



Scenes in the Wilderness,

page 2.

ATTACK ON THE MAHONY SETTLEMENT.

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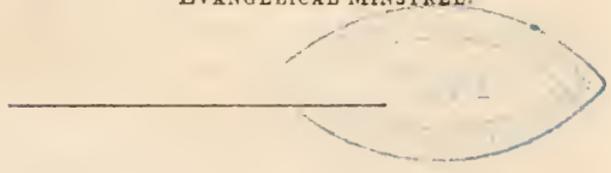
OF THE

LABOURS AND SUFFERINGS OF THE MORAVIAN MISSIONARIES
AMONG THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS.

BY REV. WILLIAM M. WILLETT.

"In yon world of stream and shade
Many an Indian wigwam trace,
And with words of love persuade
Savages to sue for grace."

EVANGELICAL MINSTREL.



NEW-YORK:

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SCENES IN THE WILDERNESS.

CHAPTER I.

Fast, fast recedes our native land ;
Hush'd is the parting song,
That brings to our united band
The farewell of the throng.

IN the spring of 1734* a company of Moravian brethren,† sixteen in number, under the guidance of Mr. Spangenberg, one of their pastors, (afterward a bishop of that church,) arrived in Georgia, North America. They had been invited to emigrate, in the capacity of missionaries, to this new colony, by the English "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts," and had been offered by the trustees of Georgia, of whom General James Oglethorpe was the most active and influential

* According to Bancroft ; others say 1735. Mr. Bancroft, doubtless, has examined the original documents with care.

† Moravians is the name which is commonly given to a religious community which originated in Bohemia in the

member, every inducement and facility for the promotion of their object—"a free passage; provisions in Georgia for a whole season; land for themselves and their children, free for ten years, then to be held for a small quit-rent; the privileges of native Englishmen; freedom of worship;—these were the promises made, accepted, and honourably fulfilled."

"On the last day of October, 1733, 'the evangelical community,' well supplied with Bibles and hymn-books, catechisms and books of devotion,—conveying in one wagon their few chattels, in two other covered ones their feebler companions, and especially their little

fourteenth century. They regarded the Scriptures as their rule of faith; rejected the popish doctrine of transubstantiation; and were very strict in their discipline. They had their bishops, seniors, presbyters, and deacons, who administered their civil as well as ecclesiastical affairs. During the "thirty years' war," which occurred in the early part of the seventeenth century, their settlements in Bohemia and Moravia were utterly destroyed, and their descendants, after various migrations, were settled, in 1722, by Count Zinzendorf, on his estate of Bethelsdorf, in Upper Lusatia, where their colony took the name of Herrnhut.

The Moravians, or, as they call themselves, "The United Brethren," are chiefly distinguished in modern times for their zeal in carrying the gospel to the heathen.—ED.

ones,—after a discourse, and prayer, and benedictions, cheerfully, and in the name of God, began their pilgrimage.”*

They arrived at Charleston March 18th, 1734, at which place “Oglethorpe bade them welcome. In five days more the wayfaring men, whose home was beyond the skies, pitched their tents near Savannah.

“It remained to select for them a residence. To cheer their principal men as they toiled through the forest, and across brooks, Oglethorpe, having provided horses, himself joined the little party. By the aid of blazed trees and Indian guides, he made his way through morasses; a fallen tree served as a bridge over a stream, which the horses swam for want of a ford. At night he encamped with them abroad round a fire, and shared every fatigue, till the spot for their village was chosen; and, like the little stream which formed its border, was named Ebenezer. There they built their dwellings, and there they resolved to raise a column of stone, in token of gratitude to God, whose providence had brought them safely to the ends of the earth.”†

* Bancroft's History of the United States, vol. iii, p. 423.

† Bancroft's History, vol. iii, p. 425.

The missionaries commenced their labours by preaching among the Indians of the Creek nation, many of whom resided on an island called Irene, about five miles from the town of Savannah, and possessed a tolerable knowledge of the English language. They also established a school for the education of the children; and for some time their prospects were very encouraging.

On February 6th, 1736, another company of Moravians arrived. In the vessel which brought them, as well as other emigrants to Georgia, were John and Charles Wesley. The following is Mr. Wesley's first mention of them in his Journal:—

“Friday, 17th. I began to learn German, in order to converse with the Germans, six and twenty of whom we had on board.”*

In his Journal, dated Sunday, January 25, he gives the following testimonial of their humility and resignation to the divine will:—“At seven I went to the Germans. I had long before observed the great seriousness of their behaviour. Of their humility they had given a continual proof, by performing those servile offices for the other passengers, which none of the English would undertake; for which they desired,

* Wesley's Works, vol. iii, p. 14.

and would receive no pay, saying, 'It was good for their proud hearts,' and 'their loving Saviour had done more for them.' And every day had given them occasion of showing a meekness which no injury could move. If they were pushed, struck, or thrown down, they rose again, and went away; but no complaint was found in their mouth. There was now an opportunity of trying whether they were delivered from the spirit of fear, as well as from that of pride, anger, and revenge. In the midst of the psalm wherewith their service began, the sea broke over, split the mainsail in pieces, covered the ship, and poured in between the decks, as if the great deep had already swallowed us up. A terrible screaming began among the English; the Germans calmly sung on. I asked one of them afterward, 'Was you not afraid?' He answered, 'I thank God, no.' I asked, 'But were not your women and children afraid?' He replied mildly, 'No; our women and children are not afraid to die.'**

After a stormy voyage, the vessel came to anchor in the Savannah River, near Tybee Island; "where," says Mr. Wesley, "the groves of pines, running along the shore, made an

* Wesley's Works, vol. iii, p. 17.

agreeable prospect, showing, as it were, the bloom of spring in the depth of winter."

"At once General Oglethorpe visited the Moravians at Ebenezer, to praise their good husbandry, and to select the site of their new settlement; of which the lines were no sooner drawn, and the streets laid out by an engineer, than huts covered with bark rose up as a shelter, and the labours of the field were renewed. In a few years the produce of raw silk by the Germans amounted to 'a considerable quantity;' and indigo also became a staple. In earnest memorials they deprecated the employment of negro slaves, pleading the ability of the white man to toil even under the suns of Georgia. Their religious affections bound them together in the unity of brotherhood; their controversies were decided among themselves: every event of life had its moral; and the fervour of their worship never disturbed their healthy tranquillity of judgment. They were cheerful, and at peace."*

War breaking out between Great Britain and Spain interrupted the labours of the brethren. Though specially exempted, in the agreement made with the trustees of Georgia, from military service, yet so great appears to

* Bancroft, vol. iii, p. 430.

have been the dissatisfaction occasioned by their refusal to serve in the approaching contest, that the missionaries resolved to abandon their flourishing settlements. This step was taken very reluctantly in the year 1739.

The first missionary settlements of the brethren having been thus broken up, the greater part of those who had settled there proceeded to Philadelphia, while Mr. Spangenberg, with two others, returned to Germany.

Those who set out for Philadelphia, having reached that place, were, soon after their arrival, invited by Mr. Whitefield to settle on a tract of land between sixty and seventy miles south of the city, which had been purchased, and to which he had given the name of Nazareth. Mr. Whitefield had already laid the foundation of a large storehouse, which it was understood the brethren were to erect for him. It was also designed to establish, on the same tract, a free school for negro children. Having thus unexpectedly found both a home and employment, the brethren went to work with their usual diligence; but, owing partly to the dissatisfaction of the Indians, who were still settled on the tract, and who could not reconcile themselves to abandon such a favourite spot, which they did not consider as fairly pur-

chased; and partly to the pecuniary embarrassments of Mr. Whitefield, the brethren were obliged to leave the building unfinished, and withdraw from the land.

But no sooner was one door closed than another was opened. The brethren having left Nazareth, a gentleman of Philadelphia offered to sell them a tract of land in the forks of the Delaware, ten miles nearer the city than Nazareth, situated at the same time toward the country inhabited by the Indians. They accepted the offer, and having purchased the land, they built houses upon it, and called the place Bethlehem.

At a little later period, in 1743, all the disputes with the Indians about the land having been previously settled, both by compromise and by a special treaty with the Five Nations, the brethren purchased the Nazareth settlement, including the unfinished building, which they then completed.

Such was the origin of Bethlehem and Nazareth, which were purchased and improved with the intention of supporting such missionaries as should be sent from time to time among the Indians; to afford a place of retirement for those worn down with fatigue; and which were also designed to serve as an asylum in

case of danger or need. They were afterward found fully to answer these purposes. In tracing the early settlement of these two places, we have somewhat anticipated the order of our narrative. We now return to it.

It has been stated that Mr. Spangenberg, with two others, returned to Germany. These missionaries, having rejoined their brethren at Hernhuth, drew such a picture of the deplorable condition of the Indians as induced several of these devoted men to express their readiness to go and preach the gospel to them, whatever might be the personal hazard of such an enterprise.

From among those who offered to engage in this work, Christian Henry Rauch, a very amiable and pious man, (says Heckenwelder,) was chosen to commence a new mission among the Indians residing in the provinces of New-York and Connecticut. He accordingly set sail for the city of New-York, at which place he arrived on the 16th of July, 1740.

Having disembarked, the missionary found himself an entire stranger in the city, knowing nothing even of the people to whom he was to preach the gospel, nor even where to find them. But, being assured of his call, he placed full confidence in God, that he would

assist him, and lead him to those heathen to whom he was sent.

A kind Providence befriended the missionary. As he wandered, solitary and unknown, through the streets of the city, whom should he meet but a brother missionary just arrived from the island of St. Thomas.* Rauch was introduced by him to some pious friends in New-York, from whom he expected to obtain information respecting the people to whom he was going. These, however, instead of encouraging him to proceed in his laudable undertaking, rather dissuaded him from it, representing those Indians as a people utterly debauched in their morals, among whom no European could dwell in safety. Just at this time an embassy of Indians from the very place where he was directed to labour came to New-York on some business connected with the government. Rauch went immediately in search of them, and found that they were Mohegan Indians, residing at a village called Shekomeko, on the borders of Connecticut, about twenty-five miles east of the North River. They appeared extremely ferocious in their manners,

* The Moravians commenced their missions in the Danish West India Islands in the year 1732; and in the following year a mission was begun in Greenland.

and were at that time much intoxicated. He waited patiently until they were sober, and then asked two of them, named Tschoop and Shabash, whether they would not like a teacher to settle among them, to instruct them in the way to heaven. To this they readily assented. Some days after he visited them again; but they were so much intoxicated that they could neither speak nor stand. At his next interview with them they were sober, and they then made some arrangements for their journey to Shekomeko, for which place the missionary set out in company with them.

At Shekomeko Rauch was received by the Indians with much kindness; but the very next day after his arrival, when he spoke to them on the subject of religion, they derided his instructions, and laughed him to scorn. Not discouraged by their rude behaviour, he was indefatigable in visiting them daily in their huts. He also travelled among them from town to town; though, as he had neither the means to keep a horse, nor money to hire a boat, he often suffered extremely from heat and fatigue in the woods. He was also often refused admittance into their houses. The first signs of encouragement which he saw were in the cases of Tschoop and Shabash, the two Indians to

whom he had first spoken in New-York, and who were among the most abandoned of their whole tribe. Tschoop was the greatest drunkard in the town, and had made himself a cripple by his debaucheries. The eyes of these two Indians were now seen to overflow with tears. They often lamented their former blindness, and their ignorance of the true God, who loved them so much that he sent his Son to save them.

These favourable symptoms of a reformation in the Indians alarmed some white people who lived in the neighbourhood, and who were apprehensive lest such a change should prove detrimental to their own interest. These persons, by giving as a return for labour, or other services, liquor in the place of a fair pecuniary compensation, often defrauded the Indians of their just due. Should their credulous customers become temperate in their habits, this source of profit would at once be cut off. Stimulated, then, by the same motive which led the silversmiths of Ephesus to excite a tumult against Paul, namely, that their craft was in danger, certain of these white settlers in the vicinity of Shekomeko used every means in their power to have Rauch sent away from the town. It is said that some of them carried their malignity to such

a pitch, that they offered liquor to any Indian that would kill the missionary.

Among other base reports that were circulated against the missionary, it was said that he designed to seize the young people, carry them beyond the sea, and sell them for slaves. Absurd as this report really was, yet so tenacious are these children of the forest of their personal liberty, and so often had they been deceived and injured by the treachery and baseness of the white people, that nothing could have been hinted or suggested more likely to excite their jealousy than this. Hurried along by their natural impetuosity, without allowing themselves time to investigate the source of the slander, or the motives to which it owed its birth, in the height of their irritation they threatened to shoot the missionary unless he left the place without further delay. Rauch, thus threatened and exposed to imminent peril, thought it prudent to leave the town for the present; but he did not retire far from the scene of his labour; the house of a neighbouring farmer becoming his temporary residence. During his abode here, regardless of the risk he ran, which was indeed great, he paid daily visits to the Indians at Shekomeko. The excitement against the missionary did not expend

itself merely in threats. Upon one occasion an Indian ran after him with his hatchet, and would certainly have killed him had he not accidentally stumbled and fallen into the water. Even Tschoop, losing for a while his religious impressions, was so highly incensed that he endeavoured to shoot him; and Shabash, though he threatened not his life, carefully avoided all intercourse. These various difficulties and dangers did not dismay Rauch, who continued his labours with unshaken courage and unremitting zeal, in the hope that they would at length be crowned with success.

But if the jealousy of the Indians could be excited by the strong love they entertained for freedom, and their abhorrence of slavery, they were equally susceptible of the feeling or sentiment of admiration upon the performance of actions which harmonized with their own views of what was praiseworthy and deserving of imitation. Thus it was in the present instance. The courage of Rauch, his patience and perseverance, happily united with so much meekness, gentleness, and humility, gradually abated their animosity, and removed their prejudices. He often spent half a day in their huts, ate and drank with them in a friendly manner, and when weary slept in the midst of them with

the utmost composure. Nothing that the missionary did made a deeper impression on the minds of the Indians, particularly on Tschoop, than his lying down to sleep unconcernedly in his hut, as if entirely fearless of danger, though he knew that he thus placed himself wholly in the hands of one who had already actually attempted his life. One day when the missionary was lying in his hut fast asleep, Tschoop was struck with the sight, and reasoned thus with himself:—"This cannot be a bad man: he fears no evil, not even from us who are so savage. Here he sleeps comfortably, and places his life in our hands." The missionary's calmness and confidence when in the midst of those whom he had been represented as desirous of injuring in the tenderest point, so indicative of innocence, led this Indian chief to reflect with greater deliberation and coolness upon the nature of the reports circulated by the white people; which finally resulted in the conviction that they were not only without the slightest foundation, but had proceeded wholly from the wickedness and malice of those who had so diligently propagated them. Satisfied himself of the innocence of the missionary, Tschoop used his influence with his countrymen to remove the violent jealousy which they still

entertained toward Rauch, and finally succeeded in re-establishing the confidence which had previously existed.

The friendship of the Indians having thus been regained, Rauch soon enjoyed the pleasure of seeing the fruit of his labours. Several of them were much impressed with the love of Christ to sinners, as displayed in his sufferings and death. In Tschoop especially the change was very striking. The seriousness and deep feeling which he had first shown, though for a while apparently destroyed by the prejudices he had formed against his teacher, now returned with great force, and resulted in a complete transformation or change of the whole man. The drunkard had learned to be sober, and the man who was savage as a bear became mild and peaceful as a lamb. He afterward gave the brethren the following simple yet interesting account of his conversion:—
“I,” said he, “have been a heathen, and have grown old among the heathen: therefore I know how the heathen think. Once a preacher came, and began to tell us that there was a God. We answered him, saying, ‘Dost thou think us so ignorant as not to know that? Go back to the place from whence thou camest.’ Then another preacher came to us, and began

to say, 'You must not steal, nor lie, nor get drunk.' To him we answered, 'Thou fool, dost thou think that we do not know that? Learn first thyself, and then teach thy own people to leave off these practices. For who steal, or lie, or get drunk, more than white men?' Thus we dismissed him. After some time brother Rauch came into my hut, and sat down by me. He then spoke to me as follows:—'I am 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 that misery in which you at present lie. For this purpose he became a man, gave his life a ransom, and shed his blood for us,' &c. When he had finished his discourse he lay down upon a board, fatigued by his journey, and fell into a sound sleep. I then thought, 'What kind of a man is this? There he sleeps. I might kill him, and throw him out into the wood, and who would regard it? But this gives him no care or concern.' At the same time I could not forget his words. They constantly recurred to my mind. Even when I slept I dreamed of that blood which Christ shed for us. I found this to be something different from what I had ever heard before; and I interpreted the missionary's words

to the other Indians. Brethren, preach Christ, our Saviour, and his sufferings and death, if you would have your words to gain entrance among the heathen."

After labouring in the village of Shekomeko and the neighbouring towns nearly two years, Rauch baptized T'schoop, Shabash, and two other Indians, on the 22d of February, 1742;* and before the close of the year twenty-six more were added to the number. In addition to Shekomeko, Pachpatgoch and Wachguatnach, neighbouring towns, are particularly mentioned as places where the gospel was preached with success. "It was truly delightful," says one, "to see the poor Indians coming from places five and twenty miles distant to hear the new preacher, who, as they expressed it, spoke of God who became man, and loved the Indians so much that he gave his life to save them from the devil and the service of sin."

Rauch, who had laboured such a length of time without any assistants, was now joined by other missionaries from Hernhuth. The account of his success, and encouraging prospects of usefulness among the Indians, led to this welcome accession of labourers. The In-

* Count Zinzendorf was present on this occasion.

dians soon discovered that the new teachers were men of the same stamp as Rauch, endowed with a like zeal, and equally disinterested. Such was the humility of these truly Christian missionaries, that they earned their livelihood chiefly by working for the Indians, though they received, as may easily be imagined, but little compensation for their labour. They also lived and dressed in the Indian manner; so that in travelling through the country they were often taken for natives. Wherever they went and laboured, if they did not see immediate good effects, yet the kindness with which they uniformly treated the savages made a strong impression on their minds, and prepared them for the reception of the gospel.

In July, 1743, about three years after the first establishment of the mission, a new chapel was opened at Shekomeko, thirty feet long and twenty wide, and entirely covered with smooth bark. Many Indians visited the place; and once, when above a hundred were present, the missionaries observed that wherever two or three were standing together, the love of God, and the sufferings of Christ, formed the subject of their conversation. Such indeed was the zeal of the converts, that they often spoke of Jesus to their countrymen till after

midnight. "Mr. Weiser, a justice of the peace in Pennsylvania, writing to one of the missionaries after a visit, says, 'The faith of the Indians in our Lord Jesus Christ, their simplicity and unaffected deportment, their experience of the grace procured for us by the sufferings of Jesus, have impressed my mind with a firm belief that God is with you. I thought myself seated in a company of primitive Christians. They attended with great gravity and devotion; their eyes were steadily fixed upon their teachers, as if they would eat their words. John (T'schoop) was the interpreter, and acquitted himself in the best manner. I esteem him as a man anointed with grace and spirit. The text of Scripture, 'Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, 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 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 assistants an open door to the hearts of all the heathen.'"*

Mr. Spangenburg having been appointed

* Missionary Records, North America, p. 157.

bishop, in going from place to place to examine the state of the work of God, visited Shekomeko, and has given the following interesting description of the work of God at this place. He thus writes in his journal :—

“The nearer we approached to Shekomeko the more veneration we found among all ranks of people for the great work of God in that place. The justice of the peace at Milsy accompanied us, and 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 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 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 bestowed upon this people. It is impossible to express what is felt here; God 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, and ventured to address him by that name; nor were we mistaken. He received us with great kindness, and brought us immediately to the missionaries. Then the venerable elder, Abra-

ham, came to see us, saluted us, and though he was marked, after the Indian custom, with the figure of a snake on each cheek, yet the grace of our Saviour 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 bade us welcome in the most affectionate manner. Indeed, there was not one of the congregation that 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: 'Whosoever shall do the will of my Father who is in heaven, the same is my mother, and sister, and brother.' An Indian who had deviated from the right path wished to be readmitted; but the brethren could not trust him as yet. When we afterward held a love-feast with all the baptized, seventy in number, he came likewise, stood at a distance, and looked upon his brethren with repentance and contrition in his countenance. We called him forward; 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 to us by virtue of the sacrifice made by Jesus Christ, appealing

to their own experience, and they affirmed what I said to be true. Afterward 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 of it in Shekomeko, but in the woods, and when out hunting. We closed our love-feast with prayer and supplication, and with tears commended these precious souls, and our venerable brethren who have laboured among them, to God, our almighty Saviour.”*

While Shekomeko thus flourished and increased, a chapel was also built at Pachgatgoch ; † a number of the natives were converted ; missionaries were stationed here, and all the usual regulations introduced, and services attended to, which were customary in the mission settlements of the Moravians. All was peaceful, and all were happy.

It is pleasing to observe the spirit by which these converted Indians were actuated, showing as it does the genuine nature of Christianity, and especially exhibiting that unity of feeling, of evangelical sentiment, and meek deportment, which distinguish all who cordially

* Missionary Records, p. 158.

† This place, says Heckewelder, was situated on the Kent River, in Connecticut.

embrace it. At one time, during a meeting which they held "for adoration and praise," several of them declared that they thought a person never could have felt so happy in this world; the pleasure they enjoyed was beyond description. One day Cornelius, one of the converts, who had formerly been a captain among the savages, and who had been elected to some office of trust in the church, after the administration of the Lord's supper, came and asked permission to retire from his post, alleging that he felt such happiness during the sacrament that he resolved to give up all public business, and to devote his whole time to uninterrupted communion with his Saviour. He was easily persuaded indeed to retain his office until one should be found to succeed him; but it was on the condition that he should no longer be styled captain; "for," said he, "I am the least among my brethren." At another time a trader having endeavoured to persuade Shabash that the brethren were not privileged teachers, he replied, "It may be so; 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? Four years ago I

also lived like a beast, and none of you troubled yourselves about me. But when the brethren came they preached the cross of Christ, and I have experienced the power of his blood, so that sin has no longer dominion over me. Such are the teachers we want."

The following circumstance will show the love of the missionaries to their converts, and its effect upon them:—"One of the Indians who had embraced Christianity having forsaken the congregation, Rauch set out to seek him, though he was forty miles off hunting in the woods. When the Indian saw him he was frightened, and seemed as if he had been struck by a thunderbolt. The missionary accosted him in a mild and friendly manner; told him the design of his visit; and added, that should he fly to the distance of two or three hundred miles, still they would search him out. The wanderer was amazed, and could make no reply: he only exclaimed, in broken sentences, 'Does Buettner* remember me still? Are you come merely to seek after me? I am in a bad, in a wretched state.' Next morning he repeated these questions, adding more to the same purpose, and then began to weep most bitterly.

* One of the missionaries, who appears to have had a particular attachment to him, and who died shortly after.

Nor could he comprehend how the brethren should love such a miserable wretch, who had been a source of so much grief to them. When Rauch, therefore, assured him that they loved him still, he gave full vent to his tears, begged them to pray for him, and promised to return soon. He accordingly came back shortly after, accompanied by another of the Indians who had gone astray ; and both of them ever after remained steadfast to their Christian profession, and adorned it by their life and conversation."

This scene of prosperity at Shekomeko was at length interrupted. Such of the white people in the neighbourhood of this Indian town as were opposed to the missionaries and their work, failing in their attempts to sow discord between the Indians and their teachers, and perceiving that the reformation at Shekomeko placed the Indians more and more under the control of the brethren, and less and less under their own, and that in consequence of the increase of temperance they themselves were sustaining a serious loss, adopted a plan to render the missionaries generally obnoxious throughout the country. They first represented them as disaffected to the government ; as evil-minded, designing individuals. They were

next accused of being actually in league with the French in Canada; as having in their possession three thousand stand of arms, with which they intended to furnish such Indians as would join the French against the British, and make inroads into Pennsylvania. But what to us will appear much more surprising, and even ludicrous, were it not that it was one of the means, among others, which led to the breaking up of the mission at Shekomeko,—they were accused of being secretly papists, because from conscientious scruples they would not take an oath affirming that they “rejected transubstantiation, the worship of the Virgin Mary, purgatory,” &c., which the laws of the country at the time required that every inhabitant should take.

These reports spread far and wide, and were asserted with so much confidence that the whole country at last believed them, and were struck with terror, and inflamed with rage. Under this impression, it is said the inhabitants of Sharon, a town not far from Shekomeko, remained under arms for a whole week together, and some even forsook their plantations. The missionaries were arrested, and carried from one place to another for examination, not only by magistrates, but by ministers. Two

of them were kept for some time at New-Milford, while the others were ordered to Poughkeepsie, and treated with but little regard either to justice or humanity. They were brought before the governor of Connecticut; also before the governor and council of New-York; and though always honourably acquitted of the charges laid against them by every court, and also by every magistrate* before whom they were arraigned, yet the assembly of New-York, in October of 1745, passed an act "positively prohibiting the brethren from instructing the Indians." But though absolutely prohibited, by an act which they considered it their duty to obey, from meeting their Indian congregations for divine service, and not allowed even to remain with them, yet such was the state of the health of their senior missionary, Gottlieb Buettner, that they were obliged to delay their departure some time longer. This missionary, whose constitution was natu-

* One of these, a justice of-the peace at Filkentown, after acquitting the missionaries, said, "that he must acknowledge the mission in Shekomeko to be a work of God, because by the labour 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."

rally delicate, unable to endure the hardships and troubles he had been compelled to undergo, especially those to which the missionaries had been exposed by the malice and violent opposition of their enemies, sunk under the load, dying on the 23d of February, 1745, aged twenty-nine years. His remains were interred in the burying ground at Shekomeko, the Indian converts taking the burial duties and ceremony upon themselves, and watering his grave with their tears.*

The death of Buettner was the signal for the departure of the missionaries from Shekomeko. Before leaving their Indian congregation, which within the last two years had received an addition of sixty-three members, arrangements were made for the continuance of their usual religious meetings. The parting between these devoted men and their converts, to whom they had been the means of doing so much real good, was extremely painful. The missionaries could

* "Of this worthy missionary," says Heckewelder, "it can truly be said that while he lived, he lived unto the Lord. When near his end, the native assistants being assembled at his bedside, he exhorted them, with his dying lips, to abide faithful unto the Lord to the end: then desiring them to sing some verses, he expired while they were singing."

not but experience the most saddening emotions at the separation, especially leaving, as they did, their flock as sheep without a shepherd, exposed to temptation, unsustained by their counsel and encouraging exhortations. The grief they felt at parting with their beloved congregation is represented to have been beyond description; but they resolved to wait with patience till God should manifest their innocence, and dispel the storm.

Having left Shekomeko, the brethren retired to Bethlehem; from whence they occasionally visited their former scene of labour, not, says Heckewelder, to preach themselves to the Indians, but to attend the meetings of the latter, which they did with great satisfaction.

In concluding this account of the origin, progress, and termination of the Moravian mission at Shekomeko, we may add, that Pachgatgoch and Wachguatnoch, where also a congregation had been raised, were continued for a number of years, and supplied with missionaries from Bethlehem. The ultimate fate of the Indian congregation at Shekomeko will be mentioned in our next chapter. Here we conclude the second attempt of the brethren to preach the gospel among the Indians of our country, in both instances having to recount

the failure of the enterprise not for want of access both to the hearts and confidence of the Indians, but from causes wholly extraneous and accidental. Many a rich sheaf, however, was gathered and laid up in the garner, though the mission stations, after the expenditure of much labour and money, were obliged to be relinquished. Futurity alone will fully unfold the good which was accomplished.

CHAPTER II.

I hear the sound of prayer and praise
From the Indian's cot ascending ;
His thankful heart, in joyous lays,
To his Saviour gladly rend'ring.

ALTHOUGH the teachers and their converts were now separated from each other, yet, as was mentioned in the close of the last chapter, a mutual intercourse was still kept up between them ; the attachment of the missionaries, and their solicitude for the spiritual welfare of their flock, rendering them regardless of the toil of travelling from one settlement to another, or of the risk they ran from the malice of their enemies. This occasional supervision the mis-

sionaries were well aware was not sufficient to meet the wants of their congregation, and they, therefore, proposed to the Indians to remove from the province of New-York, and settle upon some eligible spot in Pennsylvania.

To facilitate this plan, and to remove every obstacle which might prevent its accomplishment, the brethren sent a deputation to the Iriquois, or Six Nations, who, upon pretence of having conquered the Delawares, claimed all the land in this part of the country, and on this ground assumed the power of saying who should and who should not be permitted to dwell on it. The deputation sent out by the brethren for this purpose proceeded to Onondaga, and presenting their request to the great council, it was readily granted. Upon this the Indians at Shekomeko were invited to remove to Pennsylvania; but, contrary to the expectation of all, they at first refused to accede to the proposal. They gave what they considered good reasons for not accepting the friendly proposition of their teachers. It was not long, however, before they were obliged to accept the offer, and follow the advice of the brethren; the white people pretending that the ground on which Shekomeko was built did not belong to the Indians. To carry out more effectually the

nefarious plan of seizing the Indians' land, they revived the old rumour, that the Indians of Shekomeko, like their teachers, were disposed to unite with the French, who, it was said, with a body of a thousand men were on their march to the province to ravage it with fire and sword. This rumour excited such rage and terror among the English, particularly at Rhinebeck, that the inhabitants of that town demanded a warrant from a magistrate to go and kill all the Indians at Shekomeko. The warrant indeed was not granted; but yet the poor, unoffending Indians were at length oppressed to such a degree, that though they were strongly attached to their own village, they resolved to leave it, and to seek an asylum with their teachers in Pennsylvania. Accordingly, the first emigration, consisting of ten families, in all forty-four persons, took place in April, 1746. These arriving at Bethlehem, were received with tenderness and compassion; and having built cottages in the vicinity of the brethren's settlements, their regular religious services were recommenced. They also again partook of the holy sacrament, which had not been administered to them for a long time. This small settlement in the vicinity of Bethlehem and Nazareth they called "Frieden-

shutten," or "tents of peace." It was soon so much increased by emigration from the former stations, as to render it doubtful whether it could sustain itself so near the other settlements. To remedy any inconveniences, therefore, which might grow out of its present location, the brethren judged it advisable to purchase a new tract of land, and to form a new town at a greater distance from Bethlehem. The spot they selected was a tract of land about thirty miles from Bethlehem, situated beyond the Blue Mountains, at the junction of the Mahony* Creek with the Lehigh, consisting of two hundred acres. Here the Christian Indians settled, built a regular town and chapel, and called the place "Gnadenhutten," or "tents of grace."

The village of Gnadenhutten was commenced some time in the year 1746. This settlement increased rapidly, not only by those Indian converts who came from Friedenshutten, but also by the arrival of such as had up to this time still remained at Shekomeko, and also some from Pachpatgoch. Numerous new converts also were added from among the Delawares, the natives of this part of the country.

* "Mahony" signifies a Deer's Lick; a place where salt or brackish water issues out of the earth.

The gospel," says Heckewelder, "which was daily preached there, became the blessed means of engaging the attention of the Delawares, so that many of these were converted, and added to Christ's flock."

As the land on which Gnadenhutten was built was covered with trees and shrubs, no little labour and expense were incurred in clearing it before they could proceed to build their huts and plant the ground. In these labours the brethren assisted the Indians, and had their meals in common with them. But as the converts were unacquainted with husbandry, and unable to bear much fatigue, the heaviest part of the work fell upon their teachers, who cheerfully endured it, considering it as done in the service of Christ.

The Indians who took up their abode at Gnadenhutten were delighted with the place. It became indeed, in a short time, a very regular, pleasant town. The church stood in the valley: on one side were the Indian houses, in the form of a crescent, upon a rising ground; on the other, the house of the missionaries and the burying ground. The brethren tilled their own land, and every Indian family their own plantation; and the diligence with which they cheerfully planted the fields allotted to each

of their families, was a striking and interesting proof of the influence of religion upon them.

The number of the Indians constantly increasing, and the tract of two hundred acres first purchased not being sufficient to accommodate them, the brethren, to remedy this inconvenience, purchased a spot of land on the opposite side of the river, about half a mile from Gnadenhutten, giving it the Indian name of the creek Mahony, on which it was situated. Here a farm was laid out, and a saw-mill was built. A blacksmith, and several other mechanics, along with a part of the Indian congregation, removed thither; and the daily meetings customary in all the brethren's congregations were introduced, and regularly attended to. The saw-mill erected on this settlement enabled many of them to earn a little money by cutting timber, and conveying it to Bethlehem in floats, down the river Lehigh, or Lecha. The chief support of the two settlements, however, was hunting; from fifteen to twenty deer or bears being frequently shot in a day. When provisions were scarce, they procured wild honey, chestnuts, and bilberries in the woods. Besides these means of support, they received occasionally supplies of provisions from Bethlehem.

The new missionary station, so well arranged and improved—with its chapel, its streets, and its houses; with the tilled and productive fields around it, together with the peace and harmony that prevailed among the Christian Indians, attracted no ordinary degree of curiosity. The Indians who visited it from a distance said it was a place “which delighted them much.” Among its numerous visitors was David Brainerd, missionary to the Indians in New-Jersey, who was accompanied by some of his converts; and the visit, it is said, was “much to his satisfaction.” Companies of Indians, belonging to various tribes, particularly Delawares and Shawanese, were the most frequent guests of the brethren; who not only received them with kindness, but entertained them free of expense, hoping that some of them might by this means be brought to Christ. As in some instances their Indian guests were disorderly and troublesome in their conduct, certain regulations were introduced, which, avoiding too great severity on the one hand, were yet, on the other, sufficiently strict to show that no impropriety of behaviour would be allowed;—nothing that would prove injurious to the Christian Indians, particularly to the young.

For the purpose chiefly of accommodating the concourse of visitors which flowed into the settlement, a house was built which was called the Stranger's Inn. "How glad," says one writer, "was the savage, the hunter, or the wayfarer perhaps from some distant tribe, when he saw the spire, the streets, and the caravansary* of Gnadenhutten, and was guided, weary and hungry, to the gate, where neat and clean chambers, a kind greeting, and a comfortable repast awaited him!"

Among the various companies of Indians that from time to time visited Gnadenhutten, was a large embassy sent by the Nautikoks and Shawanese, for the purpose of establishing a covenant between these tribes and the brethren. The embassy was sent in return for a visit paid by two missionaries, Zeisberger and Seidel, to Shomokin and Wayomick. The deputies, with their attendants, were in all one hundred and seven persons. A messenger was sent ten miles forward, with the words, "We are now coming unto you. Gnadenhutten is a place which delights us. The heat was great: we subsisted on nothing but bilberries: we rest with you at present." They appeared, a few

* A name given in eastern countries to public inns, or places built for the accommodation of travellers.

hours after, slowly moving toward the place, in Indian file; the leader singing a song. The "Stranger's Inn" was filled to overflowing; an ample supper was prepared; after which the whole assembly met upon a rising ground; a large blue cloth was spread in the middle, and mats placed on it. The Nautikoks and Shawanese gathered around their chiefs, and the inhabitants around the Moravians; the women and children forming a circle beyond the whole assembly, at a short distance. What a beautiful picture!—the evening in June; the shadow of the forests gathering darker around; the sun going down in glory behind the barren ridge of the Blue Mountains! Many speeches were made by the Indians, and answers given in the same style by Spangenberg. At length the treaty was ratified, and the Indian embassy passed some days in the place.

The religious services of the settlement were attended to with the utmost regularity. 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. As an additional exercise, portions of the Scriptures, translated into the Mohican language, were also read and

explained. The catechumens* were instructed; the holy communion was administered to the communicants every month. The Indians called the communion day the "great day;" and such indeed it was, being attended with the most distinguished blessing, and very powerfully strengthening their faith and hope. According to the custom of the Moravian brethren, who revived these ancient religious festivals, love-feasts were occasionally held. They were commenced with singing and prayer, and afterward the members of the church spoke of their consolation and progress in religion.

Strict and faithful discipline was observed in Gnadenhutzen. For this purpose various rules were adopted, which were strictly adhered to. Among others, "that no begging was to be suffered; no debts were to be contracted either with heathen or white people; each was to earn his own bread diligently; the infirm and aged were also required to be carefully attended to, and their wants relieved." These are cited rather as showing the nature of their prudential regulations, than as directly referring to that Scriptural discipline which was enforced where

* Persons receiving instruction in the rudiments of Christianity previous to being received as members of the church.

there was an absolute breach of Christian obligation and conduct.

The work being great, and the spiritual wants of the people numerous and various, and the brethren themselves not being able to attend to all the demands of their people, they appointed Indian assistants among the men, to whose care the daily meetings were sometimes committed. These assistants, who were chosen for their superior piety and intelligence, were valuable auxiliaries, aiding both by public addresses and private visitation and counsel to the families.

The character of one of these assistants is thus described:—"As [before his conversion] his vices were the more seductive, on account of his natural wit and humour, so, as a Christian, he became a most powerful and persuasive witness among his nation. Few of his countrymen could vie with him in point of Indian oratory; his discourses were full of animation: whether at home, or on a journey, he could not forbear speaking of the salvation purchased for us. Nor was he less respected as a chief among the Indians; no affairs of state being transacted without his advice and consent." Another, by the name of Nicodemus, an elder of the congregation, is thus spoken of:—"As

his manner of speaking was very figurative, his public testimony and conversation were the more instructive to his countrymen: 'I crossed the Lehigh,'* he said, 'to-day in a boat; being driven into the rapid current, and nearly over-set; but a large tree, whose branches drooped into the water, stayed my course, and saved me. So are we irresistibly hurried away by sin; but as soon as our mighty One stretches forth his hand, we receive power to withstand the rapid stream of this world.' In his last illness, while they stood around him, he observed, 'I am weary, and wish to rest, for I have finished my work: my body will sleep in our burying ground, but it will rise most glorious: corruption and death are near, but only for a time. Even as the forest fades before the winter's frost, but lifts its head again in glory, so shall I rise. But if I had no hope, if I had continued the slave of sin, it would be with me as when the flame devours the forest,—it perishes for ever. The spring and the summer come, yet there is nothing but blackness and ashes. The oak, and the pine, and the cedar lie withering beside the little trees and the weeds: they are all alike then.'"

The wives of the missionaries, we may also

* Or "Lecha," as it seems then to have been called.

add, as well as the more intelligent and pious Indian sisters, were also employed as assistants. One spirit indeed seemed to animate this Christian community; and all acting thus harmoniously, and with well-tempered zeal, the blessing of God rested eminently upon Gnadenhutten. So prosperous was the work of religion in this village, that in the course of three years the Indian congregation had increased to about five hundred persons. So great was the increase, that the church erected in 1746 was found too small to hold them, and the foundation of a new one was laid in September, 1749. About the same time increased attention was paid to the proper regulation and instruction of the children; and a special arrangement entered into for the maintenance of poor widows and orphans; who, it was provided, should be placed in different families, and furnished with the necessaries of life in the same manner as relatives.

Thus arose the "Tents of Peace" in the midst of the wild, uncultivated wilderness, inhabited by savages, whose natural ferocity was tamed by the gospel; their, as is often thought, unconquerable aversion to civilized life removed; their love of war and blood conquered; and themselves dwelling happily together, sub-

mitting cheerfully to all the necessary restrictions of Christianity, and finding their chief joy in faith *in* Christ, and love *to* him, his cause, and his people. And *how* and by *whom* was this congregation of the savages of our forest raised up? Chiefly, as Tschoop, the Indian chieftain, said, by preaching Christ and him crucified; while the instruments employed were chiefly poor, plain men, mostly mechanics, accustomed to support themselves by the labour of their own hands, and impelled wholly by the love of Christ to the extraordinary, and successful as extraordinary, efforts which they made for the propagation of the gospel. They went forth in obedience to the divine mandate, "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature;" and as we survey the surprising result of their "work of faith and labour of love," we may well exclaim, in the language of the prophet, "Not by might, nor by power, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord of hosts."

But already a dark cloud was gathering in the distant horizon, which, increasing as it rose, was soon to burst upon and desolate all this fair scene of Christian love and labour. The untimely fate which befell Gnadenhutzen we shall detail in our next chapter.

CHAPTER III.

Alas for thee ! in one short night
Thy homes shall ruins be ;
And smould'ring piles the morrow's light
Shall in their places see !

THE brethren did not confine their labours to Gnadenhutten and its vicinity ; but made frequent journeys among the Indians in other parts of the country. The Iroquois, or the Six Nations, as they are commonly called, a large and powerful tribe, were the principal objects of their benevolent exertions. They also visited Shomokin, and various other places on the river Susquehannah. At this latter place they attempted to establish a settlement. They also revisited often the scene of their early labours ; for though in Shekomeko there was scarcely a trace left of the mission, except the burying ground, yet at Pachgatgoch and Watquatnoch there were still congregations, with missionaries settled over them, and a good degree of religious prosperity. At Mencilagomekah, a town about one day's journey from Bethlehem, was another regular establishment of Christian Indians, which was likewise often included in their journeyings from one place to another ;

so various and so extended were the labours of those excellent men.

In these journeys through the wildernesses they suffered often from hunger, as well as from heat and cold ; and still more, as they went on foot, and could carry but little baggage ; so that when thoroughly wet, they suffered from having no change of linen, or other clothes. Such labours and exposure bore hard on feeble constitutions, and often caused sickness, sometimes ending in death. Among those who fell at an early period in the discharge of such duties, the name of the Rev. Bishop Cammerhof is mentioned ; a man of extraordinary talents and great piety, and who had been appointed by the directors of the society in Europe to take the general superintendence of the internal concerns of the various mission stations in this country. Animated by the prospect of the conversion of the heathen, he devoted much of his time to visiting the scattered Indian villages on the Susquehannah and elsewhere, preaching the gospel with great freedom wherever he came. During the four years he resided in this country he baptized eighty-nine Indians. His death was a great loss to the society generally.

Having thus given a brief view of the labours

of the brethren to carry the gospel beyond their own pleasant and flourishing village, we return to the course of events more immediately connected with Gnadenhutten. From the first settlement of this place, in 1746, to the year 1754, the Indian congregation had enjoyed peace, and flourished beyond the most sanguine expectations of the brethren: but in the course of the year 1754 the state of things began to assume a threatening and troublesome aspect. It will be necessary briefly to advert to the general condition of the country, in order to show how Gnadenhutten became the object of hostility, and was finally destroyed in the calamities of those times.

The French, it is well known, had, about this time, become exceedingly active in their efforts to gain a permanent and extensive territory in North America. They had already, by an artful and well-connected train of operations, established settlements along the whole length of the river St. Lawrence, from its mouth to Lake Ontario: while along the shores of this lake they had established not only trading-houses, but several forts; one of which, Fort Frontenac, was taken by the British in 1758. Sweeping from the south to the north, they had also planted New-Orleans, near the

mouth of the Mississippi; and, "ascending the stream, laid claim to the beautiful and fertile valley through which it flows." They had also built trading-houses along the Ohio; and were now, in pursuance of their original scheme, contemplating the establishment of a chain of forts from the Ohio to Lake Ontario; thus forming a continuous belt of forts, trading-houses, and settlements, from the mouth of the St. Lawrence to the mouth of the Mississippi; acquiring, by this means, one of the richest portions of soil in the world.

As may easily be supposed, the ever-wakeful jealousy of the British was aroused by the increasing encroachments of the French; and they soon determined to take the necessary measures to prevent the completion of a plan, now become so plain, and, at the same time, so pregnant with danger, not only to their present, but their future power and possessions in North America. The French of course resisted the claims which the British set up for at least portions of that country which they had themselves in part occupied, and thus arose what is usually termed "the old French war;" a war which, while it fell with more or less severity on all the thirteen British colonies, as also on the French possessions, was, at the same time,

attended with unusually distressing effects upon the Christian Indians, their teachers, and their peaceful settlements in the wilderness.

Previously to any open rupture between the French and English, attempts were made to adjust matters peaceably by negotiation; while during the pending of the negotiations both parties assiduously courted the friendship and aid of the various tribes of Indians in case of war between the two nations. Among other tribes which the French engaged to take part with them in the expected approaching contest, was the Iroquois, or Six Nations, whose influence, as we have seen, was very great in the region of country where Gnadenhutten was built. The first slight intimation of danger which the brethren had was an embassy of Indians, consisting of Shawanese and Nanticoks, who came to the settlement, and, without assigning any particular reason, invited all the Christian Indians to leave their present abode, and settle at Wyoming. The embassy by which so strange a proposal was thus unexpectedly made, consisted in all of twenty-two persons, attended by three Iroquois Indians. The prime movers in this scheme were the Iroquois, who merely employed the Shawanese and the Nanticoks as their agents. This proposition was first made

as early as the year 1753. The brethren paid but little attention to it, and went on as usual with their work ; while the Indians also showed no desire to leave their settlement. This irritated the Iroquois, who now declared that the proposal to remove was their own, and if the Christian Indians did not obey, "they would come themselves, and run a red hot poker into their ears : " that is, in plain language, they would compel them to obey, and move from Gnadenhutten to Wyoming. This harsh language struck some with fear, so that, in the end, upward of eighty, though with much reluctance and sorrow, came to the conclusion to settle at Wayomick, or Wyoming, a town on the Susquehannah belonging to the Shawanese.*

The departure of so many of their converts from Gnadenhutten caused the brethren much grief, though this, in some measure, was alleviated by the unexpected arrival of fifty Christian Indians from Meniolagomeka, an Indian town, as we have stated, about fifteen miles from Bethlehem, which they had been ordered to leave by the proprietor of that place. Thus

* To these Indians a missionary was occasionally sent ; not, however, until the Iroquois had, upon application to their chiefs, granted the brethren this privilege.

driven from their settlement, these Indians bent their steps to Gnadenhutten, concluding to make that their home. The loss which Gnadenhutten had just sustained was thus partly made up—the congregation was enlivened, and the native assistants animated in the discharge of their duties. For a little longer season the congregation now enjoyed rest, and, walking in the fear of the Lord, and the comforts of the Holy Ghost, were edified.

Amid apparent peace and security danger was at their threshold. War was on the eve of breaking out between the English and French; and, strange as it may seem, though the brethren were constantly travelling in almost every direction through the Indian country, they had not discovered the hostile disposition of the surrounding Indian tribes to the English, so profoundly was the secret kept. The Iroquois at this time were the most active and influential auxiliaries of the French, having already summoned not only the tribes in their own vicinity, but even the western and lake Indians, to join with them in the conflict; at the same time threatening such as were averse to the war with destruction if they did not obey the summons. Thus, though surrounded by those tribes who were soon to

engage in the deadly conflict, and exposed from their situation to feel the first blow which might be given in the coming strife, the brethren were entirely insensible of their danger. They slept, as usual, secure at night, and laboured undisturbed at their vocation.

Their security was at length fearfully interrupted. The war broke out about the year 1755. The first outrage was committed near Shomokin, where three of the missionaries resided; but through the mercy of God they were all preserved, though exposed to continual danger. This was the first note of alarm to the missionaries, though Gnadenhutten had already in an Indian council been marked out for destruction, its inhabitants being considered as friends to the British government. This was the *avowed* motive of attack upon this place; but there was another, arising from the hatred entertained toward the brethren by many of the Indians, and who could not bear that they should thus settle in the country. Still, not a surmise of their danger, or of the intended attack, had reached Gnadenhutten.

There was dwelling at this time, still further in the interior of the country, at Onondaga, that eminent missionary, David Zeisberger, who

was greatly loved by the Six Nations, and who had been adopted by them as one of themselves, having received, as a title of his adoption, a new Indian name, "Anausseracheri," signifying "on the pumpion." He having obtained, by some means or other, some intimation of the intended attack upon Gnadenhutten, instantly set out for that place, but came too late to save it.

The fatal attack was made on the small settlement on Mahony Creek, situated, as has been stated, about half a mile from the town properly called Gnadenhutten, on the opposite side of the river; though the whole in fact formed but one settlement. On the evening of the 25th of November, 1755, the lonely settlers were at peace in their dwellings. Some had just sat down to supper. A sudden howling of the dogs was heard. This sound, so unusual at such an hour, somewhat alarming them, one of the missionaries, Gottlieb Senseman, went out at the back door to see what was the matter. By this means he was saved; for the Indians perceiving, by the howling of the dogs, that they would be immediately discovered, fired a gun, and Senseman at once discovering the danger, and finding that there

was no time to return, was fortunate enough to escape, undiscovered by the Indians, beyond the immediate vicinity of the settlement.

It was just at this eventful crisis, about twilight, that Zeisberger reached the bank of the river opposite the Mahony settlement, now environed and assaulted by the Indians. The intrepid man dashed through the river on his horse, and had scarcely reached the opposite shore when a discharge of musketry announced that the attack had indeed commenced in earnest, and that the work of butchery and death was going on among his brethren. He hastened in anguish, though sensible that his single arm could avail but little. The discharges increased, and fearful cries were mingled among them. The light was so dim that he could see no objects in the distance, save the flashes which were evidently around the devoted settlement. Instead of flying himself for shelter, he remained in the midst of the fatal scene, and aided the fugitives.

While such was the scene without, as it presented itself to the aching sight of Zeisberger, the scene was far more frightful in the mission house itself. Scarcely had Senseman gone out by the back door to see what occasioned the howling of the dogs, than, as we

have seen, the report of a gun followed. Still more alarmed at this, and through ignorance of the mode of Indian warfare, acting with little caution, several of the brethren, with some of the females of the mission, rose hastily up, ran to the front door, and opened it. The moment the door was opened, a number of Indians were seen with their pieces pointed directly at it, who instantly fired, killing Martin Nitschman on the spot, and wounding several others, among whom was the wife of Nitschman. Utterly defenceless as were the missionaries, there was no time for hesitation, and parley with the infuriated foe was in vain. Urged then by the imminency of the danger, all fled, the wounded with the rest, with the utmost precipitation up the stairs to the garret, the door of which they barricaded in an astonishingly brief space of time, and with such address, that it formed for a time a sure defence. In the meanwhile the savages rushed into the house, crossing the mangled body of the missionary, and hastening to assuage their thirst for blood by the death of those who had fled into the garret. Baffled in the first attempt to burst open the door, and impatient of delay, they set the house on fire. As the flames began to kindle, a boy by the name of Sturgears

got on the roof, and, leaping from thence down to the ground, made his escape. Encouraged by the success of the boy, one of the sisters, the wife of the missionary Partsch, watching a favourable opportunity, next got upon the roof, and succeeding in reaching the ground unhurt, fled, unobserved by the enemy, and hid herself behind a tree upon a hill near the house. The next who attempted the dangerous flight was Christian Fabricius, the chief of the mission, and a particular friend of Zeisberger's; but the savages, whose attention for a while seems to have been drawn from the house, supposing, doubtless, that as they had set fire to the building, escape was impossible, discovered Fabricius ere he had effected his escape. They at once fired, wounding him with two balls. He was seized alive, quickly despatched with their hatchets, and his scalp cut off. The Indians being now on the alert, further escape was prevented, and the rest of the family who fled to the garret were burned to death. Among the rest was the wife of Senseman. Though surrounded by the flames, she was seen standing with folded hands, and was heard to say, "*'Tis all well, dear Saviour!*" Her husband had the inexpressible grief to behold his wife perish in this miserable manner.

Besides burning the mission house, the savages set fire to the barns and stables, and thus destroyed all the corn, hay, and cattle. They then divided the spoil, soaked some bread in milk, and, after making a hearty meal, departed from the place. The whole number who perished in this terrible catastrophe was eleven. Five only made their escape. Sated with the slaughter for the present, and loaded with spoil, the hostile Indians did not, at this time, attack Gnadenhutten proper. At that place on the evening of the attack there were but few of the Christian Indians, the greater part of them, as it was the season for it, being absent on a hunting expedition. Such of them as were there, when they saw from the distance the flames, and learned the cause, offered to cross the river to the assistance of their brethren, but the plan being disapproved, we suppose on the false principle of non-resistance to all attacks and injuries, the Indians, as it appears to us, with a degree of timidity and precipitation, hardly agreeing with the national character for intrepidity and self-possession, all fled into the neighbouring woods, so that the town was cleared of its inhabitants.

Thus fell the first blow upon a part of this flourishing Christian settlement; but the main

village, Gnadenhutten, still stood, as also the saw mill at Mahony, which was not destroyed with the rest of the buildings. We may, however, as well conclude the account of the fate of the whole, by saying, that after a few days the savages returned, set fire to Gnadenhutten, tore down the mill, thus removing the last vestige which remained of Mahony, and completely laid waste the plantations on both sides of the river.

During the memorable night of the attack, the brethren at Bethlehem, though this place was nearly thirty miles distant, and with the ridge of the Blue Mountains between, plainly saw the flames of the dismal conflagration. The fatal cause, it is likely, was too truly conjectured. At three o'clock of the following morning, Zeisberger, having remained in the vicinity of the settlement as long as he could render any assistance, arrived at Bethlehem, bringing thus early to the brethren there the sad tidings. One by one, the next day, the fugitives came in. Bethlehem proved an asylum, though this village itself was far from being unexposed to danger.

After a short time had elapsed, and it was thought safe to do so, the brethren went from Bethlehem to the scene of ruin and slaughter,

to collect the ashes of the slain. Arriving here, they found nothing but a blackened heap of ruins of the little chapel, the dwellings, and the storehouses. They solemnly interred the remains of the eleven persons who had perished, singing a hymn suitable to the mournful occasion. But while those who were spared sorrowed for the dead, "they knew not," to use their own language, "whether retiring at night, they should ever again behold the light of day." Such was the fate of the third settlement of the brethren, established expressly for the benefit of the Indians; such the overthrow, in one short, eventful night, of the labour of so many years. Commenced in the year 1746—increasing in population until it numbered five hundred inhabitants, the greater part natives of our forests—a beautiful village, built in the midst of the wilderness, with its chapel, comfortable dwellings, and storehouses; with its "Stranger's Inn," where no price was received for the entertainment of the wayfaring traveller; with the adjacent fields, highly cultivated and productive; with its admirable internal economy—its neatness; the peace and good order which prevailed within it—Gnadenhutzen, with all these marks of its rapid growth and increasing prosperity, after it had stood

thus the delight and admiration of great numbers of the savages themselves, for about the brief period of nine years, presented to the eye, in the course of November, 1755, nothing but the sad spectacle of a smoking, blackened heap of ruins. It may be, that many an Indian, when, in after years, he passed that way, weary and hungry, remembering the hospitality which reigned within its gates, sighed over its unhappy fate; and wished that again the eye might be greeted with the sight of Gnadenhutzen. But that day never came,—Gnadenhutzen was never rebuilt. For the present the brethren had nothing before them but the horrors and calamities of a most fearful and barbarous war. The season of quiet religious labour was now, for a time at least, ended; and all was tumult and disquietude. It will be necessary for us to trace some of the scenes of this warfare, so far at least as the brethren and their settlements were involved in them; when we shall gladly return to follow them still further and further into the interior of the wilderness, whither they dauntlessly and untiringly penetrated, seeking in the spirit of their divine Master to do good to a race of men naturally so untractable, and whose only known code or rule of action was so dia-

metrically opposed, especially, to that spirit of meekness and forgiveness of injuries which Christianity, as a system of peace and good will, requires of all those who embrace it, and profess to be governed by its authority. We are sorry to say, that the further we proceed, the more tragic will be the story we have to relate.

CHAPTER IV.

Alas ! now for the cheerful homes,
Where dwelt that Christian band—
For war in all its fierceness roams
Through that once peaceful land.

THE entire population of Gnadenhutten, both missionaries and Indians, were now assembled at Bethlehem, and for a season safe from harm, though the danger was really imminent. But that direful war, which led to the destruction of Gnadenhutten, exposed the other settlements of the brethren to the same fate,—and for several years seriously interrupted their missionary labours,—spreading devastation through all the surrounding country. The whole frontier of Pennsylvania was laid waste by the savages ; houses were burned down, farms destroyed,

the inhabitants driven from their homes, and the country made a fearful waste. All was havoc and desolation. Murders were constantly committed, following one another in quick succession, and often when least expected. The people, struck with terror, hardly knew whither to flee for safety. Hundreds of these distressed men, women, and children, who had fled from the savages, sought shelter at the settlements of the brethren; and as long as a place could be found for them, they were protected and fed.

Among other tragic incidents that marked the war in this region, was the murder of Francis Hill, who was despatched by the governor of Pennsylvania to the Delawares on the Susquehannah, to endeavour to negotiate a peace with that nation. He was met by a party of the Six Nations, on the road leading from Mennesink to Wyoming; who ascertaining what his message was, on this account murdered him.

While the war was thus raging fiercely around them, the brethren resolved to stand their ground both at Bethlehem and Nazareth, though so near was the scene of ravage, that at the former place they distinctly saw the flames arising from several villages which were

destroyed by the savages. In describing, however, the means of defence employed by the brethren, and the dangers and troubles to which they were exposed, our narrative will be confined to Bethlehem and the congregation there. The war breaking out, as we have seen, with such fury, and the congregation at Gnadenhutzen being joined to that of Bethlehem, all imaginable activity was used in placing the settlement in a posture of defence. To do this, the town was surrounded with palisades; a constant watch was maintained both by night and day; while those who were at work in the plantations had a guard to attend them. To keep guard over the town, as well as over such as were at work in the fields, was a duty assigned chiefly to the Indians, who considered it as a high honour to be thus employed. "Who am I," said one of them, "that I should watch over the children of God? I, poor man, am not worthy of this grace; nor can I guard them aright. Therefore, watch thou over them, gracious Saviour, for thou alone canst protect them."

Two causes in particular combined to expose Bethlehem to the most imminent danger. One was the circumstance of the Indian congregation at Gnadenhutzen fleeing thither for

safety. This exceedingly enraged the surrounding savages, who insisted that every Indian, and among the rest the Indian converts, should rise in arms against the English: threatening, if they refused, to murder every Indian found at Bethlehem. Their irritation was increased by some absurd reports which they heard. One was, that the brethren at Bethlehem had cut off the heads of all the Indians in that town, put them into bags, and sent them into Philadelphia. This they actually believed; and at one time set off to murder the brethren, and burn the settlement; and were only diverted from their design by the interference of a chief friendly to the missionaries.

Another cause of danger to Bethlehem was a strange fanaticism that seized certain among the white people, who demanded the total extirpation of the Indian tribes, alleging, as a ground for such a measure, that God required it at the hands of the whites, as he did the extermination of the Canaanites by the Israelites. These persons conceiving in their impious folly and rage the Indians to be accursed of God, were greatly incensed against the brethren, because they afforded them protection and assistance.

By constant watchfulness, as well as by

timely information from well-disposed Indians, the settlement was happily preserved from several attacks which the savages designed against it. On hearing of a plot against the settlement by the warriors, Indians have been known to travel all night to warn the brethren of it; thus frustrating the scheme. Several times, under cover of the night, the Indians attempted to make a sudden attack upon this place; but when it was found that the inhabitants were on their guard, the attack was relinquished. At such seasons they often ventured close to the town, lurking about with torches, and endeavouring to shoot burning wadding upon the roofs, to set fire to the place. In these attempts also they did not succeed.

One day a party of Indians were on their way to a field where about forty sisters were picking flax, whom they intended to seize and carry off as prisoners. They were already close to it, creeping on their bellies, in the Indian manner; but perceiving a strong guard of Indian brethren, with their pieces loaded, they were glad to retire.

Thus protected by the timely and suitable measures which they took for self-defence, the brethren and their Indian congregation at Bethlehem were unharmed through the whole of

this war. Amid it all too they attended to their usual religious duties, besides erecting additional temporary buildings, and re-establishing the schools for the instruction of the Indian children on the same footing as at Gnadenhutten. In the meanwhile the war continued to rage with relentless ferocity, year after year; until the French having evacuated Fort Du Quesne, now Pittsburg, (so called after Pitt, the great statesman of that day,) the war changed to a different quarter, and Pennsylvania and the neighbouring provinces were relieved from the attacks and ravages of their savage foes. The treaty of peace, however, between Great Britain and France was not ratified until the year 1763, the war having thus continued in all about eight years.

It ought, we think, to be stated, to the honour of the brethren, that in the very height of the war, when the passions of the Indians burned the most fiercely, one of their number, Christian Frederick Post, of Bethlehem, undertook two journeys to the Indians, with the hope of bringing about a peace. These journeys were made at the request of the government of Pennsylvania. In the present state of the country this was deemed by many as rash and imprudent: but Post, moved by charity, and

desirous of putting a stop to murders and the effusion of human blood, and considering himself under the protection of the Almighty, considered it his duty to go. He was by nature well calculated for the enterprise, being a man of undaunted courage and enterprising spirit, and besides well acquainted with the manners and customs of the Indians. After taking a farewell of his brethren in the summer of 1758, cheerful and undaunted he set out on one of these hazardous expeditions. He was accompanied by two Indian guides, and with their aid penetrated a country in which neither he nor any of the brethren had been before, and to a savage people who had united with the French for the destruction of the English. He faithfully performed the business intrusted to him by the government; "succeeded," says Heckewelder, "beyond expectation," (though he does not say in what respects; yet it is probable this negotiation had some connection with the evacuation of Fort Du Quesne, which occurred about this time,) "giving thanks and praises to the Lord, who had preserved him through all the dangers and difficulties he had been under."*

We now return to our Indian congregation.

* Post's Journal

In the year 1757 the brethren, entertaining some hope of peace, had commenced a new settlement, especially for the accommodation of the Indian converts, about a mile from Bethlehem. The grant of land for this purpose the brethren had obtained from the government. In the year 1758 all the necessary buildings, together with a chapel, were completed, and the place called Nain. It increased so rapidly, that it soon became necessary to form a second settlement; and a tract of land, consisting of fourteen hundred acres, lying beyond the Blue Mountains, was purchased; and once more arose a new village in the wilderness. The name given to it was Wechquetank. It was begun with thirty baptized Indians of the Delaware nation. The congregations both at Nain and Wechquetank were supplied with missionaries and other instructors, and were so prosperous, that they became the admiration of visitors, who thought it next to a miracle that, by the light of the gospel, a savage race should be brought to live together in peace and harmony, and, above all, devote themselves to religion. Hostilities were long suspended in this part of the country, and for several years the congregations continued to flourish, receiving no disturbance from the savages. At length

Indian hostilities were recommenced with fresh vigour, and the Christian Indians involved in new calamities.

The rumour of war at first came from a distant part of the country. In the year 1763 the Indians began their murderous ravages on the Ohio and near the lakes of Canada. IncurSIONS were even made into Pennsylvania. It was now feared that the scenes which had been witnessed in the years 1755, 1756, and 1757, would be renewed, and the whole country, which was rapidly recovering from the effects of the former war, be once more desolated. In the general excitement against the Indians as a nation, those belonging to the brethren's settlements, though utterly opposed to any acts of hostility committed by their countrymen, yet, as usual, fell in for their share of obloquy and hatred. Among other things, the old fanatical opinion was revived, that this new war was a punishment from God on the white people, because they had neglected to extirpate the savages; and, therefore, they asserted that all the Indians without exception should be put to the sword. The settlements of Nain and Wechquetank, as being chiefly Indian settlements, were especially the objects of their enmity; and it was said, that

if only one white man in the vicinity of either of them should be murdered, signal vengeance should be taken on both. This feeling of hostility constantly increasing, the danger became every day greater: until at length an Irish settlement within a few miles of Bethlehem having been attacked by the Indians, and several persons killed, attempts were actually made by parties of white people to destroy both Nain and Wechquetank; and though for the present they were preserved, yet the most violent threats were uttered against the Christian Indians if they did not immediately abandon them. Under these circumstances it was thought best to relinquish Wechquetank; and on the 11th of October, 1763, the whole congregation set off in wagons for Nazareth. It was with extreme regret they removed from so pleasant a place. They left, for strange occupants to take possession of, their houses, their land in a fine state of cultivation, together with their harvest, which they had just reaped, with almost all their cattle:—rich spoil for such of the white people as resided in that vicinity, and leading to the conclusion, that a spirit of rapacity was mingled with their, perhaps, assumed fears of the Christian Indians.

While Wechquetank was actually abandoned, the congregation at Nain was in a state of close blockade. Though Bethlehem was but a mile distant, the intercourse with that place could not be kept up. The congregation at Nain were obliged to keep a watch both by day and night, and even to place guards at their chapel doors during service. Week after week this vigilance had to be maintained, the inhabitants in the discharge of this duty suffering much by the cold at night. Every morning their joys were renewed at seeing each other again after the fears of the night. These inconveniences, trials, and dangers, were patiently endured, under the expectation that they would at length be effectually protected by the properly constituted authorities of Pennsylvania.

While the congregation at Nain was in this condition, the fears of all were greatly heightened by the arrest of Rénatus, a harmless Indian, on the 19th day of October, on the pretence that he was one of the party engaged in the attack and murder of the Irish settlement a few miles from Bethlehem. He was forthwith taken to Philadelphia, and imprisoned.

The report that one of the Christian Indians had been recognised as one of the party in the

attack upon the Irish settlement, and sworn to as such by the widow of an Irish settler who had been murdered upon that occasion, flew like lightning through the country, and kindled the fury of the white people against the Indians into a more violent flame than ever. Such indeed was the excitement which existed at the time—so disposed were the people to take the law into their own hands, and to sacrifice these innocent Christian Indians as victims to their fury—that the government of Pennsylvania becoming alarmed for their safety, and anxious to save their lives, ordered that all the baptized Indians should be brought to Philadelphia for protection. In consequence of this order, and the arrangements entered into to carry it into effect, the sheriff of the county, John Jennings, a gentleman high in the esteem of the Christian Indians, came to Bethlehem, where all were assembled, to take charge of them, and conduct them to Philadelphia. The Indians having delivered up their arms, and a farewell sermon having been preached to them in the church by the bishop, Peter Bochler, from Psa. v, 8, “Make thy way straight before my face,” on the 8th of November, 1763, these once savage, merciless warriors, but now lambs in the midst of wolves, took their sorrowful departure from

Bethlehem. They set out in wagons, accompanied not only by the sheriff and such officers as he had brought along to assist in securing their safety on the way, but also by several missionaries and other brethren. The season of the year, the inclemency of the weather, the insults and threats they met with on the road, (many as the train of wagons passed along saying that hanging and burning ought to be their doom,) the aged, the sick, the infirm, and the young children, that composed part of their company, all combined to render their journey to Philadelphia exceedingly tedious and painful. Three days they were on the road, arriving in Philadelphia on the 11th, at ten o'clock, A. M. Having reached this city, the train proceeded to the barracks, where by order of the governor they were to be lodged; but upon their arrival the soldiers refused them admittance. Thus excluded from the barracks, they were compelled to remain in the street until three in the afternoon; surrounded all the while by an angry mob, who were continually reviling them, and charging them with all the outrages committed by the enemy; threatening, at the same time, to kill them on the spot. In the midst of all their rage, derision, and threats, the Christian Indians sat

wholly unmoved, not uttering one word, but relying solely on the providence of God, to whom alone they afterward ascribed their preservation.

Several painful hours having thus elapsed, and the soldiers still persisting in their resolution, despite of the express orders of the magistrates of the city, the wagoners were at length ordered to proceed. Surrounded and followed by a large, tumultuous concourse of people, they passed on, until about six o'clock this inoffensive and injured company arrived at Province Island, in Delaware River, about six miles below the city. At this place, some large buildings having been provided for them, they were lodged in them, and afterward settled on this island as well as circumstances would permit.

Subsequent events soon showed that the Indians had a narrow escape; their settlement at Wechquetank being entirely destroyed by the white population, and also Bethlehem set on fire. As to the latter place, the fire was put out before any great amount of damage was sustained. About the same time was committed a most diabolical act upon a settlement of harmless Indians, who had long lived quietly among the English in the small village

of Canestoga, near Lancaster. A party of white people murdered fourteen of their number, the rest having escaped to Lancaster. The magistrates of that town immediately took them under their protection, and lodged them in the workhouse, a strong and secure building. Thither, however, the murderers followed them. They marched into the town at noonday, broke into the workhouse, and though the poor defenceless Indians begged for life on their knees, the ruffians massacred them all in cold blood, and threw their mangled bodies into the street. They then departed with a shout of triumph, threatening that the Indians in Province Island should soon share a similar fate.

This barbarous act, which, on account of the lawlessness of the times, and the deep, general hatred which was felt against all who bore the name and complexion of the Indian race, government could not, or dared not, punish, led to the most lively apprehensions on the part of the brethren for the safety of their Indian congregation. Those on Province Island had already, as we have just seen, been threatened with a fate similar to that which befell the Indians at Lancaster; and such was the number of people who seemed disposed to carry out this terrible measure, including many even of

the inhabitants of Philadelphia, that there was every reason to fear lest these threats would be executed, and every Indian murdered who had been taken under the protection of government. A proclamation, it is true, had been issued, forbidding any one to molest the Christian Indians on Province Island; but owing to the weakness of the government it was likely to avail but little. Government knowing this, and learning about the commencement of the year 1764 that an attack would be made upon the island, resolved to place the persecuted congregation under the protection of the English army; sending them by the way of New-York. They were accordingly directed to hold themselves in readiness to set out at a moment's warning. This was done; and orders for their departure soon after arriving, on the 4th of January, at midnight, they left Province Island, passed through Philadelphia, almost unobserved, to the brethren's chapel. Here they were met, and most cordially received, by a number of brethren and friends, who had provided a breakfast for them in the chapel. Here also Mr. Fox, the commissary, ordered a number of blankets to be distributed among them; when, wagons being provided to carry the aged, the blind, the sick, and the children,

together with their baggage, they once more set out, accompanied by their missionaries. But by this time so great a crowd had assembled that they could scarcely proceed. These followed the Indians with their imprecations, until an escort of seventy Highlanders falling in, the mob dispersed. From Philadelphia they proceeded to Trenton, and thence to Amboy; receiving no personal injury on their journey, though frequently insulted, especially in passing through New-Jersey.

Having reached Amboy in safety, and being just ready to embark in two sloops which were engaged to carry them to New-York, a new disaster arose. An express arrived from the governor of New-York, strictly forbidding any Indian setting his foot on the New-York territory; and at the same time it was stated that any who should bring them there would be liable to a severe penalty. Thus thwarted in their plans, the Indians were obliged to wait for further orders at Amboy, being lodged in the barracks at that place. The Indians, undisturbed by what had happened, immediately commenced holding their meetings in the usual order, which were well attended by the inhabitants of the vicinity. The effect of this was that much prejudice was removed. Those

who attended admired their devotion, and were especially delighted with their singing. One of the soldiers exclaimed, "Would to God all the white people were as good Christians as these Indians!"

In the meanwhile an express was despatched to the governor of Pennsylvania, informing him of the unexpected detention, and requesting directions as to what was to be done in this exigency. He at once gave orders for them to return to Philadelphia, providing for their safe conduct by a guard of one hundred and seventy men, commanded by Captain Schlosser, an officer deservedly esteemed for his humanity and manly conduct in protecting these persecuted Indians. The Indians set out upon their return to Philadelphia with cheerfulness, one half of their guard leading the van, and the other bringing up the rear.

On their arrival at Philadelphia, January 24th, they were this time lodged in the barracks, where they were guarded both day and night. Once more settled, though far from being free from alarm, they met daily for divine service. But the danger increased. A mob was raised, and were so violent in their outcry, that it was found necessary to double the guard. This only quelled the multitude

for a time. It was not long before certain information was received, that out of the city, as well as in it, mobs were collecting with the intention of uniting their force, overpowering resistance, and massacring the Indian congregation. In this emergency the governor and magistracy of the city acted promptly, efficiently, and with courage. They determined to repel force by force. Eight pieces of heavy ordnance were drawn up to 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 give them their assistance. The governor himself, and several other persons of distinction, visited them, bidding them be of good cheer, and assuring them of their determination to protect them from violence.

The Indians having, for the sake of greater safety, been removed from the lower to the upper part of the buildings, and every necessary preparation made, on the 4th of February word came that the mob were on their way, well armed, and ready to execute their threats at any hazard. The whole town was in an uproar. It proved to be but an alarm. The mob, knowing the preparations made to receive them, did not venture to approach; and the citizens

returning to their homes, quiet was restored. On the next night the alarm was renewed; and the whole town again in motion. The church bells were rung, the streets illuminated, and arms and ammunition were distributed among the citizens, who, suddenly awakened from their sleep, were ordered to attend at the town-house. Two companies of the armed citizens being formed, repaired to the barracks, while four additional cannon were mounted. But another night passed away, and no enemy made their appearance; as also another day, though in hourly expectation of the infuriated mob. The Indians during all these scenes considered themselves as devoted to slaughter; and though they were very thankful for the spirited exertions of the government made in their behalf, yet they placed their strongest hope in the Lord, saying, "God can help us." And they were helped: they were effectually protected. Under God powerful friends were raised up for their defence and security in the hour of need; and such were the vigorous measures adopted, that the mob, not daring to come in contact with the armed force prepared for their reception, at length dispersed, leaving the Christian Indians

to enjoy, without further serious molestation, the protection of government.

The series of trials through which the Indians had passed, the violent steps taken by their enemies to destroy them, the general tumult which had been excited, all tended to give an edge to curiosity, and to make the Indian congregation an object of deep and lively interest. People of all ranks flocked to see them. They were literally a spectacle to thousands. But especially on the sabbath were their religious services attended by multitudes of attentive hearers; and it is reasonable to suppose that the word spoken, with the change wrought in the conduct and temper of the Indians, were not without their real use to the thronging crowds.

Quiet and order being once more restored, the Indians, under the guidance and instructions of their missionaries, who had remained with them in all their trials, not flinching from their post when danger threatened, resumed their usual routine of duties. They met for divine service morning and evening: the Lord's supper was administered at stated intervals, and a school opened for the instruction of the youth in the English language. Indeed they

had little else to attend to, or to engage their attention, as they seem to have been confined to the barracks, while their wants were generously supplied by the English government.

Under these circumstances the Indians did as well as they could, though they were neither contented nor happy. Their confinement to the barracks, which they considered little short of imprisonment, was a hard trial; and to some of them especially very afflicting. Their food did not agree with them: they could have no bodily exercise:—especially were they deprived of their wonted occupation of hunting. Living as they did in such close contact seemed to them insupportable. These, and other privations which they had to endure, caused some of them to become low spirited, and they wished to be set at liberty. Their trials were still further increased, as the summer advanced, by fevers and the small pox breaking out among them, which greatly excited their dread and horror. Many now resolved to escape from their confinement; and were only diverted from their purpose by the advice and perseverance of the missionaries, who were unwearied in visiting and comforting them. The labours of these devoted men

were at length crowned with success; when all the uneasiness of the Indians was changed into perfect resignation to the will of God. "To the sick," says Heckewelder, "relief was afforded by that benevolent and humane Friend, whom the Lord alone can reward for his great attention and labours of love."

Sickness having broken out in the Indian congregation, sad indeed was the scene that followed. In a little while fifty-six of their number were removed by death. But there was joy even amid the gloom and ravages of sickness and death. The survivors sorrowed for the departed not as those without hope: regarding them as released from all misery, pain, and distress, by a most happy translation into everlasting life. Most edifying was it to all who had visited those dying Indians, to see with what resignation they bore their sufferings, and the cheerfulness they evinced in the final hour, in the hope of soon seeing their Saviour face to face. Their last resting place, after all their wanderings and trials in the service and for the sake of Christ, was a burying ground called Potters' Field. Among the number that died was the father, the wife, and the child of Renatus, who during their sickness

was not permitted to see them; he being, as our readers will recollect, confined in prison on a charge of murder.*

But the hour of freedom and joy at length arrived. On the 4th of December, 1764, peace having been concluded with the hostile Indian nations, a proclamation to this effect was issued by government. The joy of the Christian Indians at this news it is said exceeded all description. The Indians being now at liberty to go in what direction they pleased, resolved, with the advice and concurrence of the missionaries, not to return to their former settlements in the vicinity of the whites, but to penetrate the wilderness, and settle in their own country. Previously to their final departure, on the 18th of March, they delivered the following address to the governor of Pennsylvania:—

“ We, the Christian Indians, now residing in the barracks, and intending to return with

* The trial of Rénatus for murder, after an imprisonment of eight months, though strenuous efforts were made by the enemies of the brethren, who greatly wished to witness the execution of a *Moravian* Indian, resulted in his entire acquittal. On the 4th day of July, 1764, the Christian Indians in the barracks had the joy once more to see and embrace Rénatus.

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

English. We also beg permission to request of you to give us powder and shot, that we may provide food for our journey. Finally, we pray that God may bless you! We, the underwritten, do this in the name of all our people,—remaining your faithful friends,

JOHN PAPUNHANK,
JOSHUA ANTHONY,
SHEM EVANS.”

In our next chapter we shall follow them in their emigration to the west.

CHAPTER V.

Far from their homes and fanes they turn,
Amid the forest lone,
For some rude glen, where they may learn,
Unnoticed and unknown.

A home is found amid its bowers ;
Altars to God they raise ;
And here the Indian's happy hours
Are spent in prayer and praise.

THE Indian congregation once more free, joyfully made the necessary preparations to return—not, as had been agreed upon, to their former settlements—where they would be inter-

mixed with, and surrounded by, the white settlers—but to the remote and secluded wilderness, their own natural and ever-loved haunts. The spot selected for a new settlement (land being readily granted by the government) was an eligible situation on the banks of the Susquehannah, about one mile below Wyalusing Creek. In March, 1765, after a confinement of about sixteen months, the Indian congregation left Philadelphia on their way to the west, passing through Bethlehem to Nain, their former place of abode, where they rested for some time. At length, every thing being arranged for the journey, a farewell sermon was preached to them by their old and much-respected missionary, Gaube, at which many from Bethlehem were present. On the third of April this company of Christian Indians set out on their journey, passing once more through Bethlehem for the last time, and taking an affectionate leave of all the inhabitants of the place, assembled together for that purpose. The conductors appointed by government to escort them part of the way, were Mr. Moor, a justice of the peace; Mr. Ruchline, high sheriff; Lieutenant Huntsecker, and Mr. Efty; gentlemen whose names are here inserted with gratitude for their attention and kindness to

these Indians. Some brethren from Bethlehem likewise accompanied them until they had passed the frontier settlements : the distance to which the wagons with the sick, infirm, and the heavy baggage, had been ordered to proceed.

The company of pilgrims, attended by the missionaries, Schmick and Zeisberger, pursued their route, passing through Nazareth, and thence crossing the Blue Mountains, and the Great Pine and Beach Swamp, direct to Wyoming. The journey is said to have been exceedingly laborious : the more so, as owing to the still existing animosity of the white people, they were obliged to take a very circuitous route. Such parts of their baggage as were not sent by wagons they had often to carry over high, steep, and rocky hills, in small parcels ; by which means they had to travel the same road several times over. In some places they had to cut their way through the woods ; in one instance for no less than five miles together. Through the brooks and rivers the men were obliged to wade, and for the women and children they had to prepare rafts ; a work of considerable difficulty, as the violent currents often carried away the trees they had cut down for this purpose, before they could be fixed

together. Nay, some rivers were so broad and deep, that they were obliged to encamp on their banks, and to build canoes in which to cross them. As for lodging, they had to sleep chiefly in the open woods; and in some instances they were under the necessity of stopping all night in swamps, there being no dry ground near at hand. The greatest difficulty of all, however, was the want of provisions. Hunting was their chief support; but in some places neither game nor fish could be found. When their whole stock of flour was exhausted, it was truly affecting to behold them receive their last portion. They were now glad to find wild potatoes in the woods, though nothing but hunger could have rendered them palatable. To satisfy the children who cried for want, they peeled the chestnut trees, and made them suck the juices under the bark, and even the old people were under the necessity of resorting to the same expedient. As for drink, they had often nothing but the muddy water found in swampy puddles. One night they were terribly alarmed by the woods being on fire, and burning most furiously around their encampment, from ten o'clock till one in the morning. But all these trials were forgotten in their daily meetings, in which they expe-

rienced the presence of Christ in a most remarkable manner. They usually held them in the evening, around a large fire, in the open air. At length, after a tedious and irksome journey of five weeks, they arrived at the place of their destination; and as a mariner, after a storm, rejoices to enter the haven, so the Indian congregation, after the many trials and hardships they had of late endured, were happy to reach their new abode, where they hoped to enjoy peace, tranquillity, and rest.

The name given to the new Indian town on the Susquehannah was Friedenshutzen, or "Tents of Peace." It was no great distance from the North Bend. The situation was an eligible one; and a pleasant village soon rose in the wilderness. Ground was cleared, fenced, and cultivated. Upward of forty houses (besides thirteen Indian huts) were built of wood, lighted with windows, covered with shingles, and provided with chimneys. The street was eighty feet broad; and in the middle of it stood the chapel, a neat and spacious building. The ground next the houses was laid out in gardens, enclosed with good clap-board fence; and between the settlement and the river about two hundred and fifty acres were divided into regular plantations of Indian corn. The burying

ground was situated at some distance, at the back of the buildings. The Indians laboured with the utmost cheerfulness in building this, as they thought, the most beautiful Indian town they had ever seen.

It seems that at the first settlement provisions were scarce, though, about the time of their departure from Philadelphia, a grant had been procured by an influential friend of the brethren, Mr. Fox, that they should be provided with flour, from the time of their arrival on the Susquehannah, till their newly-planted Indian corn should be ripe. In this emergency they obtained a supply from the woods; substituting wild potatoes, and various other roots and plants dug by the women and children, for bread, and the usual garden vegetables. The industry of the Indians, directed and stimulated by their teachers, soon, however, abundantly supplied all their wants. Thus situated, they were contented and happy; and their numbers constantly increasing, brightened their future prospects.

In the new settlement the usual religious exercises were of course strictly observed. Morning and evening meetings were daily held; and the Sundays were entirely devoted to solemn reflection and divine service. The

sacraments also were administered at proper seasons; and every regulation necessary for the preservation of peace and good order was made, and heartily agreed to. But that which to the brethren was of greater importance by far, than to have their wine and oil increase, was the cause of religion, which flourished greatly in Friedensshutten; and this not only in the congregation itself, but among those, as yet, wild and untaught natives of the forest—great numbers of whom, attracted by the fame of the settlement, flocked thither to see a sight so strange and so novel. It is true other motives were often mingled with that of curiosity and the novelty of the scene. Famine at home, and the general report that the Christian Indians were hospitable, and were at all times plentifully supplied with provisions, may be considered as one cause of these visits; but still, with this drawback, the brethren had good reason to suppose that their labours were blessed to the awakening and conversion of many of these casual visiters. Many of them were indeed deeply impressed by the gospel, and were filled with serious concern for their souls. Frequently the whole assembly was so moved, and the weeping of the congregation so general, that the missionaries were obliged

to stop, and mingle their tears with those of the people. Among the Indians, who, with the ancient Stoics, held tears in the most supreme contempt, to behold this new floodgate of deep feeling opened, was a striking proof of the powerful efficacy of the gospel on their hearts. "Whenever," said one of the converts, "I saw a man shed tears, I used to doubt whether he was a man. I would not have wept, though my enemies had cut my flesh from my bones. That I now weep is of God, who has softened the hardness of my heart."

One evidence of the progress of the gospel in Friedenshutzen, and its effect upon the Indians who visited the settlement, is the fact that, in the year 1767, not two years from the time the town was first formed, the congregation was obliged to build a larger place of worship. The new church was built of squared white pine timber, shingle roofed, with a neat cupola and bell on the top. Another proof of the effect of the brethren's labours was the extension of their work. In a town about thirty miles up the river a powerful awakening began, and a missionary was at length settled in that place, and maintained regular meetings for public worship. This new scene of labour was called Sheshequon. So happily did reli-

gion for some time prosper in this vicinity, that it seemed as if all the Indians in the town of Sheshequon, and its neighbourhood, would embrace the gospel.

Toward the close of the second year the peace of the settlement was for a little while interrupted by traders, both whites and Indians, who came there to exchange their liquor for peltry. The sale of the liquor was at once forbidden, and the traders ordered to depart from the town. The Indians went off peaceably, but the white traders refused to leave, saying they had a right to sell liquor *where* and *to whom* they pleased: but the Indian brethren, to whom the police of the place was committed, remaining firm in their resolution of not allowing any traffic of this kind, they at length left the town.

Here we shall leave Friedenshutzen for the present, and follow the track of these devoted missionaries as they penetrated further and further into the wilderness.

Zeisberger, of all the missionaries of the brethren in North America the most intrepid, active, and enterprising, learning that some Indians living on the Alleghany River were anxious to hear the gospel, in September, 1767, set out, in company with two Indian assistants,

named Anthony and Papunhank, to carry the message of peace to them. During this journey Zeisberger and his assistants endured great hardships, travelling as they did through an extensive wilderness, interspersed with rivers and creeks, mountains and swamps. They had also, it is said, to pass over plains overgrown with such high grass that a man on horseback was completely covered by it; and when either dew or rain had fallen they were completely drenched to the skin. At other times they had by day to work, with immense labour, a path through the thickets, and at night to sleep in the open air, exposed to the cold and all the inclemency of the weather; rain being almost incessant.

After travelling in this way many days, they came to a forsaken Indian town. Zeisberger was greatly struck with its appearance; for it stood in a situation of singular loveliness and beauty. "Here," he observes, "was the first grove of silver fir I had ever seen in America." Near by was one of the sources of the River Ohio. It gushed forth in a narrow stream, and wound its way into the vast plain. Whether war or famine had desolated the town, he could not tell, but it was utterly forsaken: the dwellings were all entire, nor was there any

trace of ravage apparent. He and his Indian assistants entered one of them, and made it their home for the night; partook of a simple meal, and drank of the fountain of the Ohio, whose vicinity had probably induced the Indians to settle here.

Leaving the forsaken town, the three travelled on: the wilderness, the further they proceeded, growing more horrid; until at length they came, after several days, to a hut in the midst of the forest, inhabited by an Indian hunter, who lived here with his family, apart from all his tribe. So thick was the forest at this place, and so great the gloom of the overhanging trees, that the rays of the sun could never penetrate to the dwelling. A human face had long been strange to the savage, whose love of independence had for years estranged him from all his people. Surely the hunter and his guests must have felt like brothers, meeting thus in so utter a solitude! In this hut they took up their night's lodging.

The day after leaving the Indian's lonely hut the travellers reached the first Seneca town. So unusual was the sight of a white man in that remote region, that one of the Indians mounted his horse, and rode off to a village thirty miles distant, to carry the news

to the chief. The next day, when Zeisberger reached this village, he received at first a very rough reception; but so conciliating was the mild and gentle behaviour of the missionary, that the chief conducted him to his own house, and invited him to eat. Here, however, they tarried not, but still pressed on, until, a few days after, they reached the end of their journey. This was a village called Goschgoshing, situated on the Alleghany River, not far from its entrance into the Ohio, and at no great distance from the present city of Pittsburg.

On his way to this place, Zeisberger had received the most unfavourable accounts of its inhabitants. The Seneca chief had expressly warned him not to trust them, "who," he said, "had not their equals in wickedness and thirst for blood." He had been in the village but a short time before he found that the accounts he had received were not overdrawn. "Never," he observes, "have I seen the abominations of paganism practised in so horrible a manner;—never have I beheld sin assume so hideous and unblushing a form as at this place. It seemed to be the seat of Satan's court,—it appeared the very centre of his throne!"

In the midst of such scenes, and such a

people, did this devoted missionary now stand: far more appalling to the courage than to have stood with St. Paul on Mars Hill. One thing was in his favour. In one of the villages (the town consisted of three distinct villages, all standing on the river) there lived a relation of Papunhanks, one of his Indian assistants. This person, who dwelt in the middle village, received Zeisberger into his house.

The news of the missionary's arrival was soon known, and all the town came together to hear his message. His first address was delivered at night. The large dwelling chosen for the purpose was illumined by the great fires which the Indians burn, and which were larger than usual on this occasion. Such was the force of his address, that several times they involuntarily exclaimed, "Yes! that is certainly true; that is the way to happiness!" At the close of the discourse they remained silent for some time.

Thus favoured with open ears, Zeisberger continued to labour among them. Many of the people could never hear him enough. The two Indian assistants were often employed till past midnight, in repeating and explaining "the great words" uttered by the missionary.

The time having at length arrived for Zeisberger to leave, with the intention of returning with additional helps, and forming a settlement in this place, if permission could be obtained, before he left the town he assembled all the men in council, and asked them whether they would wish him to repeat the visit. To this they unanimously gave their consent. Zeisberger accordingly left Goschgoshing, intending to return the next spring.

In the spring of 1768, Zeisberger, with Senseman, (whose wife it will be recollected perished in the flames at Gnadenhutten,) together with three families of the Indian converts from Friedenshutten, returned to Goschgoshing, and commenced a new mission. The missionaries built themselves a comfortable log-house, on a convenient spot, at a small distance from the Indian village. Here they lived; and hither all who felt a desire to hear the gospel resorted. At first the prospect was favourable. Zeisberger preached every day, and it became evident that his words had a good effect on many. On these occasions the Indians attended in great numbers, and it was not a little curious to see so many assembled to hear the gospel, with their faces painted black and vermilion, and their heads decorated with clusters of

feathers and foxes' tails. As one instance of the *practical* influence of the gospel, one man, learning, among other things, that stealing was a crime and a sin, came to Zeisberger, very seriously saying, that he never in his life had been guilty of theft except in two instances, having stolen two sheep and a hen, the property of a white man.

The success of the missionaries, as usual, soon excited opposition. In the absence of white men to sow discord, or create prejudice, other causes were found to operate; it being the fate of religion, in some form or other, to excite the deep-rooted enmity of the human heart. At first the chiefs, jealous of their own authority, became disaffected. The Seneca chief (referred to before) was also enraged that the brethren should settle here, suspecting that others would soon follow, build a fort, and take possession of the country. They had some vague fears, also, lest they should be made slaves, if they allowed themselves to be instructed by a teacher from among the white people. These various causes, some of which seem natural enough, were at least alleged as reasons for their opposition; though, at the same time, from the peculiar character of the people, there is no doubt there was a strong

opposition to the gospel itself. The old women of the village were the first active opposers. They said the Indian corn was blasted, or devoured by the worms: that the deer and other game had fled from the woods: that chestnuts and bilberries would no longer grow in their country, because the white men brought strange things to their ears, and the Indians began to change their manner of life. To give the greater effect to their representations, the sorcerers appointed solemn sacrifices, and offered up hogs by way of atonement. This was done to appease the wrath of the Great Spirit. The flame which was thus kindled was increased by secret messages sent by the Six Nations to the Indians of Goschgoshing, in which they urged that Zeisberger should either be banished from the village or murdered. In addition to the reports we have alluded to, others were circulated, all more or less calculated to withdraw the attention of the Indians from the gospel truths, to excite their animosity against the brethren, and effectually to oppose the progress of the gospel. To a considerable extent these efforts succeeded. The enemies of the missionaries became daily more violent than ever; and even many of those who expressed the greatest joy at their arrival, were now the

most bitter against them. The lives of the missionaries were in the most imminent danger. But, amid all these threats and troubles, Zeisberger and Senseman had one source of support and consolation:—many Indians remained faithful. Among this number was the Monsey chief, Allemewi, a firm friend, and warm defender of the gospel. These friends of the missionaries endeavoured to prevent liquors from being brought into the villages in opposition to their enemies, who encouraged the traffic in this article,—hoping that what the Indians would not venture to do when sober, might easily be effected when in a state of intoxication.

The inhabitants of the town were at length divided into two parties. The leader of the party opposed to the missionaries was Wangomend. Wangomend and his party, which was much the more numerous, opposed the gospel with the utmost violence. At the head of the Christian Indian party was the chief Allemewi; who, after living to the great age of one hundred and twenty years, with every inveterate habit and feeling of the savage, at this extreme point of human life embraced the gospel. He had at first merely given his protection and countenance to the missionaries;

but at length, in spite of many scruples of mind, and much opposition from others, his objections were removed, his heart wholly subdued, and the venerable warrior yielded to the resistless influence of mercy. Having formed the resolution to make a public avowal of his faith in the gospel, he desired to be conducted to the assembly, saying, "I can bear it no longer: my heart is full within me, and I have no rest night nor day. Unless I shall soon receive comfort I must die." He was baptized on Christmas day, 1768, and afterward could not sufficiently express the peace he felt: even his frame seemed to borrow new vigour. "Not only," he said, "is my heart at ease, but my body is restored to health. I could not believe that I should enjoy such happiness."

This aged warrior was the leader of the Christian Indian party. If the one party was violent, the other was resolute. At length the opposition increased to such a pitch, that Allemewi determined to leave Goschgoshing with those Indians who were either friendly to, or had actually embraced Christianity. This resolution was carried into effect in the spring of 1769, by removing to Lawunakhannek, (in English, Middle Branch, or Stream,) situated about fifteen miles to the south-west of the

former place. When the missionaries, with Allemewi and the Indian converts, took their departure, the rest of the people looked on in silence, but no hand was lifted against them. During the whole scene of excitement and opposition Zeisberger had remained steadfast at his post, (though many plots were laid for murdering him,) confidently relying on the protection of Him whom he served. Well may it be said of him and his fellow-labourers, that they "counted not their lives dear unto them, so that they might finish their course with joy, and the ministry which they had received of the Lord Jesus, to testify the gospel of the grace of God."

At Lawunakhanek a few hunting huts, and a little wooden chapel, were hastily erected. The people suffered for the want of suitable provisions, their old stock of Indian corn being spoiled, and half rotten: however, they ate it thankfully. The summer must pass away, and the harvest return, before they could obtain a better supply, as they could buy no corn throughout the whole country. If they did not abound in one way, they did in another. Their spiritual prosperity was great. Zeisberger thus speaks of their success in the new settlement:—"In our new place of refuge we

had the inexpressible pleasure to baptize several Indians. To us it was a festival without an equal, and attended with so powerful a sensation of the presence of God, that we were richly comforted for all our afflictions." Numbers, indeed, of the people of Goschgoshing, even of those who had plotted their destruction, who had never spared the captive, or known kindness or pity, came to lay their ferocity and savage hatred at the foot of the cross. These fierce men of the forest stood around Zeisberger, and said that his God should be their God, and that they would go with him wherever he went.

Among the converts was an Indian stranger. He was carrying a barrel of rum to Goschgoshing for sale, and called at this place by the way. Having heard the gospel, he was so convinced of his sinfulness and misery, that he resolved to alter his course of life. He accordingly returned the barrel of rum to the trader at Pittsburg, declaring that he would neither drink nor sell any more spirituous liquors, for it was against his conscience. He, therefore, begged the person from whom he had purchased it to take it back, adding, that if he refused, he would pour it into the Ohio. The trader, as well as the other white people

who were present, was amazed, and assured him that this was the first barrel of rum he had ever seen returned by an Indian; but at the same time he took it back without further objection.

Another convert who joined the Indian congregation at Lawunakhanek was Glikhican. Glikhican was an Indian who enjoyed among his countrymen a distinguished reputation. His superior courage as a warrior, his talents in council, his unequalled eloquence, gave him vast influence, and rendered him an object both of admiration and dread. He was also first counsellor to the chief of the Wolf tribe, Pakanko, at Cascaski, on the Big Beaver. The circumstances connected with his conversion were quite striking. Glikhican, with the approbation of his chief and the council, came to Lawunakhanek for the purpose of a doctrinal argument, with the intention of confounding the missionary. Armed, as he thought, at all points, and confident of success, the Indian orator, on his arrival at the village, went to hear Zeisberger preach. With that good sense which marked his character, instead of commencing the contest without first hearing for himself the doctrine of Zeisberger, he went again and again as a hearer, with the intention

of detecting his errors of doctrine. Having attended for some time the ministry of Zeisberger for this purpose, his own mind underwent a change. Being convinced of the truth of what he heard, and feeling the power of the precious word, he became an open advocate for the missionary and his doctrine, both at Lawunakhannek and upon his return home at Cascaski.

To crown the whole, and to impart unmingled joy to the missionaries, their most bitter and violent enemies at Goschgoshing at length ceased their opposition; many of them joined the Christian Indians; and, finally, the council of the town, convinced of the disinterestedness of the brethren, begged them to forget all that was past, and even adopted them as members of the Delaware nation; so that, in case of war, they should not be treated as other white people, but be considered as natives of Delaware. Thus auspiciously closed the year of 1769, and opened that of 1770.

In the course of the year 1770 occurred another removal; and the scene was once more changed. Two causes led to this. One was a war which broke out between the Senecas and the Cherokees, in the very vicinity of the settlement. Another, and perhaps the chief

cause, was the want of room at Lawunakhanek. The place chosen for the new Indian town was on the Big Beaver, about twenty miles from its mouth, the residence of Glikhican. The brethren had been frequently and earnestly solicited to form a settlement here; and now that the time seemed to have arrived to change their residence, they resolved to accept the offer of the chiefs of Cascaski. Before, however, the brethren began to make their arrangements to leave, they informed the chiefs of Goschgoshing of their design, who made no objection, only entreating that they might part as friends.

On the 17th day of April, 1770, all things being ready, they set out in sixteen canoes, passing down the Alleghany River to Pittsburg; and from thence down the Ohio (the Moravian hymn for the first time passing over the waters of this noble river) to Big Beaver. Proceeding up this river, they were delayed at the Falls, where they had to unload, and transport their goods and canoes by land. This labour was lightened by Glikhican, who met them at the Falls, with other Indians, to assist at this portage. After a journey of a fortnight they arrived at a place on this river which seemed exactly suited to their purpose, and

here they began to erect a new settlement, to which they gave the appellation of Friedenstadt, or "The Town of Peace."

Friedenstadt soon became a flourishing village. Comfortable dwelling houses and a spacious chapel of squared timbers were built. The number of Christian Indians constantly increased, and all things indicated prosperity. Here they were free from the dangers and opposition to which they were exposed at Goschgoshing. No midnight watch was now needed; they were in safety and at peace. The work of the Lord also progressed, and the gospel became the power of God to the salvation of many of the Indians in that section of the country. The first person baptized at Friedenstadt was the wife of the aged chief Allemewi, who was herself at one time bitterly opposed to her husband's joining the mission. Many also of the once dreaded people of Goschgoshing, from the love and veneration which they now entertained for Zeisberger, in spite of the distance, came to Friedenstadt to listen to his words. Many of them also cast in their lot with the people of God. Among others who joined the congregation, was one of the party who destroyed Gnadenhutten on the Mahony. This man was often so much affected in

hearing the word, that he shed floods of tears. The most distinguished convert was Glikhican. He had from the time of his visit to Lawunakhannek been under serious impressions, but at Friedenstadt he became a decided follower of Jesus Christ. This step of Glikhican's gave great offence to Pakanko, the chief, and at one time threatened seriously to obstruct the mission; but a singular message from a distant tribe to Pakanko and his nation, exhorting them to listen favourably to Christianity, had a happy influence in disarming opposition, and placing the mission on a firmer foundation than before.* Another convert, whose name ought to be mentioned, was no less a person than the heathen preacher Wangomend himself, at Goschgoshing their warmest and most active opposer. Of this heathen preacher it might

* This message, with a black belt of wampum, sent from the great council at Still Water, (Indian name, Gekemukpechink,) was to this purport:—It represented, that as an epidemical disease had raged for some time among the Delawares, carrying off great numbers, and believed to have been brought on by the power of witchcraft, it was thought that by embracing Christianity the contagion might cease. It was, therefore, unanimously recommended that this method should be resorted to; and they declared enemies to the nation any who should oppose this measure.

be said, as of St. Paul, "He now preaches and promotes the faith he once laboured to destroy!" Thus Friedenstadt continued to flourish and increase.

CHAPTER VI.

Away in the forest, how fair to the sight,
 Was the clear placid lake, as it sparkled in light,
 And kiss'd with low murmur the green shady shore,
 Whence a tribe had departed, whose traces it bore ;
 Where the lone Indian hasten'd, and wond'ring, hush'd
 His awe, as he trod o'er their mould'ring dust.

How bright were the waters—how cheerful the song
 Which the wood-bird was cheruping all the day long :
 And how welcome the refuge these solitudes gave
 To the pilgrims, who toil'd over mountain and wave.
 Here they rested—here gush'd forth, salvation to bring,
 'The fount of the cross by the "Beautiful Spring."

WE must now return to Friedenshutzen. For several years, from the time of its settlement in 1765, this village continued to grow and enjoy peace, with but few and brief interruptions. At length troubles arose. The first real ground of alarm originated with the Iroquois, or the Six Nations. This powerful tribe had made a full and unconditional grant of the land on

which Friedenshutzen was built. Regardless of this act, they sold to the English this land, besides a large tract of the surrounding country. In this emergency the brethren sought redress and protection from the governor of Pennsylvania. He assured them that they should not be molested. The governor also added, that he had given orders to the surveyor-general not to suffer any lines to be run within five miles of their town. The governor's assurances in this instance did not avail much. The very land which the Indians had cleared with so much labour, and which was now in a fine state of improvement, was claimed by land speculators. Great confusion and difficulty arose from these claims; and it soon became evident that the white people would give them no rest while they remained in their vicinity.

While at Friedenshutzen all was disturbance and confusion, Ziesberger, leaving the congregation at the Big Beaver for a while, came on a visit to Bethlehem. This was in the summer of 1771. On his return to the west, in company with Heckewelder, who was appointed his assistant, he stopped at Friedenshutzen. The propriety of relinquishing Friedenshutzen, and removing to a more remote and quiet spot, was now considered; and the unanimous con-

clusion was, that as the lands were sold, and the white people were growing more and more troublesome, so that there was no prospect of living there in peace, in the following spring they would remove to the west. The remainder of the time was spent in making the necessary preparations for their removal; and in June of 1772, this favourite spot of the Christian Indians, where for seven years they had lived happily, was forsaken; the tide of population, as it set in, ever driving the Indians further and further into the wilderness. Rest seemed not to be the lot of these Christian congregations. Scarcely did they begin to reap what they had sown before they were obliged to abandon their waving fields, their comfortable homes, and to begin anew their work. Patience had its perfect work.

The spot fixed upon for a new settlement was on the Muskingum, about two hundred miles from its mouth, and about seventy from Lake Erie. The distance from Friedenstadt to this place, in a direct course *by land*, was about seventy-five miles. The tract assigned for the new village was very large; and, with the ground, assurance was given that it would never be sold under their feet to the white people, as had been done by the Six Nations.

The land for the village was given to the brethren by Netawatwees, prince of the Delawares. The Delaware nation was divided into three tribes, with three principal chiefs, of which the Unami was esteemed the first in rank. The chief of the Unami was Netawatnees. He was a man of strong mind and commanding character. By his judgment and address he had acquired the reverence of the whole nation. It was his custom to submit all affairs of state to his counsellors for their consideration, calmly and attentively listening to their sentiments before he disclosed his own. When they had given their opinion, he either approved of it, or else stated his objections and amendments, always showing why he differed from them. This prince was the most sincere and powerful of all Zeisberger's friends.* He was a shield and a buckler to him. It was owing to the friendship Netawatwees entertained for Zeisberger that the offer was given for the Christian Indians to settle on the Muskingum, near to the territory of the former.

* Zeisberger first became acquainted with him in the spring of 1770. During a journey the missionary was received and lodged in this Indian prince's house, when he had suffered much in wading through tracts of deep snow.

In order to make some preparation for the arrival of the large Indian congregation from Friedenshutzen, on the 14th of April, 1772, Zeisberger, with five Indian families, in all twenty-eight persons, left Friedenstadt, and reached the spot where the new village was to be built on the 3d of May. Zeisberger was pleased with the situation and with the prospect of usefulness. It was a place of many attractions:—a small lake, from which the river that ran through the plain took its source; its shores were verdant; there were good planting grounds, plenty of game, and every other convenience for a colony. Formerly a large fortified Indian town had stood on the spot; and even now the ruins of ramparts and forts were visible. In the plain were numerous groups of walnut, locust, and other trees, with wild apple and plum trees. There was something peculiarly wild in the scene—the extensive ruins of the ancient Indians, partly shaded by trees, and near the water-side, gave an interest to the extreme loneliness. It seemed as if a people had once dwelt and flourished here, and either perished by an inroad of their enemies, or else wandered to another land. The former fate was the more probable, for the site was too advantageous to be willingly

forsaken ; and the Indian might be seen passing by, looking earnestly, yet with awe, at the ruins ; for they are averse to dwell amid the desolation of other homes.

The name of Shoenbrun, or "The Beautiful Spring," was given to the new settlement. For the present, temporary cabins were built, and land cleared and planted ; Netawatwees sending many of his people to assist the missionaries. This town, thus happily begun, proved to be the loveliest of all Zeisberger's settlements, and the one that lay nearest to his heart.

We return once more to what was passing on the Susquehannah. The Iroquois, or Six Nations, finding that the Christian Indians were in earnest to leave the country, forgetting, as it would seem, their own treachery in selling their land to the English, were much displeased. They first attempted to discourage the Christian Indians from going there, by insinuating that all the land in that country was stained with blood ; that even the rivers were of the colour of blood.* Next they attempted, by fair words and promises, to remove

* Figurative expressions when speaking of a country in which bloody wars had been carried on.

from the minds of these Indians their former treachery toward them;—they offered to unite with them, so that they would be as though they were but one body;—they hoped the little bird they had heard singing, had sung to no effect. When, however, after all their address, they found them resolved to go, they requested a continuance of the friendship and good-will of the Christian Indians, who in return asked the same favour of them.

The time having now arrived for the Christian Indian congregation to take their final leave of Friedenshutzen on the Susquehannah, and to emigrate to the west, they assembled for the last time in their chapel, to offer up thanks and praises to the Lord for the many favours and blessings received from him in this place, and further to supplicate his peace and protection, not only during the journey, but at all times and in all situations. It must have been a most affecting scene. Friedenshutzen had always been a favourite spot to the Christian Indians. Its natural situation was also very advantageous; and having now expended seven years' labour in improving the town and the surrounding fields, the whole was in fine order. All was now left for the use of

strangers; and this too, according to Heckewelder, without any recompense.* The Friends, who appear to have always entertained a peculiar regard for the Moravian brethren, with their usual generosity sent them one hundred dollars, as a mark of their friendship, which was received with gratitude.

Having worshipped for the last time in the chapel, (a place endeared to them by repeated manifestations of the divine presence,) and all other necessary arrangements having been made, these Christian emigrants set out in the month of June on their long and fatiguing journey. The whole body of Indians, including the missionaries, was two hundred and forty-one persons.† They were divided into two parties; one of which, under the direction of the missionary Ettwein, was to proceed by land; the other, under the care of the missionary Rothe, by water. The land party set out first, having the charge of seventy head of horned cattle, besides the horses for carrying the sick and the baggage. Those

* It is stated by some writers, that the governor of Pennsylvania did afterward remunerate the brethren for their loss.

† This included also the small settlement at Sheshequon.

who went by water carried the bulky and heavy articles, such as plough-irons, harrow-teeth, pick-axes, all kinds of farming utensils and tools, iron pots, and large brass kettles, for the boiling of maple sugar, &c.; as also the provisions.

The journey was very tedious and laborious, especially to those who went by land. They had a most difficult part to perform. They had to penetrate with their cattle through immense thickets and swamps; to wade through rivers and brooks; to cross hills and mountains, exposed to storms, to the bite of the rattlesnake, (these being in some particular places very numerous,) and still more to the bite of the sand-fly, a most tormenting insect.* Those who went by water had also their difficulties. Both parties were, however, well supplied with provisions, such as game and fish. After a journey of eight weeks, on the 5th of August the first division arrived at Friedenstadt, and the other a few days after them. Here they met with a most hearty welcome.

After resting a short time from the fatigues

* In one place these insects were so abundant as almost to resemble a fog in the air. The name given to the place was "Pouks Uteney," or "The Habitation of the Sand Fly."

of their journey, the congregation from Friedenshutzen (with the exception of a few who remained at Friedenstadt to procure provisions for the winter) set out again for their home on the Muskingum; at which place they arrived on the 23d of August. In a little while all were busy; cheerfully employed in erecting houses, and preparing ground to plant the next season. When the rest of their number arrived there, they were advised to settle ten miles lower down the river. This they did; building at this point of the river another town, which they called Gnadenhutzen. Thus arose two new Christian Indian towns in the midst of the wilderness,—central spots of light, happiness, and love,—Shoenbrun, and another Gnadenhutzen.

But while peace and prosperity smiled upon the new villages, the good order and quiet which had heretofore existed at Friedenstadt began to be seriously interrupted. These difficulties arose from the neighbouring Indians, who, stirred up by rum, which they would bring in large quantities, and drink near the town, acted with the most frantic violence. The disturbances from this cause at length became so frequent, and exceedingly troublesome, that the settlement had but little rest.

On one of these occasions an intoxicated Indian rushed into the village, and hastened with wild speed to the house of the missionary Rothe, declaring he would kill him. Arriving at the house, he burst open the door, and entered "with all the fury of a wild beast." The missionary's wife, being extremely terrified, snatched up her child, and instantly fled; but Rothe himself, who was confined to his bed by sickness, sat up and looked at him with the utmost composure. This checked him; and the Indian brethren, hastening to the assistance of their teacher, seized and bound the infuriated Indian. Similar outrages occurring more and more frequently, at length led the brethren to leave Friedenstadt, and join the congregation on the Muskingum.

In pursuance of this resolution, on the 13th of April, 1773, this handsome village was evacuated. One part of the congregation crossed the country by land; the other in twenty-two canoes, loaded with baggage, Indian corn, &c., went by water. The route these took was down the Big Beaver to the Ohio; thence down that river to the mouth of the Muskingum; thence up the Muskingum, following its course, near two hundred miles, to Shoenbrun.

Thus we see, but two years before the rupture between the colonies and Great Britain, that the principal Moravian settlements among the Indians were two in number, and both on the Muskingum. Remote from political excitement, protected by the prince of the Delaware nation, and at peace among themselves, Shoenbrun and Gnadenhutten increased continually in population; while the industry of the Christian Indians, in clearing and tilling the soil, provided amply for all their wants. The spiritual prosperity also of these villages was highly encouraging; while their admirable economy and internal discipline promoted the general industry, guarded against the introduction of vice, and cherished, with the utmost solicitude, pure and undefiled religion in the hearts and lives of the Indian converts. Among other things, education was strictly attended to; the children of the Indians being very carefully instructed. The Bible was the guide of the Moravian brethren; its rule of faith was their rule; its code of morality their code; and hence it was that village after village rose up in the wilderness, where men with changed and subdued hearts exhibited all the excellences of the Christian character. These missionaries were too wise to exchange the simple,

direct method of doing good, which the Bible prescribes, for any new inventions of speculative minds. Having a good and an effective rule to live and flourish by, they were contented with it; and the fruits of their wisdom were as thrifty, peaceable, happy, and useful Christian communities as the sun ever shone upon. Let us in all this acknowledge the power of the gospel; and determine to adhere still more and more closely to those rules and requirements which we find contained in that inestimable volume—the word of God.

Such was the happy influence of practical Christianity on the Muskingum and the surrounding country through these two villages, Shoenbrun and Gnadenhutten, that the prospect bid fair toward the conversion of the Delaware nation. Great numbers of the Delaware Indians were almost daily arriving at one or other of the villages. Their curiosity was especially awakened at witnessing the industry of the Indians, especially their buildings and ploughed grounds. They were also very much surprised to see so many of their nation living happily together, and putting their hands to manual labour. To all who came to the villages the gospel was preached. Of these, many heard the word gladly, and joined the

congregation. Among this number was a celebrated chief, named Echpalawahend, whose exemplary life, from the day of his conversion until his death, was a happy example for the imitation of others. Encouraged by the favourable prospects which appeared opening before them, the Christian Indians resolved to build at each of the villages a new chapel. That at Shoenbrun was forty feet by thirty-six; and that at Gnadenhutten somewhat smaller. Both were built of squared timbers, with shingle roofs, and a cupola and bell. The towns being regularly laid out, the streets wide and clean, and the cattle kept out by means of fences, gave the whole a neat appearance, and excited the astonishment of all visiters.

During the year 1773 death deprived the brethren of one of their oldest and most esteemed native assistants. The name of this venerable and distinguished man was Anthony. He was seventy-seven years of age, and had, from the day of his baptism, in 1749, until his death, lived as a true follower of Christ. Being well versed in Scripture, he was of great use, and a blessing to his nation, having been instrumental in the conversion of many. For several years he had served as interpreter of the missionaries when divine service was per-

formed. On his death-bed he exhorted all who visited him to abide in faith, cheerfully saying that he would soon be with Jesus, his Redeemer. "His memory," says Heckewelder, who knew him well, "will remain precious with all who knew him."

It was during the year 1773 that Zeisberger, ever active, never content with what he had accomplished, but always anxious to do more, paid a visit to the Shawanese at Wakatameki, where he was well received; and hoped he would live to see this nation also embrace the gospel.

In the year 1774 a war broke out between the people of Virginia and the Senecas and Shawanese Indians. The white people, says Heckewelder, it was well known were the aggressors in this war. A number of these white people were already settled on choice spots of land on the south side of the River Ohio; while the Indians dwelt on the north side, then their territory. About this time also the sale of the lands below the Canhawa River had opened a wide field for speculation. The whole country on the Ohio River had attracted attention. Parties of white men from the neighbouring provinces were formed, who came to this, then remote, section of the country, either

to purchase land on which to settle themselves, or else for purposes of speculation. Many murders were committed by these roving parties of white people ; some of whom seemed to think that it was the same to kill an Indian as a bear or a buffalo. Among those who were thus inhumanly killed were some of the family of the celebrated Logan. In consequence of these and similar atrocious acts on the part of the white people, the utmost excitement existed among the Indians against them ; and as the long-knife men [the Virginians] appear to have been prominent actors in these scenes, a war broke out between this colony and the Indians ; which was terminated by the defeat of the Indians by the Virginians at or near the Great Canhawa.

This war, though of short duration, was dreadful in its nature while it lasted. During its continuance the settlements scarcely enjoyed a single day of rest. As the savages were greatly inflamed against the white people generally, the missionaries themselves were often in danger of their lives. Numerous troops of warriors marched through the settlements,—some upon murdering expeditions ; others returning with scalps and prisoners,—often threatening that both places should soon

be surprised, and burned to the ground. Reports were circulated that the enemy were actually on their way to destroy the towns, and to murder the inhabitants. Canoes were always ready, as the congregation were frequently so terrified, even in the night, by frightful rumours, that all were on the point of taking flight. The women were repeatedly driven from their plantations at noon-day; and all the people were confined to their habitations for days and even weeks together, as several parties appeared in the neighbourhood, with a view of seizing on stragglers.

The joyful news of peace put an end to these fears and troubles; and the Christian Indians set apart the 6th day of November, 1774, as a day of thanksgiving and prayer to the Lord for his gracious protection.

After the war, the peace and rest enjoyed by the Indian congregations contributed greatly to their prosperity. The memorable year of 1775 was peculiarly rich in all spiritual and temporal blessings. Numerous were the visitors which thronged to the settlements. Many of the warriors were impressed by the word, while some were baptized. Such was the increase to the congregation this year, that though the chapel at Shoenbrun held about

five hundred people, it was too small for the number of hearers. Thus did the word of the Lord run, and thus was it glorified; causing the wilderness to bud and blossom as the rose.

About this time the following incident took place at Gnadenhutten:—An Indian on account of his ill conduct was sent away from that place. This kindling his rage to a great pitch, he determined to revenge himself by the death of the missionary Schmick. Painting himself black, and armed with a large knife, he went to the house of the missionary. Not finding him at home he came away; and his anger having partly subsided, he became sensible of his heinous wickedness, and soon after made a public acknowledgment of his guilt. He was now very anxious to return to the fold he had forsaken; and it was not long before Schmick had the pleasure of baptizing his intended murderer.

In the fall of this year death laid his hand gently upon two of their most valuable and exemplary assistants. One of these, Joshua, an Indian belonging to the Mohican tribe, was one of the oldest converts of the brethren, having been baptized in 1742. The other was John Papunhank, a Delaware. They were both of them wardens of their respective con-

gregations ; Papunhank at Shoenbrun ; Joshua at Gnadenhutten.

The year 1775 closed in peace. The disputes which had arisen between Great Britain and her North American colonies had not yet disturbed the quiet, nor marred the spiritual prosperity of these remote and secluded Indian congregations. But a sad reverse was at hand : a cloud, still far off, in the distant sky, was slowly rising, which was soon to settle upon, and to becloud for ever the animating prospect. Ah, ill-fated Indian, how sad thy fate ! Ye devoted men of God, who sought these lost sheep, labouring to improve and elevate their present condition, and to fit them for another and a better world, how keen the anguish, how deep the grief, that was in store for you, in the scattering of your beloved flock, and the desolation of your happy and flourishing settlements !

CHAPTER VII.

Loudly the pealing blasts of war
Are sounding through our land,
And dark and fearful deeds were wrought
By many a warlike hand.

Even here its dreaded notes are heard :—
It seeks these mild abodes,
To change them, by its ruthless touch,
To dreary solitudes.

As the villages of Shoenbrun and Gnadenhutten were now in a highly prosperous condition, (the number in the two villages, at the close of the year 1775, amounting to four hundred and fourteen persons,) a third mission settlement was planned.

The place selected for the new town was within two miles of the Forks of the Muskingum, and about thirty from Gnadenhutten. In April, 1776, eight families, consisting in all of thirty-five persons, under their faithful leader, David Zeisberger, settled here, and gave the name of Lichtenau to the mission. It was a favourable situation, and religion flourished here in its real purity and power. Among those who joined the congregation at Lichtenau was the son of Netawatwees, with his family. Another Indian, a man much esteemed

by all who knew him, whether Indians or whites, and named by the white people Captain Johnny, also joined, with his family, at the new village. In taking this step he resigned his situation as an Indian chief. At the three settlements also schools for the children were regularly established. In these a new spelling-book, prepared by Zeisberger, was introduced.

Zeisberger, always in front of the battle, took up his residence at Lichtenau. Among his frequent guests was Netawatwees. The missionary in return visited the home of this noble chieftain, where he was always kindly welcomed. Slowly, yet without ceasing, he sought to lead the mind of his friend to the love of Christianity. In their conversations, which were often prolonged to a late hour in the night, beside the dying embers of the fire, while the rest of the family were sleeping around, he mingled frequent allusions to the gospel of Christ, its truth, its dignity, its everlasting value. The host would pause at times, as if lost in thought. The conversion of his nephew made considerable impression on his mind, and he became yet more thoughtful about his own salvation. He related to Zeisberger, that he had been thirteen Sundays to Lich-

tenau to hear the truth ; and that when he returned he had cut thirteen notches in the bark of the trees as he passed along ; so that whenever he went through the woods to hunt, or with his warriors, these notches met his eye at every turn ; and he frequently paused, and wept to think how often he had heard of his Redeemer without embracing his salvation.

The year 1776 was the last of this chief's life ; and there is reason to think, from the account we have of his death, that the labours of Zeisberger were not in vain ;—that he did embrace this salvation. Calling his warriors and counsellors around him, he uttered his last will and testament, “that the Delawares should hear and believe the word of God, preached by the Moravians.” He then called Zeisberger near to him, and entreated to hear more of the things of God. While the latter spoke with strong emotion, Netawatwees breathed his last.

This loss was the heaviest calamity that could have befallen the mission. He was the ablest Indian chief of his time ; of great prudence as a ruler ; and, of late years, his good management had amazingly increased the reputation of his people. He spared no pains

to conciliate the affections of all the neighbouring tribes.

At his funeral, the vast assemblage of mourners, and the love and respect in which they all held the deceased, made the scene solemn and impressive. The coffin was placed in the grave, and as the body, according to custom, was let down into it, and the grave filled with earth, the women set up a most dismal howl. It is deemed a shame to a man to weep; yet, in silence, and apart, many strove to hide their emotion. A tall post, neatly carved, on which his glorious deeds were portrayed, was erected at the head of the corpse. In the midst of the funeral throng, and among the foremost warriors, walked Zeisberger, in his Delaware dress, but little distinguishable from the others, save that he wept bitterly.

Another year rolled away in peace, while the settlements continued to increase. The sun of prosperity shone brightly upon them before it set for ever. Unequaled in loveliness, Shoenbrun and Lichtenau rose in their beauty like two young palm trees of the desert. House was added to house, and street to street. The chapels were larger than any the Christian Indians had ever before built, and yet could

not contain the people that flocked to hear the word of God. Embassies came also from other and distant tribes, declaring that they were ready to receive the gospel.

Among the testimonies we have of the happy and permanent influence of the labours of the Moravian brethren among the Delaware Indians, is that of Colonel George Morgan, (called by the Delawares Tamanend, the highest honour they could confer,) of Princeton, New-Jersey. Colonel Morgan, in 1775, was appointed by congress agent for the western Indians; and business with the chiefs and council of the Delaware nation calling him, about this time, into this region, he visited the three Christian Indian settlements on the Muskingum. He expressed his surprise and astonishment at the order, regularity, and industry which he observed in these villages; at the same time wishing that all the Indians might be induced to follow their example.

The war of the revolution now raged in all its violence. The difficulties and troubles in which the settlements were involved during this war resulted in the abandonment of Shoenbrun and Gnadenhutten, and the union of the three congregations at Lichtenau. Shoenbrun was relinquished in 1777; Gnadenhutten in

1778. We must leave it to the reader to imagine the grief the Indians felt in leaving these towns, especially Shoenbrun, which was the largest and most beautiful town they had built. In the spring of 1779, however, the troubles which drove them forth once more (as if indeed they were never to enjoy rest for any length of time) having somewhat subsided, that part of the congregation which had lived at Gnadenhutzen returned thither under the care of the missionary Edwards. On their return they found the village just as they had left it. Every house, hut, and stable, the fences, and the trees, all were found just as they were. The Shoenbrun congregation, instead of returning to their village, which had been destroyed by enemies during their absence, (with the exception of the chapel, which they had themselves torn down when they forsook it,) built a new town, on a convenient spot, on the opposite side of the river. To these favourite places the Indians returned in good spirits, travelling by land and water. Thus, as a tree after a storm, did these villages once more lift up their heads, smiling in beauty; the most pleasant spots in the wilderness. For the space of two years the inhabitants of these settlements (Shoenbrun and Gnadenhutzen) were

unmolested. They lived peaceably and contentedly together, building houses, clearing and improving their lands, and meeting daily for divine service. Not so with Lichtenau. The same season that the other congregations left this village to return to their own, it was annoyed by the northern warriors; and so troublesome did they at length become, that, leaving Lichtenau to its fate, on the morning of the 3d of March, 1780, the whole congregation set out by land and water, and proceeding up the river about twenty miles, formed a new settlement within six miles of Gnadenhutten. The Indian brethren of the other two villages giving their assistance, a new village, with its neat and commodious church, was soon built. On the 22d of May the chapel was consecrated by Zeisberger: on the next day the holy sacrament was observed; and the rite of baptism administered to some of the converts on the 28th. It appeared indeed as if new life had been imparted to all the settlements. The new Indian town, which was also on the Muskingum, was called Salem. Lichtenau had been inhabited by the Christian Indians five years; and, during the war, up to this time, had been the most quiet and secure settlement of the three.

The three settlements on the Muskingum, Salem, Gnadenhutten, and Shoenbrun, now for a while "had rest;" enjoyed peace. But it was the last gleam of bright sunlight. Religion at this time also flourished greatly; and the missionaries forgot all their sorrows in the joy that this afforded them. The following testimonies of personal enjoyment, and Christian experience, belong to this period. A missionary proposed the question to an Indian brother previous to the Lord's supper, "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 were even to awake me at night, I should want no more to consider; for our Saviour has given me such a heart, that I am as willing to lay my wants and deficiencies open before my brethren, as to describe the happiness I enjoy."

Another of the newly baptized Indians said to his mother and friends, "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 Saviour has done and suffered for us, and how much it cost him to deliver us, lost and undone human creatures, from the power of Satan."

Some strange Indians, hearing that miracles were wrought at Lichtenau, went thither; when the brethren declared that God, the Creator of all things, was manifest in the flesh to save sinners; that he did now save them, even there, and that his love to men was above all comprehension; so that, in eternity, the redeemed will never cease to marvel at the wonders of his grace. The heathen heard this with great attention; and as Isaac Glikkikan, one of these witnesses of the truth, was about to retire to rest, at midnight, one of them, 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." To this proposal Isaac gladly consented, and the night was passed in conversation on the person and work of Christ.

A Shawanese said, on another occasion, "When I first came hither, I 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 endeavoured 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 a basket full of rubbish which stood 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 Saviour would have pity on me, and forgive my sins." Some time after he was baptized, when he was so overcome with gratitude, that he said, "My eyes are all day filled with tears of joy; and whenever I awake at night, my first thought is, that our Saviour was tormented and slain for my sins. Therefore, he shall possess my whole heart; yea, and even the smallest bone in my body."

During this auspicious period the settlements were but little incommoded by the horrors of war. All that they had to remind them of the war which then raged, was warriors occasionally passing through their town. One

short, happy year passed away. In the year 1781, without the least previous knowledge on the part of the missionaries, their trials and calamities came on like a torrent. The cause was as follows :—

The English governor at Fort Detroit having formed an unfavourable idea of the missionaries, whom he considered as spies, carrying on a correspondence with the Americans, applied to several of the Indian tribes to carry off both them and their congregations. This proposal having been rejected in a variety of quarters, he at length applied to the half-king of the Hurons, (Wyandots,) who, at the instigation of Captain Pipe, one of the Delaware chiefs, consented to make the attempt. It is but just, however, of the English governor to say, that he had been imposed upon by the representations of three individuals, well known to be great enemies to the missions, named M'Kee, Elliot, and Simon Girty. These men had, in a variety of ways, before this time, with inveterate and persevering malice, attempted to break up the settlements, and had even plotted to murder the missionaries. At one time Girty conducted a murdering party, for the purpose of taking Zeisberger prisoner, or bringing back his scalp. Not succeeding in any of their

attempts, they at length infused suspicion, as we have seen, into the breast of the English commandant, Arent Schyler de Peyster, then governor both of Detroit and of its dependencies; and thus finally succeeded in their nefarious design.

The destruction of the three settlements having been determined upon, and an agent found in the half-king of the Hurons to carry the contemplated plan into effect, invitations were sent to the warriors residing in different parts of the country, and near Detroit, to meet at a certain time at Sandusky to a great war feast. Having accordingly assembled at the place, and at the time appointed, M'Kee and his associates, Elliot and Girty, furnished them with a large ox, which was roasted entire, and then feasted on by the whole assembled party, consisting in all of about three hundred warriors. During the feast they danced and sung; each warrior, also, in turn related his exploits. As a proof of their alliance with the British, and to show that they acted under their direction, and with their sanction, the flag of England was hoisted and waved near them. After the feast was over, and dance and song ended, ammunition and other articles were distributed among the warriors by Elliot. The Indians

then formed themselves into companies, and began their march. None, however, knew the object of the expedition except those who were in the secret.

The plot to destroy these peaceful settlements was arranged with so much silence and secrecy, that the missionaries knew nothing of it until the warriors were at their very doors. Great then was the alarm and the surprise at Salem, when, on the afternoon of the 10th of August, the half-king of the Hurons, with one hundred and forty armed men, and with British colours flying, appeared before it. The Indian warriors immediately formed a large camp, the colours being set in the centre, where Elliot, with the half-king, and M'Cormick, the flag-bearer, had their tents fixed.

At this time the well-known missionary, Heckewelder, whose narrative of these events we now chiefly follow, and who was himself an actor in the scenes he relates, was at Salem. Heckewelder says that Elliot came to his house "to see (as he expressed himself) how we all did." From the interview Heckewelder obtained no satisfactory information. The missionary asked Elliot what the warriors intended. He replied, "that the half-king had something to say to the Christian

Indians, but what it was he could not tell." Upon the missionary's saying to him, that as the men were armed, and provided with colours, he suspected that they were on a hostile expedition, Elliot replied, that "the Indians never go from home without taking their arms with them." Heckewelder then politely asked him, if he, Mr. Elliot, and Mr. M'Cormick, could make it convenient to take a cup of tea with him that evening. To this he said, that "it would entirely depend on the pleasure of the half-king, without whose permission neither himself nor M'Cormick durst leave the camp; and although he thought *he* might for himself obtain this permission, yet, as M'Cormick had charge of the colours, he would have to be at his post until relieved by him; after which he also might be permitted to call and see the missionary."

About this time Isaac Glichican, the national assistant, who at the first arrival of the Indians had repaired to their camp, returned, bringing back word that the half-king requested an audience at the house of the missionary Heckewelder, as he had something to say to the chief men of the place. The half-king arriving soon after at the house of Heckewelder, and having passed the usual salutations, addressed himself

to the missionary and the national assistants :—
“ Father, and you my cousins ! I am come to see you, and to say something to you ; and, as what I have to say interests all my cousins at the three towns, I wish you to appoint a place where you can all conveniently come to hear me. Fear no harm, my cousins ; I respect you.”

Gnadenhutten, accordingly, lying as it did in the centre, was fixed upon as the place of meeting ; and the half-king returned to his quarters. After this, Elliot being out of the way, M'Cormick called upon the missionary Heckewelder. M'Cormick, who, it seems, against his will had been compelled to join the party, at once disclosed the object of the expedition. What he said in substance was this :—That had it not been for the individuals we have mentioned, the settlements would not have been molested : that all the Indians respected the missionaries, and admired their excellent regulations : all united in saying that they were a good, peaceable, and hospitable people : neither would the commandant at Detroit have disturbed them, had it not been for Elliot, who was at the head of the plot, and M'Kee and Girty. As to Elliot, it was observed, nothing would serve him but the com-

plete destruction of the settlements. Having received this really alarming intelligence, Heckewelder wished to know if he might divulge it by letter to the senior missionary, Zeisberger. To this M'Cormick replied, "Yes; but between you two it must be kept a secret; for should it be divulged they would shoot me."

So the sad scene opened. M'Cormick returned to the camp of the Indians; and in the evening Elliot came to sup with the missionary and his wife. He acted, says Heckewelder, the complete hypocrite; speaking of old acquaintance; of services rendered him at different times, both in health and sickness, prior to the war. He admired the order and industry of the Christian Indians. He said that he believed if the peace had continued, nearly the whole of the Delaware nation would have attached themselves to the settlements of the brethren. And, to complete the whole, he presented the child of the missionary with various articles of clothing.

In the present juncture the first thing that Heckewelder did was to communicate what had taken place that day to Zeisberger, who was at Shoenbrun, which was distant from Salem about fifteen miles. Zeisberger, in his answer, which he returned immediately, exhi-

bited the same calm intrepidity that ever distinguished this noble man. The night passed away in peace. The warriors, well supplied with provisions, caused not the least disturbance through the night. The next morning, at ten o'clock, they broke up their camp. The whole body of warriors passed through the town, on their way to Gnadenhutten, in two divisions; the first on foot, and the other on horseback; Elliot and the half-king being in the centre, with the British colours flying.

Gnadenhutten next became the chief place of action. The warriors having arrived in the vicinity of this peaceful settlement, a whole week elapsed, in which the greater part of them did little else except eat, drink, and sleep. The chiefs, however, sat daily in council, deliberating on the best manner of carrying their designs into execution. At length, on the 20th of August, the half-king made known that, on the next day, he wished to see the principal men of the three towns, that they might hear what he had to say to them. At the time appointed, the missionaries being assembled, the half-king, in a formal speech,* proposed that

* The speech delivered on this occasion was as follows:—"That he, for a long time, had been much concerned on account of his cousins, the believing Indians,

they should abandon their present settlements, and that he would lead them to another and a safer residence. This proposal was, on the part of the Christian Indians, courteously but firmly declined. With this answer not only the half-king, but the greater part of the warriors, appeared to be perfectly satisfied; declaring that it would be wrong to compel their

as they lived in a very dangerous place! That they were sitting between two powerful, angry gods, [meaning the English and American armies,] who, with their mouths wide open, were most ferociously looking at each other: that this being the case, they were in danger of being attacked and devoured; nay, even ground to powder by the teeth of one or other of them, or perhaps by both at the same time. It, therefore, was not advisable for them to remain longer where they now were; and he called on them to reflect on their situation, and the means to save their lives, and those of their women and children, who must all perish if they remained here longer. That he now took his cousins by the hand to lead them to a place of safety; and advised them not to stand gazing at their crops in the fields, their houses, and other property; but rise, take their teachers, and he would lead them to a place where they might worship their God as they were accustomed to do. That they would find plenty of provisions where he would take them to; and, besides this, their father at Detroit would also provide for them. He added, that he had purposely come here to deliver this message to his cousins for their consideration." (Here he handed a string of wampum to them.)

cousins, friends, and relations, to move from a favourite spot, where they had in abundance every thing they could wish for, and where they lived so contented and happy. And, what is still more striking in the conduct of the greater part of the Indian warriors at this crisis, showing that even Elliot himself was not viewed very favourably by them, they discharged their pieces at the British colours as they were flying in the breeze, and would have shot them to rags had they not been prevented. Finding this to be a favourable opportunity to leave the Indians, Mr. M'Cormick did so, and took the colours with him.

At a change in the feelings and conduct of the Indian warriors, so unexpected, Elliot was deeply mortified, but not discouraged. He strongly urged the half-king to adopt more severe measures. Another week of delay and consultation passed away; at the close of which the half-king used much stronger language than at first; in a great degree insisting upon the brethren's abandoning their settlements. To this speech the Christian Indians again remonstrated: they said "that such a scheme bore too hard upon them; as to go at the present time would reduce them to misery: that they had a large harvest out, some thou-

sand bushels of corn, besides vegetables of various kinds, which would be all lost to them. They also urged that it appeared to them ungenerous to deprive their women and children, with themselves, of the necessaries of life, when *they* saw no occasion for it." To all this the half-king listened in silence.

It was supposed that at this time the half-king, had he acted according to his own inclinations, would have withdrawn from the enterprise. Elliot perceiving this, and lest his scheme should, after all, fail, awakened the fears of the Indians by pretending that an armed force from Virginia would fall upon them before they were aware of it. This hint set the rabble at work, who began to commit outrages, by shooting fowls, hogs, and even horned cattle, as they were passing by, or feeding within their reach. This step seemed to open the way for greater outrages. Accordingly, on September 2d, another, and a final consultation was held, in which the half-king and his warriors determined to resort to violent measures to carry their design into execution. Before they took this final step, the half-king brought the national assistants before him in council, and asked them to give him a prompt answer, "whether they would go with him."

To this the same reply was given as before. Thus the negotiation closed. During the greater part of that night the chiefs sat close in secret council.

The following morning, September 3d, at eight o'clock, the congregation met as usual for divine service. Zeisberger preached. The discourse produced a great impression. At the conclusion of his sermon Zeisberger thus referred to their present situation:—"We are now, my brethren and sisters, placed in a situation hitherto unparalleled! Surrounded by a body of heathen! some enemies to the gospel, who threaten us with taking our lives, if we do not go with them, and make them our near neighbours! Not being at liberty to act for ourselves, we must submit to our fate, and trust that the Lord will still hold his hand over us, and not forsake us! We will remain quiet, and abide the consequences; it not becoming children of God to put themselves on a level with the heathen, in making use of weapons for our defence! Neither will we hate our enemies on this account, who know not what they are doing! We, as Christians, will pray for them, that the Lord may open their eyes, and turn their hearts from all evil ways;—perhaps we may yet have the pleasure of

seeing some of those, who are now our enemies, repent, and join themselves to our flock."

On the afternoon of this day, shortly after they had dined, Zeisberger, Senseman, and Heckewelder, walked behind the garden, toward the burying-ground. While standing in the garden, looking wistfully at the town, and perhaps mournfully contemplating its probable desolation, one of the Indian chiefs, the head captain of the Monseys, came up to the missionaries in great haste, and accosted Zeisberger in these words: "Wilt thou devote thyself solely to the service of the Monseys as their teacher?" As soon as one of the missionaries replied to this, that as they composed one family, they could not separate, the Monsey chief stepped a few paces back, as a signal for three Wyandots, who were concealed behind the fence. These in an instant rushed upon the missionaries, each man taking his prisoner, and immediately marched them toward the camp. On their way to the camp, another Indian, a Wyandot, running up for the purpose, aimed several blows with his tomahawk at the head of Senseman, who, springing out of his reach, avoided the fatal blow. The missionaries were taken to Elliot's camp in the centre, as though they were his prisoners.

Upon reaching Elliot's camp three scalp yells were sounded. From Elliot's camp, after remaining there a short time, very much to the confusion of Elliot, (for chief actor as he was in all these unrighteous proceedings, he wished to maintain the garb of a friend of the missionaries, and to be so esteemed by them,) the missionaries were taken to the line in the centre, which divided the Wyandot and Delaware camps from each other, and the scalp yell was again sounded, the Indian warriors sounding each a yell for the man he had taken prisoner. These good men were now wholly in the power of the Indians, who, being roused by the yells, were up in an instant, with their arms in their hands, ready to fire upon their prisoners as soon as orders should be given for that purpose. No orders, however, of this nature were given; and after standing awhile surrounded by the Indians, several Wyandots came up, and stripped the missionaries of their best clothes, took their watches, buckles, sleeve buttons, &c. After this, a dark-looking Monsey came up, and taking each missionary by the hair of the head, and shaking him with all his force, said, "Quawangomel ninat!" which is, "I salute thee, my brother!" He then turned to Heckewelder, and began to strip him of his shirt, saying,

“Friend! I am much in want of a shirt, and must have yours!” But before this was done, a Delaware of note belonging to the party, seeing what he was about, ran up, and pushing him away with force, said, “Coward, begone! What harm have these people done you? You are always foremost where there is no danger!”

This for the present put an end to personal ill-treatment; Zeisberger and Heckewelder being shortly after taken into custody by Kuku, the Wyandot war chief from Lower Sandusky, while Senseman fell into the power of the notorious war captain of the same nation, named Snip. They were placed in huts, with roofs of bark placed on poles to keep the rain off from above, the sides and ends being open. While confined here they heard the word given for a body of warriors, (which consisted of thirty armed Wyandots,) under the command of the war chief Kuku, to set out for Salem, where were Heckewelder’s wife and child, and another missionary by the name of Young.

At length night came on, overcast with clouds, and at intervals a little rain. During the night the good Indian sisters of Gnadenudden brought food and blankets. But while

their immediate wants were provided for, the minds of the missionaries were ill at ease. Heckewelder's thoughts were upon his wife and child at Salem, not knowing what might befall these dear objects of his affection. The night was unusually calm and close; and as Gnadenhutten was situated on a high bluff on the Muskingum, and the village of Salem but five or six miles distant, the scalp yell of the party which had proceeded there was distinctly heard when they reached that place. This yell, whenever sounded at Salem, or at any point between the villages, which was frequently done during the night, was returned by a piercing peal from the Indians at Gnadenhutten. In this way a sort of intelligence was kept up between the two parties during the night. As the party which had gone to Salem was on its return, the missionaries were able to tell in their huts, from the number of the yells, the number of the prisoners taken. Thus they knew that three had fallen into their hands, but whether they were alive, or had been murdered by them, they could not tell, as this scalp yell merely signifies the number of persons taken, not whether they are dead or alive. About the middle of this memorable night the Wyandot warrior party who

had gone to Salem returned to Gnadenhutten, and the missionary Young was placed in the same hut with Zeisberger and Heckewelder. This brother, upon joining his fellow-prisoners, said, "Good evening, my brethren! our earthly career appears to be near its end, and we on the borders of eternity! Well, if they put us to death, we die in a good cause!" Heckewelder now also was relieved from the deep anxiety he felt for his wife and child, being informed that they were safe; that they had been placed in the care of the Indian sisters for the night, who would bring them next day to Gnadenhutten. From the missionary Young, Heckewelder also learned, that when the Indians arrived at Salem they made directly for his house, the door of which was at once bolted by Young; that upon being refused admittance, they broke it open with their war hatchets; that, as they entered, in their rage one man aimed a blow with his tomahawk at brother Young's head; which stroke, however, was happily prevented by Kuhn, the chief, who, at the instant, running his arm under the shaft of the hatchet, pushed it out of the direction in which it was aimed. The Indians then took the missionary, with the wife and child of Heckewelder, placed them in the street, and set guards over them,

while they plundered the house ; emptying the feathers out of the beds, and the coffee which they found in a bag, all into the street, in order to get the ticks and bag for other uses.

During this long and dreadful night, while the missionaries were lying upon the bare sod, with their eyes steadfastly fixed on the east, they heard far off, in the direction of Shoeburn, another scalp yell, which gave note of an assault upon that settlement. At Shoeburn were the wives of Zeisberger and Senseman, with the missionary Youngman and his wife. As the war party drew nearer from this village, the greater was the commotion throughout the warriors' encampment. Yell after yell was quickly and loudly answered ; and it was now thought, when all were brought together, the scene would be closed by the massacre of the whole. Many of the savages the missionaries well knew expected this ; yet, under all their trials, were they all wholly resigned to the will of the Lord. They had built their hopes higher than earth ; their chief treasure was in heaven ; their hope was full of a glorious immortality ; and they were assured that death in any form would be the gate to them of endless joys. O blessed religion ! which connects heaven with earth ; death with life ;

the gloomiest lot on earth with the brightest anticipations of future glory and endless blessedness!

At length, after repeated scalp yells, the party of Indian warriors from Shoenbrun arrived by water with the missionary Youngman and his wife, and also the wives of Zeisberger and Senseman; the latter bringing with her a young babe, only four days old. Upon the arrival of the party, as a token of welcome, the scalp yell rent the air ten times in succession, a yell for each prisoner now in their hands, including the two children. The missionaries being now prisoners, it was soon ascertained that no alternative was left for them but to proceed to Sandusky, where they might establish a new settlement. To prepare for this change Heckewelder went to Salem. On his arrival every soul belonging to the village ran to bid him welcome, many weeping; and the little children clung to him as though they would not let him go again. The sisters soon brought food, tea, coffee, &c., each striving to excel the other in acts of kindness. It was a hard task to the missionary to tell the sad story. One of them, by the name of Samuel Moore, a national assistant, had only that day finished shingling his new

spacious dwelling house, built of squared timbers. The missionary's house and garden made a very gloomy appearance, the warriors having destroyed every thing they could lay their hands on, both in the house and garden.

On September 8th, 1781, the missionaries, with their families, and also a number of Christian Indians from Gnadenhutten and Shoенbrun, arrived at Salem; part coming by land with the cattle, and others by water with baggage and provisions. The next day, leaving their pleasant homes once more behind them, as if they were never to enjoy a quiet resting place, the rest of the brethren and sisters, from both of the villages on the Muskingum, reached in their turn Salem, which was appointed as the general place of meeting, and as the place from whence they were to set out for Sandusky. While the three congregations, once more all assembled together, remained at Salem, the gospel was again preached publicly; a catechuman was baptized; the holy sacrament administered. During the ministration of the sacrament a most extraordinary sensation of the presence of the Lord comforted their troubled hearts. God was found to be a very present help in trouble, as he has indeed been found in all ages, and under all

circumstances, by those who wholly trust in him. All were exhorted to stand firm, and to show their faithfulness in the hour of trial and temptation.

Up to this time the Delaware Indians, under Captain Pipe, had conducted themselves in an orderly, becoming manner. Many of them had daily attended divine service; but on the 10th of the month the half-king, with his host of plunderers, arrived, and the scene at once changed. The half-king showing the example, himself and party ran through the village like madmen, yelling and shrieking, throwing down the fences of the corn field, turning their horses in, killing hogs, poultry, &c. "In short," says Heckewelder, "they did every thing that they thought would injure the inhabitants." In this disordered state of things the missionaries deemed it best to commence their sorrowful journey; and every thing being now ready, on the 11th day of the month this persecuted band of Christian emigrants turned their backs upon their loved homes, to return to them no more. It was a mournful hour. Never did the Christian Indians leave a country with more regret; never did they leave more beautiful settlements. The bare pecuniary loss was also great. They had to leave many of their

young cattle that were running loose in the woods, with some hundred head of hogs, and at least three hundred acres of ripe corn, besides a great quantity of old corn, potatoes, turnips, cabbages, &c. The Indians burned also some valuable books which had been prepared for the instruction of youth. Here was a trial both of faith and patience; of love and hope. But the Christian religion never shines forth with brighter lustre, nor is the sensible support it imparts more truly felt, than in the time of deep distress. Where human aid is feeblest, divine support and consolation give strength to weakness, and the balm of sweet solace to the mourning disconsolate soul. Thus was it now; and hope, like a gleam of sunshine, encouraged these children of the Most High to believe that the Lord would be with them, and afford them strength and fortitude to overcome all difficulties and dangers.

CHAPTER VIII.

Alas, alas! for treachery! the boasting white men
came
With weapons of destruction,—the sword and lurid
flame ;
And while the poor defenceless ones together bow'd in
prayer,
Unpitying they smote them while kneeling meekly
there.

The cry of slaughter'd innocence went loudly up to
heaven :
And can ye hope, ye murdering bands, ever to be for-
given ?
We know not ;—yet we ween for you the latest lin-
gering prayer
That trembled on your victims' lips, was, “ God, for-
give, and spare !”

THE missionaries, with their attached con-
verts, whom no trials could separate from their
beloved teachers, travelled as usual both by
land and water ; one division going by land
with the cattle, and the other by water—the
Indians having upward of twenty canoes loaded
with provisions, and various other necessary
articles. Arriving at Goschgoshing (Forks of
the Muskingum) on the third day, a halt was
ordered, to hunt a tame buffalo cow, belonging
to one of the party, and which was supposed

to be in the woods, feeding with other tame horned cattle. The hunters had scarcely been gone half an hour in pursuit of the buffalo, when it was seen coming down to the opposite side of the river to drink. It was quickly shot, and the meat divided. At this place Elliot, who had accompanied the congregation thus far on their journey, left them, proceeding with his attendant to Sciota, with the intention of meeting one of his associates, Captain M'Kee, who was waiting there to learn of him the particulars of the expedition. There was much joy throughout the congregation when Elliot left them.

The course of the party was now up Wal-handing River, or, as it is also called, the White Woman's Creek. But the river being at this season low, and in some narrow places obstructed by drift wood, caused them to move very slowly, making short journeys each day. On the night of the 19th they experienced a most tremendous storm, accompanied by dreadful peals of thunder;—the flashes of lightning so vivid the while, that the whole horizon appeared in a blaze. It came on with such rapidity that there was scarcely time to escape the falling trees. "Never, perhaps," says Heckewelder, "were men on land in a more

dangerous situation from a thunder storm than we were at this time." The rain, falling in torrents, overflowed the camp; so that all, even the women with babes in their arms, had to stand in the water until it flowed off. The fires in the camp were all either put out by the rain, or washed away by the current. The storm subsiding, new fires were quickly kindled by the Indians. Dismal was the prospect in the morning; large trees having been torn up by the roots, lying prostrate in all directions. Two of the best canoes, one of them remarkably large, and heavy loaded, but both filled with valuable articles, were crushed by large trees falling upon them, and every article lost. The loss was severely felt; yet were they very thankful that no lives were lost.

The congregation were now joined by the half-king, who had tarried behind at Salem, searching for hidden property. The morning after the storm he gave orders to lie by for the day to dry the clothes and baggage; and although they had not much to dry, yet the missionaries were glad of a little rest. Continuing their journey for a number of days after the manner they had done, they arrived at Gookhosing, (habitation of owls,) where they left the river, travelling altogether by land across

the country, for Upper Sandusky. The Wyandots had become impatient to get home, and for that purpose would, in a manner, drive the missionaries before them, whipping the horses of the riders so, that the wife of Zeisberger was twice thrown from the horse she rode. They suffered much with fatigue and ill-treatment during the day, and had to pass the night in the midst of a body of savages, separated from their Indian brethren, who, having heavy packs to carry, as well as their cattle to take care of, were unable to keep up with them.

On the 11th of October they arrived at the old Upper Sandusky town, situated on the east side of the river of that name. Here the half-king and his party left them, having accomplished his object of breaking up the pleasant settlements of the brethren, and bringing the missionaries and their congregation into so desolate a region. The homes of the half-king and his party were about ten miles from this place; whither they went heavy loaded with plunder. The missionaries were left at this late season of the year to make the best arrangements in their power for their comfort and support.

The country around was dreary and barren ;

and the brethren were at a loss to conceive how the cattle and horses they had brought with them, amounting to nearly two hundred, were to be supported during a long winter, which had already set in. Gloomy in every way was the prospect before them. But the rapid approach of winter warned them to lose no time; and, with their usual diligence, rising through faith—sublime faith—above all disheartening trials, they commenced at once building log huts for the winter. During their labours the daily meetings were kept up in the same manner as they had been during their journey to this place. When the shadows of evening fell upon them, they seated themselves around a fire in the open air; one of the missionaries delivering to the listening circle a discourse, or short exhortation. At times, some of the strolling savages would also attend, not to hear the gospel preached, but to scoff and laugh. What a sight! The genius of religion might hover over it, and point to the redeeming power which accompanies the cross of Jesus Christ! Wild savages cleaving to the hope of eternal life amid all the ill fortune that seemed at every step to mark their Christian pilgrimage! But their joy no man could take from them.

Blessed company! nearly a century has elapsed since your day; but the fragrance of your example remains, and it will ever remain.

Troubles thickened about the new settlement. The cattle, finding no good pasture, were continually attempting to return, and had to be watched. The milch cows failed for want of proper food; a source of great inconvenience, especially to such families as had little children. Provisions of all kinds were wanting, and when the women went into the woods, or to the river banks, to obtain roots, they either could not find them, or the ground was too hard frozen to get at them. Corn was very scarce throughout the country; and such as had it, asked a dollar for three or four quarts. Even the timber for building was far off, all the country to a great extent being a barren prairie, with the exception of here and there a few scattered trees. Clothes and bedding were also scarce.

The neighbouring Indians ridiculed their sufferings. "Look," said a Monsey chief to a Wyandot, "look at these praying Christian Indians:—but the other day they were living in affluence;—now they creep about in the bushes, looking for roots and berries to keep themselves from starving. Well! they are served right; for why should some live better

than others? We have now brought them on a level with us." Besides, Captain Pipe and the half-king boasted "that they had it now in their power to *compel* the Christian Indians to go to war with them."

A message about this time was brought from Detroit to the missionaries, requiring them to proceed to that place. After some consultation, it was thought best that Zeisberger, Senseman, Edwards, and Heckewelder, should go to Detroit, while Youngman and Young should remain at home, to attend to the concerns of the congregation.

On the morning of the 24th, the four missionaries, with several of the Indian brethren, among whom was the national assistant, William Chelloway, who spoke good English, after taking leave of their families, and the whole congregation, without knowing whether they should see each other again, set out for Detroit. After a most toilsome journey they reached this place, where they met with the most hospitable treatment from the inhabitants. A council was soon held; the conduct of the missionaries investigated, especially in relation to the course they had taken during the war; and the result of the whole was an honourable acquittal. The commandant himself, by whose order their set-

tlements had been broken up, and who had also required their presence at Detroit, at the close of the council, stepping up to the missionaries, assured them "that he felt great satisfaction and pleasure in seeing their endeavours to civilize and Christianize the Indians, and would cheerfully permit them to return again to their own congregation."

On leaving the council-house the missionaries were congratulated by many respectable inhabitants of the place on their happy acquittal, and the prospect of again returning to their families. Even Captain Pipe made an apology for his conduct, alleging that he had been imposed upon by others, and importuned to do what he did by those who did *not* love the brethren.

Many were the acts of kindness the missionaries received while in this city. One merchant shortly after their arrival returned some new clothes belonging to one of them, which he had purchased from one of the Indian warriors. Another trader who had purchased of the same Indians four silver watches belonging to the missionaries, was ordered to deliver them to the commandant, who satisfied him for them, and returned them to the original owners. The commandant also sent a barrel

of pork, with some flour, to Sandusky. Upon leaving, this same officer (the innocent cause, as the missionaries thought, of all their misfortunes) parted from them with the most marked expressions of esteem, giving them a passport, which "permitted them to labour among the Christian Indians without molestation."

On the 14th of November the missionaries left Detroit to return home, well supplied with warm clothes and blankets, both for themselves and their two fellow-labourers. The weather was cold, and the ground hard frozen. When within one day's journey of Sandusky, a deep snow fell, which made it difficult travelling. They, however, arrived on the 22d, in the evening. The joy on both sides was great.

In the same spirit of zealous piety, of love to God and man, amid the cold of winter, stinted fare, and various trials, with cheerful industry the Christian Indians, under, as usual, the guidance, and with the aid of their teachers, built a temporary meeting-house. It was constructed of log poles, placed upon each other, between posts, the crevices being filled with moss gathered from trees. Here they worshipped God; and the Christmas holydays, notwithstanding their poverty, were celebrated with cheerfulness and a blessing.

The year 1782 had now commenced—the gloomiest year in their whole history. The want of provisions was already severely felt. In the dead of winter also, toward the end of January, greatly did they suffer from the cold, which during the nights was almost insupportable. They suffered the more from the extreme severity of the weather on account of the small size of their huts, which prevented them from having large fires. Wood also was scarce. As the houses were without floors, when a thaw came on, they could scarcely keep their feet dry. To add to the distress, the cattle began to perish with hunger. The congregation at length had no support save the carcasses of the starved cattle. In some instances babes perished for want of nourishment from their mothers' impoverished breasts. The daily allowance at this time was a pint of Indian corn per man a day. Now and then they were able to purchase a leg of venison of the hunters.

In these deplorable circumstances, after due deliberation, the Indians of their own accord came to the conclusion to return to their forsaken towns for food. After they had decided what to do, they made known their plan to the missionaries. It was this :—To proceed to the towns, leave their families some distance behind

them, to whom they were to bring the corn from the fields, and who were to bury it in holes* made in the ground for the purpose. From the place where it was buried they proposed to fetch it as it was wanted. The plan was approved of; caution recommended to them; and having formed themselves into several divisions, they set out, in all about one hundred and fifty, men, women, and children. Each division, it was understood, should work upon the corn which they had raised.

But the missionaries were not allowed even now to labour in peace. Such indeed was the opposition on the part of the Indians to the settlement, and the labours of these devoted men, that early in the spring of 1782 the commandant at Detroit deemed it best to send a message to the brethren to leave Sandusky, and come to Detroit. They appear not to have felt at liberty to disobey this request, or order, and accordingly they determined to proceed once more to Detroit. Great was the grief of the Indian congregation at this unexpected intelligence. No-

* These holes are made round, about three feet deep—narrower at the top than at the bottom. After the hole is dug, it is burned out, set with bark, and well covered after the corn is in.

thing but lamentations were heard throughout the village. The missionaries grieved as deeply as their attached converts. Sorrow seemed to follow sorrow, as wave follows wave. To heighten their anxiety, the day of their departure was near at hand; and the brethren and sisters who were busy gathering corn had not returned; neither had they received as yet any tidings of the success of their expedition.

The day previous to their departure, however, while the missionaries were preparing for their journey, the alarm yell was sounded. As it drew near, the yell was repeated in such quick succession, as gave too clear token of bad news. This proved to be the case. On the arrival of the runner, who was a Sandusky warrior, the mournful tidings were communicated, that the Christian Indians who had gone to the Muskingum to gather corn had been attacked by a party of Virginians; that some of the Indians had been murdered, and the rest taken prisoners to Pittsburg. This was bad news; but the worst was not told. As this is the proper place to introduce the narrative of this ill-fated expedition, we shall do so before giving an account of the second journey of the missionaries to Detroit.

The first error this simple-minded party of Christian Indians committed, was in departing from the resolution they had formed of leaving their wives and children back in the woods at a distance from their former villages, while the men went and cautiously gathered the corn. But on their way to the Muskingum the party met some of their brethren returning from Pittsburg, who advised them to proceed *direct* to the towns, assuring them, from their knowledge of the state of the country, that they might all work on their corn at leisure without any danger. The Christian Indians were easily persuaded to follow this advice. They made their way as rapidly as possible to their now forsaken and desolate towns, and, working day and night, made fine progress in gathering and husking corn, and securing it in the woods. As had been previously agreed on, a party was employed at each of the villages.

The Indians had already gathered a large quantity of corn, and were bundling up their packs in order to take their final leave of the ill-fated place, when suddenly one or two hundred white people from the Ohio settlements made their appearance at Gnadenhutzen. When within a mile of this village they met with a lad, named Joseph Shabosh, whom they cruelly

murdered, though he told them he was the son of a white man, and begged them in the most piteous manner to spare his life. After thus whetting their appetites in the warm life-blood of this youth, the party came on toward the village. The first who discovered them was an Indian by the name of Jacob, brother-in-law to young Shabosh. He was at the time about a hundred and fifty yards from the town, and thirty from the river, busy tying up his corn sacks on its banks at the sweathouse. Fortunately they did not look in the direction where he was. He, supposing them to be a friendly party, was on the eve of hailing them, when, at that instant, they shot at one of the brethren who was just crossing the river in a canoe to go to the cornfield. Upon seeing this, Jacob fled with the utmost precipitation; and before their faces were turned toward him he was out of sight. Had he acted with some coolness and courage he might have saved many a valuable life; especially by proceeding to Salem, where his old father was, and giving the alarm. But fear led him to flee several miles in a contrary direction, where he hid himself a day and a night.

The Christian Indians were scattered over the cornfield at work, when they were ac-

costed in a friendly manner by the party of white men. They said that they came to them as friends, and would take them to a much more favoured region than the barren plains of Sandusky. They then advised them to discontinue their work, and return with them to the town;—to all of which these guileless sons of the forest cheerfully assented, never dreaming of being caught like “fish in an evil net, and as birds that are caught in the snare.” In the simplicity of their hearts they rejoiced that they had found such friends, and even imagined that the hand of God was in it, and that these men had been providentially sent to lead them to a more secure and pleasant resting-place. With the same confiding trust in the friendly assurances of the white people, the Christian Indians who were gathering corn in the vicinity of Salem came to Gnadenhutten, dazzled and blinded, in their childlike credulity, by the story of a fairer and more fertile spot as a residence. Simple children of the forest, how dove-like had Christianity made you! How little did you know of deliberate deceit and base treachery! Hence, as sheep to the slaughter, these innocent, trusting Indians, came to Gnadenhutten.

When the Christian Indians arrived at the

river bank, opposite Gnadenhutzen, their eyes began to open ; but it was now too late. They discovered a spot of blood on the sand, which, like the print of the solitary footstep on Robinson Crusoe's desolate island, excited disquietude and alarm. Soon these boding fears received full confirmation. As soon as they entered the town all were seized, and placed in confinement—brethren, sisters, and children ; and in the same house with that division of their party at Gnadenhutzen, which had been just seized. Here they met, associates for the last time in sorrow. They mingled their sympathies and their tears together ; and their prayers ascended, like a cloud of holy incense, into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth.

The charges which the white men alleged against them were in the highest degree frivolous, and without foundation. It was asserted that their horses, as also their axes, pewter basins, and spoons, and indeed all they possessed, had been taken from the white people ; and also that they were warriors, and not Christian Indians. On such charges were they all condemned to die, and that too upon the spot, at the moment, without any previous warning or preparation.

The entreaties of the poor Indians were dis-

regarded. On the contrary, some, more blood-thirsty than the rest, were anxious to begin the work of death without delay. A brief respite was all that was given to prepare for death. They now all kneeled down together, asking pardon for whatever offence they had given, or grief they had occasioned each other. They then offered fervent prayers to God their Saviour, and kissed one another. In this hour the consolations of divine grace abounded in their souls. Thus supported and cheered, though bathed in tears, they were fully resigned to the will of God, singing praises unto him in the joyful hope that they would soon be relieved from all pains, and join their Redeemer in everlasting bliss.

While the victims were thus engaged, improving the few moments of life that remained, the cool-blooded murderers were employed deliberating upon the manner of their death. Some proposed burning them alive ; others wished to take their scalps as a token of the deed. A few proposed milder measures ; but the voice of mercy was overruled. It was determined to murder them one by one.

The time having arrived for the opening of the awful scene, the murderers came to them while they were engaged in singing, and ask-

ing if they were ready, received as a reply, that "they had commended themselves to God, who had given them the assurance in their hearts that he would receive their souls." Upon this, one of the party, taking up a cooper's mallet, (the house had been occupied by a cooper,) said, looking at it, and handling it, "How exactly this will answer for the business." With this as the instrument of death, he began with Abraham, and continued knocking down one after the other, until he had killed fourteen with his own hands. He now handed the instrument to one of his fellow-murderers, saying, "My arm fails me; go on in the same way; I think I have done pretty well."* Thus these miscreants went on until they had butchered ninety-six in cold blood. After they had finished the horrid deed they went a small distance from the house of slaughter; but after awhile, returning again to the scene, they saw one by the name of Abel, who, though scalped and mangled, was attempting to rise. They repeated the blow, and he fell to rise no more. After this they set fire to the house, and with shouts and yells more savage than ever rose in that wilderness before, or since, they departed.

* This was related by a lad who escaped out of the house, and who understood English well.

Of the whole number slain, sixty-two were grown persons, one-third of whom were women; and the remaining thirty-four were children. Five of the men were respectable native assistants: Samuel Moore, Tobias, Jonas, Isaac Glichican, and John Martin. Samuel Moore and Tobias had been members of the congregation of that eminently devoted servant of God, and most faithful missionary, David Brainerd. After his death they left New-Jersey, and joined themselves to the Christian Indians living on the Susquehannah. Samuel was a very useful member of the church: he had received his education under Mr. Brainerd; could read, and was so well acquainted with the English language, that for many years he was an interpreter of the sermons preached. He was perhaps never seen unemployed. He was fond of reading, and took especial delight in the Bible and Hymn-book. Tobias, the other Indian convert of Brainerd's, also led the life of a true Christian. His appearance alone commanded respect. Jonas also bore an excellent character. Isaac Glichican, previously to his conversion, stood very high among his countrymen, both in council and in the field. As a Christian he was highly esteemed, and very useful. He was distinguished also for his wisdom; and

though he seems to have thought it wrong to resist even open and violent enemies, yet he never showed the least fear. John Martin, one of the chapel interpreters at Gnadenhutten, was also an exemplary and worthy man. Three of these five brethren were above sixty, and the other two about fifty years of age. Many of the brethren and sisters who were murdered were born of Christian parents in the society.

Among the number doomed to die, two youths, about fourteen and fifteen years of age, happily escaped. One of these, by the name of Thomas, was knocked down and scalped with the rest. Recovering a little, he looked around, and saw Abel, with the blood running down his face, attempting to rise. With great presence of mind he quickly laid himself down again, thinking that, perhaps, some might return to examine if all were really dead. He had scarcely placed himself in his former position when the sound of footsteps and voices was heard; and several men coming in, saw Abel, as we have mentioned, still alive, and soon despatched him. When they had done this, the men went out. Thomas, thinking this the proper time to attempt his escape, crept over the dead bodies to the door, still keeping himself in such a position as easily to feign death if any should approach.

No one came ; and as it began to be dusk, he quickly got out at the door, and went to the back side of the house, where he hid himself until it was quite dark, when he escaped. Another lad escaped by raising a plank which served as a trap-door to the cellar which was under the floor. He got out of the cellar through a small hole cut for a window ; and also escaped. These two lads fortunately met in the woods, and journeying on together, reached Sandusky in safety.

Those who were gathering corn in the vicinity of the other settlement, Shoenbrun, providentially escaped. This happened as follows :—The Indian who had been despatched from Sandusky to recall the Indians home, and to inform them of the departure of the missionaries, arrived at the once fair village of Shoenbrun on the 6th of March. Exhausted as he was with fatigue, he remained at Shoenbrun while two other brethren were sent with the message to Gnadenhutten and Salem. “As they walked and were sad,” conversing on the expected loss of their beloved teachers, to their surprise they discovered the tracks of horses’ shoes along and beside the path ; and when within one or two miles of Gnadenhutten they cautiously followed the tracks. They had not

proceeded far when they saw the dead and mangled body of young Shabosh, with his scalp taken off. Shocked as they were at the sudden and ghastly sight, and though they knew danger was near, yet, with cool composure and courage, they buried the body, and then hastily returned to Shoenbrun. The fate of Shabosh led them to conclude that, in all probability, their brethren had all fallen by the same cruel hands; though whence the blow, they knew not. Concluding that Shoenbrun would soon be attacked, they prepared to fly with all speed from so dangerous a spot. In their haste they forgot their canoe. That night the trembling fugitives slept about two miles and a half from the village, on the opposite side of the river. Very early the next morning, before it was light, several of the Indian brethren returned to Shoenbrun for the canoe. Scarcely were they three hundred yards from the town, and as yet in sight of it, when they heard the trampling of horses' feet. Watching the movements of the party, they saw the place surrounded with horsemen. The party, after some examination, finding no trace of the Indians, soon rode off. Upon their departure, the Indians, in their canoe, shot forth from their hiding-place, and soon rejoined the rest of the party.

Without provisions, and oppressed with fear, they sorrowfully retraced their steps to Sandusky. On their journey they endured many hardships. Hunger pinched the pilgrim company: one infant perished for want of suitable nourishment. At length they reached Sandusky in a far more deplorable condition than when they set out for the Muskingum. They returned to a dreary country; and, to add to their distress, they returned to take another leave of their teachers. Well might they say with the patriarch Jacob, "All these things are against me." Yet, amid all, they trusted in God, and took courage. The day after the return of the remnant of the Indian party from the Muskingum, the missionaries set out on their journey to Detroit.

CHAPTER IX.

As sinks the bright unclouded sun at eve
In one full gush of splendour, yet to leave
A lingering radiance on the earth and heaven,
Thus, to the great and good, departing majesty was given.

As the old patriarchs aforetime slept,
While trusty tribes around their guardian wept ;
Thus from the Indian sky a sun descended,—
Their noblest friend no more—Zeisberger's mission ended.

THE missionaries, Zeisberger, Heckewelder, Senseman, Youngman, Edwards, and Young,* with their wives and children, having previously made the best arrangements in their power for the welfare of the Indian congregation during their separation, departed on the appointed day from Upper Sandusky. Many of the brethren and sisters accompanied them part of the way, the sisters carrying two male children of the missionaries on their backs, well secured in their blankets from the wet and cold. After travelling several days through the wilderness and swampy grounds, they reached Lower Sandusky. Here they were detained several weeks, receiving all the while the most hospitable treatment. While they

* Edwards and Young were not married.

remained in this place they were also frequently visited by the members of their congregation. On the 14th of April they left Lower Sandusky, embarking in boats for Detroit, at which place they arrived on the 10th of May. On the voyage they received the utmost kindness. Arriving at Detroit, they were received with marked respect and pleasure by the commandant, who informed them that his only object in sending for them to return to Detroit, was to escape the dangers which he knew they were exposed to while at Sandusky. He now left it entirely to their option either to remain at Detroit, or to be sent by way of the lakes to Bethlehem. In the meanwhile they were first lodged in a new room in the barracks; and after a few weeks removed to a newly finished house, about one hundred yards from the town, where they enjoyed more rest and quiet.

While the missionaries were thus surrounded by friends, and in the enjoyment of many mercies, they learned through an English trader, who had been at the Christian Indians' village at Upper Sandusky, that their congregation regularly held their accustomed religious services, mutually encouraging each other to faithfulness; and, with the exception of a few who

unhappily forsook the fold, continued to "stand fast in the Lord." But a dark cloud still hung over the solitary and afflicted flock. The half-king, the agent of their removal from Sandusky, whose residence, as our readers are aware, was in this vicinity, finally, without assigning any reasons for his conduct, peremptorily ordered them to leave entirely this region of country. This order was obeyed; and the Indian congregation was broken up and scattered in various directions. Before they separated they agreed, as soon as they could effect it, to reassemble, and form another settlement on the Miami of the Lake.

A door, however, was soon opened, through the British commandant at Detroit, for the missionaries to gather around them once more in this dark and cloudy day their scattered flock. The country on the river Huron, about thirty miles north of Detroit, was suggested by him to the missionaries as offering every advantage for an Indian settlement. The missionaries, cheerfully and thankfully acceding to the friendly proposal, the commandant obtained permission of the Chippeways, who claimed the land, and whose assent was therefore necessary to be obtained, for the brethren to settle here until the return of peace. These

arrangements having been satisfactorily concluded, messages were sent to the scattered Indians, inviting them to rejoin their teachers, and form a new mission village on the Huron. Soon the missionaries were cheered with the sight of some of their congregation. In the month of July, while yet at Detroit, two families arrived; and shortly after two other families, with whom was the venerable native assistant, Abraham. These four families erected huts near the dwelling of the missionaries, and were daily supplied with provisions out of the king's stores. The whole number now at Detroit was twenty-five. Thus, once more assembled "with one accord in one place," they held, as usual, daily meetings. When the weather was fair, this was done in the open air. Many of the citizens attended; as also some American prisoners who were confined near the dwelling of the missionaries. All admired the singing and the devotion of the Indians; and joy once more hovered over their habitations.

About this time aid and encouragement were derived from an unexpected quarter. The account of the massacre of the Indians on the Muskingum had reached London; from which place they received letters, dated 19th and 20th March, 1782, enclosing a draft on a

trading house in Montreal for one hundred pounds sterling. This aid came at a most seasonable hour, giving them the means to purchase many necessary articles which were required in commencing their new settlement.

All things being ready, on the 20th of July, five of the missionaries, with nineteen Indians, set out by water, in a boat given to them by the commandant, on their new enterprise. They arrived at their place of destination on the evening of the next day. They brought with them provisions, a quantity of plank, two milch cows, some horses, roots, garden seeds, &c.; all furnished by the same humane officer, and his kind, attentive wife. The first meeting was held on the evening of their arrival. Thanks and praises to the Lord for his mercies were offered by the happy little band; and his continued blessing, assistance, and protection implored. The new place was called Gnadenhutten.

The congregation slowly increased. On the 21st of September communion was held here for the first time; and on the 5th of November the meeting-house was consecrated; at which time fifty-three were present, including the missionaries, Senseman and Heckewelder, who had now rejoined the congregation.

The Chippeways beginning to visit the settlement, religious instruction was diligently given them by the native assistants, but with little effect. They were found to be a people of scarcely any reflection, caring for little else than the supply of their daily wants. And for this they depended chiefly upon hunting and fishing; eating many things which a Delaware or Shawanese Indian would not relish; as for instance, frogs, muskrats, dogs, and even the flesh of dead horses, like the Calmuc Tartars.

At the commencement of the year 1783 the missionaries and their Indian congregation were comfortably accommodated with dwellings. Being pleasantly situated, and constantly and usefully employed, the cold and dreary winter glided rapidly away. The Indians were employed in making canoes, baskets, bowls, ladles, brooms, and, in the spring, maple sugar, of which they made a great quantity. These various articles they exchanged in the settlements of the French Canadians for provisions. As game also was plenty, they took such meat as they did not want for their own use, with skins and furs, to Detroit, where they exchanged them for wearing apparel. In July of this year the joyful tidings reached the set-

tlement that peace was concluded between Great Britain and the United States.

The scattered Indians by degrees returned to the fold. In the course of 1783 forty-three returned at one time. Peace reigned in the community; religion flourished. During this year several of the congregation made a happy exit from time to eternity. The new year, 1784, opened with violent storms, and intense cold. The rivers, creeks, and the lake St. Clair, were soon covered with ice, which, from day to day, became thicker and stronger. Next came a fall of snow, two feet deep, and in a few days after another of much greater depth; so that both together measured full five feet on a level. The Indians soon began to suffer, and the missionaries, in a great measure, with them. To increase the distress of the Indian congregation, though they had planted large crops of corn, yet, unacquainted with the climate, they had planted the wrong kind, which, when the kernel was yet soft, was exposed to the hard frosts which set in, and so rendered unfit for use. Grain was scarce also through the whole country; and the winter being one of uncommon severity, those who had grain would not part with any, but kept it to save themselves and their

cattle from starving. Gloomy was the prospect. Many an emaciated countenance gave sad token of pinching want. The cattle suffered greatly from the cold and the driving storm, as no stables had yet been built; while what fodder they had was of a poor quality, the frost having injured it before it was cut and cured. It was also, though in a woody country, no easy task to obtain firewood; for, when the trees were cut down, the trunks were buried in the snow.

During this gloomy and suffering winter the hand of Providence was seen, and gratefully acknowledged, in an unlooked-for supply of food for the perishing cattle. While the Indian village was almost buried in snow, and the cattle, destitute of shelter, crowded, shivering, around the doors, it was observed that they would raise their heads toward the river, which was but a short distance off, as if they wished to go there. The Indians, supposing from this that they wanted drink, melted snow to satisfy their thirst. This did not seem to answer; the cattle still continued casting wishful looks, with their noses raised, as if they wanted something in that direction. While the missionaries were at a loss to know the cause, two deer came down the river on the

ice, opposite the village, and were shot. Upon opening them to see what they fed upon, it was found that their stomachs were filled with scrub grass. This was enough. The Indians immediately turned out, and worked a way for the cattle to the river. Soon as the path was made the cattle hastened eagerly to the bank of the river, and ranging along it, found green scrub grass pasture in abundance. This also served as a clew to the Indians to guide them to the spots where the deer resorted; this grass growing not only around the river, but hundreds of acres along the frozen ponds in the vicinity of the settlement; while such was the depth of the snow, the deer could not escape. Great numbers were shot; so that during the three months the snow was so deep one hundred deer were brought in from the rush meadows on the river. Some of the deer were run down by the dogs, brought alive to the village, fed with the scrub grass gathered for that purpose, and in the spring taken to Detroit and sold. Hogs, fowls, and horses all ate of this grass; though in the case of horses, owing to the effect of the sharp grass upon the stomach, if they fed upon it much more than four or five weeks they would die.

During this severe winter it was found that

from the beginning of January, when the snow first fell, to the beginning of March, there were not more than four days of clear sunshine. The sky was daily more or less overcast. The snow settled, and became so hard, that one could walk over it. By the second week in April it had diminished so much that the Indians began to manufacture maple sugar. Soon after this the ice in the river broke up and disappeared; fish were now caught; and after the snow had entirely melted, the Indians gathered cranberries and crab-apples, and dug up wild potatoes. Thus closed this memorable winter, during which a wise and benign Providence provided so amply for their wants in the dreary climate in which their lot had been so unexpectedly cast.

The new Gnadenhutten had now become a pleasant place. A street having been laid out regularly, gave it a good appearance; to which the adjoining cleared lands and gardens added not a little. Many from Detroit visited the settlement; and the fame of its neatness, industry, and harmony went abroad. But ill-fortune, as usual, betided the Christian Indian town. The Chippeways becoming discontented, and complaining of the brethren's remaining in their best hunting ground after the conclusion of

peace, they were compelled to make preparations for another removal. They, therefore, determined to recross the lake to the United States, and return to the Muskingum, congress having especially reserved for their use the land on this river formerly occupied by the brethren.

On the 20th of April, 1786, the Indian congregation met, for the last time, in the chapel, to offer up prayers and praises to the Lord. After this they set out in canoes for Detroit. On the 28th they embarked in two trading vessels for Cuyahoga, on the south side of Lake Erie. After a most tempestuous and tedious voyage, during which they were detained four weeks by contrary winds, they reached Cuyahoga River about the 18th of June; and as the season was now too far advanced to proceed to the Muskingum, they concluded to remain for the present on this river, about a dozen miles from Lake Erie, plant their corn, harvest it, and then proceed to their old settlements. It was well they were detained. The country was yet in too unsettled a state; and there appeared, both on the part of the white people and of the warrior Indians, a fixed determination not to allow the brethren to return to the Muskingum. Their detention was probably the means of saving the congregation from being murdered

either by the Indians or the lawless settlers on the frontiers. As it was, they found it necessary for their safety to recross the lake, and seek a shelter in Canada. The Indians were on the eve of a war with the American government; and had the brethren remained on the Cuyahoga they would have been exposed to imminent danger. Urged by well-grounded fears, on the 19th of April, 1790, they left this river; and after various fruitless attempts to effect a settlement in the United States, they returned to Detroit. A tract of land on the river Thames was allotted them for a residence. Here a town was built, which was called Fairfield.

At a later period, in 1797, a new attempt was made to rebuild the villages on the Muskingum, but it was not very successful. A brief detail of this last effort to re-establish themselves in their old settlements will be all that is required. Peace having been finally concluded with the Indians, the American government laid off three separate tracts of land, of four thousand acres each, for the use of the Christian Indians, including their former towns of Gnadenhutten, Salem, and Shoenbrun. In the spring of 1798, Heckewelder, with the aged missionary, Edwards, began a settlement at Gnadenhutten.

In October the missionaries Zeisberger and Mortimer came from Fairfield, with a number of the Christian Indians, and laid out a village on the Shoenbrun tract, about seven miles from Gnadenhutten, which they called Goshen. Gnadenhutten seems not to have flourished, but Goshen was continued as a mission settlement; and at this place Zeisberger spent the last years of his long and checkered life. Here he died in November, 1808, aged eighty-seven years and seven months.

The following touching account of his death is taken from Carne's "Lives of Eminent Missionaries:"—

"In October, 1808, in his eighty-eighth year, he perceived that his end was approaching. His illness was short, without pain or suffering: the lamp of life burned mildly away. 'The only thing that troubled him,' he said, 'was the present spiritual state of his Indian people.' These expressions having been told to them, they all gathered around the dwelling, and, in different groups, entered the chamber of the dying man. 'My father,' they said, 'forgive us all we have done to grieve you. We will surrender our hearts to our Saviour, and live alone for him in the world.' The venerable man, totally blind, the moment of dissolution close at hand, was

supported in his bed, while his face was turned earnestly toward the penitents, though he saw them no more. He blessed them fervently; then, with that kindness and seriousness which he knew so well how to combine in his converse with the Indians, he warned them against the dangers to which they were exposed, the vices in which they had indulged. 'I am going, my people,' he continued, 'to rest from all my labour, and be at home with the Lord. He has never forsaken me in distress, and will not forsake me now. I have reviewed my whole course of life, and found that there is much to be forgiven.' The Indians saw that his life was departing, and they would not forsake the chamber. When he ceased to breathe, the whole company knelt down and prayed. He had attained the age of eighty-eight years. No other man, perhaps, ever existed who knew so much of the manners, usages, and minds of the Indian tribes. His usefulness was exceeding great. Had he sought power for himself, his ascendancy with the Iroquois and the Delawares would soon have insured its possession; but the only glory he loved was that of his Redeemer."

The settlement at Goshen was suspended in 1822. The missionary, Mr. Bardil, who at the time laboured here, returned with his assistant

to Bethlehem; and those of the Indians who seriously desired the means of grace, removed to Fairfield, in Canada, where they were received with every token of affection. Various attempts were made to establish missions in other parts of the Indian country, and among different tribes of savages; but not meeting with much success, they were, one after the other, relinquished. Such was the fate of the settlement on the Wabash; also on the Flint River, among the Creeks; likewise at Petquottink, near Lake Erie, and among the Chippeways in Canada. One settlement, formed at Spring Place, among the Cherokee Indians, we believe still flourishes. The most important is Fairfield, or, as it is now called, New-Fairfield. As it was a hiding-place from the storm, so it still continues to form a home for the almost homeless Indian, where, under the shade of "his own vine and fig-tree," he can rest in peace.

At the termination of the last war the Indian congregation built a town on the opposite side of the river, which they called New-Fairfield; and where they removed in the autumn of 1815. At this time the congregation consisted of one hundred and nine persons, and in 1827 of one hundred and eighty-four persons. At the close of 1830 the mission was in a flourishing condition.

Thus we close our mournful narrative, including a period of about one hundred years. Since the year 1740, when the brethren commenced their labours, the various places in the depth of the wilderness where they preached the gospel, and formed villages, have been changed into smiling, cultivated fields. The Indian has retired further and further from his hunting grounds, and from the rivers and the lakes he loved, vainly resisting the constantly encroaching tide of the white population. The places too, where, through the labours of the Moravian missionary, the Indian was taught to pray—where arose the spire of the Indian's chapel, and where, on the fragrant breath of morn, and at still eventide, ascended the song of praise—all these beautiful spots have disappeared; every trace of them has been obliterated. Still the labours of these good men have not been wholly lost. The records of their pious toils show, that from the year 1740 to 1808—from the commencement of the mission among the Mohicans on the borders of the states of New-York and Connecticut, to the death of Zeisberger—between thirteen and fourteen hundred souls were baptized; of whom a considerable number departed this life in the Christian faith, rejoicing in the hope of soon being in the presence of their Redeemer.

That the gospel came to these poor children of the forest not in word only, but in power, ample evidence has been given in this narrative. The gospel softened and subdued the wildest natures; and the once fierce and merciless warrior sat at the feet of the teacher of peace, listening to lessons of mercy, and praying for grace to tread in the footsteps of his Saviour. What fervent prayers went up from the midst of the wilderness! What divine consolation filled the hearts of these joyful worshippers! On the Lehigh, the Susquehannah, the Muskingum, amid war, death, heartless persecution, painful wanderings and famine, cold and nakedness, the missionaries and their Indian converts endured all toils and trials as seeing Him who is invisible; and now together, under a cloudless sky, in a serene atmosphere, with no wave of trouble to roll across their peaceful breasts, they for ever praise Him who "called them out of darkness into his marvellous light."

THE END.