forced them to do it, when they refused." This alluded to the innocent correspondence carried on through the missionaries in the name of the Delaware Chiefs mentioned above (page 116). The Governor then asked Captain Pipe whether he and his party were willing to permit the missionaries to return to their congregations, or would rather, that they were sent away? But contrary to all expectation Pipe approved of their return, and it was evident, that God had changed his heart in this affair. The Governor then questioned the missionaries about their ordination and vocation to the mission, but especially about their connexion with the United States: As to the latter, they replied, that Congress indeed knew that they were employed as missionaries to the Indians, and did not disturb them in their labors, but had never, in any thing, given them directions how to proceed.

The Governor, having done nothing in this whole affair, but what his duty required, declared now publicly before the whole court, that the Brethren were innocent of

all things laid to their charge, that he felt great satisfaction in seeing their endeavors to civilize and christianize the Indians, and would permit them to return to their congregations. All this was interpreted to Captain Pipe and his warriors. Then addressing the Indian assistants, he expressed his joy to see them, admonishing them to continue to obey their teachers and not to meddle with the war, after which he took them by the hand, and promised to supply them gratis with all they wanted, which was accordingly done. To the missionaries he offered the use of his own house, in the most friendly terms, and as they had been plundered contrary to his will and express command, he ordered, that they should be provided with clothes and every other necessary without delay. He even bought four watches, which they had been robbed of, upon their imprisonment in Gnadenhuetten, from a trader, to whom the Indians had sold them at Detroit, and returned them to the missionaries. Having frequently conferred with them in a kind and sympathizing manner, concerning the state of the mission, and given them a passport for their journey, to which a permission was added, that they should perform the functions of their office among the Christian Indians without molestation, he dismissed them in peace. The missionaries entreated him to send them an account of all accusations made against them in future, promising to clear up every thing to his satisfaction and according to strict truth. This he promised to do, and at parting declared as a sincere friend, how heartily sorry he was for the sufferings they had so innocently undergone. Both the missionaries and the Indian assistants returned praises to God for the favorable turn given to their affairs, in which the Governor approved himself as a servant of God. They left Detroit on the 14th of November and arrived on the 22d at Sandusky. The joy of their families and the congregation was inexpressible, as nothing appeared to them more probable, than that they would be detained prisoners at Detroit:

They

They were now left for some time at rest and built a chapel. But their external support was a matter of great difficulty and caused many melancholy reflections. They knew not to-day, what they should eat to-morrow. Frequently their hunger became almost insupportable and the cry for food was general. Providentially it happened that towards the end of the year a great number of deer came into those parts. Two English traders who lived in the neighborhood, Mr. Mac-Cormick and Mr. Robins, were very kind in assisting them. They bought Indian corn for them and served them to the utmost of their power, which was gratefully acknowledged by our Indians as a proof of the gracious providence of our heavenly Father.

December 7th the Indian congregation held their first meeting in the new chapel, and offered up prayers and supplications, that the Lord would also in this place dwell and walk among them, and bless the word of his atonement with rich fruits in the hearts of all who should hear it. They celebrated the Christmas holidays with cheerfulness and blessing, and concluded this remarkable year with thanks and praise to him, who is ever the Savior of his people. But having neither bread nor wine, they could not keep the Holy Communion.

## CHAPTER X.

1782.

*Great Famine in Sandusky. All the Missionaries are carried to Fort Detroit. Part of the Indian Congregation surprized on the River Muskingum by a Troop of white People, and murdered. Arrival of the Missionaries at Detroit. The Indian Congregation dispersed, by which their total Destruction is prevented.*

THE Indian congregation entered into the year 1782 with joy, and renewed hopes of rest, little imagining that it would be the most trying period they had ever experienced.

In the first months of this year the daily worship of the congregation was held in the usual order, and the grace of God prevailed. Some new people were baptized, and several of the baptized, who formerly went astray, obtained forgiveness and were readmitted to the fellowship of the believers.

However they were not without distress. Towards the end of January, the cold became so intense, that the nights were almost insupportable. After it abated, the water forced out of the earth in such abundance that it did much damage to the inhabitants. The cattle, of which the Indians had collected large herds, had no forage in these dreary regions, nor was any to be procured elsewhere, and thus such of them as were not killed for meat, perished with hunger. Famine soon spread amongst the people, and the calamity became general. Provisions were not to be had, even for money, and if any were bought in other places, an exorbitant price was demanded. Many of the poor lived merely upon wild potatoes, and at last their hunger was such, that they greedily ate the carcases of the horses and cows which were starved to death.

In this wretched situation the Half-king of the Hurons with a retinue of Indians and white people paid them a visit. As our Indians were now not able to furnish a meal for their guests, one of the assistants went to the Half-king, informed him that there was no meat to be had but the flesh of dead cattle; and added: "Whenever you came to Gnaden-huetten, we gave you not only enough to eat, but if you desired to have tea and sugar, bread, butter, milk, pork and beef, or any other article, we always gave it to you, and have never refused any thing to you and your warriors. But you told us to rise, and to go with you, and that we need not mind our plantations, for we should find enough to live upon. Now if any one catches a bird, or any another animal, his first care is to get food for it. But you have brought us hither, and never offered a grain of Indian corn to any one of us; thus you have obtained your whole aim, and may rejoice that we are here miserably perishing for want." The Half-king seemed struck with the truth of this reproof, and went away in silence. Other savages who came on a visit to Sandusky, seeing such quantities of cattle lying dead by the way side, laughed, and reviled our Indians, expressing great joy at their sufferings. "Now," said they, "you are become like us, and certainly you ought not to fare better."

The famine drove several parties from Sandusky to Schoenbrunn, Gnadenhuetten and Salem on the Muskingum, to fetch provisions, a report prevailing, that there was no danger in those parts. Indeed this was now the only resource our Indians had left, for though most of their Indian corn was still standing in the fields since last year, it was much better than what was sold by some people in Sandusky at an enormous price.

The greatest sufferings of the missionaries about this time were occasioned by the behavior of some false Brethren, who having returned to their former sinful ways, endeavored to introduce their heathenish practice into the congregation, and would not leave the settlement. They staid there in defiance

of all remonstrances, were enraged, when kindly reprov'd, and went about in the villages of the heathen, endeavoring to exasperate them against the missionaries.

It became now more evident than ever that the aim of the enemies of the Brethren was nothing less than forcibly and effectually to destroy the preaching of the Gospel among the Indians, and to disperse the Indian congregation. The Governor of Fort Detroit had promised the missionaries that they should not be molested in their labors, but he found it impossible to keep his word, as these people left him no peace. Soon after the return of the missionaries from Detroit last autumn, some of the head-chiefs of the Delawares expressed their astonishment to the Governor, that he had suffered the white Brethren to depart, and thus disappointed them in their hopes of getting rid of these dangerous people. The Governor had always found means to pacify them by his wise and firm behavior. But now the Half-king of the Hurons appeared again against them. It happened that two of his sons, who went last year upon a murdering party, lost their lives during the expedition. This the father ascribed to some secret intrigues of the Brethren, nor would he be convinced of the contrary, but meditated revenge. He lived also in continual fear, lest our Indians should revenge the injuries they had suffered, upon his own person. He therefore thought of means to disperse them, and knew no method more likely to effect this, than to separate them from their teachers. Another disagreeable occurrence happened also about this time. Two Indians, members of the congregation, had a desire to visit their imprisoned relations at Pittsburg. But as it was evident, that their journey would only tend to increase the suspicions raised against the missionaries, as though they carried on a correspondence with the Americans, the danger was represented to them and they were desired to give up the design. Nevertheless they set off in secret. Now though Brother Zeisberger gave immediate information of this circumstance both to the Governor of Detroit and to the Half-king of the Hurons, yet the latter gladly seized

feized this opportunity, to accuse the missionaries before the Governor of having carried on a constant correspondence with the Americans, as long as they had been in Sandusky, by letters sent every ten days to Pittsburg, endeavoring to persuade the Americans to destroy the Huron nation. In a letter, dictated by him to some white people, he mentioned to the Governor: "That he was uneasy in his mind as long as the teachers lived in Sandusky, fearing some misfortune, and therefore requested the Governor to carry them away as soon as possible; but that if he refused, he himself should know what to do."

A written order therefore arrived on the 1st of March, 1782, sent by the Governor to the Half-king of the Hurons and to an English officer in his company, to bring all the missionaries and their families to Detroit, but with a strict charge, neither to plunder nor to abuse them in the least. It may easily be conceived how this account pierced the missionaries to the very heart. According to their own declaration, they would much rather have met death itself, than be forced to forsake their congregation whom they loved by far more than their own lives, and thus to deliver their flock over to the wolves. They were stunned with grief; but consultations were of no avail. For indeed nothing was now left, but to submit with due resignation, for the slightest remonstrance might have given occasion to abuse and plunder them, and could not have been of the smallest service.

When this order was communicated to the congregation, expressly assembled for the purpose, the people wept to such a degree, that the missionaries were almost crushed with the weight of grief and distress. One Indian after the other came afterwards to see them, and they were entirely engaged in attending to their complaints, exhorting and comforting them. All uttered their lamentations aloud, exclaiming that they were forsaken and left as sheep without a shepherd. Among the rest an Indian Brother said, "I am unconcerned as to all the losses I have sustained, that I am become poor and hungry and have lost all my cattle. I would gladly suffer

“suffer all this and more, but that our enemies have at length  
“taken our teachers from us, and intend to rob us of the  
“nourishment of our souls and the word of salvation, is too  
“bad, and breaks my heart. But they shall never find me  
“willing to be one with them and to enter again into their  
“heathenish manner of living. Nor shall they ever make  
“me subject to their power, and force me to do things,  
“which are abominable in the eyes of God my Savior. I will  
“rather run into the woods, fly from all human society, and  
“spend the remainder of my life in the utmost misery.”

Another, who had proved unfaithful, came and confessed his guilt in public. “I have grievously sinned,” said he, “for I  
“have accused my teachers and betrayed them, as Judas be-  
“trayed our Savior, and now I shall be lost eternally, un-  
“less I obtain forgiveness.” The missionaries assured him in the most affectionate terms of their forgiveness, and comforted their weeping flock by representing the unbounded faithfulness of the Lord, who crowns all things which He permits with an happy issue. But they found that it would be most prudent not to give any particular advice to the Indian assistants, for the management of the affairs of the congregation during their absence, but to commend them to the guidance of the Spirit of God, having no other consolation both for themselves and their families, but that they were yet in the hands of a gracious Lord, though now led through a dark and dismal valley, who would be their leading star, protector and preserver in all circumstances.

The day before their departure, they were terrified to the utmost degree, by the arrival of a warrior from the Musk-ingum, who related that all our Indians, who were found in our deserted settlements seeking provisions, had been taken prisoners by the Americans, carried off to Pittsburg, and some of them murdered. Thus overwhelmed with grief and terror the missionaries were obliged to take leave of their people on the 15th of March, and suffered as it were a thousand deaths. The congregation being assembled for this purpose, Brother Zeisberger as a tender father exhorted the  
Brethren

Brethren and Sisters to cleave the closer unto the Lord, as they were now to be separated from their teachers, for that He was the source of all salvation and the well spring of life. He admonished them to seek and find pasture in the merits of his sufferings and death, by which they would be preserved from the world and all the allurements of sin. He then kneeled down with the congregation, gave thanks unto the Lord for all the spiritual blessings received at his hands, amidst earthly misery and distress, commended this Indian church of Christ, purchased unto himself by his own blood, unto his grace, to the love and preservation of God the heavenly Father, and to the fellowship and guidance of the Holy Ghost, praying fervently, that they might be preserved in faith and in the pure and saving doctrine of Jesus Christ and his atonement, till they should see each other again, either here below, or before the throne of the Lamb. The tears shed on this occasion are only known to the Lord, who seeth the affliction of his children. In this state of mind, believing one part of the congregation to be imprisoned, another part murdered and the third in danger of being dispersed and forsaken, the missionaries entered upon their journey to Detroit, accompanied by a Frenchman, whom the English officer had appointed in his place to conduct them, and passing as in review before the Half-king and his warriors.

I will here leave the travellers, to describe the bloody catastrophe which took place on the Muskingum, the above-mentioned report being by far not equal to the extent of the horrible transaction.

The Governor of Pittsburg thought it but just, to release the believing Indians who with Brother Schebosch were taken prisoners last year by the Americans in Schoenbrunn. The Indians arrived safe in Sandusky, and Brother Schebosch went to Bethlehem, to give a circumstantial account of the present situation of the Indian congregation. The humane behavior of the Governor at Pittsburg greatly incensed those people, who, according to the account given in the former

Part of this History, represented the Indians as Canaanites, who without mercy ought to be destroyed from the face of the earth, and considered America as the land of promise given to the Christians. Hearing that different companies of the believing Indians came occasionally from Sandusky to the settlements on the Muskingum to fetch provisions, a party of murderers, about one hundred and sixty in number, assembled in the country near Whiling and Buffaloe, determined first to surprize these Indians, and destroy the settlements, and then to march to Sandusky, where they might easily cut off the whole Indian congregation. As soon as Colonel Gibson, at Pittsburg, heard of this black design, he sent messengers to our Indians on the Muskingum to give them timely notice of their danger: but they came too late. They however received in all the settlements early intelligence of the approach of the murderers, time enough for them to have saved themselves by flight; for a white man, who had narrowly escaped from the hands of some savages, warned them with great earnestness to fly for their lives. These savages, having murdered and impaled a woman and a child, not far from the Ohio, arrived soon after at Gnadenhuetten, where they expressed to our Indians their fears, that a party of white people, who were pursuing them, would certainly kill every Indian they met on the road. But our Indians, who at other times behaved with great caution and timidity, if only the least appearance of danger existed, showed now no signs of fear, but went to meet real danger with incredible confidence.

This was undoubtedly owing to an idea, that they had nothing to fear from the Americans, but only from the Indians. However on the 5th of March, Samuel, an assistant, was called from Schoenbrunn to Salem, where all the assistants in those parts met, to consult whether they should fly upon the approach of the white people; but both those of Salem and Gnadenhuetten were of opinion, that they should stay. Samuel advised, that every one should be left to act according to his own sentiments, and thus they parted. When Samuel

muel returned to Schoenbrunn, some Brethren accompanied him part of the way, and he declared that such love and harmony prevailed among the believing Indians, as he had never seen before.

Meanwhile the murderers marched first to Gnadenhuetten where they arrived on the 6th of March. About a mile from the settlement they met young Schebosch in the wood, fired at him and wounded him so much that he could not escape. He then, according to the account of the murderers themselves, begged for his life, representing that he was Schebosch the son of a white Christian man. But they paid no attention to his entreaties and cut him in pieces with their hatchets. They then approached the Indians, most of whom were in their plantations, and surrounded them, almost imperceptibly, but feigning a friendly behavior, told them to go home, promising to do them no injury. They even pretended to pity them on account of the mischief done to them by the English and the savages, assuring them of the protection and friendship of the Americans. The poor believing Indians, knowing nothing of the death of young Schebosch, believed every word they said, went home with them and treated them in the most hospitable manner. They likewise spoke freely concerning their sentiments as Christian Indians, who had never taken the least share in the war. A small barrel of wine being found among their goods, they told their persecutors on enquiry, that it was intended for the Lord's Supper, and that they were going to carry it to Sandusky. Upon this they were informed that they should not return thither, but go to Pittsburg, where they would be out of the way of any assault made by the English or the savages. This they heard with resignation, concluding, that God would perhaps chuse this method to put an end to their present sufferings. Prepossessed with this idea, they cheerfully delivered their guns, hatchets and other weapons to the murderers, who promised to take good care of them and in Pittsburg to return every article to its rightful owner. Our Indians even showed them all those things, which they had secreted

secreted in the woods, assisted in packing them up, and emptied all their bee-hives for these pretended friends.

In the mean time the assistant John Martin went to Salem and brought the news of the arrival of the white people, to the believing Indians, assuring them that they need not be afraid to go with them, for they were come to carry them into a place of safety, and to afford them protection and support. The Salem Indians did not hesitate to accept of this proposal, believing unanimously that God had sent the Americans, to release them from their disagreeable situation at Sandusky, and imagining that when they had arrived at Pittsburg, they might soon find a safe place to build a settlement and easily procure advice and assistance from Bethlehem. Thus John Martin with two Salem Brethren returned to Gnadenhuetten, to acquaint both their Indian Brethren and the white people with their resolution. The latter expressed a desire to see Salem, and a party of them was conducted thither and received with much friendship. Here they pretended to have the same good will and affection towards the Indians, as at Gnadenhuetten, and easily persuaded them to return with them. By the way they entered into much spiritual conversation, our Indians, some of whom spoke English well, giving these people, who feigned great piety, proper and scriptural answers to many questions concerning religious subjects. The assistants Isaac Glikkikan and Israel were no less sincere and unreserved in their answers to some political questions started by the white people, and thus the murderers obtained a full and satisfactory account of the present situation and sentiments of the Indian congregation. In the mean time the defenceless Indians at Gnadenhuetten were suddenly attacked and driven together by the white people, and without resistance seized and bound. The Salem Indians now met the same fate. Before they entered Gnadenhuetten, they were at once surpris'd by their conductors, robbed of their guns and even of their pocket knives, and brought bound into the settlement. Soon after this, the murderers held a council, and resolv'd by a majority of votes, to murder them all the very next day.

Those

Those who were of a different opinion, wrung their hands, calling God to witness, that they were innocent of the blood of these harmless Christian Indians. But the majority remained unmoved, and only differed concerning the mode of execution. Some were for burning them alive, others for taking their scalps, and the latter was at last agreed upon; upon which one of the murderers was sent to the prisoners, to tell them, that as they were Christian Indians, they might prepare themselves in a Christian manner, for they must all die to-morrow.

It may be easily conceived, how great their terror was, at hearing a sentence so unexpected. However they soon recollected themselves and patiently suffered the murderers to lead them into two houses, in one of which the Brethren and in the other the Sisters and children were confined like sheep ready for slaughter. They declared to the murderers that though they could call God to witness that they were perfectly innocent, yet they were prepared and willing to suffer death. But as they had at their conversion and baptism made a solemn promise to the Lord Jesus Christ, that they would live unto him and endeavor to please him alone in this world, they knew that they had been deficient in many respects, and therefore wished to have some time granted, to pour out their hearts before Him in prayer, and to crave His mercy and pardon. This request being complied with, they spent their last night here below in prayer, and in exhorting each other to remain faithful unto the end. One Brother, called Abraham, who for some time past had been in a lukewarm state of heart, seeing his end approaching, made the following public confession before his brethren: “ Dear  
“ Brethren! it seems as if we should all soon depart unto  
“ our Savior, for our sentence is fixed. You know that I  
“ have been an untoward child, and have grieved the Lord  
“ and my brethren by my disobedience, not walking as I  
“ ought to have done. But yet I will now cleave to my  
“ Savior with my last breath, and hold him fast, though I am  
“ so great a sinner. I know assuredly, that He will forgive  
“ me

“me all my sins, and not cast me out.” The Brethren assured him of their love and forgiveness, and both they and the Sisters spent the latter part of the night in singing praises to God their Savior, in the joyful hope, that they should soon be able to praise him without sin.

When the day of their execution arrived, namely the 8th of March, two houses were fixed upon, one for the Brethren and another for the Sisters and children, to which the wanton murderers gave the name of slaughter-houses. Some of them went to the Indian Brethren and showed great impatience, that the execution had not yet begun, to which the Brethren replied, that they were all ready to die, having commended their immortal souls to God, who had given them that divine assurance in their hearts, that they should come unto him, and be with him for ever.

Immediately after this declaration the carnage commenced. The poor innocent people, men, women, and children were led, bound two and two together with ropes, into the above-mentioned slaughter-houses and there scalped and murdered.

According to the testimony of the murderers themselves, they behaved with uncommon patience and went to meet death with chearful resignation. The above-mentioned brother Abraham was the first victim. A Sister, called Christina, who had formerly lived with the Sisters in Bethlehem, and spoke English and German well, fell on her knees before the captain of the gang and begged her life, but was told, that he could not help her.

Thus ninety-six persons magnified the name of the Lord, by patiently meeting a cruel death. Sixty-two were grown persons, among whom were five of the most valuable assistants, and thirty-four children.

Only two youths, each between fifteen and sixteen years old, escaped almost miraculously from the hands of the murderers. One of them, seeing that they were in earnest, was so fortunate as to disengage himself from his bonds, then slipping unobserved from the crowd, crept through a narrow

narrow window, into the cellar of that house in which the Sisters were executed. Their blood soon penetrated through the flooring, and according to his account, ran in streams into the cellar, by which it appears probable, that most, if not all of them, were not merely scalped, but killed with hatchets or swords. The lad remained concealed till night, providentially not one coming down to search the cellar, when having with much difficulty climbed up the wall to the window, he crept through and escaped into a neighboring thicket. The other youth's name was Thomas. The murderers struck him only one blow on the head, took his scalp, and left him. But after some time he recovered his senses and saw himself surrounded by bleeding corpses. Among these he observed one Brother, called Abel, moving and endeavoring to raise himself up. But he remained lying as still as though he had been dead, and this caution proved the means of his deliverance: for soon after, one of the murderers coming in, and observing Abel's motions, killed him outright with two or three blows. Thomas lay quiet till dark, though suffering the most exquisite torment. He then ventured to creep towards the door, and observing nobody in the neighborhood, got out and escaped into the wood, where he concealed himself during the night. These two youths met afterwards in the wood, and God preserved them from harm on their journey to Sandusky, though they purposely took a long circuit, and suffered great hardships and danger. But before they left the neighborhood of Gnadenhuetten they observed the murderers from behind the thicket making merry after their successful enterprise, and at last setting fire to the two slaughter-houses filled with corpses.

Providentially the believing Indians, who were at that time in Schoenbrunn, escaped. The missionaries had immediately upon receiving orders to repair to Fort Detroit, sent a messenger to the Muskingum to call our Indians home, with a view to see them once more, and to get horses from them for their journey. This messenger happened to arrive

at Schoenbrunn the day before the murderers came to Gnadenhuetten, and having delivered his message, the Indians of Schoenbrunn sent another messenger to Gnadenhuetten to inform their brethren there and at Salem of the message received. But before he reached Gnadenhuetten, he found young Schebosch lying dead and scalped by the way side, and looking forward, saw many white people in and about Gnadenhuetten. He instantly fled back with great precipitation and told the Indians in Schoenbrunn what he had seen, who all took flight and ran into the woods. They now hesitated a long while, not knowing whither to turn or how to proceed. Thus when the murderers arrived at Schoenbrunn the Indians were still near the premises, observing every thing that happened there, and might easily have been discovered. But here the murderers seemed as it were struck with blindness. Finding nobody at home, they destroyed and set fire to the settlement, and having done the same at Gnadenhuetten and Salem, they set off with the scalps of their innocent victims, about fifty horses, a number of blankets and other things, and marched to Pittsburg, with a view to murder the few Indians lately settled on the north side of the Ohio, opposite to the Fort. Some of them fell a sacrifice to the rage of this blood-thirsty crew, and a few escaped. Among the latter was Anthony, a member of our congregation, who happened then to be at Pittsburg, and both he and the Indians of Schoenbrunn arrived after many dangers and difficulties safe at Sandusky.

The foregoing account of this dreadful event was collected, partly from what the murderers themselves related to their friends at Pittsburg, partly from the account given by the two youths, who escaped in the manner above described, and also from the report made by the Indian assistant Samuel of Schoenbrunn, and by Anthony from Pittsburg, all of whom agreed exactly as to the principal parts of their respective evidences.

It afterwards appeared from the New York papers, in which the Christian Indians are called Moravian Indians, and represented in a very unfavourable light, that the murderers had been prevented, for the present, from proceeding to Sandusky, to destroy the remnant of the congregation.

The following remark of some savages on this occasion deserves particular notice: "We intended to draw our friends, the believing Indians, back into heathenism, but God disapproved of it, and therefore took them to himself."

To describe the grief and terror of the Indian congregation, on hearing that so large a number of its members were so cruelly massacred, is impossible. Parents wept and mourned for the loss of their children; husbands for their wives, wives for their husbands, children for their parents, brothers for their sisters, and sisters for their brothers. And having now also lost their teachers, who used to sympathize with and take share in all their sorrows and to strengthen their reliance upon the faithfulness of God, their grief was almost insupportable. But they murmured not, nor did they call for vengeance upon the murderers, but prayed for them: and their greatest consolation was a full assurance, that all their beloved relations were now at home, in the presence of the Lord and in full possession of everlasting happiness.

Brother Schebosch received at Bethlehem the news of the cruel murder of his son, with the deepest affliction. To this place the first account of the massacre was brought by some people, who had been present at an auction held at Pittsburg of the effects taken from the believing Indians, at which also their scalps were exposed to view.

All the congregations of the United Brethren both in America and Europe took the most affecting share in this great calamity. But as God has always wise and sacred reasons, for permitting so great tribulations to befall his children, the Brethren, viewing this dreadful and incomprehensible event in this light, could do nothing, but silently adore

the wisdom of the Lord; whose ways are unsearchable, but always replete with justice and truth. It appears from all circumstances attending this massacre that the murderers did not destroy the believing Indians on account of their being Christians, but merely because they were Indians, and therefore they would not even spare the infant children. I will therefore not compare them with the martyrs of the ancient church, who sometimes were sacrificed in great numbers to the rage of their persecutors on account of their faith in Christ. But thus much I can confidently assert, that these Christian Indians approved themselves to the end as stedfast confessors of the truth, and though conscious of their innocence, were yet resigned to the will of God, patiently submitting to be led as sheep to the slaughter, and having commended their souls to their Creator and Redeemer, delivered themselves without resistance to the cruel hands of their blood-thirsty murderers, and thus in death bore witness to the truth and efficacy of the Gospel of Jesus. The murderers themselves acknowledged that they were *good* Indians, "for," said they, "they sung and prayed to their last breath." This testimony of the truth will preach to every thinking mind, as long as the remembrance of this bloody massacre exists.

There were three circumstances which may be looked upon as gracious interpositions of God's providence. The first is, that last autumn the Indian congregations were carried away from their settlements on the Muskingum. If they had remained there, they would most probably have been totally destroyed. But now above two thirds of their number were saved. Secondly, when our Indians were obliged to go to the Muskingum for food, and the missionaries mentioned it to the Hurons, partly to prevent all suspicion and partly that some of them might go with them, the Hurons refused to go. If they had gone, they could not have defended the believing Indians, their presence would only have held out a more plausible pretence for the murderers, to treat the believing Indians and Hurons alike as hostile

warriors, and thus their death would have appeared to the world in a very different light. The third remarkable circumstance was this, that the missionaries were ordered to Fort Detroit precisely at a time, when their arrangements tended to preserve those Indians, who were then at Schoenbrunn. Thus amidst all distress, they found great cause to thank and praise the Lord. Though we may not comprehend his ways, our understanding being too weak and imperfect to discover his purposes, yet this we know, that he is just and merciful, and that all things work together for good to them that love God.

I now return to the missionaries. When they left Sandusky, they were accompanied a considerable way by a large part of their weeping congregation, and by some as far as Lower Sandusky. As they could not procure a sufficient number of horses, some were obliged to wade through water and marshy grounds, and Brother Edwards had the misfortune to get lame. They were also obliged to spend several nights in the open air, and suffered great cold, besides other hardships. But the Lord graciously supported the Sisters and children, so that they were able to bear it. Their French conductor behaved with kindness towards them; and as they were in great want of provisions, God inclined the hearts of several persons to assist them. Some traders from Detroit, who then resided in Lower Sandusky, afforded them essential relief, the travellers being detained for a considerable time at that place. These good people took them into their houses and supplied them with food and other necessaries. March the 21st they experienced another affliction in taking a final leave of those believing Indians, who had accompanied them thus far, and were obliged to return to their families.

The missionaries now found themselves entirely separated from their beloved congregation, a circumstance which, amidst all their sufferings and trials, they had never before experienced, nor could they at this time discern the ways of the Lord in permitting this apparent evil: they all appeared

dark and mysterious. Soon after this, some Indian Brethren who brought their baggage after them, informed them of every circumstance relating to the murder of the believing Indians on the Muskingum, by which their minds, already grievously afflicted, were filled with inexpressible anguish; for they mourned like parents, who had lost their own children in the most cruel manner. They write; "This account was heart-rending indeed, and God alone can "comfort and support us under it."

As they were obliged to wait longer in Lower Sandusky for vessels to conduct them forward than was first expected, they received several visits from the believing Indians in Upper Sandusky. But even these visits occasioned some trouble, for one day the Hurons made a dreadful outcry, giving out that the believing Indians had murdered some Huron women. However upon an immediate examination, their lies were detected, and the calumniators publicly put to shame.

April 11th the English officer who had been ordered to conduct the missionaries to Fort Detroit, but had committed this business to the above-mentioned Frenchman, arrived with a party of Indian warriors in Lower Sandusky. He behaved like a madman towards the missionaries, and with horrid oaths threatened several times to split their skulls with an hatchet. He then sat drinking all night in the house where lodged, raving much worse than any drunken savage. But the Lord protected the missionaries and their families from all harm. At length the governor at Detroit sent two vessels with a corporal and fourteen rifle-men, who brought a written order, to take the missionaries from Lower Sandusky, to treat them with all possible kindness, and in case of stormy weather, not to endanger their lives in crossing Lake Erie; adding, that whoever did them the least injury, should be called to account for it. This threat kept the above-mentioned English officer in awe, and he staid behind in Sandusky, to the great satisfaction of the travellers.

They

They set out on the 14th, and crossing over a part of the lake, arrived at Detroit by the streights which join the Lakes Erie and Huron. Here a large room in the barracks, just fitted up for an officer's dwelling, was given them, by order of the governor. He soon came to see them, and assured them, that though many new accusations had been made against them, yet he considered them as perfectly innocent, and had not sent for them on that account, but merely for their own safety, having the most authentic intelligence, that their lives were in imminent danger, as long as they resided at Sandusky. He further left it entirely to their own option, to remain at Detroit, or to go to Bethlehem, and gave orders that they should be supplied with every thing they stood in need of. Some weeks after, they left the barracks with his consent and moved into an house at a small distance from the town, where they enjoyed more rest and quiet.

In the mean time the Indian congregation was brought into the most precarious situation. After the departure of the missionaries, the Indian assistants continued to meet and exhort the congregation in the usual regular manner. This the missionaries heard with pleasure from an English trader who visited Sandusky and was present at several of their meetings. He related that he heard them sing hymns and exhort each other, till they wept together like children, which greatly affected him. But some false brethren among them took this occasion to show their perfidy. They ascribed all the misfortunes of the believing Indians to the missionaries, and even asserted that they were the sole cause of the murder of their countrymen, and that foreseeing this, they had gone off into safety. Such foolish assertions, though reprobated by the faithful part of the congregation, occasioned however much dissatisfaction and uneasiness. Besides this, the Half-king of the Hurons was so incessantly tormented by his evil conscience, that he could not rest, as long as any Christian Indians were in his neighborhood, for their presence continually reminded him of his treacherous and cruel

behavior towards them and their teachers. He therefore sent them a peremptory order to quit the country, and seek a dwelling in some other place. It appeared indeed, as if no place was left where these persecuted Indians might have rest for the soles of their feet. For they lived between two contending parties, one of which had plundered and led them away captive and the other had murdered a great number of them. They could expect no protection from the white people, and the heathen hunted them as outlaws from one region to the other. Yet they had one great and inestimable source of comfort: "The Lord our God liveth," said they, "and he will not forsake us." However the contempt they suffered and the scoffing of the heathen, appeared sometimes very grievous: "Let us see," said they, "whether that God, of whom the Christians talk so much, describing him as a great and almighty Lord, and placing all their confidence in him, will protect and deliver them, and whether he is stronger than our gods."

They resolved at length to make no resistance, but as it seemed to be the will of God to permit them to be scattered, patiently to submit. One part therefore went into the country of the Shawanose, the rest staid some time in the neighborhood of Pipestown, and there resolved to proceed further to the Miami river.

This dispersion of the believing Indians put a period for some time, to the existence of the congregation. But it was not long before the gracious providence of God was discernible in this event. The same gang of murderers, who had committed the massacre on the Muskingum, did not give up their bloody design upon the remnant of the Indian congregation, though it was delayed for a season. They marched in May 1782 to Sandusky, where they found nothing but empty huts. Thus it became evident that the transportation of the missionaries to Detroit happened by the kind permission of God. For had they remained in Sandusky, the Indian congregation would not have been dispersed and consequently in all probability have been murdered.

And

And thus this painful event, which at first seemed to threaten destruction to the whole mission, saved the lives of our Indians in two different instances, first by the message sent to Schoenbrunn, and secondly by the dispersion of the whole flock.

Soon after the disappointment which the murderers met with at Sandusky, they were attacked by a party of English and Indian warriors, and the greater part of them were cut to pieces.

## CHAPTER XI.

1782. 1783. 1784.

*The dispersed Indian Congregation begin to flock to the Missionaries. Building of New-Gnadenbuetten on the River Huron. Gradual Success of the Endeavors to collect the dispersed Congregation. Severity of the Winter. Famine. Relief procured. The Situation of Affairs requires an Emigration from New-Gnadenbuetten.*

THE above-mentioned dispersion of the Indian congregation was more particularly painful to the missionaries, as they justly feared, that the souls of the believing Indians would suffer great injury by their converse with the Heathen. They therefore, far from making use of the liberty given them by the Governor to return to Bethlehem, resolved from motives of duty and affection, to use their utmost exertions, by degrees to gather their scattered flock. In this view they took steps to build a new settlement and to invite the believing Indians to return to them. After several conferences with the Governor, who much approved of their plan, he proposed

proposed a spot about thirty miles from Detroit on the river Huron, which upon examination they found very convenient for the purpose. But as it was necessary to have the consent of the Chief of the Chippeway tribe to whom that country belonged, the Governor undertook to procure it. The only objection the Chief made, was, that perhaps the Delawares would be displeased, and reproach them with having persuaded their friends to forsake them. To this the Governor replied, that as the Delawares had driven the Christian teachers away, they had likewise banished the Christian Indians, who were now seeking some friend to receive them, and that the Delawares could not interfere without showing their own shame and folly. The Chippeways then gave their consent with the usual solemnities, and the Governor generously sent a message with a string of wampom to all the dispersed Christian Indians, to give them notice of this transaction and to invite them to rejoin their teachers, promising, that they should enjoy perfect liberty of conscience and be supplied with provisions and other necessaries of life.

The consequence of this measure was, that on the 2d of July the missionaries had the inexpressible satisfaction, to bid two families of their beloved Indian flock welcome. These were soon followed by Abraham, a venerable assistant, with his and another family, who immediately erected huts near the missionaries house. Brother Richard Connor arrived likewise with his family at Detroit. One of the dispersed came with some heathen warriors to Detroit, painted like a savage. He did not expect to find the missionaries still there, but upon seeing them, said, "You see, my brethren, that I have no more  
" the appearance of a Brother. I despaired of ever hearing  
" the word of God again from the Brethren; I therefore  
" thought, that I ought to live peaceably with the heathen  
" and do as they do, lest they should persecute me. But as  
" I perceive that the Indian congregation is gathering to-  
" gether again, and our teachers are with them, I pray, that  
" they

“they would kindly receive me again.” This request was granted with pleasure. The rest of the dispersed Indians rejoiced greatly at the friendly message sent them by the Governor and the missionaries, but suffered themselves to be intimidated by the lies of some malicious people, who wished to prevent them from returning to the Brethren, and resolved therefore to wait a little longer. In the mean time the missionaries began their usual daily meetings with their Indians, and met in the open air for want of a chapel. They were commonly joined by the neighbors, prisoners and other strangers, to whom it was a new and interesting sight, to see such devotion among the Indians; and the sweet singing of the Christian Indians was particularly admired. Here the missionaries had a good opportunity of bearing many a testimony of the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom they invited all the weary and heavy laden. As they were frequently desired to baptize children or to bury the dead, they improved these opportunities to preach the Gospel both in the English and German languages. Brother Zeisberger delivered also several discourses to the prisoners, many inhabitants of Detroit being present. By this time twenty-eight believing Indians had returned to the missionaries, and they therefore resolved, with the consent of the Governor, to begin the building of the new settlement on the above-mentioned spot near the river Huron, trusting in the Lord, that he would collect the remnant of the congregation in this place. The Governor liberally assisted them in various ways, furnished them with provisions, boats, planks and the necessary utensils from the royal stores, and gave them some horses and cows. His Lady presented them with a valuable assortment of seeds and roots, and both gave them the most obliging proofs of their benevolent disposition. The Brethren were more particularly thankful to the Governor, that he assisted them in renewing their correspondence with Pennsylvania and Europe, so that they could again procure money, which was remitted by way of Montreal.

July 20th, 1782, the Brethren Zeisberger and Jungman with their wives, and the two single Brethren Edwards and Michael Jung set out with nineteen Indian Brethren and Sisters from Fort Detroit. Many of the inhabitants had conceived so great a regard for them during their abode there, that they shed tears at seeing them depart. The Brethren Senseman and Heckenwaelder with their families remained with the rest of the believing Indians at Detroit, to attend to the concerns of the reviving mission in this place. The travellers passed over lake St. Claire into the river Huron, arrived on the 21st in the evening at the place destined for their future residence and chose on the following day a convenient spot on the south side of the river, where they marked out a settlement, calling it Gnaden-huetten, in remembrance of their settlement on the Muskingum. But for the sake of greater perspicuity, I shall call this place New-Gnadenhuetten. In the evening they assembled to thank and praise the Lord for his mercy, and to implore his assistance, grace and protection in future.

They now entered cheerfully upon the work, built huts of bark, laid out gardens and plantations, for which they found good soil, and maintained themselves by hunting and fishing. Sycamore, beech, ash, lime, oak, poplar and hickory were the most common trees. They also found here sassafras trees of a larger size than they had seen any where else. Wild hemp grew in abundance, but salt was a rare article, and could not be had even for money. They therefore acknowledged it as a blessing of God, when they discovered some salt springs which yielded a sufficient quantity. There were also fresh springs in great plenty. The climate seemed very different from that on the Muskingum. In the beginning they were so tormented by the stings of all manner of insects, particularly musquitoes, that they were obliged constantly to keep up and lie in a thick smoke. But the more they cleared the ground of the under-wood with which it was every where covered, the more the insects de-  
creased

creased in numbers. They had no where met so few serpents.

In August they began to build, and first erected only one street of block houses. Towards the end of the month, those who had staid in Detroit followed them to New-Gnadenhuetten, and the missionaries moved into their new house. September 21st they had a solemn celebration of the Lord's Supper, which appeared as new to the Indians, as if they now partook of it for the first time. By degrees more of the dispersed flocked together. They had been in great danger of their lives in the country of the Shawanose, and escaped only by a precipitate flight. Whenever our Indians passed through Detroit to New-Gnadenhuetten the Governor always provided them with food, and if needful with clothing. Even the inhabitants of New-Gnadenhuetten went now and then to Detroit to fetch provisions, which the Governor kindly ordered to be given them gratis, till they could reap their own fruits. General Haldimand at Quebec greatly approved of the friendly behavior of the Governor, and it must be in general observed, that the English Government always showed extraordinary kindness and benevolence towards the mission and its servants.

In Autumn 1782 the Chippeways began to visit New-Gnadenhuetten, and behaved with friendliness and modesty. But as to the Gospel, which the Indian assistants preached to them with great zeal, they only heard it with silent attention. The Chippeways are generally esteemed the best and most peaceable among the Indian tribes, but they are very indolent, plant but little, live chiefly by hunting, boil acorns as sauce to their meat, and even like the Calmuck Tartars eat the flesh of dead horses.

November 5th, the small flock of believing Indians, collected here to the number of fifty-three persons, met to consecrate their new church unto God, and having enjoyed great blessing during the celebration of the festival of our Lord's nativity, closed this year of weeping and sorrow, with praise  
and

and thanksgiving, humbly adoring the Lord for the wise and gracious leading of His providence.

The beginning of the year 1783 was attended with the blessings of the peace of God. The missionaries particularly felt great satisfaction in having escaped from the power of the savage Delaware Chiefs, having made a sad experience of the dreadful situation of a Christian congregation under heathen rule and government. They began again, as formerly, to preach the Gospel with boldness, and saw with pleasure, that the word of the cross proved also here to be the power of God unto salvation to some savages, one of whom requested and obtained permission to dwell at New-Gnadenhuetten.

God also blessed our Indians in externals. The maple-sugar boiling turned out well beyond expectation. In hunting they had extraordinary success, and their trade consisted chiefly in bartering venison and skins for Indian corn and other necessaries of life. They also made canoes, baskets and other articles, for which they found good custom at Detroit.

In May 1783 the missionaries received the joyful news of the conclusion of peace between England and the United States, and in July they had the pleasure to see the Brethren Weygand and Schebosch arrive from Bethlehem, after a journey of above seven weeks by way of Albany, Oswego, Niagara, Fort Erie and Fort Detroit. By these Brethren they received an account of the sympathizing share which the whole Unity of the Brethren both in America and Europe took in their great afflictions, and derived great consolation from this proof of brotherly love. Brother Schebosch, whose wife and family had already settled at New-Gnadenhuetten, staid with them, but Brother Weygand returned in September with Brother Michael Jung.

The greater part of the Indian congregation was yet scattered among the heathen, mostly in the country of the Twichtwees, about 250 miles to the south west of New-Gnadenhuetten. The missionaries omitted no opportunity of sending verbal messages to invite them to come to the new settlement,

ment, but frequently found that the bearers perverted their contents, from motives of malice and treachery. The enemies of the Gospel spared no pains, to cherish the imaginary fears which the believing Indians had of the white people and especially of the English Government, merely with a view to hinder the re-union of the congregation, and, if possible, to detain the greater part in the clutches of the heathen. There they were truly as sheep among wolves, exposed to numberless vexations, and robbed by the savages even of the little they had saved. New-Gnadenhuetten was described to them as a very desolate and dangerous place, where they would meet with certain death. Some heathen Chiefs commanded them in an authoritative tone, to be resigned to their fate and to resume the heathen manner of living, "for now," said they, "not a single word of the Gospel shall be any more heard in the Indian country." Some weak minds were intimidated, others even fell into sinful practices, and a false shame afterwards hindered them from returning to the congregation.

Accounts of these painful occurrences arrived from time to time at New-Gnadenhuetten, and as no outward measures could be contrived to help the afflicted people, the whole congregation was the more earnest in offering up prayer and supplication unto God, that he himself would search and seek out his scattered flock. These prayers were graciously answered. For in the summer of 1783 three young Indians ventured to go to New-Gnadenhuetten, that with their own eyes they might discover the truth. One of them staid there, but his two companions returned with joy, to bring the good news of what they had seen and heard to the rest.

On hearing this report forty-three of their companions set out immediately to return to the flock. But as they were frequently detained on the road to procure food by hunting, they sent a messenger to inform the missionaries of their situation. The latter applied to the Governor of Detroit, who humanely sent them a sufficient supply of provisions, soon after

after which they arrived at New-Gnadenhuetten, where the joy of all was inexpressible.

Others followed from time to time; nor would they be kept back either by cunning insinuations or force. A baptized woman was threatened by her relations, who all belonged to the family of a principal Chief, that if she returned to the believing Indians, all her fine clothes should be taken from her. But she was not to be intimidated by these threats: "What drives me to my teachers," said she, "is the concern I feel for the welfare of my soul and eternal happiness. What can it avail, though I possess a house filled with fine clothes, silver and other precious things, if after all, my poor soul is lost?"

Many of these scattered sheep however found cause to mourn, even with bitter tears, over the damage done to their souls by their late intercourse with the heathen, which now grieved them much more than all the misfortunes they had otherwise experienced. On this account some of them were very bashful, and upon their arrival at New-Gnadenhuetten durst not as much as ask leave to dwell there: but said; "Though we should not be permitted to live again amongst you, yet it will yield us some consolation, to be allowed to see your dwellings at a distance." But they were all received with open arms, and treated with brotherly love and compassion. Others staid through fear among the savages, and some fell back into heathenism.

In all these events it became more evident than ever, that God had been pleased to permit the Indian congregation to be sifted as wheat, that all who were not of Israel's right kind, might fall through. The missionaries were therefore the more thankful for the evident proofs of the labor of the Holy Ghost in the hearts of those who returned to the flock, and who soon recovered a full participation of all the blessings and privileges enjoyed in the fellowship of believers. A baptized man, called Rénatus, who had been enticed away from the congregation at Friedenshuetten, and strayed for many years  
together

together in the wilderness, returned to the congregation in this place. Being ill, he begged for mercy and pardon. Some Brethren having assembled around his bed, gave him solemn assurance of the forgiveness of the congregation; after which he said: "I am now satisfied, and rejoice, that I shall soon be with the Lord for ever. I do not desire to recover, but that my Savior would soon take me home unto himself."

By the accounts brought by several who returned to the Brethren, it appeared that the three tribes of the Delaware nation had frequent and violent disputes, concerning the deplorable fate of the Indian congregation. Those of the Wolf [see Part I.] under the command of Captain Pipe, had sworn destruction to the Brethren, and made the ruin of the Gospel the chief aim of their warlike proceedings, in which view also they instigated the Hurons to act so treacherous a part towards our Indians, and as a reward for their success, had willingly made over to them the whole booty gained on the Muskingum. Finding themselves disappointed at last, and not able, with all their lies and cunning, to hinder the scattered Indian Brethren from following their teachers, they were greatly enraged. The other two tribes, who had never consented to their proceedings, now reproached them in the most bitter terms on account of their malice and folly. One of the Delaware Chiefs, who was advised by the rest, to prevent the believing Indians in his territory from returning to the missionaries, replied, "I shall never hinder any one of my friends from going to their teachers. Why did you expel them? I have told you beforehand, that if you drive the teachers away, the believing Indians would not stay. But yet you would do it, and now you have lost the believing Indians together with their teachers. Who murdered the believing Indians on the Muskingum? Did the white people murder them? I say, No! You have committed the horrid deed! Why could you not let them live in peace where they were? If you had let them alone, they would all have been living at this day, and we should

PART III. P "now

“ now see the faces of our friends: but you determined  
 “ otherwise.” In a council of war, held in the autumn of  
 1783, in which they consulted how they might carry on the  
 war to the greatest advantage, the above two tribes said to  
 the Wolf, whose Chief was Captain Pipe: “ Lift up the  
 “ hatchet, and make as good use of it against your enemies,  
 “ as you have done against your friends, the believing In-  
 “ dians, who always treated you well, and did not even lift  
 “ up a knife to defend themselves, when you attacked  
 “ them.”

In November the missionaries began the usual conferences  
 with the Indian assistants, and renewed their covenant  
 with them, to serve the Lord with faithfulness and in brotherly  
 love, and to treat their brethren and sisters with love  
 and forbearance.

Several of our Indians departed this life in the year  
 1783, and their end was edifying. Among others an Indian  
 sister, called Martha, fell happily asleep in Litiz, a settle-  
 ment of the Brethren in Pennsylvania. She was born at  
 Shekomeko in the year 1737, and left a written account of  
 her life, in which she relates with great frankness, how  
 wicked she lived as an heathen; and that on her being awak-  
 ened, none of all her sins and transgressions appeared so great  
 and dreadful, as her unbelief in Jesus Christ, her Creator  
 and Redeemer. That he afterwards received her in mercy  
 and granted her a seal of her pardon and redemption in  
 holy baptism, and then led her into the enjoyment of all  
 the blessings procured for us by his sufferings and death.  
 She adds: “ To conclude, I can say with joy and confidence,  
 “ that though I feel myself very unworthy, yet my soul is  
 “ redeemed. I depend entirely upon his mercy. I have  
 “ nothing to plead, but his merits, and the virtue of the  
 “ blood he shed, when he was wounded for my transgressions.”  
 She was one of those four Indian Sisters, who were sent in  
 1764 to our Indian congregation, then confined in the bar-  
 racks at Philadelphia. She had learnt the mantua-making  
 business, of which she became perfect mistress, and assisted

also in the school with most exemplary faithfulness. The cruel murder committed upon so many of her beloved countrymen and relations gave her declining health a fatal blow. She fell asleep in peace, longing ardently to see her Redeemer face to face.

In the beginning of the year 1784 a most extraordinary frost set in, extending over the whole country about New-Gnadenhuetten. All the rivers and lakes were frozen, and the oldest inhabitants of Detroit did not remember ever to have seen such a deep fall of snow. In some places it lay five or six feet deep. The long continuance of this severe weather was the cause of great distress. March 6th the snow was still four feet deep; about the end of the month it began to melt, but the ice on the river Huron did not break till the 4th of April, and Lake St. Claire was not free from ice in the beginning of May.

As no one expected so long and severe a winter, there was no provision made either for man or beast. The extraordinary and early night-frosts last autumn had destroyed a great part of the promising harvest of Indian corn, and thus our Indians soon began to feel want. For what was bought at Detroit was very dear, and the bakers there refused to sell bread at a Spanish dollar per pound. The deep snow prevented all hunting. Our Indians were therefore obliged to disperse to seek a livelihood wherever they could get it, and some lived upon nothing but wild herbs. At length a general famine prevailed, and the hollow eyes and emaciated countenances of the poor people were a sad token of their distress. Yet they appeared always resigned and chearful, and God in due season relieved them. A large herd of deer strayed unexpectedly into the neighborhood of New-Gnadenhuetten, of which the Indians shot above an hundred, though the cold was then so intense, that several returned with frozen feet, owing chiefly to their wearing snow shoes.

They now began again to barter venison for Indian corn at Detroit, and thus were delivered from the danger of suffering the same extremity of distress as in Sandusky. As soon

as the snow melted, they went in search of wild potatoes, and came home loaded with them. When the ice was gone, they went out, and caught an extraordinary number of fishes. Bilberries were their next resource, and they gathered great quantities, soon after which they reaped their crops of Indian corn, and God blessed them with a very rich harvest, so that there was not one who lacked any thing.

Towards the end of May, the Governor of Detroit, now Colonel De Peyster, removed to Niagara, and both the missionaries and the believing Indians sincerely regretted the loss of this humane man, their kind friend and benefactor. He recommended them to the favor of his worthy successor, Major Ancrom, in whom they found the same benevolent disposition towards them.

The more the good fame of New-Gnadenhuetten spread, the more frequent were the visits of the white people, who could not sufficiently admire the expedition with which the believing Indians had raised this pleasant settlement. They also heard here the Gospel of Jesus Christ, which doubtless had a good effect on some. As it happened, that no ordained Protestant divine resided in Detroit at that time, the missionaries, at the request of the parents, baptized several children, when they visited the Fort. Some parents brought their children to New-Gnadenhuetten, to be baptized there, and a trader, who had two unbaptized children, went thither with his wife and whole family, and publicly presented his children to the Lord in holy baptism. This transaction was most awful and striking to all present. But as to the ceremony of marriage, which several persons desired the missionaries to perform, they wished on many accounts to be excused as much as possible.

The industry of the Christian Indians had now rendered New-Gnadenhuetten a very pleasant and regular town. The houses were as well built, as if they intended to live and die in them. The country, formerly a dreadful wilderness, was now cultivated to that extent, that it afforded a sufficient maintenance for them. The rest they  
now

now enjoyed was particularly sweet after such terrible scenes of trouble and distress. But towards the end of the year 1784 it appeared that they would likewise be obliged to quit this place. Some of the Chippeways had already last year expressed their dissatisfaction, that the believing Indians should form a settlement in a country, which had been their chief hunting place: but the Governor of Detroit pacified them at that time with good words. Now they renewed their complaints, pretending, that they had only allowed our Indians to live there, till peace should be established, and even threatened to murder some of them, in order to compel the rest to quit the country. After many consultations, it evidently appeared, that the complaints and vexatious demands of this nation would not cease. Added to this, the Governor of Detroit sent word to the believing Indians, that they should not continue to clear land and build, nothing being yet fixed either as to the territory or government. The missionaries therefore thought it most prudent to take steps to return with their congregation to the south side of Lake Erie, and to settle near the river Walhalding. This proposal being approved of by the congregation, the Governor of Detroit was informed of it and preparations were made to emigrate in the spring of 1785.

November 14, 1784, the first grown person was baptized in New-Gnadenhuetten, which proved a great encouragement, both to the missionaries and the Indian congregation, and the year was closed with joy and praise to the Lord, who had laid a peculiar blessing upon the internal course of the congregation.

## CHAPTER XII.

1785. 1786.

*Further Revival and happy Progress of the Mission. Some Missionaries return to Bethlehem. Emigrations from New-Gnadenhuetten. Tedious Voyage to Cayahaga, where Pilgerrub is built. Various Accounts.*

THE pleasing and peaceful internal state of the mission made the year 1785 a period of joy and consolation. The daily worship of the congregation went on unmolested and in a regular course, the public and private discourses of the missionaries were full of comfort and instruction, by which the growth of our Indians in the knowledge of Jesus Christ, and of themselves, was greatly promoted. They could rejoice in an extraordinary manner over the young people, whose internal prosperity exceeded all their expectation.

The preaching of the Gospel was also attended with much blessing to the white visitors. One of them, a captain of a ship, declared after the sermon, that the minister had certainly meant him; for his whole discourse had been descriptive of his state of mind, and had pointed out to him the whole of his present spiritual condition.

Several companies of Chippeways who came to New-Gnadenhuetten, were not only hospitably treated by our Indians, but heard the word of God from them. On Whitfunday two grown persons were baptized, which not happening very frequently at this time, afforded peculiar pleasure to the missionaries.

During the winter the wolves became very troublesome. They traversed the country in packs, seeking food, and tore a Chippeway Indian and his wife to pieces, not far from the settlement. One of the Indian brethren was chased for several

veral miles on the ice by some of these voracious animals, but being furnished with skates, he got the start of them and escaped. The missionaries had the misfortune to lose all their horses, by their greedily eating a certain juicy plant, which proved a deadly poison.

The believing Indians had now made all the necessary preparations to leave New-Gnadenhuetten. The agent of Indian affairs at Fort Detroit had also sent messages to all the nations on the other side of Lake Erie, to acquaint them with the return of the Indian congregation and to ensure to them a kind reception. But some unexpected accounts of new troubles in those parts and a variety of contradictory reports rendered every thing so uncertain, that even the Governor of Detroit and the above-mentioned agent advised them not to emigrate at present. They therefore resolved to plant once more on the river Huron.

In May 1785 the missionaries Jungman and Senseman returned with their families from New-Gnadenhuetten to Bethlehem. They took a very affecting leave of their beloved Indian Brethren, with whom they had faithfully shared the greatest anxiety, distress and affliction, and then proceeded down the river Huron into Lake St. Claire, thence to Detroit, and crossing Lake Erie to Niagara and Oswego, then down Oswego river to Lake Oneida, and thence down the Waldbach to Fort Stanwix. They then arrived by a carrying-place at the Mohawk river, and proceeding to Schenectady, went by land to Albany, then by water to New Windsor, and again by land to Bethlehem. God disposed several people kindly to assist them in this tedious and perilous peregrination, and brought them safe to their brethren. Brother Senseman met with a particular preservation upon the water, being in a sudden squall thrown overboard by the yard. But providentially a float of timber had come alongside, and he fell upon it without receiving any hurt.

The mission was now under the care of the Brethren Zeisberger, Heckenwaelder, and Edwards. The latter went in July with three Indian Brethren to Pittsburg with a view

to gain certain information concerning the state of affairs in the Indian country, and to search out for a proper situation on the river Walhaling to establish a new settlement. In Pittsburg he was told, that strictly speaking not an inch of land to the east of Lake Erie could be called Indian country, the United States having claimed every part of it; and though they did not intend to drive the Indians away by force, yet they would not permit them to live in the neighborhood of the white people. He also received letters from Bishop John de Watteville, who had arrived from Europe to hold a visitation in the congregations of the Brethren in North America, by which he was informed that Congress had expressly reserved the district belonging to the three settlements of the Christian Indians on the Muskingum to be measured out and given to them, with as much land as the surveyor general should think proper. The same intelligence he likewise received from the Philadelphia papers, and hastened home to acquaint the Indian congregation with this unexpected decision in their favor, which occasioned universal joy. An Indian is naturally very averse to dwelling in any place, where one of his relations has been killed, but the believing Indians had even parted with this kind of superstition, and longed to be there as soon as possible.

But one circumstance after the other tended to delay their removal. The Indian nations seemed resolved to carry on the war against the United States; and even a great part of the Delawares and Shawanose declared their intention to oppose the return of the believing Indians by force. But notwithstanding these gloomy prospects, the missionaries sent word to those of their Indians, who were still scattered abroad, that having resolved to return to the Muskingum they should be glad to meet them beyond Lake Erie at any place they might appoint.

In September 1785 above forty strange Indians, Delawares and Mahikans, came on a visit to New-Gnadenhuetten. This was the first visit of this kind the Brethren had received on the river Huron, and it gave them great joy to perceive that in many the Gospel found entrance. One of them  
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spoke afterwards with one of the assistants, and said, "That he was anxious to be saved, but not having found the way to happiness among the wild Indians, he hoped to find it among the believers. One thing only," added he, "makes me doubt and hesitate: I am a wicked sinner, and have shed much human blood in war. When I consider this, I think I hear somebody say: It is all in vain; do not think of being saved: you cannot be converted, for you have committed too many sins. But yet I wish to know, whether there be help for me, and whether there be any one among the believers, who has been as great a sinner as I am." This gave the assistant an opportunity to declare to him the great love of Jesus to the worst of sinners, assuring him that he would also pardon and save murderers, having done it when hanging on the cross. The same heathen one day related to a party, who arrived too late to attend the sermon, what he had heard and retained in his memory; viz.: "That we may receive the forgiveness of sins, new life and happiness in Jesus Christ alone, who had purchased all these blessings for us by his bitter sufferings and death upon the cross; that he is the true God, and our only Savior." He added, "Much more has been told us, but thus much I have kept in my memory."

Soon after this visit, another large party of Delawares, Mahikans, and Nantikoks came to New-Gnadenhuetten, and their behavior gave great satisfaction both to the missionaries and their congregation. They did not miss one opportunity to hear the Gospel, being remarkably attentive and even desiring the assistants further to explain the words of the missionaries to them, so that there was reason to hope that the seed of the word would fall upon good ground and bring forth fruit in due season,

In the beginning of the year 1786 our Indians received another message, that the Chippeway Chief, upon whose land they had settled, was determined not to suffer them to stay any longer. Besides this a band of murderers of the Chippeway tribe rendered the whole neighborhood very unsafe.

safe. The missionaries therefore resolved, notwithstanding the threats of the savages beyond Lake Erie, to accomplish their design of emigrating this spring, and even though they could not at present take possession of their settlements on the Muskingum, to settle in the first convenient place they should find. The commanding officer at Detroit, Major Ancrom, approved of this plan, and sent a formal message to the Indian tribes, that they should not molest the believers. He also managed matters so, that they received some consideration for their houses and plantations on the river Huron, came himself to New-Gnadenhuetten, and most humanely offered to grant vessels to carry the whole congregation at once to Cayahaga, and to furnish them there with provisions. They accepted of this kind offer, as proceeding from the gracious interference of the Lord in their behalf, and were thus at once delivered from an embarrassing situation.

In March, Government having ordered a survey of the land, and determined that New-Gnadenhuetten should be inhabited by white people, they received many visitors from Detroit, who took a view of the place and premises.

Immediately after Easter 1786 both the missionaries and Indians put themselves in readiness to depart. April 20th they met for the last time in the chapel at New-Gnadenhuetten to offer up praise and prayer unto the Lord, thanking him for all the benefits and mercies received in this place, and commending themselves to his grace and protection. Then they all set out in twenty-two canoes, except the family of Richard Conner who staid behind. The white inhabitants of that country, both English and French, came from all places to take leave of our Indians, and expressed great sorrow at their departure; having always found them upright and punctual in their dealings. At Detroit they were well received by the Governor and treated with great hospitality for several days. By consent of the agent of Indian affairs, a meeting was appointed between our Indians and several Chippeway Chiefs, one of the king's interpreters

ers attending. Some deputies of the Indian congregation delivered several speeches to the Chippeway Chiefs, expressing their gratitude for their goodness in allowing them to take refuge in their country, where they had now lived four years in peace and safety, and informing them of their intention to return to their own home beyond the Lake. After this address, they presented the Chiefs with a bundle of some thousands of wampom; in token of gratitude. One of the Chiefs, rising and holding a string of wampom in his hand, said: "Grandfather! we love you, and would rather that you would stay with us, and return to the river Huron." This empty compliment was however contradicted by another Chief on the same day.

The following circumstance gave peculiar joy to the missionaries: the whole neighborhood acknowledged the believing Indians to be not only an industrious, but an *honest* people, infomuch that the traders in Detroit never refused them credit, being sure of punctual payments. However some of them were not sufficiently cautious, especially during the famine, when they were obliged to run into debt. One trader alone had a claim of 200l. sterling upon them, so that the missionaries feared, that disagreeable consequences might ensue. But the Indian Brethren began betimes to work hard for it, and at their departure, paid all their debts to the last farthing. There was only one poor man, who, being a father of many children, could not find money to pay, and therefore came to make his distress known to the missionaries. They were immediately willing to assist him, but it happened meanwhile, that as his wife was walking in the fields with the children, one of them found a guinea. She first took it to be a piece of brass, till the missionaries informed her of its value, when the father immediately went to his creditor, paid his debt, and had a few shillings to spare.

April the 28th the travellers went on board of two trading vessels, called the Beaver and the Makina, belonging to the North-West Company. Mr. Asking, a partner and director, had

had kindly offered them for the service of the Indian congregation, and given orders to the captains to treat their passengers with all possible kindness and not to run any risk, in case of danger. They had a good voyage till they arrived at a certain island, where their patience was tried for four weeks, the wind being contrary the whole time. They pitched their camp upon the island, following the vessels whenever they shifted their position to be ready to start with the first favorable breeze. As often as there appeared the least prospect of proceeding, they all went on board, but returned on shore several times through disappointment. Once they set sail in good earnest, and with a brisk gale, made so swift a progress, that they soon saw the coast of Cayahaga before them, but suddenly the wind shifted and drove them to their former station on the island. Most of our Indians were so sick during this gale, that they lay on deck half dead and senseless. To prevent their rolling overboard, the captains ordered them to be fastened to the deck.

During their residence in this island they met to their daily worship in the usual regular manner, praising the Lord who had helped them thus far, and trusting that he had wise reasons for detaining them here so long. They lived by hunting and fishing, and found wild potatoes, onions, and several kinds of wholesome herbs in abundance. But after a few weeks, observing that they had cleared this island of game, they went to another, where they found a better haven and good hunting, but a remarkable number of rattlesnakes.

May 28th a vessel sent from Detroit, to inquire into the cause of their long absence and to recall the Beaver, arrived from Detroit; the Makina was then ordered to carry the congregation over to Cayahaga in two divisions. But as this would have lasted too long, and might have occasioned great inconvenience, for want of provisions, the captains agreed to a proposal made by the missionaries, to land the people in two divisions at Sandusky bay, and then to carry the baggage

gage to Cayahaga. The wind shifting in their favor, the first division, led by Brother Zeisberger, failed on the 29th; but being unable to reach Sandusky, they went on shore at Rocky Point about eighty miles off that bay. Here they had to ascend very high and steep rocks, and to cut a way through the thicket to their summit, but yet were glad to set their feet on land again.

They had hardly pitched their camp, before a party of Ottawaws who were hunting in that neighborhood, rode towards them and expressed great astonishment to find such a large number of people encamped in this pathless desert. Our Indians treated them as hospitably as their circumstances would permit, and were in return presented by the Ottawaws with some deer's flesh, and informed of the manner in which they might best make a way through the forests through which they had to pass. The day following they all set out on foot, and every one, the missionary and his wife not excepted, was loaded with a proportionable part of the provisions. Those who formed the van, had the greatest difficulties to encounter, being obliged to cut and break their way through the thicket. They soon arrived at a large brook running through a swamp, through which all the Indians, both men and women, waded, some being up to their armpits in the water. Some of the children were carried, others swam, and Brother Zeisberger and his wife were brought over upon a barrow, carried by four Indian Brethren. When they arrived at Sandusky Bay, they hired boats of the Ottawaws, from whom also they received frequent visits during their stay. One evening the savages had a dance, and none of the Christian Indians appearing at it, as they expected, some came and endeavored to persuade the young people to join them; but meeting with a refusal, they addressed Brother Zeisberger, begging him to encourage them. He replied, that the Christian Indians lived no more after the manner of the heathen, having found something better. June 3d they crossed the Sandusky Bay, and the day after, the river Pettiquotting, in a vessel belonging to a French trader. During  
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this journey they celebrated the Whitfuntide holidays, and rejoiced to see many attentive hearers among the heathen.

June 4th the second division of the congregation led by Brother Heckenwaelder, overtook them in slight canoes, made hastily of bark, the sloop Makina having failed with the heavy baggage strait for Cayahaga. The whole congregation now travelled together, one half on foot along the coast of the lake, and the other in canoes, keeping as close as possible to the shore. June 7th they arrived at the celebrated rocks on the south coast of Lake Erie. They rise forty or fifty feet perpendicular out of the water, and are in many places so much undermined by the waves, that they seem considerably to project over the lake. Some parts of them consist of several strata of different colours, lying in an horizontal direction and so exactly parallel, that they resemble the work of art. The foot passengers had a noble view of this magnificent work of nature, but though the prospect from the water was yet more grand, our Indians passed with trembling, thanking God that the wind proved favorable and gentle; for if the least storm arises, the force of the surf is such, that no vessel could escape being dashed to pieces against the rocks. They had hardly passed the last cliffs, which are about ten miles in length, on which Colonel Broadhead suffered shipwreck in the late war and lost a great number of his men, when a strong wind arose, so that the last canoe was in danger and but narrowly escaped. Whenever the heathen pass by these rocks, they sacrifice some tobacco to the water. Here the river Cayahaga, sometimes called the Great River, empties itself into the lake. After the canoes, the sloop also arrived safe, and drifted so near the shore in a calm, that the baggage could be taken out and carried to land in canoes, upon which the sloop returned to Detroit.

Want of provisions made the travelling congregation soon hasten their departure from the mouth of the Cayahaga. Indeed they found a large storehouse filled with flour; but not meeting with its owner, they would not take any, though  
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pressed by hunger, and also observing, that the neighboring Chippeways continually robbed the store in a clandestine manner. They now built canoes, some of wood and some of bark, and continued their voyage up the river, till they arrived on the 18th of June at an old town, about one hundred and forty miles distant from Pittsburg, which had been forsaken by the Ottawaws. This was the first spot they discovered, fit for a settlement; for from the mouth of the river to this place, they had met with nothing but a wild forest.

Being entire strangers to the state of the adjacent country, they resolved to spend the summer here. They first encamped on the east side of the river, upon an elevated plain, built huts, and having with much trouble cleared ground for plantations, they even ventured to sow Indian corn, though it was so late in the season. I shall call this place *Pilgerrub* (Pilgrims Rest).

Here they regulated their daily worship in the usual manner, re-established the statutes of the congregation, and God blessed their labors. August the 13th they partook of the Lord's Supper for the first time on this spot, which to them was the most important and blessed of all festivals.

In externals, God granted them his gracious assistance. Brother Zeisberger having given information of the arrival of the Indian congregation at the Cayahaga Creek to the Governor of Pittsburg, and Brother Schebosch having been at that place to endeavor to procure provisions, Messrs. Duncan and Wilson were so kind as to provide our Indians with a sufficient supply, trusting them for a great part of the payment. Congress likewise ordered a quantity of Indian corn and blankets to be given them. They also found means to purchase several necessary articles from traders, passing through on their way from Pittsburg to Detroit, and as they had an opportunity of going by water to Sandusky and Pettiquotting, they easily procured Indian corn from these places. The two hundred dollars, which they received for their houses and fields on the river Huron, enabled them to make their payments good. In hunting deer, bears, and moose-deer

deer they were remarkably successful. The congregation at Bethlehem had charitably collected a considerable quantity of different articles, to supply the necessities of the Christian Indians, but these, having been detained on the road, did not arrive at Pilgerruh till August 1786, when they were equally divided among all; the children even received their share, and the whole congregation expressed in the most lively terms their sincere acknowledgements to their kind benefactors. Salt was not so easily procured here as on the river Huron, the salt springs being a great way off.

Though our Indians were again comfortably settled, yet their minds were still bent upon returning as soon as possible to their settlements on the river Muskingum. But they were soon cautioned, from the best authority, not to proceed on their journey, as some white traders had been plundered and murdered by the savages on the Muskingum no later than last May. They now clearly discovered, why God had graciously permitted them to be detained so long on the islands in Lake Erie. Had the voyage been expeditious, they would have arrived on the Muskingum before the murder of these white people, and of course have been again brought into the most perilous situation. Some Indian Brethren having travelled by land to the river Muskingum, with a view to await the arrival of the congregation, happened to be at Schoenbrunn at the time of the above-mentioned murder, and saved themselves by a timely flight: for as a great number of white people went out immediately in pursuit of the murderers, the Indian Brethren would doubtless have been taken for them and fallen a sacrifice to their revenge. Many other circumstances plainly proved, that no settled peace was yet established between the Indian nations, who were all waiting for a renewal of hostilities; alleging, that the war-hatchet put into their hands some time ago, had not been taken from them and buried, but only laid aside for a short time. The American militia were also still greatly enraged at the Indians, and threatened to kill all our people, if they should attempt to return to their settlements on the Muskingum.

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The Christian Indians therefore thought it most adviseable, to remain at Pilgerruh, till God himself should point out the way, if it was his gracious will that they should proceed. It became also more and more evident, that, as so many nations resisted the power of Congress and resolutely opposed the measuring of their lands, the Indian congregation was in much greater safety on the Cayahaga, than on the Muskingum, the warriors taking their usual route through the latter country. Another advantage attending the settlement at Pilgerruh was this, that in case of a recommencement of the war in those parts, it was easy for them, by crossing Lake Erie, to take refuge at Detroit or Niagara. Notwithstanding all these precautions, our Indians were however determined, not to give up their right to the land granted them by Congress, and at least, if possible, to take previous possession of it.

The first Indian Brother who departed this life at Cayahaga was Thomas, who as a youth had been scalped at Gnadenhuetten. He then escaped from the general massacre, but was now drowned in the river, as he was fishing. Since he lost his scalp, he was afflicted with so violent a rheumatism in the head, that it frequently took away his senses. This was probably the occasion of his death, for he was an excellent swimmer, and his body was found in shallow water.

Pilgerruh was often visited by Chippeways, Ottawaws, and Delawares, who expressed a wish to hear the Gospel, which the Brethren preached to them with much pleasure. But here they again met with a source of trouble, which they had not experienced at the river Huron. For several heathen Indians, who had relations among the believers, came and endeavored to persuade weak minds, to return to heathenism. Their seductive insinuations so far gained upon a married woman, that she forsook her husband, and with her children followed her heathen friends. But the husband with some courageous Indian Brethren pursued them, and by force brought both his wife and children back, to the

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great joy of the woman, who already most sincerely repented of her rash conduct.

In September 1786 the missionaries sent some messengers to the dispersed Christian Indians, admonishing them not to lose their courage or to think that they were now too much entangled with the heathen, and cast off by God, but to go with boldness to Jesus, our compassionate Lord and Savior, cast themselves upon his mercy and return to their brethren. In consequence of this message, many returned. But one of them, who had lost all his children and almost all his relations by the massacre on the Muskingum, falling into a deep melancholy, mistrusted the missionaries and retired among the savages. Being however uneasy in his conscience, he discovered his sentiments to Samuel, one of the above-mentioned messengers: "I cannot," said he, "but entertain bad thoughts of our teachers, nor can I get rid of them; they always recur to my mind. I think it was their fault, that so many of our countrymen were murdered at Gnadenhuetten. They betrayed us, and informed the white people of our being there, by which they were enabled to surprize us with ease. Tell me now, is this the truth, or not?" Samuel answered: "Let me first ask you, whether you are quite in your right mind. Your question sounds, to me, as if you were not in your senses, and if so, I would not chuse to give you any answer." The poor man assuring him, that he was perfectly sensible, Samuel asserted the innocence of the missionaries in the most positive terms. Then recollecting himself, he replied: "I have now a wicked and malicious heart, and therefore my thoughts are evil. As I look outwardly, so is my heart within:" for he was painted all over red, and dressed like a warrior. "What would it avail," added he, "if I were outwardly to appear as a believer, and yet my heart were full of evil? However I will soon come and visit you."

Samuel endeavored likewise to speak to his own brother in regard to his conversion, but received this unexpected answer: "My ancestors are all gone to the devil, and where

“they are, I will be likewise.” Samuel answered: “I tremble at your words, they are harsh. But now I will tell you my mind. As long as I live, nothing shall make me forsake our Savior and his congregation, neither tribulation, nor persecution, nor fear, nor famine, nor danger of my life. All this I can despise, if I only possess Jesus, and the salvation of my soul, of which I am assured if I remain faithful to him.”

In October 1786, the missionary John Heckenwaelder took an affecting leave of the Indian congregation, whom he had served for many years with great faithfulness, and returned with his family to Bethlehem, attended by the best wishes and prayers of all the people, by whom he was greatly beloved.

## CHAPTER XIII.

1786. 1787.

*The Indian Congregation is encouraged to return to the Muskingum, but detained by unfavorable Circumstances. They resolve to leave Pilgerrub and to settle at Pettquotting. Building of New-Salem. Pleasing Course of the Mission. Conclusion of the History.*

**D**AVID Zeisberger with his wife and the single Brother Edwards were now left alone to care for the mission. They had all but lately recovered from heavy illnesses, and had to surmount many difficulties attending their hard labor. But they put their trust in God, determined to employ all the remaining powers of their souls and bodies with joy in his service.

Meanwhile the Brethren at Bethlehem received repeated assurances from Congress that their endeavors to propagate

the Gospel among the Indian tribes should be supported by Government. Mr. Charles Thompson, secretary of Congress, was particularly well disposed towards them, and in a letter declared that he should esteem himself happy to be made instrumental in saving the precious remnant of the Indian congregation, and in promoting the general welfare of this poor people. He therefore earnestly recommended the cause of the believing Indians both to Mr. James White, agent of Indian affairs south of the Ohio, and to General Richard Butler, agent for the northern district, in which Pilgerruh was situated. This gentleman was so kind as to assure the Brethren, that he would seize every opportunity to promote the welfare of the mission, not only on account of Mr. Thompson's recommendation, but from motives of humanity and religion. Congress had likewise sent a written order, to acquaint our Indians that it had given Government much satisfaction, to hear of their return into the territory of the United States on this side of Lake Erie; that they had leave to go back to their former settlements on the river Muskingum, where they might be assured of the friendship and protection of Government, and that immediately upon their arrival five hundred bushels of Indian corn should be given them from the public magazines on the river Ohio, with other necessaries of life.

Our Indians accepted this kind promise with great gratitude, and rejoiced in the prospect of taking possession of their own land on the Muskingum, to which they were frequently encouraged by letters from Bethlehem. In the mean time they doubted not but that they should be left undisturbed at Pilgerruh, and there have the pleasure to see their dispersed Brethren gather unto them from the heathen. But on the 17th of October they were again disturbed. A messenger arrived late in the evening from Captain Pipe with an account that the Americans had surprized the towns of the Shawanosc, killed ten men, among whom was a Chief, burnt and pillaged the houses and carried away thirty women and children prisoners: that besides this, an army had arrived  
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from Pittsburg at Tuscarawi, and therefore the inhabitants of Pilgerruh were advised to fly immediately, lest they also should be surpris'd by the enemy. The latter seem'd so incredible, that the missionaries endeavored to persuade the Indians to the contrary. But all their arguments were in vain. The horrid massacre on the Muskingum in the year 1782 immediately presented itself to their imaginations, and they were so overcome with fear and dread, that in the same night all the women and children fled into the thickest part of the wood to hide themselves. On the following day, field huts were erected for them, where they might shelter themselves from the cold; and the Indian Brethren brought them provisions. Messengers were sent to Tuscarawi and on the road to Pittsburg, whose evidence tended to prove, that the fear of an American army was entirely without foundation. However in the evening of the 27th of October, a great noise and the sound of many horse-bells was distinctly heard. The missionaries supposed it to proceed from a transport of flour, which proved true; but the Indians would not even listen to their representations, but imagining that the army was now approaching to surprize and kill them, fled with precipitation into the woods, and left the missionaries quite alone in the settlement. In the following days they recovered by degrees from their fright and all returned to their dwellings.

November 10th a new and spacious chapel was consecrated, but they built only a few dwelling-houses, most of the Indians being content to spend the winter in poor huts slightly reared; for they considered themselves here as guests, and therefore gave this place only the name of a night's lodging, that is, a year's residence. Thus they suffered much from the wet and snow, which was three feet deep.

They began the year 1787 very comfortably, with the pleasing hope, that they should conclude it on the Muskingum. Nor did they doubt of spending it in peace and tranquillity. But they soon were threatened with a storm by the Indian nations.

Towards the close of the year 1786 the well-known Delaware Captain Pipe sent a belt of wampom to inform our Indians, "That as appearances among the Indian nations were very doubtful and a new war would probably break out, the believing Indians were not well situated on the Cayahaga, but as much as ever in danger of being surpris'd by the white people : that he therefore would place them in Pettquotting, and order that country to be cleared for them, where they might always live in peace and security. That they should believe him to be sincere and accept of his offer." Our Indians, fearing to raise new enemies, did not return the belt, and consequently by not giving a positive refusal, silently consented. Another message of the Delawares, sent at the instigation of an unfaithful baptized man, called Luke, inviting them in pressing terms, to come to Sandusky, they answered resolutely in the negative. In the year 1787 at a great council of the Indian tribes held at Sandusky, it was resolv'd, that the war with the United States of America should begin again with renewed vigor, and that if the Christian Indians would not of their own accord give up the idea of returning to the Muskingum they should be oblig'd to do it by force ; that the missionaries should not be taken prisoners, but killed, in order at once to put an end to the mission. When this account came to Pilgerruh, the missionaries comforted the congregation by representing to them in the most soothing terms, that though they might reasonably expect several heavy troubles, yet they might rest assured, that their firm and childlike confidence in God our Savior would not be put to shame. This and similar exhortation, frequently given to the congregation in their daily meetings, had so salutary an effect, that the course of the congregation became peaceful and edifying.

The missionaries considered the above-mentioned account as a warning, to use the utmost precaution in the future leading of their Indian congregation. In the same month the Iroquois sent a solemn embassy to the warlike nations, and especially to the Shawanose, advising them to keep peace. It

was also reported that nine or ten tribes had, by the persuasion of the English Governor of Detroit, declared for peace, and that they would immediately proceed to punish such, as should commence hostilities. However Lieutenant-colonel Harmar sent word to the missionaries, that our Indians should not wait till their arrival on the Muskingum to receive the 500 bushels of Indian corn, 100 blankets and other necessaries, but might now fetch them from Fort Intosh. General Butler wrote also to Brother Zeisberger, that they might for the present remain at the Cayahaga, but mentioned no reason, not willing to entrust it to a letter. The savages frequently repeated their former dreadful threats, and there was no doubt, but that they waited only for a convenient opportunity to put them into execution.

All these circumstances tended to distress the Indian Brethren. Their own inclination was fixed to return to the Muskingum, and this was also the wish of the Brethren at Bethlehem. The United States advised them to stay for the present at the Cayahaga, and the savages on the contrary would not suffer them to remain there, but insisted on their removal to some other country. Though they did not know how and whither the hand of the Lord would direct their course, they prepared boats and every thing else necessary for their removal, and were unanimously resigned to the will of God, to go to the first place, to which He should point out an open way. This disposition of the Indian congregation greatly comforted the missionaries; yet they were not a little embarrassed, knowing that their people looked up to them for advice, in order to come to a final determination. Accustomed to venture their lives in the service of the Lord, they were unconcerned as to their own safety, and if that alone had been the point in question, they would not have hesitated a moment to return to the Muskingum. But they durst not bring the congregation committed to their care into so dreadful and dangerous a situation. They rather thought it their duty, to sacrifice every other consideration to the welfare and safety of their flock, and therefore, after

mature deliberation, resolved to propose to them, that they should give up all thoughts of returning to the Muskingum for the present, but at the same time not remain on the Cayahaga, but rather seek to find some spot between that river and Pettquotting, where they might procure a peaceable and safe retreat. This proposal was solemnly accepted, first by the Indian assistants and then by the whole congregation. Soon after this, the following message arrived from a Delaware Chief to Brother Zeisberger: "Grandfather! having heard, that you propose to live on the Muskingum, I would advise you, not to go thither this spring. I cannot yet tell you my reason: nor can I say, whether we shall have war or peace, but so much I can say, that it is not yet time. Do not think that I wish to oppose your preaching the word of God to the Indians. I am glad, that you do this; but I advise you for your good. Go not to the Muskingum." This message tended to confirm the people in the above-mentioned resolution, which was undoubtedly the most prudent at that time; and in the beginning of April, some Indian Brethren set out, with a view to seek a place for a new settlement, and found one much to their mind.

Meanwhile the Indian congregation of Pilgerruh celebrated Lent and Easter in a blessed manner. The public reading of the history of our Lord's passion was attended with a remarkable impression on the hearts of all present. The congregation could not sufficiently express their desire to hear more of it, and it appeared as if they now heard this great and glorious word for the first time.

April 19th, the Christian Indians closed their residence at Pilgerruh, by offering up solemn prayer and praise in their chapels, which they had used but a short time. They thanked the Lord for all the internal and external blessings He had conferred upon them in this place, and then set out in two parties, one by land, led by Brother David Zeisberger, and the other by water with Brother Edwards. The latter were obliged to cross over a considerable part of Lake Erie. But before they had left the Cayahaga creek, a dreadful storm arose,

arose, the wind blowing from the lake. The waves beat with such violence against the rocks described above, that the earth seemed to tremble with the sound. The travellers thanked God that they were yet in safety in the creek, and being in want of provisions, spent the time in fishing. One night they fished with torches, and pierced above three hundred large fish of a good flavor, resembling pikes, and weighing from three to four pounds, part of which they roasted and ate, and dried the rest for provisions on the voyage. April 24th, the travellers by land, and the day following those who went by water, arrived at the place fixed upon for their future abode. It appeared like a fruitful orchard, several wild apple and plumb trees growing here and there. They had never settled upon so good and fertile a spot of ground. The camp was formed about a league from the lake, which in these parts abounded with fish. Wild potatoes, an article of food much esteemed by the Indians, grew here plentifully. The Brethren rejoiced at the thoughts of establishing a regular settlement in so pleasant a country, especially as it was not frequented by any of those savages who had hitherto proved such troublesome neighbors.

But their joy was of short duration. April 27th a Delaware Captain arrived in the camp, and informed them that they should not remain in this place, but live with them at Sandusky, adding, that they should consider it as a matter positively determined, and not first deliberate upon it. He added, as usual, the most solemn declarations of protection and safety. The captain assured them likewise, that the place appointed for their habitation was not in the vicinity of any heathen towns, but ten miles distant from the nearest. To the missionary, David Zeisberger, he had brought the following particular message: "Hear, my friend; you are my grandfather. I am not ignorant of your having been formally adopted by our chiefs as a member of our nation. No one shall hurt you, and you need not have any scruples about coming to live at Sandusky." He then delivered a string of wampom. Disagreeable as this message was to our  
Indians,

Indians, and though they represented to the Captain the malice, deceit and treachery of the Delaware Chiefs which they had painfully experienced for these six or seven years past; yet after many serious consultations, they and the missionaries could not but resolve to submit to the will of the Chiefs, lest they should bring new troubles and persecutions upon the mission. Their answer was therefore in the affirmative. Brother Zeisberger answered likewise the particular message sent to him to the same effect, yet, with this express condition, that all the other white Brethren should have the same privileges granted them, and his successor in office enjoy the same rights.

Nothing appeared in this affair so dreadful to the missionaries, as the prospect of being again subject to heathen rule and government. Yet they could not deny that it was more agreeable to their peculiar calling to live in the midst of those heathen, to whom they were to preach the gospel, and therefore write, "We must be satisfied to live in the very nest  
" of Satan, for it appears indeed, as if every savage Indian  
" was possessed by a number of evil spirits, with whom we  
" must be at war."

In the beginning of May, they with great joy welcomed two assistants in the work of the mission, sent by the congregation at Bethlehem, Michael Jung and John Weygand, and soon after left a country so pleasing in every respect with great regret, proceeding partly by water on Lake Erie, partly by land along its banks to Pettquotting, where they encamped about a mile from the lake. Here they found that the greatest part of the message brought by the above-mentioned captain from the Delaware Chiefs was fallacious; for the place fixed upon for their residence was not above two miles from the villages of the savages. Our Indians therefore and the missionaries resolved not to go any farther for the present, lest they should be entangled in some snare, but to settle near Pettquotting, and even to maintain their situation in opposition to the will of the Delaware Chiefs. They then sought and found an uninhabited place situated on a river called

called also Huron, which empties itself into the lake at Pettaquotting, whither they all went in canoes on the 11th of May, and before night a small village of bark-huts was erected. Hence they sent deputies to the Chiefs, to inform them of their resolution and their reasons for it, and obtained leave to stay at least one year in that place without molestation. They hoped also, that during that period, circumstances might alter in their favor, and that they might perhaps be permitted to continue there longer.

They therefore made plantations on the west bank of the river, and chose the east, which was high land, for their dwellings. This place was called New-Salem. Here they celebrated Ascension-day and Whitfuntide in the usual manner, meeting in the open air, and on the sixth of June, finished and consecrated their new chapel, which was larger and better built than that at Pilgerruh. They indeed wanted more room, for a larger number of heathen Indians attended their public worship here, than at the Cayahaga, and hardly a day passed without visits from strangers. June 9th the whole Indian congregation held a love-feast, for which flour had been sent from Bethlehem. A letter to the believing Indians from Bishop Johannes von Watteville was read to them on this occasion, and heard with much emotion. He had held a visitation in all the settlements of the Brethren in North America, but to his sorrow found it impossible to go to the Indian congregation, and was then on his return to Europe. On the same day the congregation at New-Salem partook of the Lord's Supper, rejoicing in God their Savior, whose gracious presence comforted their hearts in an inexpressible degree.

Among those savages, who in 1787 became concerned for the salvation of their souls, was a noted profligate, who in 1781 had formed a plan against the lives of the missionaries, and often lain in ambush to surprize them, but without success. He was travelling, and came without design to Pilgerruh, where he heard the gospel with great attention, and afterwards expressed his ardent desire, to be delivered from the ser-  
vice

vice of sin; nor would he leave the congregation, but giving up his intended journey, staid with the believing Indians, turned with his whole heart unto the Lord, and was baptized at New-Salem, some months after. A Huron Indian, who had been invited by his people to be their Chief, refused it, came to New-Salem, and declared that he had been these two years seeking in vain for something better than worldly honor; "Now," said he, "I seek rest for my soul, and believe that I shall find it here. I therefore desire to live with you, that I also may enjoy the good which you possess, and of which you can bear witness." The Brethren gladly preached to him Jesus and his great love to poor sinners: but as he first wished to go to his heathen relations beyond Fort Detroit, to take leave of them, he was told, that he could not obtain leave to live at New-Salem, till after his return, as there had been many instances of persons, who, having received permission to live with the believers, would yet visit their heathen friends and relations, against which our Lord himself cautions us (Luke, ix. 62.), and had suffered so much harm in their souls, that they never returned. Hearing this, he resolved to give up all idea of a visit, sent word to his relations that he had changed his mind, and remained faithfully attached to the congregation, with whom his heart found that rest, which he had so long sought for.

Many of the poor lost sheep were found in this period; and the above-mentioned unfaithful Luke was of their number. He had been the principal promoter of all the troubles occasioned to our Indians by the heathen Chiefs, and seemed resolved to force them to remove to Sandusky, where he had lived since his removal from the congregation. When his wife once came to Pilgerruh on a visit, Brother Zeitberger asked her, whether she and her husband lived happily and peacefully together? "No," said she, "we accuse each other by turns; "You are the cause that we are separated from the believers." "You see," replied the missionary, "that you are not in the right track; for otherwise you would enjoy rest and peace in your hearts." He then exhorted them, to return, while it

it was yet time, and not to wait till all hopes of readmission were past. She expressed a great desire after it, but her husband would not consent. He even came in spring to New-Salem, and took great pains to raise apprehensions in the minds of our Indians, and make the present place of their residence suspicious. However, his insinuations were not only disregarded, but the serious exhortations of the missionary David Zeisberger, and all the Indian assistants, who took much trouble to convince him, had so good an effect, that the poor man was struck with remorse. He confessed his dreadful offences against God and his children, begged forgiveness and readmission, and obtained his request, to the great joy of the whole congregation; for all had frequently offered up prayers for the salvation of this poor man and his family, whose apostacy had contributed to bring distress upon them.

It was pleasing to observe the increase of the Indian assistants in grace and knowledge of the truth. One day after a sermon preached upon the words of our Savior (Mark, xi. 17.), "*My house shall be called of all nations the house of prayer, but ye have made it a den of thieves,*" Samuel observed, that it was useful to apply these words to our own hearts: "Our body," added he, "is a temple of God. Our Savior has washed us from sin in his own blood, and prepared our hearts for his dwelling. Now we ought not to defile the temple of God, and to suffer sin and its evil fruits, from which our Savior has delivered us, to enter in, but always to remember, that we are not our own, but the Lord's, with soul and body, and therefore to preserve ourselves undefiled."

The missionaries rejoiced likewise at the prosperity of the young people, born and educated in the congregation, many of whom excelled the aged, in proving that they lived by faith in the Son of God, and walked in conformity to the precepts of the gospel.

According to the accounts transmitted to the middle of the year 1787 the missionaries were full of courage and confidence,

and diligent in the work of God committed unto them. They praised the Lord for the proofs He gave them, that their labors were not in vain; for the believing Indians had a real enjoyment of the precious salvation, procured for us by our Lord Jesus Christ, which they on all occasions endeavored to make known to their neighbors: Old and young appeared chearful and contented.

The mission had now stood forty-five years: From a register of the congregation, dated in 1772, we learn, that from the beginning of the mission to that year, 720 Indians had been added to the church of Christ by holy baptism, most of whom departed this life rejoicing in God their Savior. I would willingly add the number of those converted to the Lord since that period, but as the church-books and other writings of the missionaries were burnt, when they were taken prisoners on the *Muskingum* in 1781, I cannot speak with certainty. Supposing even, that from 1772 to 1787 the number of new converts was the same, yet, considering the long standing of the mission, and the great pains and sufferings of the missionaries, the flock collected was very small: The reason of this may be found partly in the peculiar character of the Indian nations, but chiefly in this, that the missionaries did not so much endeavor to gather a large number of baptized heathen, as to lead souls to Christ, who should truly believe on and live unto him. This small flock is however large enough to be a light of the Lord, shining unto many heathen nations, for the eternal salvation of their immortal souls.

I here leave the Indian congregation at New-Salem. We trust that God will assuredly lead them also in future with such grace, wisdom and faithfulness, that they will be able to confess with thanks and praise: *He is wonderful in counsel, and excellent in working.* Isa. xxviii. 29.

## APPENDIX.

IN the year 1787 an event took place, which seems to promise much for the future service of the mission among the Indians.

The Brethren in North America established a society called *The Society of the United Brethren for propagating the Gospel among the Heathen*, in imitation of the Society for the furtherance of the Gospel established by the Brethren in England forty-six years ago. This society consists of all the elders and ministers of the congregations of the United Brethren in North America and many other members chosen at their request and with the consent of the Society. They held their first meeting on the 21st of September 1787 at Bethlehem in Pennsylvania, and February 27, 1788, this society was declared and constituted a body politic and corporate by the State of Pennsylvania. The following is an extract of the act:

## STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA.

*An Act to incorporate the Society for propagating the Gospel among the Heathen, formed by Members of the Episcopal Church of the United Brethren or Unitas Fratrum.*

WHEREAS it has been represented to this House by the Reverend John Ettwein, one of the Bishops of the Church called Unitas Fratrum or the United Brethren, and the Reverend John Meder, Pastor in ordinary of the said Church in the city of Philadelphia, That since the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and forty, when the said Church began to make settlements in America, the principal aim of their members, coming over from Europe, was to carry the glorious truths of the Gospel to the Indians here; that they have without intermission continued their labors among the Indians, and notwithstanding the increase of expences and other difficulties, are resolved to pursue and support this commendable work, and for this purpose have formed a society for propagating the Gospel among the Heathen, and entered

entered into certain rules of association (a copy whereof they have subjoined to their petition) and prayed to incorporate the said society :

And whereas the propagation of the Gospel among the Indians of America is of great importance to the citizens of this and other the United States, and may, by the blessing of God, be conducive to the peace and security of the inhabitants and settlers of our frontiers ; and by living examples of the missionaries and the converts, the savages may be induced to turn their minds to the Christian religion, industry, and social life with the citizens of the United States :

And whereas this House is disposed to exercise the powers vested in the Legislature of the Commonwealth, for the encouragement of all pious and charitable purposes :

Be it therefore enacted, &c. &c. Here follows a circumstantial declaration, that by the laws of the State the said society is a corporation, entitled to all rights, privileges, &c. enjoyed by other bodies corporate in the State of Pennsylvania.

As the views of the society are best understood by their statutes, they are here inserted at length :

### S T A T E D R U L E S

*Of the Society of the United Brethren, for propagating the Gospel among the Heathen.*

WHEREAS we the subscribers are fully convinced of the Christian zeal and godly concern, wherewith the evangelical Church, known by the name of the UNITAS FRATRUM or UNITED BRETHREN, has at all times endeavored to spread the saving knowledge of Jesus Christ, and to carry the same even to the remotest heathen nations ; for which purpose also in this part of the world a mission among several Indian nations was begun by said Church, and with blessing and good success continued near fifty years : And as we ourselves are members of said Church, which has the salvation of men so near at heart, we cannot but most ardently wish to further  
this

this great work of God, the conversion of the Heathen, by all just and possible means.

Therefore we have resolved, in the name of God, to form ourselves into a Society by the name of "*A Society of the United Brethren for propagating the Gospel among the Heathen*:" And do herewith unanimously agree to the following articles, as the stated rules of this Society:

#### ARTICLE I.

This Society being formed of members of the Brethren's Church, shall have its fixed seat at Bethlehem, in Northampton county, in the State of Pennsylvania, where the board of directors will meet and the usual general meetings shall be held.

#### ARTICLE II.

All bishops, presbyters, and deacons of the Brethren's Church, and others in office in the Brethren's congregations, are, by virtue of their office and character, members of this Society. Others may, upon their desire, or the recommendation of others, be also received as members, with the consent of the Society.

#### ARTICLE III.

Only such members of the Society who are also members of the Brethren's Church, have seat and vote in the Society, and are considered as actual members.

Besides such, the Society may receive as honorary members, persons of other churches and denominations, who are friends and well-wishers to the furtherance of the Gospel among the Heathen; who may be admitted to the general meetings of the Society, but have no vote in their deliberations.

#### ARTICLE IV.

As the true and only design of the Society is, to assist such missionaries and their assistants, who from time to time are sent to the Heathen by the directors of the Brethren's missions; we will not confine our assistance to mere stated charities and contributions, but it shall be a pleasure to us to further this blessed work by all possible means.

## ARTICLE V.

We therefore hold ourselves in duty bound to support the missions of the Brethren by a free contribution, and taking an efficient part as often as it is found necessary.

## ARTICLE VI.

To be constant directors of our Society, we chuse, constitute, and appoint those Brethren, who are appointed to be directors of the Brethren's congregations in North America, and their successors in office, together with three other assistants, to be chosen by the Society from the number of the actual members.

## ARTICLE VII.

The three assistant directors shall annually be chosen or confirmed by a majority of votes, in the appointed general meeting of the Society.

## ARTICLE VIII.

In the same general meeting also the president of the Society shall annually be chosen in like manner, or confirmed by a majority of votes, so that the same be always one of the aforesaid directors.

## ARTICLE IX.

The directors of the Society shall take care that a true and regular account of the situation and progress of the missions be from time to time communicated to the members of the Society. And the agents for the missions of the United Brethren are to correspond with the missionaries and their assistants, and to provide them with whatever the directors find necessary.

## ARTICLE X.

One of the appointed agents is always to officiate as treasurer and book-keeper of the Society, and has every year to give a regular and true account to the Society of all receipts and disbursements.

## ARTICLE XI.

The directors shall, at least once every year, appoint a general meeting of the Society: But the president; with four directors, may, if the concerns of the Society require it, call an extraordinary meeting.

## ARTICLE XII.

The directors are likewise empowered, upon an emergency, to borrow in the name of the Society any sum of money not exceeding five hundred dollars; from one general meeting to another; and to expend it for the use and benefit of the missions, whereof they are to give an account to the Society in the next following general meeting.

## ARTICLE XIII.

All donations and bequests to the Society, and all its possessions, effects, and property, whatsoever and wheresoever, shall, at all times and for ever, be and remain appropriated, secured, made use of, and expended, to no other use but only the advantage and the furtherance of the missions among the Heathen.

And every member of the Society renounces herewith expressly, all and every claim to the property of the Society; and promises that in case any thing of said property shall be intrusted to his hands, or put upon his name in trust, he will in no manner abuse such confidence, nor make for himself or his heirs any claim or pretension to property, thus intrusted unto him by the Society: And that he will act and do with it agreeably to the disposal of the Society by the directors, and will, at all times and in all cases, faithfully and punctually observe their orders.

## ARTICLE XIV.

And as we have hereby no other view or aim but the furtherance and propagation of the knowledge of Jesus Christ among the poor benighted Heathen, and esteem it a grace to support that praise-worthy work by our small services, being constrained to it by the love of Christ—all the directors, as-

stantants, and officers, of the Society, renounce for ever all demands and claims for salaries or rewards for their services, and promise to do all they do for the benefit of the Society, *gratis*.

## ARTICLE XV.

The Society will be ever ready and willing to provide, in a fatherly manner, the necessaries of life for the missionaries and their assistants, as also for their widows and children. Therefore the missionaries and their assistants shall, in conformity to the rules of the Brethren, set aside all temporal views and interests, and their sole and only care and endeavour shall be, to preach the Gospel to the Heathen, to instruct them faithfully in the doctrine of Jesus and his apostles, and by their word and example to encourage them to virtue and industry.

## ARTICLE XVI.

If one or more persons are proposed for new members of the Society, the directors shall first consider, whether such person or persons can be useful to the Society in the execution of their aforesaid designs: And when the proposed persons are approved by a majority of the members present, they are then admitted as members of this Society.

## ARTICLE XVII.

But if negative votes are found, the directors shall inform themselves of the reason of the objections; and if they can be removed to the satisfaction of the objectors, such person or persons may be proposed again, and be received as members, if no new objection is made by the voters.

## ARTICLE XVIII.

As every member is at liberty to withdraw from the Society, the Society also reserves the liberty to exclude any member when it is found necessary; but this shall not be done without mature consideration of the directors, and approbation of two thirds of the general meeting, and such an  
excluded

excluded person can in no manner be re-admitted, but by a new election.

## ARTICLE XIX.

When new members are received, the rules of the Society are to be read to, and subscribed by them.

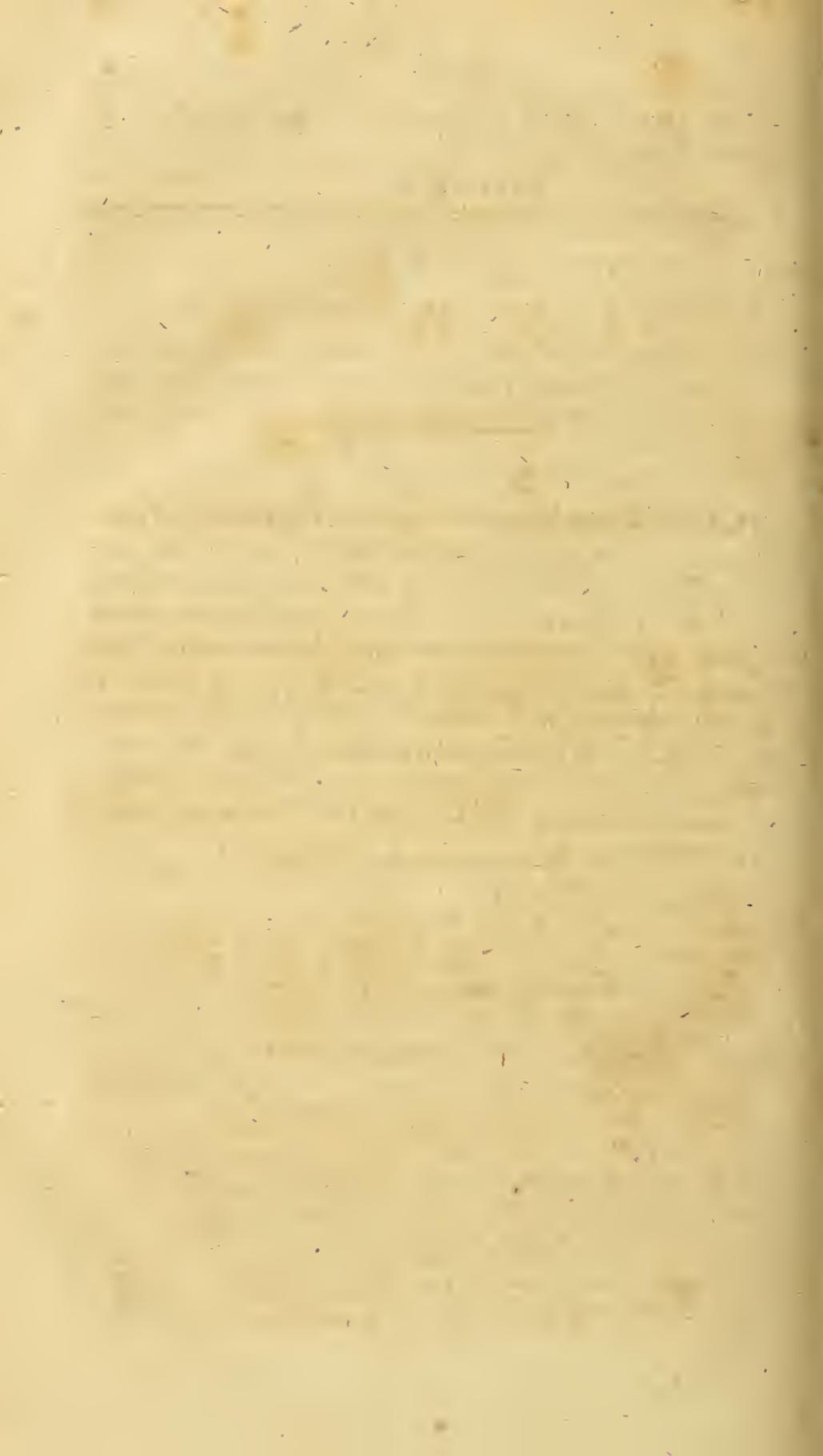
## ARTICLE XX.

The Society may in future agree upon new articles and rules, if circumstances require it; so that the same be not contrary to these present articles and the well-being of the Society.

## ARTICLE XXI.

These articles, hereby agreed upon and accepted, can only after most mature deliberation, be altered; and if any alteration is made, it shall be in no wise against the constitution of the Brethren's Church, and the instruction for those Brethren and Sisters who serve the Gospel among the Heathen. And that each such intended alteration may be maturely examined by the directors and every voting member, it shall be first proposed in a general meeting, and communicated to such as were absent, and in the next following general meeting it shall be considered, and brought to a determination.

*Bethlehem, Sept. 21st, 1787.*



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# I N D E X.

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\* \* \* The Roman Numerals refer to the PART, and the Figures to the PAGE.

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