HISTORY

OF THE

MISSION

OF THE

UNITED BRETHREN

AMONG THE

Indians in North America.

IN THREE PARTS.

BY

GEORGE HENRY LOSKIEL.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN

BY CHRISTIAN IGNATIUS LA TROBE.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR THE BRETHREN'S SOCIETY FOR THE FURTHERANCE OF THE GOSPEL:

SOLD AT No. 10, NEVIL'S COURT, FETTER LANE;

AND BY JOHN STOCKDALE, OPPOSITE BURLINGTON HOUSE, PICCADILLY.

1794.

Philadelphia
West from London 75°13'

Longitude West from London

Those places in which the Christian Indians resided are marked thus .

PART of the UNITED STATES OF NORTH AMERICA.

Scale of Miles 69 to a Degree

10 20 30 40 50 100 150 200

Longitude West from Philadelphia

Longitude East from Philadelphia

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TO

ALL

IN EVERY DENOMINATION,

WHO LOVE THE

LORD JESUS CHRIST

IN SINCERITY,

AND REJOICE AT THE INCREASE OF HIS KINGDOM,

THIS ACCOUNT OF THE

EFFECTS OF THE GOSPEL

AMONG THE

INDIANS IN NORTH AMERICA,

IS HUMBLY DEDICATED

BY

THE TRANSLATOR.

THE TRANSLATOR'S

PREFACE.

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

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

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

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

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

congre-

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

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

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

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

London,
September 20th, 1794.

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PREFACE

OF

THE AUTHOR.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

that

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Strickenhof in Livonia,
May 2d, 1788.

GEORGE HENRY LOSKIEL.

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PART I.

CHAPTER I.

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

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

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

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

is my intention to confine myſelf to an account of only two of theſe nations, namely the Delaware and Iroquois.

The *Delawares* are divided into three tribes. The *Unami* are conſidered as the head of the nation, the *Wunalachtikos* are next in rank, and then follow the *Monſys*.

The name *Delawares* was undoubtedly firſt given to them by the Europeans; for they call themſelves *Lennilenape*, that is, *Indian men*; or *Woapanachky*, that is, *a people, living towards the riſing of the ſun*, having formerly inhabited the eaſtern coaſt of North America. This name is likewiſe given to them by the other Indian nations.

The *Iroquois* have received their name from the French, and moſt hiſtorians, who have written of them, make uſe of it. But the Engliſh call them *the Six Nations*, as they now conſiſt of ſix nations in league with each other. Formerly they were called *the Five Nations*, five only being joined in that alliance. But as we ſhall ſpeak of them, both in their former and preſent ſtate, I ſhall for the ſake of perſpicuity confine myſelf to the name of *Iroquois*. They call themſelves *Aquanuſchioni*, that is, *United People*; always to remind each other, that their ſafety and power conſiſts in a mutual ſtrict adherence to their alliance. Others call them *Mingos*, and ſome *Maquais*. Theſe ſix confederate nations are the *Mohawks*, *Oneida*, *Onondago*, *Cajugu*, *Senneka*, and *Tuſcarora*. The latter joined the confederacy about 70 years ago.

The reſt of the nations either in league with the *Delawares* and *Iroquois*, or connected with them by ſome means or other, are the *Mahikans*, *Shawanoſe*, *Cherokees*, *Twichtwees*, *Wawiachtanos*, *Kikapus*, *Moſhkos*, *Tukaſhas*, *Chipawas*, *Ottawas*, *Putewoatamen*, *Nantikoks*, *Wyondats* or *Hurons*, *Chaktawas*, *Chikaſaws*, and *Creek* Indians, with ſome others, whoſe names are occaſionally mentioned in this hiſtory.

All theſe Indian nations live to the weſt of New England, New York, New Jerſey, Pennſylvania, Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Georgia. But it is difficult exactly to determine the boundaries of the different

ferent countries they inhabit, partly for want of good ſurveys, and partly on account of the unſettled ſtate of ſome of the nations, and therefore their territories can only be deſcribed in a general way. The *Delawares* live about half way between Lake Erie and the river Ohio. The *Iroquois* poſſeſs the country behind *New York*, *Pennſylvania*, and *Maryland*, about the Lakes Erie and Ontario, extending weſtward to the Miſſiſippi and ſouthward to the Ohio. The *Mohawks* live more to the eaſtward, are much mixed with the white people*, and not numerous. Their neighbors are the *Oneida* and *Tuſcarora*. Then follow in a line from eaſt to weſt, the *Onondago*, *Cajugu*, and *Senneka* tribes. The *Mahikans* are neighbors of the Iroquois. The Shawanoſe live below the *Delaware*, towards the river Ohio. The Wiondats and Hurons partly inhabit the country on the weſt coaſt of Lake Erie near Sanduſky Creek, partly about Fort Detroit, between the Lakes Huron and Michigan. The *Ottawas* and *Puteweatamen* live alſo to the weſt of Lake Erie, but a great way beyond it. The *Wawiachtanos* and *Twichtwees* reſide chiefly between the rivers Sioto and Wabaſch, and the *Kikapus*, *Moſchkos*, and *Tuckachſhas*, inhabit the banks on both ſides the Wabaſch, but are far diſtant from each other. The *Chipawas* are a numerous nation inhabiting the north coaſt of Lake Erie. Some of the *Nantikoks* live in Maryland, but by far the greater part of this tribe retired firſt to the Suſquehannah, and then further north. The *Cherokees* inhabit the mountains behind North Carolina, between the river Cherokee, which flows into the Ohio, and South Carolina; eaſtward of the Miſſiſippi. The *Chaktawas* or *Catabas* live behind Georgia on the banks of the Miſſiſippi, and the *Creeks* are neighbors of the Cherokees and Chaktawas. They live behind the mountains of Carolina and Georgia, and are divided into the Upper, Middle, and Lower Creeks. Between the Creeks and Che-

* Thus the Europeans and their deſcendants are called in America, to diſtinguiſh them from the Indians.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

the

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

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

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

and

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

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

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

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

CHAPTER II.

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

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

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

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

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

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

In common life and converſation the Indians obſerve great decency. They uſually treat one another and ſtrangers with kindneſs and civility, and without empty compliments. Their whole behavior appears ſolid and prudent. In matters of conſequence they ſeem to ſpeak and act with the moſt cool and ſerious deliberation, avoiding all appearance of precipitancy. But upon cloſer examination, their caution

tion appears to riſe chiefly from ſuſpicion, and their coolneſs is affected. They are perfect maſters of the art of diſſembling. If an Indian has loſt his whole property by fire or any other calamity, he ſpeaks of it as he would of the moſt trivial occurrence: Yet his pride cannot always conceal his ſorrow.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Fornication,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ſee

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

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

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

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

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

Ki Wetochemelenk, talli epian Awoſſagame. Machelendaſutſch Ktellewunſowoagan Kſakimawoagan pejewigetſch. Ktelite hewoagan legetſch talli Achquidhackamike, elgiqui leek talli Awoſſagame. Milineen elgiſchquik gunigiſchuk Achpoan. Woak miwelendammauwineen 'n Tſchannauchſowoagannena elgiqui niluna miwelendammauwenk nik Tſchetſchanilawequengik. Woak katſchi 'npawuneen li Achquetſchiechtowoaganüng, tſchukund Ktennieen untſchi Medhicküng. Alod Knihillatamen Kſakimawoagan, woak Ktallewuſſowoagan, woak Ktallowilüſſowoagan, ne wuntſchi hallemiwi li hallamagamik. Amen!

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

	Delaware.	*Iroquois.*
The Bible	Mecheek Bambilum	Gachiatochſeratogechti
Bread	Achpoan	Jocharachqua
Brother	Nimat	Jatattegè
The Earth	Hakky	Uchwuntſia
The Goſpel	Kikewiabtonacan	Garrichwio
Prayer	Pattamoèwoagan	Unteraenaji
Faith	Wuliſtammuwôagan	Ne Wauntontak
Grace	Wulantowoagan	Ne Agotaeri
God	Patamawos	Hawonio
Savior	Wewulatenamohaluwit	Unquanich
The Heart	W'Dee	Aweriachſu
A Child	Amimens	Ixhâa
A Man	Lenno	Etſchinak
A Mother	Gachwees	Onūrha
The Creator of the World	Kiſchellēmelangcop	{Garochiade ne uchwuntſchiade
Siſter	Chieſmus	Akzia
Soul	Tſchitſchank	Gaweriachſa
Salvation	Wulatenamōagan	Zenichaewe
Son	Quiſes	Hehâwak
Daughter	Daniſs	Echrojèhâwak
Death	Angloagan	Ne Jawoheje

Father

	Delaware.	*Iroquois.*
Father	Wetochemend	Johnika
Truth	Wulameowagan	Togeſgezera
Woman	Ochqueu	Echro
To pray	Papachotamun	Unteraenaji
To have mercy	Kſchiwelemeln	Agotaeri
To redeem	Nihillalatſchil	Schungarawatgak
To create	Giſhelendammen	Ne Jechſai
To eat	Mizin	Wauntegoni
To believe	Welſettammen	Watontat
To hear	Pentamm	Wathontek
To live	Pommauchſin	Tajonhe
To teach	Achgegimheen	Garichwaſchoh jorihonnie
To preach	Poemmetonhen	Wachtarhas
To ſing	Aſſuwi	Wateraenoto
To die	Angeln -	Jawohéje
Bad	Machtit	Wahetke
Good	Wullit	Ojaneri
Beautiful	Pſchiki	Ojaneri.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"now,

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

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

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

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

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

"ſugar,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

CHAPTER III.

Of the religious Ceremonies and Superſtition of the Heathen Indians.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Now

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The

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

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

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

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

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

poles

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

CHAPTER IV.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

A to-

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Their

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

CHAPTER V.

Marriages and Education of Children among the Indians.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

They

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

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

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

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

not

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

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

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

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

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

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

the independence of their ſons' mind. By their inſtructions and example the young people are taught from their infancy to ſuppreſs their paſſions, and this is done in ſo effectual a manner, that the proofs they exhibit of their command of temper are truly aſtoniſhing.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

CHAPTER VI.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

* The Latin names are taken from Linnæus.

ſhell,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Gooſe-

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

one

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

There

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

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

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

CHAPTER VII.

Of the Manner of Hunting and Fiſhing among the Indians.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Beſides

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

but

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

QUADRUPEDS.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

SERPENTS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

BIRDS.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The *hoopoe*, *raven*, *crow*, and *pigeon-hawk*, are very common.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

three

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

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

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

FISHING.

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

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

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

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

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

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

The

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

CHAPTER VIII.

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

THE goods, ſold by the Europeans to the Indians, conſiſt chiefly of the following articles:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

and

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The war-dance, held either before or after a campaign, is dreadful to behold. No one takes ſhare in it, but the warriors themſelves. They appear armed as if going to battle. One carries his gun, or an hatchet, another a long knife, the third a tomahawk, the fourth a large club; or they all appear armed with tomahawks. Theſe they brandiſh in the air, to ſignify how they intend to treat or have treated their enemies. They affect ſuch an air of anger and fury on this occaſion, that it makes a ſpectator ſhudder to behold them. A Chief leads the dance, and ſings the warlike deeds of himſelf or his anceſtors. At the end of every celebrated feat of valor, he wields his tomahawk with all his might againſt a poſt fixed in the ground. He is then followed by the reſt, each finiſhing his round by a blow againſt the poſt. Then they dance all together, and this is the moſt frightful ſcene. They affect the moſt horrible and dreadful geſtures, threatening to beat, cut, and ſtab each other. They are however

however amazingly dextrous in avoiding the threatened danger. To complete the horror of the ſcene, they howl as dreadfully as in actual fight, ſo that they appear as raving madmen. During the dance they ſometimes ſound a kind of fife, made of reed, which has a ſhrill and diſagreeable note. The Iroquois uſe the war-dance even in times of peace, with a view to celebrate the heroic deeds of their Chiefs in a ſolemn manner.

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

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

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

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

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

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

CHAPTER IX.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

An

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

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

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

In

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Virginian

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

CHAPTER X.

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

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

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

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

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

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

"be

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Before

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

to

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In

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

CHAPTER XI.

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

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

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

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

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

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

But

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

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

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

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

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

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

But

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Before the warriors proceed, the priſoners are led out for the amuſement of the inhabitants. They faſten ſtrings of bells, or deers-claws, to the feet of one of them, to make a rattle during the dance, preſenting him with a parcel of ſmall ſticks. He takes as many as he pleaſes, and returns the reſt. Theſe determine the number of ſhort dances he has to perform; which he does with great alacrity, to the rattling of a calabaſh filled with ſmall ſtones, and marking the time. After each round, he relates one of his heroic deeds, and delivers a ſtick. Thus he continues to dance and tell his ſtories, till all his ſticks are ſpent. Though the ſpectators ſhould not underſtand his language, yet they gueſs his meaning by his looks and geſtures. Sometimes the priſoners are compelled to ſing the death-ſong, which is as follows: "I go to death, and ſhall ſuffer great torture; but I will "endure the greateſt torments inflicted by my enemies with "becoming courage. I will die like a valiant man, and go "to thoſe heroes, who have died in the ſame manner." This ceremony is performed in every town, through which they muſt paſs. When they at length arrive at the reſidence of the conqueror, many of the priſoners are received into the families, to ſupply the places of the ſlain, or of relations lately deceaſed, and are immediately conſidered as members of the nation. Without this cuſtom, many Indian tribes would have been exterminated long ago. But their true character ſuffers a viſible change by the naturalization of foreigners.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

continue

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

END OF PART I.

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PART II.

HISTORY

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Indians in North America.

PART II.

CHAPTER I.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"and

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

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

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

and

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"and

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"JOHN, your Brother."

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

CHAPTER II.

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

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

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

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

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

ing

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

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

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

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

and

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

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

" My dear Brethren and Siſters,

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

" come

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

" JOHN from amongſt the Heathen."

This letter, written in ſimplicity, though deficient in expreſſion, gave great pleaſure both to Count Zinzendorf, and to the whole congregation at Bethlehem, being an evident proof of the great change wrought in the heart of this man, lately ſo wild and ſavage. In Auguſt, the Count ſet out in company of Conrad Weiſſer to viſit the people at Tulpehokin. On the 14th, he met with a numerous embaſſy of Sachems, or heads of the Six Nations, returning from Philadelphia. Though they were extremely wild, and had, on the ſame day, ſhot one of their own people, yet he would not omit ſo good an opportunity of preaching the Goſpel, but deſired Conrad Weiſſer to tell them, that he had a word from God to them and their nations, which he and his brethren would proclaim to them: further, that his intention was neither to buy land, nor to trade, but to point out to them the way to everlaſting life. Conrad Weiſſer added: " This is the man, " whom God hath ſent both to the Indians and to the white " people to make known his will unto them," confirming his words, after the Indian cuſtom, by a preſent of a piece of red cloth. At firſt the Indians ſeemed not well diſpoſed, and it was doubtful, what anſwer would be returned. But the wife of one of the ambaſſadors juſt then entering the hut, with a child in her arms; it immediately ran to the Count, and began to play with him. Upon this the father immediately ſaluted Brother Zander, whom he had ſeen before; and this circumſtance made ſo good an impreſſion upon the reſt, that they immediately held a council. After about half an hour's conſultation, the ambaſſadors of the Onondago and Cajuge nations came to the Count, and addreſſed him as follows: " Brother, you have made a long voyage over the " ſeas to preach to the white people and to the Indians. You

" did

"did not know that we were here, and we knew nothing "of you. This proceeds from above. Come therefore to "us, both you and your brethren, we bid you welcome, and "take this fathom of wampom in confirmation of the truth "of our words." Thus a kind of covenant was made between the Brethren and the Six Nations, which was at that time of great importance, for the influence of theſe nations being very great, they might have conſiderably obſtructed the progreſs of the Goſpel, had they been enemies.

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

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

1. As

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

low

low ſwamps, and over unfrequented and ſteep mountains, and after much fatigue arrived, on the 28th of September, at Shomokin, a populous Indian town.

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

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

On

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

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

This place was then inhabited by the Shawanoſe, a very depraved and cruel people, always at enmity with the Europeans, and invited thither by the Iroquois with a view to protect the ſilver-mines, ſaid to be in the neighborhood, from the white people. The Brethren encamped in the midſt of this ſavage tribe, and ſtaid twenty days with them. The Shawanoſe thought, that, as Europeans, they came either to trade or to buy land, and though the Count endeavored to explain the true aim of his coming, yet ſome ſuſpicion remained. However, he did not omit any opportunity to ſpeak both with the chiefs and the people concerning the way to ſalvation; and upon ſome his words appeared to make ſo great an impreſſion as to give him hopes that they would receive the Goſpel; but upon the whole their hearts ſeemed ſhut againſt

againſt the truth; and the principal chief or king betrayed a particular enmity on all occaſions. Yet the abode of the Brethren in this place led to a better acquaintance with the Indians, and the more the Count ſaw their great blindneſs and depravity, the more fervently he offered up prayers in their behalf to God our Savior, as the light to enlighten the Gentiles. Whenever he withdrew into his own tent for this purpoſe, he only faſtened the entrance with a pin, and not one of the ſavages ventured to enter. It appeared afterwards that the ſavages had conſpired to murder him and his whole company. But God in mercy prevented it; for Conrad Weiſſer, who could not poſſibly know any thing of their deſign, being detained in ſome town beyond his appointed time, became ſo uneaſy, that he haſtened back to Wajomick, and arrived juſt in time to diſcover and prevent the execution of this murderous plot.

The return of the Count to the cultivated parts of Pennſylvania was rendered very troubleſome, and even dangerous, by the late ſeaſon of the year, and the great floods; but by the mercy of God, they all arrived ſafe in Bethlehem November 9th. Meanwhile Brother Gottlob Buettner and his wife had left Bethlehem, and arrived at Shekomeko on the 1ſt of October, to the great joy of Brother Rauch. Theſe two meſſengers of peace preached the Goſpel with unanimity and zeal, either in Engliſh or Dutch, and John, Jonathan, and other baptized Indians interpreted and confirmed their words both in public and private, with great energy. The miſſionaries likewiſe read the Bible to the baptized, with a view by degrees to make them well acquainted with the Holy Scriptures; the latter aſking queſtions, or deſiring explanations, by which their growth in grace and knowledge was greatly promoted. The Indians alſo from the neighboring towns made frequent viſits to Shekomeko, and ſeemed never tired of hearing the word of God. Many ſavages, who formerly had lived like wild beaſts, worſhipping idols, bloody-minded, and eagerly purſuing all manner of vices and

abominations, flocked now together to hear the Goſpel of their Savior, and his atonement; and ſome were ſo much moved, that they ceaſed not to weep during the diſcourſe; ſome fell upon their faces, and by other ſigns ſhewed how deeply the words had penetrated and humbled their hearts. When they returned home, they told all their friends and neighbors, with great rapture, what "great words" they had heard from the Brethren. This was indeed a gracious time of viſitation from the Lord. Several brought even their children to the miſſionaries, begging them to care for and inſtruct them. Thomas and Eſther came and made them a preſent of their daughter, adding, that they could not educate her as they ought. She was afterwards called Martha in baptiſm, became a member of the congregation in Bethlehem, and was appointed ſchoolmiſtreſs at a ſettlement of the Brethren called Litiz.

More Indians having, upon their earneſt requeſt, been baptized, a weekly meeting for the baptized only was now inſtituted, in which they were addreſſed as perſons, who had received mercy; they ſung and prayed together, and concluded with imparting to each other the kiſs of peace. (Gal. xiii. 12.)

This meeting was frequently diſtinguiſhed by a moſt powerful ſenſation of the preſence and peace of God, and the bleſſed influence it had upon the conduct of the baptized, aſtoniſhed even the neighboring Chriſtians. Jonathan once related, that the above-mentioned farmer, John Rau, had aſked him, how it happened, that now he was not as fond of hunting as formerly? "True," anſwered he, "I am not, and "do not intend to be as great an huntſman as formerly; my "deſire is now after our Savior; all things belong to him, and "he gives them to whom he will. Formerly I was intent "upon nothing but ſhooting and killing; but now my heart "is fixed upon my Savior and his wounds; and when I go "out and ſhoot a deer, I thank him for his gifts." A ſavage being preſent, replied, "Is it the devil then, who gives the

"deer

" deer to the heathen Indians?" This gave Jonathan an opportunity to ſpeak to him of the great love of God towards the juſt and the unjuſt, for he giveth food to all fleſh.

In the above-mentioned meetings of the baptized many uſeful admonitions were given, and they were particularly exhorted to be diligent at their work, that they might pay their debts and eat their own bread. If any one of them acted not conformably to the rule of the Goſpel, he was led with meekneſs to a confeſſion and amendment of his error.

December 6th, 1742, a burying-ground was laid out for the uſe of the baptized, and the child Lazara was the firſt interred in it. A week after this, the miſſionaries had the joy to adminiſter holy baptiſm to fifteen perſons upon the ſame day.

Towards the cloſe of the year, Brother Martin Mack and his wife arrived at Shekomeko, and Brother Rauch went on a viſit to Bethlehem. Abraham ſaid, " Formerly I uſed " to think, that there was no man like Brother Rauch in the " world, but now I am ſatisfied, if only his Brethren live with " us." Brother Mack, immediately upon his arrival, conceived ſuch a love for the Indians, that, according to his own expreſſion, his heart was knit to them. He acknowledged, with gratitude to God, the grace beſtowed upon his wife, towards whom the Indian women had great confidence, ſo that ſhe even eſtabliſhed ſocieties or claſſes among them, in which they met to converſe about the ſtate of their ſouls, and the Lord laid a ſpecial bleſſing upon theſe meetings. Brother Mack ſays in one of his letters, " John is a gifted and zealous wit- " neſs of Jeſus Chriſt, whom I cannot hear without aſtoniſh- " ment. Abraham is a venerable, manly, and ſolid Brother, " preaching to all by his unblameable walk and converſation; " he is alſo poſſeſſed of gifts to teſtify of our Savior with " energy and power."

At the end of the year 1742 the number of baptized Indians in Shekomeko was thirty-one, moſt of whom were baptized in that place and a few in Bethlehem, where they frequently viſited. They were all of the Mahikander tribe,

for the Iroquois ſeemed more willing at that time to promote the Goſpel among others, than to receive it themſelves.

About this time the Brethren became more than ever convinced that great caution and circumſpection would be requiſite in their labors, for many tribes among the Indians bore an irreconcileable hatred towards the Europeans, and were much dreaded by them. For theſe reaſons, a ſuſpicion might eaſily ariſe in the minds of the Chriſtian magiſtrates, as though the Brethren were ſecretly in league with the hoſtile Indians, their conduct towards them differing ſo much from that of other Europeans.

CHAPTER III.

Count Zinzendorf returns to Europe in the Beginning of the Year 1743. *More Miſſionaries are ſent to Shekomeko. Account of their Manner of living. Firſt Viſits paid to Pachgatgoch and Potatik. Firſt Celebration of the Lord's Supper, and Conſecration of the firſt Chapel in Shekomeko. Better Regulations made for the Service of the Congregation. Endeavors of ſome Enemies to oppoſe the Labors of the Brethren among the Indians. Firſt Viſit in Freehold and other Places.*

THE eagerneſs with which the Indians received the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt our Savior, ſoon called for a greater number of laborers in this harveſt. But that the Brethren might everywhere follow the ſame principles in ſpreading the Goſpel, and in their attendance upon the baptized among the different heathen nations, to whom they were ſent, Count Zinzendorf drew up ſome articles for the inſtruction of the miſſionaries in general, founded upon the doctrines of the holy Scriptures, and upon the experience hitherto acquired by the miſſionaries.

This

This worthy nobleman, having done every thing in his power towards the converſion of the heathen in North America, and the furtherance of the Goſpel among them, returned to Europe in the beginning of the year 1743. Previous to his departure he ſent Brother Joſeph Shaw to Shekomeko, as ſchool-maſter of the Indian children. Brother Rauch, who had married in Bethlehem, returned to Shekomeko, and continued to labor there jointly with the Brethren Buettner and Mack. Not long after, the Brethren Pyrlaeus, Senſeman, and their wives, went to ſerve the ſame miſſion, and alſo Frederic Poſt, who afterwards married a baptized Indian woman. Brother Buettner and his wife remained in Shekomeko during the greateſt part of the year 1743. The other miſſionaries ſpent moſt of that period in viſiting other places, eſpecially Wechquatnach and Pachgatgoch, the inhabitants having earneſtly and repeatedly deſired the Brethren to come and inſtruct them. They freely told the miſſionaries that ſome people in Freehold had offered them rum, if they would kill Brother Rauch; and expreſſed their aſtoniſhment, that the white people were ſo enraged, that the doctrine of Jeſus Chriſt ſhould be preached to the Indians, when they themſelves were amuſed with ſo many fooliſh things. By this it was evident, that the enmity of many ſo called Chriſtians againſt the work of God among the heathen had not wholly ſubſided; but the miſſionaries were quiet, bleſſing them that curſed them, yet never ſuffering themſelves to be diſturbed in their important calling, and ſacrificing every convenience of life to this bleſſed ſervice.

They earned their own bread, chiefly by working for the Indians, though the latter were not able to pay much for the produce of their labor. They lived and dreſſed in the Indian manner, ſo that in travelling to and fro they were taken for Indians. But whenever they could not ſubſiſt by the work of their own hands, they were provided with the neceſſaries of life, by the Brethren at Bethlehem.

In their calling and ſervice they met with much oppoſition and many hard trials. The cunning and power of Satan and his emiſſaries ſeemed conſtantly employed againſt them, and

frequently brought them into diſtreſs and danger. But God our Savior mightily ſupported them, and imparted to them extraordinary courage and faith, to reſiſt and deſtroy the machinations of the enemy. Strengthened by many undeniable proofs of the power and grace of God, they remained unſhaken in their reſolution to preach the Goſpel with boldneſs, ſenſible of their own inſufficiency, but in humble reliance upon the ſupport of the Lord, to whom they made conſtant prayer and ſupplication, with full aſſurance of being heard. Brother Buettner was once going to viſit ſome neighboring heathen, and was ſuddenly ſeized with a vomiting of blood. He kneeled down, and prayed to the Lord, that he would ſtrengthen him, having a great way to walk before night. His prayer was heard, and he performed his journey.

Moſt of thoſe Indians, who viſited at Shekomeko and were truly awakened, lived in Pachgatgoch, about twenty miles from Shekomeko, in Connecticut. They firſt addreſſed the magiſtrates, and begged for a Chriſtian miniſter; but their petition being rejected, they ſent to the Brethren, begging that a Brother would come, and preach to them "the ſweet words of Jeſus." Upon this the miſſionary Mack and his wife went thither on the 28th of January, and took up their abode with the captain of the town, whoſe whole family was awakened. The ſavages received him with great joy, and obſerved, that he and his wife muſt love them very much, to travel ſo far to viſit them, in this bad ſeaſon of the year. Mack aſſured them it was ſo, and then informed them of the aim of his viſit.

During his ſtay at Pachgatgoch, a man arrived there belonging to a ſect, called the New Lights, and preached to the ſavages full two hours, declaring that God was exceedingly wroth with them, and would ſend them all to Hell. The poor heathen, who were already convinced of, and alarmed at their wretched and forlorn eſtate by nature, could find no comfort in this doctrine, but came to Brother Mack, to deſire, that he would preach to them; adding, that this white

white man held a doctrine different to that preached in Shekomeko, not ſpeaking a word of the blood of Jeſus. When Brother Mack began to ſpeak of the happineſs of thoſe who believe in the Lord Jeſus, and by him are delivered from the power of ſin and its condemnation, there was a great emotion among the people, and they obſerved among themſelves, how happy they ſhould be, if the Lord would be as gracious to them, as he had been to their countrymen at Shekomeko. Upon another occaſion, when Brother Mack was converſing with them of our Savior, a woman began to weep bitterly, and ſaid: "I know, that my heart is very bad, but I cannot help "myſelf." Brother Mack pointed out Jeſus unto her, as the only help in time of need, and taking this opportunity to declare to them, that freedom from the dominion of ſin was obtained alone through faith in the crucified Jeſus, they all ſaid: "Yes, this is true, this is the right way, of which we "have hitherto been ignorant: theſe are not mere words, "they proceed from our teacher's heart."

Their various queſtions proved often a welcome opportunity to bring the Goſpel home to their hearts, and to declare the whole counſel of God concerning their ſalvation. This produced ſuch an effect, that Brother Mack obſerved in one of his letters: "I cannot deſcribe what theſe people feel, "when we ſpeak to them of the Lamb of God and of his ſuf-"ferings; they ſeem all alive, whenever the diſcourſe turns "upon this ſubject." In general, the love of God kindled in the hearts of many in this place.

From Pachgatgoch Brother Mack went on a viſit to Potatik, about ſeventy miles further inland. He had been expreſly invited by the captain of the place, who formerly was ſo violent an enemy to the Goſpel, that he threatened to tomahawk or ſhoot any one who ſhould dare to ſpeak a word of Jeſus Chriſt.

Brother Mack and his wife left Pachgatgoch on the 4th of February. At taking leave the people wept, and earneſtly entreated them to return ſoon. In Potatik they entered the firſt hut they arrived at. The Indian received them in the kindeſt manner, and inquired, whether they came from

Shekomeko, adding, that it appeared ſo to him by their countenances. He then told them, that he had begun, about a year and a half ago, to go to church. Being aſked his reaſons for it, he made anſwer, that his late daughter in her laſt illneſs was much afraid of being damned eternally: that on this account ſhe had ſent for a Chriſtian preacher, who heard her complaints, and then adviſed her not to do any work on Sunday, not to ſteal, nor to lie, but to go diligently to church, and to pray much, and then ſhe would become acceptable to God: that upon this, his daughter addreſſed him, "Father, I perceive that this advice comes too "late, for I am now going to die, but you muſt not wait "ſo long, elſe you will be alſo loſt;" and ſoon after expired: that ever ſince that time he had endeavored to do good; but found, that he could not well accompliſh it. As to doing no work on Sunday, this was eaſy, but as to the reſt, he could not help tranſgreſſing, and that repeatedly. The preacher, whoſe advice he aſked, told him that he did not come often enough to church. But he found that he always remained the ſame, being like a man chained down, and not able to move. Brother Mack aſked him, whether he believed on the Lord Jeſus Chriſt our Savior? He anſwered, "No, I cannot ſay I do." This gave the miſſionary an opportunity of declaring to him, that if he believed on Jeſus Chriſt, the eternal God, who became a man, and redeemed him from the power of Satan with his own precious blood, then he would not only become free from ſtealing, lying, ſwearing, and the like, but be delivered from the dominion of all ſin. He declared, that he had never heard of this before, expreſſed great joy at Brother Mack's arrival in Potatik, brought him to the other heathen, and gave them an account of the converſation between him and the miſſionary. Meanwhile a large number aſſembled, to whom Brother Mack made known the aim of his journey, deſiring them to permit him and his wife to live with them in their huts for a few days. They behaved very friendly, being not able ſufficiently to expreſs their ſurpriſe, that merely on their account, he ſhould have undertaken ſo long a journey through the

the woods. Meſſengers were immediately diſpatched to call the Indians from the neighboring places, and all the towns-people aſſembled in the evening. They aſked many queſtions, and were aſtoniſhed at all they ſaw and heard, but more eſpecially, that the miſſionary and his wife could venture to come and eat and ſleep with them. They had already heard of the grace beſtowed upon their countrymen at Shekomeko, and knew how notoriouſly wicked the inhabitants of that place had formerly been. To this Brother Mack replied, "It is the deſire of the Lord our Savior to "grant unto you the ſame happineſs, and he requires you "only to deliver yourſelves over to him; wretched as you are "he will gladly forgive your ſins, deliver you from the yoke "of Satan, and make you a people well-pleaſing unto him."

They conſidered theſe words as being of great importance, and continued their converſation with the miſſionary till midnight. As ſoon as the latter left off ſpeaking, they repeated his words to one another in their own language, adding, that they had never heard any thing like it. Many of theſe Indians ſpoke Dutch and Engliſh, and the reſt converſed with Brother Mack in their own language, his wife being the interpreter, having been brought up among the Mahikander Indians. The day following an Engliſh gentleman viſited the miſſionary, and kindly offered him a lodging in his houſe, repreſenting the danger of living conſtantly with the Indians. But Brother Mack anſwered, that having come hither merely on their account, he wiſhed rather to ſtay with them. Some Indians overhearing this converſation, were greatly ſurpriſed, and told the reſt, how much more the miſſionary loved them, than any one had done before; adding, that but few people of that deſcription were in the world, and expreſſing their thankfulneſs to the miſſionary and his wife in the kindeſt terms. Brother Mack improved this opportunity to deſcribe the great love of Jeſus unto all men, obſerving, that all thoſe in whoſe hearts the love of God is ſhed abroad, are conſtrained to love their fellow-men with a true and genuine love. The captain then came forward and addreſſed his people, obſerving, that if they

they intended to be converted, they ſhould do it with their whole heart, for when he ſhould reſolve upon it, he intended to do ſo. The next day, very early, a woman came to the miſſionary, and told him, that ſhe had not ſlept all night; for his words had ſunk into her heart, and made her uneaſy; that ſhe therefore conſidered this as a ſign, that the Lord intended to make her happy.

Brother Mack was alſo frequently viſited by the Europeans, who were amazed at his intrepidity in dwelling among the Indians. One of them liſtening to a converſation between Siſter Mack and the Indian women, aſked an Indian who ſtood by, what he thought of her? His anſwer was: "She believes what ſhe ſpeaks; I never heard any one ſpeak "with ſuch confidence, for her words proceed from her "heart." Another time, the captain accidentally ſtepped into Brother Mack's hut, when ſome Europeans were there on a viſit. He addreſſed them immediately: "You ought to "be aſhamed of yourſelves to have been ſo long amongſt us, "and never to have told us any thing of what we hear from "this man. He tells us what he has felt in his own heart, "ſhows us the ſtate of our hearts, and hits the mark ex-"actly. But you chatter and read in books, and never do "the things you preach to others. From him we learn how "we may be ſaved."

To this bold addreſs the Europeans made no anſwer. Brother Mack alſo viſited the Engliſh miniſter, who ſeemed well pleaſed with the labor of the Brethren among the Indians.

When he mentioned his intention to return to Pachgatgotch, all the Indian inhabitants aſſembled, to take leave of their gueſts. He aſked them, whether they would remember him in love, but they could hardly make any reply for weeping. He then kneeled down and prayed for them, recommending them to the mercy of God. They wept much, and ſaid: "We feel that we are great ſinners, and now you "go and leave us alone." Having ſpoken ſome words of conſolation, he ſet out on his return to Pachgatgoch.

Here

Here he was met by the miſſionary Buettner and the Indian Joſhua; and ſoon after, ſix Indians belonging to this place were baptized. Great grace prevailed among the people, and, according to the account of the miſſionaries, it was evident that the Holy Ghoſt was poured out upon them at their baptiſm. They afterwards ſpent great part of the night in prayer, and in the day-time went about preaching Chriſt to their own countrymen. Among thoſe, who were then baptized, was the captain of Pachgatgoch, Maweſeman, named Gideon in baptiſm, and a ſon of the Indian brother Iſaac in Shekomeko. About two months before, the latter went to viſit his father, whom he had not ſeen for eight years. But as he did not reliſh the Goſpel, he ſoon felt himſelf uneaſy at Shekomeko, and retired to Pachgatgoch. Here the awakening had juſt commenced, his uneaſineſs increaſed, and he was no longer able to reſiſt the grace of God and the power of his word, but ſought and found remiſſion of ſins in the blood of Jeſus. The edifying example of the ſix firſtlings at Pachgatgoch influenced many other Indians. They ſoon made a viſit in Shekomeko, accompanied by twenty-ſeven Indians, both from Pachgatgoch and Potatik, who came to hear the "ſweet words of life." This enlivened the miſſionaries greatly, and gave them boldneſs in preaching the Goſpel.

The idea of the firſt love, ſpoken of in Rev. ii. 4. was here realized and eminently obvious in the declarations of the baptized Indians, concerning our Savior and their experience of his grace, and in their behavior towards each other. Gideon begged, that a miſſionary might come to reſide in Pachgatgoch, and four deputies arrived from Potatik to aſk the ſame favor. This occaſioned Brother Mack to go thither a ſecond time. He found them all very eager to hear the Goſpel. Above twenty baptized Indians from Shekomeko went with him, and were his faithful fellow-laborers. John was remarkably animated, to the aſtoniſhment of all his countrymen. He had a peculiar gift to render the ſubject he was ſpeaking upon, clear and perſpicuous. Sometimes he made uſe of figures, after the Indian manner. For

inſtance,

inſtance, in deſcribing the wickedneſs of man's heart, he took a piece of board, and with charcoal drew the figure of a heart upon it, with ſtings and points proceeding in all directions: "This," ſaid he, "is the ſtate of a man's "heart; while Satan dwells in it, every evil thing proceeds "from it." With Indians, this ſimple figure tended more to illuſtrate his diſcourſe, than the moſt elaborate explanation. Joſhua and Gideon bore likewiſe very powerful teſtimonies of the doctrine of our Lord's atonement; for having an experimental knowledge of it in their own hearts, they could not hold their peace.

During the time of Brother Mack's ſecond viſit in Potatik, Gideon remained in Pachgatgoch. Here he was one day attacked by a ſavage, who, preſenting his gun to his head, exclaimed: "Now I will ſhoot you, for you ſpeak of nothing "but Jeſus." Gideon anſwered: "If Jeſus does not per-"mit you, you cannot ſhoot me." The ſavage was ſo ſtruck with this anſwer, that he dropped his gun, and went home in ſilence. During his abſence, his wife had been taken extremely ill, and as Brother Mack juſt then returned to Pachgatgoch, the poor ſavage ran to meet him, begging that he would come and tell him and his wife ſomething of God, though only two days had elapſed ſince he had reſolved to ſhoot every one who ſhould ſpeak to him about converſion. Brother Mack went with him, and found a great number of Indians gathered together, to whom he and his Indian aſſiſtants, Joſhua and Gideon, preached redemption in Chriſt Jeſus with ſuch power and unction, that the poor people were greatly affected.

It was a very moving ſight, to ſee the good people of Pachgatgoch take leave of the miſſionary and his company. They all met together, and declared, that though he had been a fortnight with them, they were yet very hungry after his words, and then begged, that he would preach to them once more; upon which he ſpoke for ſome time of the power of the blood of Chriſt. When he had finiſhed, Joſhua roſe and continued the diſcourſe, and being hindered by his

tears

tears from proceeding, Samuel continued, and then Gideon confirmed it. The emotion among the hearers was ſuch, that Brother Mack declared, he had never ſeen any thing equal to it.

The conference of Elders in Bethlehem, to whom the ſuperintendency of this miſſion was committed, ſent now and then a Brother to viſit the miſſionaries in Shekomeko. During the courſe of this year, Biſhop David Nitſchman, and the Brethren Peter Boehler, Anthony Seyffart, John Hagen, and Nathanael Seidel, ſpent ſome time there, and were filled with wonder and gratitude, in beholding the powerful effects of the ſpirit and grace of God among theſe heathen.

Some years ago, Anthony Seyffart wrote in a letter to me: "I ſtill remember with great pleaſure what I frequently "ſaw in the year 1743 at Shekomeko, where the Indians, "in large bodies, upwards of an hundred in number, upon "hearing the Goſpel of our Savior, wept over their miſery "and tranſgreſſions, praying for the remiſſion of their ſins. "Thus thoſe lines in an ancient hymn were here realized:

"And tho' a bear, he's ſoften'd to a lamb;
"Tho' cold as ice, his heart is ſet on flame."

Some Brethren went alſo from Bethlehem to preach in different Indian towns in the neighboring countries, eſpecially among the Delawares, though at that time they had poſitively declared, that they would not hear any thing of the God of the Chriſtians. We muſt here obſerve, that during theſe journies, which were frequently attended with much fatigue and danger, they were much encouraged and comforted by a book in uſe among the Brethren, containing words of Scripture for each day in the year, which proved at times very applicable to their circumſtances. Two of theſe meſſengers of peace were on one day obliged, both to paſs through a foreſt on fire, and to croſs a large brook, which had overflowed its banks. The text for that day was, *When thou paſſeſt through the waters, I will be with thee:*

thee: and through the rivers, they ſhall not overflow thee: when thou walkeſt through the fire, thou ſhalt not be burnt; neither ſhall the flame kindle upon thee: Iſa. xliii. 2. Though theſe viſits were not productive of any immediate good, yet the kindneſs, with which the Indians were treated by the Brethren, left a ſtrong impreſſion upon their minds, and the fruits appeared in due ſeaſon.

The Indian congregation in Shekomeko continued to increaſe in number and grace; there was only one thing wanting, namely, the adminiſtration of the Holy Communion, and the miſſionaries began to think it wrong to withhold this great gift, granted by Jeſus Chriſt himſelf, in his laſt teſtament, to his whole church, from this congregation of believing Indians. After much ſerious deliberation, ten of the baptized were nominated to be the firſt, who ſhould partake of the Lord's Supper. They were previouſly inſtructed in the doctrines contained in the Holy Scriptures, relating to this ſacrament, viz. that in the Holy Communion they partook of the body and blood of Jeſus Chriſt, according to his word; that they were thereby united to him by faith, and would receive a repeated aſſurance of the forgiveneſs of their ſins. Then the miſſionaries prayed over them, recommending them to the faithful tuition of the Spirit of God, that he himſelf might prepare their hearts for this bleſſed enjoyment.

March the 13th was the great day on which the firſtlings of the Indian nations ſhould be admitted to the participation of this ſacred repaſt. The baptized firſt met to partake of a love-feaſt, according to the cuſtom of the apoſtolic churches, during which, the great grace already beſtowed upon them, and the future bleſſings to be imparted unto them by our Savior, were ſpoken of. Afterwards the candidates for the Lord's Supper had the Pedilavium (John, xiii. 14.), and having been confirmed with impoſition of hands, this ſolemn meeting was concluded with the kiſs of peace. Then this ſmall congregation of Indians enjoyed the Holy Communion, according to the inſtitution of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt

in remembrance of his death. At this opportunity his divine preſence was felt in ſuch a manner, that the hearts of all preſent were filled with love and awe; all were melted into tears. The miſſionary writes: "During the ſubſequent meeting for adoration and thankſgiving, we were overcome with weeping, and whilſt I live, I ſhall never loſe the impreſſion this firſt Communion with the Indians in North America made upon me."

At the ſecond Communion on the 27th of July, twenty-two Indians were preſent, among whom were ſome from Pachgatgoch. The day following one of them declared, that he never thought any one could feel ſo happy in this world; but that he could not find words to expreſs his ſenſations. Moſt of them made the ſame declaration.

The believers being much intent upon forſaking every thing belonging to, or connected with heatheniſm, and deſiring to walk in all things worthy of their heavenly calling as a church of God, they unanimouſly agreed to make even more ſtatutes and regulations than thoſe recommended to them by Count Zinzendorf, to which every one, who would live amongſt them, ſhould conform. And that theſe ſtatutes might be ſtrictly complied with, they appointed Brother Cornelius, formerly a captain among the ſavages, to be overſeer. Having accepted of the charge, he called the inhabitants together, explained the ſtatutes to them in a very engaging manner, and afterwards acted in his capacity as overſeer, with great faithfulneſs and to general ſatisfaction. However, one day, after the Communion, he came and begged to be diſmiſſed from this office, alledging, that he had felt ſuch happineſs during the ſacrament, that he had reſolved to retire from all public buſineſs, and to devote his whole time to an uninterrupted intercourſe with our Savior. Nevertheleſs he was eaſily perſuaded to keep his poſt till another brother ſhould be found to ſucceed him, with this condition, that he ſhould no more be called Captain, for, added he, "I am the leaſt amongſt my brethren."

In July the new chapel at Shekomeko was finiſhed and conſecrated, ſome of the elders of the congregation at Bethlehem

kehem being preſent. This building was thirty feet long and twenty broad, and entirely covered with ſmooth bark. The daily meetings were now regulated in a better manner. The congregation uſually met every forenoon to hear a diſcourſe delivered upon ſome text of Scripture. Every evening an hymn was ſung. A monthly prayer-day was likewiſe eſtabliſhed, on which, accounts were read concerning the progreſs of the Goſpel in different parts of the world, and prayer and ſupplication made unto God for all men, with thankſgiving. The prayer-days were peculiarly agreeable to the Indians; eſpecially becauſe they heard, that they were remembered in prayer by ſo many children of God in other places. Both on theſe days, and on all Sundays and feſtival days, Shekomeko ſeemed all alive, and it may be ſaid with truth, that the believers ſhowed forth the death of the Lord, both early and late. One day above one hundred ſavages came thither on a viſit, and one of the miſſionaries obſerved, that wherever two were ſtanding and converſing together, our Lord Jeſus, and his love to ſinners, as the cauſe of his bitter ſufferings, was the ſubject of converſation. The zeal of the baptized Indians in teſtifying of our Savior was ſuch, that they were thus employed even till after midnight.

The miſſionaries were alſo daily excited to thank and praiſe God, for the manifold proofs of the labor of his Spirit in the hearts of the Indian Brethren and Siſters. Abraham, Iſaac, Jacob, and John, and their wives, were well eſtabliſhed in the principles of the Chriſtian faith, and obſerved all the inſtructions given in the Scriptures concerning holy matrimony, how in that ſtate they ſhould conduct themſelves according to the will of God. Even when any of them diſpleaſed the miſſionaries by improper conduct, the latter were often comforted, by ſeeing their readineſs to acknowledge their fault, and their deſire to be led again into the right way. Jonathan ſpent ſeveral days in great uneaſineſs. He had had a diſpute with ſome of his brethren, and though he was willing to aſk pardon of the Lord, yet he could not be ſatisfied, but whenever he prayed to him,

was

was always led in his heart to own his fault before his brethren. At laſt he did ſo, and this circumſtance taught him to know himſelf ſtill better. Another baptized Indian had ſuffered himſelf to be ſeduced to drunkenneſs by ſome wicked Indians. The whole congregation were grieved on this account; but the Brethren were deſired in the public meeting, not to treat their brother harſhly, but rather to recommend him in prayer to the pardon and mercy of Jeſus; as he moſt ſincerely repented of his fault. After ſome days, he was aſſured of the forgiveneſs of the congregation, and readmitted to their fellowſhip. An old Indian, called Solomon, who was awakened, but could not ſubmit to own himſelf ſo great a ſinner as he really was, removed with his whole family from Shekomeko, promiſing to return, perhaps in three weeks. But that ſame evening he came back, and declared, that he could not leave the place; upon which the Indians obſerved to one another, that Solomon could not run away from our Savior. Jonas, whoſe wife was ſtill unbaptized, and had reſolved to leave him, aſked the miſſionaries, how he ſhould conduct himſelf in this caſe, promiſing to follow their advice, as a child. He was adviſed to behave with meekneſs and kindneſs, but yet to ſhow firmneſs in his conduct towards her, and John was deſired to ſpeak to the woman, and to perſuade her to return to her huſband. This had ſo good an effect, that ſhe ſaid, "It is true, my heart is ſo bad, that "I muſt do evil, though I would not." John having told her with great energy how ſhe might be delivered from that evil heart, ſhe returned, ſtaid with her huſband, and ſome time after was truly converted to the Lord.

Shekomeko was now ſufficiently ſupplied with miſſionaries; but that nothing might be neglected at Pachgatgoch, Brother Martin Mack and his wife removed thither, built an Indian hut of bark, and being ſurrounded on all ſides with hills and rocks, frequently called to mind the favorite lines, ſung by the ancient Bohemian Brethren:

" The rugged rocks, the dreary wilderneſs,
" Mountains and woods, are our appointed place.
" 'Midſt ſtorms and waves, on heathen ſhores unknown,
" We have our temple, and ſerve God alone."

Yet for the Lord's ſake, he and his wife were contented to live here in poverty, and gladly to ſuffer hardſhips. But the great awakening in Pachgatgoch ſoon raiſed the attention of the whole neighborhood, eſpecially of ſome white people, who did every thing in their power to ſeduce the Indians to forſake the Brethren. For having been accuſtomed to make the diſſolute life of the Indians, and chiefly their love of liquor ſubſervient to their advantage; they were exceedingly provoked, when they ſaw, that the Indians began in truth to turn from their evil doings, and to avoid all thoſe ſinful practices, which had hitherto been ſo profitable to the traders. They firſt ſpread every kind of evil report againſt the miſſionary and his intentions, and finding that theſe were not liſtened to, they perſuaded a clergyman of the church of England in the neighborhood, to join in their meaſures. A pariſh overſeer was therefore ſent to tell the Indians, that they ſhould ſend to New England for a miniſter and ſchoolmaſter, and that the governor would pay their ſalaries. To this, the Indians anſwered, that they had teachers already, with whom they were well ſatisfied, and upon the overſeers obſerving, that the Brethren preached falſe doctrine, they replied: " You never diſturb your " people in their way of living, let it be ever ſo ſinful, and " therefore do not diſturb us, but ſuffer us to live as we " are taught. There are many churches in your towns, " and various ſects, each of whom calls the doctrine it pro- " feſſes, the only right way to heaven, and yet you grant " them full liberty; therefore, permit us likewiſe to believe " what we pleaſe, though you ſhould not think it right." This anſwer only tended the more to enrage the adverſaries. They publicly brauded the Brethren with the names of papiſts and traitors, and the miſſionaries Mack, Shaw, and Pyrlaeus (the two latter being on a viſit in Pachgatgoch), were taken

taken up as papiſts, and dragged up and down the country for three days, till the governor of Connecticut, hearing their caſe, honorably diſmiſſed them. Yet their accuſers inſiſted on their being bound over in a penalty of 100l. to keep the laws of the country. Being not fully acquainted with all the ſpecial laws of the province, they perceived the trap laid for them, and thought it moſt prudent to retire to Shekomeko. Many of the believing Indians followed them, and the reſt made repeated viſits to the miſſionaries. However, Brother Mack's wife ventured, ſome months after, to go on a viſit to the Indian women at Pachgatgoch.

Here ſhe heard, that the enemies continued to take much pains to entice the Indians to forſake their connexion with the Brethren, and to deſiſt from going to Shekomeko. One of them endeavored to repreſent it as great folly in them, to fatigue themſelves by ſo long a journey, when, if they would come to hear him preach, he would even give them money. Gideon anſwered: "We do not deſire to hear your words "for money: I and my friends ſeek the ſalvation of our "ſouls, and on this account, the road to Shekomeko never "ſeems too long, for there we hear the enlivening words of "the Goſpel."

Meanwhile the miſſionary Rauch had viſited the country about Albany, Shochary, and Canatſhochary on the North River, and on the 23d of Auguſt arrived at Freehold, where he found a large company of Indians gathered around a dying perſon. As ſoon as the patient heard that a teacher had arrived from Shekomeko, he exhorted his countrymen to hearken to his words, and addreſſing the miſſionary, bequeathed to him his hut in caſe of his death, which happened that ſame night. Brother Rauch having made known the aim of his coming, the Indians held a council, and ſent him word, that they had reſolved to intreat him to dwell with them, and to inſtruct them in the knowledge of God; for that they had long wiſhed to become like the people in Shekomeko. He immediately began to tell them of the love of God our Savior to loſt ſinners, and of the ſufferings

and death of Jeſus. Some ſmiled, others were ſtill, and ſeemed ſtruck with wonder. But about three weeks after, ſome white people came and endeavored to irritate the minds of the Indians againſt him. They even diſtributed rum amongſt them, with a view that in a drunken frolic they might ſet their dogs at the miſſionary, or even kill him: and though the ſavages refuſed to do this, yet they loſt their confidence, Brother Rauch having being deſcribed as a deceitful and dangerous man. Notwithſtanding all this oppoſition, ſome of the moſt ſavage of theſe Indians were gained for the Lord. One of them publicly burnt his idols, and in a ſpeech delivered to his countrymen on this occaſion, lamented his former blindneſs and ignorance of the true God, exhorting them all to ſurrender their hearts to the Lord Jeſus. His diſcourſe was ſo full of energy, that many were ſtruck with conviction, and ſome became truly concerned for the ſalvation of their ſouls. Towards the cloſe of the year, ſeveral of the inhabitants of Freehold were made partakers of the grace of God; but others, not conceiving how ſuch a change could poſſibly be wrought in man, ſuſpected Brother Rauch of ſorcery, and that he could make people like himſelf, by ſome kind of magic ſpell.

Amidſt all theſe endeavors to convert the Mahikander and Delaware nations, the Iroquois were not forgotten. But a thorough knowledge of the Maquaw or Mohawk language being required, to be able to preach the Goſpel to them, Brother Pyrlaeus went to Tulpehokin, where he remained three months with Conrad Weiſſer to ſtudy this language, and afterwards moved with his wife into the interior part of the Iroquois country, and took up his abode with the Engliſh miſſionary, in Juntarogu. Conrad Weiſſer had an inclination to follow him, and, on his way, called at Shekomeko. He was a man poſſeſſed of a thorough knowledge of the Indians and their manners, and though willing to aſſiſt, had always doubted the poſſibility of their converſion. His aſtoniſhment at what he ſaw and heard in this place, is evident from the following letter written to Brother Buettner,

miſſionary at Shekomeko: "I was very ſorry not to have "ſeen you at Shekomeko, owing to your indiſpoſition. But "the pleaſure I felt, during my abode there, has left a deep "impreſſion upon me. The faith of the Indians in our "Lord Jeſus Chriſt, their ſimplicity and unaffected deport-"ment, their experience of the grace procured for us by "the ſufferings of Jeſus, preached to them by the Brethren, "has impreſſed my mind with a firm belief, that God is "with you. I thought myſelf ſeated in a company of pri-"mitive Chriſtians. The old men ſat partly upon benches, "and partly upon the ground for want of room, with great "gravity and devotion, their eyes ſtedfaſtly fixed upon their "teacher, as if they would eat his words. John was the "interpreter, and acquitted himſelf in the beſt manner. "I eſteem him as a man anointed with grace and ſpirit. "Though I am not well acquainted with the Mahikander "language, yet their peculiar manner of delivery renders "their ideas as intelligible to me, as to any European in this "country. In ſhort, I deem it one of the greateſt favors "beſtowed upon me in this life, that I have been at Sheko-"meko. That text of Scripture, "Jeſus Chriſt, the ſame "yeſterday, and to-day, and for ever," appeared to me as an "eternal truth, when I beheld the venerable patriarchs of "the American Indian church ſitting around me, as living "witneſſes of the power of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and of his "atoning ſacrifice. Their prayers are had in remembrance "in the ſight of God, and may God fight againſt their "enemies. May the Almighty give to you and your aſ-"ſiſtants an open door to the hearts of all the heathen. This "is the moſt earneſt wiſh of your ſincere friend,

"CONRAD WEISSER."

Brother Pyrlaeus did not meet with the reception he might have expected from the Engliſh miſſionary. This gentleman's mind had been already influenced againſt the Brethren, and therefore, from the beginning, he ſtarted many difficulties, and then told him without reſerve, that he could

not aſſiſt him in his endeavors without expoſing himſelf to ſevere reproof; that as to himſelf, he was weary of his labor among the Indians, their language being ſo difficult, that after many years ſtudy he found himſelf unable to preach in it; that he therefore had only written a few ſermons with the aſſiſtance of a friend, which he read to the Indians now and then, but without obſerving the leaſt change in their conduct, for they would not even leave off drinking, and painting their faces. Pyrlaeus finding himſelf narrowly watched on all ſides, and his preſence not agreeable, removed to another place about thirty miles off, where he found more opportunity of ſtudying the language, though obliged to ſubmit to great hardſhips. For example; he and his wife lived in an houſe, in which they ſlept for a whole fortnight upon the bare ground, without the leaſt covering. They were likewiſe continually tormented by all kinds of vermin and troubleſome inſects. But their love to the Indians made them willingly bear all theſe inconveniences. Sometime after, Pyrlaeus was invited to a conference in Shekomeko, and accompanied Brother Anthony Seyffart to Canatſhochary, with a view to make further progreſs in the Mohawk language. From Bethlehem, Brother Bruce and his wife went to Otſtonwackin, where they ſtaid one month, and on their return expreſſed ſome hopes, that the inhabitants of that town were inclined to receive the Goſpel.

Brother Senſeman went from Shekomeko up the North River, where he viſited Sohekants and Skathkak, and his words found entrance into the hearts of ſome. For all theſe endeavors the Brethren thought themſelves amply rewarded by the ſucceſs of the miſſion in Shekomeko; where, at the cloſe of the year 1743, the congregation of baptized Indians conſiſted of ſixty-three perſons, excluſive of thoſe in Pachgatgoch, and a great number of conſtant hearers, ſome of whom were powerfully awakened.

CHAPTER IV.

Severe Perſecution of the Miſſionaries, and of the Congregation at Shekomeko. Their Conduct under theſe Trials.

HITHERTO the labor of the Brethren among the heathen had met with no oppoſition of any conſequence, and in the firſt months of the year 1744, the church had reſt and was edified. Shekomeko being the chief reſidence of the believers, frequent viſits were made to this place from the awakened people in Pachgatgoch and Potatik, which were returned at different times by the miſſionaries, and their Indian aſſiſtants.

Brother Buettner was from January till May in Bethlehem, and Frederick Poſt was recalled.

The miſſionaries Mack, Shaw, and Senſeman, ſerved the Indian congregation in Shekomeko, and their diary contains many pleaſing proofs of the bleſſed effects of the grace of Jeſus Chriſt in the hearts of the believing Indians, of which I will quote a few:

A ſick brother ſaid, that, whenever he felt impatience, he prayed to our Savior to deliver him from it, and that his prayer was always heard.

Jonathan meeting ſome white people, who had entered into ſo violent a diſpute about baptiſm and the Holy Communion, that they at laſt proceeded to blows, "Theſe people," ſaid he, "know certainly nothing of our Savior, for they "ſpeak of him, as we do of a ſtrange country."

A trader was endeavoring to perſuade the Indian Brother Abraham, that the Brethren were not privileged teachers. He anſwered: "They may be what they will, but I know "what they have told me, and what God has wrought with-"in me. Look at my poor countrymen there, lying drunk "before your door. Why do you not ſend privileged teachers,

"to convert them, if they can? Four years ago I alſo lived "like a beaſt, and not one of you troubled himſelf about "me; but when the Brethren came, they preached the croſs "of Chriſt, and I have experienced the power of his blood, "according to their doctrine, ſo that I am freed from the do- "minion of ſin. Such teachers we want."

In February ſome Indian deputies arrived in Shekomeko from Weſtenhuck, to inquire whether the believing Indians would live in friendſhip with the new chief. Upon this the Indian Brethren preached the word of God to theſe people, adding: "When we once ſhall all believe in our Savior, "theſe embaſſies will be unneceſſary, for we ſhall be very "good friends of courſe."

An Indian woman, who was baptized by a preacher in Weſtenhuck, paid a viſit to the believers in Shekomeko, and told them, that not having been guilty of any open offence for two years after her baptiſm, ſhe thought herſelf thoroughly converted. But by the perſuaſions of her relations, who repreſented to her that dancing was no crime, the preacher himſelf having quoted from Scripture, that there was "a time to dance," ſhe had at length been perſuaded to attend an Indian feaſt, where ſhe was overcome by wantonneſs, and had ever ſince led a ſhameful life. Alarmed at her ſituation, ſhe came hither to ſeek for help, if any might be found. The Indians deſcribed to her the great love of Jeſus Chriſt to poor repenting ſinners, exemplified in the hiſtory of Mary Magdalene.

The Indian Brother Daniel was aſked upon his death-bed, whether he was contented to die? To this he anſwered, with a ſmile, "that he was ſatisfied with whatever our Savior "ſhould do with him." During his whole illneſs he preached the Goſpel to his countrymen, and his happy departure to the Lord produced a great emotion in the hearts of all preſent. The whole congregation in Shekomeko accompanied his corpſe to the grave, and the miſſionary having prayed the liturgy as uſual, the Indian John ſtepped forward and delivered an emphatic diſcourſe to the company preſent, concerning

cerning the joy of a believer in the hour of death, which made a great impreſſion upon all.

In the ſame manner ſeveral of the baptized departed this life in this year, rejoicing in God their Savior, and their happy exit proved a great comfort and edification to the ſurvivors.

The Indian congregation conſiſted now of four claſſes; communicants, baptized, candidates for baptiſm, and catechumens; and the Lord laid a peculiar bleſſing upon each of them. The Holy Communion was very highly prized by the communicants, as the moſt important of all tranſactions on earth. They examined their own hearts, preparatory to every enjoyment, with ſuch ſtrictneſs, that the miſſionaries who ſpoke with each individual ſeparately, found more cauſe to comfort and encorage them, than to adviſe them to abſtain from it. John expreſſed himſelf concerning this ſacrament to the following effect: "That as he could firmly "believe in every thing ſpoken by our Savior, ſo he was ſure "that he partook of his fleſh and blood in the Holy Com-"munion, becauſe the Lord himſelf had declared it." Another communicant ſaid: "I am frequently brought very "low by the conſideration of my great weakneſs and ſinful-"neſs, but whenever I approach to the Lord's Supper, I "am revived." An European man being once preſent as a ſpectator when the ſacrament was adminiſtered to the Indian congregation, declared afterwards, that though he had received the Communion many hundred times, yet he had never perceived its powerful effect on the heart, as at this time, though only a ſpectator; adding, that this was truly the ſupper of the Lord, and that, whilſt he lived, he ſhould never loſe the impreſſion it had made upon him.

Thus was the Indian congregation ſituated, when ſuddenly a moſt violent perſecution aroſe. Some white people in the neighborhood continued to do every thing in their power to ſeduce the Indians from their connexion with the Brethren, not only by baſe inſinuations, but by endeavoring to promote drunkenneſs and other crimes amongſt them.

The

The moſt dangerous of all their inſinuations was, that the Brethren, being allied to the French in Canada, fomented the diſturbances which then took place, and intended to furniſh the Indians with arms, to fight againſt the Engliſh. This falſehood they ſpread about with ſuch boldneſs, that at laſt the whole country was alarmed and filled with terror. The inhabitants of Sharen remained under arms for a whole week together, and ſome even forſook their plantations.

March the 1ſt, Mr. Hegeman, juſtice of the peace in Filkentown, arrived in Shekomeko, and informed Brother Mack, that it was his duty to inquire, what ſort of people the Brethren were, for that the moſt dangerous tenets and views were aſcribed to them. He added, that as to himſelf, he diſbelieved all thoſe lying reports concerning them, and acknowledged the miſſion in Shekomeko to be a work of God, becauſe, by the labor of the Brethren, the moſt ſavage heathen had been ſo evidently changed, that he, and many other Chriſtians, were put to ſhame by their godly walk and converſation: but that, notwithſtanding his own perſuaſion, it would be of ſervice to the Brethren themſelves, if he was ſuffered minutely to examine into their affairs, with a view to ſilence their adverſaries. Hearing that Brother Buettner was abſent, he only deſired that he might be informed of his return, and thus left them. After that, the Brethren remained unmoleſted till May, when Brother Buettner returning to Shekomeko, the miſſionaries informed the juſtice of the peace of his arrival. Upon this, a corporal came on the 14th, to demand their attendance on the Friday following in Pickipſi, about thirty miles off, to exerciſe with the militia. But their names not being inſerted in the liſt, they did not appear. Soon after, a ſimilar meſſage being ſent, and the names of the miſſionaries Rauch, Buettner, and Shaw expreſsly mentioned, Brother Buettner went ſome days previous to the time appointed, to Captain Herrman in Reinbeck, and repreſented to him, that as miniſters called to preach the Goſpel to the heathen, they ought to be exempted from military ſervices. The captain replied, that they would be under

under a neceſſity to prove and ſwear to the validity of their calling; but diſmiſſed them for the preſent. On the 18th of June another ſummons was iſſued, to require their attendance on the 23d. The day following a juſtice of the peace, with ſome officers and twelve men, arrived from Pickipſi at Shekomeko. He informed the miſſionaries, that two companies had been ready to march, to arreſt them, but that he had prevented it, with a view to examine the whole affair himſelf. He then deſired to know who had ſent them, and what their buſineſs was? Brother Buettner replied, That they were ſent hither by the biſhops of the proteſtant church of the Brethren to preach the Goſpel to the heathen. The juſtice obſerved, that though he conſidered the accuſations brought againſt them, reſpecting the Indians, to be groundleſs; yet if the Brethren were papiſts, as a clergyman in Dover had poſitively aſſerted in a letter but lately written, they could not be ſuffered to remain in the country; and that, in general, every inhabitant of this land was called upon to take two oaths, of which he delivered a written copy. One was: "That King George being the "lawful ſovereign of the kingdom, he would not in any "way encourage the Pretender." The other: "That he "rejected tranſubſtantiation, the worſhip of the Virgin "Mary, purgatory, &c." Brother Buettner aſſured him, that the miſſionaries could aſſent to every point contained in the oaths, but that he hoped, they would not inſiſt upon their ſwearing; for though he did not condemn thoſe who took a lawful oath, yet he wiſhed, for conſcience ſake, to be excuſed; that he would however ſubmit to every puniſhment inflicted upon perjured perſons, if he were found acting contrary to his aſſeveration made by *Yes* or *No*. The juſtice expreſſed his ſatisfaction for the preſent, but engaged the miſſionaries in a penalty of 40l. to appear before the court in Pickipſi on the 16th of October. He then viſited the Chriſtian Indians in their plantations, and took leave with much civility.

June

June 22d, the miſſionaries went to Reinbeck in obedience to the ſummons received. As they were ſetting out, John ſaid: "Go, Brethren, go in peace; I know to whom you "are going, but our Savior is greater than they." They were now called upon in public court to prove that they were privileged teachers. Buettner produced his written vocation, and his certificate of ordination, duly ſigned by Biſhop David Nitſchman, adding, that the proteſtant church of the Brethren had been declared by the Archbiſhop of Canterbury to be an epiſcopal and apoſtolical church; and therefore they hoped, that they were entitled to the ſame toleration enjoyed by other proteſtant communities. All theſe evidences being rejected by the court, Buettner added: "Well "then, Sir, if our ſincere verbal declarations, proved by "written documents and teſtimonies, that we have demeaned "ourſelves amongſt the ſavages as Proteſtant teachers, do "not ſuffice; and you are ignorant of the tenets of our "church, and do not chuſe to grant us the ſame privileges "which other Proteſtants enjoy; we ſubmit, and you have "power to dictate our puniſhment, for we are ſubject to the "magiſtrates, and cannot oppoſe them, nor would we, if we "even could. We rather chuſe patiently to ſuffer." This firm declaration had ſome effect upon the commander of the militia and the juſtice, Mr. Beckman. He aſſured the miſſionaries, that he had no idea of puniſhing them, but only wiſhed to examine into their affairs, and therefore deſired them to appear before the court to be held at Pickipſi in October next, by order of the governor of New York. He then invited them to dinner, and diſmiſſed them with much civility.

But the accuſations of their enemies increaſing very faſt, and a great ſtir being raiſed among the people, the magiſtrates thought proper to haſten the examination, and the miſſionaries were obliged to appear in Filkentown on the 14th of July, their friend John Rau kindly accompanying them. They were firſt called upon to take their oath; but they remained ſtedfaſt in their requeſt to be excuſed. Three

witneſſes

witneſſes were then heard againſt them. But their evidence being partly without foundation, and partly nugatory and trifling, it made no impreſſion upon the court. John Rau was next examined. He anſwered, that he had known the Brethren from their firſt coming into the country, and could ſay nothing but what tended to their honor; that he had frequently been preſent with his whole family at their meetings, and had never ſeen any thing to juſtify the ſtrange accuſations brought againſt them. Upon this the court broke up, and they were again honorably acquitted.

Meanwhile the adverſaries of the Brethren had repeatedly accuſed them of the above-mentioned dangerous views before the then governor of New York, till he at length reſolved to ſend for them, and to examine into the truth of theſe reports. The Brethren, Buettner and Senſeman from Shekomeko, and Shaw from Bethlehem, went accordingly to New York, and found upon their arrival, that the attention of the whole town was raiſed. They were regarded as diſturbers of the public peace, deſerving either impriſonment, whipping, or baniſhment. But Mr. Beckman, who had examined the Brethren in Reinbeck, happening at that time to be in New York, publicly took their part, and affirmed, that the good done by them among the Indians was undeniable.

Auguſt 11th, theſe three Brethren were ordered before the governor and the court, and each ſeparately examined. The ſame queſtions were put, and nearly the ſame anſwers given, as in the foregoing examinations. But at the cloſe Brother Buettner addreſſed the governor to this effect: "We are ſub-
"ject to God and the magiſtrates, and would rather patiently
"ſuffer than oppoſe them. But our cauſe is the cauſe of
"God, to whom the ſouls of all men belong. For his ſake
"we live among the ſavages, to preach the Goſpel of Jeſus
"Chriſt unto them. We neither deſire to gain money, nor
"covet their land, nor ſhall we ever have theſe views. The
"Lord our Savior has ſupported us hitherto, and he will
"ſupport us for the future: for we are in his hands, and
"place unlimited confidence in him, being aſſured, that
"nothing

"nothing can befall us, without his permiſſion. By him "we have been taught to be faithful and obedient to thoſe "whom he has appointed to rule over us, not from motives "of policy, but for conſcience ſake. Hitherto we have led "under them a quiet and peaceable life in all godlineſs "and honeſty, and we wiſh always to do ſo. But we are "reſolved to ſuffer every thing rather than to act contrary "to our conviction. We therefore humbly intreat your Ex-"cellency not to burthen our conſciences by the exaction "of an oath, and to conſider, that though we are poor peo-"ple, and ſuffer contempt and every other affliction, yet we "ſtand under the protection of God, who is Lord over the "conſciences of all men. We alſo pray moſt earneſtly, that "we may be allowed to proceed unmoleſted in the bleſſed "work of the converſion of the heathen, promiſing to ſhow "all due obedience and ſubordination to your Excellency "upon every occaſion, as we are in duty and conſcience "bound to do." Upon this the Brethren were informed that they ſhould remain in town, till further orders from the governor.

The day following they were examined by the council upon the ſame queſtions, and notwithſtanding Brother Buettner's gentle remonſtrance, were informed, that it appeared moſt proper for them to quit the country. They ſhould however ſtill wait for a final deciſion from the governor. This they received by his ſecretary, Auguſt the 21ſt, implying, that they had leave to return home, but ſhould live according to their religious tenets, in ſuch a manner, that no ſuſpicions might ariſe concerning them. The ſecretary added a certificate of their acquitment in writing, to ſecure them againſt any injury from the mob.

The Brethren Buettner and Shaw arrived in Shekomeko, on the 9th of September; but Brother Senſeman went to Bethlehem, to give an account of the above-mentioned tranſactions.

Brother Buettner was however obliged to go again to Pickipſi in October, the ſummons being yet in force. He had already

already ſuffered greatly in his health, and was detained there two days in very ſevere weather. At laſt, by the interference of a friend, his cauſe was brought forward, and having received a diſmiſſion from the governor himſelf, he was liberated for the preſent, without further examination. When he came home, John related what he had felt, in conſidering the proceedings of the white people, and how his wife, thinking of Brother Buettner, while at work in the foreſt, at length grew ſo heavy and ſorrowful that ſhe wept, and cried aloud: "My God, why do theſe men "plague Brother Buettner? why will they not let him come "home? He is ill, has done nothing amiſs, and inſtructs "us how we may be ſaved." John added, that he had comforted his wife, and reminded her, that the diſciples of Jeſus had not fared any better.

The Brethren Mack and Senſeman viſited the Indians in New England, and it appeared as though many of them received the Goſpel as a meſſage of peace.

It now appeared plain to every candid obſerver, that the accuſations againſt the Brethren aroſe either from miſconception or malice. Many people, and even ſome of diſtinguiſhed rank among the magiſtrates, acknowledged the ſincerity of their views, and the good ariſing from their endeavors; for the preaching of the Goſpel had produced ſo evident a change in the conduct of the Indians, that every beholder was amazed at it. Their adverſaries therefore were obliged to adopt other meaſures, and now endeavored, either to make them take the oaths, or quit the country. This ſcheme ſucceeded. They exerted all their influence to gain an act of aſſembly in New York, dated in October, by which all ſuſpicious perſons were enjoined to take the oaths of allegiance, and in caſe of refuſal, to be expelled the province. Another act paſſed, poſitively prohibiting the Brethren to inſtruct the Indians.

The miſſionaries could do nothing but ſilently obey, and thus left off meeting the congregation. But the Indian Brethren continued to meet together, and the power and grace

grace of God was made manifeſt among them in an extraordinary manner.

December the 15th, the ſheriff and three juſtices of the peace arrived at Shekomeko, and, in the name of the governor and council of New York, prohibited all meetings of the Brethren, commanding the miſſionaries to appear before the court in Pickipſi, on the 17th inſtant. Brother Buettner being very ill, the Brethren Rauch and Mack appeared, when the above-mentioned act was read to them, by which the miniſters of the congregation of the Brethren, employed in teaching the Indians, were expelled the country, under pretence of being in league with the French, and forbid, under a heavy penalty, never more to appear among the Indians, without having firſt taken the above-mentioned oaths of allegiance. Buettner wrote in this view to Bethlehem: "We are either to depart, or to incur a "heavy penalty. They threaten to ſeize upon all we poſ- "ſeſs. We have but little, and if they take away that "little, then we ſhall yet have as much left as our Lord had, "when on earth."

Amidſt theſe heavy trials the Brethren found great comfort in adhering to that Scriptural advice: quietly to wait for the ſalvation of the Lord. Therefore when the fathers of families in Shekomeko reſolved to make complaint concerning the unjuſt treatment of their teachers, and to preſent a petition to the governor of New York; the miſſionaries perſuaded them with kind words, to be ſtill, and patiently to ſuffer.

Meanwhile Biſhop A. G. Spangenberg, to whom the care of the affairs of the Brethren in North America had been committed, arrived in New York. His firſt ſtep was, to viſit the perſecuted congregation at Shekomeko. He arrived with Captain Garriſon on the 6th of November, and ſtaid there till the 18th. In an account he ſent to the congregations of the Brethren concerning this viſit, he writes:

"The nearer we approached to Shekomeko, the more vene- "ration we found amongſt all ranks of people, for the great work "of

" of God in that place. The juſtice of the peace at Milſy,
" about four miles from Shekomeko, accompanied us, and
" on the road declared, that he would rather ſuffer his right
" hand to be cut off, than treat the Brethren conformably
" to the act paſſed againſt them, for that he was thoroughly
" convinced, that the grace of God had by their means
" wrought miracles in that place. But when, upon our
" arrival, we were eye-witneſſes of it, then, dear Brethren,
" dead indeed muſt that man be, who could refrain from
" ſhedding tears of joy and gratitude for the grace beſtow-
" ed upon this people. It is impoſſible to expreſs what is felt
" here; God himſelf has done the work. As we rode into
" the town, we met a man ſtanding by the road ſide, with
" a moſt remarkable countenance. We immediately thought
" of John, as deſcribed to us by Count Zinzendorf, and
" ventured to addreſs him by that name; nor were we miſ-
" taken; he received us with great kindneſs, and brought
" us immediately to the miſſionaries. Then the venerable
" Elder Abraham came to ſee us, ſaluted us, and though he
" was marked after the Indian cuſtom, with the figure of a
" ſnake upon each cheek, yet the grace of our Savior was
" ſo viſible in his countenance, that we were ſtruck with awe
" and amazement. The reſt of the aſſiſtants came one
" after the other, and bid us welcome in the moſt affec-
" tionate manner. Indeed there was not one of the con-
" gregation, who did not expreſs joy at our arrival. They
" appeared altogether as meek as lambs. While we were
" thus ſurrounded by our Indian Brethren and Siſters, I took
" up a Bible, and the following text occurred to me: *Who-
" ſoever ſhall do the will of my Father which is in Heaven, the
" ſame is my mother, and ſiſter, and brother.* An Indian who
" had deviated from the right path, wiſhed to be re-ad-
" mitted, but the Brethren could not truſt him as yet.
" When we afterwards held a love-feaſt with all the bap-
" tized, ſeventy in number, he came likewiſe, ſtood at a diſ-
" tance, and looked upon his Brethren with repentance and
" contrition in his countenance. We called him forward,

"upon which he went and ſat down in a corner. During "the love-feaſt, the preſence of the Lord was powerfully "felt. I ſpoke of the happineſs granted unto us, by virtue "of the ſacrifice made by Jeſus Chriſt, appealing to their "own experience, and they affirmed what I ſaid, to be true. "I then ſpoke of following our Savior's ſteps, and of "what we have to obſerve as his diſciples. Afterwards "Iſaac exhorted the Brethren to be continually humble and "low in their own eyes, never to forget the ſufferings and "death of Jeſus, and not only to think on it in Shekomeko, "but in the woods, and when out an-hunting, &c. We "cloſed our love-feaſt with prayer and ſupplication, and "with tears commended theſe precious ſouls, and our "venerable Brethren who have labored amongſt them, to "God, our Almighty Savior, being greatly comforted and "edified by their faith and firmneſs under ſuch heavy "trials."

Biſhop Spangenberg then inquired minutely into the circumſtances of each individual, exhorting them all to remain faithful to the Lord, and firmly to believe, that he would not forſake them. In doing this he found much reaſon to rejoice over the courſe of the congregation, and the declarations of the believing Indians.

The congregation had not increaſed ſo much in numbers in the paſt, as in the foregoing year, eight perſons only having been baptized. But their growth in the grace and knowledge of our Savior was very evident, and notwithſtanding grievous temptations and ſnares, purpoſely laid in their way, moſt of them had walked worthy of the Goſpel. Brother Buettner wrote at the cloſe of this year to Biſhop Spangenberg, concerning two of the baptized, who had deviated, "Rejoice with me, for I have found the ſheep which "were loſt. Jonathan is again become my brother, and "not only he, but Jonah alſo, who has been unhappy for "theſe thirteen months paſt. I write this with tears of "thanks and praiſe to God. My heart followed Jonathan "wherever he went, and I thought we muſt go and ſeek

"for

"for him, though he were forty miles off, hunting in the "woods, &c."

This being reſolved on, Brother Rauch ſet out after him, to offer him forgiveneſs, and peace with his Brethren, if he would accept of it. When Jonathan perceived him coming, he was frightened, and ſtood like one thunderſtruck. The miſſionary accoſting him in a friendly tone, told him the aim of his viſit, adding, that if he ſhould fly to the diſtance of two or three hundred miles, the Brethren would ſtill ſeek after him. Jonathan could make no reply for amazement, but only ſaid in broken ſentences: "Does Buettner remember me ſtill? Are you come merely "to ſeek me? Have you nothing elſe to do here? I am "wretched, I am in a bad ſtate." Brother Rauch perceiving that his heart was touched, and powerfully awakened, ſaid nothing more that evening. But in the morning Jonathan repeated his queſtions, adding more to the ſame purpoſe, and then, from a truly broken and contrite heart, began to weep moſt bitterly. Nor could he comprehend how the Brethren could poſſibly love ſuch a miſerable ſinner, who had grieved them ſo much. Brother Rauch anſwered, "We "love you ſtill; but your Savior loves you much more." Upon this he gave full vent to his tears, ſpoke much of the ſtate of his heart, and deſcribed his wretched and woful condition. When the miſſionary left him, he begged that the Brethren would pray for him, and promiſed to return ſoon. Brother Buettner, whoſe heart burned with love towards this poor ſtraying ſheep, thought the time long before he could receive him into his arms; for he was meditating day and night, how he might lead ſouls to Chriſt, preſerve them for him, and recall thoſe who had gone aſtray; and when thus engaged, he forgot eating and drinking, and even his bodily weakneſs. At length his dear Jonathan arrived in Shekomeko, and with him the above-mentioned Jonah, but very baſhful and full of fears. Brother Buettner immediately ran to meet him, receiving him as the father received his prodigal ſon. Jonathan entirely recovered his former peace and happineſs,

pineſs, and ever after walked in a ſteady courſe. The grace of Jeſus operated alſo moſt powerfully upon the heart of Jonah; he was afterwards beloved by all, as a true diſciple of the Lord Jeſus, and his walk proved an edification to the whole congregation.

CHAPTER V.

The Miſſionary GOTTLOB BUETTNER *departs this Life. The other Miſſionaries are compelled to leave Shekomeko. The Congregation at Bethlehem ſend Viſitors. Hardſhips endured by the latter. Baptiſm of the firſt Indians of the Delaware Nation. Some Account of the internal Courſe of the Congregation at Shekomeko. Biſhop Spangenberg goes to Onondago in their behalf. Doubtful State of the Miſſion at the Cloſe of the Year* 1745.

THE return of the above-mentioned loſt ſheep, was one of the laſt pleaſing events, of which that faithful ſervant of Jeſus Chriſt among the Indians, Gottlob Buettner, was witneſs.

Frequent attacks of ſpitting of blood had, for a conſiderable time paſt, gradually weakened his conſtitution; but the hard life he led among the Indians, and above all the perſecutions, attended with frequent and troubleſome journies in bad weather, and with many grievous afflictions in mind and body, increaſed his infirmities, and haſtened his diſſolution. He fell gently and happily aſleep in Jeſus, February 23d, 1745, in the preſence of all the Indian aſſiſtants. Having exhorted them with his dying lips, to abide faithful to the end, he deſired the Indians to ſing that verſe:

> "O may our ſouls ne'er moved be,
> "From thee, my faithful Savior, &c."

with

with others of the ſame import, and, while they were yet ſinging, breathed his laſt, and entered into the joy of his Lord.

The Indians wept over him, as children over a beloved parent. Indeed he had loved them with the tenderneſs of a mother, and for three years, ſo intirely devoted himſelf to their ſervice, that every faculty he poſſeſſed was wholly employed for their good. To ſhow their regard, they dreſſed his corpſe in white, and interred his remains with great ſolemnity in the burying-ground at Shekomeko, watering his grave with numberleſs tears: they even uſed to go and weep over it for a long time after. The following words were inſcribed upon his tomb-ſtone:

"Here lies the body of Gottlob Buettner, who according "to the commandment of his crucified God and Savior, "brought the glad tidings to the heathen, that the blood "of Jeſus had made an atonement for their ſins. As many "as embraced this doctrine in faith, were baptized into the "death of the Lord. His laſt prayer was, that they might "be preſerved until the day of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt. He "was born December 29th, 1716, and fell aſleep in the "Lord, February 23d, 1745."

After his burial the believing Indians held a council, to conſider whether they ſhould not quit Shekomeko; fearing that, if left to themſelves, they might be gradually overcome by ſinful ſeductions; eſpecially as the Elders in Bethlehem were compelled, by the act above mentioned, to recall all the miſſionaries from Shekomeko, that they might not give further occaſion for ſuſpicion, by continuing to reſide there. The grief felt by theſe faithful witneſſes of Jeſus Chriſt in leaving their beloved congregation, was paſt deſcription. But they patiently ſubmitted to wait till God ſhould reveal their innocence and diſpel the raging ſtorm. However, the congregation in Shekomeko continued to meet in their uſual order, to edify each other, and only now and then one or more Brethren, acquainted with the language, were ſent to viſit and adviſe with them. They converſed

in an edifying manner with each individually, and ſometimes held conferences with the Indian aſſiſtants, attending likewiſe the meetings held by them. The grace of God ſo powerfully prevailed among them, that the hearts of theſe viſitors were filled with wonder and praiſe. A miſſionary wrote to Bethlehem: "I arrived in the evening at "Iſaac's cottage, and found it filled with Indians, before "whom Iſaac was bearing a glorious teſtimony of our Sa- "vior and his atonement. I would not enter, but went "out into the wood, kneeled down, and thanked our Sa- "vior for the abundance of his grace, praying that he would "continue to reveal himſelf among them."

The Indians came frequently to Bethlehem, and ſometimes ſpent ſeveral weeks there in large companies. They were always received with great cordiality and friendſhip. Conferences were held with the moſt faithful and approved among the aſſiſtants, treating of the courſe of the congregation. Thus they acquired a better knowledge of the duties of their office, in watching over the ſpiritual welfare of the people committed to their care, and always returned home, ſtrengthened in faith.

Meanwhile the perſecutions againſt the Brethren engaged in the miſſion, did not ceaſe, and ſometimes they were even cruelly treated. Nor can it be denied, that ſome occaſion was given by the inconſiderate zeal of the awakened Indians. They would often boldly reprove the white people for their ſinful way of life, and whenever they were interrogated, ſpoke the truth without any reſerve or caution. For inſtance, a Dutch clergyman in Weſtenhuck, aſked an Indian, whom he had baptized, whether he had been in Shekomeko? whether he had heard the miſſionary preach, and how he liked him? The Indian anſwered: "That he had been there, and had attended to the miſ- "ſionary's words, and liked to hear them; that he would "rather hear the miſſionary than him, for when the for- "mer ſpoke, it was as though his words laid hold of "his heart, and a voice within ſaid: That is truth; but that "he

"he was always playing about the truth, and never "came to the point: that he had no love for their ſouls, "for when he had once baptized them, he let them run "wild, never troubling himſelf any further about them; "that he acted much worſe than one who planted Indian "corn, for," added he, "the planter ſometimes goes to ſee "whether his corn grows or not.

Upon another occaſion, a white man aſked John: "Whe-"ther the Brethren were papiſts?" John wiſhed to know, who the papiſts were; and when he heard of the worſhip of images, he anſwered, "that he ſuppoſed thoſe people "were more like papiſts, who worſhipped their cows, "horſes, and plantations, as they had alſo done formerly." The white man replied: "But why are the people ſo en-"raged at the Brethren?" John anſwered: "Why did the "people crucify the Lord Jeſus, and throw Paul bound into "priſon?"

Theſe bold, but often unſeaſonable reproofs increaſed the enmity of the adverſaries, and thoſe Brethren who travelled about in the concerns of the miſſions, had to ſuffer much oppreſſion and perſecution on that account. This was the caſe with the Brethren Frederic Poſt, and David Zeiſberger.

The latter went with the Brethren from Georgia to Pennſylvania as a boy, and having turned with his whole heart unto the Lord, reſolved to devote himſelf wholly to the ſervice of God among the heathen. Having laſt year received ſome inſtruction in the Iroquois language from Brother Pyrlaeus, he travelled with Brother Frederic Poſt in the beginning of this year into their country, with a view to improve in it. The political conduct of the Six Nations had of late appeared very ſuſpicious, and the Brethren being accuſed of an intention to aſſiſt the French in the war againſt England, it was no wonder that the aim of their journey appeared doubtful. The enemies of the miſſion ſoon accuſed them of treacherous views, and accordingly they were unexpectedly arreſted in Albany, and after much abuſe, brought to New York, and

confined in priſon. The text appointed for the day of their impriſonment happened to be, "*Bleſſed are ye when men ſhall "revile you, and perſecute you, and ſhall ſay all manner of evil "againſt you falſely for my ſake.*" Matt. v. 11. Theſe words comforted and encouraged the Brethren in priſon, and they ſpent their time very uſefully, in making further progreſs in the language of the Iroquois.

The Lord at this time inclined the heart of Mr. Thomas Noble, a reſpectable merchant in New York, to care for them. He viſited them in priſon, ſent them proviſions and other neceſſaries; and diſpatched his clerk, Henry van Vleck, to Bethlehem, with an account of the calamity which had befallen them. Among the many viſits they received in priſon, one from a New England gentleman appears worthy of notice. He beheld them with great earneſtneſs, and at laſt broke out in theſe words: "Though you are unknown "to me, yet I am fully convinced that the accuſations brought "againſt you, are all lies, and I believe that you ſuffer this "for Chriſt's ſake. I am amazed at your reſignation; "but indeed it cannot but be a bleſſed ſituation, to be "impriſoned for the name of Jeſus Chriſt, for all who "love the Lord Jeſus, muſt expect to be hated and perſe-"cuted."

After repeated examinations, the Brethren being found innocent of every charge brought againſt them, they were at length diſmiſſed, and returned to Bethlehem after ſeven weeks impriſonment.

When the miſſionary, Brother Mack, his wife, the widow of the late Brother Buettner, and Brother Poſt's wife, beſides ſeveral ſmall children, returned from Shekomeko to Bethlehem, they met with much trouble, through the enmity of ſome enraged juſtices at Sopus. Brother Poſt's wife, being an Indian woman, furniſhed a pretence for detaining the whole company as traitors. The mob aſſembled, and great miſchief might have followed, had not Colonel Loewenſtein very providentially arrived, and having publicly reprimanded the juſtice who detained them, ſet them at liberty; however, they were inſulted by

the mob, and had to ſuffer much in the open ſtreet from the cold and violent rain, before they were permitted to proceed on their journey, loaded with curſes and reproaches.

Brother Mack cloſes his report with theſe words: "I con- "ſidered the importance of our Lord's advice; *Pray for them* "*which deſpitefully uſe you and perſecute you.*"

Yet amidſt all theſe tribulations, the Brethren were greatly comforted by perceiving, that their labor was not in vain in the Lord.

In April they had the joy to baptize the firſt fruits of the Goſpel among the Delaware nation. The frequent viſits of the Brethren to the Delaware towns had as yet been attended with little ſucceſs; but the believing Mahikans, inhabitants of Shekomeko, having contracted an acquaintance with many Delawares, who travelled through their country to Philadelphia, and theſe two nations underſtanding each other, both ſpeaking a dialect of the ſame language, the Mahikans became the apoſtles of the Delawares.

The above-mentioned firſtlings were a man and his wife, who had for ſome time eagerly heard the word of life, with an impreſſion upon their hearts, but ſuffered themſelves to be prevented from aſking for baptiſm, by their numerous family connexions. At length they were enabled to ſurmount all theſe difficulties, expreſſed a great deſire after the remiſſion of their ſins in the blood of Jeſus, and begged for baptiſm. They were accordingly baptized in Bethlehem, and called Gottlieb, and Mary. Being both of the royal tribe, their high-born relations were greatly diſpleaſed at a ſtep, which, according to their notions, was a diſgrace to their rank, and therefore firſt ſent a meſſage, merely to deſire, that they would return on a viſit to their friends. But the baptized, fearing that their ſouls might ſuffer harm, would not go. Upon this the relations reſolved to take them away by force, and thirty-ſix of them, among whom were ſeveral young warriors, came to Bethlehem in this view, behaving at firſt in a very turbulent manner. Being led

led into a large hall, they were plentifully ſerved with meat and drink. Gottlieb and Mary partook of their repaſt, and other Indian Brethren and Siſters, who happened to be in Bethlehem on a viſit, came to bid them welcome. Biſhop Spangenberg alſo, with ſome of the elders of the congregation, went and expreſſed ſatisfaction at their viſit. Amazed at ſo kind a reception, their anger abated, their countenances were ſoftened, and converſation became lively. After dinner, Gottlieb and Mary, with other Indians, accompanied them to the lodgings prepared for them. Here they opened their commiſſion, and, addreſſing Gottlieb, ſaid, that they had heard that he and his wife were baptized, and had become ſlaves of the white people. But as they loved them, they could not help coming to hear the truth of the matter. Gottlieb, glad of ſo favorable an opportunity to bear a teſtimony to the truth, boldly anſwered, "that "he had been formerly a wicked man, and a lover of evil, "as they all might well remember; but having heard, that "God was manifeſt in the fleſh, and had died for man, "and would deliver all thoſe, who believe in him, from "their ſins, he had wiſhed to experience the truth of it, that "he might no more be obliged to ſerve ſin and the devil. "By receiving this doctrine, he had not become a ſlave, but "remained as free as formerly." The other Indians preſent, confirmed Gottlieb's ſpeech, and exhorted them to become likewiſe partakers of the grace of Jeſus Chriſt. The ſavages ſeemed extremely uneaſy during the whole converſation, and early the next morning ſet off on their return. Some time after, they ſent a meſſage to Gottlieb, deſiring, that having ſo great a knowledge of God, he would come and inſtruct them. He heſitated a long while, but at laſt went, and was immediately aſked why he had not come ſooner. He anſwered: "You know that when a child is "juſt born, it cannot ſpeak. Thus I could not ſpeak im-"mediately after my converſion, but now I am come to "tell you ſomething of our Savior." He then preached the Goſpel to them; deſcribing the happineſs to be found

in

in Jeſus, and returned full of joy and comfort. In September he had the ſatisfaction to ſee his own brother follow him, who alſo was baptized, and called Joachim.

Another Delaware Indian was taken ill on the road to Bethlehem, where he had paid frequent viſits to the Brethren, but without expreſſing the leaſt concern for his ſoul. But now he ſent to them, begging that they might come to ſee him, "for the ſake of that great love they were "known to bear to the Indians." His requeſt was granted, and having ſpoken with great contrition of the evil ſtate of his heart, he recommended himſelf to the remembrance and prayers of the Brethren. They heard ſoon after, that he departed this life in the ſame hour, in which he was included in the public prayers of the congregation. He had two wives, and exhorted them, to go immediately after his death to Bethlehem, and to turn to Jeſus. One of them followed his advice, and was baptized the year after.

A ſynod having been appointed to meet this year in Bethlehem, the Brethren Rauch and Biſhop were ſent to Shekomeko with a letter, deſiring the Indian congregation there to ſend a deputy.

The aim of a ſynod having been explained to them, the fathers of families met to chuſe a deputy. They were firſt addreſſed, with a view to explain in what manner a Brother ſent by them to the ſynod, ſhould act; namely, in their behalf, with their ſpirit, and ſupported by the prayers of the whole congregation: that if any one had a concern, of whatever kind it might be, he might entruſt the deputy with it, who ſhould mention it to the ſynod, which would be the ſame as though he himſelf were preſent. That the deputy would bring back the anſwers, with the bleſſing of the ſynod, and communicate to them what he had enjoyed. Their unanimous choice fell upon Jonathan, and they declared, that they could impart to him every thought of their hearts. At taking leave, they ſent various meſſages to the congregation. Jacob ſaid: "I ſalute the "congre-

" congregation, and let them know, that when my heart " is at peace with our Savior, I am alſo at peace with " them. I have found reſervedneſs towards my Brethren " to be a great ſin, for the Lord knoweth our hearts, " &c." Others ſpoke to the ſame effect, and their great love to the congregation at Bethlehem was particularly evident on this occaſion. Indeed this brotherly love was mutual, and their deputy brought a renewed confirmation of it, upon his return from the ſynod.

Perhaps nothing could be a more evident proof of the change wrought in the diſpoſition of the believing Indians, than their wiſh to have their children educated in Bethlehem, that they might be preſerved as much as poſſible from ſeduction. For the love of the heathen Indians towards their children is ſo exceſſive, that they cannot bear to be deprived of the ſight of them, for any length of time. But now the parents moſt earneſtly beſought the Brethren to take their children, and to educate them in the fear of the Lord. This requeſt was granted to ſeveral, ſome time after.

As the character of a whole community may be known from certain traits in the diſpoſitions of its members, I will inſert a few extracts from the diary of the Indian congregation of 1745.

In a converſation of the Indian aſſiſtants, one of them began to weep; being aſked the cauſe of his weeping, he anſwered, that he had ſeen a man, working ſo hard, that his ſhirt and whole body ſeemed bathed in ſweat; he immediately thought on the ſweat and anguiſh of our Savior in the garden on his account, which melted his heart into tears.

John related, that during the late rumor of war, he happened to enter an Engliſh town, the inhabitants of which were all in great dread of the Indians. The people ſoon ſurrounded him, to inquire what news he brought from the Indian country: he anſwered, " News of all kinds; but the " moſt intereſting news to me are, that it is good to believe

" on

" on the Lord Jeſus Chriſt;" upon which the people left him to go quietly about his buſineſs.

A baptized woman's cottage was burnt down, while ſhe was working in her plantation, and but few of her goods were ſaved. When ſhe returned home, every one expreſſed great ſorrow for her loſs, upon which ſhe replied: That ſhe had been on that very day, while at work, conſidering, that ſhe had gained all her property by an illegal traffick with rum, and therefore ſhe was ſatisfied to loſe it in this manner.

An Indian Siſter gave a love-feaſt to the whole congregation, in token of her joy over the converſion of one of her country-women. On this occaſion a brother related with great humility, that having been lately preſent at an Indian feaſt, he had been ſeduced to enter into ſome of their old heatheniſh practices, but feeling immediately ſtrong rebukes of conſcience he left off on a ſudden. This occaſioned much inquiry on the part of the Indians, which he anſwered, by deſiring them not to compel him to do any thing which might deſtroy the peace of God in his heart.

An Indian woman from Meniſſing paid a viſit to John, and told him, that as ſoon as ſhe had a good heart, ſhe would alſo turn to the Lord Jeſus. " Ah," replied John, " you want to walk on your head! How can you get a good " heart, unleſs you come firſt to Jeſus?"

An European being preſent when a Brother from Bethlehem came to viſit the Indians, and ſeeing the affectionate manner in which they received him, declared afterwards, that of all the people he had ever ſeen, none were poſſeſſed of ſuch ſincere affection as theſe Indians.

An Indian aſſiſtant addreſſed the baptized in their meeting in the following manner: " My dear Brethren and Siſters; I " have nothing to ſay to you but a few words concerning " Jeſus. Jeſus labored hard to gain ſalvation for us, even ſo " that his ſweat was as great drops of blood falling to the " ground. And now Jeſus ſays to us: 'I have redeemed " you all, I have given my life and blood for you.' Therefore " let us give him our hearts. We may now receive eternal

" life;

" life; but by virtue of his blood alone. Whoſoever be-
" lieveth in him, ſhall live eternally; but whoſoever does not
" believe, will certainly die in his ſins. However, none
" *need* die, but all *may* have eternal life if they come to Jeſus,
" for he will receive them gladly, &c."

Though we had reaſon to be thankful that a mutual intercourſe could be kept up between Bethlehem and Shekomeko, yet it was evident, that the ſuſpenſion of the regular ſervice of the miſſionaries would finally be productive of harm to the congregation. The Holy Communion could not be adminiſtered to them, and thus the poor Indians were deprived of one of the moſt powerful means of growth in grace. The catechumens could not be baptized in Shekomeko, and the few who were baptized during this period, came in that view to Bethlehem. The diſcourſes of the Indian aſſiſtants were indeed attended with bleſſing to the hearers, being dictated by hearts, filled with the love of Chriſt, and an experimental conviction of the truth of what they advanced. They were the language of the heart, and conſequently went to the heart: but they could not be called doctrinal. Now though the miſſionaries never detained themſelves long in diſcuſſing doctrinal points, yet they wiſhed to follow the commandment of our Savior, and to teach them all things, which he commanded his diſciples; for which, more knowledge and gifts were required, than the Indians could be expected to poſſeſs. It appeared likewiſe, that the calumnious inſinuations, inceſſantly urged by the enemies of the miſſion, had made ſome impreſſion on the minds of a few of the baptized. The Brethren were ſo ſtrongly accuſed of an intention to reduce the believers to a ſtate of ſlavery, that even one of the aſſiſtants began to liſten to it, and to loſe his confidence towards the miſſionaries. He ſoon acknowledged his error with many tears; but yet this circumſtance proved, in what danger theſe good people were of ſuffering ſhipwreck in the faith, and the Brethren were therefore very deſirous of placing them, if poſſible, out of the way of temptation. They therefore reſolved to propoſe, that they ſhould remove out of

of the province of New York, and ſettle upon ſome eligible ſpot in Pennſylvania. The plan was, firſt to place them in the neighborhood of Bethlehem, and then to remove them to Wajomick on the Suſquehannah, where they might have enjoyed perfect liberty of conſcience, and been leſs expoſed to the ſeductions of the white people, and not called upon to take ſhare in the war. An account was alſo received, that the Shawanoſe, a few excepted, had removed from Wajomick to the Ohio. But that no difficulty might be made on the part of the Iroquois, to whom this country belonged, the Brethren reſolved to ſend an embaſſy to the great council at Onondago.

Biſhop Spangenberg, Conrad Weiſſer, David Zeiſberger, and Sheboſch, were willing to undertake this commiſſion, and ſet out for Onondago in May. They ſuffered many hardſhips by the way, but experienced alſo ſome remarkable proofs of the kind providence of God. Having been without proviſions for ſeveral days, they found a quarter of a bear, hung up for the uſe of travellers by an Indian hunter, who could not carry it off, according to a cuſtom deſcribed in the Firſt Part of this work. Such timely relief they received more than once, and were therefore encouraged to aſſiſt other hungry travellers whom they met on the road. One day they found two Iroquois warriors, who had loſt all their proviſions, were almoſt naked, and had travelled near 500 miles. One of them was alſo on the road to Onondago. Conrad Weiſſer aſked him, how he intended to reach that place in ſuch a ſituation? His anſwer was: "God, who "dwells in heaven, has created the earth and all creatures "therein, and he feeds numbers of men and beaſts in the "wilderneſs. He can and will feed me alſo." While they were in company with the Brethren, they received their full ſhare out of the common kettle, and thus he was fed according to his faith.

Biſhop Spangenberg and his company being arrived in Onondago, the great council renewed the covenant made between Count Zinzendorf and the Iroquois, with great ſolemnity;

lemnity; the three Brethren were adopted as their countrymen, each receiving a peculiar name, and their propoſal to remove the congregation of believing Indians to Wajomick, was well received by the Iroquois. But contrary to all expectation, the Indians in Shekomeko refuſed to accept it. They alledged, that the governor of New York had particularly commanded them to ſtay in their own town, promiſing them his protection; and that, on this account, they could not leave the country, without giving new cauſe for ſuſpicion, and encouraging a new perſecution againſt the miſſionaries: they further intimated, that if even they ſhould emigrate, their unbaptized friends and relations would yet remain there and enter upon their old ſinful courſes, which would grieve them exceedingly. Abraham in particular was very zealous in diſſuading the Indians from acceding to the above propoſal, by repreſenting, that Wajomick lay in the road of the warriors to the Catawas, and in a country abounding with ſavages; that the women were ſo wanton, that they ſeduced all the men; and conſequently their acquaintance might prove very hurtful to the young people, &c.

But ſoon after this, an event happened, which obliged the Indians to follow the advice given them by the Brethren; for the white people came to a reſolution, to drive the believing Indians from Shekomeko by main force, under a pretence, that the ground upon which the town was built, belonged to other people, who would ſoon come and take poſſeſſion. The Indians applied for help to the governor of New York, but finding their petition not attended to, and that they would be at laſt compelled to emigrate, they began to take the propoſal made by the Brethren into more ſerious deliberation; and as ſeveral expreſſed an inclination to live near Bethlehem, their viſits to that place became more frequent towards the cloſe of the year.

The ſituation of the congregation at Shekomeko became now very diſtreſſing. The white people ſeized upon the land, and even appointed a watch to prevent all viſits from Bethlehem. The war betwen the Engliſh and French occaſioned

occaſioned a general alarm. The Indians were afraid of both parties, but the Engliſh miſtruſted their neutrality, and in ſome places went even armed to church. The unbelieving Indians in Weſtenhuck made ſeveral attempts to draw the Chriſtian Indians in Shekomeko into their party; and ſome Chriſtians in the neighborhood exerted themſelves, to perſuade them to join their congregations, partly by contemptuous inſinuations againſt the Brethren in general, and partly by accuſing the miſſionaries of baſe views. The believing Indians were poor, and frequently obliged to ſpend much time among immoral people to get a livelihood. Many of them were deeply in debt, contracted both by their profligate lives previous to their converſion, and by ſuffering great impoſitions from ſome bad neighbors. Theſe debtors were now ſubject to much ill treatment, and even threatened with impriſonment. Not ſeeing any poſſibility of paying their creditors, and not willing to run away, they had no other refuge, but to beg the congregation at Bethlehem to aſſiſt them, which was done with great willingneſs. But the greateſt grievance was this, that after the entire removal of their faithful miſſionaries, ſome had not only fallen into deviations, but even into a ſinful courſe, which ſoon occaſioned a diviſion among them, and even much ſlander, ending at laſt in confuſion and miſery.

This melancholy change of affairs cauſed the moſt pungent grief to the Indian aſſiſtants, and to the congregation at Bethlehem; to whom theſe things were mentioned by the former, with great ſorrow, and the Brethren united in moſt fervent prayer and ſupplication to God, for this poor perſecuted people, that he would help and relieve them by his mighty power.

CHAPTER VI.

1746.

Emigration from Shekomeko. Temporary Reſidence of the converted Indians in Bethlehem and Friedenſhuetten. Eſtabliſhment of Gnadenhuetten. Journies to Shomokin and Wajomick.

IN the beginning of 1746, Biſhop Frederic Cammerhof came from Europe, to aſſiſt Biſhop Spangenberg in the ſuperintendency of all the eſtabliſhments of the Brethren in North America, of which the miſſion among the Indians was a principal object. Both biſhops therefore, with the elders of Bethlehem, zealouſly exerted themſelves to afford ſome relief to the oppreſſed congregation in Shekomeko. His Excellency George Thomas, governor of Pennſylvania, being apprized of the ſituation of the Chriſtian Indians, had ordered, that all who took refuge in Pennſylvania ſhould be protected in the quiet practice of their religious profeſſion. The Brethren however could not immediately give up the idea of removing the Indians to Wajomick in the free Indian territory, and wiſhing to prevail upon them to agree to this propoſal, ſent the miſſionary, Martin Mack, in March, to Wajomick, accurately to ſurvey the country. He travelled in company with two Delawares of great reſpectability, who had viſited Bethlehem. They ſhowed the tendereſt concern for his ſafety on the road, carrying him through brooks and rivers upon their ſhoulders. The aim of this journey was not obtained, and as no perſuaſions could prevail on the Indians to move thither, they invited them to Bethlehem, permitting them to build and plant near the ſettlement. At this period the congregation in Shekomeko was perſecuted more than ever. Their enemies reported, that a thouſand French troops were on their march to the province, with whom the Indians of Shekomeko would join, and then ravage the country with fire

fire and ſword. This rumor ſpread ſuch terror, particularly in Reinbeck, that the inhabitants demanded a warrant of the juſtice to go and kill all the Indians at Shekomeko. Though the warrant was not granted, it was ſoon known in Shekomeko, that it had been demanded, and the grievances and oppreſſions ſuffered by the Indians roſe at length to ſuch a pitch, that though their attachment to Shekomeko was very great, ſome of them at laſt reſolved to accept of the invitation of the Brethren at Bethlehem.

Thus ten families, in all forty-four perſons, left Shekomeko in April, with ſorrow and tears, and were received in Bethlehem with tenderneſs and compaſſion. Several of them immediately built cottages near the ſettlement. Their morning and evening meetings were regulated, and the ſervice performed in the Mahikan language. This comforted them in ſome meaſure for the loſs of the regular ſervice at Shekomeko, which was moſt precious to them. Soon after, two Indian girls were baptized in Bethlehem Chapel, in preſence of the whole congregation, and a great number of friends, and this ſolemn tranſaction proved again ſome conſolation to their countrymen. The Indian emigrants now conceived a lively and confident hope, that they would not ſuffer materially by their removal from Shekomeko. What moſt encouraged them was this, that after a due examination, whether they ſtill lived in the faith of Jeſus Chriſt, in brotherly love, and unity of ſpirit, they were permitted to partake of the Holy Communion at Bethlehem. Their faith and inward life being thus ſtrengthened, the Brethren endeavored to introduce ſome good regulations for their conduct. To this end a council was formed, conſiſting of all the fathers of families, at which the baptized mothers were permitted to be preſent. This is not uſual with the Indians, but having found that hitherto many ſalutary reſolutions, formed in the council by the men, had failed, owing to difficulties generally raiſed by the women, it was thought proper to admit them alſo, that they might hear the reaſons and be convinced of the

propriety of the regulations propoſed. This had the deſired effect, and every thing was done to general ſatisfaction.

This ſmall Indian ſettlement, called Friedenſhuetten, or Tents of Peace, was eſtabliſhed merely for temporary convenience; the Brethren judging that an Indian town could not be ſupported ſo near to Bethlehem. They therefore did all in their power to procure a piece of land, where the Indians might build, plant, and live in their own way, and at length purchaſed two hundred acres, ſituated on the junction of the rivers Mahony and Lecha, beyond the Blue Mountains, about thirty miles from Bethlehem, and the ſame diſtance from Wajomick. The miſſionary Martin Mack went with ſome white Brethren, and ſome of the Indian aſſiſtants, to mark out the new town, which they called Gnadenhuetten, or Tents of Grace. Some days after, other Indians followed, and being much pleaſed with the ſituation, they reſolved this year to plant both near Bethlehem and at Gnadenhuetten, and that the men ſhould remain in either place, as circumſtances required; that thus the clearing of ground and building at Gnadenhuetten might ſpeedily advance. The Indians were diligent, chearful, and active, and uſed to ſpeak to each other of the eaſe with which they now could labor, ſince their ſouls were engaged with the Lord Jeſus, who labored hard for them; aſcribing their good progreſs and the preſervation of their bodies, not ſo much to their own efforts and prudence, as to the grace and mercy of God. The Brethren were much edified by theſe declarations, acknowledging them to be the bleſſed effects of the Goſpel, and a full reward for all the trouble and pains they had beſtowed upon theſe nations.

When the news of this new Settlement reached Shekomeko and Pachgatgoch, many of the Indians in thoſe places were alſo induced to remove to Gnadenhuetten, ſo that in a ſhort time the latter place contained more Chriſtian Indians than the two former. Their enemies, though reſolved

ſolved to expel them from Shekomeko, ſaw with regret, that they all emigrated to Bethlehem, and to deter the remainder from following their brethren, raiſed a malicious report, that the laſt party of emigrants had been murdered on the road. Theſe falſe rumors were not credited, and a number of Indian families, who were juſt then preparing for the journey, ſet out without fear. One of them ſaid, "If we muſt be obliged either to ſtay here, "or to go to another place, and not to Bethlehem, you might "as well take our lives from us." Thus one family after the other departed in ſuch chearful reliance upon the gracious protection and ſupport of the Lord, that all who ſaw and heard them were edified.

During this period, divine ſervice was daily and regularly attended to in Shekomeko, and the Indian aſſiſtants bore witneſs to the truth of the Goſpel before many travellers who paſſed through the town. Their diſcourſes were plain, but powerful, and proceeding from their experience, left a good impreſſion upon many. Their manner of ſinging hymns was particularly edifying. After the diſcourſe they treated the ſtrangers with great hoſpitality, and when they had no other place to accommodate them, ſpread their table in the chapel; converſing with them about the ſalvation of their ſouls in an uſeful manner.

The emigration from Shekomeko and Pachgatgoch to Gnadenhuetten was attended with no ſmall embarraſſment, both to the Indians and the congregation at Bethlehem. Whenever a family intended to emigrate, the neighboring traders brought bills, demanding payment, and the Indians, neither able to read or write, were compelled to ſubmit to frequent impoſitions. The Brethren aſſiſted them to the utmoſt of their power. Moſt of the Indian parents urged the placing of their children in the ſchools at Bethlehem and Nazareth. Though their education proved expenſive, their requeſt was always granted. Their temporary reſidence near Bethlehem, (where the Brethren were obliged to provide them with all the neceſſaries of life) occaſioned

caſioned an expence, which they could never expect to be reimburſed. The ſettling at Gnadenhuetten was alſo expenſive. The land being covered with foreſt trees, and thick ſhrubs, was cleared and planted. The Brethren joined the Indians in this work, and had their meals in common with them. But the latter being unacquainted with huſbandry and unable to bear much fatigue, the heavieſt work of courſe fell upon the white Brethren. Conſidering this work as done in the ſervice of God, they ſpared no exertion, and were the more deſirous of completing the building of Gnadenhuetten, being well convinced, that the preſent mode of life, entirely different from that to which the Indians were accuſtomed, was prejudicial to their health. The common table, though convenient, could not be continued, chiefly on account of its ſingular appearance to the heathen Indians. The white Brethren, who had the care of the proviſions, being neceſſitated to be frugal in the diſtribution, the Indian Brethren could not treat their viſitors with their uſual profuſion. Thus the ſavages conceived a notion, that the Chriſtian Indians ſuffered want, and were become ſlaves to the white people, eſpecially when they ſaw them perform manual labor, to which Indians were not accuſtomed. As ſoon therefore as circumſtances would permit, each family was put into poſſeſſion of its own lot of ground, and having received ſome inſtruction relative to the cultivation of it, began its ſeparate houſekeeping.

In July the congregation at Gnadenhuetten received its regulations, the different offices were appointed, the rules of the congregation made public, and the chapel conſecrated with great ſolemnity; all preſent and future inhabitants of this place being recommended with prayer and ſupplication to the grace and protection of God our Savior.

In Shekomeko the proſpect appeared daily more precarious. The rumor of the war between the French and Engliſh, increaſed. The French Indians having made an inroad into

into the country within a day's journey from that town, ſetting fire to the houſes, and murdering the inhabitants, the Engliſh called upon all who were able to bear arms, to riſe in their own defence. Conſequently the Chriſtian Indians remaining in Shekomeko received the ſame meſſage, and began now to acknowledge their error, in not following the ſalutary advice given them by the Brethren. Several joined the army, and the reſt lived in continual apprehenſion and dread, nor could they be viſited by Brethren from Bethlehem till the 24th of July 1746, when the Brethren Hagen and Poſt were ſent thither by the elders at Bethlehem. They held a love-feaſt with the remaining baptized, and by a written deed of gift, ſecured the chapel to the Indians, as their property. They then recommended them in prayer to the good Shepherd who laid down his life for the ſheep, that he would not ſuffer them to ſtray, nor to be plucked out of his hands.

Thus the Brethren concluded their labors in Shekomeko with ſorrowful hearts, yet praiſing God, who had firſt cauſed the light of the Goſpel to ſhine unto the heathen in this place. Within the ſpace of two years, ſixty-one grown perſons had here been made partakers of holy baptiſm, excluſive of thoſe baptized in Bethlehem.

The converted Indians were now diſperſed in different places, at a conſiderable diſtance from each other, *viz.* in Gnadenhuetten, Bethlehem, Pachgatgoch, Wechquatnach, and Shekomeko. Some were ſo much attached to the latter place, that notwithſtanding the war, and other troubles, they could not reſolve to emigrate. Gnadenhuetten now became a very regular and pleaſant town. The church ſtood in the valley, on one ſide the Indian houſes forming a creſcent, upon a riſing ground; and on the other, ſtood the houſe of the miſſionary and the burying-ground. The road to Wajomick and other Indian towns lay through the ſettlement. The miſſionaries tilled their own grounds, and every Indian family their plantation, and on the 18th of

Auguſt, they had the ſatisfaction to partake of the firſt fruits of the land, at a love-feaſt.

Chriſtian Rauch and Martin Mack were the firſt miſſionaries who reſided here, and adminiſtered the Word and Sacraments to the congregation, and their labor was attended with bleſſing. They were ſucceeded by other miſſionaries who were occaſionally removed; the Brethren being of opinion, that frequent changes of the miniſters of the congregation might be uſeful, in preventing too ſtrong an attachment to, and dependence upon men, and fixing the hope of the Indians more upon God alone. Thoſe who lived near, or in Bethlehem, found their growth in the grace and knowledge of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt greatly promoted by the converſation of the European Brethren and Siſters. They were filled with joy and comfort, and endeavored to be uſeful to their countrymen in all places, by communicating to them their experience, both by converſation, and by letters; ſeveral having learned to write at Bethlehem, and others dictating letters to Europeans.

Brother Frederic Poſt ſtaid ſome time in Pachgatgoch, living in the Indian manner, preaching the Goſpel, and at the ſame time working at his trade as a joiner. The Brethren of Bethlehem and Gnadenhuetten went alſo frequently to Pachgatgoch and Wechquatnach, wiſhing to prevent the ſpark of truth, yet glimmering in thoſe places, from being entirely extinguiſhed.

However ſeveral diſtreſſing things occurred during this diſperſion of the Indians. Some men who could not perſuade their wives to leave Shekomeko, left them there. Some women would not be detained by their huſbands, but went alone to Bethlehem and Gnadenhuetten. The moſt ſerious remonſtrances againſt ſuch diſorderly proceedings ſeemed all in vain: parents alſo left their children, and children deſerted their parents. Theſe things occaſioned much altercation, and good order was interrupted. Even ſome who removed to Gnadenhuetten, became confuſed and unhappy, and at length left the place. The enemies of the Brethren

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were likewiſe active, and endeavored to prejudice the minds of the Indians againſt Bethlehem, and Gnadenhuetten. Even ſome of the clergy were perſuaded to ſpread falſe reports concerning them from their pulpits, and ſeveral of thoſe left at Shekomeko were ſo far influenced by them, that they reſolved to petition the governor to grant them more land, that more Indians might ſettle there. They hoped likewiſe, that the miſſionaries would then be induced to return and live with them; but in caſe this ſhould be refuſed, they purpoſed to deſire the governor to ſend a miniſter to them, adding, "they all ſet forth what is in the Bible." They could not agree concerning this propoſal; yet this circumſtance ſerved as a pretext to a neighbor in Weſtenhuck, to prejudice them againſt the Brethren. He even enticed them to repair thither, and by promiſes, and by means of dancing and drinking, endeavored to perſuade them to leave their congregation. But they were not to be thus deceived, and upon their return, obſerved to each other, that they had led a miſerable life at Weſtenhuck, having been merry at the expence of an uneaſy conſcience.

Thoſe Indians who had imbibed prejudices againſt the Brethren, endeavored now to hinder thoſe families that wiſhed to emigrate to Gnadenhuetten, from leaving Shekomeko. They made uſe of the moſt perſuaſive arguments, and finding them of no avail, endeavored to procure the interference of government; but the Indians being declared a free people, their attempt failed. The miſery of the Chriſtian Indians who had not left Shekomeko, daily increaſed by the continuation of the war, and by frequent meſſages, requiring them to take up arms againſt the French. The confuſion occaſioned thereby in Shekomeko and Pachgatgoch was great. The miſſionaries at this time could not interfere, becauſe government was falſely led to ſuſpect them. Some of the deluded Indians even pleaded, that the Brethren had forbidden them to join the militia. A white man had the aſſurance, publicly to aſſert, that the Brethren

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were in poſſeſſion of three thouſand ſtand of arms for the uſe of the Indians who ſhould join the French, and make inroads into Pennſylvania. Upon this, government ordered, that the Brethren in Bethlehem ſhould ſend a deputy to Newtown in Jerſey to be publicly examined. Here their innocence was fully proved, the above-mentioned man with other falſe accuſers confounded, and a heavy fine levied upon him. But Mr. Henry Antes, the deputy, exerted himſelf in his behalf, and procured his releaſe. He had alſo the ſatisfaction to bear a powerful teſtimony concerning Jeſus Chriſt our Savior before a numerous aſſembly. This circumſtance likewiſe convinced the Brethren, that great care and circumſpection was required, in propagating the Goſpel among the Indian nations. They were ſoon after comforted, by hearing that God had wrought conviction in the hearts of thoſe who had been thus deluded. The correſpondence of the Indians was chiefly uſeful, in cauſing many who had erred, to recover the reſt, by bearing witneſs to the truth. One, who was threatened by his relations with death, unleſs he diſavowed all connexion with his paſtors, replied, "I know the Brethren are juſt, "and I am to blame." Another being alſo threatened with death, while preparing to return to the congregation, boldly anſwered, that he would not act otherwiſe, nor would he reſt, till he was again united to his brethren, and though they might kill him, they could not deſtroy his ſoul, which being redeemed by the blood of Chriſt, was of much greater value than his body.

Several who owned their deviations, and repented of them, wrote or dictated very penitential letters to the congregation. Jacob began his letter thus: "I am like a child, "whoſe father loves him dearly, clothes him well, and gives "him all he ſtands in need of; afterwards the child be- "comes refractory, deſerts his parent, and deſpiſes his coun- "ſel. At length through folly, the child loſes all the good "things he poſſeſſed, his clothes become ragged, and na- "kedneſs and want follow. Then remembering, how well "he

"he fared, he repents and weeps day and night, ſcarcely "preſuming to return. This is preciſely my caſe." Many letters of this import were read to the Indian congregations at Gnadenhuetten and near Bethlehem, and ſometimes to the European Brethren there, and always heard with great emotion. Thoſe who could neither write, nor dictate letters, came to Bethlehem and Gnadenhuetten, acknowledged and lamented their errors, before the public aſſembly, begging pardon of all preſent. All theſe penitents were received with open arms, and publicly aſſured of the forgiveneſs of the congregation, and many tears of love and joy were ſhed by all preſent on this affecting occaſion.

The Brethren perceiving, that, notwithſtanding the rage of their enemies, God bleſſed their labors in behalf of the Indians in a very eminent degree, their deſire to ſpread the Goſpel among the heathen daily increaſed. In this view, the Six Nations or Iroquois were the principal objects of their conſideration, having already contracted an acquaintance with them, by means of ſeveral journies made to their towns. Theſe nations alſo knew well, how to diſtinguiſh between the miſſionaries, who came to them from motives of benevolence, and other white people, who had no object in view but trade.

In the foregoing year, Brother Martin Mack and his wife went to Shomokin, a town belonging to the Iroquois, where they ſtaid two months. During this period they not only ſuffered much illneſs, and troubles of various kinds, but frequently were eye-witneſſes to the moſt horrid and diabolical abominations, practiſed by the ſavages, more in this place than in any other, and ſeveral times they were in danger of being murdered by drunken Indians. Yet their fervent deſire to gain ſouls for Chriſt, and his precious and comfortable words, *I am with you always*, inſpired them with ſuch conſolation, that according to Brother Mack's own expreſſion, their hard fare in a poor Indian cottage afforded them more real pleaſure, than all the

the luxuries of the moſt ſumptuous palace could have done. God alſo granted them the favor, to find now and then an open door to preach the word of life. They employed their time in aſſiſting the Indians in their plantations; and Indian corn being their only food, they were perfectly contented. From Shomokin they went on a viſit to Long Iſland, a large iſland in the River Suſquehannah, where they were received with much kindneſs, eſpecially by the chief. At preſent the Goſpel itſelf did not ſeem to make an impreſſion upon them, but rather the account of the change, wrought on the Indians in Shekomeko, whoſe profligacy had been notorious. Here drunkenneſs ſeemed to the miſſionary to be the greateſt obſtacle in the way of the Goſpel. Even the chief got ſo drunk one evening, that he fell into the fire, and burnt the fleſh off one of his hands. Upon Brother Mack's return to Shomokin, a travelling Shawanoſe ſought to terrify him, by accoſting him in a very rough manner: "Good people," ſaid he, "what is your "buſineſs in this place? The Iroquois do not permit any "one to come and inſtruct the Indians. You are like pi-"geons, wherever one perches, a large number flock to-"gether; and thus, wherever you ſettle, not only one or "two, but a whole tribe gathers about you." Inſtead of returning any anſwer, the miſſionary preached the Goſpel to this ſavage, and having ſowed in tears, and offered up many fervent prayers for theſe poor people, who ſeemed dreadfully entangled in the ſnares of Satan, he returned to Bethlehem. The journey was attended with much difficulty, eſpecially to his wife, then pregnant, for they were frequently obliged to creep up the ſteep mountains upon their hands and feet.

The account given by Brother Mack concerning the ſtate of the Indians in Shomokin, made the elders of the congregation at Bethlehem wiſh to ſend a miſſionary to reſide there, and to preach the Goſpel to theſe ſavages. They found a good opportunity of doing this in the year 1746. The Iroquois ſent word by Shikellimus, their agent or deputy

in Shomokin, to Mr. Conrad Weiſſer, interpreter to government, requeſting him to repreſent to the governor of Pennſylvania, that for want of a blackſmith, they were frequently upon the ſlighteſt occaſion, obliged to travel above an hundred miles to Tulpehokin, or even to Philadelphia, to get work done; they therefore begged that a blackſmith might be ſent to reſide in Shomokin. Shomokin ſeemed a very dangerous place of reſidence for an European, the air being unwholeſome, and the Indians noted as bad paymaſters; not to mention their extravagance in drinking, and its dangerous conſequences to an European. Yet the Brethren received the meſſage ſent by Conrad Weiſſer with pleaſure; and the governor of Pennſylvania readily granted permiſſion to ſend them a blackſmith. Accordingly Brother Mack went in company of an Indian to Shomokin to conſult with chief Shikellimus and his council, upon the buſineſs, and to agree, that in caſe the Brethren ſhould ſend a blackſmith to reſide there, he ſhould ſtay with them no longer than they preſerved their faith and friendſhip with the Engliſh nation.

Soon after this the ſmall-pox broke out among the Indians, firſt at Bethlehem and then at Gnadenhuetten. Eighteen perſons departed this life, among whom were ſeveral very uſeful and valuable aſſiſtants, whoſe loſs the miſſionaries moſt ſincerely lamented, *viz.* John, Iſaac, David, Jonas, Abraham, and his wife Sarah. The following is a brief account of their lives:

John was one of the firſt fruits, and ſeveral letters inſerted above, are a ſtriking proof of his real converſion to the Lord. As an heathen he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his ſinful practices, and as his vices became the more ſeductive, on account of his natural wit and humor, ſo as a Chriſtian he became a moſt powerful and perſuaſive witneſs of our Savior among his nation. His gifts were ſanctified by the grace of God, and employed in ſuch a manner, as to be the means of bleſſing both to Europeans and Indians. Few of his countrymen could vie with him in

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point of Indian oratory. His diſcourſes were full of animation, and his words penetrated like fire into the hearts of his countrymen; his ſoul found a rich paſture in the Goſpel, and whether at home, or on a journey, he could not forbear ſpeaking of the ſalvation purchaſed for us by the ſufferings of Jeſus, never heſitating a moment, whether his hearers were Chriſtians or heathen. In ſhort, he appeared choſen by God to be a witneſs to his people, and was four years active in this ſervice. Nor was he leſs reſpected as a chief among the Indians, no affairs of ſtate being tranſacted without his advice and conſent. Shortly before his laſt illneſs he viſited Biſhop Spangenberg, and addreſſed him thus: "I have ſomething to ſay "to you; I have examined my heart cloſely, I know that "what I ſay is true. Seeing ſo many of our Indians de- "part this life, I put the queſtion to myſelf, whether I "could reſign my life to the Lord, and be aſſured that he "would receive my ſoul. The anſwer was: Yes, for I "am the Lord's, and ſhall go and be with him for ever." During his illneſs, the believing Indians went often and ſtood weeping around his bed. Even then he ſpoke with power and energy of the truth of the Goſpel, and in all things approved himſelf, to his laſt breath, as a miniſter of God. His pains were mitigated by the conſideration of the great ſufferings of Jeſus Chriſt, and his departure to him was gentle and placid, as that of a faithful ſervant, entering into the joy of his Lord.

ISAAC was alſo one of the firſt fruits, and formerly known as a great ſorcerer, but he was made a miracle of grace. After his baptiſm he became remarkably tender-hearted and benevolent, and by his peculiar gifts was well qualified for his office as ſervant, both in the congregation at Shekomeko, and in attending ſtrangers. His happy departure was a moſt convincing proof of his living faith.

DAVID, baptized in the year 1742, was a true lover of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and a bleſſed witneſs and laborer amongſt

amongſt his countrymen, whom he alſo ſerved as interpreter. He was once teſtifying the truth of the Goſpel to a white man who viſited Gnadenhuetten, and in the courſe of his converſation aſked him, how it happened, that, though the white people could read and write, and knew enough of our Lord's incarnation, ſufferings, and death, they could yet be ſo indifferent about him, and even hate him. The white man aſked him in reply, whether he could read; he anſwered: "I have five ſignificant "letters, which I ſtudy at home, and in the foreſt." The European aſked with aſtoniſhment, what letters they were: David's anſwer was: "They are the five wounds of my "crucified Savior, theſe I conſider daily, and find always "new leſſons for my heart."

THOMAS was alſo a faithful miniſter and bleſſed witneſs of the truth among his countrymen. Some years after his death ſeveral were converted, who owned that they had received the firſt convictions by means of the powerful teſtimony of this man, and could never after forget his words concerning our Savior Jeſus Chriſt.

JONAS was John's aſſiſtant in teaching, and having a particular gift in the leading of ſouls, he was univerſally beloved and eſteemed. He was remarkably chearful during his laſt illneſs, predicted the hour of his departure, and deſired, that all the believing Indians preſent might aſſemble around his bed, to whom he delivered a moſt moving farewell diſcourſe, flowing from his inmoſt ſoul, reminding them of their former unhappy courſe as heathen without God in the world, extolling the grace of God now revealed to them in Chriſt Jeſus, and begging them with many tears to abide faithful unto the end, and to follow the advice of their teachers. He then added: "I ſhall now ſoon go and ſee my Savior, and "thoſe wounds which I have preached unto you, and "by which I am healed." Further he foretold, that the enemy would repeat his endeavors to ſeduce and confound them, and to ſift them as wheat, adviſing them not

not to give ear to his inſinuations, but to cleave to Jeſus, who would defend and protect them. This diſcourſe left an indelible impreſſion upon all preſent, and was frequently repeated when his name was mentioned in converſation. Having taken an affectionate leave of his wife, he addreſſed the miſſionary, Chriſtian Henry Rauch, with a chearful countenance, ſaying: "May I not hope ſoon to depart? I am "weary and wiſh to reſt, for I have finiſhed my work;" and immediately expired.

ABRAHAM, another of the firſt fruits, was a Chief much reſpected on account of his wiſdom and grave deportment. He was appointed Elder of the congregation at Shekomeko, and in this office maintained a very diſtinguiſhed character, poſſeſſing the eſteem of all the Brethren and Siſters. His wife, Sarah, was a faithful aſſiſtant in the care of the women, and diſtinguiſhed herſelf by her good underſtanding and propriety of conduct.

Dreadful as the ſmall-pox appears to the Indians in general, the believers notwithſtanding ſhowed but little fear. The chearful, contented, and happy diſpoſition of thoſe who departed this life by means of this contagion, was edifying to all who were witneſſes of it, and many wiſhed ſoon to follow them into a bliſsful eternity; for the grace of God prevailed moſt powerfully throughout the whole congregation.

Among thoſe Indians who reſided this year in Bethlehem, was a woman, near eighty years old, and quite blind. She had laſt year expreſſed a wiſh, to be brought to Bethlehem, declaring, that if ſhe could only reach that place, ſhe ſhould be baptized and go to God. At length, after a year's delay, her friends, who were enemies to the Goſpel, reſolved to comply with her requeſt; and putting her into a cart, which they drew themſelves, they reached Bethlehem after a tedious journey of twenty days. Here ſhe heard the Goſpel with great eagerneſs, but falling ſick, began moſt earneſtly to beg for baptiſm, which was adminiſtered to her on her death-bed. After this awful and bleſſed tranſaction ſhe exclaimed, "Now my time is come; I ſhall now go home and "ſee the Lord my Savior. This was wanting a year ago, I

"always

"always ſaid, that I muſt firſt come to Bethlehem and be "baptized, and then I ſhould depart this life." The day following, in the morning, ſhe fell aſleep in the Lord.

Towards the cloſe of the year, Biſhop Spangenberg and other Brethren paid a viſit to the Indians in Wajomick, by whom, according to Biſhop Spangenberg's expreſſion, they were received as angels, ſent from God, and their words heard with uncommon eagerneſs. The aim of this viſit was, to preach the word of the croſs to theſe Indians alſo, and to eſtabliſh a covenant of friendſhip between them and the Mahikan nation, to which moſt of the believing Indians belonged, the Brethren having not yet given up all hopes of eſtabliſhing a ſettlement in thoſe parts.

CHAPTER VII.

1747, 1748.

Summary View of the internal Regulations of the Congregation at Gnadenhuetten. Beginning of a Miſſion in Shomokin. Cammerhof's troubleſome Journey to that Place.

THE Indian congregations in Gnadenhuetten and Friedenshuetten now received their proper regulations, though the latter place was by degrees entirely forſaken. Their form of worſhip was the ſame as that in all other ſettlements of the United Brethren, as far as circumſtances would admit. The congregation met twice a day, early in the morning and in the evening after their work, to ſing and pray, and ſometimes to hear a diſcourſe upon the text of Scripture appointed for the day. By theſe diſcourſes, the miſſionaries endeavored gradually to make their people better acquainted with all the ſaving truths of the Goſpel. Several parts of the Scriptures, tranſlated into the Mahi-

kan language, were alſo publicly read and expounded. A peculiar bleſſing reſted upon theſe meetings, as likewiſe upon their ſinging hymns in fellowſhip.

Children of baptized parents were baptized ſoon after their birth, but the baptiſm of adults was always adminiſtered on Sundays, or other feſtival days. The catechumens received previous inſtructions in the leading truths of the Chriſtian religion, and were publicly interrogated concerning their future views. After they had declared their ſentiments, they were abſolved by impoſition of hands, and then baptized in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt, and after ſolemn prayer and thankſgiving, the bleſſing of the Lord was pronounced over them.

The particular meetings of the baptized and communicants were held here in the ſame order, as they had been formerly regulated in Shekomeko. The children had likewiſe their meetings, in which they were addreſſed in a manner ſuitable to their capacities. Meetings were alſo held ſeparately with the married people, widowers, widows, ſingle Brethren, ſingle ſiſters, boys and girls, in which each of theſe diviſions of the congregation were exhorted to be made partakers of the bleſſings, purchaſed for them in their reſpective ſtations, by the merits of Chriſt Jeſus, that they might learn to ſhew forth his praiſe, both in ſoul and body.

The Holy Communion was adminiſtered to the communicants every month. This great and ſolemn tranſaction continued to be attended with the moſt diſtinguiſhed bleſſing, powerfully ſtrengthening their faith and hope. The Indians therefore called the communion day, the *great* day, and ſuch indeed it was, for the miſſionaries could never find words ſufficient to extol the power and grace of God, revealed on theſe occaſions.

The miſſionaries were likewiſe earneſtly engaged in faithfully caring for each individual ſoul, and in leading them forward with gentleneſs, wiſdom, and patience, following the directions of the Spirit of God. In providing for the women, the wives of the miſſionaries, and alſo Indian ſiſters,

ſiſters, appointed for that purpoſe, aſſiſted with great ſucceſs, and in this view their preſence was required in all the conferences relating to the whole congregation. It was required of thoſe, who were thus entruſted with the care of ſouls, not only to queſtion every individual concerning the ſtate of their minds, previous to the Holy Communion, but that they ſhould at other times be ready to hear and conſider the complaints and remarks of each member of the congregation.

In the converſations held by the miſſionaries with the Indian aſſiſtants, they endeavored to inſtil ſcriptural principles into their minds; they alſo attended to their remarks and propoſals, promoting true brotherly love among them, as fellow-laborers in the work of the Lord; that thus, by their united exertions, the welfare of the congregation might be furthered. It muſt be owned, to the glory of God, that moſt of them walked worthy of their important office, being reſpected by the whole congregation. Occaſionally the daily meetings were committed to the care of the moſt experienced and gifted amongſt them. Their diſcourſes were animated, plain, and powerful, and it gave peculiar ſatisfaction to the miſſionaries, to find ſuch an apoſtolic ſpirit reſting upon them. They frequently heard with great emotion, how zealouſly theſe aſſiſtants preached ſalvation by the death of Jeſus, being filled with fervent deſire to lead ſouls to Chriſt: they always made the Scriptures the foundation of their diſcourſe; adding, "Thus hath God, our Creator, loved us; "this he hath done to ſave us; every ſinner may approach "confidently unto him. Thus *we* have been taught; *we* have "received the Goſpel and experienced the truth of it." Sometimes they met with oppoſition. Once a ſavage declared to them, "That he had firmly reſolved to continue "in his Indian belief and manner of living; that he had "once endeavored to reform, and in this view ſpent ſome "time with a chriſtian moraliſt, who told him what he ought "to do, but lived contrary to his own precepts; that he had "alſo reſided a long time among the white people, who had

"the *great book*, which taught them how to live, but that they "lived like Indians, committing all manner of evil; in "ſhort, that he had never ſeen a man who lived agreeably "to the directions contained in that book." The Indian aſſiſtants anſwered with great chearfulneſs: "Obſerve our "teachers, they live according to the precepts contained in "the great Book, we alſo endeavor to do it, and are happy "in ſo doing." Others, who acknowledged the excellency of the doctrine, declared, "that it would be very impolitic "in them not to have bad hearts, leſt the white people, who "were now afraid of them, chiefly on account of their bad "hearts, ſhould afterwards do with them what they pleaſed." The believers contradicted this aſſertion, by quoting their own example: "When the traders come," ſaid they, "and "offer their rum to you, you ſuffer yourſelves to be imme- "diately deceived; you get drunk, and then they do with "you what they pleaſe, therefore your bad hearts cannot de- "fend you againſt them, but make you an eaſy prey to their "cunning. But when they come to us, we refuſe their rum, "and thus they cannot treat us as they pleaſe; our hearts, "which believe in Jeſus, reſiſt their temptations and defend "us againſt them."

With regard to rules and orders, they were always made in the council of the congregation, and perſons nominated to watch over their due performance. The miſſionaries gave particular attention to a very circumſpect education of the youth of both ſexes, in the fear and admonition of the Lord, and in this view a weekly conference was held with the parents.

Beſides their labor in the congregation, the miſſionaries never omitted to follow thoſe who had ſtrayed, with love and patience, and in this bleſſed work received much help from the Indian aſſiſtants. When any poor loſt ſheep returned to the congregation, the joy of the flock was great; but when members of the congregation conducted themſelves in ſuch a manner, that they could no longer be ſuffered to dwell in the place, ſorrow was as general. Sometimes thoſe, who

who would not hearken to advice, were publicly recommended to the prayers of the congregation, but if any refuſed reproof and did not leave the place of his own accord, notice was given, that he could no longer be conſidered as an inhabitant of Gnadenhuetten. Though this was always an afflictive expedient, yet the miſſionaries could not act otherwiſe, unleſs they had ſuffered the congregation to degenerate into a corrupt and mixed multitude. They feared nothing more than a Laodicean courſe. When the leaſt ſymptom of this appeared, they ceaſed not to cry unto the Lord, until a new fire of grace and love was kindled; and thus ſtrengthened, they proceeded with renewed courage. By keeping up a continual intercourſe with the Elders at Bethlehem, they received great ſupport, and were encouraged by frequent viſits and letters received from them, which they communicated to the congregation.

When a believer obtained the end of his faith, and departed this life rejoicing, it gave occaſion to all the ſurvivors, to examine their hearts, whether they were duly prepared to commend their ſouls to the Lord Jeſus, whenever he ſhould call them hence.

The Indian congregation having continued almoſt uninterrupted in the above-mentioned pleaſing and regular courſe till 1754, I ſhall only take notice of a few remarkable occurrences.

At the ſynods of the Brethren, two of which were held in Pennſylvania in the year 1747, the care of the Indian miſſion, and the propagation of the Goſpel in general, was a chief object of conſideration. Some Indian deputies were preſent at theſe and other ſynods, and approved themſelves uſeful and active members. The converſion of the negroes in New York was likewiſe taken into conſideration, and Brother Chriſtian Froelich received a commiſſion, to attend and preach the Goſpel to them, as circumſtances would permit.

Various journies were made to Shekomeko, Pachgatgoch, and Wechquatnach, both by the European and Indian Brethren from Bethlehem and Gnadenhuetten. In ſpring, the miſſionary, Martin Mack, went again to Shomokin, and hav-

ing agreed with Shikellimus and his council, reſpecting the terms, upon which a blackſmith ſhould be ſent by the Brethren to dwell with them, the Brethren, John Hagen and Joſeph Powel, went thither in June, to build an houſe for this purpoſe, and having finiſhed it in a few weeks, Brother Anthony Schmidt and his wife removed to Shomokin that ſame month and began to work. Brother Hagen having departed this life in September, Brother Mack and his wife went to Shomokin to ſuperintend the new miſſion. They viſited the Indians diligently, and improved every opportunity to preach the Goſpel to them. But they found much cauſe to lament the abominations practiſed here. Among other inſtances of ſavage barbarity, they ſaw one of the moſt lamentable nature: a Mahikan woman, having loſt one child already by poiſon, had the misfortune to loſe her laſt child only four years old, by the ſame means, applied by a noted murderer. Her violent lamentations at the grave and continual repetition of the words, "The ſorcerer has robbed me of my only "child; ah! the ſorcerer has murdered my only child;" moved all, who heard her, with the greateſt compaſſion. Siſter Mack endeavored to comfort her, by deſcribing Jeſus Chriſt as the friend and Savior of all the diſtreſſed. During this converſation ſhe aſked with great earneſtneſs; "Do you believe, "that my child is now with your God?"—"I do," replied Siſter Mack, "becauſe our God is a friend of the children; and "if your learn to know him, you may in eternity, find your "child with him; for he is not only *our* God but alſo *your* "God, and loves all men. He loved them ſo much, that he "became a man and died for you and me, that we all might "be ſaved if we receive him, &c." This declaration left an abiding impreſſion upon the mother and her huſband.

Brother Mack had alſo the pleaſure to ſee, that a girl of thirteen years old, upon hearing his teſtimony, turned with her whole heart to the Lord. She often told her mother, how ſhe converſed with Jeſus; even after her parents left Shomokin, ſhe remained in the ſame mind, and, whenever an opportunity offered, ſent word to Siſter Mack that

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ſhe ſtill loved our Savior. After ſome time ſhe fell ſick, and perceiving that her diſſolution was at hand, earneſtly admoniſhed her mother to love the Lord Jeſus, and to return to the Brethren at Shomokin. Before her departure ſhe deſired that a ſmall token, by way of remembrance, might be ſent to Siſter Mack. With this her laſt requeſt the parents complied, contrary to the uſual cuſtom of the Indians, who generally bury the property of the deceaſed with them.

The reſidence of the Brethren at Shomokin, was attended with great expence and inconvenience, all neceſſaries of life being conveyed to them from Bethlehem. Shomokin being a place, through which the Iroquois uſed to paſs in their way to Philadelphia and Virginia, and when going out an hunting, the Brethren there found a good opportunity of becoming acquainted with a great part of that nation, and of preparing the way, for the propagation of the Goſpel among them.

Several miſſionaries, both in Bethlehem and Gnadenhuetten, were now ſtudying the Maquaw or Mohawk language, the chief dialect of the Iroquois, to qualify themſelves for this work, and Brother Pyrlaeus, who had already become a proficient in the Mahikan language, ſo that he could inſtruct others and even compile a hymn-book for the uſe of the congregation in Gnadenhuetten, was by this time alſo able to inſtruct in the Mohawk language, and ſpent his time, from four o'clock in the morning till late in the evening, in this employment, except when prevented by the duties of his office as miniſter.

As the Indian languages had no words for many new ideas and objects, the Brethren were obliged to enrich them with ſeveral Engliſh and German words, and by degrees, cuſtom rendered theſe new terms intelligible. Several Indian Brethren at Gnadenhuetten were alſo deſirous of learning the German language, but they never made much progreſs. But thoſe Indian ſingle Brethren and Siſters, who had requeſted and obtained leave to live at Bethlehem, and more particularly the children, educated in the ſchools, learnt

German with eaſe. Though the Brethren had purpoſed to ſend the Indian children home, as ſoon as their parents had built their cottages, yet it could not ſo generally be done, for ſome parents, perceiving that their children would be much better educated in the Brethren's ſchools than at home, begged earneſtly, that they might not be ſent back. An Indian ſiſter even bequeathed her two children to Brother Spangenberg, that he might adopt and educate them for the Lord. The children themſelves were extremely unwilling to quit the ſchools at Bethlehem, and many entreated ſo earneſtly, that they at laſt prevailed upon the Brethren to keep them. Even ſeveral children in Gnadenhuetten would not reſt, till their parents procured leave for them to go to the Bethlehem ſchools, and at that time their earneſt and repeated requeſt could not be denied, without the appearance of cruelty. Nor was this meaſure without its good effects. The evident proofs of the grace of God operating in the hearts of theſe Indian children, gave great joy to their teachers and overſeers, and care being taken that they ſhould not loſe their native tongue, many of them became very uſeful to the miſſion by the knowledge they acquired of the German or Engliſh languages.

The ſupport of the Indian congregation in Gnadenhuetten was a principal object of the attention of the Brethren in the year 1747. It was an evident proof of a change of heart, that the Indians went diligently to work, and planted the fields, portioned out to each family; but not having land ſufficient, the Brethren bought a neighboring plantation for their uſe. This gave them great pleaſure. One of them ſaid, "It ſeemed hitherto, as if we had lain in a ſhort bed, "never able to ſtretch at full length, but now we lie in a "large one." A ſaw-mill being erected at Gnadenhuetten, many Indians had the means of earning money by cutting timber and conveying it to Bethlehem in floats down the Lecha. Hunting however remained the chief ſupport of the people, and from fifteen to twenty deer or bears were frequently ſhot in one day. If proviſions proved ſcarce,

they got wild honey, cheſnuts, and bilberries in the foreſts.

Still a continual ſupply of proviſions was required from Bethlehem; for the Indians of Gnadenhuetten were frequently viſited by various companies, chiefly Delawares and Shawanoſe, whom they not only received with kindneſs, but alſo entertained, rejoicing that theſe heathen had thus an opportunity of hearing the Goſpel.

Nothing made ſo good an impreſſion upon the ſavages, as that peace and harmony prevailing among the believers, and their contentment amidſt all troubles. This gave great weight to their teſtimony of Jeſus Chriſt, for it was evident that nothing but faith in, and love to him could create that diſplay of benevolence and chearfulneſs in the conduct of the Indian Brethren, the reverſe of which appeared ſo general in the unconverted.

The viſits of ſavages were agreeable to the miſſionaries, as they conceived hopes, that ſome might be gained for Chriſt; but ſometimes proved troubleſome, on account of their wild and diſorderly conduct. Circumſpection was always required in treating them properly. By ſeverity their future viſits would have been prevented; yet diſorder could not be permitted, leſt the believing Indians ſhould ſuffer. The following mode ſeemed the moſt prudent: Thoſe, who, excited by curioſity, came to paſs a day or two, were welcome. The Chriſtian walk of the Indians proved edifying to them, and the obſervance of the rules of the ſettlement prevented all miſchief. But if any expreſſed an inclination to live at Gnadenhuetten, they were then told, that drunkenneſs, fighting, games, &c. were not permitted; and yet, with every precaution, theſe evils could not be entirely prevented. Thus twenty-ſix Indians came from Pachgatgoch to Gnadenhuetten, pretending that they wiſhed to live there and hear the Goſpel. There being no room for them in Gnadenhuetten, they began to build in the neighborhood; but it was ſoon evident, that they were not ſincere, and their converſation proved hurtful to the Chriſtian Indians, ſo that

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even ſome families were ſeduced. Theſe poor people with thoſe who left the congregation ſoon found reaſon to repent. One, named Gideon, expreſſed his regret in the following terms: "When I left you, I thought I might "ſtill retain life in my heart, though I left the believers, "but alas! I find it far otherwiſe: my other brethren, who have "done the ſame, are all ſpiritually dead, and in purſuit of the "world, and it would have been better for me to have re-"mained with you."

In January 1748, Biſhop Cammerhof and Brother Joſeph Powel went to Shomokin. They ſuffered ſo much on their journey from the great quantity of ice, water, and ſnow, that they were frequently in danger, and their journal cannot be read without aſtoniſhment; but the Lord helped them through all difficulties. The Biſhop found by the way ſeveral opportunities to preach the Goſpel with good effect to bewildered Chriſtians, and this proved ſufficient conſolation for all the fatigue and danger he had endured.

The intention of his journey was to make ſome regulations, by which the Goſpel might be more eaſily propagated among the Iroquois, Shomokin being a central town. He had ſeveral conferences not only with the Brethren there, but with Shikellimus and his council, before whom he bore a powerful teſtimony of the ſalvation purchaſed by the death of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, which left a deep impreſſion upon them. On his return, he experienced many ſingular proofs of the gracious providence of God, who heard his prayers. The Brethren in Bethlehem conſidered it their duty to encourage thoſe in Shomokin by frequent viſits, their ſituation being attended with many difficulties. Their houſe was frequently injured by the violent ſtorms of thunder and rain prevailing in that diſtrict. Sometimes the plantations were deſtroyed by hail; earthquakes ſhook their dwellings, and filled them with apprehenſion: but their principal danger aroſe from the drunkenneſs of the Indians, whoſe fury

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in that ſtate threatens the lives of all who interfere with them. The Brethren were alſo often alarmed by parties of warriors of different nations, then at war with the Catawas, paſſing to and fro with captives. They treated their priſoners with great cruelty, and the Brethren, as white people, were often in danger of being murdered in their riots. But their confidence in God remained unſhaken; otherwiſe, witneſſing ſuch horrid abominations, and ſubjected to great abuſe and inſult, their courage and faith might have been ſubdued, had not the hand of God in mercy ſupported them.

About this time, the miſſionaries Martin Mack and David Zeiſberger went to Long Iſland, and Great Iſland, ſituated in the weſt branch of the Suſquehannah, above Otſtonwackin. They found many people ill, but did not venture to give them medicine; for had only one of the patients died, the Indians, without heſitation, would have blamed the miſſionaries. Being exceedingly affected at the ſight of theſe people, addicted to every heatheniſh vice, and now tormented by famine and ſickneſs, they endeavored to deſcribe to them the love of Jeſus Chriſt their Savior, ever ready to help all thoſe who believe in him. But they found few diſpoſed to hear; the Indians quoting the bad example of the Chriſtians in the neighborhood, as a ſufficient cauſe for rejecting their doctrine. Thus they returned with ſorrowful hearts from their labor; having ſeveral times been in danger of loſing their lives, by the brutality of the ſavages.

CHAPTER VIII.

1748, 1749.

Synod held by the Brethren in Quitopehill. Occurrences in Gnadenhuetten. Johannes de Watteville's Arrival. He goes in ſearch of ſeveral ſtraying Indians. Awakening in Meniolagomekah. Various Accounts.

SOON after Biſhop Cammerhof's return from Shomokin, a ſynod was held in Quitopehill; in which the miſſion among the Indians was conſidered with much attention, and the following principles renewed and approved:

1. The Brethren do not think, that they are called to baptize whole nations; for it is more to the purpoſe, to gain one converted ſoul, than to perſuade many to take merely the name and outward form of Chriſtianity.

2. We are not diſcouraged by the dangers and hardſhips attending the labor among the heathen, but always bear in remembrance, that our Lord endured diſtreſs and death itſelf, to gain ſalvation for us, and reſted not till the great work was finiſhed. If, after the moſt ſtrenuous exertions of ſoul and body, one ſoul is gained for Chriſt, we have an ample reward.

3. We will continue to preach nothing to the heathen but Jeſus and him crucified, repeating the ſame teſtimony of his Goſpel, till the hearts of the heathen are awakened to believe; being fully convinced, that the power of the croſs is the word of God, which is alone able to bring ſouls from darkneſs into light.

4. The miſſionaries ſhould never reject any heathen, not even the moſt abandoned and profligate, but conſider them

as

as perſons, to whom the grace of Jeſus Chriſt ought to be offered.

A remarkable opportunity ſoon offered to act according to the laſt rule. A diſſolute Indian woman came to Gnadenhuetten, pretending to have the beſt views, but ſecretly endeavoring to ſeduce ſeveral perſons. Her evil intentions being fully proved, ſhe was called upon to appear before the Indian aſſiſtants, and informed, that this town was built only for ſuch, who being weary of ſin and the ſervice of Satan, were deſirous of being ſaved, but that ſalvation extended even to the greateſt harlots, murderers, and thieves, if they were truly penitent, ſince God our Savior had become a man, ſhed his blood and died for them alſo. Therefore Indians of this deſcription were likewiſe welcome, if they truly wiſhed to be delivered from the power of evil. But that Gnadenhuetten was not a place of reſidence for ſuch, who perſiſt in ſin; nor would ſuch perſons find companions here; that ſhe therefore muſt now leave the town, but as ſoon as ſhe ſhould ſincerely change her mind, ſhe ſhould be received with pleaſure.

As ſoon as ſhe appeared before this venerable company, ſhe was overcome with awe; and, during the above addreſs, her very countenance beſpoke the condemnation of her conſcience. She then left the houſe with tears, and removed to another place. About a year after, the Brethren had the pleaſure to ſee this woman converted. She married an heathen Indian, who was afterwards much diſfigured in a drunken frolic. This misfortune cauſed the poor man ſeriouſly to reflect on his conduct, and his wife reminding him of the Brethren, they both went to Bethlehem and Gnadenhuetten, declaring their wiſh to know by experience, that God had ſaved the Indians alſo, by the ſhedding of his precious blood. They believed, were afterwards baptized, and named Daniel and Ruth.

Some inſtances alſo occurred about this time, ſhowing the pernicious influence of ſeduction among the converted Indians, which much afflicted the miſſionaries.

Another

Another ſynod being held at Bethlehem in June 1748, ſome of the moſt approved Indian Brethren were appointed aſſiſtants in the work of God in their nation. For their encouragement this was done in a ſolemn and public manner. Nicodemus (one of their number) departed this life in Gnadenhuetten in Auguſt. He was a man of a diſtinguiſhed character, and his converſion was a miracle of grace.

As an heathen he was exceeded by none in the practice of evil, and much given to drunkenneſs. On hearing the word of the croſs, he was one of the firſt, who experienced its ſaving power, and was baptized in December 1742. From a turbulent ſpirit he became patient, lowly and humble in heart, but ſtrong in faith. In his walk and converſation he was an example to all, and whoever knew him before, beheld him now with amazement. By degrees, he became much enlightened in the divine truths of the Goſpel, and was appointed elder of the congregation at Gnadenhuetten, in which office he was univerſally reſpected. His walk with his God and Savior was uninterrupted, and his faith daily ſtrengthened by contemplating the ſufferings and death of Jeſus. He prayed without ceaſing, both for himſelf and his countrymen, whom he greatly loved. If he perceived any inſincerity among them, his concern was evident. He was very attentive to new objects, and as his manner of ſpeaking was very figurative, his converſation proved highly inſtructive and uſeful. Once looking at the mill at Gnadenhuetten, he addreſſed a miſſionary: "Brother," ſaid he, "I diſcover ſomething that rejoices "my heart. I have ſeen the great wheel and many little "ones; every one was in motion and ſeemed all alive, but "ſuddenly all ſtopt, and the mill was as dead. I then "thought; ſurely all depends upon one wheel, if the water "runs upon that, every thing elſe is alive, but when that "ceaſes to flow, all appears dead. Juſt ſo it is with my "heart, it is dead as the wheel; but as ſoon as Jeſu's blood "flows upon it, it gets life and ſets every thing in motion,

"and

"and the whole man being governed by it, it becomes evi-
"dent, that there is life throughout. But when the heart
"is removed from the crucified Jesus, it dies gradually,
"and at length all life ceases." Upon another occasion he said, "I crossed the Lecha to-day in a boat, and being "driven into the rapid current, was forced down the stream "and nearly overset. I then thought; this is exactly the "case of men who know not the Lord Jesus Christ, they "are irresistibly hurried away by sin, cannot help them-"selves and in danger of being eternally lost: but as soon "as our mighty Savior takes the helm, we receive power "to withstand the rapid stream of this world and sin." When the doctrine of the Holy Ghost became more clear to his mind, he once compared his body to a canoe, and his heart to the rudder, adding, "That the Holy Ghost was "the master sitting at the rudder and directing the vessel." He was very diligent in his attendance on the heathen visitors, and his unaffected and solid conversation, but especially his fervent prayers in their behalf, made a lasting impression upon them. In his last illness, he thought much of the resurrection, and said: "I am now an old man and "shall soon depart to the Lord; my body will soon be "interred in our burying-ground; but it will rise most "glorious; and when our Savior shall call all those, who "have fallen asleep in him, they will rise to newness of "life and glory." His countenance appeared at the same time as serene as that of an angel; he repeated his ardent desire to be at home with Jesus, and assured his friends, that his joy in the Lord had almost overpowered all sensation of pain, adding, "I am poor and needy and there-"fore amazed at the love of my Lord Jesus Christ, who is "always with me." Thus he remained chearful, till his happy departure, which fully proved the reality of his faith.

Among the Indians baptized in the year 1748, two merit attention, Christian Renatus and Anna Caritas. The former was an inhabitant of Meniolagomekah, a celebrated warrior of the Delaware nation, of a gigantic form, and rendered

rendered terrible by his exploits. He was formerly a great drunkard, and noted throughout the country as a monſter of iniquity. But true faith in the Lord Jeſus changed his conduct. Being preſent at a baptiſm in Gnadenhuetten, he was ſo much affected, that he could not refrain from tears. He owned with ſorrow his former ſinful life, and fought and found pardon and peace in the redemption of Jeſus. The report of his converſion and baptiſm cauſed great aſtoniſhment among the Indians and white people, many of whom came to Gnadenhuetten to examine into the truth of it. To all theſe viſitors, he joyfully declared what the Lord had done for his ſoul. Anna Caritas, was the firſt fruits of the Shawanoſe, a ſenſible old woman. She had long reſided among the white people, but felt an impulſe to ſee the Brethren. Her employers, who greatly eſteemed her, as a good ſervant and houſekeeper, could not perſuade her to ſtay, but ſhe went to Bethlehem in the depth of winter, believed in Jeſus Chriſt, and would not depart, till her urgent requeſt for baptiſm was granted.

The years 1748 and 1749, were alſo diſtinguiſhed in an extraordinary manner by the return of many loſt ſheep. Brother David Biſchoff was unwearied in following them. God alſo laid a particular bleſſing upon the ſervices of Biſhop Johannes von Watteville, who went in September 1748, to North America, to hold a viſitation in the Brethren's ſettlements. One great object was to become acquainted with the Indian congregation. For this purpoſe he went to Gnadenhuetten in September; ſtaid three days, preached the Goſpel with fervor, and rejoiced at the grace prevailing there. Some Brethren arriving from St. Thomas, at the ſame time, all joined in praiſing God our Savior for his abundant love to the poor human race, and for the power of his atonement, evidently diſplayed on the heathen of different nations and colors. The Biſhops von Watteville and Cammerhof proceeded with the Brethren Martin Mack and David Zeiſberger to Wajomick, Neſko-

Neſkopeko, Wabhallobank, and Shomokin. The former ſpent three weeks on this journey; viſiting the Shawanoſe, Chikaſas, and Nantikoks, preaching everywhere the precious Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt. In Shomokin he renewed the covenant made between the chief Shikellimus in the name of the Iroquois and Count Zinzendorf, from whom he delivered a preſent, and received the following anſwer: "Tell Johanan" (this being the name given to the Count by the Indians), "that his brethren the Six Nations ſa-"lute him, for they love him, and deſire him to ſalute "all his Brethren, whom they love likewiſe."

In December he went with Biſhop Cammerhof and Nathaniel Seidel to Shekomeko, Wechquatnach, and Pachgatgoch. In Shekomeko they found every thing deſtroyed, except the burying-ground. Their chief object was to look after the loſt ſheep, and they were ſo fortunate as to find many of them either at home, or at their hunting huts. God bleſſed their endeavors with great ſucceſs; though the contraſt between thoſe who had continued ſtedfaſt, and the backſliders, was evident in their very looks and behavior. The miſſionaries were not diſcouraged, but preached the Goſpel to them again, earneſtly exhorting them to confeſs all their deviations with contrite hearts before the Lord, to crave his mercy and pardon, and to devote themſelves anew unto him, who has received gifts for the rebellious alſo. They aſſured the penitent, that the congregation, whom they had offended, was ready and willing to readmit them to fellowſhip. This meſſage of conſolation, had the deſired effect. The deluded people confeſſed their tranſgreſſions with many tears. Nathaniel ſaid, "I know, that I belong to my Savior, and to his "people. My horſes often ſtray far into the woods, but "always return to my hut, and thus I will return and ſeek "our Savior and the congregation." He added, "If a coal "is taken from the fire, it loſes its heat, and is extin-"guiſhed; thus alſo my heart has loſt its fervor, having "ſtrayed from the fellowſhip of the believers."

All who bemoaned their unfaithfulneſs, received a public aſſurance of the pardon of the congregation, having previouſly made known their ſituation to the miſſionaries. Moſt of them were alſo ſoon after readmitted to the Holy Communion, and the Brethren experienced on theſe occaſions ſomething of that joy, which is in heaven over repenting ſinners. They had alſo the comfort to baptize twenty Indians, among whom were two boys.

Upon their return, theſe three Brethren went to a town in the Jerſeys, where Mr. Brainard had preached the Goſpel to the Indians, baptized about fifty, and made ſome good regulations among them. They wiſhed him all poſſible ſucceſs. The Brethren in Bethlehem were alſo of opinion, that they ought not in the leaſt to interfere with the labors of this good man among the Indians, but rather to ſupport him with their prayers.

In 1749, thirteen Indian boys, educated in the ſchools at Bethlehem, Nazareth, and Fredericſtown, were with a negroe boy baptized. This tranſaction made a bleſſed impreſſion upon the European and Indian Brethren. The cuſtom of dreſſing the catechumens, who were to be baptized, in white, was now firſt introduced into the Indian miſſion.

About this time two grown perſons were baptized in Bethlehem, one of whom called Kepoſh, had formerly been head-chief of the Delaware nation, and was now near eighty years of age. Many years ago he was taken ill and to all appearance died. The Indians having made every neceſſary preparation, ſent meſſages to the different towns, to invite his friends to the burial, but at the end of three days, to the aſtoniſhment of all preſent, he awoke from his ſwoon. He wondered at the number ſurrounding his bed, knew nothing of the intention of their meeting, nor what had happened to him. He informed them, that a ſhining figure of a man clothed in white robes, had appeared to him as flying in the air, who, lifting him up from the earth, ſhowed him a catalogue of his, and his

his people's ſins, exhorting him to return and reform his life, and to reprove the Indians, on account of their wicked ways. This ſtory was well known among the Indians, before they heard the Goſpel. It is alſo certain, that the man actually ſtrove to amend his life, but finding no power in himſelf to reſiſt evil, and remembering the injunctions laid upon him, believed the Goſpel, as ſoon as he heard it. He was called Solomon in baptiſm, and became a very reſpectable and uſeful member of the congregation. His eldeſt ſon had ſtrong convictions and an inward call to turn to the Lord, but the hopes to ſucceed his father in his dignity, made him long heſitate. At length, not able to reſiſt the powerful operations of the Holy Ghoſt, and being anew awakened by attending the baptiſm of ſome Indians, he immediately went to Biſhop von Watteville, owned his loſt eſtate, and begged to be baptized. His requeſt was granted, not long after the baptiſm of his father.

Brother David Bruce was now appointed to the care of the Chriſtian Indians in Pachgatgoch and Wechquatnach, who ſince the before-mentioned viſit had again formed a regular ſettlement. He chiefly lived in an houſe in Wechquatnach belonging to the Brethren, called Gnadenſee, but ſometimes reſided at Pachgatgoch, whence he paid viſits to Weſtenhuck, by invitation from the head-chief of the Mahikan nation, ſowing the ſeed of the Goſpel, wherever he came. But as he was not ordained, Biſhop Cammerhof with Brother Gottlieb Bezold, went again in March 1749, to Shekomeko, Pachgatgoch, and Wechquatnach, to ſtrengthen the believers, and to adminiſter the Sacraments to them. Twenty Indians were then added to the church by baptiſm. Brother Bruce remained in this ſtation till his happy departure out of time, which, to the great grief of the Indian congregation, took place this year. He was remarkably chearful during his illneſs, and his converſation edified all who ſaw him. Perceiving that his end approached, he called the Indian Brethren preſent, to his bed-

ſide, and preſſing their hands to his breaſt, beſought them fervently, to remain faithful unto the end; and immediately after fell aſleep in the Lord. His funeral was committed to one of the aſſiſtants, who delivered a powerful diſcourſe upon the ſolemn occaſion to the company preſent, among whom were many white people, who had often heard our late Brother's teſtimony of the truth with bleſſing. Brother Abraham Bueninger was appointed his ſucceſſor, and at leiſure hours was very diligent in inſtructing the children.

Biſhop Johannes von Watteville having been on a viſitation to the negroe-miſſion in St. Thomas, returned to North America in June. Meanwhile the Brethren Cammerhof, Nathaniel Seidel, and others went to Meniolagomekah, upon repeated invitations from the Chiefs. Their labor was not in vain, and a door was opened there for the Goſpel. The chief of this place, a young man of rank, generally called George Rex, and his wife, were ſoon after baptized in Bethlehem, and both became uſeful aſſiſtants in the Indian congregation. Soon after this the Chief's grandfather, being an hundred years of age, and quite blind, was alſo baptized, and fell happily aſleep in Jeſus, ſoon after his baptiſm. From that time forward, Meniolagomekah was diligently viſited by the miſſionaries; and many of the inhabitants receiving the Goſpel, a regular eſtabliſhment of Chriſtian Indians was formed, and a ſeparate burying-ground allotted them. This place being only one day's journey from Bethlehem, it was generally attended by the miſſionaries from Gnadenhuetten, and by them ſerved with the word and Sacraments. The communicants came alſo occaſionally to Gnadenhuetten, and partook of the Communion there.

In May, many of the Indians of Gnadenhuetten went to Bethlehem, to ſee three Chriſtian Greenlanders, who were returning to their native country, conducted by the late miſſionary Matthew Stach. There were at the ſame time in Bethlehem, a boy and a young Indian woman from Berbice in South America, ſo that the Brethren there had the ſatisfaction to

ſee

ſee heathen of three different nations and languages, namely Arawacks, living in the 6th, Mahikans and Delawares in the 41ſt, and Greenlanders in the 65th degree of north latitude. In this month, thirty believing Indians who formerly removed from Shekomeko to Wechquatnach, went to live at Gnadenhuetten. This town now became an object of admiration to the whole country, and the increaſing number of its inhabitants, afforded a convincing proof of the power of the Goſpel, to change the hearts of men. Evil reports were not wanting, and thus theſe people had alſo their ſhare of the reproach of Chriſt. This was likewiſe the caſe with the ſmall congregation at Meniolagomekah, where the enemy with much pains influenced the minds of the people, by bitter and falſe accuſations. Yet they could not ſucceed; chiefly owing to the firmneſs of the above-mentioned Chief, named Auguſtus in baptiſm, a man of a very ſound underſtanding and ſtrong in faith. He explained all things fully to the believers, declaring his mind to the following effect: "I know both the Brethren, and "their intentions well. When I hear baſe charges againſt "them, I give them no credit; firſt chuſing, by enquiry, "to explore the truth. I know that Satan envies the "peace my brethren enjoy, and therefore thus aſſaults "us." The converted Indians were alſo ſoon accuſtomed to be called Moravians, or Herrnhuthers. Thoſe ſavages alſo, who were enemies to the Goſpel, endeavored by various inventions to confound the truth. A meſſage was ſent to Gnadenhuetten to this effect: "That a conjuror, who "was dying in Wajomick, had diſappeared in the night, "and two days after returned from heaven, where God had "told him, that he had appointed ſacrifices for the In-"dians, to atone for their ſins, but had given the Bible to "the white people only; and though it contained many ex-"cellent things, yet he conſidered it as an abomination, that "the Indians ſhould walk in the ſame way. He added, "that the white people were wiſe and cunning, and if the "Indians meddled with them, they would all be devour-

"ed, eſpecially their children, whom they ſtrove to get into "their power; further, that God had commanded him to "make this known to all the Indian tribes." The meſſenger added: "That the man who had been with God had "ſummoned all the Indians to meet on the river Suſ-"quehannah, to hear him; after which he intended to "come to this town, to relate the affair himſelf, for the "words he had heard were ſo important to him, that he "could not keep them in his breaſt." The Indian Brethren heard this meſſage with patience, but after aſſuring the meſſenger, that his employer had not ſeen the true God, they preached the words of life to the deluded man with great power and demonſtration of the Spirit. The impreſſion made upon the meſſenger was ſuch, that he not only publiſhed throughout the country what he had heard at Gnadenhuetten, thus fruſtrating the intentions of the falſe prophet, but turned with all his heart unto the Lord, and was baptized ſome time after.

In July, deputies from the Six Nations arrived in Philadelphia to form an alliance with the Engliſh government: and the Brethren Johannes von Watteville, Spangenberg, Cammerhof, Pyrlaeus, and Nathaniel Seidel went likewiſe thither, to renew with them the covenant made between the Brethren and the Six Nations. At the requeſt of the latter, the Brethren promiſed to viſit their people.

In September Biſhop Johannes von Watteville went again to Gnadenhuetten, and laid the foundation of a new church; that built in 1746 being now too ſmall, and the miſſionaries now and then obliged to preach out of doors. The Indian congregation alone conſiſted of five hundred perſons. In October the Biſhops von Watteville and Spangenberg returned to Europe. Their labor in the Indian congregation was bleſſed with rich fruits. Spangenberg was ſucceeded by Biſhop John Nitſchman; and Biſhop Cammerhof continued indefatigably attentive to the converſion of the heathen. In November he viſited the Indians at Shomokin, and on the banks of the Suſquehannah.

A ſchool

A ſchool of three claſſes, for children, boys, and young men, was eſtabliſhed this year at Gnadenhuetten; and a maſter appointed for each claſs. Miſtreſſes were alſo appointed, for the claſſes of the girls and young women. The Indian youth being very willing to learn, it was a pleaſure to their inſtructors to ſee their progreſs. A regulation was alſo made for the maintenance of poor widows and orphans, who were placed in different families, and provided, as relations, with every neceſſary of life.

About this time Mr. Brainard and ſeveral of his Indian converts viſited Gnadenhuetten.

Towards the end of the year the Indian congregation ſuffered a great loſs by the deceaſe of the wife of the miſſionary Martin Mack, who had devoted all her time and ſtrength in the ſervice of the Lord among the heathen, to the great prejudice of her health. Her departure occaſioned general ſorrow. Among others, who departed this life in 1749, I will only mention Shikellimus in Shomokin. Being the firſt magiſtrate and head-chief of all the Iroquois Indians, living on the banks of the Suſquehannah, as far as Onondago, he thought it incumbent upon him, to be very circumſpect in his dealings with the white people. He miſtruſted the Brethren at firſt, but upon diſcovering their ſincerity, became their firm and real friend. Being much engaged in political affairs, he had learned the art of concealing his ſentiments, and therefore never contradicted thoſe, who endeavored to prejudice his mind againſt the miſſionaries, though he always ſuſpected their motives. In the laſt years of his life he became leſs reſerved, and received thoſe Brethren who came to Shomokin into his houſe. He alſo very kindly aſſiſted them in building, and defended them againſt the inſults of the drunken Indians, being himſelf never addicted to drinking, becauſe, as he expreſſed it, he never wiſhed to become a fool. He had built his houſe upon pillars for ſafety, in which he always ſhut himſelf up, when any drunken frolic was going on in the village. In this houſe

Biſhop Johannes von Watteville and his company viſited, and preached the Goſpel to him. It was then, that the Lord opened his heart; he liſtened with great attention, and at laſt with tears, reſpected the doctrine of a crucified Jeſus, and received it in faith, as a meſſage, full of grace and truth. During his viſit in Bethlehem a remarkable change took place in his heart which he could not conceal. He found comfort, peace, and joy, by faith in his Redeemer, and the Brethren conſidered him as a candidate for baptiſm, but hearing that he had been already baptized by a Roman Catholic prieſt in Canada, they only endeavored to impreſs his mind with a proper idea of the importance of this ſacramental ordinance, upon which, he deſtroyed a ſmall idol, which he wore about his neck. After his return to Shomokin the grace of God, beſtowed upon him, was truly manifeſt, and his behaviour was remarkably peaceful and contented. In this ſtate of mind he was taken ill, was attended by Brother David Zeiſberger, and in his preſence, fell happily aſleep in the Lord, in full aſſurance of obtaining eternal life, through the merits of Jeſus Chriſt.

CHAPTER IX.

1750, 1751.

Journey of the Brethren Cammerhof and David Zeiſberger to Onondago. Account of Gnadenhuetten. Biſhop Cammerhof's Deceaſe. Various Accounts.

THE moſt remarkable occurrence in 1750, was the journey of Biſhop Cammerhof and Brother David Zeiſberger to Onondago, the chief town of the Iroquois. They ſet

ſet out from Bethlehem on the 14th of May, having obtained a paſſport from the governor of Pennſylvania, requeſting all ſubjects of the Britiſh government, to forward their undertaking, and to lend them all poſſible aſſiſtance. The Brethren Mack, Bezold, and Horſefield accompanied them to Wajomick, where they made an agreeable acquaintance with the chiefs of the Nantikok tribe, one of whom, eighty-ſeven years of age, was a remarkably intelligent man. Theſe chiefs deſired to know why the Brethren ſo frequently viſited their people. This Biſhop Cammerhof anſwered, by preaching to thoſe aſſembled for that purpoſe, the will of God concerning their ſalvation, inviting them to Jeſus, that they might be made partakers of the riches of his grace; adding, that this was the only reaſon, why the Brethren came into their country. This declaration was well received, and proved a bleſſing to many at Wajomick. An Iroquois of the Cajuga nation was their guide, and conducted them to Tiaogu, about one hundred and fifty miles up the Suſquehannah. They ſpent the nights on ſhore in huts made of the bark of trees, and gave each night's lodging a name, the firſt letter of which was cut into a tree by the Indians. Biſhop Cammerhof had the ſatisfaction to find all the Indians whom he had baptized on the banks of the Suſquehannah in a pleaſing courſe. They had remained faithful to the Goſpel, and their meek and chearful behaviour proved that their ſouls were alive in the faith of Jeſus Chriſt. Their heathen neighbors came likewiſe to ſee the Brethren, complaining, that the former were entirely perverted ſince their baptiſm, not living in their uſual Indian manner, nor ever joining in the diverſions and cuſtoms of their countrymen; thus unintentionally giving them ſo good a character, that Biſhop Cammerhof greatly rejoiced, and praiſed God for his goodneſs towards them.

The inhabitants of Tiaogu, a conſiderable Indian town, as well as thoſe of other places, were ſurprized to find, that the Brethren were going to Onondago, and were acquainted with the head-chiefs of the Six Nations, and as their guide

guide purpoſely ſpread this account, wherever they came, it gained them great reſpect.

From Tiaogu they proceeded by land, and daily met with difficulties, almoſt inſurmountable at firſt appearance. On the 19th of June they reached Onondago, the chief town of the Six Nations, ſituated in a very pleaſant and fruitful country, and conſiſting of five ſmall towns or villages, through which the river Zinochſaa runs. They were lodged at the houſe of the head-chief Ganaſſateko, who received them with much cordiality. The intention of this journey was, both to fulfil the promiſe of a viſit to the great council of the Iroquois, made laſt year to the deputies in Philadelphia, and to obtain leave for ſome Brethren to live either in Onondago, or ſome other chief town of the Iroquois, to learn the language, and to preach the Goſpel to them.

Biſhop Cammerhof and David Zeiſberger having notified their arrival to the council in the uſual manner, they were admitted and received as the deputies of the church of the United Brethren on both ſides the ocean, and their meſſage taken into conſideration; the council then conſiſting of twenty-ſix elderly men of venerable appearance. The conſultations upon the meſſage laſted long, many queſtions were put to the Brethren, and many belts and fathoms of wampom delivered. Biſhop Cammerhof was the ſpeaker, and David Zeiſberger, who ſpoke the Maquaw language fluently, interpreted. Ganaſſateko was the ſpeaker on the part of the council. But as moſt of the counſellors were now and then in liquor, their buſineſs was frequently interrupted. During a ſuſpenſe of this nature the Brethren obtained permiſſion from the council, to make a journey into the country of the Cajuga and Senneka Indians, as far as Zoneſhio, the chief town of the latter. They ſpent about a fortnight on this journey, endeavoring to bring the Goſpel among theſe tribes, but it proved a difficult and dangerous undertaking, not only as to the journey itſelf, but eſpecially through the ferocity of the

Indians.

Indians. They ſuffered much from the ſavage and drunken Sennekas, eſpecially from the women, who in a ſtate of intoxication were deſperate. Thus their intention was fruſtrated, and they aſcribed their ſafe return merely to the merciful preſervation of God. On their arrival, they found that the chiefs had not proceeded any further in their cauſe. They therefore renewed their petition, and were ſo ſucceſsful, that on the 20th of July, with the uſual ceremonies, they received the following deciſion:

"That the Iroquois and the Brethren on both ſides the "great ocean ſhould regard each other as brothers; that this "covenant ſhould be indiſſoluble, and that two Brethren "ſhould have leave to live either in Onondago, or ſome "other town, to learn their language."

The Brethren praiſed God for the ſucceſs of their application, ſet out immediately on their return, and having travelled about ſixteen hundred miles, arrived in Bethlehem on the 17th of Auguſt. The Indian congregation at Gnadenhuetten rejoiced the more at their ſafe return, having been apprehenſive, that they might meet with ſome miſchief among the Iroquois.

The miſſionaries had meanwhile been active in leading the converted Indians into a more regular courſe in their marriages, without reſtraining their native liberty too much. Having duly conſidered this matter in the conference of the Indian aſſiſtants, it was agreed, that the marriage ceremony ſhould be performed in the church, and the banns regularly publiſhed. The married people were alſo exhorted, to conduct themſelves in this ſtate according to the will of God, as revealed in the Holy Scriptures.

At this time there was great want of ſuitable miſſionaries among the Indians. Thirty or forty Indians from Meniolagomekah, baptized and unbaptized, came hither both on Sundays and feſtival days. The inhabitants found it difficult to lodge them, and thus loſt the opportunity of celebrating thoſe days, as they wiſhed. The Elders therefore lamented, that they could not ſend a regular miſſionary to Meniolagomekah,

nor

nor to thoſe places, where at that time the deſire of the people to hear the word of God was general; for there was a great awakening, which extended over the whole Indian country, eſpecially on the Suſquehannah.

In many places the Indians met to converſe about God. Nothing gave them more pleaſure, than when a Brother preached to them the word of life. Nathaniel Seidel and David Zeiſberger, who went to Europe, at the latter end of this year, were commiſſioned to bring over ſome aſſiſtants for this work. Such opportunities were generally made uſe of by the Indian Brethren, to write or dictate letters to Count Zinzendorf, Biſhop von Watteville, or other friends in Europe. Theſe letters contained a plain, yet nervous declaration of their experience, were uſually communicated to the congregation, and heard with much pleaſure.

In Pachgatgoch, Biſhop Cammerhof and Brother Grube preached and adminiſtered the Sacraments this year. Brother Bueninger continued to ſerve this ſmall congregation, which encamped in huts around his cottage, and God bleſſed his labors. Moſt of the baptized at Wechquatnach had removed to Gnadenhuetten.

The Brethren at Bethlehem conſidering that the inhabitants of the latter place might thereby be ſtraitened for land, purchaſed a tract of ground on the north ſide of the Lecha, which was portioned out among the inhabitants by drawing lots, to the ſatisfaction of all. Two Brethren were appointed to keep watch during the meetings of the congregation, partly on account of the danger attending the fires in the woods, which are frequent in thoſe parts, partly to attend viſitors and travellers, and to prevent diſorders. In this duty all took their turn.

Among thoſe baptized in 1750, was one Tadeuskund, called Honeſt John by the Engliſh. His baptiſm was delayed ſome time, becauſe of his wavering diſpoſition. But having once been preſent at a baptiſm, he ſaid to one of the Brethren: "I am diſtreſt, that the time is not yet come, "that I ſhall be baptized and cleanſed in the blood of "Chriſt."

"Chriſt." Being aſked how he felt during the baptiſm, he replied: "I cannot deſcribe it, but I wept and trem-"bled." He then ſpoke with the miſſionaries in an unreſerved manner, ſaying that he had been a very bad man all his life, that he had no power to reſiſt evil; that he had never before been ſo deſirous to be delivered from ſin, and to be made partaker of our Lord's grace; and added, "O that I were baptized and cleanſed in his blood." He received this favor ſoon after, and was named Gideon.

The miſſionaries heſitated alſo about baptizing another Indian, living in Meniolagomekah, called Big Jacob. He had been many years an enemy to the Goſpel and its miniſters, endeavoring with all his might and cunning to retard the progreſs of the truth. But, during a ſevere illneſs, the Spirit of God operated upon his heart, his wretched ſtate was revealed to him, and being in great diſtreſs of mind, he aſked advice of the Brethren. Cammerhof and others viſited him diligently, pointed out Jeſus unto him as the Savior of the afflicted, and were convinced, that he deſired to be converted with all his heart. He owned his ſinful life; his countenance, formerly ſavage and fierce, was changed into that of a true penitent, and he conſtantly repeated his deſire after baptiſm. He ſaid to Brother Cammerhof: "I "earneſtly deſire to be cleanſed by the blood of our Savior, "and pray him to have mercy upon me, and to enable "me to love him above all things." Being aſked whether he believed that none could ſave him but the true God, who had become a man, died on the croſs, and ſhed his blood as an atonement for ſin, he replied: "I believe that "nothing can ſave and cleanſe me from ſin, but the blood "of Chriſt alone, this I chiefly deſire to experience." Brother Cammerhof aſked further, whether he was willing to devote himſelf to our Savior, as his entire and eternal property, upon which he anſwered: "O yes, if he receives me, "he will alſo give me ſtrength and grace to live to him alone, "that I may no longer ſerve ſin and Satan." He was then baptized, and named Paul. God ſealed this tranſaction, by a

remarkable

remarkable perception of his divine preſence; and Paul remained faithful to the end.

Such inſtances of the power of the Goſpel had the moſt bleſſed effects upon all, and the Indian aſſiſtants improved them for the inſtruction and encouragement of their Brethren. Auguſtus's brother complained, that he was not good enough to be baptized; Auguſtus anſwered: "Dear brother, I alſo thought to become good, before I could venture to approach unto the Lord; but he permits us to "come unto him poor and needy as we are, that we may "be cleanſed with his blood. Then he dwells in our hearts, "and by his Spirit, leads and teaches us, what to do, and what "to leave undone."

In 1757, the congregations and miſſions in North America ſuffered a great loſs, by the deceaſe of Biſhop John Frederick Cammerhof, who had ſerved them with great faithfulneſs and ſucceſs; he was never intimidated even by the moſt imminent danger, but at the riſk of health and life, defied all perils, to gain ſouls for his Lord and Maſter Jeſus Chriſt. He conſidered Gnadenhuetten as a jewel of ineſtimable value. When he reſided in Bethlehem, he regularly went to that place once a month. The Indian congregation reſpected and loved him ſincerely. There was ſo much ſweetneſs and benevolence in his character, that even the wildeſt ſavages held him in great eſteem. This was proved by many remarkable inſtances. A ſavage Indian on the Suſquehannah having been ſeverely reproved by him for his wicked life, and exhorted to ſeek remiſſion of ſins, through faith in Jeſus, was ſo much exaſperated, that he followed him into the wood, with a determination either cruelly to beat, or to kill him; when overtaking him, he found him ſo mild and friendly in his behaviour, that, immediately repenting of his wicked deſign, he gave ear to Cammerhof's admonitions, and returned home with a very different diſpoſition from that he ſet out with. Some time after, he began to conſider his wretched ſtate, turned to Him who had power to deliver him from ſin, and was baptized by the very

very man he had purpoſed to deſtroy. Biſhop Cammerho. had baptized eighty-nine Indians during the four years he reſided in North America. The laſt baptiſmal tranſaction he performed in January at Gnadenhuetten. On the 28th of April it pleaſed the Lord to call this faithful ſervant into his eternal joy. The Indians were deeply affected by his death, mourned over his loſs, as over that of the beſt of parents, and even in the year 1782, their journal mentioned, that he was held in grateful remembrance among them.

The miſſionaries ſeverely felt this ſtroke, and their only conſolation was, that the Lord never forſakes his people. They renewed their covenant together, to remain faithful to the end, and were ſtrengthened in ſpirit by the proſperity of the Indian congregation. One of them expreſſes himſelf thus in a letter written at that time: "Whoever has not "ſeen a congregation like this, can never conceive a true "idea of it from deſcription, nor judge of the joy we feel in be- "holding a people of God, gathered from among the hea- "then: how attentive are they to the word of the ſuffer- "ings and death of Jeſus; how upright and unreſerved; "how contrite if they have done amiſs; how cordial and "ſincere in their love to each other; how compaſſionate to- "wards the diſtreſſed or deluded; how affected by holy "baptiſm; how ſtrengthened and comforted by the enjoy- "ment of the Lord's Supper! When this deſcription is "compared to their former ſtate, words are inadequate to "extol the power of the croſs of Jeſus Chriſt ſo glorioufly "manifeſted. We are thereby excited to love them moſt "cordially; and are willing, for their ſakes, to endure all "hardſhips." The ſincere declarations of the believers afforded infinite pleaſure to the miſſionaries. Solomon ſaid, "I ſometimes walk out alone, and ſhed tears of joy in con- "ſidering the Lord's goodneſs towards me." Joſhua declared, that lately he could not ſleep the whole night for gladneſs, meditating upon the Lord Jeſus, and what he has done for us; that he was ready to burſt into tears of joy whenever he reflected upon the grace conferred upon him. He added: "I have devoted myſelf anew unto my Savior,

"and

" and will live unto him alone; I can no where elſe be hap-
" py." Joſhua had a particular converſation with another Indian called Job, who pretended to great wiſdom, having read much in the Bible and got many texts by heart. Job aſſerted, that we were very defective mortals, and not able to live conformably to the precepts of Jeſus Chriſt, adding, " That as even thoſe, who walked with our Lord
" and Savior on earth, could not act according to his will,
" how much leſs could we think of doing it now." " Ah," replied Joſhua, " it is not ſufficient to pleád, that we are de-
" fective mortals, though to feel our poverty of ſpirit and help-
" leſſneſs is eſſential; for this will induce us to ſeek the Lord,
" who will not ſuffer us to call in vain, but even before
" we ſeek him, is favorably diſpoſed towards us; if we only
" come to him with all our miſery, he is ready to help us
" immediately. Suppoſe you had travelled a great way, and
" coming into a town, told the people that you were hun-
" gry. If you then hear, that in ſuch an houſe lives a
" man who gives food to every one, who comes to him,
" would you heſitate a moment to go and get a meal?
" I mean, if you are really famiſhing, and know that you
" muſt either eat or die? Thus, my friend, it is with our
" being poor and defective mortals. It is not the ſpeaking,
" but the feeling of it, that drives us to our Savior, and he
" then gives us grace and power to act conformably to his
" precepts. But without him we can do nothing, and
" you will always remain a poor helpleſs ſinner, till you
" come unto him. It is true, thoſe who followed our
" Lord upon earth found it difficult to obey his precepts;
" the cauſe might be this, they ſaw him with their eyes,
" but they had not experienced the power of his blood; for
" the Bible ſays, that after our Savior's reſurrection, it was
" eaſier to believe in him, than before. Have you not
" read of many hundred Brethren and Siſters, who, after
" that event, were one heart and one ſoul? We may ex-
" perience the ſame, it is not difficult to believe in him,
" and do his will." Other Indian Brethren who were preſent

ſent at this converſation, confirmed Joſhua's words with energy, from their own experience.

The edifying declarations of the communicants concerning the bleſſings they enjoyed at the celebration of the Lord's Supper, gave great conſolation to the miſſionaries, and raiſed an eager deſire in thoſe, who were not yet admitted, to attain to this great privilege, though they confeſſed themſelves unworthy.

Among the number of Indian viſitors in 1751, was a Shawanoſe and family, who had travelled above three hundred miles, to become acquainted with the Brethren and their doctrine, of which he had heard various reports. He ſtayed a month at Gnadenhuetten, with his relations, and they all reaped a bleſſing from their viſit.

Another viſitor, who had formerly heard the Goſpel in Gnadenhuetten, but then reſiſted convictions, related, that ſoon after his return, his child was taken dangerouſly ill. Fearing that the poor infant would not obtain eternal life, not being baptized, he ran into the woods, and cried to God, in the anguiſh of his ſoul, that he would in mercy reſtore its health; promiſing, that he would then devote to his ſervice both his child and himſelf. After giving vent to his tears, his heart was comforted, and on his return he found the child better; he therefore came now to Gnadenhuetten, to requeſt the Brethren, to take him and his family under their protection. Tears flowed while he ſpoke; he obtained permiſſion to live in the place, and was baptized with his whole family.

Pachgatgoch being near two hundred miles from Bethlehem, the miſſionaries, to whom that poſt and Potatik were committed, ſtood in need of ſome occaſional relaxation. Brother Senſeman therefore went in February 1751 to Pachgatgoch, and took the care of the congregation and ſchools till July, when Brother Bueninger, after having reſted during this time in Bethlehem, reſumed his ſucceſsful labors. In his leiſure hours he worked in the plantation, and gave a good example, by encouraging the Indians to in-

duſtry, that they might not ſuffer famine in winter, which too often happens through neglect. By this the Indians became ſo attached to his gentle directions, that even when they were employed in the harveſt by the white people, they begged him to attend them, that he might warn them againſt danger; for, ſaid they, "We are like ſick people "juſt recovering, and continually fearing a relapſe."

In this year the above-mentioned Chief of Weſtenhuck, who had been long acquainted with the Brethren and viſited Bethlehem, departed this life. He ſpoke of our Savior to his laſt breath, and his friends teſtified, that they had never known any one depart this life with more ſerenity and happineſs.

The ſtate of the congregation in Meniolagomekah became very precarious, the white people endeavoring to drive away the Indians, inſiſting that they were the lawful proprietors of the land. Auguſtus, in the name of the baptized, who wiſhed to withdraw from the conſequences of ſuch a diſpute, declared, that they would not refuſe to quit their land, though they had long poſſeſſed and planted it. All applications made by the Brethren to purchaſe it were ineffectual, and it came into the poſſeſſion of a man, who was no friend to our Indians. Thus the latter foreſaw, that they would ſoon be compelled to quit the country.

The Brethren Nathaniel Seidel and David Zeiſberger having returned from Europe in October, went to Gnadenhuetten, and brought a ſtudent, John Jacob Schmick, to ſerve the Indians. He was appointed ſchool-maſter, and proved a ſucceſsful miſſionary among them.

Soon after, the Brethren Zeiſberger and Gottlieb Bezold went on a viſit to the Suſquehannah, Neſkopeko, Shomokin, Wajomick, and other places, viſited the Nantikoks and Shawanoſe, comforted the diſperſed Indian Brethren, who, from their external connexions, were obliged to reſide among the ſavages, and omitted no opportunity of preaching the Goſpel. Biſhop Spangenberg alſo returned from Europe in December, to the great joy of the congregations at Bethlehem and Gnadenhuetten, and aſſured them of the love and fervent prayers of all their Brethren in Europe.

CHAPTER X.

1752, 1753.

Spangenberg's Labors in Gnadenhuetten. The Nantikoks and Shawanoſe ſend an Embaſſy. Their Tranſactions. Notice given to Government. Zeiſberger's Journey to Onondago. Accounts of Gnadenhuetten, Pachgatgoch, and Meniolagomekah. Second Embaſſy from the Shawanoſe and Nantikoks. Doubtful Conſequences of it. Zeiſberger's ſecond Journey to Onondago. Various Accounts.

THE return of Biſhop Spangenberg to North America was of great ſervice to the Indian congregation. He knew it from its infancy, was eſteemed as a father, and knew how to guide its members, with that patience, wiſdom, and gentle reſtraint, beſt adapted to their character and circumſtances. On this account his advice was a great ſupport to the miſſionaries in attending to their various duties.

His firſt buſineſs was, to encourage them, by ſolemnly renewing his covenant with them to perſevere in the ſervice of the Lord, though attended with the greateſt difficulties. He then ſpoke with every individual belonging to the Indian congregation, and found cauſe to praiſe God for the happy ſituation of mind, in which he found moſt of them. He likewiſe ſpoke with each of them concerning that good order and diſcipline, eſſentially requiſite for the preſervation of the congregation. This was well received, and the council came to the following reſolutions:

That the parents ſhould take more care of their children; that the ſchools ſhould be regularly attended and never miſſed, but upon the moſt urgent neceſſity; that the Indian aſſiſtants ſhould pay more attention to the young people, viſit the fa-

milies in their dwellings, taking notice, whether the children were at home with their parents, or at ſchool; whether ſtrangers were in the town; whether people had aſſembled, whoſe converſation or behaviour might prove hurtful; whether any were ailing or diſtreſſed; and communicate their remarks to the miſſionaries in proper time.

That no begging ſhould be ſuffered, but every one endeavor to earn his bread by diligently attending to his buſineſs.

That in their dealings with the white people, they ſhould guard againſt running into debt, and in general regulate their affairs, ſo as to make proviſion for winter and ſpring: that all the infirm and aged ſhould careſully be attended to; and their wants relieved. That notice ſhould be given, when any intended to be abſent from his uſual employ.

That no ſhooting ſhould be permitted on Sundays or feſtival days, neither in the town nor its neighborhood, and that the greateſt caution ſhould be uſed in proving their guns near the houſes.

That no occaſion ſhould be given for diſturbance either by the inhabitants, or by ſtrangers; and that, in caſe any ſhould happen, the latter be ſent away and the former reproved; and if unwilling to return to order, deſired to quit the ſettlement.

That every houſekeeper in Gnadenhuetten ſhould ſign an agreement, promiſing to demean himſelf conformably to theſe ſtatutes, and in caſe he ſhould alter his mind, to ſell his plantations to the ſettlement, and leave the place.

It muſt undoubtedly be aſcribed to the grace of God alone, that the Indians, who naturally deſpiſe all reſtraint, not only joyfully agreed to theſe orders and regulations, but lived in ſtrict compliance with them.

The viſits of ſtrange Indians were an object of continual attention, a work of God being obſerved in the hearts of ſeveral. Yet as lodging them in the families became not only troubleſome, but the conduct of many, gave offence to the young people, the council reſolved to build an houſe

purpoſely

purpoſely for the reception of ſtrangers. Another was built and appropriated to the uſe of the baptized Indian viſitors from Bethlehem, Meniolagomekah, Pachgatgoch, and other places. The former was called the Strangers' Inn. Towards building the latter, the Brethren in Bethlehem contributed money, and the Indians afforded their work. Each houſe was ſuperintended by an houſekeeper, who paid every attention to the comfort and convenience of his gueſts.

A preſent of a ſpinet having been made for the uſe of the chapel at Gnadenhuetten, the ſinging of the congregation was improved, and Brother Schmick played upon it, to the ſatisfaction and edification of all. He alſo taught a young Indian to play, who ſucceeded him.

Some Indian aſſiſtants having viſited their countrymen on the Suſquehannah, and preached the Goſpel to them, the head-chief of the Nantikok nation ſent two deputies to the Brethren with a fathom of wampom to ſolicit further acquaintance. In June, Biſhop Spangenberg, Zeiſberger, and Seidel, went to Shomokin and Wajomick. In return for this viſit, a large embaſſy was ſent by the Nantikoks and Shawanoſe to Gnadenhuetten, to eſtabliſh a covenant with the Brethren. The deputies, with their attendants of women and children, were in all one hundred and ſeven perſons. Their tranſactions were performed with due Indian ſolemnity. July 14th two deputies arrived from Wajomick to announce the arrival of the embaſſy on the following day. Every one was active in procuring accommodations and proviſions for ſuch a large party, and on the 15th a meſſenger arrived, being ſent ten miles forward, with two ſtrings of wampom. He addreſſed the Brethren thus: "We are now coming to "you. Gnadenhuetten is a place which delights us. We "firſt thought to go to Bethlehem, but being fatigued and "having nothing to eat, we reſt with you at preſent. The "heat was great, and we ſubſiſted on nothing but bilberries." The Indian Brethren having ſent them four large loaves, they appeared ſome time after, ſlowly moving towards the place, in Indian file; the leader ſinging a ſong, till he came to the

firſt houſe, where they halted. Abraham went to meet them, and giving his hand to the leader, conducted them to the inn. After dinner, at their own requeſt the Indian aſſiſtants preached Jeſus to them, as crucified to redeem us from ſin.

Having received an account of this extraordinary viſit, Biſhop Spangenberg and ſome other Brethren arrived from Bethlehem on the 16th, and the miſſionaries and aſſiſtants being aſſembled, he converſed with the Indian Chiefs, bid them welcome, and invited them and their people to ſupper. They intimated, that perhaps their young people might have leave to dance, but were told, that the believers found no pleaſure in ſuch things, becauſe their God and Savior was their only joy; to which Biſhop Spangenberg added, "Bro-"thers! you are the fathers of your people, therefore ſay "to them, "Do not dance here, for the Brethren diſapprove "of it." This addreſs being well received, their behaviour was very orderly. After ſupper, a verſe of thanks was ſung in the Indian language. July 17th, the Indian Chiefs were informed, that their words ſhould be heard in the afternoon. For this purpoſe, and that all the people might be preſent, the whole aſſembly met upon a riſing ground. A large blue cloth being ſpread in the middle, and mats properly placed, on one ſide for the Chiefs, and on the other for the Brethren, the Nantikoks and Shawanoſe gathered around their Chiefs, and the inhabitants of Gnadenhueten around the miſſionaries; the women and children forming a circle around the whole aſſembly, at ſome diſtance, yet ſo that they could underſtand the words of the ſpeakers, who always roſe up to deliver their ſpeeches. On each ſide a fire was kindled, and a ſmall baſket, filled with tobacco, placed in the centre.

The ſpeaker of the embaſſy, an old Chief called Joinnopiom, delivered his meſſage with great gravity and many ſignificant geſtures in five different ſpeeches. During each he held ſome ſtrings and belts of wampom in his hands, and at the cloſe of each ſentence was applauded by one or another party.

party. Whenever he made a period, another Chief, named White, took up the ſtring or belt, and repeated it in Engliſh. Then Nathanael, an aſſiſtant, took the ſame ſtring or belt, and repeated the period in the Mahikan language, and he was followed by Biſhop Spangenberg, who did the ſame in German.

The firſt ſpeech contained the uſual preface, that the two nations, the Nantikoks and the Shawanoſe, being one in mind, would clear the ears and eyes of their Brethren the Mahikans at Gnadenhuetten, and of the white Brethren at Bethlehem. He then obſerved, that it gave pleaſure to the Chiefs, that the Brethren would ſpeak to their people of Him who dwells above; that their women and children were alſo pleaſed with it. "That even the children in the womb, "after their birth, would thank the Chiefs, that they had "done this for their good." This latter ſentence concluded each ſpeech.

In the ſecond, he regretted that the Mahikans, by living at ſo great a diſtance, had become ſtrangers to them, but now ſeeing their faces, they acknowledged the Mahikans to be their elder brother.

During the third, he held a belt conſiſting of ſix rows of wampom, curiouſly interwoven, which he explained to be the chain of brotherhood, to remain unbroken, as long as God ſhould ſuffer the world to ſtand.

He began the fourth by ſaying, "'Tis a great pity that we "do not underſtand each other." Biſhop Spangenberg replied, "But yet it is well, that we may all underſtand each "other, for by tranſlating your words into ſo many lan-"guages, we remember them all, and not one falls to the "ground." The ſpeaker then proceeded to requeſt, that both parties might conſider themſelves as brethren, and aſſiſt each other in all circumſtances of life, to the utmoſt of their power. This was greatly applauded.

The ſpeaker having ſeated himſelf, produced a triple ſtring of wampom, and riſing, laid hold of one ſtring and uttered theſe words: "I have now ſaid all I had to ſay, and this

" concludes my ſpeech." Then taking the other two ſtrings he added: " My brother Mahikan and my brother from " Bethlehem, you have ſeated yourſelves together and are " become one. Three months hence we intend to viſit " Bethlehem, but we will ſend a meſſenger five days before " our arrival, and announce it to you, in the name of the " Chiefs. We have ſent word to the Six Nations, that laſt " ſpring you gave us to underſtand, that you would tell us " the 'great words' of God, our Creator, and that we have " made a chain of friendſhip with you and ſhould viſit you. " They were well ſatisfied and pleaſed with it." An univerſal ſhout of applauſe confirmed theſe words. Chief White added, " that their wives and children intended to " return from Gnadenhuetten to Wajomick, but that he and " ſome other Chiefs ſhould now proceed to Bethlehem." About five in the evening the aſſembly broke up, and the Nantikoks and Shawanoſe having had their meal, Biſhop Spangenberg preached to them in the Engliſh language, repeating in a conciſe but powerful manner, the hiſtory of our Lord's life, ſufferings, and reſurrection, to which they were very attentive. One of the Chiefs deſired his people to ſtay, while he in his own language and manner tranſlated to them what Biſhop Spangenberg had ſaid.

On the following day proviſions were prepared by the inhabitants of Gnadenhuetten, that they and their gueſts might all dine together at the cloſe of the conference. A general collection of wampom was made, and the ſtrings and belts neceſſary for the anſwers, prepared by the Indian Siſters. Meanwhile the Brethren from Bethlehem and the Indian aſſiſtants agreed upon an anſwer to be given to the Nantikoks and Shawanoſe; the ſecond conference began in the afternoon, and all being placed as on the foregoing day, Biſhop Spangenberg roſe and ſaid:

" Brothers, Chiefs of the Nantikoks and Shawanoſe, be- " ing united; you have travelled far with your people; you " have ſuffered much by the way from heat and famine; " your feet are weary and duſty; when you came to us, by

" this

"this ſtring of wampom (holding it up) you wiped our "eyes, cleaned our ears, and cleared our inward parts, "that all evil might depart and give room to goodwill. "And with this ſame ſtring you told us, that the words we "have ſpoken to you in the ſpring, were ſatisfactory, and that "your women and children, even thoſe yet in the mother's "womb, would rejoice to hear the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt. "You alſo declared by this ſtring, that you and the Shawa-"noſe were one, as we white Brethren of Bethlehem and our "Indian Brethren are one. Brother, take this ſtring (hold-"ing up a double one), we thank you for coming, dry your "ſweat, wipe the duſt off your feet, refreſh yourſelves, "ſatisfy your hunger; cool yourſelves and be chearful; and "may God bleſs the word, which we ſhall preach to you "and your children." Upon this, Chief White took the ſtring from Biſhop Spangenberg, and repeated his ſpeech in the Nantikok language, the Indians applauding each ſentence. Biſhop Spangenberg again roſe with the firſt belt of wampom given by the Nantikoks and Shawanoſe, and repeated the whole ſpeech, delivered the preceding day, the Nantikoks and Shawanoſe confirming each ſentence with loud applauſe; then hanging the belt upon his arm, he took up another and ſaid, "Brothers, ye Chiefs of the "Nantikoks and Shawanoſe, being one: we rejoice greatly, "that we have found our brothers. It ſhall ever remain as "you have ſaid; we will be one, it is as you have declared, "the Brethren of Bethlehem and thoſe of Gnadenhuetten are "one. This ſhall laſt as long as the world." Chief White having repeated all this in the Nantikok language, Biſhop Spangenberg roſe with a ſecond belt given by the Indians, repeating their words, and holding up the belt, ſaid in anſwer, "Brothers, ye Chiefs of the Nantikoks and "Shawanoſe, being one; we, the United Brethren of Beth-"lehem and Gnadenhuetten, will hold this chain unbroken, "no link ſhall be torn off, nor ſhall ruſt corrode it; and may "God, the giver of all good, grant us grace to preſerve it; "it ſhall continue firm between us and our children." This ſpeech being repeated, he roſe as before, and ſaid, "Brothers,

"what

" what you have told us, is perfectly agreeable to us; we " delight to ſerve our fellow-men; even if our enemies " ſhould call upon us, we would gladly relieve them; there- " fore if our dear brothers the Nantikoks and Shawanoſe " want our help, we ſhall always be willing to ſerve you: " our children think ſo too." White having finiſhed the repetition of this ſpeech, Biſhop Spangenberg ſaid, " Bro- " thers, we thank you that ye have ſpoken ſo much with us; " we have received all your words, and not one has fallen to " the ground. It is well, that you intend to viſit us at Beth- " lehem. When brothers viſit each other often, all ſuſpici- " ons are done away, and mutual love is promoted. We are " glad to hear, that you have given notice to the Six Nations " of what we told you in ſpring, namely, that we wiſh to " make you acquainted with your God and Creator. It is " well, that this be done daily. The Six Nations have been " united with us theſe ten years; we have alſo viſited them " at Onondago, and two, here preſent, have been there." Hereupon he delivered to them a tanned deerſkin, ſaying, that they ſhould mend their children's ſhoes, if torn by the way; adding, that ſixty buſhels of flour and eighty pounds of tobacco were ready for them, as a preſent; all which was received with expreſſions of great joy. The victuals being placed before them, the Chiefs appointed ſome ſervants to diſtribute them to the people, and every thing was conducted with ſobriety and in good order. After dinner, the aged ſpeaker roſe, and ſaid: " We are very well ſatisfied and " thankful, and ſhall reſt well." Before they departed he delivered a long ſpeech to his people, to this effect: " that " they ſhould look upon the Brethren at Bethlehem and Gna- " denhuetten as their brothers, and do them every ſervice in " their power." The Chief of the Shawanoſe having done the ſame to his people, they all retired to their reſpective lodgings.

July 19th, Biſhop Spangenberg and his company returned to Bethlehem, and many of the Nantikoks and Shawanoſe reſolved to accompany their Chiefs thither. On the 20th ſome deputies

deputies from Bethlehem met them with refreſhments, upon which they ſent a meſſenger forward, with a ſtring of wampom, and the following words: "Brother, I come to viſit "you; I have no buſineſs to tranſact, but ſhall be glad to ſee "you in your own houſe." They ſoon appeared drawn up in Indian file. The men held their pieces with the muzzle downwards, and an old Chief, carrying the pipe of peace, ſang theſe words: "I rejoice, that I may viſit my brethren." Upon entering Bethlehem, Biſhop Spangenberg gave them his hand; then turning about, walked before the whole company into Bethlehem, where they were received by the inhabitants, with ſound of trumpets, and lodged in huts, erected for them. They ſtaid here ſeveral days, and made a ſolemn covenant with the Brethren, attended with the ſame ceremonies and ſpeeches as in Gnadenhuetten. The Brethren here directed their chief attention to the converſion of theſe heathen, and to make them acquainted with their Creator and Redeemer.

Biſhop Spangenberg preached again to them, and they were preſent at two baptiſms, during which they appeared much affected. The regular and chearful courſe of the congregation at Bethlehem ſeemed to leave a deep impreſſion upon their minds. One of the oldeſt Chiefs declared his thoughts concerning himſelf and his people as follows: "Brethren, we are altogether buried in ſin; have patience "with us, in the courſe of a year or two a change may "take place. We are like colts in training. Your words "pleaſe us much. We feel ſomething in our hearts, and "though we do not comprehend it all, we ſhall underſtand "it by degrees, but our motions are ſlow."

Having informed them of the covenant made between the Brethren and the Iroquois, renewed laſt year by Brother Cammerhof, and ſhown them the ſtrings and belts of wampom ratifying the ſame, they were deſired to conſider of the beſt means of cultivating an acquaintance, and of preaching the Goſpel to them, to which they promiſed to return an anſwer in three months. Then the Brethren, Siſters, and

and children gave them ſome uſeful preſents, and all was concluded by a ſpeech from the oldeſt ſpeaker, expreſſing their gratitude, and confirmed by ſhouts of applauſe. On the 25th of July they returned home.

Notice was immediately ſent to the government in Philadelphia of this embaſſy. This was the more needful, as the enemies of the Brethren had even inſerted calumniating reports into the public papers, concerning the late Biſhop Cammerhof's journey to Onondago, made in 1750, with a view to alarm government. The principal accuſations were, that Brother Cammerhof intended to perſuade the Indians to join the French againſt the Engliſh; that he adviſed them not to ſell any more land to the Engliſh, and that he had endeavored to prejudice their minds againſt Mr. Conrad Weiſſer, interpreter to government. Though his Excellency, James Hamilton, governor of Pennſylvania, was convinced of the falſity of theſe and other accuſations by conferring with Biſhop Cammerhof himſelf, yet theſe public calumniators could not be ſilenced; and therefore when Biſhop Spangenberg waited upon the governor in the ſummer of this year, he gave his Excellency a full and ſatisfactory explanation, with a view to prevent any ſuſpicion, ſhowing in the moſt unequivocal manner, that the Brethren were, from every public and private motive, attached to government from ſincere affection. This declaration had the deſired effect.

Two deputies were likewiſe ſent to the great council of the Mahikan nation at Weſtenhuck, to acquaint them with the embaſſy of the Nantikoks and Shawanoſe, with which they appeared much pleaſed; and as a proof of their ſatisfaction, made Abraham, an aſſiſtant at Gnadenhuetten, a captain. The Brethren were ſorry for this ſtep, fearing that it might tend to the prejudice of this valuable man, and the event proved their fears to be juſt.

In July 1751, the Brethren Zeiſberger and Gottfried Rundt, accompanied by Martin Mack, ſet out for Onondago, agreeably to the article of treaty, by which the great council permitted two Brethren to reſide there and learn the language.

Shortly

Shortly before they reached that town they were met by twenty Chiefs of the Oneida tribe, belonging to the Six Nations, who with great vehemence oppoſed their proceeding on their journey, pretending to be entirely ignorant of the covenant made between the Brethren and the Iroquois at Onondago, and frequently repeating theſe words, "You are "wicked men, we have been warned againſt you by the white "people, and therefore forbid you to proceed at your peril; "what buſineſs have you to learn the language? other people "are engaged to do that." The Brethren did not ſuffer themſelves to be ſo eaſily repulſed, and relying on the help of the Lord, deſired that a ſolemn council might be held on the following day by the Chiefs, to conſider their buſineſs. This being granted, Brother Zeiſberger addreſſed them ſo powerfully that they changed their minds, and having contemplated the ſtrings of wampom, which the Brethren were carrying to the council in Onondago, and conſidered their meaning, they granted them full liberty to proceed, adding: "We are convinced that your buſineſs is not a bad one, and "that your words are true." The Brethren arrived the ſame evening at Onondago, and were lodged in the houſe of one of the Chiefs.

They ſoon made their arrival known to the great council, giving an account of the death of Biſhop Cammerhof, and renewing their covenant made with the Iroquois two years ago, begging likewiſe that, according to leave given, the Brethren David Zeiſberger and Gottfried Rundt might be permitted to reſide among them, and to learn their language. The council returned an anſwer the ſame day, that theſe Brethren ſhould have liberty to dwell among them and to learn their language; they alſo expreſſed their ſorrow at the death of ſo worthy a man as Cammerhof, "who loved the Indians "ſo much, and had proved himſelf among them as an up-"right man, without guile." Finally they renewed the mutual covenant between them and the Brethren, and the ſpeaker, to ſhow his earneſtneſs, ſqueezing both his hands very faſt together, ſaid: "Thus all the Chiefs are diſpoſed:" the reſt pro-

pronounced a loud tone of affirmation. Thus no oppoſition was made, but rather a diſpute aroſe among the Chiefs, which nation ſhould receive the two Brethren firſt. Brother Mack having returned to Bethlehem, the Brethren began a regular houſe-keeping, and experienced ſo much attention, reſpect, and aſſiſtance from all quarters, that they often exclaimed with amazement: "This is the Lord's doing." They lived in the Chief's houſe, and by particular appointment of the great council, all councils were held in it, that the Brethren might become well acquainted with their manner of treating ſubjects. They were alſo permitted to enter every houſe in the town, that they might have ſufficient opportunity of converſing with the people, and learning their language.

Thus they lived in harmony and peace, availing themſelves of their unreſerved intercourſe with the Indians, to preach to them the words of life. They earned their bread by ſurgical operations, chiefly by bleeding, and by the labor of their hands. When the Indians got drunk and troubleſome, they retired into the woods, till the frolic was over.

From Onondago they made a journey into the country of the Tuſcaroras and Cajugas. In the latter, they found great oppoſition from the white people, and were ſo much abuſed by a rum-trader, that the Indians were obliged to interfere and deliver them from his hands by force. Upon their return to Onondago, they found the men in readineſs to ſet out on their winter hunt, and thus as none but the women would be at home, they reſolved to return to Bethlehem for ſome time, and arrived there in December.

In Meniolagomekah, the miſſionary Grube and his wife inhabited a miſerable cottage. Among other inconveniences, they had to ſuffer their ſhare of a general famine in thoſe parts, but were comforted under all outward affliction, by perceiving, that the Goſpel entered with power into the hearts of the heathen.

The courſe of the congregation in Pachgatgoch became more pleaſing, Biſhop Spangenberg preached the Goſpel in the

the power of the Spirit of God, one of the aſſiſtants from Gnadenhuetten being interpreter. By degrees, the number of conſtant hearers increaſed ſo much, that a reſolution was taken to erect a large chapel and ſchool-houſe. All the inhabitants took their ſhare in this work, with great willingneſs, and the miſſionaries were excited to praiſe God for the grace beſtowed on theſe people, naturally given to ſloth, but now ready to perform the hardeſt labor, for the cauſe of the Goſpel. When the houſe was finiſhed and ſolemnly dedicated to the ſervice of the Lord, the miſſionaries rendered thanks unto him, that during the whole work, there had not been the leaſt appearance of diſſatisfaction. The declarations of the Indians plainly proved the effects of the grace of God. Converſing one day familiarly together, they were heard to ſay: "We uſed formerly to meet for the pur-"poſe of drinking, dancing, fighting, and other revellings, "but now we aſſemble to rejoice, that our Savior has de-"livered us from theſe things, and to thank him, that he has "drawn us unto himſelf." Joſhua, Samuel, and Martin, who were employed as interpreters in the meetings, agreed together, that when one, whoſe turn it was, found himſelf rather lukewarm in heart, he ſhould mention it, that another might interpret in his ſtead. In general, the declarations made by the Indian Brethren and Siſters, and even by the children at Gnadenhuetten, gave great joy and comfort to the miſſionaries.

Agreeably to the promiſe made laſt year, another embaſſy of Nantikoks and Shawanoſe arrived at Bethlehem, by way of Gnadenhuetten, in March 1753. It conſiſted of twenty-two perſons. Among the retinue were three Iroquois Indians, with whom Brother Zeiſberger had lodged, and their joy in ſeeing each other was mutual. Many baptized Indians came likewiſe from Meniolagomekah and Gnadenhuetten, to be preſent at the tranſactions of this embaſſy. One part of their commiſſion was, to thank the Brethren, in the name of the two nations, for their liberality towards them during the famine laſt autumn, declaring that they

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muſt all have periſhed for want, had not the Brethren of Bethlehem ſent them timely relief. They obſerved, that, after many conſultations, they could not find any method of becoming acquainted with the language of the Brethren; adding, that at the deſire of the Iroquois, the Nantikoks would retire further inland; but that they would not forſake the friendſhip of the Brethren, but viſit them often. They alſo made a propoſal in the name of the Iroquois, that the Indians in Gnadenhuetten ſhould remove to Wajomick, yet not againſt their own inclination; obſerving however, that in caſe of a removal, the land ſhould not become their property, but remain in the poſſeſſion of the Iroquois. They earneſtly beſought the Brethren not to ſuſpect any evil motives, but rather to believe the reverſe. The Brethren in Bethlehem ſhould hold them by one, and they, the Nantikoks and Shawanoſe, by the other hand, and thus keep them ſafe. During this laſt part of the ſpeech, the ſpeaker changed countenance, and began to tremble, well aware, that this propoſal would be acceptable neither to the Brethren at Bethlehem, nor to the Indians at Gnadenhuetten. However, both he and the other Chiefs were relieved from their fears, when they heard the anſwer of the Brethren, implying, "that they would not determine any thing po-"ſitively againſt it, but muſt inſiſt upon this point, that no "means of conſtraint ſhould be uſed on either ſide." Yet ſome miſtruſted their honeſty, though they concealed their ſuſpicions for the preſent, not conceiving why the Iroquois ſhould propoſe the tranſplanting of the converted Indians from Gnadenhuetten, without alleging any plauſible reaſon, and that not immediately, but through the interference of the Nantikoks and Shawanoſe. The event proved that they were not miſtaken. The deputies of the congregation agreed to the propoſal, on condition that they ſhould have full liberty to take their teachers with them. It was further reſolved that no idle rumors ſhould be credited by either party. If any thing material occurred, inquiry ſhould be made, and the real truth aſcertained. The

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ſame ceremonies accompanied theſe conſultations, as before deſcribed.

Many meetings were held, on account of the heathen viſitors, chiefly in the Engliſh language, and all united in prayers, that God would cauſe his word to bring forth abiding fruit. It was evident in many, that they did not hear the doctrine of the ſufferings and death of Jeſus, in vain. Some were once looking at a painting of our Lord's crucifixion: "Behold," ſaid one of them to another near him, "how many wounds he had, and how they "bleed; I have alſo heard the Brethren ſay, that he was ſor-"rowful unto death, and prayed in an agony, in ſuch a man-"ner, that the ſweat ran from him like drops of blood." The other liſtened with aſtoniſhment, and ſeemed loſt in thought. Having ſpent a week agreeably in Bethlehem, they returned to Wajomick, towards the end of March.

It appeared that theſe viſits did more harm than good to the inhabitants of Gnadenhuetten. Not only the people at large became fond of forming alliances with other nations, but ſeveral Indian Brethren, who were not as yet well eſtabliſhed and rooted in Jeſus Chriſt, began to think again of their heatheniſh cuſtoms. Some forſook the congregation, and brought themſelves into diſtreſs of mind and body; others loſt their chearfulneſs and ſerenity, became gloomy and ſhy, and much time elapſed, before they were reſtored. The miſſionaries felt the moſt pungent grief on theſe occaſions; they were however comforted in ſome meaſure, by obſerving, that none of thoſe who thus left the congregation, were enemies to it, but valued the Goſpel, the power of which they had felt, retaining a ſincere love for the Brethren. The miſſionaries remarked, that it was evident, that our Savior had truly conquered the hearts of the baptized; for though they ſtrayed for a time, yet He bore them with patience; many were reclaimed, and departed this life as ranſomed ſinners. Thus they always found reaſon to moderate both their joy and grief over the courſe of the Indian flock. The greater number remained faith-

ful, and by the grace of God overcame the temptations, cleaving to Jeſus Chriſt to the end.

The preſence of the Lord attended their daily worſhip, particularly on feſtival days, and the miſſionaries were comforted and ſtrengthened by their voluntary declarations, whenever they were viſited. Michael ſpeaking of his dwelling in Gnadenhuetten, ſaid to a miſſionary: "I have lived "in Shekomeko, there our Savior followed me faithfully, "and when I removed hither, he preſerved me. Here I "have heard words which are a cordial to my heart; I "continue to hear, and am ſtrengthened. I would ſooner "die than be perſuaded to leave you." An Indian ſiſter declared, "That both at home and abroad ſhe had been "in an uninterrupted intercourſe with God her Savior; "that thereby her love towards him had been greatly ſtrengthened, and her joy in the Holy Ghoſt increaſed;" and "that ſhe would therefore cleave to him for ever." One of them ſaid: "My heart is poor and needy, but it belongs to "our Savior, and all the good I poſſeſs proceeds from him. "When I converſe with him, I am always happy at the "foot of the croſs. I am hungry and thirſty, and long "for that great day, on which we ſhall celebrate the Lord's "Supper. I will remain the property of our Savior, truſting that he will keep me."

The joy and confidence with which the Indians met their diſſolution, was the moſt evident proof, that they had lived by faith in the Son of God, and were animated with the aſſurance of everlaſting life. Thus the edifying departure of Gottlieb, the firſt-fruit of the Delaware nation, gave particular joy to the miſſionaries. Before he expired, he ſaid to Brother Martin Mack: "I ſhall ſoon depart to "my Savior; this makes me rejoice, becauſe I know that I "ſhall go to him as a poor but pardoned ſinner." He was ſo moved at uttering theſe words, that his tears prevented him adding more, and ſoon after he fell aſleep in Jeſus.

The unbaptized ſhowed more faith in Jeſus Chriſt, in their dying moments, than was expected. A mother who wept bitterly over her unbaptized ſon, living on the Suſquehan-

nah, out of the reach of any miſſionary, and at that time ſick unto death, was comforted by his own declarations. Upon her going to ſee him, he addreſſed her to the following effect: "Dear mother, I am very ill, and ſhall pro-"bably die, but do not weep ſo much; I ſhall not be loſt; "for I am aſſured, that Jeſus our Savior, the God whom "the Brethren preach, and who was wounded for me "alſo, will receive me:" and in this firm hope he died rejoicing.

April the 22d, Brother Zeiſberger returned to Onondago with Brother Henry Frey. Both were treated with the ſame eſteem, as before, and with the greateſt hoſpitality, as long as the Indians themſelves had any thing to eat. However, the war between the Engliſh and French gave the Brethren much uneaſineſs, and the great council intimated, that they would do well to leave the place, if it ſhould extend farther towards Onondago, promiſing to give them timely notice. They attempted to preach the Goſpel in the adjacent parts, but were much weakened by various diſeaſes, ſuffering famine with the inhabitants. Brother Zeiſberger having made good progreſs in the language, and omitted no opportunity to preach ſalvation to all men, returned to Bethlehem with his aſſiſtant, after half a year's reſidence in Onondago, by advice of the great council, and on account of the troubles of war.

About this time, the ſmall congregation of Indians, ſettled at Wechquatnach, were driven away by their neighbors; and ſome retired to Wajomick. Thirty-four of theſe people having given ſatisfactory proofs of their ſincerity, obtained leave to remove to Gnadenhuetten.

The poſſeſſor of Meniolagomekah did not proceed ſo far, as to expel the Indian inhabitants, and the cauſe of the Goſpel flouriſhed, in defiance of all oppoſition. An Indian aſſiſtant came every Sunday to this place, to ſerve as interpreter to Brother Bueninger, who was preacher and ſchoolmaſter. An inſtance of the ſimplicity of one of the Brethren whom he inſtructed in writing, gave him pleaſure.

He brought him a prayer written out of the fulneſs of his heart, as follows: "My dear Savior! my name is Natha-"niel! I will open my whole heart to thee, in writing, in "thy preſence: I am very deficient in every thing. I find "that I have not yet devoted my whole heart unto thee; "and yet thou haſt died for me. Jeſus Chriſt! I wiſh I was "ſo, that thou couldſt rejoice over me! dear Savior, I "would willingly live ſo as to pleaſe thee." An old man of ſeventy-two, came and told him that he had lived long with the white people in the Jerſeys, with whom he had frequently converſed about religion. He had ſeen people of all denominations, and wiſhed to know, which religion was the beſt. Brother Bueninger anſwered, that he would not take upon him to judge, but that in all men *one* thing is required, which is, to believe in, and love Jeſus Chriſt, the creator of all things, who became a man, died for our ſins and roſe again for our juſtification. Whoever in any denomination experiences the truth of this, is ſaved, and poſſeſſes eternal life.

The Brethren Martin Mack and Grube viſited Shomokin and ſeveral places on the Suſquehannah, endeavoring to reclaim the ſtraying ſheep, and to awaken the heathen from the ſleep of ſin. With this view, Grube made a journey into ſeveral neighboring places, and was graciouſly preſerved amidſt many ſurrounding dangers. In one place, ſeveral ill-deſigning Shawanoſe and Delawares came to his Indian hoſt, and unknown to him, demanded his life, alledging, "That he was a wicked man and a ſeducer." His hoſt anſwered: "You miſtake your man, I have never ſeen any "thing amiſs in him; he is in my houſe, and I will defend "him there, nor ſhall any man on earth dare to injure him." The day after, he accompanied Brother Grube part of the way to Shomokin, but did not tell him in what danger he had been. Some time after he believed the Goſpel, turned with his whole heart unto the Lord, and then related this circumſtance.

Brother Chriſtian Froelich was meanwhile engaged in viſiting the negroes in ſeveral parts of the Jerſeys, by whom

he was well received. He preached the Goſpel to above a hundred of them, and likewiſe viſited them in their plantations. At New York he heard of a criminal who was to be hanged the following day, whom he with another Brother viſited in priſon. Here he deſcribed to him the great love of Jeſus to all repenting and returning prodigals, encouraging him to turn unto the Lord, by quoting the inſtance of the pardoned thief; and great indeed was his joy, when he ſaw the poor criminal receive this word of comfort and pardon, with a believing heart, and with numberleſs tears of unfeigned repentance.

CHAPTER XI.

1754.

Beginning of ſevere Troubles. Many Inhabitants of Gnadenhuetten leave that Place. Meniolagomekah deſerted. The Troubles ceaſe for a time. The Indians remove from Gnadenhuetten. Brother Martin Mack's Viſit to Wajomick. Various Accounts.

THE courſe of the Indian congregation had hitherto been, in general, pleaſing and unmoleſted, notwithſtanding its various defects and viciſſitudes; but now troubles began, both of the moſt unpleaſant kind, and grievous in their conſequences. They chiefly originated in the above-mentioned propoſal to tranſplant the congregation from Gnadenhuetten to Wajomick.

For the reaſons above ſtated, the Brethren in Bethlehem long wiſhed, that the converted Indians might withdraw into that country, and make a ſettlement. But it gradually became evident, that the ſavages were ſecretly determined

to join the French, and commence hoſtilities againſt the Engliſh. They firſt wiſhed to furniſh a ſafe retreat for their countrymen, the Indians of Gnadenhuetten, that they might the more eaſily fall upon the white people in thoſe parts. In this view the Iroquois had called the Nantikoks from Wajomick into their neighborhood, to make room for the Chriſtian Indians. They ſuppoſed this ſtep would not be diſagreeable to the Brethren at Bethlehem, the believing Indians at Shekomeko having nine years ago obtained leave from the great council at Onondago, by means of a treaty with Biſhop Spangenberg, to move to Wajomick. Thus their plot appeared upon the whole well contrived, and the preſſing invitation ſent to the converted Indians to go to Wajomick, was part of the ſcheme.

In this point of view the Brethren at Bethlehem had no reaſon to rejoice at the offer, nor could the miſſionaries encourage the Indians to accept of it; yet they ventured not to diſſuade them, leſt it ſhould be again reported, that they made ſlaves of their Indians, and deprived them of that free exerciſe of their judgment, upon which the ſavages pride themſelves ſo much. They therefore never interfered in the conſultations of the inhabitants of Gnadenhuetten on this ſubject. The latter were averſe to quit their pleaſant ſettlement, more eſpecially after they diſcovered the true motives of the Iroquois, juſtly fearing, that they would at laſt be deprived of their teachers, and even of all intercourſe with the Brethren. Several however got the better of their ſcruples, and reſolved to move to Wajomick.

Abraham and Gideon were the moſt active in promoting this affair. The latter, formerly called Tadeuskund, who had waited long for baptiſm, as mentioned above, ſoon proved by his whole behavior, that the doubts of the miſſionaries concerning his ſteadineſs were too well founded; for he was like a reed, ſhaken with the wind. Hearing that the heathen Delawares had nominated him their chief, he began

gan to ſide with Abraham, who being now a captain of the Mahikan nation, inſiſted, that the converted Indians, having once accepted the invitation, could not refuſe going to Wajomick. Theſe two men ſought to make a party, and though they did not meet with much ſucceſs at firſt, yet it occaſioned much contention between huſbands and wives, parents and their children. They gained their point ſo far, that on the 24th of April, ſixty-five perſons, and ſhortly after five more, removed from Gnadenhuetten to Wajomick without a miſſionary. Moſt of them burſt into tears at taking leave, promiſing, that they would cleave unto the Lord Jeſus, and remain faithful. Fifteen more repaired to Neſkopeko without any invitation; and all repreſentations of the inevitable injury which would accrue to their ſouls, were in vain. To ſee theſe people depart, filled the miſſionaries with the moſt pungent grief. They and the Elders of the congregation at Bethlehem, could do nothing, but wait in ſilence, and comfort themſelves with conſidering, that though the enemy deſigns miſchief, God has all things in his power, and can bring good out of evil.

Gnadenhuetten had ſcarcely ſuffered this great loſs of inhabitants, when it was partly ſupplied from another quarter. The new proprietor of Meniolagomekah declared that the Indians ſhould quit that place. The believing Indians applied immediately to the Brethren, who ſent them a cordial invitation by the miſſionary Martin Mack to remove to Gnadenhuetten. Their joy was inexpreſſible. They ſaid: "Let us inſtantly break up! our Brethren have opened their arms to receive us, and call unto us, to fly to them "in our diſtreſs." They got ready in great haſte, and before the end of April, the whole congregation, conſiſting of forty-nine perſons, moved to Gnadenhuetten.

The Indian aſſiſtants were now excited to new zeal and watchfulneſs, in promoting the real welfare of their people. They owned, that their former deficiency in love to God our Savior, and the conſequent want of true brotherly love, had weakened their hands in the execution

of their office. They now ſolemnly renewed their covenant, to be faithful unto the Lord and his people.

Soon after, it became neceſſary for the inhabitants of Gnadenhuetten to remove to the north ſide of the river Lecha, the land on the Mahony being too much impoveriſhed, and other circumſtances requiring a change of ſituation. Jacob, an aſſiſtant, expreſſed himſelf concerning the future courſe of the congregation, thus: "When the ſnakes come "forth out of the ground in ſpring, they have ſtill their "old winter-coat on; but by creeping through a narrow "hole, they rid themſelves of the old ſkin, and appear as "new-born. Thus I wiſh, that we may leave every thing "by which we have diſpleaſed the Lord in the old place, "and bring nothing into the new, that is not well-pleaſing "to him."

In the removal of the buildings, the chapel only excepted, the Indians were kindly aſſiſted by the congregations at Bethlehem, Nazareth, Chriſtianſbrunn, and Gnadenthal, who furniſhed not only workmen and materials, but even contributions in money. Unanimity and diligence contributed ſo much, towards the progreſs of this work, that the firſt twenty houſes were inhabited by the 4th, and the foundation-ſtone of the new chapel laid, on the 11th of June. Biſhop Spangenberg offered up a moſt fervent prayer, and delivered a powerful diſcourſe on this ſolemn occaſion. The houſes were ſoon after completed, and a regulation made in all the families for the children of each ſex to be properly taken care of. The dwellings were placed in ſuch order, that the Mahikans lived on one, and the Delawares on the other ſide. The Brethren at Bethlehem took the culture of the old land on the Mahony upon themſelves, made a plantation of it for the uſe of the Indian congregation, and converted the old chapel into a dwelling, both for the uſe of thoſe Brethren and Siſters who had the care of the plantations, and for miſſionaries, paſſing on their viſits to the heathen.

A ſynod

A ſynod was held in New Gnadenhuetten, from the 6th, to the 11th of Auguſt, and the chapel conſecrated. Many Indian aſſiſtants were invited to this ſynod, the chief intention being maturely to conſider the ſituation of the Indian miſſion.

Towards the end of June, the miſſionary Mack feeling a ſtrong impulſe to viſit the emigrants at Wajomick, ſet out for that place with Brother Gottfried Roeſler. The rivers were much overflowed; but no difficulties or perils could deter him from proceeding. God graciouſly regarded his faith, and ſaved him out of many dangers, in a manner almoſt miraculous. He was greatly comforted, when he found that the Indian Brethren had not departed from the Lord, but that even ſome, whoſe conduct at Gnadenhuetten had not been the moſt pleaſing, had turned to Him with their whole heart, and received pardon and peace. They were very deſirous to have a miſſionary reſiding amongſt them, and in this view propoſed to ſend deputies to Onondago, who ſhould likewiſe requeſt the council to grant them land on the Suſquehannah as their hereditary property, where they might all live together undiſturbed, as a church of God. Some of them had borne ſuch teſtimonies of our Lord and Savior to the neighboring heathen, that when the miſſionary arrived, they were prepared to hear him with gladneſs, though formerly particularly attached to their heathen ſacrifices, to which they aſcribed all the good they enjoyed. One obſerved: "I am one of "thoſe, who wiſh to hear your words, for I believe, that "I have hitherto been in the wrong, and ſhall miſs of ſal- "vation. I am therefore uneaſy, and deſirous to know the "right way." Others ſpoke to the ſame effect, and Brother Mack preached with great freedom, pointing out the right way, by inviting them to become partakers of the free grace, offered unto us through the meritorious ſufferings of Jeſus. He found here ſeveral of the baptized, who had formerly ſtrayed from Shekomeko, and rejoiced to have this opportunity of aſſuring them again of his love; but he felt much

much uneaſineſs in diſcovering an Indian book circulated here, which the ſavages affirmed to contain every thing they wanted to know, of God, of the world, and of hunting; and conſequently affirmed that the Bible was uſeleſs. By this deluſion the poor heathen were more confirmed in their unbelief. The miſſionary found all the people living on the Suſquehannah in great fear and dread, both of the inroads made in the country by the Catawas, then at war with the Six Nations, and of the French, who threatened the Indians with fire and ſword, unleſs they acted in concert with them againſt the Engliſh. Beſides this, the people of New England, who laid claim to Wajomick, were advancing, and intended to ſeize the land by force.

Soon after Brother Mack's return, the Brethren Grube and Gottlieb Rundt ſet out on a viſit to Wajomick and Neſkopeko; in both places their diſcourſes were ſo well received by the Indians, that they deſired the interpreter to repeat them. The Brethren were always ſorry to be obliged to preach to the heathen by an interpreter; and therefore ſoon began to look out for men, who might make it their principal ſtudy, to learn the language of the heathen to whom they were called. For this purpoſe two ſtudents, Fabricius and Weidſtaedt, came this year to Gnadenhuetten, the former to learn the Delaware, and the latter the Shawanoſe language. Fabricius made a quick progreſs, and was ſoon able to compoſe ſome Delaware hymns, and to tranſlate ſeveral parts of the Scriptures into the Delaware language: Brother Grube did the ſame, and kept a ſinging-ſchool for the boys and young brethren, by which he himſelf greatly improved in the language, for the Indians always corrected him if he made any fault. His ſcholars learnt the hymns and tunes with great eaſe, and one of them brought him an hymn compoſed by himſelf. Brother Schmick likewiſe had made ſo quick a progreſs in the Mahikan dialect, that he preached fluently, tranſlated the hiſtory of our Savior's ſufferings, compoſed ſome hymns, and now and then tranſlated ſhort accounts of the Miſſions among the Greenlanders and Negroes, which

which were read to the Indian congregation. David Zeiſberger ſpoke the Maquaw language fluently; yet the learning of theſe difficult languages was greatly impeded by the total want of the proper means of inſtruction.

The congregation at Pachgatgoch, conſiſting of more than 100 Indians, proceeded this year in a pleaſing courſe. The miſſionaries praiſed God, eſpecially for the unreſerved manner in which the Indians owned their defects and aſked advice. One of them ſaid, "that he was in doubt, how he "ſhould behave in future, his heart being as unbroken "as that of a ſtubborn horſe." He added: "A man may "have a very wild horſe, but if he can only once make it "eat ſalt out of his hand, then it will always come to him "again; but I am not ſo diſpoſed towards our Savior, who "is continually offering me his grace. I have once taſted "grace out of his hand, yet my heart ſtill runs away; even "then, when he holds out his grace unto me. Thus we In-"dians are ſo very ſtupid, that we have not even the ſenſe "of beaſts."

As to externals, they had much diſturbance towards the cloſe of this year. Four white people having been murdered by ſome unknown Indians at Stockbridge; the inhabitants of the neighboring town of Sharen were in the utmoſt conſternation, and the magiſtrates ſent a peremptory order to Pachgatgoch, that no Indian ſhould ſet foot upon their land, under pain of death. A ſuſpicion ariſing, that one of the murderers was ſecreted here, the Brethren were obliged to ſubmit to diſagreeable examinations, by which however their innocence was fully proved.

In this year Brother David Zeiſberger returned to his poſt in Onondago, with Brother Charles Frederic, and reſided there almoſt a whole year. The great council was again kind enough to aſſemble in the houſe, in which theſe Brethren lodged; and a council held ſoon after their arrival, deſerves particular notice. They had in conſideration a meſſage ſent by the Nantikoks, deſiring the Iroquois ſeriouſly to weigh the cauſe, why the Indians ſo remarkably diminiſhed

niſhed in number, adding, that in their opinion, it proceeded merely from drunkenneſs; that they ſhould therefore reſolve to drink no rum for the ſpace of four years only, and it would then appear that they would increaſe; that then alſo they would not be ſo often ill, nor die ſo early; for all this was owing to their drinking rum. They ſaid, that drunkenneſs was alſo the reaſon that the Indians did not plant at the proper ſeaſon, and thus ſuffered ſo much by famine. This was more earneſtly enforced by a drawing upon wood, repreſenting that God ſees thoſe who get drunk, and how the devil would hereafter torment all who are addicted to this vice on earth.

Though this remonſtrance was made with great earneſtneſs, yet the members of the great council themſelves could not reſolve to attend to it, but continued to drink as uſual, which at length proved ſo troubleſome to the Brethren, that they begged and obtained leave to build a ſmall houſe for their private uſe. This dwelling, though very ſmall, was the neateſt in Onondago, and proved ſuch a comfortable retirement, that they reſolved to ſtay there during the winter. They earned their livelihood by cutting timber, grinding hatchets, and chiefly building houſes for others; yet they frequently ſuffered want, and were obliged to hunt or ſeek roots in the foreſt. The Indians would ſometimes expreſs their aſtoniſhment at their ſubmitting to live in poverty, merely out of love to them; and their chuſing to ſuffer hunger, when they might have plenty in their own country. But the Brethren thought themſelves ſufficiently rewarded, when now and then they could enter into a familiar converſation with the Indians, and deſcribe to them the love of God, the Savior of all men, which made him die for them alſo.

In New Gnadenhuetten, the miſſionaries had much reaſon to rejoice at the internal courſe of their congregation. Biſhop Spangenberg having returned from Europe, took great pains to teach, exhort, and comfort the whole congregation and every diviſion of it, particularly inſtructing the parents to

to educate their children in the fear of the Lord; and even attending to the children with the greateſt diligence. God abundantly bleſſed his labors, and the miſſionaries were much indebted for his advice and aſſiſtance in the performance of their reſpective duties. Notwithſtanding the grief occaſioned by the above-mentioned diviſions, they had now occaſion to rejoice at the many inſtances of the power of the Goſpel on the hearts of the heathen viſitors, and at the confidence and faith of many Indians, who departed this life. A child ſeeing its mother weep, ſaid ſhortly before it expired, "My poor mother, why do you weep ſo much? you "need not be anxious about me, for I am going to our Sa-"vior." The latter end of a brother called Jeptha, above 100 years old, was truly edifying: he ſent for all his children, and taking an affectionate leave of them made them promiſe, that they would faithfully adhere to Chriſt and to his congregation, and never ſuffer themſelves to be ſeduced by the world. He then expreſſed his deſire to depart and to be with Chriſt, and ſoon after fell aſleep. He had been an Indian of great rank; and the lawful poſſeſſor of a large tract of land in the diſtrict of New York, but was expelled by the white people.

The external troubles of Gnadenhuetten ſtill continued. The inhabitants were not only charged with a kind of tribute, to ſhow their dependance upon the Iroquois, but received the following very ſingular meſſage, brought by the above-mentioned old Chief of the Shawanoſe, called Paxnous, and Gideon Tadeuskund, who had proved unfaithful to their cauſe: "The great head, that is, the council "of the Iroquois in Onondago, ſpeak the truth, and lie not: "they rejoice that ſome of the believing Indians have moved "to Wajomick, but now they lift up the remaining Ma-"hikans and Delawares, and ſet them alſo down in Wa-"jomick; for there a fire is kindled for them, and there "they may plant and think on God: but if they will not "hear, the great head, or council, will come and clean their "ears with a red-hot iron:" that is, ſet their houſes on fire, and ſend muſket-balls through their heads. Paxnous then

then turned to the miſſionaries, earneſtly demanding of them, not to hinder the Indians from removing to Wajomick; for that the road was free, therefore they might viſit their friends there, ſtay with them till they were tired, and then return to their own country. Theſe laſt words occaſioned much reflection and uneaſineſs in the minds of the believing Indians, as they ſuppoſed them to be a ſure token, that the Iroquois only pretended to favour them, but in truth had evil deſigns againſt their peace. They gave no anſwer, but ſaid, that they ſhould conſult their great council in Bethlehem, concerning the contents of this meſſage.

CHAPTER XII.

1755.

New Troubles in Gnadenhuetten. Journies to the Suſquehannah, Pachgatgoch, and Shomokin. A War ſuddenly breaks out. Ravages committed near Shomokin. Conſternation throughout Pennſylvania. The Miſſion Houſe on the Mahony attacked by the Savages. Eleven Perſons murdered. Deliverance of the Congregation at Gnadenhuetten. Dangerous Situation of the Brethren in Bethlehem.

THUS was the congregation ſituated, at the beginning of the year 1755; a year of great trouble and affliction. The more the inhabitants of Gnadenhuetten conſidered and debated upon the above meſſage, ſent by the Iroquois, the more their uneaſineſs increaſed, and a variety of opinions took place. Some thought beſt, to repair to Wajomick; others refuſed to emigrate. The adverſaries, eſpecially thoſe in Neſkopeko, uſed all their endeavors to ſtrengthen the former, repreſenting the inevitable danger they would expoſe themſelves to, in diſobeying the orders of the

the Iroquois: theſe inſinuations had alſo too great weight, eſpecially as the believers could not forget that threat, that their ears ſhould be cleaned with a red-hot iron.

Meanwhile the Brethren at Bethlehem had received authentic intelligence, that the removal of the Indian congregation to Wajomick did not originate in the great council of the Six Nations, but that only the Oneida tribe, with the warlike Delawares and Mahikans, had formed this plan, and falſely aſcribed it to the Iroquois in general. It had been likewiſe diſcovered, that ſeveral perſons of character in Philadelphia joined them in endeavoring to remove the Chriſtian Indians to Wajomick, hoping, that the people of New England would thereby be prevented from taking poſſeſſion of that place, to which they themſelves laid ſome claim. The Brethren heard alſo, that the happy courſe of the baptized Indians at Wajomick had not been of long duration, and that many of theſe poor people had not only ſuffered in their own hearts, but had done harm to others. All this tended to increaſe the ſcruples of the Brethren with regard to the removal of the Chriſtian Indians; and though they did not chuſe to inform them of the ſtratagem made by the Oneidas, Delawares, and Mahikans, nor of the ſchemes of the gentlemen of Philadelphia, yet they could not refrain from giving them a faithful and timely caution. The elders of Bethlehem ſent therefore a deputation to Gnadenhuetten, in the beginning of February; conſiſting of the Brethren, Chriſtian Henry Rauch, Nathanael and Chriſtian Seidel, who appointed a meeting of all the baptized, to converſe with them in a friendly and cordial manner, as fathers ſpeak with their children. Having firſt reminded them of the rich grace they had received from God our Savior, they declared the deep grief, felt by the Brethren for every one, who had gone aſtray, and relapſed into heathenism. They ſhowed, from recent inſtances, the miſery of all who thus ſlighted the grace of God, pointing out the true ſigns of an hour of temptation, and repreſenting the imminent danger of giving ear to ſeducers. They further

ther obſerved, that the Brethren did not prohibit any one from leaving Gnadenhuetten, but would only guard them againſt all hurt to their ſouls, and thus, on ſome future day, be able to prove to them, that in warning them, they had diſcharged their duty. Then kneeling down with the whole congregation, they with many tears recommended this beloved people to the grace, mercy, and protection of God.

This declaration of the Brethren produced the deſired effect in moſt of the Indians. Several who had not only deviated, but endeavored to draw others aſide, publicly and of their own accord, owned their tranſgreſſions, begging forgiveneſs of the reſt; which was granted with joy. The miſſionaries obſerve in their account, that perhaps the powerful grace of God was never more evident, than in ſeeing an Indian, naturally obſtinate and inflexible to the laſt degree, appear before a whole body of people as an humbled ſinner, confeſs his faults, and aſk pardon of God and of thoſe whom he had offended. Some however, ſtill ſuppoſing that the above-mentioned meſſage was really ſent by the head-chiefs of the Iroquois, and that they muſt follow their dictates as obedient children, would not yield to conviction.

However when Paxnous returned on the 11th of February with thirteen perſons in his retinue, to demand an anſwer to the meſſage he had brought laſt year, they were all ſo far agreed, that an anſwer was delivered to him in Bethlehem, with a belt of wampom, to the following effect: "That the Bre-
" thren would confer with the Iroquois themſelves, concern-
" ing the intended removal of the Indians at Gnadenhuet-
" ten to Wajomick."

Paxnous, being only an ambaſſador in this buſineſs, was ſatisfied, and even formed a cloſer acquaintance with the Brethren. His wife, who heard the Goſpel preached daily, was ſo overcome by its divine power, that ſhe began to ſee her loſt eſtate by nature, prayed and wept inceſſantly for the forgiveneſs of ſins in the blood of Jeſus, and earneſtly begged for baptiſm. Her huſband, having lived thirty-eight years with her in marriage, to mutual ſatisfaction,

tisfaction, willingly gave his conſent, prolonged his ſtay at Bethlehem, was preſent in the chapel, and deeply affected when his wife was baptized by Biſhop Spangenberg, during a powerful ſenſation of the preſence of God. The day following they returned home, Paxnous' wife declaring, that ſhe felt as happy as a child new born. Frederic Poſt accompanied them to Wajomick, partly to look after the baptized, who lived diſperſed on the Suſquehannah, and partly to lodge thoſe miſſionaries, who ſhould viſit them either from Gnadenhuetten or Bethlehem.

Not long after, another meſſage was ſent from Wajomick to Gnadenhuetten, commanding the baptized in a ſevere tone, and for the laſt time, to go to Wajomick. To this they anſwered undauntedly, "No one has perſuaded us to "live at Gnadenhuetten; it is our free choice, and there- "fore here we will ſtay; where we may both hear the words "of our Savior, and live in reſt and peace." An Indian brother ſaid, "What can the head-captain of the Six Nations "give me in exchange for my ſoul? He never conſiders "how that will fare at laſt!" Another ſaid, "God, who "made and ſaved me, can protect me, if he pleaſe. I am "not afraid of the anger of men; for not one hair of my "head can fall to the ground, without his will." A third expreſſed himſelf thus: "If even any one ſhould lift up his "hatchet againſt me and ſay, Depart from the Lord and the "Brethren; I would not do it." Thus moſt of them declared their reliance upon God, and remained firm.

The congregation in Gnadenhuetten had now a ſhort time of reſt, and proceeded in the uſual order, to general edification. The Brethren availed themſelves of this period, as well to renew the obſervance of thoſe principles, laid down in the ſynods and other conferences, concerning the miſſions among the heathen, as alſo to ſend miſſionaries to preach and adminiſter the ſacraments to the Chriſtian Indians reſiding in other places, and to ſpread the Goſpel among the heathen far and near.

In this view, the Brethren Chriſtian Seidel and Henry Frey went to Wajomick and Neſkopeko. In returning from

the latter place they were graciouſly preſerved from imminent danger. Some Indians, who were averſe to the preaching of the Goſpel, lay in ambuſh in the wood, intending to tomahawk or ſhoot them, but providentially miſſing the direct road, the Brethren eſcaped.

Chriſtian Seidel went twice this year to Pachgatgoch, baptized ſeveral Indians, adminiſtered the Lord's Supper to the communicants, paſſing through Oblong, Saliſbury, Shekomeko, and Reinbeck, where his animated teſtimony of the Goſpel was well received by many. He rejoiced greatly over the ſmall church of God in Pachgatgoch, which truly deſerved the character given it by an Indian brother: "Me-"thinks," ſaid he, "we are a ſmall ſeed, ſown in the "ground, where it firſt lies dormant, but gradually ſprings "up, gets into ear and ripens. Our Savior has planted "ſuch a ſmall ſeed in this place: it has ſprung up, the "plant is now nurſed, and I wiſh that we may all ripen "and bear fruit." They were even an example to their Chriſtian neighbors. One of them viſited a ſeparatiſt, and converſed with him and his family till paſt midnight, concerning his firſt awakening, and what the Lord had ſince done for his ſoul, not without bleſſing. Another being queſtioned by a company of Chriſtians concerning the fear of death, replied, "I am not afraid, for now I have no more "a bad conſcience. My Savior died for me upon the "croſs: I believe in Him, and ſhall live with Him for ever, "becauſe He himſelf has promiſed it." They heard him with aſtoniſhment, and ſaid, "You are an Indian of a particular "turn of thinking indeed."

As to externals, the troubles at Pachgatgoch increaſed The neighborhood being in great dread of the French, the young people were called upon to ſerve againſt them. Some of the baptized ſuffered themſelves to be perſuaded to take the field, and repented, when it was too late.

The miſſionary, Brother Grube, went meanwhile to the weſt branch of the Suſquehannah, and to Queniſhachſhachki, where ſome baptized Indians lived. The Chief oppoſed him, but he preached the Goſpel wherever he found an opportunity.

In June and July, the Brethren Chriſtian Seidel and David Zeiſberger, who had returned from Onondago in ſpring, went again to Wajomick and other places on the Suſquehannah, ſhunning neither difficulties nor danger, but exhorting the Indians reſiding there, who then ſuffered great hunger, to put their truſt in the grace and mercy of God our Savior. They were ſoon followed by Martin Mack and an Indian aſſiſtant from Gnadenhuetten, who preached the Goſpel in all places with great power, in the Mahikan language. During one of his diſcourſes, he obſerved a ſtrange Indian liſtening with great attention, who had travelled 300 miles from the north-weſt country, and related the occaſion of his journey as follows, viz.: His elder brother, living in his houſe, had been many days and nights in great perplexity, wiſhing to learn to know God, till at length he reſolved to retire into the woods, ſuppoſing that he ſhould ſucceed better, in a ſtate of ſeparation from all mankind. Having ſpent many weeks alone in great affliction, he thought he ſaw a man of majeſtic appearance, who informed him, that there were Indians living to the ſouth-eaſt, who were acquainted with God and the way to everlaſting life; adding, that he ſhould go home again and tell the people what he had ſeen and heard. "This," ſaid the Indian, "is the reaſon, why "I am come hither. When I heard my brother ſpeak, I felt "immediately a deſire to go in ſearch of the people he de-"ſcribed. Now I have heard your diſcourſe, and your "words have been welcome to my heart." He then ſat out on his return, rejoicing to be able to make known this diſcovery to his countrymen.

Soon after Brother Mack's return, Brother Schmick, his wife, and an Indian aſſiſtant, went to the country on the Suſquehannah, and the declarations of many, both baptized and unbaptized Indians, proved, that God was with him and bleſſed his teſtimony.

In Shomokin the ſufferings of the Brethren increaſed ſo much, as to be almoſt inſupportable; but they improved every opportunity to preach the croſs of Chriſt with boldneſs and

fervency, in which they were alſo greatly encouraged by viſits from the Brethren at Bethlehem.

At this time all was peace in Gnadenhuetten: but ſuddenly the ſcene changed, and fear, horror, and inexpreſſible diſtreſs filled the whole country. A cruel Indian war, occaſioned by the conteſt between the Engliſh and French, burſt at once into flames, ſpreading terror and confuſion, eſpecially throughout Pennſylvania.

The firſt outrage was committed about five miles from Shomokin; where the French Indians fell upon ſix Engliſh plantations, plundered and ſet fire to the dwellings, and murdered fourteen white people. The three Brethren, Kiefer, Roeſler, and Weſa, reſiding in Shomokin, were expoſed to the moſt imminent danger: but not willing to forſake their ſtation without advice from Bethlehem, Weſa went thither to repreſent their ſituation. He was accompanied part of the way by Brother Roeſler; but as the latter was returning to Shomokin, he was ſtopped by white people, and obliged to follow Weſa to Bethlehem. Upon hearing that Brother Kiefer was left alone in Shomokin, the Brethren, Anthony Schmidt and Henry Frey, immediately ſet out to conduct him home, but being conſidered in Tulpehokin as deſerters, they were not permitted to proceed, and obliged to return. This however did not deter them; but J. Jacob Schmick and Henry Frey went in all haſte to Wajomick, and brought the following formal meſſage to the Chief Paxnous: "Go and "conduct our brother in Shomokin ſafe home." Paxnous immediately ſent his two ſons, giving them proper inſtructions, how to reſcue Brother Kiefer, if he even ſhould be in the hands of the enemy. Meanwhile Kiefer had ſet out alone to go to Wajomick, and was met on the road by Paxnous' ſons, who conducted him ſafe to Gnadenhuetten.

Every day diſcloſed new ſcenes of barbarity committed by the Indians. The whole country was in an uproar, and the people knew not what courſe to take. Some fled to the eaſt; ſome to the weſt. Some ſought ſafety in places from which others had fled. Even the neighbors of the Brethren in Bethlehem

Bethlehem and Gnadenhuetten forſook their dwellings, fearing a ſudden invaſion of the French Indians. But the Brethren made a covenant together, to remain undaunted in the place allotted to them by Providence. The peace of God comforted them in a ſpecial manner, and preſerved their hearts from fear and deſpair.

However, no caution was omitted; and becauſe the white people conſidered every Indian as an enemy, the Indian Brethren in Gnadenhuetten were adviſed, as much as poſſible, to keep out of their way; to buy no powder or ſhot, but to ſtrive to maintain themſelves without hunting, which they very willingly complied with.

November 18th, ſome meſſengers arrived in Gnadenhuetten from the Indians at Wajomick, who, with many complaints, delivered the following meſſage: "We, being "friends of the Engliſh government, are in great fear and "diſtreſs. We are in danger of being attacked on all ſides "by enemies, who are much enraged. We are no leſs afraid "of the white people, who ſuſpect us of having been ac-"ceſſary to the murders, committed in various places. We "wiſh to ſpeak of theſe matters to the governor of Phila-"delphia. But we cannot go thither without a proper paſſ-"port. We are in danger of being murdered by the white "people. Tell us therefore what to do." The Brethren in Bethlehem could give no anſwer to this meſſage; for they were nearly in the ſame predicament with theſe Indians, and knew that the rage of the enemy was more particularly directed againſt them. They therefore mentioned the requeſt of the Wajomick deputies to the juſtices of the county of Northampton, upon which they granted them the deſired paſſport. By this circumſtance and other accounts, received at the ſame time, it was evident, that the Chriſtian Indians at Gnadenhuetten, being conſidered as friends to the Britiſh government, were in the moſt imminent danger of being deſtroyed by the French Indians; and dreadful reports multiplying faſt from all quarters, ſome were ſo much intimidated, that they fled into the woods. The greateſt num-

ber ſtaid in the place, reſigned to the will of the Lord, and giving the moſt encouraging aſſurances, that they would not forſake each other, but remain united in life and death.

But God had otherwiſe ordained. On a ſudden the miſſion-houſe on the Mahony, deſcribed in the former chapter, was late in the evening of the 24th of November, attacked by the French Indians, burnt, and eleven of the inhabitants murdered. Theſe were, Brother Gottlieb Anders, his wife, and daughter of fifteen months old; Martin Nitſchman and his wife Suſanna; the married ſiſter Anna Catharine Senſeman; Leonhard Gattermeyer, a widower; and the ſingle Brethren Chriſtian Fabricius, George Schweigert, Martin Preſſer, and John Frederic Leſly.

The circumſtances attending this cataſtrophe were as follows: The family being at ſupper, they heard an uncommon barking of dogs, upon which Brother Senſeman went out at the back-door, to ſee what was the matter. On the report of a gun, ſeveral ran together to open the houſe-door. Here the Indians ſtood with their pieces pointed towards the door, and firing immediately upon its being opened, Martin Nitſchman was inſtantly killed. His wife and ſome others were wounded, but fled with the reſt up ſtairs into the garret, and barricadoed the door with bed-ſteads. Brother Partſch eſcaped by jumping out of a back-window. Brother Worbas, who was ill in bed in an houſe adjoining, jumped likewiſe out of a back-window and eſcaped, though the enemies had placed a guard before his door. Meanwhile the ſavages purſued thoſe who had taken refuge in the garret, and ſtrove hard to burſt the door open; but finding it too well ſecured, they ſet fire to the houſe, which was ſoon in flames. A boy, called Sturgeous, ſtanding upon the flaming roof, ventured to leap off, and eſcaped, though at firſt, upon opening the back-door, a ball had grazed his cheek, and one ſide of his head was much burnt. Siſter Partſch ſeeing this, took courage, and leaped likewiſe from the burning roof. She came down

down unhurt and unobſerved by the enemies, and thus the fervent prayer of her huſband was fulfilled, who in jumping out of the back-window, cried aloud to God to ſave his wife. Brother Fabricius then leaped alſo off the roof, but before he could eſcape, was perceived by the Indians, and inſtantly wounded with two balls. He was the only one, whom they ſeized upon alive, and having diſpatched him with their hatchets, took his ſcalp and left him dead on the ground. The reſt were all burnt alive, and Brother Senſeman, who firſt went out at the back-door, had the inexpreſſible grief to ſee his wife conſumed by the flames. Siſter Partſch could not run far, for fear and trembling, but hid herſelf behind a tree, upon an hill near the houſe. From hence ſhe ſaw Siſter Senſeman, already ſurrounded by the flames, ſtanding with folded hands, and heard her call out: "'Tis all well, dear Savior, I expected nothing elſe!" The houſe being conſumed, the murderers ſet fire to the barns and ſtables, by which all the corn, hay, and cattle were deſtroyed. Then they divided the ſpoil, ſoaked ſome bread in milk, made an hearty meal, and departed; Siſter Partſch looking on unperceived.

This melancholy event proved the deliverance of the Indian congregation at Gnadenhuetten: for upon hearing the report of the guns, ſeeing the flames, and ſoon learning the dreadful cauſe from thoſe who had eſcaped; the Indian Brethren immediately went to the miſſionary, and offered to attack the enemy without delay. But being adviſed to the contrary, they all fled into the woods, and Gnadenhuetten was cleared in a few minutes; ſome who already were in bed, having ſcarce time to dreſs themſelves.

Brother Zeiſberger, who had juſt arrived in Gnadenhuetten from Bethlehem, haſtened back to give notice of this event to a body of Engliſh militia, which had marched within five miles of the ſpot: but they did not venture to purſue the enemy in the dark.

November 25th, at three in the morning, Brother Zeiſberger arrived in Bethlehem with the melancholy account of the murder of ſo many of our people, and at five it was made known to the whole congregation. The grief, occaſioned by theſe doleful tidings, may be better conceived than deſcribed. Though all were affected with the deepeſt grief, yet a perfect reſignation to the adorable will of the Lord prevailed in the whole congregation. He has not promiſed unto his followers, an exemption from the troubles and calamities of this world, but requires of them, by patiently ſuffering their ſhare of the general diſtreſs, to demean themſelves as true children of God. The Brethren, Worbas, and Partſch with his wife, arrived ſoon after, and related the further particulars of this afflicting event.

Part of the fugitive Indian congregation joined Brother Senſeman, and another part flocked to the miſſionaries Martin Mack, Schmick, and Grube, and their wives, who notwithſtanding the darkneſs of the night, had ſet out on the road to Bethlehem, and by the mercy and protection of God arrived there ſafe. Brother Sheboſch remained alone in Gnadenhuetten, and by walking up and down the ſtreets the next day, encouraged ſeveral of the Indian Brethren and Siſters, who had hid themſelves in the neighboring woods, to return. The miſſionaries Martin Mack and Grube went alſo from Bethlehem towards Gnadenhuetten, to ſeek thoſe of the congregation who were ſtill miſſing; for being thus ſcattered, they were in danger of being killed, not only by the hoſtile Indians, but by the white people, who were much enraged at all Indians without exception. God granted ſucceſs to theſe faithful miſſionaries: for having found moſt of the fugitives, they returned with them, and with thoſe collected in Gnadenhuetten by Brother Sheboſch, praiſing the Lord for their deliverance. All theſe Indians were lodged, clothed, and fed by the inhabitants of Bethlehem, with great kindneſs. Such as were ſtill miſſing, fled to Wajomick, which place they reached in ſafety.

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As ſoon as the French Indians had been driven from thoſe parts, the remains of the Brethren and Siſters, killed on the Mahony, were carefully collected out of the aſhes and ruins of their dwellings, and ſolemnly interred. Amidſt all this affliction, it gave us ſome comfort that the bodies of the Brethren and Siſters had not fallen into the hands of the ſavages, that of Brother Fabricius was only burnt on one ſide.

The Brethren conſidered this diſaſtrous event, not merely in a political point of view, but traced the providence of God in it, who permitting this evil to take place, had graciouſly averted a much greater. Juſt about that time, nothing leſs was intended, than to deſtroy the whole work of God committed to the care of the Brethren in North America, and even entirely to overturn their whole eſtabliſhment in that country. A bitter enemy of the Goſpel had forged a letter, perhaps without conſidering the dreadful conſequences of his malice, pretending that it had been written by a French officer in Quebec, and intercepted by the Engliſh. This letter was publiſhed in all the newſpapers, and ſtated, "That the French were certain of ſoon conquering the Engliſh, for not only the Indians had taken "their part, but the Brethren were alſo their good friends, "and would give them every aſſiſtance in their power." The general ſuſpicion raiſed by this lying accuſation was increaſed by the calm and ſteady behavior of the Brethren. That chearfulneſs, which proceeded from their reſignation to the will of God, and enabled them to continue uninterrupted in their uſual daily employments, was miſconſtrued by the deluded multitude as a certain proof of the truth of the above-mentioned charge. It was therefore generally aſſerted, "That the Brethren were certainly in "league with the Indians and French, for otherwiſe they "would not be ſo contented, nor tranſact their buſineſs with "ſuch compoſure of mind." The common people were exceedingly enraged, and the Brethren were under continual apprehenſion of being attacked by the mob: nor could Government

vernment have defended them, though well convinced of the ſincerity of their intentions. Travellers were not ſafe in the ſtreets and inns. Biſhop Spangenberg was inſulted by an inn-keeper, who with one hand lifting up a large ſtake and threatening to knock his brains out, held in the other the newſpaper containing the above-mentioned letter. Biſhop Spangenberg endeavored to pacify him, but his anſwer was: "If what I ſay of the Brethren were not true, it would "not be printed here." In the Jerſeys a public declaration was made with beat of drum, that Bethlehem ſhould be deſtroyed, and the moſt dreadful threats were added, that in Bethlehem, Gnadenhuetten, and other places, a carnage ſhould be made, ſuch as had never before been heard of in North America. It afterwards appeared, from the beſt authority, that a party of an hundred men who came to Bethlehem, were purpoſely ſent to ſeek an opportunity of raiſing a mob; but the friendly and hoſpitable treatment they met with from the Brethren, who knew nothing of their intentions, changed their reſolution. The ſuſpicion againſt the Brethren gained daily more ground in all the Engliſh colonies and every body conſidered them as ſnakes in the graſs, and friends to the French. But after the attack made upon the Brethren on the Mahony became publicly known, the eyes of the people were opened. Even before the remains of the murdered perſons were interred, many hundred people came from diſtant parts, and ſeeing the ſettlement in aſhes, and the corpſes of the Brethren and Siſters burnt and ſcalped, were fully convinced of the untruth of the reports againſt them. Many ſhed tears, and ſmiting upon their breaſts, exclaimed: "Alas, how greatly have we ſinned "againſt an innocent people, accuſing them of being in league "with the Indians and French." One ſaid: "I myſelf "have entertained theſe wicked thoughts, and I am now not "only convinced of their innocence, but find that they are "the firſt in this country, againſt whom the rage of the "ſavages has been directed. Ah, what ſhould we have had "to anſwer for, had we followed our deſign of exterminating

"nating the Brethren, and deſtroying their men, women, and "children, upon the ſuppoſition that they were our enemies." Thus the ſting of the adverſaries in a great meaſure loſt its power, and the Brethren now praiſed and thanked the Lord, who, by permitting the enemy to ſhed the blood of a few of their number, and to burn their dwellings, had entirely deſtroyed the deſigns of Satan, to deliver them altogether over to the fury of an enraged mob. And had Gnadenhuetten remained ſtanding on the old ſpot, then in all probability, the Indian congregation would have been attacked, and ſuffered a much greater carnage than that at the Mahony. It was likewiſe a conſolation to the Brethren, that there had been no occaſion to ſtain their hands with the blood of the enemy, but that all could join, together with the blood of their murdered Brethren, to cry for mercy and forgiveneſs from God for the murderers.

It could not then be aſcertained, to what nation the latter belonged, but they were, moſt probably, partly Shawanoſe, formerly reſiding in Wajomick, who went over to the French in great numbers, and partly Delawares, who were enemies both to the Engliſh and the Iroquois, though they pretended that the latter had put the hatchet into their hands, and encouraged them to go to war.

Under theſe circumſtances the fugitive Indian congregation in Bethlehem preſented a petition to Government, declaring their loyalty, and recommending themſelves to the protection of the governor and other magiſtrates. His Excellency aſſured them of his good will and protection, adviſing them to remain in Bethlehem for the preſent. And as both they and the miſſionaries had left their effects and harveſt in Gnadenhuetten, he kindly ordered a party of ſoldiers to march into thoſe parts, to defend the property of the Chriſtian Indians, and the country in general. But on New Year's Day 1756, the ſavages attacked theſe troops, ſet fire to Gnadenhuetten and the mill, and deſtroyed all the plantations; by which the Indian congregation and its miſſionaries were reduced to the greateſt poverty.

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The ſituation of the Brethren in Bethlehem became now very critical, by the number of Indians reſiding in the place. The ſavages inſiſted upon their taking up arms againſt the Engliſh, threatening to murder them in caſe of refuſal. Moreover, a ſet of fanatics ſprung up, who demanded the total extirpation of the Indian tribes, leſt God's vengeance ſhould fall upon the Chriſtians, for not deſtroying the Indians, as the Iſraelites, by his command, had deſtroyed the Canaanites of old. Theſe people were greatly incenſed againſt Bethlehem, on account of the protection and aſſiſtance granted to a race of beings, deemed by them to be accurſed. The inhabitants of Bethlehem, therefore, conſidered themſelves as ſheep ready for ſlaughter; and when they went to bed, never knew whether they ſhould riſe the next morning. Fathers and mothers wept over their children, repreſenting to themſelves the cruelties they might expect to endure from the fury of the blood-thirſty ſavages.

Yet reſignation to the will of the Lord was the general diſpoſition of all the inhabitants; not one ſought ſafety by leaving the town, but the chief concern of each individual was, to be prepared and willing at every moment, by day and night, to appear before the preſence of God, and to enter into eternal reſt. They were led the more firmly to unite in praying unto God, in the words of Hezekiah: "*O* "*Lord our God, we beſeech thee, ſave thou us, that all may know,* "*that thou art the Lord, even thou only,*" not only from the common boaſtings of the Indians: "We ſhall ſoon ſee, "whether the God of the Brethren be able to deliver them "from our hatchets;" but likewiſe from the ridicule of a white neighbor, who had ſaid: "The Brethren are conti- "nually ſpeaking of our Savior, and praying to him; now "we ſhall ſee, whether He can ſave them." He heard them, and filled their hearts with joy, peace, and extraordinary chearfulneſs, proceeding from a firm reliance upon his protection. The daily worſhip of the congregation was attended with ſo powerful a ſenſation of the preſence of God,

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and of brotherly love, that all the letters received at that time from Bethlehem, ſeemed dictated by a ſpirit of thanks and praiſe. The courage of the Brethren in keeping their ſtation, proved a comfort and protection to the neighbors; for if they had fled, nothing could have obſtructed the inroads of the ſavages. The whole country from Bethlehem to Philadelphia would have been expoſed to their ravages, and even Philadelphia itſelf have been rendered unſafe: ſo that government conſidered the Brethren's ſettlements as a bulwark, raiſed up in defence of the neighboring country. It afterwards appeared, that the Indians frequently remarked in their councils, that if they could only put the Brethren to flight, every thing elſe muſt yield to them. They therefore formed various plans to attack their ſettlements with their combined force. Though the Brethren firmly relied upon the help of the Lord, they neglected nothing that might tend to their ſafety. The children were brought from the different ſchools to Bethlehem. Bethlehem itſelf was ſurrounded by palliſadoes, and well guarded both night and day, Europeans and Indians taking their turn with great willingneſs; though this duty was attended with inconvenience, as ſometimes forty were out upon guard at night, moſt of whom had to attend their uſual buſineſs, in the day-time. In every other ſettlement of the Brethren in North America, a diſcreet perſon was appointed to give the proper directions, and to keep ſtrict watch. Even thoſe at work in the plantations were guarded. This was chiefly committed to Indian Brethren, who eſteemed it a favor, to be thought worthy of ſuch an important charge. "Who am I," ſaid one of them, "that "I ſhould watch over children of God? I, poor man, am "not worthy of this grace. Nor can I do it properly. "Therefore watch thou thyſelf over them, gracious Savior, "for thou alone canſt protect them!"

This watchfulneſs was not only a neceſſary caution, but proved very effectual in defending the place, for the Brethren were, according to their own expreſſion, ſurrounded by

by wolves, tygers, and wild beaſts: the ſavages continuing by murder and fire to lay waſte the neighboring country, and wherever they came, to do as much miſchief as they poſſibly could. They plundered and deſtroyed ſeveral villages ſo near to Bethlehem, that the flames of the houſes were diſtinctly ſeen. The murderers approached even near to the place itſelf, lurking about with torches, and endeavoring to ſhoot burning wadding upon the thatched roofs. They attempted five or ſix times in the night, to make a ſudden attack upon this and ſome other ſettlements of the Brethren, but when their ſpies, who always precede, obſerved the great watchfulneſs of the inhabitants, they were afraid and withdrew, as they themſelves afterwards owned. Once in the day-time, a party of them came to attack a large field in which about forty ſiſters were picking flax, whom they intended to ſeize and carry off priſoners, and were already cloſe to it, creeping upon their bellies in the Indian manner. But perceiving a ſtrong guard of Indian Brethren with their pieces loaded, juſt as they were riſing from their ambuſh, they made off, and thus an engagement was avoided; for which the Brethren always thanked and praiſed the Lord. For though they were very unwilling to ſhed the blood of their enemies, yet they were reſolved, at all events, to defend the women and children entruſted to their care, and conſequently muſt have fired upon and killed many of the aſſailants, which would have cauſed them and the miſſionaries inexpreſſible grief.

God raiſed alſo ſome friends among the ſavages, who prevented much miſchief. Four ſoldiers, who deſerted from their regiment lying at Eaſton, and fled to the Indians, told them, that they came from Bethlehem, and had ſeen the Brethren cut off the heads of all the Indians, who fled to them from Gnadenhuetten, put them into bags and ſend them to Philadelphia, where they got fifty Spaniſh dollars a head, and that they had only left two of theſe poor fugitives alive, to uſe them as ſpies. Upon hearing this, the Indians were ſo enraged, that, though not very well diſpoſed towards the

the Indian congregation, a large party ſet out, with a view to murder all the Brethren and to burn their ſettlements. But Paxnous, the above-mentioned Chief of the Shawanoſe, a man of great authority among his people, ſent after them, with orders not to hurt the Brethren, whom he knew to be perfectly innocent; as they would find, upon a nearer examination. When the ſavages ſtill perſiſted in their intentions, he ſent a meſſenger with a large belt of wampom, and an expreſs order for them immediately to return; adding, that he poſitively knew, that thoſe people, whom they intended to deſtroy, were good men. Many obeyed and returned, and the few that remained, not thinking themſelves a match for the Brethren, diſperſed. Neither watchfulneſs nor ſtrength could have ſaved them if they had been attacked by ſo large a force. Sometimes well-diſpoſed Indians, hearing of a plot laid againſt them by the warriors, would travel all night to warn the Brethren, and thus their ſchemes were defeated: not to mention other inſtances of the providence of God in their behalf.

Both the firmneſs of the Brethren and their good political regulations, cauſed their diſtreſſed neighbors in great numbers to take refuge in their ſettlements. Hundreds of women and children came even from diſtant places, crying and begging for ſhelter, ſome almoſt deſtitute, having left their all, and fled in the night. Some Brethren were once going with three waggons to fetch corn from a mill beyond the Blue Mountains, when they were met by a great number of the inhabitants of that country, who were in the greateſt diſtreſs and conſternation, the ſavages having attacked their towns, murdered many white people, and ſet fire to their dwellings. The waggons therefore returned, loaded with theſe wretched people, many of them having eſcaped from the enemy, almoſt without any covering. As long as there was room, theſe poor fugitives were protected and fed. Bethlehem, Nazareth, Friedensthal, Chriſtianſbrunn, and the Roſe, were at this time conſidered as aſylums for all, who fled from the murder and rapine of the hoſtile Indians, and

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the empty ſchool-houſes and mills were allotted to them for a temporary reſidence.

Thus God in his wiſdom wrought an extraordinary change of affairs. The ſame people, who were but lately ſuſpected of a ſecret correſpondence with the enemy, and of merely affecting confidence in God from treacherous motives, now protected and defended thoſe, who in ignorance had calumniated and threatened them with deſtruction.

It may eaſily be conceived, that the Brethren were brought into great ſtraits, by the number of people reſorting unto, and depending upon them for ſubſiſtence. There had been a great drought during the ſummer, and they reaped but half the uſual quantity of corn and fruit.

The loſs, ſuſtained by the deſtruction of Gnadenhuetten, the mill, and the Mahony farm, was very conſiderable. Beſides this, the ſavages had ſet fire to upwards of a thouſand buſhels of wheat, belonging to the Brethren in different places. Their trades had greatly failed by the troubles of the war; the expence of providing for the Indian congregation, who were entirely impoveriſhed, fell wholly upon them; the fugitives from other places were lodged, fed, and many of them cloathed; and the troops marching through the ſettlement, whoſe number frequently exceeded a thouſand in one week, were ſupplied gratis with proviſions.

The Brethren however did not loſe courage, but exerted themſelves with all frugality to procure the neceſſaries of life for their gueſts and themſelves, relying upon the ſupport of our heavenly Father in this extraordinary emergency, and upon the active benevolence of the European congregations. Nor were their prayers in vain, or their hopes diſappointed.

CHAPTER XIII.

1756, 1757, 1758.

Situation of the Indian Congregation at Bethlehem. Continuation of the Indian War. Attempts to negotiate a Peace. The Savages ſtill continue to commit great Cruelties. Situation of the Congregation at Pachgatgoch, and of the Baptized Indians, living on the Suſquehannah. Building of Nain. The Troubles of War ſubſide on the Borders of Pennſylvania. Various Accounts.

AT this period, the Indian congregation had reſt, dwelling ſafely under the care and protection of the Brethren in Bethlehem. The latter viewed their edifying courſe with joy, and afforded them all the aſſiſtance in their power. They were under the care of the miſſionaries Mack, Grube, and Schmick. Having hitherto been very much crowded, near ſeventy perſons lodging in one houſe; two ſummer huts and a large hut for their daily meetings were built in ſpring. Both theſe and the ſchools were continued in the uſual order. The Indians frequently attended the meetings of the Bethlehem congregation, and both old and young increaſed in the knowledge and grace of Jeſus Chriſt. Several were particularly fervent, in devoting themſelves with ſoul and body unto the ſervice of the Lord. One circumſtance however proved very diſtreſſing to the Indian Brethren. They could not venture to hunt, the Engliſh having promiſed a reward of one hundred and fifty pieces of eight for every living Delaware, and one hundred and thirty for every ſcalp. Indeed an exception was expreſly made in favor of the Indians at Bethlehem; but at any diſtance from

the town, they would have been taken for enemies, and ſhot by the white people, who were greatly enraged at the Indians in general. The governor of Pennſylvania therefore thought proper, to warn our Indians by a letter, from ſtraying far from home. This advice they promiſed to follow, and the Brethren kept them to a ſtrict obſervance of their promiſe. They prayed fervently, that God would not only preſerve the Indians committed to their care, but graciouſly avert the deſtruction of any hoſtile Indians, by the guards at night, leſt it ſhould occaſion a report throughout the country, that the Brethren enriched themſelves by the Indian ſcalps. The Lord heard their prayer, and prevented this evil. Part of the Indian Brethren earned their livelihood by doing all kind of work as day-laborers, and during the harveſt in the year 1756, they guarded the reapers. The Indian Siſters made baſkets and brooms. Yet this was not ſufficient to procure a maintenance, and they were relieved by collections made for that purpoſe in other congregations of the Brethren.

Meanwhile the ſavages continued their depredations, and the governor of Pennſylvania publiſhed a proclamation, by which he declared war againſt all Indian nations, who ſhould perſiſt in hoſtilities, inviting all thoſe, who would lay down their hatchets, to meet at a treaty of peace. Colonel Johnſon and Mr. Croghan went to Onondago, to treat with the Iroquois. The governor ſent likewiſe an embaſſy to the Delawares, who ſpoke as yet in a very high tone, and another to the Indians on the Suſquehannah. At his Excellency's particular requeſt, one of the Indian Brethren from Bethlehem accompanied the latter. Several Indians accepted the invitation given by government, and came to Bethlehem, where they were well received.

The confidence placed in the Brethren was now ſo great, that both the Engliſh and the Indians twice attempted to hold the congreſs at Bethlehem. The ſecond time, Mr. Croghan and a chief officer from Onondago came and inſiſted much upon it, adding, that the Iroquois had likewiſe determined,

termined, that it ſhould be held here. Biſhop Spangenberg earneſtly entreated him, not to urge it, becauſe the number of children then at Bethlehem, might receive great prejudice in their tender minds, having been hitherto carefully preſerved from the very name of many vices, but too commonly practiſed on ſuch occaſions. This remonſtrance was kindly attended to, and the congreſs appointed to be held at Eaſton, the Indians being ſafely conducted to that place. On their journey, the captain of thoſe ſavages, who had attacked and burnt the houſe of the Brethren on the Mahony, was killed by Tadeuskund in a violent diſpute.

No final agreement however was made at Eaſton; the Indians received preſents from the Engliſh, and promiſed to return at a fixed period. Tadeuskund, who behaved as if he were king of the Indians, and very juſtly was called "the Trumpet of War," undertook to go to all thoſe nations, which had lifted up the hatchet, to perſuade them to agree to a permanent peace.

After this congreſs, Bethlehem had a great number of Indian viſitors, who were lodged in ſome houſes belonging to the Brethren, on the other ſide of the Lecha. For ſafety's ſake, the juſtice of the peace, reſiding in Bethlehem, examined every new-comer concerning his intended ſtay, by which they were kept in order, though ſeveral of them did no good to the Indian congregation by their viſit. The Brethren ſaw with particular regret, that Gideon Tadeuskund, baptized by them, had not only become one of the chief captains of the hoſtile Indians, but took great pains to raiſe diſſenſions among the baptized, and to draw them from their attachment to the Brethren. However, his attempts were then in vain; even his baptized wife declared, that as ſhe belonged to the people of God, ſhe would live and die with the Brethren. The viſits and reſidence of ſome others in Bethlehem proved the means of their eternal ſalvation. They heard the word of reconciliation, owned their ſins, taſted the rich comforts held forth in the

doctrine of Jeſus Chriſt, and ſeeing living witneſſes of that great truth, that Jeſus came into the world to ſave ſinners, they ſought fellowſhip with them.

Among thoſe who at this time obtained leave to live with the believers, one declared his ſentiments in the following energetic manner:

"I beſeech the Brethren to permit me to dwell with "them. I will not abide with them only for a few days, or "months, or years, but as long as I live: if the Brethren "are perſecuted, I will even die with them. This is my "ſincere determination. I deſire not to ſave my life, if I "could; nor do I ſeek an eaſy or convenient life among "them, provided I gain life for my ſoul." He then began to weep aloud, and added: "Now you know, what I "came for." An Indian woman ſaid: "For ſeveral days "paſt, I have been very ſorrowful, and pray, that our Sa-"vior would have mercy upon me, and impart faith unto "me. I conſider the Siſters as fine flour, but I am no-"thing but chaff, and know that I cannot be ſaved and go "to God, unleſs I am cleanſed from all my ſins in his "blood, and baptized into his death." She and ſeveral others were ſoon after baptized. Even ſome of the incendiaries came to Bethlehem, with their families, being driven thither by hunger and diſtreſs, and were lodged beyond the Lecha, at the requeſt of government. They received their daily portion of proviſions from Bethlehem, and the Brethren thanked God for this opportunity of doing good to their enemies.

Though both the magiſtrates and the Brethren ſhowed great kindneſs to the Indians, yet the ſavages continued to commit murders in Allemaengel; and a lance, loſt by them on the road, proved them to be ſome of the very people, who had attended the congreſs at Eaſton. Roving parties infeſted the borders of the country, the public roads, and all thoſe places in which they feared no reſiſtance; ſo that the ſmall colonies of Brethren ſettled in Allemaengel and Bethel on the Swatara, who had held out with uncommon

common patience, were at laſt obliged to take refuge, the former in Bethlehem, and the latter in Lebanon. Every outrage of the ſavages was a new ſource of danger to the Indian congregation, for many of the white people even now ſuſpected their peaceable diſpoſitions. But God in mercy ſaved them, and gave them favor in the eyes of the chief magiſtrates. The governor himſelf came to Bethlehem on the 17th of November 1756, viſited them in their dwellings, and behaved in a very kind and condeſcending manner towards them.

Towards the cloſe of the year, the ſmall-pox broke out among the Indians; and it was ſo regulated, that all thoſe, who were infected, ſhould retire beyond the Lecha, where all poſſible care was taken of them.

Amidſt all theſe troubles, Pachgatgoch was not forſaken. The miſſionary Jungman and his wife, and the ſingle Brethren Eberhard and Utley, reſided there. The daily worſhip and ſchools continued in their uſual courſe, and the magiſtrates gave them protection. To the latter they freely ſhowed every letter they received, thus preventing any ſuſpicion, as though they were in league with the French; which ſome enemies had inſinuated. Here we cannot omit ſome very painful inſtances of the power of Satan. Even a few of the baptized relapſed into heatheniſm. One of theſe wretched people, being drunk, ran againſt a large kettle of ſoap, boiling over the fire, overſet it, and was ſcalded to death. Another ſtabbed his wife, wounded another Indian, and at laſt killed himſelf. Theſe dreadful examples cauſed the reſt to conſider their own ſtate, and earneſtly to reflect on the miſerable end of ſuch, who reject the grace of God our Savior.

Wajomick was entirely forſaken by the Indians in 1756, and they ſettled in or near Tiaogu. Many of them having been baptized by the Brethren, refuſed to be concerned in the war, but nevertheleſs ſuffered great harm in their ſouls, during the late troubles. They were likewiſe in imminent danger of their lives. Their declaration,

that they belonged to the Brethren, and would not fight, enraged the ſavages, who threatened to tomahawk every one of them; and the white people, deſirous of obtaining the high reward ſet upon Delaware ſcalps, watched every opportunity to kill them, ſo that they durſt not venture out. Added to this, they ſuffered much from famine and cold, not being able to procure any cloathing, and the Brethren, to their great grief, ſaw no poſſibility of coming to their aſſiſtance.

In January 1757, public ſervice began to be performed in Bethlehem in the Indian language, the litany being tranſlated into the Mahikan dialect by the miſſionary Jacob Schmick. Several parts of the Scriptures and many hymns were alſo tranſlated into the Delaware language for the uſe both of the church and the ſchools. The children frequently came together and ſang praiſes to our Savior, commemorating his death and ſufferings, in German, Mahikan, and Delaware hymns.

Meanwhile the ravages of the wild Indians ſtill continued. They went out in parties of twenty and thirty, murdering and plundering the country people. The baptized Indians received a meſſage from their heathen countrymen living on the Suſquehannah, deſiring them to come and live there: but their reply was, "that, if it were the will of God, they "would rather ſuffer themſelves to be deſtroyed with the "Brethren, than prove unfaithful to him."

Tadeuskund was continually marching to and fro with large parties of warriors, pretending to uſe all his endeavors to make peace. In theſe circuits he came frequently to Bethlehem, where it evidently appeared, that he and the other warriors chiefly ſought to perſuade the Indian congregation to go to Wajomick: but finding neither perſuaſions nor threats of any avail, they, with great aſſurance, repreſented at a congreſs of peace held at Lancaſter in April, that their friends were kept priſoners in Bethlehem, and not even permitted to hunt, begging that they might be ſent to Wajomick. The magiſtrates replied; that the

the Indians were a free people, and might go wherever they pleaſed: but this and other circumſtances led the Brethren to endeavor to procure a proper reſidence for the Indian congregation; as they had hitherto been in Bethlehem only as gueſts. The Indian aſſiſtants and fathers of families being convened, they were unanimous in declaring, that, as they would not live after the vain traditions received from their forefathers, but after the will and commandments of Jeſus Chriſt, they therefore muſt neceſſarily live ſeparated from the other Indians, amongſt whom they and their children would ſuffer inevitable damage in their ſouls, as they had already experienced. The Brethren at Bethlehem gave immediate information of this reſolution to government, and the Indians accompanied it by a petition to the governor, recommending themſelves to his future protection, and begging leave to build a town in the neighborhood of Bethlehem. To this a very favorable anſwer was given, and the Brethren obtained the conſent of government to give them land, about a mile from Bethlehem, where they built a regular ſettlement, and called it Nain.

Meanwhile ſome Delaware families moved in May to Gnadenthal, a place belonging to the Brethren; and the miſſionary Grube and his wife went to live with and ſerve them with the Goſpel.

June 10th, the firſt houſe was built at Nain, but the troubles of the war greatly retarded the progreſs of the other buildings. The internal courſe of the Indian congregations both in Bethlehem and Pachgatgoch was edifying. Many hundred ſavages heard the Goſpel in both places, and ſeveral who believed were baptized. Among the latter were two accomplices in the Mahony murder.

Towards the cloſe of the year 1757 it ſeemed, that peace would be eſtabliſhed in theſe parts. But on the Suſquehannah the troubles increaſed, the French endeavoring to entice the Indians, to withdraw to the Ohio, where they might join the Iroquois againſt the Engliſh. Many alſo were perſuaded; even Paxnous and ſome of the baptized were

drawn into the ſnare, and though not engaged in the war, were brought into ſpiritual and temporal miſery, to the great grief of the Indian congregation. Some turned again to the Lord, confeſſed their deviations, and departed this life in reliance upon the merits of Jeſus, as pardoned ſinners. Others returned to the congregation, among whom were ſeveral of the former inhabitants of Gnadenhuetten. Theſe might indeed be conſidered as patients, dangerouſly ill; having by their tranſgreſſions and infidelity, grievouſly loaded themſelves with ſpiritual diſeaſes. In this ſtate they were received with the greater love and compaſſion, and their repentance was not in vain.

The hiſtory of the year 1758 furniſhed many inſtances of the mercy of that good and faithful Shepherd, who ſeeketh his loſt ſheep in the wilderneſs. Benjamin wrote a letter to the Indian congregation, owning his tranſgreſſions; and with many repenting tears declared his ſincerity. His wife, Abigail, related, that ſhe frequently went out into the wood, crying unto the Lord, that he would bring her back unto his people; that ſhe had been exceedingly perſecuted among the ſavages, and frequently thought herſelf ſurrounded by devils; but that ſhe well knew, that our Savior would not have ſuffered her to come into ſuch diſtreſs, had ſhe walked uprightly before him. Her mother added, "When I heard, "that ſo many of our brethren and ſiſters were killed by the "ſavage Indians, I wept exceedingly, and took it ſo to heart, "that I wiſhed I had died with them. I counted the days "and weeks, and when four weeks were elapſed, I tied a "knot in this ſtring, and now I have twenty knots. So long "was I obliged to live among the ſavages. Now I moſt "earneſtly entreat the congregation, to pardon all my ſins "againſt God and his people. Receive me again, I have "devoted myſelf anew to Jeſus, and as long as I live in "this world, I will cleave to him alone."

The joy, occaſioned by the return of ſuch poor ſtraying ſheep, could not meet with a ſeverer check, than when others, who had ſtood firm in the greateſt dangers, ſuffered themſelves

ſelves to be led aſtray by ſordid conſiderations, exchanging peace of mind for uneaſineſs and trouble. This was, alas! the caſe with Auguſtus, one of the aſſiſtants, whom his brother-in-law, Tadeuskund, found means to ſeduce and turn from the ſimplicity which is in Chriſt Jeſus, by repreſenting to him, that in Wajomick he would be a man of much greater reſpectability, than in Bethlehem. The Brethren indeed uſed every perſuaſion to reclaim both him and Tadeuskund, who with about 100 of his followers, lived this year for a long time in the neighborhood of Bethlehem. In the beginning hopes were entertained of his return; he owned his dreadful deviations, and ſeemed truly contrite. Once he ſaid: "As to externals, I poſſeſs every thing in "plenty; but riches are of no uſe to me, for I have a troubled "conſcience. I ſtill remember well, what it is to feel peace "in the heart, but I have now loſt all." He even ſent to beg the Brethren to appoint ſome one to preach the Goſpel on the other ſide of the Lecha, where he and many other Indians lived, who were aſhamed to go to Bethlehem chapel. But, alas! he ſoon turned back, and all hopes of his recovery were loſt: he now even endeavored to deſtroy the peace and comfort of the Indian congregation, taking occaſion from the preſent negotiations of peace to raiſe a diſturbance. Matters having been ſo far ſettled, that the Engliſh government made peace with 300 Indian deputies, met at Eaſton, as repreſentatives of ten nations, Tadeuskund pretended that this peace had been agreed to upon a private condition, viz. that government ſhould build a town on the Suſquehannah for the Indians, ſend and maintain teachers for them, and give orders that thoſe Indians living with the Brethren ſhould move thither. Government had never given the Brethren the leaſt intimation of ſuch a meaſure, yet Tadeuskund pretended to have received full commiſſion, to conduct all the Indians, and conſequently alſo thoſe of Bethlehem, to Wajomick, demanding their compliance with theſe propoſals; promiſing, moreover, that fields ſhould be cleared and ploughed, houſes built, and proviſions provided; that their teachers ſhould attend

attend them; that they ſhould live there unmoleſted; and that he himſelf would have no other teacher; and finally, that they ſhould be at liberty to chooſe a detached place where they might dwell by themſelves. To this the Indian Brethren replied, That they rather choſe to live in their preſent ſituation; their wives, young people, and children, being well provided for; they therefore begged him to uſe his intereſt, to procure them peace and ſafety here; that this did not imply, that they intended to forſake him, but that they ſhould remain his good friends. Tadeuskund, much enraged by this anſwer, behaved very inſolently, uttered ſome ſevere threats, and ſet out for Philadelphia in great wrath.

Here a general peace with all the nations was in agitation, and thoſe Indians likewiſe, who had moved from the Suſquehannah to the Ohio, were invited to come to the treaty, though not preſent at the congreſs held at Eaſton. As government could find no European who, at the riſk of his life, would undertake to deliver this meſſage, Brother Frederic Poſt, then in Bethlehem, who had fled from the rage of the ſavages in Wajomick, was prevailed upon to perform the journey. He went twice to the Ohio, and was ſucceſsful in perſuading the Indians, to ſend deputies to the treaty. July 1ſt, he arrived with them in Bethlehem, and thence proceeded to Philadelphia with three Indian Brethren, who were called by government. The miſſionary, Gottlob Senſeman, accompanied them, and afterwards gave them that teſtimony, that their walk and converſation had been worthy of the Goſpel, and had made a good impreſſion on the minds of ſeveral gentlemen in power.

Meanwhile Auguſtus endeavored to perſuade the congregation, that all Indians, living among the white people, would be obliged to remove to Wajomick, eſpecially thoſe reſiding at Bethlehem. Though not a word paſſed upon this ſubject during the whole treaty at Philadelphia, yet the Indian Brethren became perplexed, Auguſtus always mentioning government as his authority. The Brethren moreover received authentic information, that ſeveral enemies to the converſion

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of the heathen were very active in uſing every effort in their power to diſperſe the two Indian congregations at Bethlehem and Pachgatgoch. When Tadeuskund therefore returned from Philadelphia, and with great violence demanded their final anſwer, they thought prudent to give it in the following words: "If the Chiefs and the Governor have poſitively de- "termined, that we ſhall not live here any longer, but re- "move to the Suſquehannah, we will do it, but not by our "own choice. This year we cannot think of moving, on ac- "count of the number of our children and old people."

Tadeuskund pretended to be ſatisfied, and his departure would have given great ſatisfaction, had he not ſeduced Auguſtus and his whole family to leave the believers and to follow him. But God in mercy prevented the bad conſequences, which were apprehended from their great influence upon the minds of others. Many even declared, that they would never leave the place, their hearts revolting at the idea of being ſeparated from their brethren. Jacob ſaid, "I cannot conceive it poſſible for me to live any where but "with you. I have now lived ſixteen years with the Bre- "thren. I conſider myſelf as a young child, which, when "ſupported with both hands, may ſtand or walk, but as ſoon "as left to itſelf, inſtantly falls. The Brethren lead me to "our Savior; but if I am ſeparated from them, I muſt fall." However, with a view to ſilence the adverſaries, the Brethren declared publicly and repeatedly, that if any Indian wiſhed to leave Bethlehem, he ſhould have perfect liberty to depart; and if any one behaved improperly, he would even be deſired to go away, contrary to his inclination.

Amidſt all theſe troubles, the building of Nain had made ſuch progreſs, that the Indians could remove thither in autumn. October 18th, their chapel was conſecrated, to the great joy of the believing Indians. The ſame regulations were made at Nain as before at Gnadenhuetten. The public and private worſhip was attended with peculiar bleſſing, and the Brethren at Bethlehem frequently aſſiſted the miſſionaries. Thoſe appointed to preſerve order, were diligent

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in the performance of their duty, and great attention was paid to the ſchools. In general, the education of youth was particularly attended to in this period, and the parents were often exhorted to encourage it. The Indian aſſiſtants were alſo of great uſe to the miſſionaries, by their timely and unreſerved remarks, made upon proper occaſions. Joſhua, happening to be preſent, when ſome mothers were correcting their children, in a fit of paſſion, on account of their levity and diſobedience, gave them a ſevere reprimand, adding: "My dear Siſters! I perceive, that you "have a very wrong idea of the behavior of your chil-"dren. Children of God ought not to behave thus. "Whence proceeds their levity and diſobedience? From "you; therefore you ought firſt to be aſhamed, and to beg "the Lord's pardon, praying for grace, to give your chil-"dren a better example: if you become more earneſt and "diligent in your prayers to him in their behalf, you will "do more good than by this harſhneſs; for they are as "yet tender ſprigs, and you muſt ſtudy the true method "of rearing them." The mothers humbly thanked him for his advice, nor was it given in vain.

Nain had now as many Indian viſitors as Bethlehem. The miſſionaries had once an opportunity of converſing with twenty ſtrange Indians, baptized by Romiſh prieſts; telling them, that a true and living faith in Jeſus Chriſt is the only way to happineſs, and that they would groſsly deceive themſelves, if they continued in ſin, and reſted their hopes upon the mere form of baptiſm.

Among other viſitors, a very wild young Indian attracted the notice and compaſſion of the Brethren. He happened to be in one of the huts, when the ſchool-bell rung, upon which a child of three years exclaimed: "I am now going to "ſchool, to learn to ſing a verſe." Hearing this, he addreſſed the father of the child: "I have not yet forgiven my mother, "that ſhe took me away from the Brethren: I had a feel-"ing of the grace of God in my heart, and, after I had "left them, uſed in ſpirit to place myſelf among the chil-"dren at ſchool, and thought I heard them ſing; but when

"I con-

"I conſider my preſent ſtate, and what a bad life I lead,
"being a wild Indian, I always lay the blame to my mother.
"I wiſh to be converted, but cannot find the way. Alas,
"alas! I am a wretched man!"

About this time, moſt of the baptized who moved to Wajomick in 1754, or fled to the Suſquehannah, after the attack of the ſavages upon the Mahony farm, returned, and deſired to live at Nain. But they were all lodged beyond the river Lecha, until they had given full proof of their true repentance and change of heart. When this was perceived, they were gladly readmitted to fellowſhip.

In theſe years many Indian Brethren and Siſters ended their race. It often happened, that the dying believers made their ſurviving relations give them their hands, in token of promiſe to remain faithful to the end, and to forſake neither the Lord nor the congregation; which was always attended with a remarkable impreſſion upon their minds. The edifying departure of an aged Brother, Michael, whom the miſſionaries in their letters uſed to call the Crown of the Indian congregation, deſerves particular notice. In his younger days he had been an experienced and courageous warrior. In an engagement which was kept up for ſix or eight hours with great fury, he undauntedly kept his poſt at a tree, though above twenty muſket-balls lodged in it. He was one of the firſt, who turned with his whole heart unto the Lord, was baptized in 1742, and remained in an happy, even courſe. His walk was an honor to the doctrine of Chriſt, his mind chearful, and his end calm and full of joy. The ſerenity of his countenance, when laid in his coffin, made a ſingular contraſt with the figures, ſcarified upon his face when a warrior. Theſe were as follows: upon the right cheek and temple, a large ſnake; from the under-lip a pole paſſed over the noſe, and between the eyes to the top of his forehead, ornamented at every quarter of an inch with round marks, repreſenting ſcalps: upon the left cheek, two lances croſſing each other; and upon the lower jaw the head of a wild boar. All theſe figures were executed with remarkable neatneſs.

CHAPTER XIV.

1759, 1760, 1761, 1762.

Rejoicing at the Concluſion of Peace. Increaſe of the Congregation. Account of Pachgatgoch. Building of Wechquetank. Various Accounts. Biſhop Spangenberg returns to Europe. Melancholy Occurrences in Pachgatgoch. Frederic Poſt is unſucceſsful on the Ohio.

THE French having taken and burnt Fort Duqueſne, deſtroyed the works, and left the place; the Engliſh built a new fort on the ſame ſpot, called Fort Pittſburg. After this, the whole ſcene of the war in North America ſhifted, and from the beginning of the year 1759, neither Pennſylvania, nor the neighboring provinces, were diſturbed by the Indians. This cauſed univerſal joy in all the ſettlements of the Brethren, but particularly in Nain, where public thanks and praiſes were offered up by the whole congregation to God our Savior, not only becauſe he had preſerved the Indian congregation, during the above-mentioned ſevere calamities and grievous trials, in one mind and in fellowſhip of heart, but had alſo cauſed his word to penetrate into the hearts of many ſavages, even in the midſt of war and bloodſhed; ſo that, being awakened from the ſleep of ſin, they were baptized into the death of Jeſus.

Nain ſoon increaſed and became a very pleaſant ſettlement. A ſeparate burying-ground was made for its inhabitants, and they provided a church-bell, by a collection raiſed among themſelves. Thoſe Indians who had retired to Nazareth, removed now to Nain, and became more eſtabliſhed in grace. The ſingle Brethren built an houſe for their own uſe, and Brother Rothe being appointed to attend and inſtruct

ſtruct them, he was very diligent, when at home, in converſing with them about the word of God. They had their own family worſhip, and while he ſerved them as teacher and exhorter, his conſtant familiar converſation with them, gave him an opportunity of making a good progreſs in learning the Delaware language.

The meazles appearing at Nain in March 1759, the Indians were greatly alarmed; but when, out of forty-ſeven who were infected, not one died, thoſe who had been ſo timid and terrified, for a while, at the appearance of death, were aſhamed of their fears; knowing that the diſſolution of this mortal body, would have tranſlated them into the preſence of Chriſt, their beloved.

The harveſt proved this year remarkably plentiful, both in the gardens and plantations; they were likewiſe ſucceſsful in hunting, and were graciouſly preſerved in many dangers. A young Indian called Joſhua, was in great danger of his life. He had ſhot a young bear; and the dam hearing the cry of its whelp, ruſhed upon him in great rage. Joſhua ſcreamed ſo loud for fear, that ſhe was terrified, and ſuffered him to eſcape.

Among the viſitors, the heathen teacher Papunhank from Machwihiluſing deſerves to be noticed. For ſeveral years he had been zealous in propagating his doctrines of heathen morality: but as both teacher and hearers were addicted to the commiſſion of the moſt abominable vices, and grew worſe and worſe, ſeveral of the latter began to doubt, whether Papunhank were a teacher of truth; and being queſtioned, he frankly confeſſed, that he could not act in conformity to his own doctrines. When he heard the Goſpel of the crucified Jeſus, preached at Nain, he obſerved, that he had always believed in a Supreme Being, yet he never knew, that, from love to man, God himſelf had become a man, and died to ſave ſinners, but that now he believed, that this was the ſaving doctrine he wanted. Then, burſting into tears, he exclaimed: "O God! have mercy upon me, and grant, "that the death of my Savior may be made manifeſt unto "me."

"me." Some time after, he was preſent at a baptiſm in Bethlehem, and told one of the Brethren, that during that tranſaction, he had felt ſomething in his heart, to expreſs which, he could find no words in the Indian language, and that now his moſt fervent prayer was, that that God, whom the miniſter had deſcribed before the baptiſm, might reveal himſelf unto his ſpirit. Under theſe impreſſions he went home, called his people together, and in a moſt pathetic manner related what he had experienced, adding: "My "dear people, I have told you many good things, and point- "ed out a good way; but I have now learnt, that it was "not the right one. If we wiſh to be ſaved, we muſt look "to that Jeſus, whom the Brethren preach."

The congregation at Pachgatgoch was ſerved at this time by the miſſionary Grube, whoſe diſcourſes proved uſeful, both to his congregation and to ſtrangers. The miſſionaries here became alſo acquainted with ſeveral Indian ſeparatiſts, who were formerly baptized by the Preſbyterians, but afterwards excluded from their fellowſhip. They then choſe a preacher from their own number, who once brought ſeventeen of his congregation to Pachgatgoch. They had three or four meetings every day, and converſed much with the Indian Brethren, but their conduct proved no honor to that Savior, in whoſe name they had been baptized. Pachgatgoch was much troubled by recruiting parties, and many young people ſuffered themſelves to be deceived by their inſinuating repreſentations of the life of a warrior: others were glad by this opportunity to eſcape from their creditors among the white people. Painful as this was to the miſſionaries, they could not oppoſe it, as the recruiting officers acted under the authority of government, and therefore only earneſtly exhorted the Indians to remember the grace imparted unto them; praying the Lord to deliver them from the miſery, into which they would infallibly plunge themſelves, by their inconſiderate conduct. It gave them no leſs concern to perceive that ſome Chriſtian neighbors endeavored to inſinuate to the awakened Indians, that they need not be baptized;

baptized; ſo that even one who had formerly moſt earneſtly begged for baptiſm, died without receiving it.

At Nain the number of inhabitants increaſed ſo faſt, by the return of many who had ſtrayed during the troubles, that it became expedient to divide the congregation. In this view, fourteen hundred acres of land were purchaſed by the congregation at Bethlehem behind the Blue Mountains, where a new ſettlement was begun, and called Wechquetank. In April 1760, the miſſionary Gottlob Senſeman went thither with thirty baptized Indians, whoſe number ſoon increaſed. In a ſhort time the neceſſary buildings were completed, and the ſame regulations made as at Nain. April 28th, the congregation met together for the firſt time in the open air, and this new ſettlement was recommended in prayer to the grace and protection of God. May 6th, the miſſionary moved into his houſe, and on the 26th of June, the chapel was conſecrated. Biſhop Spangenberg and other Brethren went frequently to Wechquetank, and a continual intercourſe was kept up between this new ſettlement and Nain.

In both places, the public teſtimony of the precious Goſpel, the ſpecial cure of ſouls, the ſchools, and the converſe with a number of Indian viſitors, continued to be attended with great bleſſing. Among the viſitors was the above-mentioned moraliſt Papunhank, his wife, and thirty-three of his followers, in whom it appeared, that what they had heard during their laſt viſit, was not in vain. They were followed by ſome Nantikoks, who made another attempt, to perſuade the believing Indians to move to the Suſquehannah, but the latter declared at once againſt the propoſal, confirming likewiſe the words of the miſſionaries, that no Indian reſiding in Nain and Wechquetank, lived there by compulſion, but by their own free choice.

In Auguſt 1760, the affecting news of the death of Count Zinzendorf arrived at Bethlehem. This event was publicly made known in Nain, Wechquetank, and Pachgatgoch, and the impreſſion it made upon the Indian congregations, was a proof, how much they valued this ſervant of God, and faith-

ful witneſs of the Goſpel among the Indians. They wept over his loſs, and thanked the Lord for the bleſſings imparted unto them by means of his labors. Jacob ſaid: "I am "exceedingly grieved to hear it; I conceived a great love "for this man of God at my baptiſm in Oly, and hoped to "ſee him once more in this world. That is now over, but as "long as I live, I ſhall not forget him!" Eſther ſaid: "He "was the firſt who pointed out the wounds of Jeſus unto me, "when I was in Shekomeko, as the ſource from whence all "ſalvation flows. His words penetrated into my heart; I "felt a fervent love towards our Savior, and could ſurrender "myſelf up to him. And now he is gone before us to our "Savior, and ſees the marks of thoſe wounds which he de-"ſcribed." Others who had ſeen and known him, as a man entirely devoted to the ſervice of God, frequently deſcribed him to others, expreſſing their ſorrow for his death in ſimilar terms.

The courſe of the children this year gave the miſſionaries particular pleaſure. Roſina, an orphan, being under the care of an old unbaptized relation, ſaid the night before her deceaſe: "Dear grandmother, I am baptized, and cleanſed "in our Savior's blood, and ſhall now ſoon go to him; but "I beg you, to ſeek to be likewiſe waſhed, and ſaved from "your ſins by the blood of Chriſt, that you may become as "happy as I am; otherwiſe, when you go hence, you will "not be with the Lord." This exhortation from a dying infant, made ſuch an impreſſion upon the old woman's heart, that ſhe became anxiouſly concerned about her ſalvation, wept for the remiſſion of ſins in the blood of Jeſus, begged for baptiſm, and was added to the church.

A child, called Rachel, thinking herſelf alone and unobſerved, uttered the following ſhort prayer: "Dear Savior, "take me home unto thyſelf; I am weary of this life; my "heart deſires to be with thee: and thou knoweſt that it "would be much better for me, to be in thy preſence." Sophia hearing, that an Indian brother met with a miſfortune in hunting; his gun going off unawares, and the ball,

paſſing

paſſing through his mouth, having torn him in a ſhocking manner; ſhe prayed moſt fervently for her father, who was then in the foreſt: "Dear Savior, thou knoweſt that my father "is hunting. Thou ſeeſt him, wherever he is. Preſerve him, "I pray thee, and bring him ſafe home."

The miſſionary Schmick being appointed in this year to the ſervice of the congregation at Nain, Martin Mack went to Pachgatgoch, to relieve Brother Grube, purſuing the plan of his labors, which had been attended with ſo much bleſſing. The recruiting parties ſtill continued to paſs through. An Engliſh captain one day aſked a baptized Indian, whether he had a mind to be a ſoldier. "No;" anſwered he, "I "am already engaged."—"Who is your captain?" replied the officer.—"I have a very brave and excellent Captain," ſaid the Indian, "his name is Jeſus Chriſt, him I will ſerve, "as long as I live, and my life is at his diſpoſal;" upon which the Engliſh captain ſuffered him to paſs unmoleſted. Nain became now more known in the country, and the inhabitants had the confidence of their European neighbors, having given undeniable proofs of their good diſpoſition towards the white people. They had even exerted themſelves in recovering ſeveral white children, who were taken priſoners in the war, and not being reſtored to their mourning friends after the concluſion of peace, were ſuppoſed to be dead. Their return afforded inexpreſſible joy to their afflicted parents.

In February 1761, a white man came weeping to Nain, begging that a few Indian Brethren would aſſiſt him and his wife in ſearching for their little daughter, whom they had loſt the day before. Some Indian Brethren ſet out immediately, diſcovered its footſteps, and at length the child itſelf. It lay about two miles from the parents houſe, covered with an old coat, and almoſt periſhed with cold. The parents ſpread the report of the good diſpoſition and ſucceſs of the baptized Indians all over the country, and both this and ſimilar occurrences tended not only to quiet the minds of the white people with reſpect to this Indian town, the vicinity

of which to their ſettlements had appeared terrible to ſome; but rendered it even deſirable.

In Auguſt 1761, the Engliſh government had another treaty at Eaſton with the deputies of many Indian tribes, which occaſioned frequent viſits to Nain. Tadeuskund arrived with a retinue of above one hundred Indians, and according to the liſt of this year, ſix hundred and fifty-two travellers were provided with food and lodging during their ſtay in Nain and Bethlehem. The miſſionaries and Indian aſſiſtants both here and in Wechquetank were very active in preaching the word of God to all that would hear, and its power was made manifeſt in many. But they were ſorry to perceive in the above-mentioned moraliſt Papunhank, that, though he appeared very deſirous of knowing God, the Creator of all things, yet he wiſhed to keep his poſt as a teacher of the people, perſuading them, that he alſo was found in faith. Brother Schmick, therefore, told him the truth, in private, wiſhing at the cloſe of his converſation, that the Holy Ghoſt would impart to him a true ſenſe of his unbelief, and of the great depravity of his ſoul, and that he might have an earneſt deſire for the pardon and remiſſion of his ſins, in the blood of Jeſus: "then," added he, "you will ſoon "learn to know your God and Savior Jeſus Chriſt, as your "Creator and Redeemer, and experience the ſaving power "of his precious blood, to deliver you from the fetters of "ſin." Joachim, an aſſiſtant, entering the room, added, "Papunhank, you ſpeak much of your faith, but you have "not a grain. Your faith is much the ſame, as mine would "be, if I ſhould now pretend to believe, that I had a pair "of ſtockings on, when my legs are bare and cold. What "kind of faith would that be?"

In Autumn 1761, a report was circulated in Nain, that an Indian had been killed by a white man in the Jerſeys. The whole country, ſtill ſenſible of the cruelties attending an Indian war, was thereby filled with fear and dread. Tadeuskund alſo, returning from Philadelphia, brought the melancholy news, that the war would ſoon break out again,

and that the Indians aſcribed it ſolely to the Chriſtians and their rum trade. Many fled from their dwellings, and the Brethren were chiefly anxious about the fate of Wechquetank, which lay moſt expoſed to the incurſions of the enemy. However the troubles ceaſed for the preſent, and peace and order were reſtored.

In Spring 1762, David Zeiſberger viſited the Indians who had returned to Wajomick, but eſpecially Abraham, who had ſent word, that he was ſick. They all liſtened with great attention to the Goſpel; many lamented the woeful condition, into which they had plunged themſelves, by acting contrary to their convictions and the repeated advice of the Brethren. Soon after Auguſtus and his wife Auguſtina, who had both been ſeduced by Tadeuskund, viſited Nain, confeſſed their unhappy ſtate to the miſſionaries, owning with many tears their ſins, and expreſſing a great deſire to return, if the Lord and his people would but receive ſuch wretched prodigals. Their repentance being truly ſincere, the Brethren willingly forgave and readmitted them to their fellowſhip. They alſo received pardon and comfort from God, as the only balſam to heal their afflicted ſouls. They then returned to Wajomick, but the flux raging in thoſe parts, the patients, again, ſent a meſſage to Bethlehem, begging that one of the miſſionaries would come to them. Brother David Zeiſberger therefore went, had the ſatisfaction to attend many of them in their laſt moments, and ſaw them depart with joy, in reliance upon the death and merits of our Savior. Auguſtus was of that number. Before his departure, he ſent for his friends, and addreſſing them with great emotion, "You know," ſaid he, "that I have led a "very unhappy and wicked life during my ſtay here. I was "poor in purſe, and very miſerable in heart, owing to my "unfaithfulneſs and diſobedience. I pray you to forget all "this, for I have returned unto the Lord, and wept for mercy "and for the forgiveneſs of my ſins; and my good and "gracious Lord has had mercy upon me, and pardoned all "my tranſgreſſions. The Brethren have alſo forgiven me.

"Now my trembling heart is comforted; and I ſhall ſoon go "unto my Savior: remember my wicked life no more; "avoid my bad example, think on God your Savior, and fol- "low him and his people: thus alone you will proſper. "And now," added he, "I will lie down and reſt," and expired immediately. His wife died ſome days before, and her ſiſter, Tadeuskund's wife, followed him ſoon to eternal reſt.

Daniel, another baptized Indian, went to Nain, and ſaid; that during a late illneſs he had felt the fear of death, and therefore begged leave to ſtay there, that he might hear daily of our Savior, if he ſhould be taken ill. He was ſoon after ſeized with the flux, and prayed without ceaſing for comfort and peace in Jeſus. His prayers were heard, and he received a divine aſſurance of eternal happineſs, which made him greatly deſire to depart and to be with Chriſt, and thus his laſt moments were truly edifying. Thus the good Shepherd found and ſaved theſe poor ſheep, concerning whom the miſſionaries had been much perplexed, ſcarcely expecting ever to ſee their return.

In Nain many pleaſing fruits of the Goſpel appeared in the numerous viſitors, eſpecially in the year 1762, when government held another council with the Iroquois, Delawares, and other Indian tribes, at Lancaſter. Almoſt all, who attended this council, went to Nain, where they heard the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, and many experienced its power to the ſalvation of their ſouls. One ſaid, "Never "did I hear any thing like this, that my God and Creator "will receive and ſave ſinners who come unto him; and "that they may even come loaded with their ſins." He added: "Praiſed be God, that I came and heard ſuch ſweet "words," and burſt into a flood of tears. A young Nantikok, who had ſpent a month at Nain, was taken very ill, after his return to Philadelphia. Before his death, he ſaid to his two brothers: "In Nain, they teach the right way "to eternal life. There I have often heard, that our Creator "became a man, died on the croſs for our ſins, was buried,

"roſe again, and aſcended up into heaven, and that who-
"ever believes in him, ſhall not periſh; but when he dies,
"ſhall live with him for ever. If you wiſh to hear theſe
"good words, go to Nain; and when I die, ſuffer my bones
"to reſt quietly in the earth, and do not remove them, accord-
"ing to your cuſtom." Soon after, his brothers came to Nain, and related this ſtory, adding, that their brother had prayed much to God, crying for mercy and pardon, to his laſt breath.

In the year 1762, Biſhop Spangenberg returned to Europe. The pain the Indian congregation felt, at taking a final leave of this beloved and reſpected ſervant of God, was very great. From the year 1736, and eſpecially ſince 1744, God had bleſſed his labor and activity in his cauſe in North America, in an extraordinary manner, and his love and faithfulneſs towards the Indian congregation will never be forgotten. The Biſhops Peter Boehler and Nathaniel Seidel, ſucceeded him in the general ſuperintendency of the congregations in North America, and paid particular attention to the miſſion among the Indians.

Among thoſe, who in their laſt hours proved, that they had lived in the faith of the Son of God, Abigail deſerves to be mentioned. Her chearfulneſs, compoſure, and great deſire to be with Chriſt, was edifying to all who ſaw her. She ſaid: "I am now ſoon going to my Savior, who loved
"me unto death; I have him in my heart. O how do I
"rejoice, that he has received me poor ſinner in mercy!" She likewiſe exhorted her huſband and friends, to devote themſelves to the Lord and abide in him, upon which ſhe departed rejoicing, aged twenty-five. The departure of Peter was equally edifying. Before his end, he ſaid to a miſſionary: "My body is very ill, but my heart is well, and
"by day and night in communion with our Savior, to whom
"I depart with great joy."

A boy, called Abraham, not yet four years old, was not only remarkably patient and reſigned during his laſt illneſs, but his converſation proved an abiding bleſſing to his father,

who happened then to be in an unhappy ſtate of mind. On the day before he died, he aſked him, "Father, do you love me?" The father replied, "Yes, I do:" upon repeating his queſtion, he received the ſame anſwer. "But then," added he, "do "you love our Savior?"—"No," replied the father, "I am juſt "now very poor and miſerable."—"Ah," ſaid the child, "if "you do not love our Savior, you cannot love me as you "ought." Another child, though very ill, whenever it heard the bell ring, begged its parents to carry it into the chapel, and when they ſometimes replied, "You are ill, lie down "and reſt;" it uſed to ſay, "No, firſt we will go to the cha- "pel, and there hear words of our Savior, then I will lie "down." Thus filled with love to Jeſus, the poor child remained chearful and reſigned, till its ſoul took flight.

The congregation at Pachgatgoch was ſupported in the year 1762 under many difficulties. The neighboring country being much reſorted to by Europeans, the Indians were confined to very narrow limits. One piece of land after the other was taken from them, by which they loſt the means of their ſupport. Thus they were obliged to run into debt, and to live diſperſed among the white people, to earn a livelihood. If they could not pay, they were treated with the greateſt ſeverity, and even their poor furniture taken from them. This behavior exaſperated the unbaptized Indians to ſuch a degree, that they abuſed the baptized on account of their ſobriety and better management of their outward concerns, attacking them on the highway, and in other places, and cruelly beating them. This occaſioned ſome of the baptized to waver, and to become low and diſpirited. Some young people were even ſeduced to ſin, and brought into miſery. A certain melancholy pervaded the congregation, and the miſſionary himſelf began to loſe courage. At length the Lord ſtrengthened him with new power, and he revived, when he perceived the grace attending his teſtimony of the Goſpel, which not only the Indians, but likewiſe the Europeans, came in great numbers to hear. The continued friendſhip and countenance of the magiſtracy proved likewiſe

wiſe an encouragement. The juſtice of the peace frequently exhorted the Indian congregation to be obedient to their teacher, adding, that if any thing diſpleaſing ſhould occur, they ought firſt to go to the miſſionary, and endeavor amicably to ſettle their diſputes; for he would determine in all caſes, whether the affair required the interference of the magiſtrate. Thus many complaints were removed, for the miſſionaries always adviſed the baptized Indians, rather to ſuffer injury, than to go to law with any one, according to the advice of the apoſtle (1 Cor. vi. 7.).

Nothing could be done as yet, to ſerve thoſe baptized Indians with the Goſpel, who had retired to the Ohio. Brother Poſt choſe to live about a hundred miles beyond Pittſburg in Tuſcarora town, intending to begin a miſſion among the Indians there. The Brethren wiſhed him all poſſible ſucceſs; and upon his ſending to Bethlehem for an aſſiſtant in his houſekeeping, who might have an opportunity of learning the Delaware language, Brother John Heckenwaelder offered to go thither, and ſoon made good progreſs. But Brother Poſt's view of eſtabliſhing a miſſion, failed.

CHAPTER XV.

1763.

Flouriſhing State of the Congregations at Nain and Wechquetank. Zeiſberger's Journey to Machwihilu-ſing on the Suſquehannah. War breaks out. Dangerous Situation of Nain and Wechquetank. Attack made by the Savages upon an Iriſh Settlement. The Indians of Wechquetank fly to Nazareth. Nain beſet on all ſides. The whole Indian Congregation is brought in Safety to Province Iſland, beyond Philadelphia. Murder of the Indians in Caneſtoga and Lancaſter. Troubles of the Indian Congregation in Province Iſland.

IN the beginning of the year 1763, the congregations in Nain and Wechquetank enjoyed peace and proſperity. The good regulations made among them were improving every day, new houſes were built, and even the outward appearance of theſe ſettlements, gave great pleaſure to every thinking mind. March 2d, the foundation-ſtone was laid for an enlarged chapel at Nain, which was conſecrated on the 29th of May following.

But the greateſt proſperity of theſe congregations was the gracious viſitation of God our Savior, in the hearts of the Indians, which was particularly evident during Lent and the Eaſter holidays. They then devoted themſelves anew unto the Lord, as his eternal property, and all declared, that during theſe days they experienced what they could not expreſs in words; it was truly, as if Chriſt crucified was ſet forth before their eyes. One ſaid: "I feel, that I have been the "reaſon of all his bitter ſufferings, but now I rejoice that "he

"he has overcome for me, and liveth for ever." An old blind Indian Siſter could not ſufficiently expreſs her gratitude to our Savior; that he had ſhowed ſuch mercy unto her ſoul, and condeſcended to alleviate her ſpiritual trouble. "Whenever I feel oppreſſed, he appears unto my ſpirit, I view "his pierced ſide, his wounds in hands and feet, and then "every thing which would diminiſh my conſolation in him, "leaves me."

This joy in the Lord in both places, was connected with an earneſt deſire to follow thoſe who had ſtrayed from the congregation; and to ſee them return to the enjoyment of peace and comfort. On this account the death of Tadeuskund in April, gave them great pain. He was burnt in his houſe at Wajomick, without having given any proof of repentance. The drunken ſavages, ſeeing his houſe in flames, ſet fire to the whole village, which was ſoon conſumed to aſhes. Among thoſe who returned, and were received with joy, was Sarah, Abraham's widow, who came with her daughter from the Suſquehannah to Wechquetank, and begged earneſtly for re-admiſſion. She declared, that ſhe would not have forſaken the congregation, but for her huſband; and that he had ſaid to her before he died; "I am "guilty of having led you to this place; forgive me, return "to our Savior, beg him to ſhow mercy unto you, and en-"treat the Brethren to receive you again." She followed his advice, the inhabitants of Wechquetank received her gladly, and a ſmall cottage was built for her.

In May 1763, Zeiſberger and the Indian Brother Anthony went up the Suſquehannah as far as Machwihiluſing. The occaſion of this journey was a report of a remarkable awakening in thoſe parts, and that the Indians were very deſirous of ſeeing ſome one, who could point out to them the true way of obtaining reſt and peace in their conſciences, Papunhank having loſt all his credit by the apparent inefficacy of his doctrines. Before Brother Zeiſberger reached the town, he was met by an inhabitant of Machwihiluſing, called Job Shelloway, who ſpoke Engliſh well, and told him, that their council

council had met ſix days ſucceſſively, to conſider how they might procure a teacher of the truth; that they had come to no reſolution, except to deſiſt from attending Papunhank's ſermons, not believing that he preached the genuine word of God. Brother Zeiſberger, whoſe heart glowed with deſire to preach the Goſpel, conſidering this as a call from God, haſtened to the town, where he was kindly received and lodged by Papunhank himſelf. In the evening the whole town aſſembled, deſiring that he would preach the word of God to them. In their ſpeech made to him, they ſaid: "We all greatly rejoiced at your arrival, and ſaid to each "other: 'Theſe are the people whom we have ſo long waited "for; they will ſhow us the right way to ſalvation." Brother Zeiſberger then ſpoke from the abundance of his heart, and great power attended the word of reconciliation. He concluded his diſcourſe thus: "This, this alone, is the pure "and genuine doctrine of ſalvation: thus it is written in "the Bible, thus I have experienced it in my own ſoul, "and therefore am aſſured, and aſſure you, that there is no "other way to obtain ſalvation, but alone through the Lord "Jeſus Chriſt, who became a man, died, and is riſen again "for us." Anthony confirmed the miſſionaries words from his own experience, and though fatigued by the journey, continued preaching, and extolling the power of the blood of Jeſus, before his aſtoniſhed countrymen, till after midnight. The next day, at five in the morning, the people aſſembled again; for the women being then engaged in planting, they deſired to hear the "great word" before they went to the fields. The ſame was done every day during their ſtay. Meſſengers were then ſent to a party of Indians who had removed about twenty miles higher up the river, to invite them alſo, to come and hear the Goſpel, which they did with great eagernefs. Brother Zeiſberger experienced here in a particular manner, how pleaſing it is to preach to ſouls already awakened by the Spirit of God to ſeek after a Savior and Deliverer, and having perceived that ſome had already endeavored to lead a pious and virtuous life in their

own

own ſtrength, doing good, with a view to merit heaven; he proved to them in a diſcourſe held for that purpoſe, that this was not the right way to come to God, but that we muſt all, without exception, come firſt to Jeſus Chriſt, as wretched and forlorn ſinners, and receive hearts cleanſed and changed by the power of his blood; before we can do works acceptable unto God; but that then it would be a pleaſant duty to do good and to keep his commandments.

The emotion occaſioned by Zeiſberger's diſcourſes was general. Some wept day and night for the remiſſion of their ſins; even Papunhank was ſo moved in theſe meetings, that he cried aloud for mercy through Jeſus Chriſt. The fathers of families aſſembled, and reſolved to ſend a meſſage to Bethlehem, to requeſt that they would ſend a teacher to live with and preach the Goſpel to them. With this meſſage Brother Zeiſberger and his companion returned to Bethlehem, where, after mature deliberation, it was thought beſt, that he himſelf ſhould return to Machwihilufing, as reſident miſſionary, and he gladly accepted of this call. On the road he had the misfortune, in making an hut for his night's lodging, to wound himſelf very dangerouſly with an axe, ſo that he fainted away, from a loſs of blood. But the Indian aſſiſtant, Nathanael, who accompanied him, ſoon procured an healing plant, known to him, and applied it to the wound, by which Brother Zeiſberger not only recovered from his ſwoon, but to his great aſtoniſhment, the wound ſoon cloſed and healed. After ſuffering many hardſhips, they at length arrived ſafe in Machwihilufing, where they were again kindly received by Papunhank and the whole town, and Brother Zeiſberger rejoiced to find the people ſtill eager to hear the word of God.

Soon after this, ſome well-meaning people of a different perſuaſion arrived at Machwihilufing, having been invited by other Indians to preach in the neighborhood. Brother Zeiſberger received them kindly, and was willing, that they ſhould ſpeak to the people. But the Indians having ſummoned a council of all the men, invited theſe new teachers

to

to be preſent. Papunhank then addreſſed them in the name of the reſt, giving them an account of their former proceedings, adding, that God had heard their prayers and ſent the Brethren to them; whoſe words made ſuch an impreſſion upon them, that they could not but believe their doctrine to be the truth, and therefore deſired no other. Upon this the teachers expreſſed themſelves ſatisfied, and wiſhed Brother Zeiſberger much ſucceſs, juſtly obſerving, that he had undertaken a very arduous taſk. The miſſionary having uſed no manner of influence in the above deciſion of the Indians, was greatly encouraged to preach faith in Chriſt Jeſus with unwearied perſeverance. Many of his hearers came from Wajomick and other places, ſome above 100 miles diſtant. Others ſent word that they ſhould ſoon come and live there, that they might alſo be inſtructed in the Goſpel, and it appeared as if the Lord would ſet up his ſtandard in this place. Papunhank, a man naturally vain and high in his own conceit, was in a ſhort time ſo overcome by the divine power attending the word of the croſs, that he caſt all his own righteouſneſs aſide, bemoaning his wretched life and the total depravity he found within himſelf, with true contrition. The extraordinary change wrought in him was remarkably obvious; he would hardly eat or drink, and at length came to Brother Zeiſberger, confeſſing the groſs ſins he had been guilty of in his former life, though a preacher of morality, and begged earneſtly to be baptized. His requeſt was granted on the 26th of June. At his baptiſm, he made a ſolemn declaration of his faith before all the people, relating how his almighty Savior had convinced him of his ſinfulneſs and depravity. He added, that he had formerly preached to them, believing himſelf to be a good man; not knowing, that he was ſuch a miſerable creature, yea the chief of ſinners amongſt them, and now begged them to forgive and forget every thing he had formerly done! After this affecting ſpeech, Brother Zeiſberger baptized this firſtling of the Machwihiluſing Indians into the death of Jeſus. This tranſaction was attended with ſo powerful a ſenſation

of

of the preſence of God, that the whole aſſembly ſeemed overcome with awe and devotion, and the miſſionary was filled with praiſe and thankſgiving. He was named John, and his whole demeanor beſpoke the regeneration of his heart. Another Indian, who had formerly been Papunhank's opponent, was baptized after him, and called Peter. This man ſeemed at a loſs how to expreſs his joy of heart, and ſaid, that now his heart was eaſy, and freed from a burden which but lately appeared inſupportable to him.

But in the midſt of all this joy, at the power and bleſſing of the Goſpel, Brother Zeiſberger was unexpectedly recalled to Bethlehem, the moſt dreadful intelligence having been received, of hoſtilities committed by the Indians near the great lakes of Canada and on the Ohio, where they had murdered ſeveral hundred white people. They had begun to make incurſions into Pennſylvania, and there was much reaſon to fear a repetition of thoſe dreadful ſcenes exhibited in 1755. The above-mentioned fanatics revived their doctrines, publiſhing every-where, that this new war was a juſt puniſhment of God, becauſe the Europeans, like the Iſraelites of old, had not deſtroyed the Canaanites, and therefore declared that all Indians, without exception, ought to be put to the ſword.

The inhabitants of Nain and Wechquetank were moſt alarmed on this account. The men, who were then hunting at a great diſtance from the ſettlements, were recalled in haſte. Both congregations joined in ſending an humble addreſs to the Governor of Pennſylvania, in which they teſtified their abhorrence of the cruelties committed by their countrymen, and begged his Excellency's protection. He anſwered, that as long as they ſhould keep themſelves out of the war, he would do every thing in his power to ſcreen them from danger.

It was then ſaid, that the Iroquois would not ſuffer any murder to be committed on the eaſt ſide of the Suſquehannah, and as the province of Pennſylvania had engaged ſome companies of ſoldiers, dreſſed much like Indian warriors, to

defend

defend the frontiers, and theſe troops came into the neighborhood of Nain and Wechquetank, the Indian Brethren thought themſelves in no great danger of being ſurprized by the hoſtile Indians. But what then promiſed to enſure their ſafety, proved the ſource of inexpreſſible diſtreſs, as the following narrative will ſhow:

Four ſtrange Indians from the Ohio, pretending to wiſh to hear the Goſpel, viſited Wechquetank, Nain, and Bethlehem. They proved afterwards to belong to a band of murderers, who were meditating an attack upon the country, but wiſhed firſt to remove their friends and relations from Wechquetank. But obſerving ſo many ſoldiers in every part of the country; they haſtened back with fear and precipitation. The ſoldiers then ſuſpected ſome dangerous correſpondence between the Chriſtian Indians and the enemy; and our people, finding that they had to fear an attack both from the white people and the ſavages, came to a reſolution not to oppoſe the former, but boldly to defend themſelves againſt the latter. They even conſented, by deſire of the officers, to wear a certain mark, by which the white people might know them to be peaceful Indians.

All the neighbors attended now to the motions of the Indians at Wechquetank; many calling it their only ſtaff of conſolation, and reſolving not to fly, as long as the Chriſtian Indians maintained their ground, but frequently repeating their requeſt, that if their flight was reſolved upon, they might be informed in time to ſave themſelves.

In Auguſt, Zachary and his wife, who had left the congregation in Wechquetank ſome time ago, came on a viſit, and did all in their power to diſquiet the minds of the Brethren, reſpecting the intentions of the white people. A woman, called Zippora, was perſuaded to follow them. But theſe poor people verified that ſaying of our bleſſed Savior: "*He that loveth his life, ſhall loſe it.*" On their return, they ſtaid at the river Buchkabuchka over-night, where Captain Wetterhold lay with a company of ſoldiers, and went unconcerned to ſleep in a hay-loft. But in the night they were

were ſurprized by the ſoldiers; Zippora was thrown down upon the threſhing-floor, and killed: Zachary eſcaped out of the houſe, but was purſued, and with his wife and little child put to the ſword, though the mother begged for their lives upon her knees.

After this event, the ſoldiers became ſtill more ſuſpicious of the Indians of Wechquetank, naturally ſuppoſing, that Zachary's four brothers, living there, would endeavor to revenge his death, and that all the inhabitants would take their part. They therefore prohibited the Indians to hunt, threatening to kill the firſt they ſhould meet in the foreſt: however Captain Wetterhold was at laſt perſuaded to deſiſt from this meaſure, by the firm and repeated remonſtrances of the miſſionary, Brother Grube. Thus peace was reſtored for ſome time, and the congregation at Wechquetank was greatly encouraged by the ſteady and intrepid conduct of their miſſionary. He always comforted them by admoniſhing them to be of one mind, and ſtedfaſtly to keep to their reſolution, not to forſake each other, but to hold out together to the laſt extremity, and bear the fatigue of watching by turns. He cared for them as a father, and was never weary of ſpeaking in their behalf to the officers of the militia, though ſometimes roughly treated. The moſt difficult taſk he had, was to pacify a party of Iriſh freebooters, who in great rage declared, that no Indians ſhould dare to ſhow themſelves in the woods, or they ſhould be ſhot dead immediately, and that if only one white man more ſhould be murdered in this neighborhood, the whole Iriſh ſettlement would riſe in arms and kill all the inhabitants of Wechquetank, without waiting for an order from Government, or for a warrant from the juſtice of the peace.

The ſame threatening meſſages were ſent to Nain, and though the Indians were under the ſpecial protection of Government, and received legal paſſports whenever they travelled, or went out to hunt at a ſmall diſtance from the ſettlement, it was next to a miracle, that they returned home

ſafe. They were frequently diſturbed by falſe alarms: but on the 8th of October, a meſſenger arrived at midnight, with intelligence, that the ſavages had attacked an Iriſh ſettlement, eight miles from Bethlehem, and killed a captain, lieutenant, ſeveral ſoldiers, and a Mr. S——, whoſe wife narrowly eſcaped, though ſhe was the ſole cauſe of all this miſchief, by dropping ſome inconſiderate words againſt a company of Indians, who lodged there.

This dreadful event placed the congregations at Nain and Wechquetank, and their miſſionaries, in a critical ſituation, both the ſavages and the white people being their enemies. The latter were now ſo enraged againſt all the Indians, that they thirſted after revenge. Thus ſituated, the Brethren could do nothing but reſign themſelves to God, their Almighty Protector, awaiting the fulfilment of his will, and depending upon his help in the time of trouble. In both places a ſtrict watch was kept by night and day. The Indian Brethren were full of faith and courage: one of them ſaid: "Wicked people are as weak as worms in the "ſight of our Savior; he can and will protect us, and cauſe "fear to come upon them." His words were verified the very next day, for on the 9th of October, about fifty white men aſſembled on the oppoſite ſide of the Lecha, with a view to ſurprize Nain in the night, and to murder all the inhabitants. But a neighboring friend repreſenting the danger and difficulty of ſuch an attempt in ſtrong terms, the enemy forſook their intentions and returned home. This very merciful preſervation excited the Indian congregation to join in praiſe and thankſgiving to God, and to adore him for his protection.

The ſame day on which Nain was in ſuch imminent danger, a party of outrageous Iriſh freebooters came to Wechquetank, fully intending to murder all the Indian inhabitants, accuſing them of having been accomplices in the murder committed in their ſettlement. Brother Grube could hardly reſtrain them, by repreſenting the impoſſibility of their having been preſent, he and his people being daily in danger of

of being attacked by the ſavages, and on that account not daring to venture out of the place. But when he ſaw that the exaſperated people would not refrain from revenging the murder of their countrymen, by ſhedding the blood of theſe innocent Indians; he was obliged to endeavor to pacify them by preſents, and by giving them enough to eat and to drink, brought them at length to reaſon. At departing, they were heard to ſay, that if the Indians of Wechquetank did not ſoon quit that place, they would return and execute their barbarous deſign. The text of Scripture appointed for that day was: "*God ſhall help her, and* "*that right early,*" Pſa. xlvi. 5.; which being particularly impreſſed upon Brother Grube's mind, proved a great conſolation unto him. In the evening-meeting he delivered a diſcourſe upon it, by which his intimidated congregation was much ſtrengthened, and encouraged never to doubt of the help of the Lord. During the night, all the men were upon the watch; ſeveral ſpies were diſcovered lurking about the ſettlement, and a fire at ſome diſtance betrayed a neighboring encampment, ſo that a ſudden attack was ſuſpected. This was probably prevented ſolely by an extraordinary violent rain, which fell during this dark and gloomy night.

It was now apparent, that it would have been temerity in the extreme, to poſtpone their flight any longer, and the miſſionary received an expreſs from Bethlehem, with the moſt preſſing ſolicitations, to break up immediately and to retire with his whole congregation to Nazareth, promiſing that waggons ſhould be provided and ſent to meet them. When they were preparing to depart, ten muſket-ſhots were heard near the ſettlement, the report of which alarmed the Indians, who, ſuppoſing that the ſavages had attacked the white people, reſolved to go out in defence of the latter. The miſſionary urged them not to quit the place, upon which they formed a circle to repel any attack. Meanwhile Brother Grube's wife was engaged in comforting the Indian Siſters, and he exhorted the Brethren to ſtand firm, and to expect deliverance from God. Peter anſwered: "Very true; only

" don't you ſtand before me, but go behind, for I will be " ſhot firſt." Suddenly the party from whom the attack was feared, marched off with the Indian war-whoop, and it was afterwards diſcovered, that they were a party of ſoldiers, who wiſhed to draw our people into the field, to fight them.

The waggons arrived ſoon after from Nazareth, and the whole congregation ſet out on the 11th of October, not without regret, that they were obliged to quit ſo pleaſant a ſpot as Wechquetank, with good houſes and large plantations; eſpecially as they were obliged to leave their harveſt, and great part of their cattle behind them. The Brethren kept a good look-out on both ſides of the road through the woods, eſpecially during the night, when they encamped in the open air; and on the day following the Lord conducted them ſafe to Nazareth, where they were received with great joy, welcomed at a love-feaſt, and liberally provided with cloathing and every thing neceſſary. Thus the congregation at Nazareth had likewiſe the pleaſure to entertain an Indian congregation, as Bethlehem had done in 1755.

Some days after their arrival, the governor ſent for Brother Grube to Philadelphia, and gave him an opportunity to ſpeak fully with him, concerning the bitter accuſations made againſt the Brethren. His Excellency was convinced of their falſity, and ſpoke of the miſſion with great kindneſs. Upon the miſſionary's informing the Indian Brethren of the good diſpoſition of the governor towards them, they expreſſed their joy and gratitude, in the moſt lively terms. They had now, for ſeveral weeks together, a time of reſt and peace, and their edifying walk afforded much pleaſure to the congregation at Nazareth.

In the mean time, the congregation at Nain was blockaded on all ſides. The ſavages continued to lay waſte the country with fire and ſword, and killed moſt of the New England people living in Wajomick. This increaſed the fury of the white people againſt the Indians in general, and the inhabitants of Nain ventured no longer to go to Bethlehem on

on buſineſs, as the white fugitives, who had reſorted thither from various parts, abuſed and aſſaulted them. An European Brother was therefore appointed to carry their meſſages. No Indian ventured to fetch wood, or to look after his cattle, without a white Brother to accompany him, or a paſſport in his pocket. Even at home the men were obliged to keep ſtrict watch, by day and night, that they might meet quietly in the chapel, defend the Siſters in gathering the crops from the plantations, and ſpend the night with their families in ſafety. They agreed, that, in caſe of an attack from the white people, the Siſters and children ſhould aſſemble in the chapel, and the Brethren and boys in ſome houſes appointed for that purpoſe: that Brother Jacob Schmick, then miſſionary at Nain, ſhould go to meet the enemy, and endeavor to perſuade them to deſiſt from their purpoſe; but that if the ſavages ſhould venture an attack, the Indian Brethren would all join in marching againſt them, firmly believing, that the Lord would aſſiſt them to conquer their enemies.

In this trying ſituation they held out patiently for four weeks, though much fatigued by watching during the cold nights. The peace of God and the brotherly love, which then prevailed in a great degree among them, preſerved their courage and patience.

Their joy was every morning renewed, when, after the fears of the night, they met together in the chapel, and ſtrengthened themſelves in fellowſhip, by conſidering the Word of God, and experiencing the conſolations of his Spirit.

Having made ſuch good regulations, that the enemy could not attempt an attack without danger, they began to flatter themſelves, that Government would ſupport them with more energy, and procure for them reſt and ſafety in their own dwellings. But unexpectedly, their affairs took a different turn. October 19th, an harmleſs Indian, called Renatus, ſon of the venerable aged Jacob, was unexpectedly ſeized, as the murderer of one of the Iriſh ſettlers, and his perſon having

been ſworn to by the widow, he was conveyed to Philadelphia and impriſoned.

It may eaſily be conceived, how ſoon the report of this tranſaction ſpread through the country, and how the fury of the white people roſe againſt the Indian congregation at Nain. They therefore expected nothing leſs than a cruel death. But God inclined the hearts of the chief magiſtrates to protect them, before it was too late. November 6th, an expreſs arrived from Philadelphia, bringing an order, that all the baptized Indians from Nain and Wechquetank ſhould be brought to Philadelphia, and be protected in that city, having firſt delivered up their arms. The congregation at Bethlehem was exhorted to offer up prayer and ſupplication to God, that he would prevent all the pernicious effects this meaſure might have upon the miſſion among the heathen, and grant grace and ſtrength to our Indians, to approve themſelves, under theſe circumſtances, as true children of God, and to poſſeſs their ſouls in patience. The day following, a meſſage was ſent to Nain, to acquaint the Indian congregation with the order of Government. They were comforted by the text for that day, "*What time I am afraid, I will truſt in thee,*" Pſa. lvi. 3.; and though all, as one man, lifted up their voices and wept, yet they expreſſed themſelves fully reſigned to the will of the Lord, and ready patiently to go whither they were ordered; but declared that they would rather die than leave their teachers. Being aſſured that the miſſionaries would not forſake them, they prepared for the journey on the 7th of November, the congregation at Bethlehem generouſly providing them with ſufficient cloathing, of which they ſtood greatly in need. As ſoon as the ſheriff, Mr. Jennings, arrived, the Indian Brethren delivered their guns to him, with a compoſure of mind, which moſt ſtrikingly proved the change wrought in them, for an heathen Indian would rather part with his head than with his gun.

In the mean time the Indians of Wechquetank, then at Nazareth, were likewiſe informed of the above-mentioned order

order of Government, and ſhowed the ſame obedience. They ſet out on the 8th of November in waggons, with the beſt wiſhes and prayers of that congregation, numberleſs tears being ſhed by the emigrants upon leaving this place of reſt. At noon they arrived in Bethlehem, and went directly to the chapel, where Biſhop Peter Boehler delivered a farewell diſcourſe upon the text for the day, "*Make thy way ſtraight* "*before my face.*" Pſa. v. 8. The congregation at Bethlehem furniſhed them alſo with apparel, and with ſympathizing hearts bid them farewell.

On the ſame day in the afternoon the congregation at Nain emigrated. They felt great pain in leaving this place, where the Lord had ſo graciouſly walked in the midſt of them, and went in ſilence, weeping, towards the Lecha, where they were joined by the congregation of Wechquetank. Thus the whole Indian flock was again united, and entered upon their pilgrimage in the name of the Lord, the congregation of Bethlehem ſtanding ſpectators, and as they paſſed, commending them to the grace and protection of God with ſupplication and tears. It was a moſt affecting ſight, to behold theſe beloved people, among whom were many aged, infirm, and ſick perſons, beſides pregnant women, and young children, proceeding patiently, ignorant of what might be their fate. They derived great comfort from this, that their faithful teachers did not forſake them; the miſſionaries Grube and Schmick with their wives, and the ſingle Brethren David Zeiſberger and John Rothe going with them. Other Brethren accompanied them to Philadelphia, and the ſheriff cared for them as a father. The ſick, the aged, and children were conveyed in waggons, the reſt went on foot. As the rains had made the roads very heavy, many ſtaid behind through fatigue, one fell down and diſlocated his arm, and two loſt their companions in the dark. They ſuffered moſt from the malice of ſome white people on the road, who abuſed and loaded them with curſes. In paſſing through Germantown they were inſulted by the populace, who ſpoke of nothing but burning, hanging, and

other modes of puniſhment, to be inflicted on them. A party of malicious people had even reſolved, immediately upon their arrival, to do them ſome miſchief, but the night and the violent rains prevented it.

November 11th, they arrived at the barracks in Philadelphia, in which, by order of Government, they were to be lodged: but the ſoldiers quartered there, forcibly refuſed them admittance, in ſpite of the poſitive command of the governor. Thus the poor Indians were detained in the ſtreet, from ten o'clock in the forenoon to three in the afternoon. A dreadful mob gathered around them, deriding, reviling, and charging them with all the outrages committed by the ſavages, threatening to kill them on the ſpot; which they certainly would have done, had the Indians returned evil for evil. But they were all ſilent, and afterwards ſaid that they had comforted themſelves, by conſidering what inſult and mockery our Savior had ſuffered on their account. The miſſionaries, who, for their zealous interference and endeavors in behalf of their congregations, were treated with contempt, declared that they aſcribed it to the miraculous providence of God alone, that they were not ſacrificed to the fury of this miſinformed and exaſperated mob.

After five hours delay, the magiſtrates, perceiving that the ſoldiers perſiſted in refuſing to admit the Indians into the barracks, ſent an order, that they ſhould proceed. Thus they paſſed along through this great city, thouſands following them with ſuch tumultuous clamor, that they might truly be conſidered as ſheep among wolves. They were at length conducted ſix miles further, to Province Iſland, in the river Delaware, which joined the main-land by a dam, and there lodged in ſome large buildings. They afterwards acknowledged this circumſtance with gratitude, as a gracious providence of God, for in the barracks at Philadelphia they would not have enjoyed reſt. The text of the day gave them great comfort, "*I will teach thee in the way thou ſhalt go.*" Pſa. xxxii. 8.

Here

Here they ſettled as well as circumſtances would permit; and the miſſionaries aſſiſted in bringing their affairs into ſome order and regularity: they had their uſual meetings every day, which at that time proved a great comfort to their ſouls. The reſt of the time was ſpent by each family as uſefully as poſſible. At firſt they were in want of fire-wood and proviſions, but Brother Zeiſberger's petition in their behalf was kindly attended to by the governor, and by his order they were afterwards well ſupplied with all things. Several gentlemen in Philadelphia, eſpecially ſome of the people called Quakers, humanely endeavored by benefactions to render the inconvenience of their ſituation leſs grievous. Though curioſity led many inhabitants of Philadelphia to viſit the converted Indians, yet they enjoyed peace and ſafety in this place. Wechquetank was burnt by the white people, and in the night of the 18th of November, ſome incendiaries endeavored to ſet fire to Bethlehem. The oil-mill was conſumed, and the fury of the flames was ſuch, that the adjoining water-works were with great difficulty ſaved from deſtruction.

Towards the end of the month, John Papunhank came with twenty-one Indians to Bethlehem, ſeeking protection. They were directed to Philadelphia, and thence proceeded to the Indian congregation. Brother Frederick William von Marſchall went from Bethlehem to Philadelphia, and devoted his ſervices to the Indians, as agent in their tranſactions with Government.

The Brethren felt the greateſt gratitude, in ſeeing the reſt and protection enjoyed by this perſecuted congregation during their exile, more eſpecially when they heard with grief and horror, that a party of peaceable Indians, who had long lived quietly among the white people, were attacked on the 14th of December in the ſmall village of Caneſtoga near Lancaſter, by fifty-ſeven ſo called Chriſtians from Paxton, and fourteen of them murdered in their huts. The reſt fled to Lancaſter, where the magiſtrates protected, and lodged them in the work-houſe, a ſtrong building and well ſecured. They were

were however followed by the murderers, who marched into the town at noon-day, broke into the work-houſe, and though the Indians begged their lives on their knees, yet theſe barbarians cruelly murdered them all, throwing their mangled bodies into the ſtreet. They then departed with a dreadful ſhout of victory, threatening that the Indians in Province Iſland ſhould ſhare the ſame fate.

Government indeed iſſued a proclamation againſt theſe outrages, forbidding any one to moleſt the Indians in Province Iſland, under the ſevereſt penalties, and promiſing a reward of 200l. to any who ſhould bring the two ringleaders of the above party to juſtice. But it ſoon became evident, that an incredible number of perſons, and even many of the inhabitants of Philadelphia, were in a ſecret connexion with the ringleaders, and people in general ſhowed ſo little reſpect for Government at that time, that none were taken up, though they walked publicly in the ſtreets, and even ſtood before the governor's houſe, bidding him defiance. As he feared a general mob, he thought it then moſt prudent to take no notice of them. The rioters however became more numerous and daring, and both in Paxton and other parts of the county of Lancaſter, many hundred perſons agreed to go to Philadelphia and not to reſt, till all the Indians, taken into protection by Government, were maſſacred.

December 29th, intelligence was received in Philadelphia, that a large party of theſe people were on the road, intending to fall upon the Chriſtian Indians. The governor inſtantly ſent word to the miſſionaries, adviſing them to be upon their guard, and on the 31ſt of December early, when the danger ſeemed approaching, ſent ſome large boats, ordering them and their people immediately to go on board and to take flight. In a ſhort time they were all on board, and rowed to Leek Iſland, where they were to expect further orders. Some hours after, the miſſionaries received a letter from his Excellency, in which he informed them, that it had been altogether a falſe alarm, that they therefore ſhould return

return to Province Iſland, where they ſhould ſoon receive a proper guard, and might keep the boats for their uſe. They immediately returned with joy to their former habitations, comforted by the text for the day: "*The Lord is my ſtrength "and my ſhield; my heart truſted in him:*" (Pſa. xxviii. 7.) and cloſed this remarkable year with prayer and thankſgiving, for all the proofs of the help of God in ſo many heavy trials.

CHAPTER XVI.

1764. 1765.

The Chriſtian Indians are ordered to go to the Engliſh Army, but countermanded, and lodged in the Barracks at Philadelphia. Diſtreſs during their Confinement: yet not without Bleſſing. Renatus is releaſed from Priſon. Peace concluded. The Indian Congregation leaves the Barracks. Troubleſome Journey to Machwihiluſing on the Suſquehannah.

THE Indian congregation had ſcarcely celebrated the Lord's Supper at the commencement of the year 1764, and renewed their covenant to ſhow forth His death in their walk and converſation, when the troubles broke out afreſh.

Government having received more certain information, concerning the murderous intentions of the rioters, reſolved to bring the perſecuted congregation into ſafety, and to ſend them by way of New York to the Engliſh army, and particularly to recommend them to Sir William Johnſon, agent for

for the Crown among the Northern Indians. January 4th, late in the evening, the miſſionaries received orders to prepare for this journey, without loſs of time, and at midnight they ſet out, proceeding by water to a place about five miles from Philadelphia, where they found Mr. Lewis and Jacob Weiſs ready to conduct them. They paſſed early and almoſt unobſerved through Philadelphia to the houſe of the Brethren, where a number of Brethren and Siſters met to receive them, having provided a breakfaſt for them in the meeting-hall. Here they were viſited by the commiſſary, Mr. Fox, who was appointed by Government to direct their future journey. This gentleman was ſo ſtruck at the ſight of theſe poor emigrants, that he immediately ordered a number of blankets to be diſtributed among them; that they might defend themſelves better againſt the ſevere cold. Waggons being provided for the aged, the blind, the ſick, the children, and the heavy baggage, they ſet out, accompanied by the miſſionaries, amidſt ſo great a crowd of people, that they could hardly proceed. The mob curſed and reviled them in a dreadful manner, but no one ventured to lay hands on them. Several Brethren accompanied them a little way out of town, and ſome miles further they were met by Captain Robertſon with ſeventy Highlanders, who had been in the laſt engagement with the Indians, and were ordered to eſcort them. Theſe ſoldiers behaved at firſt very wild and unfriendly, being particularly troubleſome to the young women by their profane converſation, but were perſuaded by degrees to conduct themſelves with more order and decency. The commiſſaries Meſſrs. Fox and Logan went with them as far as Trenton, where the latter addreſſed them in the name of the governor, declaring the governor's abhorrence of the murders committed in Caneſtoga and Lancaſter upon the innocent Indians, and delivering two belts of wampom, deſiring that they might be ſent to the Iroquois. By the firſt, they were exhorted to make peace, having begun the war without cauſe; to the ſecond, ſome pieces of black cloth and handkerchiefs were added, for the friends of the poor murdered Indians,

to

to "cover the graves of their relations, and to wipe away their "tears," with this aſſurance, that Government would ſeverely puniſh the murderers.

Mr. Logan having delivered this ſpeech, the Indians took leave of both gentlemen, expreſſing their humble thanks to them and the governor, for the many favors they had received during theſe troubles. In Trenton, the commiſſary Mr. Epty took charge of them, and provided every thing needful for their convenience on the road.

In all places, but eſpecially in the towns through which their road lay, the mob inſulted the Indians; but God prevented miſchief, and led them ſafe to Amboy, where two ſloops were ready to carry them to New York. They were juſt ready to go on board on the 11th of January 1764, when a meſſenger unexpectedly arrived from the governor of New York, with ſtrict orders, that not one Indian ſhould ſet foot in New York territory. Captain Robertſon was ordered by General Gage to prevent them from proceeding; and the ferrymen were likewiſe prohibited, by a ſevere penalty, to croſs the river with them. Mr. Epty immediately ſent an account of theſe proceedings to Philadelphia, deſiring further orders.

In the mean time the travelling congregation lay in the barracks at Amboy, where they were viſited by the Brethren Nathaniel Seidel from Bethlehem, and Gambold from New York. They held their daily meetings in the uſual order, and in the peace of God, great numbers of people being preſent, at whoſe requeſt, the miſſionary Grube preached in the open air. The white people, who thus attended the meetings of the Indians, were highly pleaſed with their devotion, eſpecially with their ſinging, and conceived a more favorable opinion of them. One of the ſoldiers exclaimed: "Would to God, all the white people were as good Chriſ-"tians, as theſe Indians."

According to orders ſent by the governor at Philadelphia, the Indian congregation ſet out with chearfulneſs on their return, in full confidence that the Lord in his good providence,

dence, for wiſe purpoſes, beſt known to himſelf, had ordained their travelling thus to and fro. This belief ſupported them under all the difficulties they met with in their journies, made in the ſevereſt part of winter. Their guard of Highlanders under Captain Robertſon was now relieved by one hundred and ſeventy men from General Gage's army, commanded by Captain Schloſſer, one party leading the van, and the other bringing up the rear. Theſe ſoldiers had juſt come from Niagara, and had ſuffered much from the ſavages near Lake Erie, which rendered them in the beginning ſo averſe to the Indians, that nothing favorable could be expected from them; but God in mercy changed their diſpoſition, their unfriendly behavior ſoon ſoftened into cordiality, and they converſed familiarly with the Indian Brethren, relating their ſufferings in the war with the ſavages.

The daily meetings were held without moleſtation, and attended by great numbers of white people, who heard them with aſtoniſhment and edification. Near Brunſwick they were in great danger in paſſing over the ice, and the infirm and aged were obliged to creep over the frozen rivers upon their hands and feet. However, the journey was performed with ſafety. January 24th, they arrived in Philadelphia, where they were lodged in the barracks. They firſt met to render thanks to God for the bleſſing and ſupport, experienced from him during this ſingular peregrination, and eſpecially, that he had preſerved their ſouls from harm, in converſing with the ſoldiers, ſome of whom were inconſiderate and wild. In the barracks of Philadelphia, they were guarded by day and night, regulated their meetings and houſekeeping, and hoped to have found reſt and ſafety. But ſoon after their arrival they were ſo diſturbed by the mob, eſpecially by the young people, that the firſt guard granted to them, was not ſufficient for their protection. The ringleaders of the above-mentioned murderers endeavored by force to put their wicked deſigns into execution. They marched in large bodies towards Philadelphia,

phia, giving out, that having been highly offended by the proclamation, lately iſſued by the governor, they now would not reſt, till all the Indians protected by Government, were delivered over to them.

This occaſioned the guard at the barracks to be doubled, and the magiſtrates were at length obliged to repel force by force. February 3d, eight heavy pieces of cannon were drawn up before the barracks, and a rampart thrown up in the middle of the ſquare. The citizens, and even many young Quakers, took up arms, and repaired to the barracks to aſſiſt the ſoldiers in defending the poor Indians, who had in the mean time been brought in great haſte out of the lower into the upper ſtory. At midnight, the governor himſelf viſited them, bidding them be of good chear, and ſoothing their fears by his condeſcending behavior. Several perſons of diſtinction likewiſe came, and ſhowed their friendly diſpoſition towards the Indians: ſome even ſtaid in the barracks, ſuppoſing they could be no where more ſafe.

February 4th, intelligence was received of the approach of the rioters; every body prepared to receive them, and the whole town was in an uproar. The report of guns was heard, and the ſoldiers made a dreadful noiſe. The eighteen pounders were diſcharged, and our poor Indians, having never heard the report of ſuch large cannon, were exceſſively terrified; for they ſtood ſo near the building, that ſeveral windows were broken by the ſhock. The rebels however did not venture to approach, and the citizens returned home. But in the night between the 5th and 6th a report prevailed, that the rioters were again on the road, and the whole town was in motion. The church bells were rung, the ſtreets illuminated, and the inhabitants, being waked out of their ſleep, were ordered to attend at the town-houſe, where arms and cartridges were diſtributed among them. Two companies of armed citizens repaired to the barracks, and four more cannon were mounted, Thus the following day was ſpent in terror and hourly expectation of the rebels: the white Brethren at Philadelphia were alſo expoſed to much abuſe and

and ſlander from miſinformed people, who aſcribed all theſe diſturbances to them and their Indian converts. The Indians, who were repeatedly told by their friends, that the rebels thirſted after their blood, conſidered themſelves as devoted to ſlaughter, and though they were very thankful for the ſpirited preparations made by Government for their defence, yet placed their only hope in the Lord. Some ſaid with compoſure and reſignation: "God can help us, if "he pleaſes; but if it be his will, we will willingly ſuffer." Some examined themſelves, and finding they had not ſufficent faith to go chearfully out of time, turned in their diſtreſs to the Lord Jeſus, who made theſe trials a bleſſing to them. The miſſionaries rejoiced greatly, that theſe afflictions manifeſtly proved that their converſion was not the work of man, but of God himſelf.

At length certain information was received that the rioters, hearing of the preparations made to receive them, had reſolved to proceed no further. Some gentlemen were deputed by Government to aſk them what they had to complain of. After much inſolent behavior, they aſſerted, that there were ſeveral murderers among our Indians, whom they had ſeen at Pittſburg, and demanded that they ſhould be delivered up. To pacify them, one of the ringleaders was invited to enter the barracks, and to point out the people ſpoken of. Accordingly he examined every individual, but did not find one, whom he could charge with any crime. They then gave out, that the Quakers had ſecretly taken ſix of our Indians out of the barracks and hid them in a place of ſafety. This was alſo inveſtigated and proved falſe, upon which the rioters marched off, and, as they declared, relinquiſhed their deſign for the preſent. Yet it was very evident, that their plan was firſt to murder our Indians, and then, by taking advantage of the general conſternation, to overturn the whole form of government, and thus to ſpread devaſtation and miſery over the whole country.

The Chriſtian Indians in the barracks now offered up praiſes and thankſgiving to God, that he had ſo graciouſly

defeated the deſigns of their enemies. The miſſionaries reminded them of the beautiful words of Scripture appointed for theſe days of anxiety and danger. The firſt was: "*Let the righteous be glad, yea exceedingly rejoice.*" Pſ. lxviii. 3. "*Lord, it is nothing with thee to help, whether with many, or "with them that have no power.*" 2 Chron. xiv. 11. And for the day when the rioters departed: "*Hitherto hath the Lord "helped us.*" 1 Sam. vii. 12.

People of all ranks came to ſee the Indians, who were now literally become a ſpectacle to thouſands. Their opinions concerning them were various. Some could not conceal their animoſity both againſt them and the Brethren; many pitied them, as innocent ſufferers, and congratulated them on their eſcape; others, not being able to comprehend how the miſſionaries could continue with them under ſuch afflicting circumſtances, expreſſed great reverence for their patience and love towards their congregation, and knew not how to ſhow ſufficient honor to theſe faithful miniſters of the Lord. The public worſhip of the congregation, eſpecially on Sundays, was attended by ſuch crowds of hearers, that the chapel could not contain them; yet the greateſt ſilence and order was preſerved. Some were pleaſed with the ſinging of the Indians, others heard the Goſpel attentively, and believed in the word of the croſs. Several ſoldiers who had been a long time in camp, were glad to hear the ſweet words of the Goſpel again, after having been deprived of it for ſix or ſeven years. The Indians alſo, who came with John Papunhank from Machwihiluſing, and ſeveral Indians from the Jerſeys, who had applied to Government for protection and were quartered in the barracks, had here a good opportunity of hearing the Goſpel, and to moſt of them the word of the croſs proved the power of God unto ſalvation.

About this time four ſingle Indian women, who had lived ſeveral years in the houſe of the ſingle Siſters at Bethlehem, but were no more ſafe in that place, were alſo ſent to the barracks, and all who ſaw them admired their ſerene, modeſt

appearance, and prudent conduct. The ſoldiers reſpected them, and never diſturbed them in their apartment. In general the latter deſerve that good teſtimony, that they always treated our Indians with kindneſs; and the friendly and wiſe conduct of the officers, who kept ſtrict order among their men, cannot be ſufficiently praiſed.

Another attempt to ſend the Chriſtian Indians to the army having failed, and it appearing that their removal from the barracks could not be ſoon effected, the miſſionary Grube commenced an Engliſh ſchool with the Indian youth, who took great delight in learning; and all the Indian families began to ſettle for a long ſtay. The miſſionaries met the congregation morning and evening, and at ſtated times adminiſtered the Holy Communion. They alſo baptized ſeveral, who had heard and believed the Goſpel, and the grace of God was powerful in the congregation. As to externals, Government provided every thing needful for their eaſe and ſupport. The continual viſits of ſtrangers, though ſometimes attended with inconvenience, convinced many who were ill-diſpoſed, both of their innocence and true converſion unto the Lord.

However, their preſent ſituation was a hard trial, and more afflicting to ſome of them, than all paſt dangers. Though it was rendered as eaſy as poſſible, they conſidered it little ſhort of impriſonment. The good quality of their victuals, to which they were not ſeaſoned, was as ill ſuited to the ſtate of their ſtomachs, as the want of bodily exerciſe and proper employment to that of their minds. Their living ſo cloſe together began by degrees to appear inſupportable; the men could not go into the foreſt to hunt, which being againſt their very nature, a ſpirit of independence and liberty began to ariſe in them, eſpecially in the young people; ſome of the latter grew low-ſpirited, others diſſatisfied, and even refractory. Many ſuffered through their converſation with the ſtrange Indians quartered in the ſame barracks. Thus the miſſionaries found their taſk very difficult, being obliged to hear all the complaints of the diſſatisfied; Government

alſo

alſo juſtly looking to them for that good order and ſubordination, neceſſary for the common peace.

Early in March, our Indians ſent John Papunhank and another Indian Brother as meſſengers of peace to the warring Indians, to inform them that they were all alive, and to deſire them to lay down the hatchet. Encouraged by the reply they received, they addreſſed Government, and begged earneſtly, that they might be ſafely eſcorted to the frontiers, from whence they would find their way to General Johnſon. As the war with the Indians ſtill continued, Government could not grant this requeſt. By this refuſal, their uneaſineſs increaſed. Nor was this all. As the ſummer advanced, fevers and the ſmall-pox broke out amongſt them, which occaſioned ſuch dread and horror, that many meditated their eſcape from the barracks.

In this diſtreſs God bleſſed the perſeverance of the miſſionaries, whoſe friendly and encouraging admonitions at length prevailed. Their uneaſineſs was changed into a perfect reſignation to the will of the Lord. It was now a pleaſant duty to viſit the ſick, and their declarations, teſtifying of their living faith in Jeſus Chriſt, and full aſſurance of eternal life, proved an edification to many ſtrange viſitors. The humane relief afforded to them by that benevolent man, Jacob Weiſs in Philadelphia, was ſuch, that God alone can reward him for his great attention and labors of love.

Fifty-ſix of theſe patients had the favor to be releaſed from all miſery, pain, and diſtreſs, by a moſt happy tranſlation into everlaſting bliſs. The miſſionaries expreſs themſelves thus in their report: "We cannot deſcribe the joy "and fervent deſire which moſt of them ſhowed in the "proſpect of ſeeing their Savior face to face: and we ſaw "with amazement the power of the blood of Jeſus in the "hearts of poor ſinners." Jacob, an aged Indian and father of Renatus, then unjuſtly impriſoned, deſerves to be noticed. He was one of the firſt fruits, baptized in Oley in 1742. His walk was ſteady; he was reſpected by

all as a father in Chriſt; and his conduct was always ſerene and chearful. The impriſonment of his ſon greatly affected his mind. He knew his innocence, and was under much concern, leſt he ſhould begin to waver in his faith and to doubt of the fidelity and juſt judgment of God our Savior, and perhaps even ſuffer himſelf to be ſeduced by wicked people to drown his diſtreſs by drinking. The father therefore ſeldom left him in priſon; till the Lord took him to himſelf by means of the ſmall-pox. The Brethren in Philadelphia intended to bury his remains in their burying-ground, but ſome evil-minded perſons filled up the grave in the night; in conſequence of which the corpſe was interred in the public burying-ground, the miſſionary Schmick performing the ſervice, according to the Brethren's Liturgy. The other Indian Brethren and Siſters, who died of the ſmall-pox, were buried in the Potter's Field, a burying-ground belonging to the people called Quakers. A week after the death of Jacob, his daughter-in-law, and ſoon after, her infant ſon, followed him into eternity. Poor Renatus, upon hearing theſe tidings, wept moſt bitterly. "This," ſaid he, "is almoſt too much to bear; to loſe my father, my wife "and child, while I myſelf am confined in priſon!"

In due time, the Lord had mercy upon this afflicted man, and graciouſly delivered him from his bonds. The miſſionaries viſited him frequently, and he ſpent moſt of his time in reading an hymn-book, which was left in his cell. After an impriſonment of eight months and many examinations, occaſioned by repeated accuſations brought againſt him upon oath, that he was the perſon who murdered Mr. S. in the Iriſh ſettlement, he was at laſt ſent with a guard from Philadelphia to Eaſton, to take his trial. The witneſſes having been ſummoned, the miſſionary Schmick attended on his part, accompanied by Brother Rothe. The trial took place on the 19th of June, and the jury having been ſhut up a whole night, at length brought in their verdict, *Not Guilty*; upon which he was immediately diſmiſſed. The word of Scripture for that day was: "*God meant it unto good, to bring it to paſs, as it is this*

"*day,*

"*day, to ſave much people alive.*" Gen. l. 20. This was verified. By the above verdict the adverſaries entirely loſt their aim, which was to caſt a general odium upon the believing Indians, and to render the Brethren's miſſion univerſally ſuſpected. The Brethren therefore praiſed God for this deciſion, and the court at Eaſton gained much credit in the opinion of the Indians.

July 4th, our Indians had the ſatisfaction to ſee their beloved Renatus return, and join them in the barracks. Having often bemoaned his fate, they could not ſufficiently expreſs their thankfulneſs to God for his deliverance. He ſpoke out of the abundance of his heart, praiſing and giving glory to the Lord his Redeemer.

In autumn, the confined Indians made another effort to procure their enlargement, and Government granted paſſports to ſome of the moſt ſteady, with leave to go to the Suſquehannah: but could not with prudence extend this permiſſion to all. This occaſioned a return of the former uneaſineſs in the minds of ſome young people, which greatly diſtreſſed the miſſionaries, who at this time labored under various bodily complaints. However, according to their own report, they forgot every hardſhip, as often as they contemplated the unwearied faithfulneſs and ſufferings of the Lord Jeſus on our account.

In the mean time the negotiations were continued, and the Iroquois being reconciled, they compelled the other Indian nations to lay down their arms.

December the 4th, 1764, was the happy day, on which an account of the peace arrived in Philadelphia, and on the 6th, a proclamation was publiſhed by Government in all the public papers, that hoſtilities ſhould ceaſe. Our Indians were ſoon informed of the concluſion of the war, and their joy on this occaſion, which exceeded all deſcription, was manifeſted in thankſgivings and praiſes to the Lord, to whom all power is given, both in heaven and on earth.

Soon after, thoſe Indian Brethren, who had been on the Suſquehannah, returned with a circumſtantial detail of the

miſeries endured by the Indians during the war, on account of their refuſing to take ſhare in it. Joſhua ſaid, "We "thought ourſelves great ſufferers here in the barracks, but "our ſufferings bear no compariſon to thoſe of the Indians "in the woods, and we now acknowledge, that the Lord mer-"cifully directed our affairs, as our teachers have often told "us."

The congregation at Pachgatgoch, whoſe ſituation was very diſtreſſing in the year 1762, was ſtill more oppreſſed during the war, and at length ſo much diſperſed, that nothing remained, but the hopes, that they might unite again in time of peace.

The troubles of war being nearly at an end, the Brethren in Bethlehem ſeriouſly conſidered, in what manner to provide a ſettlement for the believing Indians; where they might enjoy more ſafety. It could not be expected, that they would remain long unmoleſted in the neighborhood of the white people; they were therefore adviſed to ſettle in the Indian country on the banks of the Suſquehannah. They reſolved to go firſt to Machwihiluſing, which had been deſerted in the late war, and where the old huts were ſtill ſtanding. The miſſionaries and Indian aſſiſtants therefore applied to Government: the latter deſired General Johnſon, to aſſiſt them in putting this deſign into execution. To their inexpreſſible joy, they obtained leave to depart on the 26th of February, and in the following days, preparations were made, Government ſupplying them liberally with neceſſaries. Mr. Fox even procured a grant, by which our Indians were to be provided with flour, from their arrival on the Suſquehannah, until their new-planted Indian corn ſhould be ripe, and an order was iſſued, for them to receive it from Fort Allen, lately built upon the ſcite of Old Gnadenhuetten. This arrangement proved a great convenience to them.

In the mean time the miſſionary Grube, who laſt year went to Bethlehem on account of illneſs, returned to Philadelphia to take leave of his beloved congregation in the barracks. He brought a formal vocation to the miſſionaries

Schmick and Zeiſberger, to move with the Indian congregation to the Suſquehannah, which they gladly accepted, Government alſo approving of their appointment. March 18th, the Indian Brethren delivered the following addreſs to the governor:

"We, the Chriſtian Indians now reſiding in the barracks, "and intending to return with our wives and children unto "our own country, approach unto you, to take our leave, "and to return to you our moſt ſincere thanks. We ac- "knowledge with unfeigned gratitude the great kindneſs and "friendſhip you have ſhown unto us during the late war. "We were indeed in danger of our lives; but you protected "and defended us againſt our enemies, ſo that we have lived "in peace. As a father, you have provided us with food "and raiment. You have nurſed us in ſickneſs and buried "our dead. We have likewiſe heard with joy, that you "will in future give us flour until our corn is ripe. We "thank you more particularly that we have been allowed "to have our teachers with us, during theſe heavy trials, "who have inſtructed us daily in the word of God. They "have ſhown us the way to ſalvation, ſo that we are now "become acquainted with our Creator, and can love all men. "We therefore greatly rejoice, that our teachers Schmick "and Zeiſberger go with us into the Indian country, that "they may continue to inſtruct us in the doctrine of ſalva- "tion. Your kindneſs, protection, and benevolence, will "never be forgotten by us. We ſhall bear your goodneſs in "our hearts; we ſhall ſpeak of it to the other Indians. As "long as we live, we ſhall remain true friends to the Eng- "liſh. We alſo beg permiſſion to requeſt of you, to give us "powder and ſhot, that we may provide food on the journey. "Finally we pray, that God may bleſs you! We, the un- "derwritten, do this in the name of all our people, re- "maining your faithful friends,

"JOHN PAPUNHANK; JOSHUA;
ANTHONY; SHEM EVANS."

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This addreſs was graciouſly received; and the miſſionaries added their grateful thanks both to the governor and to Mr. Fox, who as commiſſary for Government had cared for the Indians, from beginning to end, with unwearied attention. The latter replied with tears, "I have willingly done what "I could, knowing their innocence." Joſhua went likewiſe to Mr. Fox, to thank him in the name of all the Indian Brethren and Siſters, and was well received. March 20th, the text of the day being, "*Abraham roſe up early in the morning,* "*and went unto the place, of which God had told him,*" the Indian congregation ſet off from the barracks of Philadelphia with great joy, attended by ſome friends from the city, who wiſhed them the Lord's bleſſing. Their departure was very peaceful, and they unanimouſly rendered praiſes to God our heavenly Father, for all the love, grace, preſervation, and ſupport experienced during their reſidence of ſixteen months at this place. After a troubleſome but ſafe journey, the travellers arrived at Nain, where they were welcomed by the Bethlehem congregation with great tenderneſs, and reſted for ſome time in this place, ſo much valued by the former inhabitants, the daily meetings being held in the uſual order, to their great comfort.

Every thing being ſettled for their journey, and ſeveral of them having ſold their houſes at Nain to the Brethren at Bethlehem, Biſhop Nathanael Seidel, with part of the Bethlehem congregation, went to Nain, to attend a ſolemn farewell meeting of the Indians. The miſſionary Grube delivered the diſcourſe, recommending this beloved flock in a fervent prayer to the faithful Shepherd, who gave his life for his ſheep, and thus cloſed his bleſſed labors among theſe people, in which he had ſhown an extraordinary degree of faithfulneſs for the ſpace of thirteen years.

April 3d, the whole congregation broke up and proceeded on their journey, paſſing through Bethlehem, to take leave of their former faithful neighbors, ſo cloſely united to them in the bonds of brotherly love. At parting, many tears were ſhed on both ſides. Government had appointed the following

ing gentlemen to conduct them to the frontiers: Mr. Moore, juſtice of the peace, Mr. Kuhlin, high-ſheriff, Lieutenant Hundſecker, and Mr. Epty, whoſe names I here inſert with gratitude for their kindneſs and attention to our Indians. Some Brethren from Bethlehem accompanied them likewiſe part of the way.

Waggons were provided for the children, the ſick, and infirm, and for the heavy baggage: but they had a very difficult journey; for though peace was re-eſtabliſhed, yet the enmity of many white people againſt the Indians was ſtill ſo great, that, to avoid danger, they were obliged to take a long circuit. They alſo met with ſtormy weather attended with ſnow, and were obliged to take up their nights' lodgings chiefly in the woods, every family building an hut and keeping up fires all night. Sometimes they were obliged to ſtay all night in a ſwamp, not finding any dry ground near them. Hunting was their chief ſupport. They carried the loads, which were not put in the waggons, over high, ſteep, and rocky hills, in ſmall parcels, being thus often obliged ſeveral times to double the road. In ſome parts they cut their way for ſome miles, through the woods and once even for five miles together. The Brethren waded through many brooks and rivers: and for the women and children they made rafts, but the ſtrong current often carried away the trees they had cut down for this purpoſe, before they could be fixed together, and they once loſt twenty-five in this manner. Some rivers were ſo broad and deep, that they were obliged to encamp on their banks, till they had built canoes ſufficient to croſs them. The greateſt difficulty they met with, was the want of proviſions, whenever they paſſed through regions where there was neither game nor fiſh. Thoſe, who had ſomething in ſtore, were always willing to diſtribute. At laſt their whole ſtock of flour was conſumed, and it was an affecting ſight to ſee them receive their laſt portion. They were frequently happy to find wild potatoes, the diſagreeable flavor of which hunger alone could render palatable. To ſatisfy the children who cried for hunger, they peeled

cheſnut

cheſnut trees, and made them ſuck the ſweet juice under the bark; and even the grown people were obliged to do the ſame. They had frequently no other drink, but muddy water found in puddles. Some died during this journey. Once they were greatly terrified in the night, by the woods being on fire, and burning fiercely all round their encampment from ten till one in the morning. At length they arrived at the Suſquehannah, and got a few boats from Lechawachneck to proceed up the river. Some went forward by land to Machwihiluſing, and procured more boats; but yet, for want of a ſufficient number, many were obliged to proceed along the banks of the river, and were much fatigued by the ſtony roads over the hills. But all theſe trials were forgotten in their daily meetings, in which the preſence of the Lord was moſt ſenſibly and comfortably felt. Theſe were always held in the evening, around a large fire, in the open air. Thus they ſpent the Paſſion Week, in bleſſed contemplation of the meritorious ſufferings of Jeſus, and celebrated Eaſter in joyful commemoration of his reſurrection, calling to mind their fellowſhip with the fifty-ſix Indian Brethren, who departed to the Lord in Philadelphia, looking forward with joy to the time, when they alſo ſhould arrive in that place, where we ſhall ſee Jeſus face to face, and praiſe him in perfect happineſs. His preſence ſupported them under all afflictions, inſomuch that they never loſt their chearfulneſs and reſignation, and when at laſt they arrived ſafe at Machwihiluſing on the 9th of May, after a journey of five weeks, they forgot all their pain and trouble, for joy that they had reached the place of their future abode.

Thus ended the painful pilgrimage of the Indian congregation, which commenced with their flight from Wechquetank and Nain in 1763; and all with one accord declared, that unleſs God himſelf had ſpread his wings over them, they never ſhould have lived to ſee that day. To Him be all the glory!

END OF PART II.

HISTORY

OF THE

MISSION

OF THE

UNITED BRETHREN

AMONG THE

Indians in North America.

PART III.

CHAPTER I.

1765, 1766.

The agreeable Beginning of Friedenshuetten on the Suſquehannah. Zeiſberger's Journey to Cajugu and Onondago. The Indian Congregation has reſt and is edified.

AS a mariner rejoices, who after a long and ſevere ſtorm has reached his deſired haven, ſo likewiſe did the Indian congregation and her faithful teachers rejoice. They now forgot all their former diſtreſs, and with offers of praiſe and thankſgiving, devoted themſelves anew to Him who had given them reſt for the ſoles of their feet. They began their labors with renewed courage, and pitching upon a convenient ſpot on the banks of the Suſquehannah, built a regular ſettlement, which they called Friedenshuetten (Tents of Peace). It conſiſted of thirteen Indian huts and upwards of forty houſes, built of wood in the European manner,

covered with ſhingles, and provided with windows and chimnies. A ſmall, but convenient houſe was erected for the miſſionaries, and in the middle of the ſtreet, which was upwards of eighty feet broad, ſtood the chapel, neatly built, and covered with ſhingles. Next to the houſes the ground was laid out in gardens, and between the ſettlement and the river, about 250 acres were divided into regular plantations of Indian corn. Each family had their own boat. The burying-ground was ſituated at ſome diſtance, at the back of the buildings.

During the building of Friedenshuetten, the aged, infirm, and children, were lodged in the old cottages found on the ſpot. The reſt dwelt in bark huts, and met for divine worſhip in the open field, whenever the weather was dry. In rainy weather, the Brethren and Siſters aſſembled in ſmall companies, in their huts, to ſing and praiſe the Lord for his mercies. His preſence and peace, and the brotherly love and concord which univerſally prevailed, greatly ſtrengthened them. It was a pleaſure to ſee how judiciouſly they planned and executed the work of each day. They appeared like a ſwarm of buſy bees: each knew his proper taſk, and performed it readily. Some were employed in building houſes; others in clearing the land; ſome in hunting and fiſhing, to provide for thoſe at work; others cared for the houſekeeping. The miſſionaries were not idle, but made their own gardens and plantations.

The ſtock of bread bought by our Indians of their neighbors being ſoon conſumed, a party of forty Brethren ſet out for Fort Allen, to fetch part of the corn given them by the government of Pennſylvania. But when they had got half way, they were obliged to return, hearing that the white people in the Iriſh ſettlement were again exaſperated againſt them; two men having been murdered there, and the Chriſtian Indians being accuſed of the deed; though it was impoſſible, that they could have had the leaſt ſhare in it. Herbs and roots therefore ſupplied the place of bread, till intelligence was brought, that Sir William Johnſon had ſet-

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tled a general peace with all the Indian nations, in the name of the king of England. This encouraged the Brethren to ſet out again. Accordingly almoſt all the men went to Fort Allen, and ſoon returned with their corn; praying for bleſſings on the Engliſh government for its liberality towards them. They had received enough to ſerve them till their own corn was ripe, and God granted ſo rich an harveſt, that they had not even room enough for their ſtore.

The building of Friedenshuetten being ſo far completed, that the proper regulations and ſtatutes of a Chriſtian ſettlement could be renewed and eſtabliſhed, a meeting was held for this purpoſe, to the ſatisfaction of all; and the ſame regulations made as formerly in Gnadenhuetten, Nain, and Wechquetank. As to the internal ſtate of the congregation, it appeared that our Lord Jeſus Chriſt had granted a double portion of his grace to his beloved Indian flock, and would now lay a ſpecial bleſſing upon them. The ſenſations of his divine preſence attending the preaching of the Goſpel, the adminiſtering of the ſacraments, and all the meetings of the congregation, prevailed ſo powerfully, that the miſſionaries found frequent cauſe to exclaim in raptures of joy, "Behold how he loveth them! (John, xi. 36.) and de-"lighteth to dwell among the children of men."

October 20th, 1765, the ſacrament of Holy Baptiſm was adminiſtered for the firſt time in Friedenshuetten to the wife of the Indian Sakima. Her declarations on this occaſion, gave great pleaſure to the miſſionaries. She ſaid, "I feel very "happy after my baptiſm, but have not yet enough. I now "long more than ever for our Savior." Her huſband was preſent during her baptiſm, but could ſcarcely bear to ſtay, for emotion, and immediately went into the woods to give vent to his tears. Upon his return, he ſaluted his wife, and burſting into tears, ſaid, "O! how do I rejoice that you "are cleanſed in the blood of Chriſt. Ah! when ſhall I "have that favor?" Before the cloſe of the year, this grace was alſo imparted to him. He was baptized on Chriſtmas Day, and ſuch a general emotion was perceptible during his baptiſm,

baptiſm, that the whole company wept together with the miſſionary and catechumen; thus, without words, expreſſing the joy and gratitude of their hearts, in ſeeing how graciouſly Jeſus receives ſinners. Many unbaptized were ſo powerfully awakened, that they ardently deſired the ſame favor. One of them obſerved: "If I ſhould ſee the water "for baptiſm brought into the chapel and hear the miſſionary "ſay, Whoever wiſhes to be baptized, come hither, I ſhould "not heſitate a moment to accept of ſo great an offer."

John Papunhank, the firſt Indian baptized at Machwihiluſing, was alſo the firſt who was here made a partaker of the Lord's Supper, and it became every day more evident, that God himſelf had truly converted him. His large acquaintance, and eſpecially the fame of Friedenshuetten, drew a great number of viſitors from all parts, and the miſſionaries, who in Auguſt received Brother Rothe as an aſſiſtant from Bethlehem, had here the deſirable opportunity of extolling the grace of Jeſus before great numbers of heathen. Many believed the glad tidings, turned to the Lord, and received joy and peace in the Holy Ghoſt. Some who did not immediately comprehend the words of the miſſionaries, entreated the Indian aſſiſtants to repeat the diſcourſe. The aſſiſtants moſt readily complied with their requeſt, and were anew enlivened, by the repetition of the precious words of the Goſpel, the truth and power of which they had experienced. Among the viſitors were many Indians, belonging to the Cajugu, one of the Six Nations, or Iroquois. Theſe ſeemed better prepared to receive the kingdom of God, more unreſerved, and leſs entangled with political affairs than the other Iroquois. It was obſerved with pleaſure, that Brother Zeiſberger, by repeatedly reſiding at Onondago, had brought the Brethren and their cauſe into great eſteem among the Iroquois. Once during his abſence from Friedenshuetten, the miſſionary Schmick aſked ſome of the Cajugu Indians, whether they knew Zeiſberger? As ſoon as they heard his name, they expreſſed much joy, and placing two fingers together, ſaid; "We are one; are you "alſo

"alſo one with him?" Schmick anſwered, "We are bre-
"thren." They then aſked, "Are you one of the Bre-
"thren of Bethlehem?" Anſwer: "Yes, they are all my
"brethren."—"Well," ſaid they, "you muſt come to us,
"and build your houſe in our town." They then went to the chapel, ſaw and heard what they never before had been witneſs to, and were powerfully ſtruck with the goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt our Savior.

Beſide the ſtated times for the daily ſervice of the congregation, the miſſionaries were often called upon to preach the word of ſalvation; for the viſitors came into their dwellings, begging to hear more of thoſe ſweet and comfortable words, and it ſeemed as if they could never be ſatisfied with hearing, ſo that frequently the miſſionaries had ſcarce time to eat or reſt.

A reputed ſorcerer, in the neighborhood of Friedenshuetten, not venturing to enter the chapel, ſtood before the window to hear the ſermon. When it was over, he ſaid to an Indian Brother, "I am indeed a very wicked man, and
"know, that I have committed many ſins; yea, I am ſo
"loaded with them, that they weigh me down; but if I
"knew, that Jeſus would accept of, and help me, I would
"nevertheleſs go to him and pray him to ſave me."

The Indians wiſhing to live here in peace and ſafety, ſoon after their arrival ſent a meſſenger with a ſtring of wampom to the Chief of Cajugu, who as plenipotentiary of the Iroquois, claimed the lordſhip over all the lands on the Suſquehannah, to inform him and his people, that the governor of Pennſylvania had defended them againſt the rage of the white people, and fully provided them with food for a whole year: that with his approbation they had ſettled on the Suſquehannah, and pitched on a ſpot of ground, upon which they intended to build, and with their families to live in peace, if their uncle approved of it. They likewiſe deſired leave for their teachers to live with them, who would tell them the great words of their God and Creator, as they had done for many years; adding, that they loved them, their children, and all the Indians, inſtructing them in the

way to ſalvation; and that, without their aſſiſtance, the believing Indians could not be happy. The Chief of Cajugu having received this meſſage in due form, tranſmitted it to the great council in Onondago, and as ſoon as he received an anſwer, invited ſome deputies from Friedenshuetten to Cajugu, whom he welcomed in the name of the Iroquois, comforting them in the uſual manner about the loſs of their friends in Philadelphia, and informing them that peace was now re-eſtabliſhed. But the anſwer he gave to the requeſt of the Indians was unexpected; viz.: "that "the place they had choſen for a ſettlement was not proper, "becauſe all that country had been ſtained with blood, there- "fore he would take them up and place them in a better "ſituation, near the upper end of the Cajugu Lake. They "might take their teachers with them, and as to their doc- "trines, believe and hold what they pleaſed, and be unmo- "leſted in their daily worſhip." This propoſal to remove to the Cajugu Lake might have been well meant, yet our Indians did not approve of it, on account of the want of deer and other game, without which they could not ſubſiſt. They therefore poſtponed giving an immediate anſwer, and the deputies only gave the Cajugu Chief hopes, that they would reply, when the Indian corn was ripe. He therefore ſent the following meſſage to Friedenshuetten in the ſpring of 1766: "That he did not know, what ſort of Indian corn "they might plant, for they had promiſed him an anſwer, "when it was ripe: that his Indian corn had been gathered "long ago, and was almoſt conſumed, and he ſoon in- "tended to plant again; they ought therefore to keep their "promiſe." As it was evident that our Indians preferred living in Friedenshuetten, four deputies were choſen, with whom Brother Zeiſberger went in April to Cajugu. They arrived there on the 30th, and took up their lodging with the Chief, who knew Brother Zeiſberger from his former ſtay at Onondago. He received them kindly, but did not ſeem pleaſed with their meſſage, and ſpoke rather contemptuouſly of the labor of the Brethren among his people; adding,

that

that he had ſeen many Indians baptized by the French in Canada, but never found the leaſt difference between them and the unbaptized. This made the deputies almoſt afraid to propoſe their meſſage in council; but Brother Zeiſberger encouraged them, by aſſuring them, that God was preſent alſo in this council, and would direct every thing according to His good pleaſure.

Of this they were fully convinced, for their meſſage had the deſired effect. It was as follows: "That having for-
"merly been ignorant of God, they had now been taught
"to know him as their Creator and Redeemer, and had re-
"ceived from him life and ſalvation, loving Him above every
"thing, becauſe He loved them ſo much. They therefore
"could and would no more live after the manner of the In-
"dians, but having found their joy and pleaſure in our Sa-
"vior, they had quitted all ſinful ways, and now endeavored
"to walk conformably to the word of God, which they, on
"that account, muſt hear often, and therefore met twice
"a-day to be inſtructed by their teachers: they alſo
"endeavored to preſerve their children from evil: they
"would not go to war; but keep peace with all men, and
"therefore not meddle with the Indian ſtate-affairs; they
"could conſequently not agree to live near an Indian town,
"and as Friedenshuetten was well ſituated, and they had
"built and planted, they deſired to remain there." As the Cajugus and the deputies did not perfectly underſtand each other's language, and the interpreter of the council found it difficult accurately to tranſlate the meſſage, the council deſired the miſſionary, who ſpoke both the Cajugu and the Delaware language, to interpret, which he readily did, and then added the following in the name of the white Brethren:
"Brother, you have heard the requeſt made by your cou-
"ſin: you ſee that their cauſe is good, and you love what is
"juſt. You have received them into your arms, which they
"conſider as a great favor ſhown to them. I and my bre-
"thren are thankful for it; pray now extend your love to-
"wards them, and grant their requeſt, that my brethren

" in Bethlehem may rejoice with me. You have land enough, " therefore give a ſmall piece to your couſins who believe " in God, that they may live among you in reſt and peace." This and the former ſpeech had ſuch an effect upon the council, that not only their requeſt was granted, but the council gave them a larger tract of land, than they had deſired, extending beyond Tiaogu; telling them, to make uſe of it as their own, and promiſing that the heathen Indians ſhould not come and dwell upon it. They were allowed to have their teachers, and exhorted to be obedient to them, and finally a reſolution was taken, which among the Indians can never be too frequently repeated, on account of many lies being carried to and fro, that neither party ſhould believe any evil report, without due examination.

The deputies were almoſt beſide themſelves for joy at this unexpected ſucceſs; and when the reſult of the negotiation was mentioned to the congregation, the joy was ſo general, that ſeveral exclaimed, " This is the Lord's doing, and a " ſure proof of his great love towards us!"

Theſe rejoicings were ſoon diſturbed by an Iroquois Indian, from Zeninge, who gave the Indians of Friedenshuetten a circumſtantial account of a great council held by the Iroquois in Zeninge, at which he pretended to have been preſent, and in which the Chief of Cajugu was reprimanded for having given land to the Indians of Friedenshuetten without their conſent; becauſe he well knew that the ſaid lands had been given to other Indians, who had fled from them during the war; but would return to ſeek their former dwellings, and then become troubleſome to the believers: that the Cajugu Chief had ſaid in apology, that he only did it from motives of pity, not being willing to refuſe the petition of the deputies; and the time had been too ſhort to communicate with the great council concerning the buſineſs.

As the Brethren believed that the Chief in Cajugu had granted their requeſt, with full conſent of the council, and yet the account given by the Indian from Zeninge bore the appearance of truth, and bad conſequences might follow,

Brother

Brother Zeiſberger went to Bethlehem for advice. The affair appeared to the Brethren of ſuch moment, that they deſired him to go to Onondago, to learn the truth, and to renew his covenant of friendſhip with the Iroquois. The miſſionary undertook this journey with Brother Gottlob Senſeman from Bethlehem, and about the middle of October 1766 they ſet out from Friedenshuetten for Onondago, with an Indian Brother.

In Zeninge they attempted to ſpeak to the inhabitants, of our Lord and Savior Jeſus Chriſt, but found no ears to hear. The Chief obſerved, that though they heard no ſermons and knew not God, yet they were the beſt Indians, and no one could allege any thing againſt them. However, the Brethren, to their great moleſtation, found the contrary; for that very day the whole village was drunk to ſuch a degree, that they committed the moſt ſhameful exceſſes.

After enduring many hardſhips, both by land and water, they arrived, October 26th, at Onondago, where they were well received, and lodged in the ſame houſe, in which Brother Zeiſberger had formerly reſided. At their requeſt the council aſſembled the very next day, and the Engliſh flag was diſplayed upon the council-houſe, in honor of the miſſionaries. Brother Zeiſberger's addreſs was heard with great attention. He ſpoke of the labor of the Brethren among the heathen, their views in preaching the Goſpel, of the preſent ſtate of the Indian congregations, but chiefly of their late tranſactions with the Chief of Cajugu; finally requeſting the council of the Iroquois explicitly to declare, whether what was ſettled between them and the Cajugu Chief, had been done with the knowledge and approbation of the council, or whether the Cajugu Chief had acted for himſelf alone. The Chiefs inquired minutely concerning the eſtabliſhment and conſtitution of Friedenshuetten, expreſſing great regard for Brother Zeiſberger, whom they conſidered as belonging to the Iroquois. The latter in return aſſured them of his affection and regard, but ſtill more of the great love of their Creator and Redeemer towards

them and all men. According to their cuſtom they referred his meſſage to a future deliberation, promiſing an anſwer.

The Brethren made uſe of this interval to go to Cajugu. On the road they met with a dangerous paſſage over the outlet of a large lake, which was remarkably deep, croſſing it upon two ſlender trees, which bent ſo much under them, that they were up to their knees in water.

In Cajugu they had a friendly converſation with the above-mentioned Chief, and learnt that the alarming account given by the Indian from Zeninge, was altogether falſe. They likewiſe refuted many falſe accuſations made by enemies of the Brethren, to his entire ſatisfaction, and then returned without delay to Onondago. Here they received the following anſwer of the council, with all the formality and ceremonies uſual on ſuch occaſions; viz.: "That the Cajugu Chief was "without doubt their plenipotentiary, and the guardian of "all the lands on the Suſquehannah; and that all he had "ſettled with the deputies from Friedenshuetten had the "full approbation of the great council: that they were well "pleaſed with the ſettlement of the believing Indians in Frie-"denshuetten, where the great council had now 'a council "fire' committed to the care of the believing Indians, and "which they ſhould conſider as a matter of the greateſt im-"portance; that they much approved of the white Brethren "dwelling as teachers among the Indians on the Suſquehan-"nah, to inſtruct them, which the Delawares ſtood particu-"larly in need of, it having appeared in the late war, that "they were peculiarly given to evil ways, and that the great "council wiſhed the conſtitution and church-ſervice to re-"main the ſame at Friedenshuetten, as hitherto." The concluſion of the ſpeech ran thus: "When your Indians, our "couſins, have any thing to treat of with us, they ſhall have "full liberty, to come ſtraight to us, and ſettle their affairs "without the interference of any other Chief, who may not "be of the ſame mind with them."

By this deliberate declaration of the council of the Iroquois, the Brethren received for the firſt time legal permiſ-

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ſion to preach the Goſpel in thoſe countries poſſeſſed by the Indians. The great council itſelf ſeemed to have no inclination at preſent to receive the Goſpel. One of the council told Brother Zeiſberger, that lately a miniſter from New England came and offered to live among and preach to them; but they had refuſed, ſaying: "that as ſoon as they choſe "it, they would let him know: for the preſent, he might "return to his own home." This anecdote was purpoſely mentioned as an hint, that the Brethren ſhould not attempt to carry the Goſpel too far into the country belonging to the Iroquois. The miſſionaries, Zeiſberger and Senſeman, returned thanks to the Lord, for the ſucceſs of their negotiations, and the account, given on their return to the congregation at Friedenshuetten, occaſioned univerſal ſatisfaction and gratitude.

In the year 1766 the inward and outward ſtate of this ſettlement was truly bleſſed, and an extraordinary number of Indian viſitors came from all parts. Theſe were not only ſtruck with the exterior regular appearance of the place, declaring, that it was the moſt beautiful and regular Indian town they had ever ſeen, but they paid great attention to the Goſpel, and its power in their hearts was often remarkably evident. Frequently the whole aſſembly was ſo moved, and the weeping of the congregation ſo general and loud, that the miſſionaries were obliged to ſtop and give vent to their own tears. Some, who heard the Goſpel for the firſt time, ſeemed ſuddenly roufed from the ſleep of ſin, and having mourned over their tranſgreſſions and found pardon and peace with Jeſus, began, by faith in Him, truly to taſte the ſweetneſs of the doctrines of the Goſpel. This was generally followed by a deſire to dwell with the believers. An Indian, for inſtance, having with his wife ſpent the Paſſion-week and Eaſter in Friedenshuetten, and ſpeaking together of what they had heard of our Savior and his love to mankind: the woman ſaid, "I never before heard any thing like this; "what I then felt I cannot expreſs; but my heart was moſt "tenderly moved." Her huſband aſked her, "What would

"you now wiſh to do? I would willingly know it." She anſwered, "I am glad that you aſk me, I have only waited "for this; my wiſh is, to love and believe in our Savior; "but I ſhould find it difficult without you. I cannot live "here alone; nor can I part with you." He ſaid, "I will "not hinder you; for if I did, and you ſhould be loſt, I "ſhould bring your guilt upon myſelf, and I have, alas! ſins "enough of my own. God forbid I ſhould do this! We "will rather both beg leave to live here, that we may hear "daily of our Savior, learn to love him, and become happy "people." They then came to the miſſionaries, related their converſation, and obtained leave to live in Friedenshuetten. Her ſiſter expreſſed her ſenſations during the reading of the hiſtory of our Lord's ſufferings, to the following effect: "My heart tells me, that my ſins have occaſioned "the torments, diſtreſs, wounds, and death of our Savior. "When I heard that he had ſuffered all this to redeem me, "a child of hell, from Satan, ſin, and eternal death, and "to grant unto me everlaſting life, I felt, that I ought to "love and believe on Him, in order to obtain ſalvation, "for otherwiſe I ſhould be loſt." Another ſaid, "I am "often terrified when I conſider, that I have heard the Goſ-"pel ſo long, and have not yet attained to ſaving faith." On theſe occaſions the Indian aſſiſtants were all alive, and in their element. Nothing gave them more joy, than when the converſation of their viſitors afforded an opportunity to teſtify of the truth: the aſſiſtant Joſeph, for inſtance, was one day ſpeaking with the wife of the Delaware Chief, Newallike, concerning the love of our Savior to poor ſinners, which he had truly experienced. She anſwered: "All that "may be true, but I cannot be forgivven, for I have ſinned "grievouſly againſt God." Joſeph replied: "You may ne-"vertheleſs find forgiveneſs with our Savior. I formerly "thought as you do, but found it otherwiſe. Our Savior has "forgiven me many and great ſins. He is even now the ſame "gracious Savior, and has died for your ſins alſo; ſhedding "his blood upon the croſs. As ſoon as you truly believe

"this,

"this, you will taſte his love, and be aſſured, that he will "forgive all your ſins." Another viſitor, who had already received the uſual belt of wampom in token of his being elected captain, returned it of his own accord, and made the following ſincere declaration to the aſſiſtants: "I am "concerned for my ſalvation: my ſins, which are many, lie "heavy upon me; ſometimes I deſpaired of all help; but "when I heard that our Savior receives the worſt of ſinners, "it encouraged me to hope, that even I might be ſaved. I then "prayed to our Savior: 'Have mercy upon me, and let me "feel, that there is grace, even for ſuch a wretch as me.' He "heard me, and I ſaw him as crucified for me; I was con-"vinced that I have wounded him with my ſins, and this "made me weep. I then ſaid, 'Dear Savior! I deſire to "be healed and ſaved by thy wounds, and to be waſhed from "all my ſins in thy blood. I often thought and felt, that, "to be truly converted, I ſhould bid farewell to the world; "and therefore returned the belt of wampom. I do not "deſire any ſuch honor among the Indians; if I may only "obtain mercy, receive the forgiveneſs of my ſins, become "a child of God and live happy among his people; then I "have all my heart can wiſh for."

An heathen Indian had aſked the aſſiſtant Abraham a great many queſtions, but none relating to the ſtate of his ſoul: at length Abraham ſaid: "I am ſurpriſed to ſee you ſo deſir-"ous to know every thing, and yet not to hear you aſk "one queſtion. Do you know your Creator? This is "the one thing needful! Study to know Him, and you "will find out many things, of which, as yet, you know "nothing."

Many of thoſe who, during the troubles of the war, had ſtrayed from the congregation, returned again and were gladly received, eſpecially when they were ſo hungry and thirſty after the Lord Jeſus and his grace, as one of them declared himſelf to be, in the following manner: "I am like one plunged "into water, and every moment expecting to be drowned. "Nothing can ſave me, unleſs our Savior, and his people,

"pardon

"pardon my paſt deviations." Among thoſe, who earneſtly deſired baptiſm, was a young Nantikok. He ſaid: "I have "experienced ſomething remarkable in my mind to-day; "I have a great deſire to be ſaved, but, alas! feel myſelf "a ſlave of ſin and Satan, and it is as if he kept me faſt "bound, unwilling to quit me, though I ſtrive to get from "him; for I am reſolved to become the property of our Sa- "vior." Upon another occaſion he burſt into a flood of tears, and ſaid: "Brethren, have mercy upon me; I am the "moſt wretched creature upon earth; ever ſince yeſterday "morning I have felt nothing but ſorrow, anxiety, and per- "plexity. I can find no place, where I can bear my exiſtence. "This whole afternoon I have lain like a dead man; I have "no ſtrength, and am quite exhauſted. Have mercy upon "me; O that I were baptized and waſhed from my ſins in "the blood of our Savior; that alone can help and give me "reſt."

But as he could not dwell at Friedenshuetten, unleſs he were baptized, the miſſionaries could not come to a ſpeedy determination, on account of a ſtrange cuſtom peculiar to the Nantikok tribe (as mentioned in the Firſt Part of this work), viz.: that when a Nantikok dies, the relations come, dig up the corpſe, wherever it is buried, cut off the fleſh, and carry away the bones. It was however at laſt impoſſible any longer to refuſe the earneſt petition of this Indian, and he became the firſt fruits of the Nantikok tribe; Brother Zeiſberger baptizing him by the name of Samuel.

The great change, obvious in all thoſe, who believed in Jeſus and were baptized, was ſo aſtoniſhing to the heathen viſitors, that many were obliged to confeſs, that the words of the Brethren muſt be true, for otherwiſe it would be impoſſible that the mere belief of them, ſhould make them willing and able to deny the world and every ungodly luſt, and at the ſame time to be ſo ſerene and chearful in their countenances and behavior.

However pleaſing and deſirable it might be, to behold ſuch undeniable proofs of the power of the Goſpel, yet it

frequently occaſioned long viſits, and as ſome people of ſuſpicious characters prolonged their abode at Friedenshuetten, the miſſionaries fearing ſome painful conſequences, and eſpecially that the young people might be ſeduced by them, reſolved to make ſome permanent regulations in regard to viſitors. To this end they choſe ſome of the oldeſt and moſt reſpected members of the congregation, to whom they gave a commiſſion, to meet and ſpeak with all ſtrange Indians, eſpecially with thoſe, who wiſhed to become inhabitants of Friedenshuetten, to examine into their views, and to declare to them with kindneſs and firmneſs, that all who were not truly deſirous to turn unto their Creator and Redeemer, ſhould poſitively not dwell in the place, nor even ſtay in it for any conſiderable time. This was done accordingly, and the faithfulneſs, prudence, and undauntedneſs, with which theſe men executed their commiſſion, was very edifying. They had no reſpect of perſons, nor did they ſpare their own kindred, more than ſtrangers. The good effects of their zeal were ſoon viſible, and ſeveral dangerous people quitted the place, and among them a Nantikok phyſician, who had murdered ſeveral of his own nation by his vile practices, and, as it appeared, ſtill retained the ſame malicious intentions.

Another perplexity aroſe from the rum trade, which the heathen Indians made frequent attempts to introduce into Friedenshuetten. An order was therefore found neceſſary, that the ſtrangers' ſervants ſhould examine theſe people immediately upon their arrival, to know whether they intended to ſtay all night, in which caſe their rum was immediately ſecured, and not delivered to them till the following morning, when they proceeded on their journey. Whoever refuſed to comply with this order, was deſired to leave the ſettlement without delay. Theſe regulations were ſtrictly attended to.

The white traders gave the moſt trouble to the ſettlement. They were not contented with trading in Friedenshuetten, but even endeavored to make it a place of common reſort. In

1766

1766 a large company of them came from Paxton, with an intent to gain a footing here, ſtaid ſeveral weeks in the place at different times, and occaſioned much levity and diſſipation among the young people. The miſſionaries themſelves could not interfere, leſt they ſhould appear to uſurp ſome kind of juriſdiction over the Indians. They therefore left the whole management of this affair to the Indian aſſiſtants, to whom the police was committed, and who at length were ſo much grieved at the diſorders occaſioned by theſe diſagreeable gueſts, that they reſolved to oppoſe it with firmneſs. They met accordingly, deſired an interview with the Paxton people, and Anthony declared to them, in the name of his brethren, that for the future they would not ſuffer Friedenshuetten to be made a rendezvous of traders, nor ſhould they be permitted to have their ſtore-houſe upon this land, nor to ſtay above two or three days in the ſettlement. The traders were enraged at this declaration; but the Indians remaining firm, they were obliged to quit the place. Theſe meaſures were the more zealouſly taken, becauſe the Iroquois had already ſent ſeveral ſerious remonſtrances, deſiring that Friedenshuetten might not be made a place of traffic.

In this year a ſolemn embaſſy arrived in Friedenshuetten, ſent by the Delawares in Goſchgoſchuenk on the Ohio, the Delamattenoos and Gachpas, for themſelves and thirteen other nations. They proceeded by way of Zeninge to Onondago, and thence home again. Their view was to eſtabliſh a general peace among all the Indian nations. They therefore invited all "to lay hold of the chain of friendſhip," and declared all thoſe who refuſed to do it, to be enemies. Our Indians agreed to it of courſe, giving them a ſtring of wampom in token and confirmation of their deſire to promote and ſhare in the general peace.

Sometimes meſſages were ſent to acquaint them with the diſtreſs and famine prevailing among different nations, who recommended themſelves to their generoſity; other deputies announced the arrival of large companies, paſſing through on their travels, deſiring victuals and lodging; and the

the great willingneſs of the Chriſtian Indians to aſſiſt and ſerve their fellow men to the utmoſt of their power, was ſoon ſpread abroad throughout the country.

Their generoſity was frequently followed by want, which they chearfuly bore, as true children of God, not tormented by the cares of this life, but content with little, relying upon the daily bread given them by their heavenly Father, who does not forget even the meaneſt of his creatures. Upon ſuch an occaſion a poor woman ſaid: "I have been thinking "how poor I am: I have nothing of my own; and where "ſhall I get enough for myſelf and my child? This made "me uneaſy, and immediately I prayed thus to our Savior: "'Forgive my care and anxiety about outward matters. "Thou thyſelf haſt been very poor in this world, and haſt "even not had as much of thine own, as I have.' This "thought comforted me, and my heart was ſatisfied."

Beſides the want occaſioned by the extraordinary number of viſitors, the locuſts did very great miſchief to the fields and plantations. The miſſionaries mention their ſwarms to have amounted to millions in number.

The chief means by which the Indians provided a livelihood for themſelves and their families, was by hunting bears, elks, and deer, and catching beavers, foxes, and racoons. But as the Brethren were on that account neceſſitated to go into parts above a day's journey diſtant from the ſettlement, the miſſionaries always adviſed them, not to chooſe ſuch hunting places, where an unneceſſary intercourſe with the ſavage Indians might lead them aſtray; ſeveral lamentable inſtances of ſeduction having made this caution neceſſary. Another article of food was maple ſugar, which is deſcribed in the Firſt Part of this work. The congregation council agreed, that thoſe employed in this buſineſs ſhould keep together as much as poſſible, as well to be able to aſſiſt each other in the work, as to meet ſometimes in prayer. Some who would not follow this advice, were expoſed to danger, and were then left without aſſiſtance. One of the women having ſeparated herſelf from the reſt, fixed her hut near the

the banks of a river, which unexpectedly overflowing in the night, inundated the whole country to such a degree, that she and her daughter were obliged to take refuge upon the roof, and were almost starved before the waters subsided.

CHAPTER II.

1767, 1768.

Accounts from Friedenshuetten. Brother David Zeisberger's Journey to Goschgoschuenk on the Ohio. Apprehensions of an Indian War. Hostilities fortunately prevented. Brother Zeisberger's second Journey to Goschgoschuenk with a view to establish a Mission. He finds Entrance in the Beginning, and afterwards violent Opposition.

FRIEDENSHUETTEN increased so fast, and the numbers who attended constantly to hear the Gospel were so great, that on January 2d, 1767, they began to build a more spacious church, which being completed by the 18th of February, was consecrated in the name of God, to whom the whole settlement and mission was commended anew, with fervent prayer, that he would bless the preaching of the word, and prevent every evil, which might injure His cause in this place.

The strange Indians, who constantly attended, were of various tribes and nations, chiefly Mohawks, Cajugu, Sennekas, Tutelas, Delawares, Mahikans, Wampanose, Nantikoks, and Tuscaroras. Many were driven by the famine then prevailing, to take refuge in Friedenshuetten; others preferred the road through Friedenshuetten in their way to different parts of the Indian country, wishing to see a place

place ſo renowned for its hoſpitality. Thus at one time ſeventy-five Tůſcaroras from Carolina, and at another fifty-ſeven Nantikoks from Maryland came, driven by hunger, and ſtaid there ſome weeks. This proved an opportunity for them to hear the word of God, and ſeveral were on this occaſion ſo far awakened, that they thanked God for the famine they had ſuffered, without which they never ſhould have gone to Friedenshuetten, nor heard the Goſpel of ſalvation. This conſideration made our Indians always willing to feed the hungry, and even to connive at the impoſitions of ſome, who abuſing their generoſity, ate up their proviſions, leading an idle and profligate life, without ever attending to the word of God.

In the mean time enemies were not wanting, in different parts, who were more particularly enraged at the miſſionaries, believing that they alone occaſioned the Chriſtian Indians to ſeparate themſelves from the reſt, forming as it were a detached tribe, who would not enter into the cuſtoms peculiar to the Indians, and even endeavoring to make more proſelytes. The Nantikoks of Zeninge were more particularly exaſperated, and threatened to kill Brother Schmick, becauſe he had, according to their expreſſion, ſo many Indians in his arms, holding them faſt, and endeavoring to graſp more, and thus to rob them of their friends. The ſcripture text for the day, on which he received this threatening meſſage, greatly comforted him; "*The Lord is* "*my helper, and I will not fear what man ſhall do unto me.*" Heb. xiii. 6.

About Whitſuntide the ſmall-pox broke out in Friedenshuetten; the ſame mode of proceeding was therefore adopted as during the time that the meaſles raged in Bethlehem. All the patients were immediately conveyed over the river into ſome houſes fitted up for that purpoſe, and properly attended. The nurſes afterwards could not ſufficiently thank and praiſe the Lord, for all the proofs of his mercy and grace ſhown unto them and their patients; for his preſence in the midſt of them, and for the great conſolation afforded

unto

unto them in meditating upon his precious words in their daily meetings.

In autumn 1767, the miſſionary David Zeiſberger made a journey to the Ohio, hearing that ſome Indians in that part of the country, were deſirous to hear the Goſpel. He ſet out from Friedenshuetten on the 30th of September, in company with Anthony and John Papunhank, two Indian aſſiſtants, the whole congregation uniting in prayer for his preſervation on this dangerous journey. They paſſed through Tiaogu, a part of the Delaware, and a part of the Senneka country. His intention was to viſit Goſchgoſchuenk, though he received every-where a very unfavourable account of the inhabitants. He was however neither intimidated by theſe reports, nor by the great hardſhips he ſuffered on the road, a detail of which would hardly be believed by a ſtranger to that country. They had frequently to croſs over plains many miles in length, overgrown with ſuch high graſs, that a man on horſeback was completely covered by it; and when either dew or rain had fallen, our travellers were wet through. October 6th, they reached a forſaken Indian town. Brother Zeiſberger obſerved with pleaſure the firſt grove of ſilver-fir he had ever ſeen in North America, at one of the ſources of the river Ohio. His Indian companions had never ſeen theſe trees before. The further they penetrated, the more horrid the wilderneſs appeared, and it coſt them immenſe labor to work their way through the thicket. Having thus proceeded four days through a country of ſo dreadful and uncouth an appearance, that the miſſionary was at a loſs to find words to deſcribe it, they met at length the firſt time with an hut in the midſt of the foreſt, in which they took up their night's lodging, having hitherto ſpent the nights in the open air, wrapped up in blankets, and ſuffering great inconvenience from the continual rains.

Upon their arrival at the firſt Senneka town, the appearance of a white man was ſo uncommon a ſight to the inhabitants, that one of them immediately ſet out on horſeback, to

to announce this to the Chief of the next town, near thirty miles off. Brother Zeiſberger therefore expected an unuſual reception, and indeed upon his arrival he was met and accoſted by the Chief in a very rough manner. His mild behavior however had ſo much influence upon the Chief's mind, that he conducted him to his own houſe and invited him to eat. After dinner a converſation of near two hours took place, in which the Chief expreſſed his aſtoniſhment at the miſſionary's undertaking ſo conſiderable a journey, which no white perſon had ever done before, and deſired him fully to explain his views. Brother Zeiſberger ſeized this favorable opportunity to declare the Goſpel unto him. The Chief then with great warmth aſſerted that this word of God was not intended for the Indians. Among other remarks, he made the following: "If this be true, that the "Creator of heaven and earth came into the world, became "a man, and ſuffered ſo much, I aſſure you, that the In- "dians are not in fault, but the white people alone. To "them God has given the Bible: but as for the Indians, "they are a different creation. To them he has given the "beaſts of the foreſt for food, and their employ is to hunt "them. They know nothing of the Bible, nor can they "learn its contents: theſe are much too difficult for Indians "to comprehend." The miſſionary anſwered this and other ſimilar objections with ſuch energy, that he was at length ſatisfied, became very friendly, and confeſſed, that he had at firſt taken Brother Zeiſberger for a ſpy, ſent by the white people, and that this was the cauſe of his firſt rough addreſs. But being now convinced of the ſincerity of his views, he would not prevent his proceeding to Goſchgoſchuenk, but would only give him a ſerious caution, not to truſt the inhabitants of that place, who had not their equals in wickedneſs and thirſt for blood. Brother Zeiſberger anſwered: "That if they were really ſo wicked a people as de- "ſcribed, then they ſtood ſo much the more in need of the "Goſpel of their Redeemer, but that at all events, he did "not fear them, as they could not injure him in the leaſt,

" without the permiſſion of that God, whom he ſerved." After this he reached with his companions another town of the Senneka Indians, juſt as they were celebrating a great feaſt. Here he was obliged to ſtay and partake of two ſumptuous meals, leſt they ſhould imagine, that he deſpiſed the Indians. He found no opportunity of preaching the Goſpel, but prayed the more fervently to the Lord, that He would ſoon open the eyes of theſe blind heathen, and grant them to experience a true joy in God their Savior. October 16th, our travellers arrived at Goſchgoſchuenk; where, to their great ſurprize, they were well received and lodged in the houſe of one of John Papunhank's relations.

Goſchgoſchuenk, a town of the Delawares, conſiſted of three villages, lying on the banks of the Ohio. The miſſionary lodged in the middle village, and ſoon after his arrival, ſent his two companions to requeſt of the inhabitants, that they, with their neighbors in the two other villages, would aſſemble, and hear the " great words" he had to tell them. He was much pleaſed to find here ſeveral perſons, who knew him from his firſt viſit at Machwihiluſing in 1763, where they had heard him preach. Theſe people alſo remembered the outward order, obſerved in the Brethren's meetings, and now of their own accord, perſuaded the men to place themſelves on one ſide, and the women on the other. The miſſionary then informed them, that the only aim of his coming was, to bring to them alſo, the great good tidings, by which they might be brought from darkneſs into light, and obtain communion with God and a full enjoyment of eternal happineſs through faith in Jeſus Chriſt. According to his own account, he felt great chearfulneſs in preaching the Goſpel for the firſt time in this wild country, being ſtrengthened in ſpirit, boldly to declare, that life and ſalvation is to be found only in the death of our crucified Savior. The Indians, who hear the Goſpel for the firſt time, frequently feel a powerful emotion of heart raiſed by a ſubject ſo new; but as the words and expreſſions made uſe of, are partly at firſt unintelligible to them, they always beg for frequent

frequent repetitions, and thus Anthony and John Papunhank were engaged, till paſt midnight, in explaining and repeating "the great words" uttered by Brother Zeiſberger. This gave them alſo an opportunity to bear a powerful teſtimony againſt all heatheniſh cuſtoms, ſuperſtition and infidelity, their own behavior proving the power of the blood of Chriſt, to deliver us from ſin.

The whole town of Goſchgoſchuenk ſeemed to rejoice at the novelty of this viſit. Many, according to the miſſionary's account, could never hear enough of this great truth, that Chriſt came into the world to ſave ſinners. They exclaimed frequently during the diſcourſe, "Yes, that is certainly true; that is the only way to happi-"neſs!" A blind Chief, called Allemewi, was more powerfully awakened, as alſo a woman, ſaid to be 120 years old, who, at her requeſt, was carried from the lower to the middle village, to hear the good words of her Creator and Redeemer before ſhe died.

Brother Zeiſberger found however that the deſcription given him of the people of Goſchgoſchuenk, by the abovementioned Senneka Chief, was, alas, too true. He had never yet ſeen the abominations of heatheniſm practiſed to ſuch a degree. In his report he makes uſe of theſe words: "Satan has here great power: he even ſeems to have eſta-"bliſhed his throne in this place, and to be adored by the "heathen; working uncontrouled in the children of diſo-"bedience." But he was grieved above meaſure at the abuſe of the holy name of God, in the midſt of their moſt ſhameful and diabolical ſuperſtitions. This proceeded from the Indian preachers, deſcribed in the Firſt Part of this work, who ſpoke much of God, and declared, that their moſt execrable heatheniſh practices were all done to his glory, and even at his command.

A preacher of this deſcription, called Wangomen, was juſt then in Goſchgoſchuenk, who frequently told the people, in his public orations, that he was at home in the ſide of God; walking in and out, ſo ſafe and ſure, that neither

ſin nor ſatan could hurt him in the leaſt: but as to the God, whom the miſſionary preached, and who became a man and died on the croſs for us, he knew nothing of him, neither did he acknowledge him to be the true God. The viſit of Brother Zeiſberger was of courſe very diſagreeable to this man. Yet he was always preſent at the meeting, behaving quietly and with attention, and frequently converſed with the miſſionary and his companions. It even appeared as if their teſtimony of the truth had wrought ſome conviction within him, and made him rather leſs confident in his endeavors to oppoſe the Goſpel by his preaching. However this proved ſoon to be otherwiſe, for when Brother Zeiſberger, before his return, aſſembled all the men and aſked them, whether they wiſhed theſe viſits to be repeated, and they unanimouſly declared their aſſent, Wangomen alone was ſilent; and the reſt inſiſting that he ſhould declare his mind, he began a public diſpute, and by drawing a figure upon the ground, endeavored to explain, that two ways led to happineſs, the way of the Indians being ſtraight, and leading more immediately to God, than that of the white people. The miſſionary ſought with meekneſs to convince him of his error; but Wangomen became bolder, declaring, that though he had been intimately acquainted with God theſe many years, and enjoyed a familiar intercourſe with him, he had never known that God had become a man, and ſhed his blood; that therefore the God whom Brother Zeiſberger preached could not be the true God, for otherwiſe he ſhould have been acquainted with this circumſtance. The miſſionary then declared, in the power of the Spirit, that the god whom he, Wangomen, preached to the Indians, and whoſe ſervant he was, was no other than the devil, the father of lies. Upon this Wangomen anſwered in a more moderate tone: "I can-
"not underſtand your doctrine, it is quite new and ſtrange
"to me." Brother Zeiſberger replied: "I will tell you
"the reaſon of it: Satan is the prince of darkneſs; where
"he reigns, all is dark, and he dwells in you: therefore you
"are ſo dark, that you can comprehend nothing of God and
"his

"his word. But when you return, and come as a wretch-
"ed and loſt ſinner to Jeſus Chriſt our Savior, calling
"on him for mercy; then it may be, that he will have
"mercy upon you and deliver you from the power of Satan.
"Then, and not before, you will begin to underſtand ſome-
"thing of God and his word; but now you cannot compre-
"hend it. It is not yet too late: the Lord grants you time
"to repent, and if you turn to him, you may yet be ſaved.
"Do not delay, make haſte, and ſave your poor ſoul." After this ſpirited addreſs, flowing from a heart, filled with love to the poor man, Wangomen ſeemed ſtruck with awe, and confeſſing his miſery and ignorance, joined the reſt in requeſting another viſit. The Indians even met in council, Wangomen being preſent, reſolved to beg the Brethren to ſend a miſſionary to reſide among them, and committed their requeſt to Brother Zeiſberger. Having delivered ſeveral diſcourſes to them, which were attended by an extraordinary diſplay of the power and grace of God, many tears being ſhed by his heathen audience, he cloſed this viſit, with praiſe and thankſgiving to God for his mighty deliverance, and ſet out on his return. Having with his companions borne much fatigue, famine, and bad weather with great chearfulneſs, they arrived at Friedenshuetten on the 5th of November. The report made of his journey cauſed univerſal rejoicing in that congregation, and he ſoon after ſet out for Bethlehem to give an account of the ſituation of affairs on the Ohio.

In February 1768 Friedenshuetten was again diſturbed, intelligence having been received, that a white man had murdered ten Indians near Shomokin, four men, four women, and two children. Our Indians were exceedingly alarmed, fearing that the Indian nations would ſoon join to revenge this horrid act of cruelty. They were greatly concerned for the ſafety of their teachers, who, as white people, are conſidered as outlaws, and in danger of being ſacrificed to the fury of the enraged ſavages; for the latter never inquire in ſuch caſes, whether any one be innocent or guilty, but if

he have a white ſkin, they look upon that as a ſufficient reaſon to take his life, to revenge any murder committed by the white people upon an Indian. Our Indians therefore reſolved never to ſuffer the miſſionaries to be left alone, but to keep ſtrict watch about their perſons. In the mean time, this dreadful event was mentioned both to Government and to General Johnſon. The former immediately iſſued two proclamations, offering a reward of 200 l. for the apprehending of the murderer of the ten Indians, promiſing to puniſh him with death, and ſent this declaration with two ſtrings of wampom to all the Indians, living on the Suſquehannah, deſiring, that they would not break the peace. The ſame meſſage was ſent to Friedenshuetten, and at the expreſs deſire of the governor of Pennſylvania communicated to the Indians in public aſſembly, and then ſent forward to other towns. Soon after a ſpecial meſſage was ſent to our Indians by Sir William Johnſon, deſiring that if they knew any of the relations of thoſe perſons, murdered near Shomokin, they would ſend them to him, that he might dry up their tears, comfort their afflicted hearts, and ſatisfy them reſpecting all their grievances. The General alſo invited the Chiefs of the Iroquois and other Indian nations, living on the Suſquehannah and the Ohio, to an amicable convention. Friedenshuetten was likewiſe called upon to ſend delegates, and ſeveral neighboring Chiefs inſiſted upon it. But our Indians had no inclination to go, not wiſhing to interfere with any political affairs, and knowing from experience that theſe journies and negotiations were attended with more harm than good to the ſouls of the delegates. They therefore gave the Cajugu Chief full commiſſion to appear and treat with the reſt in their name. But their adverſaries ſeized this occaſion, to moleſt and perplex the believing Indians, pretending that General Johnſon and the whole aſſembly of Chiefs had reſolved to conſider them as enemies, for having refuſed to ſend delegates, and to deſtroy them and their ſettlement. Improbable as this appeared, great uneaſineſs was occaſioned in Friedenshuetten, and the

miſſionary, Brother Schmick, was hardly able to pacify the minds of the people. At length their fears were removed, certain intelligence being received, that, far from being diſaffected towards them, the General publicly praiſed their conduct, and expreſſed a wiſh that many ſuch Indian towns as Friedenshuetten might be eſtabliſhed in the country. The Chiefs of the Iroquois expreſſed likewiſe great regard for this ſettlement.

Peace and friendſhip being thus re-eſtabliſhed between the Engliſh and Indians, through the benevolent exertions of General Johnſon, and the Iroquois having ſettled their diſputes with the Cherokees, all fear of an Indian war vaniſhed, and the minds of the people were ſet at reſt. The ſo-called king of the Cherokees was led in ſolemn pomp through the whole country of the Iroquois, accompanied by the Oneida Chief, and every where received as a friend. They alſo came to Friedenshuetten, and the Oneida Chief availed himſelf of this occaſion to declare the great joy which he and the whole council at Onondago felt, when they conſidered, that the Indians here learned to know God, and had teachers reſiding among them, to inſtruct them in His ways; exhorting our Indians, never to depart from them, but to remain firm and faithful. In confirmation of this, he delivered a ſtring of wampom, and the Indians, by another ſtring, declared in reply, that it was their chief deſire, to grow daily in the knowledge and love of God their Creator and Redeemer, adding their fervent wiſh, that all the Indian nations might become acquainted with their God and Savior: for then peace and benevolence would infallibly reign among them.

The joy felt by the Indians at the reſtoration of peace was ſomewhat leſſened by an unexpected account, received at this time, that the Iroquois had ſold all the country eaſtward of the Ohio, in which Friedenshuetten was included, to the Engliſh. They juſtly apprehended, that this would give riſe to new troubles, nor were they miſtaken.

In the mean time the Indians at Goſchgoſchuenk on the Ohio were perſuaded by an Indian preacher, living about a day's journey from that place, to ſend a meſſage to Friedenshuetten. This man hearing of Brother Zeiſberger's viſit laſt year, and inquiring minutely into his doctrine, without being able to gain ſatisfactory information concerning it, expreſſed great concern on that account, adding, that though he was a preacher himſelf, yet he perceived that his doctrine was not true; that he had heard many other preachers, who likewiſe did not preach the truth; that this had been revealed to him in a dream, in which ſomebody appeared, and told him, that they were all falſe teachers. This made him eager to hear the doctrine of the Brethren, becauſe it might perhaps point out the true way to God. The meſſengers therefore earneſtly deſired, that a miſſionary might viſit them again; or rather, according to their former requeſt, come and live at Goſchgoſchuenk.

During this period a reſolution had been taken in Bethlehem, that Brother Zeiſberger ſhould go again to Goſchgoſchuenk, take Brother Gottlob Senſeman from Bethlehem, and ſome Indian families from Friedenshuetten with him, ſtay there ſome time and endeavor to eſtabliſh a regular miſſion. He and Brother Senſeman left Bethlehem in April 1768, and Brother John Ettwein (afterwards conſecrated a biſhop of the Church of the United Brethren) accompanied them to Friedenshuetten. Here they found the above-mentioned meſſengers from Goſchgoſchuenk, who immediately ſet out with the joyful news, that the Brethren were on the road, and would ſettle in that place. May 9th, they proceeded with the three Indian Brethren, Anthony, Abraham, and Peter, with their families, partly by water down the rivers Suſquehannah, Tiaogu, and Ohio, and partly by land acroſs the country. But they ſoon diſcovered their error in not having previouſly informed the Iroquois of this journey, and obtained their conſent. Near Tiaogu, a party of twenty captains came up with them, and endeavored by a belt of wampom, in the name of the Iroquois, to prohibit their

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their proceeding to the Ohio, and to compel them to return. But Brother Zeiſberger boldly refuſed to comply, and having informed them of the aim of their journey and returned their belt, he aſſured them, that every ſtep ſhould be taken to fulfil their duty to the Iroquois, with which the captains at laſt ſeemed ſatisfied. The Cajugu Chief ſent likewiſe a meſſage to Friedenshuetten, to inquire into this buſineſs; but ſoon after, on viſiting that ſettlement, was pacified by the miſſionaries, who owned their omiſſion, and aſked his pardon. Our travellers proceeded now with good courage. Thoſe who went by land, were obliged to paſs through many fires in the foreſt, which rendered the air extremely hot, and filled it with ſmoke and ſuffocating exhalations. They loſt ſeveral nights reſt, by the dreadful howlings, and even bold attacks of the wolves, who ſometimes ventured ſo near their fires, that they were obliged to drive them away by pelting them with firebrands. In general all went well, and after a journey of five weeks, they arrived, June 9th, at Goſchgoſchuenk, the inhabitants having ſent a boat, laden with proviſions, up the Ohio to meet them. The joy on their arrival ſeemed general, and they were not a little ſurprized, when they were lodged in the houſe of the above-mentioned preacher Wangomen, which was large and roomy; he having retired with his family into another, merely to accommodate his gueſts.

Brother Zeiſberger did not neglect, immediately upon his arrival here, to ſend a meſſage to the Cajugu Chief to inform him of the purpoſe of his journey; and Chief Allemewi ſent alſo the following meſſage to the Senneka Chief, reſiding at Zoneſchio, to whom the country in which Goſchgoſchuenk lay, belonged: "Uncle! this is to acquaint you, "that ſome of our friends and two white Brethren are ar- "rived with us, whom we invited to tell us the great words "of our God and Creator. You have often ſent meſſages "to us, admoniſhing us to lead a good life, and to follow "after virtue. This we have not yet done. But now we "have reſolved to change our lives, and to baniſh far from

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" us all heatheniſh cuſtoms; ſuch as feaſts, dancing, and " drunkenneſs; and our Brethren, who are now with us, " ſhall inſtruct us in the word of God."

This indeed was the chief employment of the Brethren. Brother Zeiſberger preached every day, held morning and evening meetings, and ſung hymns in the Delaware language, which his new audience had never before heard. All theſe meetings were attended by great numbers, and it was curious to ſee ſo many aſſembled to hear the Goſpel, with faces painted black and vermillion, and heads decorated with cluſters of feathers and fox tails, which were much in uſe among the young people. They were very eager and apparently glad to hear the word of reconciliation, and the power of God attending it, enlivened and comforted the miſſionary.

The Brethren now reſolved to build a blockhouſe for themſelves, that they might preach the Goſpel more uninterruptedly. They choſe for this purpoſe a convenient ſpot, at a ſmall diſtance from the town, and completed the work in a ſhort time, being aſſiſted by the inhabitants and even by the young people. They alſo planted Indian corn, having received land ready cleared from the inhabitants, who alſo helped them in planting. The believing Indians, the two above-mentioned meſſengers ſent to Friedenshuetten, and ſome families from Goſchgoſchuenk, erected their huts around the miſſionary's houſe, thus forming a ſmall village ſeparated from the town. To this a great number reſorted, and there the Brethren ceaſed not, by day and night, to teach and preach Jeſus, and that God was in Chriſt reconciling the world unto himſelf.

They alſo found here, that the natural man is not willing to acknowledge himſelf as wretched as he really is, and nothing was more difficult, than to convince theſe Indians, that unbelief in Jeſus Chriſt is the greateſt ſin. One of them aſſured the miſſionary very ſeriouſly, that the greateſt crime he had ever committed, was his having ſtolen two ſheep and an hen from the white people.

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The Goſpel having been preached for ſome time with great power, a violent oppoſition ſucceeded, which was chiefly occaſioned by the malice of the captains, as was afterwards diſcovered by Chief Allemewi. Theſe people pretended to poſſeſs a certain myſterious art, by which they could kill any man in a manner unperceived, poiſon ſprings and rivers, and ſpread ſickneſs throughout whole villages. They feared that if any of their party were converted, their ſecret would be diſcloſed, and thus the whole claſs of captains be in danger of loſing their lives, by the juſt revenge of the populace. Upon their ſecret inſtigation therefore, a number of active adverſaries made their appearance, when leaſt expected. The greateſt enemies of the miſſionaries were the old women, who went about, publicly complaining, that the Indian corn was blaſted or devoured by worms; that the deer and other game began to retire from the woods; that no cheſnuts and bilberries would grow any more, merely becauſe Brother Zeiſberger preached a ſtrange doctrine, and the Indians began to alter their manner of living and to believe on God. One in particular, who was unuſually enraged againſt him and his doctrine, proteſted with vehemence, that whoever went to his meetings and believed his words, would be tempted and tormented by Satan, and that therefore all men ſhould carefully avoid the company of the white teacher. The ſorcerers appointed ſacrifices to appeaſe the wrath of thoſe ſpirits, who were offended by the preſence of the Brethren, and offered hogs by way of atonement. An Indian, who had been baptized in New England, raiſed ſcruples in the minds of the hearers, by inſinuating, that the white people enſlaved all the baptized Indians, as he had experienced in New England and Friedenshuetten. Others ſpread a report, that ſome New England Indians had been on the other ſide of the great ocean, and brought a letter from the King of England to all the Indians in North America, cautioning them, againſt following or believing the Brethren living at Bethlehem, for that they would lead them ſtraight to Hell.

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Others endeavored to terrify the people, by aſſerting, that as ſoon as the Brethren had gained ſufficient power, and the baptized Indians were ſuperior in number, they would kill all the unbaptized. Soon after, five Indians of the Senneka tribe, who were remarkably wild, diſſembling, ſuperſtitious, and averſe to the Goſpel, came to Goſchgoſchuenk, one of whom, being a Chief, declared his great diſpleaſure, that the people had ſuffered white people to ſettle amongſt them. The Chief in Zoneſchio was likewiſe much enraged, and violently oppoſed the Brethren's dwelling in Goſchgoſchuenk; ſuſpecting, that other white people would ſoon follow, build a fort, and take poſſeſſion of the country. He ſent therefore the following meſſages as far as the land of the Shawanoſe: "Couſins! I perceive that a man in a black "coat, that is, a preacher, is come to you. This man will "ſeduce you, and if you attend to him, he will make you "forſake your old cuſtoms and manner of living. I adviſe "you not to attend to him, but to ſend him away. If you "do not follow my advice, you may poſſibly find him ſome "day lying dead by the way-ſide." Many ſecret meſſages arrived ſucceſſively from the Iroquois, and it was afterwards diſcovered, that their import tended alone, to raiſe ſuſpicions in the minds of the inhabitants againſt the miſſionaries, and to urge them either to baniſh or kill them. Theſe meſſages had ſuch an effect upon the minds of the people, that the whole town ſeemed in confuſion, and it was providential, that Chief Allemewi remained a friend and a firm defender of the Goſpel. A ſorcerer was likewiſe ſent from Gekelemukpechuenk, where heatheniſm and every abomination bore the ſway, and every one was in danger of his life, who dared to open his mouth concerning God and his word. This man was commiſſioned to confound Brother Zeiſberger in the preſence of all the people, but his aim being fruſtrated, he retired with ſhame. An heathen preacher, living at a great diſtance from Goſchgoſchuenk, ſent a belt of wampom to Chief Allemewi, threatening that next ſummer the ſun ſhould ſtand perpendicularly over his head, and burn

burn and deſtroy all the Indian corn in the land. As theſe meſſages were ſoon noiſed abroad, the adverſaries became daily more outrageous, and ſometimes ſo much diſturbed the houſe of the miſſionary, that he was obliged to deſiſt from preaching.

Wangomen, who had hitherto been a ſilent hearer, and behaved with great kindneſs to the Brethren, now threw off the maſk, going from houſe to houſe, and prohibiting the inhabitants of Goſchgoſchuenk to attend the meetings of the baptized. Several, fearing the reproach of men, ſtayed away, or came only by night to eſcape obſervation. Others ſtood without, hearing in ſecret, to take, as it were, the word of God by ſtealth. Young people were forbidden by their parents to viſit the miſſionaries, and parents would willingly have come, but were prevented by their children. Thoſe who went boldly to the meetings, were abuſed, and perſecuted in various ways. Some were even driven from their own houſes, and took refuge among the Brethren, through whoſe interceſſion, they were received and protected by Chief Allemewi in his own dwelling. Here the words of our Savior were literally fulfilled: "*I am come to ſet a* "*man at variance againſt his father, and the daughter againſt her* "*mother, and the daughter-in-law againſt her mother-in-law, and* "*a man's foes ſhall be they of his own houſehold.*" Matt. x. 35, 36. The miſſionaries, to uſe their own expreſſion, ſeemed to live in a cloſe and pernicious atmoſphere; for they ſaw themſelves encompaſſed with bitter enemies, who wiſhed daily to take away their lives. Even many of thoſe, who had ſhown the greateſt joy upon their arrival, were ſo far changed, that they were ready to ſtone them. Some adviſed openly, to kill the white people. Others demanded, that not only the miſſionaries, but all the baptized Indians, ſhould be murdered and thrown into the Ohio; and the friends of the Brethren were afraid of being murdered in the night. Two Indians even entered into a covenant to kill the miſſionary. One evening ſeveral diſagreeable viſitors made their appearance, at a late hour, with an intent to murder them,

but had not the courage to execute their bloody deſign. The Brethren therefore thought themſelves no longer ſafe, when alone in their houſe, but always kept ſome of the baptized Indians with them, as a guard; and even theſe durſt not venture twenty or thirty yards from their own houſes, without being armed with an hatchet or gun, to keep off malicious people.

Notwithſtanding theſe troubles, the Brethren were reſolved not to quit their poſt, but built a ſmall winter houſe, as a place of retirement, their large houſe being ſeldom free from viſitors, where they might have an opportunity of adminiſtering the Lord's Supper to their Indian Brethren, and keep other meetings with them. The miſſionary never omitted preaching the Goſpel at the uſual time, being firmly reſolved, in ſpite of the rage of Satan, to preach the word of life, in humility and meekneſs, relying upon the Lord for ſafety and defence; and to the praiſe of his holy name it muſt be owned, that at this trying juncture both he and Brother Senſeman were ſo peculiarly ſtrengthened in faith, that no trials could conquer their confidence. The greateſt harmony ſubſiſted between them and the believing Indians, and they mutually exhorted each other to poſſeſs their ſouls in patience, and in the midſt of danger and perſecution to prove by their walk and converſation, what ſpirit they were of.

During theſe troubles the Brethren were greatly encouraged by an unexpected viſit from an Indian woman, who with many tears deſcribed the divine effect produced in her by the word of God, and how ſhe had obtained grace to believe, that Jeſus Chriſt was her God and Savior. The above-mentioned blind Chief Allemewi experienced likewiſe the power of the Goſpel in a particular manner, and he now publicly declared that he intended to believe on Jeſus and to live unto him. Thus the Brethren ſaw that their labor was not in vain in the Lord, and covenanted anew, to ſuffer all things, yea death itſelf, for the ſake of Jeſus and his Goſpel.

It is worthy of remark, that at that very time, when they were daily threatened with death, their ſerious remonſtrances had

had however ſo good an effect on the greater part of the inhabitants, that the rum trade, which had formerly been carried on to a great extent at Goſchgoſchuenk, was entirely abandoned, and neither Indians nor white people were ſuffered to bring rum into the town. Had this regulation not taken place, the Brethren would have found it impoſſible to remain there any longer.

The inhabitants of Goſchgoſchuenk were at length divided into two parties, one of which oppoſed the Goſpel with all their might, and the other was ſo much attached to it, as to declare, that they would rather quit Goſchgoſchuenk, and build a town in ſome other place, than be deprived of it. Light and darkneſs began now to ſeparate from each other. Thoſe who looked for a Savior, diſmiſſed their fears, and attended the meetings publicly and diligently, not ſuffering the ſevere weather to prevent them. For this they were exceedingly hated by the oppoſite party, who called them, *Sunday Indians* or *Shwonnaks*, that is, white people, the moſt opprobrious name they could invent.

In October 1768, the Brethren Zeiſberger and Senſeman made a journey of three weeks to the Chief of the Sennekas in Zoneſchio, an enemy to the Goſpel, to give him and his council a juſt idea of their dwelling and preaching among the Indians on the Ohio. Chief Allemewi, the head of that part of the inhabitants of Goſchgoſchuenk, who favored the Goſpel, ſent two deputies to accompany them, with the following meſſage: "Uncle! I would let "you know, that I have joyfully received the good word of "God, brought to me and my people by the Brethren, "whom you now ſee before you. I love to hear this preci- "ous word of God every day, for it is not enough to hear "it once or twice; but I muſt be daily inſtructed in it. "Goſchgoſchuenk however is not a proper place for it; I "therefore beg and intreat you, uncle, to take us up, and "place us on the Onenge or Venango rivers, where there "is convenience and room to build a town and to make "plantations, that we may live alone unmoleſted by ſavages

"and

" and infidels, and be able to receive all thoſe, who in future " may wiſh to hear and believe the Goſpel.".

Allemewi ſent alſo meſſengers, with the ſame words, to Pakanke, Chief of the Delawares, and to King Beaver, who lived further weſt. Theſe meſſages were every-where well received, even in Zoneſchio, and the propoſal of the Indians to remove from Goſchgoſchuenk to the Venango, as alſo their reſolution to believe in God, was much commended. They were moreover exhorted, to follow and be obedient to the Brethren. But this being merely the opinion of the council in Zoneſchio, the unfriendly Chief, whoſe aſſent was indiſpenſably neceſſary, being abſent, the affair remained undetermined, and the tedious and dangerous journey of the Brethren proved in vain.

CHAPTER III.

1769. 1770.

Beginning of the Miſſion at Tſchechſchequannink. Pleaſing Courſe of the Congregation at Friedenshuetten. Some outward Trouble and Diſtreſs. The Miſſionaries are obliged to retire from Goſchgoſchuenk. Building of Lawunakhannek on the Ohio. Brother Zeiſberger's Journey to Pittſburg. Firſt Baptiſm of Indians on the Ohio. Various Accounts. Lawunakhannek is deſerted. Building of Friedenſtadt on the Beaver Creek. Hopeful State of the Miſſion in that Place.

AMONG the various places which were viſited by the Brethren of Friedenshuetten, was a town about thirty miles higher up the Suſquehannah, called Tſchechſchequannink, in which a great awakening took place. This was occa-

occaſioned by the account given by thoſe who had been at Friedenshuetten, and related with energy what they had ſeen and heard. At the repeated requeſt of all the inhabitants, the Brethren reſolved to ſend a miſſionary to reſide among them, and Brother John Rothe was appointed to this poſt. They however thought it prudent, firſt to ſend deputies to the Cajugu Chief, and through him to petition the great council at Onondago, to permit a Brother to live among them as a teacher. This being done accordingly, leave was granted without any difficulty, the Cajugu Chief adding, that now he ſhould frequently go to Tſchechſchequannink, to hear the "great word;" being convinced, that that was the right way to come to God and learn to know him.

February 4th, 1769, Brother Rothe moved thither, and preached the day following to all the inhabitants, who were eager to hear. At their requeſt he regulated morning and evening ſervice, which was numerouſly attended. The proofs of the grace and power of Jeſus Chriſt, prevailing in theſe meetings, encouraged him boldly to preach repentance and forgiveneſs of ſins in his name. Thoſe who came with their faces painted and their caps adorned with tinkling bells, were, in a friendly manner, deſired by their own countrymen firſt to waſh their faces and take off their bells. In March two Indian aſſiſtants went thither from Friedenshuetten, to aſſiſt the miſſionary in the inſtruction of the people, by their edifying walk and converſation. Thus Tſchechſchequannink became as it were a chapel of eaſe to Friedenshuetten, and as Brother Rothe was not yet ordained, he always went thither with his people to receive the Holy Communion or to attend baptiſmal tranſactions.

About half a mile from Tſchechſchequannink the ſavages uſed at ſtated times to keep their feaſts of ſacrifice. On theſe occaſions they roved about in the neighborhood, like ſo many evil ſpirits, making ſuch hideous noiſes and bellowings, that the air reſounded far and near; but they never approached near enough to moleſt the inhabitants of Tſchechſchequannink, where the preaching of the Goſpel continued uninterrupted,

terrupted, and the power of the Spirit of God was made manifeſt to the hearers. A white man, being preſent at a meeting, and ſeeing the Indians moved to tears by the words of the Scripture, ſaid to Brother Rothe, "I am baptized, "and call myſelf a Chriſtian, but my heart is far from be- "ing touched by the Goſpel." Concerning this emotion, which even cauſed the wildeſt ſavages to ſhed tears, an Indian thus expreſſed himſelf: "Whenever I ſaw a man ſhed "tears, I uſed to doubt his being a man. I would not have "wept, if my enemies had even cut the fleſh from my bones, "ſo hard was my heart at that time; that I now weep, "is of God, who has ſoftened the hardneſs of my heart." Brother Rothe had the pleaſure to ſee many ſimilar proofs of the power of the word of God, and it appeared for ſome time, as if all the people in the town and neighborhood of Tſchechſchequannink would turn to the Lord. Some time after an enmity againſt the Goſpel began to ſhow itſelf. Some ſaid openly, "We cannot live, according to the pre- "cepts of the Brethren; if God had intended us to live "like them, we ſhould certainly have been born amongſt "them." A diviſion likewiſe aroſe between the Chiefs of the town and the neighboring country, one of whom, called James Davis, became a follower of the Goſpel, and on that account was perſecuted and reviled by the reſt. The ſorcerers threatened, that firſt his cattle, then he himſelf, and ſoon after the miſſionary ſhould die. Others were perſecuted in the ſame manner, both by the heathen Chiefs, the ſorcerers, and by their neareſt relations.

Theſe troubles however were not able to hinder the progreſs of the Goſpel in Tſchechſchequannink, and on the 18th of May, Brother Rothe had the joy to ſee the Chief, James Davis, baptized in Friedenshuetten, being the firſt fruits of Tſchechſchequannink. Others were ſoon partakers of the ſame grace, and their chearful countenances and godly walk fully proved the true converſion of their hearts. The baptized converſed of their own accord with the heathen viſitors, concerning the power of the Goſpel, and frequently

made an abiding impreſſion upon them by their energetic and experimental declarations. A ſtrange Indian expreſſing his deſire to believe in Jeſus, Samuel exhorted him to conſider well what he ſaid; adding, "A man muſt know what "he is about, and whether he intends to devote himſelf "to the Lord for life; or he may become ſeven times worſe "than he was before."—"Yes, indeed," replied the heathen, "the devil is very ſtrong."—"But our Savior," returned Samuel, "is much ſtronger."

The glorious work of God in Friedenshuetten, flouriſhed uninterruptedly throughout the year 1769. The believers grew evidently in the grace and knowledge of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and a great many of the heathen viſitors were awakened from the ſleep of ſin. Several of theſe had been robbers and murderers; who now appeared hungry and thirſty after grace in the blood of Jeſus, and by their unaffected declarations gave the miſſionaries inexpreſſible ſatisfaction. One being aſked, by Brother Schmick, why he wept ſo much, and what he wiſhed for? anſwered, "Alas! "I wiſh to obtain life eternal; my ſinful heart longs for "our Savior and his cleanſing blood. You know, that I have "often told you my deſire, but to-day I have felt ſuch an "eager longing after our Savior in all the meetings, that I "know not what to do, for the uneaſineſs of my heart. I "cry continually, 'Lord have mercy upon me! remember "even me, a wretched ſinner, forgive me all my ſins, and "waſh me in thy blood: take my heart, bad as it is, my "ſoul and body, and ſave me." Another ſpent almoſt two whole nights in tears. The miſſionary inquiring into the cauſe of it, he anſwered: "Well may I weep, when I do "not feel our Savior and the power of his blood in my heart! "for without this, I am a loſt and undone creature; I wiſh "to be ſaved, and to believe in and love Jeſus. I conſidered "what might hinder me. Is it my wife," ſaid I, "or any "thing elſe that is in the way? My heart told me, It is not "my wife; if I had no wife, I ſhould be contriving to get one. "It muſt be ſomething elſe. It is my own bad heart!"

When ſuch poor and needy ſinners, weeping for mercy, were afterwards abſolved in the name of Jeſus, and baptized, *their* joy, and that of the congregation, was inexpreſſibly great. A venerable old man, ninety years of age, was baptized, fell ill, died, and was buried within five days, the whole congregation praiſing God that he had lived to receive mercy in his old age, and to depart as a reconciled ſinner, in ſo edifying a manner. Indeed the great difference between the baptized and the heathen was never more ſtriking than on their death-beds.

As to outward matters, the courſe of the congregation at Friedenshuetten was very edifying. The miſſionaries rejoiced particularly to ſee induſtry, diligence, a deſire to learn, and a benevolent behavior towards ſtrangers, become univerſal. A Chief reſiding on the Ohio, having heard many good and evil reports concerning Friedenshuetten, came purpoſely to ſee the Chriſtian Indians, and to inform himſelf of the truth. He afterwards ſaid: "I had heard, that when "ſtrange Indians come to you, you pay no regard to them, "and that you are a diſdainful ſet of people. But now I "am convinced that this is a falſehood, and therefore I will "not believe any evil report of this place."

Whenever any Chiefs came to Friedenshuetten, the miſſionary, Schmick, uſed to invite them to dinner, eſpecially the Chiefs of the Iroquois; and being unaccuſtomed to ſuch hoſpitable treatment from the generality of the white people, it made a good impreſſion upon their minds, and was of great ſervice to our Indians by removing miſapprehenſions, and giving the miſſionaries an opportunity of converſing familiarly with the Chiefs, and of hearing and anſwering their ſcruples and remarks. They were very attentive even to the ſmalleſt circumſtances; for inſtance, their meaſuring the fields geometrically made ſome ſuſpicious, who looked upon this as a myſterious contrivance to ſecure the land as their own property. The miſſionary's houſe and the church being ſhown to them, ſome paintings repreſenting the nativity, the paſſion on mount Olivet, and the crucifixion, engaged their attention,

attention, and gave the miſſionaries an opportunity briefly to relate to them the hiſtory of our Lord, which produced in ſome a ſalutary thoughtfulneſs. Many became friends and defenders of the Brethren, and were reviled for it. Thus a Chief of the Nantikok tribe, a prudent and ſenſible Indian, being convinced of the truth of the Goſpel, and behaving well to the Brethren, was deprived of his office by his own people, but the Chief in Onondago reinſtated him with honor. Soon after this he payed a viſit in Friedenshuetten, and ſaid: "My people have indeed taken away my belts "and ſtrings of wampom; but they were obliged to leave "me that underſtanding, which God has given me; and I "may ſtill make uſe of it, as I pleaſe, to do good."

The Brethren now learned with certainty from the Chiefs, that the Iroquois had even ſold that ſpot of ground to the Engliſh which they gave to our Indians in the year 1765. They therefore thought proper to ſend ſome deputies from Friedenshuetten to Philadelphia, to obtain a new grant of this land from the Governor of Pennſylvania. His Excellency received them and the petition of the Indians very kindly, and returned them an anſwer in writing, in which he promiſed, that, as a quiet and peaceable people, they ſhould not be diſturbed in their poſſeſſions, and that he had ordered the ſurveyors not to take up any land within five miles of Friedenshuetten. They therefore ſhould conſider all reports, of taking away their land, to be without foundation, and if any dared to moleſt them, he would protect and grant them ſatisfaction. But he alſo expected, that they would behave as they had done hitherto, and not join thoſe, who raiſed diſturbances in the country. He ſent the ſame favorable meſſage to the converted Indians in Tſchechſchequannink. However, the confuſion and troubles which the miſſionaries had reaſon to fear, could not be prevented. Before they were aware, one or another European came, pretending that the governor had either ſold or given the land, upon which our Indians lived, to them, and contrary to the orders of the governor, the ſurveyors came to meaſure

ſure the land, and were with difficulty convinced of their error.

Towards autumn our Indians began to feel ſome outward diſtreſs. Their proviſions were at an end; and the little they had left, was conſumed by viſitors and travellers. It was very affecting to ſee families of five or ſix children without food, obliged to go ten or more miles from home in queſt of bilberries. Happily no one periſhed with hunger, nor did any one lack his daily bread. They frequently experienced that the Lord liveth, and graciouſly provides for his people in every time of need: the barrel of meal waſted not; neither did the cruſe of oil fail. 1 Kings, xvii. 14.

The Brethren, who had preached the Goſpel in Goſchgoſchuenk had in the year 1769 reaſon both for joy and ſorrow. Six families and three widows remained firm, deſiring to know Jeſus Chriſt, and neither contempt nor perſecution could ſhake them. Many ſavages alſo became concerned for their ſalvation, and took refuge among the Brethren. One of them was not content to ſtay all day, but remained till midnight, relating his courſe of life; what trouble he had taken to attain happineſs, ſtrictly following Wangomen's preſcriptions, offering many ſacrifices, and paying him twelve fathoms of wampom; but all in vain. He therefore deſired to know the true way to God, for he wiſhed to be ſaved. Such ſouls the Brethren received with particular kindneſs, pointing out to them Jeſus Chriſt as the only way, being ſhort, plain, and eaſy to find, as ſoon as a ſoul is truly deſirous to obtain forgiveneſs of ſin and to forſake the ſervice of Satan. In February they conſidered four perſons as candidates for baptiſm.

The powers of darkneſs however ſoon exerted themſelves with renewed force againſt this growing miſſion. Wangomen, who had been ſome time abſent on his travels, related on his return with great boldneſs, that ſome white people from Virginia having been in Gekelemukpechuenk, and heard the Indian preachers with conviction, confeſſed with tears, that the Indians had the true doctrine, and

that

that they would adhere to their faith: for nothing would grow in Virginia, and the famine they ſuffered was a ſign of the wrath of God, becauſe they had not the true faith. Theſe Virginians therefore reſolved to be converted next ſpring to the Indian doctrine. "And now, my friends," exclaimed Wangomen, "you ſee plainly that we have the "true faith; for even the white people themſelves intend to "adopt it; why will ye therefore go to the white Brethren, "and hear and believe them?" Wangomen appointed likewiſe many feaſts of ſacrifice, to keep the people from attending the meetings of the miſſionary. His party began now to rave in a very furious manner, and to commit the moſt heatheniſh abominations, even in the preſence of the Brethren. At length the rum trade was forcibly introduced, againſt all the repeated remonſtrances of the miſſionary, the Indian aſſiſtants, and Chief Allemewi. This the Brethren and the believing Indians conſidered as a ſign, given by the Lord himſelf, that they ſhould ſtay no longer in Goſchgoſchuenk, and therefore they began to build boats for their departure.

As they were thus employed, a Senneka Chief came with two other Chiefs to Goſchgoſchuenk, and prohibited the miſſionary, by a black belt of wampom, which always ſignifies ſome evil intention, to leave the town, till further orders were received from Onondago. By another ſtring he laid a ſtrict injunction upon all the inhabitants, to refrain from going to hear Brother Zeiſberger's ſermons, aſſuring them, that God would be diſpleaſed, if they ſhould forſake their antient cuſtoms and practices and follow the white people.

Upon this occaſion Brother Zeiſberger ſtepping boldly forward, withſtood the Chief with great confidence, and took occaſion to bear a powerful teſtimony of the love of God revealed unto man in Chriſt Jeſus our Lord, before the whole aſſembly. After this, he and Chief Allemewi proceeded to give an anſwer to the above-mentioned black ſtring, and they both declared with firmneſs, that if they were not

permitted to go to Venango, they ſhould however certainly quit Goſchgoſchuenk, and retire fifteen miles further, to a place called Lawunakhannek, ſituated on the oppoſite bank of the Ohio.

This they ſoon after accompliſhed, and chuſing a ſuitable place in the wilderneſs, they built a new ſettlement, where they and the converted Indians might live, with thoſe of the people of Goſchgoſchuenk, who were awakened, and deſired to hear the Goſpel without moleſtation. Their view was not to eſtabliſh a regular miſſion-ſettlement in this place, but only to dwell here for a time, until the preſent affairs of the Indian miſſion in general ſhould be more clearly ſettled.

April 7th, the miſſionaries and all the converted Indians left Goſchgoſchuenk, filled with thanks and praiſes to God for having miraculouſly preſerved them thus far, even in the midſt of their enemies. They were accompanied by Allemewi and all thoſe who were concerned about their eternal ſalvation, and aſſembled that very evening in their new dwelling-place to praiſe and magnify the name of the Lord, who guideth and protecteth his people in all places by his mighty arm.

Wangomen now gained great aſcendency in Goſchgoſchuenk, meeting with no reſiſtance. His joy ſoon got the better of his prudence; he frequently preached in a ſtate of intoxication, and behaved ſo ſhamefully, that his hearers were obliged to ſeize and bind him; and at laſt became aſhamed of their teacher. Yet their enmity to the Brethren continued, and they endeavored to moleſt them even in Lawunakhannek, inventing threats as coming from the neighboring Chiefs, and omitting no opportunity of ſhowing their animoſity. A woman, who had followed the Brethren to Lawunakhannek, went to Goſchgoſchuenk to buy Indian corn. The perſon to whom ſhe applied refuſed to ſerve her, ſaying: "I will not ſell a grain to the Lawunakhannek "people; for you ſay that whoever believes in God, is hap-"py; but I ſay, that I am happy, when I have Indian corn "enough.

" enough. You may therefore keep to your faith, worſhip " God and ſuffer hunger; I will continue in my old way, wor- " ſhip Indian corn and eat my fill."

Meanwhile Brother Zeiſberger perſevered in preaching the Goſpel, and his Indian aſſiſtants, Anthony and Abraham, were his faithful fellow-laborers. The latter made it his peculiar province to encourage and edify the newly awakened, and the unbaptized Indians who lived in the place, exhorting them not to ſtop ſhort in the work of their converſion, but to devote their whole hearts to Jeſus, that by virtue of his death a thorough change might be wrought within them; for he had perceived in ſome, that though they heard the word of God with gladneſs, they wiſhed to keep to their corrupt inclinations and heatheniſh manner of living. He addreſſed them upon this ſubject emphatically, thus: " We lead a life of miſery, " when we have not a ſingle eye towards our Savior, but be- " lieve on him with only half an heart, and give the other half " to the world. On the contrary, if we are wholly his, " then every thing is made eaſy. Conſider," ſaid he, " what " our teachers have done for us: they might live at home in " very good houſes, and here they cannot even get a conve- " nient dwelling, but muſt ſit down among the aſhes: they " might eat, drink, and live well, but here they muſt put up " with ſpoiled Indian corn. All this they undergo, to tell " you the great words of our Savior, and to ſhow you the way " of ſalvation." Anthony was diligent in attending and con- verſing with the viſitors, who came in numbers from Goſch- goſchuenk and other places to ſee Lawunakhannek. He en- deavored in various ways to ſerve and edify them, and preached the Goſpel with great boldneſs. At the cloſe of one of his diſcourſes, he obſerved: " I have not received theſe " things in a dream. The Indians may have revelations and " ſigns in dreams, but I was in my right ſenſes and broad " awake, when I felt and experienced the power of the " Goſpel in my heart." This ſaying made a great impreſſion upon many of the ſavages. They ſaid, " If any thing be " true,

" true, it is this doctrine; ſurely the Brethren teach the right " wayto happineſs."

The moſt diſtinguiſhed character among the numerous viſitors was Glikkikan, an eminent captain and warrior, counſellor and ſpeaker of the Delaware Chief in Kaſkaſkunk. This man came purpoſely to diſpute with and confound Brother Zeiſberger, as he had formerly ſerved the Romiſh prieſts in Canada; the Chiefs having appointed him, as the moſt able ſpeaker, to refute their doctrines. He was likewiſe a teacher of his people, but never adhered ſtrictly to one opinion, changing his faith, as he received new impreſſions. He afterwards confeſſed, that before he left Kaſkaſkunk, he had well conſidered, what he intended to reply, by way of confounding the Brethren, and came, as he thought, completely armed at all points. When he arrived at Lawunakhannek his courage failed, and he reſolved to hear the Brethren firſt, and then to reconſider his reply. Anthony, that active and chearful witneſs of Jeſus, whoſe heart continually burned with deſire to lead ſouls to their Savior, ſo that he often forgot to take food and reſt, in attending to this bleſſed work, invited Glikkikan and the Chiefs, who had come with him from Goſchgoſchuenk, to be witneſſes of the miſſionary's defeat, to dine with him, after which he addreſſed them in the following manner: " My friends, liſten " to me! I have great things to tell you. God created the " heavens and the earth, and every thing therein, and there " is nothing exiſting that was not made by him." He then pauſed for ſome time, and proceeded; " He alſo created us; " and who is there among you that knows his Creator? I " tell you the truth, no one knows his Creator by his reaſon " alone; for we are all fallen from God, and rendered blind " by ſin." Here he made a longer pauſe, to give them time to conſider his words, and proceeded: " This God, who " created all things, came into the world, and became a man " like unto us; only he knew no ſin. But why did he come " down from heaven and become a man? Conſider this a

" little."

"little." After a long pauſe he added: "He became a man "and took upon him our nature, that he might ſhed his blood "for the remiſſion of our ſins, and ſuffer death on the croſs, "by which he has purchaſed for us everlaſting life and happi- "neſs, and delivered us from eternal condemnation." Thus he continued to diſcloſe the whole will of God concerning our ſalvation in ſhort ſentences, interrupted by pauſes for contemplation. Glikkikan's heart was captivated; he felt the power of this precious word, and confeſſed before the Chiefs of Goſchgoſchuenk, that all which they had now heard, was true. He then attended the uſual daily meeting, and was exceedingly ſtruck by ſeeing, when full awake, what he declared to have beheld in a viſion, ſeveral years ago. He had dreamt that he came to a place, where a number of Indians were aſſembled in a large room. They wore their hair plain, and had no rings in their noſes. In the midſt of them, he diſcovered a ſhort white man, and the Indians beckoning to him to come in, he entered and was preſented by the white man with a book, who deſired him to read: on his replying, "I cannot read," the white man ſaid: "After you have "been with us ſome time, you will learn to read it." From this time he frequently told his hearers, that there were certainly white people ſomewhere, who knew the right way to God, for he had ſeen them in a dream. Therefore when he came hither, and ſaw the Indians and the ſhort white man, Brother Zeiſberger, exactly anſwering to the figure of him he ſaw in his dream, he was much aſtoniſhed. He now frequently went to Lawunakhannek, and converſed earneſtly with the Brethren. He even once reproved the unbaptized Indians, who lived there, for the ſlow progreſs they made in their converſion. "What," ſaid he, "have you heard the "word of God upwards of a year, and not one of you be- "lieves and is baptized? You are certainly not in earneſt "about your faith, for ſuch a long time is not required to "turn unto the Lord." Upon his return to Kaſkaſkunk, he honeſtly related the unexpected reſult of his undertaking, and delivered

delivered a noble teſtimony concerning the Brethren and their labor among the heathen.

Upon this a ſolemn council was held at Goſchgoſchuenk, to conſider whether they ſhould receive the Goſpel? The council was divided in opinion, but contrary to expectation, a great majority agreed to receive the word of God. The following anſwer was therefore returned to the Senneka Chief, who had given them the above-mentioned charge, not to hear the words of the Brethren: "Uncle, you have "brought us words, implying that we are neither to hear, "nor believe the doctrine of the white people. This is to "let you know, that all our friends in Friedenshuetten have "received the word of God, and why ſhould we not do the "ſame? We will therefore hear the word of God, for every "one has full liberty to hear or not to hear it. Whoever has "no mind to hear, may ſtay away. For the Indians are a "free people, and will never be ſlaves."

From this time the Brethren were more eaſy in their minds; a very different ſpirit ſeemed to prevail, and an earneſt deſire after the enjoyment of the grace of our Savior was perceived among the people.

As to their maintenance, the inhabitants of Lawunakhannek met with great difficulties in the beginning. The harveſt in their new plantations was not yet gathered; their old ſtock of Indian corn was ſpoiled and half rotten, which however they ate with thanks. When that was conſumed, they could buy no more throughout the whole country. The Brethren Zeiſberger and Senſeman therefore, with ſome Indian Brethren, travelled to Pittſburg in July, and were fortunate enough to procure a further ſupply.

Here they found the people in great conſternation for fear of an Indian war, the treacherous Senneka Indians having ſtolen upwards of 150 horſes, ſhot above 200 head of cattle, and even murdered ſome white men, under pretence that the white people had got poſſeſſion of ſo much of the Indian country, that on that account they could neither rob, nor do them

them injury enough. This gave riſe to an opinion in Pittſburg, that all the Indian nations had broken the articles of peace, and therefore the plantations around this fort were all deſerted. Brother Zeiſberger, who was better acquainted with the ſituation of affairs in the Indian country, thought it his duty to appriſe the governor and officers in Pittſburg of this circumſtance, and they ſo far attended to his propoſitions, as to lay aſide their reſolution of conſidering and treating all Indians as enemies, and reſolved to ſend delegates to the Chiefs of the other Indian tribes, to complain of the injury done by the Sennekas, and to demand ſatisfaction. The miſſionary likewiſe adviſed, that an agent of Indian affairs might be again appointed in Pittſburg, who ſhould make himſelf acquainted with their ſituation, conſtitution, and uſages, preſerve a friendly intercourſe, hear their complaints againſt the white people, refer thoſe of the latter to a court of juſtice, and endeavor to ſettle all diſputes in an amicable manner. This advice was well received in Pittſburg, and the good effects of it ſoon became evident. Thus the miſſionary had the ſatisfaction to do an eſſential ſervice to the whole country. He likewiſe took great pains, in paſſing through ſeveral Indian towns on his return, to pacify the minds of the inhabitants, and to adviſe them to keep peace. God bleſſed his endeavors in ſuch a manner, that the principal Chiefs of theſe places agreed with Allemewi from Lawunakhannek to ſend deputies to Pittſburg, to aſſure the Engliſh of their good diſpoſition towards them. The deputies were well received, treated as peaceable Indians, and returned with a belt of wampom ſent to all the Indian nations, by which the Sennekas alone were declared enemies, and the other Indians, friends to the Engliſh. But as not only the Sennekas continued to plunder, but even the white people broke their word and frequently did injury to the Indians, the diſturbances continued, and the negotiations of peace begun at Pittſburg, were ſuſpended.

The white Brethren at Lawunakhannek having hitherto been content to live in an hunting hut, began on the 1ſt of September to build a chapel and dwelling-houſe. They inhabited

inhabited it before winter, and conſecrated the chapel; and a bell which they received from Bethlehem, was hung in a convenient place.

Soon after they gathered in their harveſt, and had a very rich crop, which put the heathen publicly to ſhame, as they had frequently propheſied, that the crops of all thoſe who believed in Jeſus would fail.

Now that bleſſed period arrived, ſo long and ſo eagerly wiſhed for by the miſſionaries, when they had the inexpreſſible joy to baptize the firſtlings of this country, namely, a married couple and their child. This ſolemnity, which took place on the 3d of December, was attended with ſo powerful a ſenſation of the preſence of God, and had ſuch an effect upon the other Indians, that the Brethren were richly comforted for all their ſorrows and afflictions. Brother Zeiſberger called it, in his report, a feſtival without its equal. The baptized man was one of the two meſſengers ſent in the ſpring of 1768 to Friedenshuetten to invite the Brethren to Goſchgoſchuenk, and could now not find words ſufficient to expreſs his gratitude to God for the grace beſtowed on him. His wife ſaid afterwards to an Indian ſiſter, that ſhe felt herſelf to-day quite a new creature, to what ſhe was yeſterday, and was inexpreſſibly happy: "Yet," added ſhe, "I have done nothing to deſerve it."

Several inhabitants of Goſchgoſchuenk who were at this baptiſm, propoſed that a reſolution might be taken in the council, that they ſhould all unanimouſly receive the Goſpel. But the miſſionary repreſented to them, that this would anſwer no good purpoſe; and rather adviſed, that each ſhould examine his own heart, and know whether he was reſolved to be devoted to Jeſus Chriſt or not; as every one might determine this for himſelf, and had no occaſion on this account to aſk the conſent of the chiefs. Some time after, the blind Chief, Allemewi, deſired to be carried to the miſſionary's houſe. He ſeemed full of grief, and at length broke out in theſe words: "Brethren! I can bear it no longer, I "muſt open my mind to you. I have neither eaten nor ſlept

"for

" for three days and nights; my heart is full within me, and I " have no reſt night nor day. I am convinced, that I am a loſt " ſinner, and unleſs my heart ſhall ſoon receive comfort, I muſt " die, for I cannot live ſo much longer. I am now ſick both " in ſoul and body." He trembled all over, as he uttered theſe words. He was adviſed, to reſolve without heſitation, to come unto Jeſus, weary and heavy laden, for then he would find reſt for his ſoul. At length, after much obſtinate oppoſition on the part of his wife and neareſt relations, and after many ſcruples raiſed in his own mind, he reſolved to caſt himſelf with all his miſery upon the mercy of his Redeemer. His repeated requeſt to be baptized was alſo granted on Chriſtmas-day, when he received the name of Solomon; and afterwards could not ſufficiently expreſs, what the Lord had done for his ſoul. He ſaid, " Not only my heart " is at eaſe, but my body is even reſtored to health: in ſhort, " I feel that I am quite another man. I could not have be- " lieved, that I ſhould enjoy ſuch happineſs." The holidays were truly days of grace and conſolation. Many ſcoffers were awakened and wept over their forlorn eſtate. Others begged for baptiſm, and Brother Zeiſberger had the ſatisfaction to ſee, even in this country, that no oppoſition is ſo fierce, and no enemy ſo powerful, that may not be overcome by the blood of the Lamb and by perſeverance in boldly preaching the word of the Croſs.

Friedenshuetten took the greateſt ſhare in all theſe proceedings on the river Ohio, and as the prayers of that congregation had been fervently offered up unto God in behalf of Brother Zeiſberger and his aſſiſtants during their great ſufferings, ſo likewiſe they now offered up thanks and praiſes unto him for the happy change in their ſituation. The peace and reſt enjoyed both at Friedenshuetten and Tſchechſchequannink were gratefully acknowledged as a ſingular mercy of God. In both places the preaching of the Goſpel was uninterruptedly continued during the year 1770, with power and great bleſſing, the miſſionaries being frequently encouraged in an extraordinary degree, when they ſaw themſelves

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ſurrounded by ſuch numbers of heathen, and bore witneſs of the power of that blood, which was ſhed for them alſo. The open and ſincere declarations of the awakened gave them great comfort, as they plainly proved, how graciouſly the Holy Spirit labored upon them, to convince them both of their total depravity, and of the neceſſity of turning for help and mercy to Jeſus. An unbaptized Indian ſaid one day with great emotion: "A year is now elapſed, ſince I firſt ſaid, "that I would devote myſelf to our Savior; yet I have not "done it, but deceived him and the Brethren, living in ſin, "and having no peace of mind. I now ſee that I am full of "ſin; wherever I look, there is nothing but ſin; yea, it per-"vades my whole body, and unleſs our Savior has mercy "upon me, I muſt be loſt, for I cannot help myſelf." An unbaptized Indian begged with great concern, that his dying child might be baptized, adding, "If my child is baptized, "and cleanſed in the blood of Jeſus Chriſt, I ſhall be ſatisfi-"ed, if it ſhould even die; for then it will go to our Savior." His requeſt was granted. An Indian woman, 97 years of age, having been baptized by a clergyman of another perſuaſion, was, at her requeſt, received as a member of the Brethren's congregation, and ſoon after departed this life rejoicing in God her Savior.

It was a matter of no ſmall joy to obſerve the power of the Holy Ghoſt among the young people, for whoſe uſe two new ſpacious ſchool-houſes were built at Friedenshuetten. The miſſionaries conſidered it as a ſufficient reward for all the trouble of inſtructing them, to ſee their good and obedient behavior, and their diligence in learning their leſſons. Nor was it leſs pleaſing to hear them ſing hymns of praiſe to our Lord and Savior for his incarnation, ſufferings, and death, in the Delaware and Mahikan languages.

The Iroquois, who, as before mentioned, had deceitfully ſold that land to the Engliſh, upon which Friedenshuetten was built, and which they had formerly given to the believing Indians, attempted now to unite them with the ſavage Indians on the Suſquehannah, and to remove them altogether into

the neighborhood of Aſſimſſink, where they all ſhould join in building a large town. In this view they ſent a meſſage to Friedenshuetten in April 1770, which was rejected by the Chriſtian Indians, who took this occaſion to remonſtrate with the Iroquois on their treacherous behavior, and without further heſitation, declared their propoſal to be void of common ſenſe and honeſty. The Iroquois then ſent another meſſage to our Indians, with two Spaniſh dollars, as their ſhare of the money received for the land ſold to the Engliſh, aſſuring them, that Friedenshuetten was expreſsly excepted and ſhould remain free. But our Indians returned the two dollars, with the following meſſage: "We had no land "to ſell; it is your land, and the money is likewiſe yours; "take it therefore, for we do not deſire to reap the benefit "of your labors." The latter part of their meſſage was left unanſwered, our Indians knowing it to be an untruth. The ſame meſſages being ſent to Tſchechſchequannink, they were anſwered in the ſame manner, and the miſſionaries were glad to perceive, that ſo little impreſſion was made by them on the minds of the believers. They likewiſe enjoyed peace and reſt, and the general wiſhes and exertions of all were directed to this one point, richly to enjoy the ſalvation of God even in the midſt of an heathen country, and by a walk conformable to the precepts of Chriſt, and a benevolent behavior towards all men, to prove a bleſſing and edification to the neighboring places.

Though the miſſionaries continually exhorted our Indians to treat their neighbors with kindneſs and courteſy, yet they always cautioned them againſt uſeleſs viſits in other towns, which were often attended with danger, a melancholy inſtance of which happened to an Indian Siſter, on the 11th of May, who being on a viſit in a neighboring town, was ſtruck with a tomahawk on the head by a drunken Indian, and killed on the ſpot.

At Lawunakhannek, the beginning of the year 1770 was diſtinguiſhed by a gracious viſitation of God our Savior. Several heathen, who did not reſiſt the Spirit of God, were added to the fellowſhip of the believers by holy baptiſm. A meet-

ing was held with the baptized alone, to remind them of the great grace beſtowed upon them, and of the fruits of faith, which were expected in conſequence of it. This had a bleſſed effect, and it was not long before the new baptized became active and zealous in the propagation of the truth. They now viſited Goſchgoſchuenk, their former place of reſidence, with great boldneſs, and publicly confeſſed that they had formerly been ſlaves of ſin, but were now made free through the mercy of God our Savior. This was likewiſe the topic of their converſation with the viſitors, both from Goſchgoſchuenk and other places, ſo that there was not an houſe in Lawunakhannek in which the goſpel was not preached. This tended greatly to confirm the public teſtimony of the miſſionary, and many a viſitor left the place with ſentiments, widely different from thoſe, which he brought with him. A ſtrange Indian was conveying a barrel of rum to Goſchgoſchuenk for ſale, but calling at Lawunakhannek by the way, he heard the goſpel, was convinced of his unhappy condition without God in the world, reſolved to ſtay with the Brethren and alter his manner of living, and returned the barrel of rum to the trader at Pittſburg, declaring that he would neither drink nor ſell any more rum, as it was againſt his conſcience; he therefore begged the trader to take the rum back, adding, that if he refuſed, he would pour it into the Ohio. The trader and other white people preſent, were greatly amazed, aſſured him that this was the firſt barrel o rum they had ever ſeen returned by the Indians, and took it back without further objection.

During this time of grace, they were not without perſecutions, though it appeared, as if the enemy had loſt his power. One of the ſavages, who had determined laſt year to murder the Brethren, could not forget it, but reſolved to do it this year in January. The better to accompliſh his deſign, he firſt got drunk, but loſing his way in coming to Lawunakhannek, was overtaken by the night and fell aſleep in the wood. In the morning when he aroſe ſober, he loſt his courage and returned. Wangomen alſo took great pains to prevent the Indians

Indians from coming to hear the goſpel, but now his miſrepreſentations made no impreſſion upon their minds.

About this time a ſingular circumſtance happened, which occaſioned another emigration. Lawunakhannek began to be much troubled by the warriors, who frequently paſſed through. The Sennekas having broken the treaty, but lately made with the Cherokees, murdered ſeveral of the latter. The Cherokees therefore caught two Sennekas, cut off all their fingers, and ſent them home with the following meſſage: "We had made a perpetual peace with you, and you "with us: but the treaty was ſcarce concluded, when you "broke it again: you had promiſed us to hold faſt the chain "of friendſhip, but you have not done it. Now becauſe you "will not hold the chain of friendſhip with your hands, we "will cut them off, and ſend you herewith a ſpecimen." Upon this, hoſtilities commenced, and as the Brethren and their Indians wiſhed to withdraw from the vicinity of the war, and the numbers of thoſe, who moved to Lawunakhannek to hear the goſpel, increaſed ſo faſt, that they began to want room, they at laſt reſolved to accept of the friendly offer, repeatedly made by the Chiefs in Kaſkaſkunk, and to ſettle in the neighborhood of that town.

This reſolution occaſioned much joy in Kaſkaſkunk, eſpecially to Glikkikan; and in Lawunakhannek all hands were now diligently employed in building canoes and preparing for the journey. But in order to obviate any harm, that might ariſe from evil-minded people, who had threatened to hinder them by force from quitting the place, or to kill them by the way, the Brethren informed the council at Goſchgoſchuenk of their intention. The council ſent for them, gave them full liberty to depart, and begged Brother Zeiſberger to forget all former injuries and the dangers he had been expoſed to in their town, owning, that at that time a band of murderers had ſworn to take his life. Brother Zeiſberger willingly forgave them, and improved the opportunity, to bear witneſs to the great and pardoning love of Jeſus Chriſt, whoſe ſervant he was. The council further reſolved, that conſidering the Brethren had come to them, merely in this good view,

to teach them the word of God, it was but juſt, that they ſhould not continue in danger of their lives, and to this end they ſhould be adopted members of the Monſy tribe of the Delaware nation, and be regularly naturalized, by which they ſhould never be conſidered as other white people, in caſe of a war with the latter, but be treated as native Delawares. This reſolution they ordered to be communicated to the other Chiefs and councils of the Delaware nation, and propoſed to appoint an umpire, to watch over the due obſervance of the peace and covenant, eſtabliſhed between them and the white Brethren. The miſſionaries received this offer with thanks, as an event, that might prove beneficial in its conſequences.

April 17th, 1770, the congregation of Lawunakhannek broke up, and ſet out in 16 canoes, paſſing down the river Ohio by Pittſburg to the mouth of the Beaver Creek; which they entered, and proceeded up to the falls, where they had to unload and tranſport their goods and canoes by land. One of theſe carrying places detained them two days. The frequent repetition of this troubleſome work cauſed them to be very thankful when they met Glikkikan with ſome horſes from Kaſkaſkunk for their uſe.

Thus after a tedious journey, during which they had however held their daily meetings as often as their ſituation would permit, refreſhing their ſouls by the comfortable word of God, they at length arrived on the 3d of May in the country where they intended to build their new ſettlement. The ſpot appointed for them could not have been better choſen, and there was good land ſufficient to ſupply an hundred families. They now informed Pakanke, the head chief in Kaſkaſkunk, and his council, of their arrival. During the formalities uſual on ſuch occaſions, both Brother Zeiſberger, and the Indian deputies, delivered ſeveral copious ſpeeches, to give the inhabitants of Kaſkaſkunk, from the very beginning, a juſt idea of their new neighbors, and Pakanke bid them welcome in the ſame number of ſpeeches. Captain Glikkikan could now no longer bear to live at Kaſkaſkunk, but deſired leave to dwell with

with the Brethren. The latter exhorted him well to conſider, that in ſo doing he would exchange an honorable office, power and friends, for reproach, contempt and perſecution. But his declarations were ſo firm and ſincere, that it was impoſſible for them to refuſe his requeſt.

The Indians were now diligent at work in their plantations, and dwelt in the mean time in bark huts. They alſo built a large hut for the meetings of the congregation, which were numerouſly attended by the people from Kaſkaſkunk. The ſettlement made by the Brethren here, was called Languntoutenuenk, or Friedensſtadt, the Town of Peace.

June 12th, the firſt baptiſm was adminiſtered in this place, to the wife of the blind chief Solomon, who had formerly oppoſed her huſband with great violence, but afterwards became thoughtful, and anxious to obtain ſalvation. Glikkikan and others, who had never ſeen this tranſaction, were ſtruck with wonder and amazement, and the whole aſſembly was ſo powerfully pervaded by the ſenſation of the preſence of God, that the Brethren Zeiſberger and Senſeman were overcome with joy, and filled with renewed courage, boldly to maintain their poſt, even under the moſt grievous oppreſſions, and gladly to venture their lives in endeavoring to lead ſouls to Chriſt.

The Indians in the neighboring country were aſtoniſhed or rather alarmed to ſee a people ſettle among them, ſo much differing in manners and cuſtoms from the heathen, and to hear a doctrine preached, of which they never before had any idea. In ſome this aſtoniſhment was ſoon changed into diſpleaſure and animoſity. Glikkikan's retiring from Kaſkaſkunk to Friedensſtadt, occaſioned univerſal diſſatisfaction. His friends ſpared no pains to prevent it by kind perſuaſions; but finding them uſeleſs, they railed moſt bitterly againſt him, calling him a ſorcerer, by which they even endangered his life. The old Chief, Pakanke, who had always employed him as his ſpeaker, and looked upon him as his right hand, altered his friendly behavior towards the Brethren, and denied his having invited them into the country, charging

Glikkikan with it. He even attacked him publicly, and in great wrath ſaid, "And even you have gone over from this "council to them. I ſuppoſe you intend to get a white ſkin? "But I tell you, not even one of your feet will turn white, "much leſs your body. Was you not a brave and honored "man, ſitting next to me in council, when we ſpread the "blanket and conſidered the belts of wampom lying before "us? Now you pretend to deſpiſe all this, and think to "have found ſomething better. Some time or other you will "find yourſelf deceived." Glikkikan replied briefly thus: "It "is very true, I have gone over to them, and with them I will "live and die." Though Colonel Croghan, an Engliſh officer, exhorted Pakanke not to oppoſe the Brethren, but to ſuffer all thoſe Indians, who wiſhed to hear the Goſpel, to go to them, adding, that they aimed at nothing, but the real welfare and intereſt of the Indians; and though Pakanke promiſed fair, yet he remained an enemy, and many were deterred from coming to Friedensſtadt. About this time, a very bad epidemical diſeaſe prevailed among the Delawares, which took off great numbers, and was aſcribed by the heathen to the power of magic. Many of the Chiefs and counſellors at Gekelemukpechuenk and other places conceived a notion, that they could not remedy this evil in any other way, than by unanimouſly reſolving to receive and believe the word of God. As it was ſoon known that Pakanke was averſe to the cauſe, the Chief and council of Gekelemukpechuenk ſent him a black belt of wampom of a fathom in length, with the following meſſage: "There is a contagion among us: many Indians "die, and this evil has laſted ſome years: we ſhall all ſoon "be deſtroyed, unleſs ſome help be procured. Convene a "council upon this belt. Whoever does not receive this belt, "ſhall be conſidered as an enemy and murderer of his people, "and we ſhall know how to treat him according to his deſerts." This meſſage being of myſterious import, Pakanke was left to gueſs its meaning. But he pretended not to underſtand, that it implied, that they ſhould receive the Goſpel as the only remedy.

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The Brethren found meanwhile, that it would be highly neceſſary for the cauſe of the Goſpel, to remove a miſunderſtanding which prevailed among the heathen to the prejudice of the Chriſtian Indians. They aſſerted, that as ſoon as the latter changed their mode of living and refuſed to join in their vices, they likewiſe withdrew their contributions towards the ſupport of the affairs of the nation, and would no more aſſiſt in furniſhing the uſual quantity of wampom, allowed for the uſe of the Chiefs. The miſſionaries therefore took the neceſſary ſteps to procure a formal declaration from the believing Indians, in all places, to this effect: "That though they "never intended to interfere, either with the affairs of ſtate "or with the wars of the ſavages, yet they were always will-"ing to bear their ſhare of the public burden in times of "peace, and to contribute towards the expences attending "all meaſures adopted for the welfare of the nation, which "were not meant to moleſt either the white people or the "Indian nations; but upon this poſitive condition, that the "Chiefs, counſellors, and captains of all the different tribes "ſhould never claim the leaſt authority over the miſſionaries, "but leave them at full liberty to go where they pleaſed, "and in caſe of their return to Bethlehem, to ſend other "Brethren in their room." This declaration gave univerſal ſatisfaction, was anſwered by all the Chiefs in very civil terms, and by ſome, by formal embaſſies, and prevented much enmity, to which the believing Indians and their teachers might have otherwiſe been expoſed. At Goſchgoſchuenk, Wangomen was appointed deputy, and ſent by the council with a full and conciſe anſwer, couched in the moſt courteous terms, to Friedensſtadt, and thence to Pakanke at Kaſkaſkunk, to inform him and his council of the adoption of the Brethren into the Monſy tribe, deſiring him to ſend the meſſage forward to the reſt of the Delaware tribes, and with their conſent to the Iroquois, Delamattenoos, and Shawanoſe, and to appoint and acknowledge the above-mentioned umpire, appointed to watch over the due obſervance of the covenant, thus made between the Brethren and

the Indian nations. Wangomen executed all theſe commiſſions with much punctuality, and appeared to have laid all enmity againſt the Brethren aſide: he was even commiſſioned by old Pakanke, who alſo pretended to be reconciled to them, to go in perſon to Friedenshuetten, and invite the believing Indians to come to the neighborhood of Kaſkaſkunk and build a town for themſelves, upon any ſpot of ground they might chuſe.

In the mean time our Indians began on the 23d of July to build a regular ſettlement on the weſt ſide of the Beaver Creek, erecting block-houſes, and working with ſuch perſeverance and diligence, that before winter, they and their teachers were ſafely and conveniently houſed. Then the ſtatutes of the congregation were made known to the inhabitants, and every thing regulated as in Friedenshuetten.

Oct. 28th, the miſſionary John George Jungman and his wife arrived from Bethlehem, to have the care of this congregation, and brought a ſtring of wampom from Colonel Croghan in Pittſburg to Pakanke, deſiring him to receive the miſſionary and his wife with kindneſs, as they came merely from benevolent motives to promote the welfare and proſperity of the Indians. This unſolicited kind interference of the Colonel gave much pleaſure to our Indians and their teachers, and made a good impreſſion upon Pakanke. Brother Senſeman returned to Bethlehem in November, having been a faithful and uſeful aſſiſtant to Brother Zeiſberger, with whom he willingly ſhared diſtreſs and danger.

Both miſſionaries rejoiced greatly at the gracious viſitation of this country by the Lord. The power of the Holy Ghoſt was remarkably evident during the preaching of the precious Goſpel of Chriſt Jeſus, and the heart of one poor ſinner after the other was opened, and led to accept of the gracious invitation, which he gives to all that labor and are heavy laden. Glikkikan was ſo much moved by a diſcourſe delivered in the daily meeting, that he afterwards wept aloud on his way home. The heathen were aſtoniſhed,

that

that ſuch a noted and valiant captain ſhould weep in the preſence of his former acquaintance; but the Brethren praiſed God for ſuch viſible proofs, that the word of the croſs of Jeſus can even break and melt the moſt ſtubborn and proud heart of a wild Indian. One of Pakanke's ſons, having liſtened with attention to a ſermon, ſaid: "I have "underſtood all I have now heard, and your words have pe-"netrated into my heart: now I believe that they are true." An unbaptized Indian ſaid to a viſitor: "Whoever will con-"ſider but for a moment, muſt plainly ſee, that the doctrine "of the Brethren is true; and even though our ſenſes can-"not rightly comprehend its meaning, yet our hearts feel "ſomething of its power, as often as we hear it."

Many people from diſtant places, eſpecially from Shenenge, came to hear the comfortable Goſpel, which encourages ſinners with all their miſery to turn to their Redeemer.

As to Friedensſtadt itſelf, the peace of God, brotherly love, and a deſire to cleave to and love God our Savior, prevailed moſt powerfully in the congregation. The baptized improved daily in a Chriſtian walk and converſation, and greatly valued their high and heavenly calling. One of them ſaid to a ſtrange Indian: "I cannot indeed ſpeak much to you at preſent, but "I will give you an opportunity to hear the precious words "of our Savior, with which the moſt delicious food in the "world is not to be compared for ſweetneſs;" and then brought him to the chapel. A noted ſorcerer, who came to ſee Friedensſtadt, ſtood liſtening to an Indian Siſter, who was boldly declaring the Goſpel to ſome female viſitors; and afterwards ſaid that he had a great inclination to try his legerdemain tricks upon her, and to do her an injury. When ſhe heard this, ſhe ſaid: "I do not fear his threats: for if "any one could even take away my life by ſuch practices, I "ſhould then go home to our Savior, where I ſhould enjoy "much greater happineſs, than in this life." The labor of the Spirit of God was likewiſe ſo evident in the children, and the Lord perfected praiſe even out of the mouths of babes, in ſuch a manner, that the miſſionaries were filled with aſtoniſhment.

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Among the unbaptized and catechumens the awakening was ſolid and general, and their longing after grace and the remiſſion of ſins in the blood of Jeſus appeared on all occaſions. The miſſionaries were more particularly rejoiced to ſee that the above-mentioned Captain, Glikkikan, and a Chief, called Genaſkund, who retired with them from Goſchgoſchuenk, were the moſt humble and contrite among all the unbaptized, confeſſing with great openneſs their ſinful and abominable manner of living among the heathen, praying God for mercy and forgiveneſs as the moſt undeſerving prodigals, and earneſtly requeſting to be baptized. They both received this favor on the 24th of December, and remained living and diſtinguiſhed examples of that divine truth, that no ſinner is ſo proud and depraved, but he may be thoroughly humbled, changed, and converted to God by the power of the blood of Jeſus.

CHAPTER IV.

1771. 1772.

The Indian Congregation reſolves to leave Friedenshuetten and Tſchechſchequannink. Troubles in Friedenshuetten. Various Accounts. Troubles in Friedensſtadt. Brother Zeiſberger's Journey to view the Country on the Muſkingum. Building of Schoenbrunn. The Indian Congregation travels from the Suſquehannah to Friedensſtadt. Building of Gnadenhuetten on the Muſkingum. Zeiſberger viſits the Shawanoſe. Pleaſing Courſe of the three Congregations.

IN the ſpring of 1771, Wangomen came to Friedenshuetten, to deliver the above-mentioned meſſage from the principal Chiefs of the Delaware nations to the Indian congregation, and alſo to invite them and the congregation in

in Tſchechſchequannink to the Alleghene, that is, to the country on the Ohio. The Chiefs declared, that they would receive the believing Indians into their arms as friends, and permit them to chuſe a tract of land, where they might live together as Chriſtians in peace and ſafety; and that they ſhould bring their white teachers with them, who ſhould be conſidered as being of the ſame color with the Indians.

At the particular requeſt of the Chiefs, Brother Zeiſberger gave a letter of recommendation to the deputies, aſſuring the Indian congregation, that this invitation concealed no bad deſign, but rather, that the Chiefs, being now truly deſirous that they and their young people might hear the Goſpel, wiſhed on that account alone that Brethren might reſide among them: our Indians however miſtruſted the contents of this meſſage, and therefore gave the following ſhort anſwer to Wangomen and the other delegates: "We rejoice, that "Pakanke and the other Chiefs have thought on us with ſo "much kindneſs. But we are as yet too heavy to riſe, and "when we have lightened ourſelves, we will ſend word to "the Chiefs." Some time after Chief Netawatwees in Gekelemukpechuenk repeated this invitation in a preſſing manner, which occaſioned our Indians to conſider more particularly about it, eſpecially as the Wyondats had likewiſe invited them to move to their land on the Ohio, aſſuring them, that they would not ſell the ground under their feet, as the Iroquois had done.

However no reſolution was taken, till the month of May, when Friedenshuetten was viſited by the Brethren Chriſtian Gregor and John Loretz, who ſome time ago arrived from Europe to hold a viſitation in all the Brethren's ſettlements in North America. Biſhop Nathanael Seidel accompanied them from Bethlehem, a man known and highly reſpected by many of our Indians, who expreſſed extraordinary joy at their viſit. The joy of the two European Brethren was great indeed. They ſaw here for the firſt time a flock of Chriſtian Indians, and could not ſufficiently praiſe and thank God our Savior, for the gracious work begun among theſe nations, ſupported amidſt

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ſo many and heavy trials, and miraculouſly preſerved, although expoſed to ſo many threatening and imminent dangers.

They devoted their whole time and labor to the ſervice of the two congregations in Friedenshuetten and Tſchechſchequannink, converſed with every individual, and delivered ſeveral powerful diſcourſes, eſpecially during the Whitſuntide holidays, the interpreters tranſlating their words with great exactneſs. They baptized ſeveral Indians, viſited every family, and both their converſation with individuals, their public miniſtry and their benevolent behavior, tended to the edification and bleſſing of all the inhabitants. They likewiſe examined into every particular relating to the inward and outward ſtate of the miſſion, and in this view held ſeveral conferences with the miſſionaries and the Indian aſſiſtants. The above-mentioned invitation given to our people by the Delawares was alſo maturely conſidered, and the conference, with the concurrence of the Indian congregation, came to a reſolution, that next autumn ſome families ſhould remove from hence to Friedensſtadt, that ſome regard might be ſhown to the meſſage; but as to the emigration of the whole congregation, that ſhould be conſidered and finally decided in Bethlehem. On the return of theſe viſitors and their company to Bethlehem, the Indians took leave of them with the moſt cordial expreſſions of love and gratitude, recommending themſelves to the prayers and remembrance of all the Brethren in Europe.

David Zeiſberger was ſoon after called from Friedensſtadt to Bethlehem to attend a conference, in which the whole ſituation of the miſſion among the Indians was maturely weighed and conſidered. The Brethren were convinced, that the Indian congregations at Friedenshuetten and Tſchechſchequannink would not be able to maintain themſelves long in theſe places, partly becauſe the Iroquois had ſold the land, and various troubleſome demands upon them were continually renewed, partly on account of a conteſt between the New Englanders and the Indians of Wajomick, by which

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Friedenshuetten was much disturbed by occasion of its vicinity. Besides this, the Sennekas by their bad behavior gave our Indians much trouble, the white people being too apt to suspect the latter as accomplices. One of the most powerful arguments in favor of their emigration was this, that the number of European settlers daily increased, both above and below Friedenshuetten, and the rum trade tended to seduce the young people. A final resolution was therefore taken, to advise the Indian congregation, to accept of the propofal repeatedly made to them, to remove to the Ohio, and to consider it as proceeding from a gracious direction of the providence of God.

Brother Zeisberger upon his return mentioned this advice to the Indians at Friedenshuetten and Tschechschequannink, and both congregations resolved to remove in the following spring, and first to go to Friedensstadt. Some families went thither immediately, in order to lay out plantations of Indian corn, both for themselves and the congregations that were to follow them.

During these transactions a very painful circumstance happened at Friedenshuetten. Two wicked men, who bore an implacable enmity to John Papunhank, a man of the most unblemished character, came and pretended to have received full and satisfactory information from the Chiefs at Zeninge and Hallobank, that the said John Papunhank was a dealer in poison, and that he had been the occasion of the late sudden deaths of several people, and of those epidemical disorders which raged in the country some time ago. By this wicked lie the whole settlement was alarmed, and in a great uproar for a whole week. Some looked upon him as innocent, but the greater number were scrupulous, and a few were so far misled by the slanderers, that they even joined them and formed a party, having little less in view, than to take away his life. The missionary, Brother Schmick, convinced of John Papunhank's innocence, took all possible pains to inform and pacify them, but in vain. He then assembled the whole congregation, and John Papunhank declared publicly, " that he

"never had any poiſon in his poſſeſſion, nor even underſtood "the art of mixing it. That as long as he did not love the "Lord Jeſus, his whole heart was full of wickedneſs, but that "his ſoul had been waſhed by the blood of Chriſt, and his "ſins pardoned, when he received holy baptiſm; that ſince "that time, he had belonged to the Lord with ſoul and body, "loving him, and intending to love, ſerve, and cleave to him "all his life." By this free and ſincere declaration, the greater number were fully ſatisfied, but the above-mentioned party were rendered more bitter, and even attacked him in the neighborhood of the ſettlement, demanding that he ſhould either deliver up his poiſon or loſe his life. He appealed with great calmneſs and compoſure to the declaration which he had ſolemnly and publicly given, and walked away quietly, his enemies not daring to execute their wicked deſign. During this very dangerous period, his heart was filled with confidence, depending upon the ſure protection of God. He once ſaid: "If the Lord permits, that, by theſe baſe lies, I loſe my "life, I ſhall at once be delivered from all miſery, and go to "my Savior. I ſhould only pity my wife and child." His wife was however much ſupported, and like her huſband cleaved to our Savior, as the beſt friend in every time of need, who is alſo able and willing to ſave. In order fully to prove his innocence to ſuch, who had been diſquieted, he ſent two meſſengers with a belt of wampom to the above-mentioned two Chiefs, deſiring to know, whether they had accuſed him of ſuch abominable practices? They were aſtoniſhed at the meſſage, ſolemnly declaring their total ignorance of this whole affair, and thus the innocence of John Papunhank was rendered as notorious as the diabolical malice of the calumniators. The latter now thought it moſt prudent not to be ſeen by the inhabitants of Friedenshuetten, who moſt ſincerely ſympathized with the unmerited ſufferings of their reſpected brother. All joined in praiſing the Lord for this diſcovery, which put a ſtop to a moſt deteſtable buſineſs: but the ſorrow over thoſe brethren who had been ſo grievouſly miſguided by the above ſeducers was alſo general.

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They indeed acknowledged their tranſgreſſion, and publicly begged and received the pardon of the congregation; but it was a long time, before they could recover reſt and peace of mind. They ſerved as a remarkable example to ſhow what an hideous and aggravated crime the ſin of calumny is, in the eyes of a juſt and righteous God.

In the year 1771 the Suſquehannah overflowed its banks to ſuch a degree, that all the inhabitants of Tſchechſequannink were obliged to ſave themſelves in boats, and retire to the woods, where they were detained four days. The repairs of their deluged plantations coſt them much trouble. But the inward courſe of the congregation was edifying, and proved often a great bleſſing both to the unbaptized and to the numerous viſitors. Nathanael addreſſed an heathen Indian, who was much concerned about his ſalvation, to the following effect: "It is very eaſy to gain an happy "heart, as ſoon as you ſincerely reſolve to part with all ſin, "and believe, what is told you of our Savior: for if you "aſk, you ſhall receive. But we are naturally averſe to hu-"mility and prayer, and therefore receive nothing. I was "ſo formerly; but having frequently heard from the Bre-"thren, how happy a ranſomed ſinner is, I began to pray, "and perſevered, until our Savior granted me pardon and "happineſs. Now ſince I am baptized, I think I become "happier every day; yea I ſometimes feel as if I ſaw our "Savior before my eyes; for I perceive his preſence ſo ſen-"ſibly, that my heart is ready to leap for joy." Samuel expreſſed himſelf to the following effect: "I thank our Savior "daily, that he has brought me to his children. I ſee every "day more clearly, how well diſpoſed he was and ſtill is to-"wards me. Many words in the Bible, and alſo in the hymns, "which I heard frequently, but of which I never experienced "the power, are now exceeding precious to my ſoul, and "I rejoice that my knowledge of our Savior increaſes. "Wherever I am, I can ſpeak freely to him. I delight to "behold him in ſpirit as crucified for me, for I feel, that

" his ſufferings and death are capable to deſtroy the power " of ſin within me."

Such energetic expreſſions, proceeding from people, who were lately the moſt devoted ſervants of ſin, encouraged thoſe who were newly awakened, to cry for mercy. Many of them confeſſed with great ſorrow and compunction their crimes and tranſgreſſions, and the manner in which they deſcribed their ſtate was truly moving. For inſtance, an heathen Indian, after hearing a ſermon, broke out in theſe words: " Alas what a wretch am I! I have perfectly un- " derſtood the words of the miſſionary, and believe them " all to be true; but my heart trembled and quaked for fear, " for I ſit in the midſt of ſin and darkneſs, and you are in " the light." Another ſaid: " I now for the firſt time un- " derſtand that pride is a wicked thing. I uſed to believe " that I was not proud, but now I feel that I am a very " proud man, and my pride has prevented my coming to Je- " ſus, and believing on him with my whole heart." The ſame perſon ſaid on another occaſion: " Brother, I muſt " tell you what happened to me. I hit my foot yeſterday " againſt a root, and fell; and feeling myſelf impatient on " that account, I thought ſome one was reproving me in " theſe words: ' Conſider thy Savior, how patient *He* is! " There thy Creator ſtands, beholding the ſoldiers who are " digging the hole for his croſs; he willingly permits them " to extend his body on the croſs, and to pierce his hands and " feet with the nails.' This was to me an aſtoniſhing ſight, " and I could not ſleep all night, ſo much was I employed " in contemplating his mercy and love to ſinners." A boy, who was very ill, thus addreſſed the miſſionary: " One thing " is ſtill wanting: I do not feel that our Savior has waſhed " me from my ſins in his blood. If I ſhould not receive this " favor before I die, I ſhall not go to him, but be loſt for " ever, and yet I wiſh to be ſaved. I therefore pray inceſ- " ſantly to our Savior, that he would have mercy upon me " poor child, and waſh me in his precious blood; then I " ſhall

"ſhall not fear death, but rejoice that I ſhall go and be "with him for ever." He was ſoon after baptized, and received the divine aſſurance that his ſins were forgiven through the merits of our Lord's atonement.

In the mean time many people followed the Brethren from Goſchgoſchuenk on the Ohio to the Beaver Creek, ſome of whom ſettled in Kaſkaſkunk; others, who ſhowed an earneſt wiſh to be converted, and promiſed to live in conformity to the rules of the congregation, obtained leave to live at Friedensſtadt.

The Brethren were at this time inceſſantly troubled by the moſt daring lies, propagated by the ſavages, who even counterfeited letters and meſſages from the Chiefs to them. In the beginning of the year 1771, a very peremptory meſſage of this kind was brought to Friedensſtadt, as coming from the Chief and council at Gekelemukpechuenk; demanding that an Indian woman, lately converted to the truth and baptized by the Brethren, ſhould be ſent back immediately, or ſhe ſhould be taken away by force. This meſſage appearing dangerous in its conſequences, Brother Zeiſberger himſelf ſet out on the 5th of March with three Indian Brethren for Gekelemukpechuenk. On the road they experienced great hardſhips in wading through tracts of deep ſnow and much water, and did not arrive there until the 13th. They lodged in the houſe of the head-chief Netawatwees, where they met with a kind reception, and had ſoon an opportunity of preaching Jeſus and him crucified to the inhabitants, who aſſembled in great numbers to hear the miſſionary. Brother Zeiſberger then requeſted a meeting of the council, and read to them the above-mentioned letter. It was then diſcovered, that neither the Chief nor the council knew any thing of it, but that one of the counſellors preſent had written it on his own authority, and ſigned it with two fictitious names. Being thus detected, he was publicly confounded; the whole council expreſſed great indignation at the contents of the letter, and agreed perfectly with the declaration of the miſſionary and the In-

dian Brethren, that as they could and would not detain any Indian in their ſettlement againſt his will, either by perſuaſion or force, ſo no Indian ought to be compelled to leave them, the Indians being altogether a free people, who in all things might act according to their own minds. After this, Brother Zeiſberger ſtaid ſeveral days in Gekelemukpechuenk, and found many attentive hearers, but likewiſe many avowed enemies, who, though they dared not publicly to contradict the miſſionary himſelf, raged with immoderate fury againſt his Indian aſſiſtants and their teſtimony. One ſaid to Iſaac, "What do you come here for, ſpreading "your new doctrines among our people? I have a good mind "to kick you all together out of doors. And even if all the "Indians ſhould embrace your doctrine, I certainly would "not." This oppoſition aroſe chiefly from the inſinuations of the above-mentioned Indian preachers, who had ſo ſtrenuouſly recommended emetics, as a ſure mode of cleanſing from ſin, that, in this town, the practice was general. The miſſionary endeavored to convince the people, that though an emetic might benefit their ſtomachs, yet it could never cleanſe their hearts; but that the blood of Jeſus Chriſt the Son of God, applied in faith to our ſin-ſick ſouls, was alone able to cleanſe and change them. Having recommended theſe people in fervent prayer to the mercy of God our Savior, he returned with his company to Friedensſtadt.

He had ſcarcely left Gekelemukpechuenk, when a renowned heathen preacher arrived and ſpread great confuſion among the people by declaring, that the miſſionary was even known to the white people as a noted ſeducer of the Indians, who, whenever he had drawn a large party aſide, ſent them over the great ocean and ſold them for ſlaves, where they were harneſſed to the plough and whipped on to their work. By theſe lying inſinuations he gained ſuch an aſcendency over the timid minds of the Indians, that he ſoon became the leader of a large party, and the Brethren were ſoon convinced, that to plant the Goſpel in the country, to which the congregations at Friedenshuetten and Tſchechſchequannink

ſchequannink were now invited, would be attended with great difficulties. Brother Zeiſberger ſays in one of his letters: "Here God muſt work a miracle, for Satan has many "ſtrong holds, which he has well fortified."

In Kaſkaſkunk the enmity againſt the Brethren became more general, eſpecially as the lies ſpread in Gekelemukpechuenk, ſoon found their way thither, and though it afterwards happened, that their author, an Indian preacher, loſt his ſenſes, and ran about the woods raving mad, yet the enmity againſt the Brethren and all who attended their meetings, did not ſubſide in the leaſt.

To this, we may add the dreadful rumours of war, heard about this time; for which ſeveral murders, committed by the white people, ſeemed to hold out ſufficient provocation. Many people were on theſe accounts led to forſake their dwellings, and to remove to Kaſkaſkunk and its neighborhood. Thus Friedensſtadt was ſoon ſurrounded by troops of ſavages, from whom nothing but diſturbance could be expected; which, alas, they too ſoon experienced. Some, who ſtaid only a few days at Friedensſtadt, proved exceeding troubleſome by their drunken and riotous behavior, and even threatened to murder all the inhabitants and deſtroy the ſettlement.

Brother Zeiſberger, who by this time was well known among various Indian tribes, was a marked object of their hatred and malice, and frequently in danger of being ſhot. Some malicious people came one evening very late to Friedensſtadt, and would poſitively compel the inhabitants to get drunk. When they found all their efforts vain, they threatened to murder firſt the teachers and then the whole congregation, and made ſuch an hideous roar, that the Indian Siſters fled into the woods, and the Brethren were obliged to keep a ſtrong and ſtrict watch around the dwelling of the miſſionaries.

Notwithſtanding all theſe troubles, the work of God prevailed and increaſed in Friedensſtadt, and the congregation grew in grace and number. May the 27th, 1771, the found-

ation-ſtone of the chapel was laid, and on the 20th of June the building was dedicated unto the Lord, with praiſe, thankſgiving, and prayer, as a place, where the Goſpel ſhould be preached to the poor. The number of conſtant hearers daily increaſed; among theſe, there was one who had loſt his ſcalp in the war, and one of the ſame party which deſtroyed the Brethren's houſe on the Mahony in the year 1755. This man was often ſo moved in hearing the Goſpel, that he ſhed floods of tears. Another viſitor expreſſed a great deſire to know, which was the true way to happineſs. He ſaid: "The "Quakers maintain that their doctrine is true, the Engliſh "church aſſerts the ſame of theirs, and the Brethren ſay, "that the word they preach, is the word of God." The Indian aſſiſtants told him, that if he was truly deſirous to be informed, he ſhould come to Jeſus, who, though God bleſſed for ever, became a man and had been wounded for our tranſgreſſions. He would then ſoon learn to know him, and receive a certainty in his heart concerning the way to ſalvation: but that afterwards it was required, to be obedient to his commandments.

After much oppoſition and heſitation, Chief Pakanke, hitherto an enemy of the Goſpel, reſolved at laſt to go to Friedensſtadt. He ſtaid there ſeveral days, heard the Goſpel with great attention, changed his ſentiments, and even exhorted his children to go to the Brethren, hearken to their words, and believe on Jeſus.

October 21ſt, Brother John Heckenwaelder, who was appointed aſſiſtant miſſionary, and November 27th, the four families expected from Friedenshuetten, arrived ſafe at Friedensſtadt. All rejoiced at the reſolution of the two congregations to follow them hither, and willingly offered their aſſiſtance in making plantations and planting Indian corn for them.

As the enmity of the greater part of the inhabitants of Kaſkaſkunk and other ſavage neighbors rather increaſed, and the latter encroached more and more upon the borders of Friedensſtadt, the believing Indians petitioned the Chief and

and council at Kaſkaſkunk for protection, but were told, that their requeſt could not be granted. This was in the beginning of the year 1772. At the ſame time the Brethren received a kind meſſage from the Chief and council at Gekelemukpechuenk, inviting them and the two congregations at Friedenshuetten and Tſchechſchequannink to come and ſettle in their country, near the river Muſkingum, upon whatever tracts of land they might chuſe. Upon mature conſideration, it was found moſt expedient, that Brother Zeiſberger ſhould firſt take a journey to view the country on the Muſkingum, and there fix upon a ſpot ſuitable for a ſettlement, that he ſhould then conſult and ſettle every thing relating to this affair with the Chiefs at Gekelemukpechuenk, and ſoon after remove to the new place with a few families from Friedensſtadt, and eſtabliſh a regular miſſion there; but that the congregations at Friedenshuetten and Tſchechſchequannink ſhould firſt go and dwell in or near Friedensſtadt, until it ſhould be proper for them to move to the Muſkingum.

Brother Zeiſberger ſet out on this expedition on the 11th of March 1772, with a few Indian Brethren, and on the 16th diſcovered a large tract of land ſituated not far from the banks of the Muſkingum, about thirty miles from Gekelemukpechuenk, with a good ſpring, a ſmall lake, good planting grounds, much game, and every other convenience for the ſupport of an Indian colony. This place was about ſeventy miles from Lake Erie and ſeventy-five miles weſt of Friedensſtadt. It appeared, that formerly a large fortified Indian town ſtood on this ſpot, ſome ramparts and the ruins of three Indian forts being ſtill viſible. After this diſcovery he went to Gekelemukpechuenk, and informed the council that the converted Indians had thankfully accepted of their invitation, deſiring that the tract of land, he had juſt now diſcovered, might be given to them. In anſwer to this requeſt he heard with great pleaſure, that this was the very ſpot of ground deſtined by the Chiefs and council for them. They alſo determined, in a ſolemn manner, that

all the lands, from the entrance of the Gekelemukpechuenk Creek into the river Muſkingum to Tuſcarawi ſhould belong to the converted Indians, and that no other Indians ſhould be permitted to ſettle upon them: further, that all Indians dwelling on the borders of this country, ſhould be directed, to behave peaceably towards them and their teachers, and neither diſturb their worſhip, nor prevent people from going to them to hear the word of God.

Zeiſberger praiſed the Lord for his gracious help in the execution of this important commiſſion, and having again viſited the above-mentioned country, took poſſeſſion of it in the name of the Chriſtian Indians, who were uncommonly rejoiced by the account of his ſucceſs, given on his return to Friedensſtadt.

Five families, conſiſting in all of twenty-eight perſons, were now appointed to begin the new ſettlement, and were willing to undertake it. Brother Zeiſberger ſet out with them on the 14th of April, and after a ſafe but tedious journey arrived May 3d at the new land on the Muſkingum. The day following they marked out their plantations, erected field-huts, and were all diligently employed in clearing land and planting.

Upon the news of the arrival of the Brethren in Gekelemukpechuenk and its neighborhood, the enemies of the Goſpel were ſo much alarmed that many of them left the place, not being able to bear a doctrine, ſo directly oppoſite to their heatheniſh abominations and ſinful manner of living. A neighboring chief even forſook his village, and with all his people moved into a diſtant country.

Brother Zeiſberger began immediately to preach the Goſpel in this new ſettlement, to which he gave the name of Schoen-brunn (the Beautiful Spring). Many attentive hearers came from Gekelemukpechuenk and its neighborhood, and ſome were ſo captivated by the word of the Goſpel, that before any houſes could be built, they earneſtly begged leave to ſtay and ſettle. This was granted, but their relations ſoon came and wanted to take them away by force. By this opportunity

portunity however, they likewiſe heard the Goſpel, and felt the power of the word of God ſo forcibly, that they went away with impreſſions, very different to thoſe they brought with them. A viſitor declared, that he had been ſeeking the way to ſalvation many years, and that whenever he found Indians who appeared to know more than himſelf, he gave them preſents, and belts of wampom, hoping that they would inſtruct him, yet hitherto he had not been able to learn with certainty, how he might be ſaved. The aſſiſtants told him, that he now might find what he had ſo long been ſeeking in vain: nor need he bring any preſents, for they would inſtruct him for nothing. Another ſaid to Iſaac Glikkikan, "You was a captain, before you be-"lieved the Goſpel, and you are a captain ſtill. This you "cannot deny, but how was it poſſible for you to remain a "captain, after you believed?"—"True," anſwered Iſaac, "I was formerly a captain, but I was always conquered. Sin "always overcame me; and yet a brave captain ought never "to be overcome, but ſhould come off victorious. Though I "frequently reſolved not to get drunk, I could not leave it off, "but was obliged to be a ſlave of the devil. But now I firſt "know what it is to be a brave ſoldier, and through Chriſt I "can always overcome: ſin has loſt its former power to force "me into its ſervice, for now I deſire no more to attend any "of your feaſts; I have no reliſh for them, having found "ſomething far better, which I wiſh to ſee you likewiſe in "poſſeſſion of." June 27th, the Brethren in Schoenbrunn partook of the Holy Communion for the firſt time there, and July 25th the ſite of the new ſettlement was choſen and marked out.

In the mean time the congregations in Friedenshuetten and Tſchechſchequannink prepared for their emigration. The Chiefs of the Iroquois were much diſpleaſed when they heard it, and now endeavored to make our Indians forget their treachery, by giving them fair words and promiſes, declaring in their own ſtyle, "that they would in future be "only one body and one vein with the Indians on the Suſ-

" quehannah, and remove every former grievance, in order to " prevent that from taking place, of which they had heard a " little bird ſpeak." But our Indians anſwered, that they came too late, informing them of their reſolution to go to the country on the Ohio. At this they expreſſed much ſorrow, but aſſured the believing Indians that they would remain their friends. Our Indians promiſed the ſame on their part. The internal courſe of the congregations in both places was at that time very pleaſing and edifying. The children were not only remarkably diligent in their ſchools, but alſo expreſſed great love to our Savior, frequently meeting of their own accord to ſing his praiſes. Moſt of the believers were intent upon being ſo minded in all things, as Jeſus Chriſt was when on earth, and ſought to walk in his ſteps. A brother ſaid one day to the miſſionary: " I cannot " expreſs what I feel, when I meditate upon our Savior, as a " little child, or as a boy, when ſitting among the doctors in " the temple; as a teacher, or as laboring hard for our ſalva- " tion, and dying on the croſs. All is important to one, and " when I conſider theſe things, I perceive a peculiar emotion " within me."

As the damage ſuſtained by our Indians in quitting Friedenshuetten was very great, and it could be proved, that they were compelled by the ſale of their land to take this ſtep, the Brethren applied to the governor at Philadelphia for redreſs, which, ſome time after, was in part granted. Previous to this emigration, the miſſionary, Brother Schmick, who had ſpent many years in the ſervice of the Indian congregation, with unremitting faithfulneſs, obtained leave to return to Bethlehem to reſt ſome time from his labors. May 5th, he and his wife took an affectionate leave of their beloved congregation, and ſoon after ſet out for Bethlehem. The miſſionary John Rothe and his wife were appointed to attend the Indians on their journey, and accepted of this call with pleaſure.

May 23d, Brother Ettwein arrived from Bethlehem at Friedenshuetten to accompany that congregation on their

way to Friedensſtadt, and brought ſeveral preſents from the Brethren in Bethlehem to the Indians, which were uſeful to them on the journey.

June 6th, the congregation partook of the Holy Communion for the laſt time in Friedenshuetten, and celebrated Whitſuntide with bleſſing, when John Papunhank, who was the firſt that had been baptized here, had the ſatisfaction to ſee the laſt baptiſm in this place adminiſtered to his daughter, to the great joy of the whole congregation. June 11th, all being ready for the journey, the congregation met for the laſt time at Friedenshuetten, when the miſſionary reminded them of the great favors and bleſſings, received from God in this place, and then offered up praiſes and thankſgivings to him, with fervent ſupplications for his peace and protection on the journey. The company conſiſted of two hundred and forty-one perſons from Friedenshuetten and Tſchechſchequannink, and proceeded with great chearfulneſs in reliance upon the Lord.

Brother Ettwein conducted thoſe who went by land, and Brother Rothe thoſe by water, who were the greater number. The tediouſneſs of this journey was a practical ſchool of patience for the miſſionaries. The fatigue alſo attending the emigration of a whole congregation, with all their goods and cattle, in a country like North America, can hardly be conceived by any one, who has not experienced it, much leſs can it be deſcribed in a proper manner. The land-travellers had ſeventy head of oxen, and a ſtill greater number of horſes to care for, and ſuſtained incredible hardſhips in forcing a way for themſelves and their beaſts through very thick woods and ſwamps of great extent, being directed only by a ſmall path, and that hardly diſcernible in ſome places, ſo that it appears almoſt impoſſible to conceive how one man could work his way and mark a path through ſuch cloſe thickets and immenſe woods, one of which he computed to be about ſixty miles in length. It happened, that when they were thus rather creeping than walking through the thick woods, it rained almoſt inceſſantly.

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In one part of the country they were obliged to wade thirty-ſix times through the windings of the river Munſy, beſides ſuffering other hardſhips. However, they attended to their daily worſhip as regularly as circumſtances would permit, and had frequently ſtrangers among them, both Indians and white people; who were particularly attentive to the Engliſh diſcourſes delivered by Brother Ettwein. This circumſtance alone was ſufficient to comfort the Brethren amidſt all their fatigue and trouble, as they had no greater ſatisfaction, than, when opportunities offered, to tell their fellow-men from the experience of their own hearts, how happy that man is, who believes in Jeſus, and receives power from him, to become a child of God. The party which went by water were every night obliged to ſeek a lodging on ſhore, and ſuffered much from the cold. Soon after their departure from Friedenshuetten the meaſles broke out among them, and many fell ſick, eſpecially the children. The attention due to the patients neceſſarily increaſed the fatigue of the journey. In ſome parts they were moleſted by inquiſitive, and in others by drunken people. The many falls and dangerous rapids in the Suſquehannah occaſioned immenſe trouble and frequent delays. However by the mercy of God they paſſed ſafe by Shomokin, and then upon the weſt arm of the river by Long Iſland to Great Iſland, where they joined the land-travellers on the 29th of June, and now proceeded all together by land. When they arrived at the mountains they met with great difficulties in croſſing them, for not having horſes enough to carry all the baggage, moſt of them were obliged to carry ſome part. In one of the valleys they were ſuddenly caught in a moſt tremendous ſtorm of thunder and lightning with violent rain. During a conſiderable part of the journey, the rattleſnakes kept them in conſtant alarm. As they lay in great numbers either near or in the road, Brother Ettwein happened to tread upon one with fifteen rattles, by which he was ſo frightened, that, according to his own account, he could hardly venture to ſtep forward for many days after, and every ruſtling leaf made him dread the approach of a rattleſnake. Theſe venomous creatures

creatures deſtroyed ſeveral of the horſes by their bite, but the oxen were ſaved by being driven in the rear.

The moſt troubleſome plague both to man and beaſt, eſpecially in paſſing through the woods, was a kind of inſect, called by the Indians Ponk, or *Living Aſhes*, from their being ſo ſmall that they are hardly viſible, and their bite as painful as the burning of red-hot aſhes. As ſoon as the evening fires were kindled, the cattle, in order to get rid of theſe inſects, ran furiouſly towards the fire, crowding into the ſmoke; by which our travellers were much diſturbed both in their ſleep and at meals. Theſe tormenting creatures were met with in the greateſt numbers in a tract of country, which the Indians call "*a place avoided by all men.*" The following circumſtance gave riſe to this name: About thirty years ago an Indian affecting the manner of an hermit, lived upon a rock in this neighborhood, and uſed to appear to travellers or hunters in different garbs, frightening ſome, and murdering others. At length a valiant Indian Chief was ſo fortunate as to ſurprize and kill him. To this true account, fabulous report has added, that the Chief having burnt the hermit's bones to aſhes, ſcattered them in the air throughout the foreſt; that they then took a living form, and became *ponks*. In another part of the foreſt, the fires and ſtorms had cauſed ſuch confuſion among the trees, that the wood was almoſt impenetrable. Brother Ettwein was once in great danger of his life by a fall from his horſe. Siſter Rothe with her child fell ſeveral times from her horſe, and once with her foot dangerouſly entangled in the ſtirrup. Another time ſhe fell into a deep moraſs.

Some perſons departed this life during the journey, and among them a poor cripple, about ten or eleven years old, who was carried by his mother in a baſket on her back. When he perceived his end approaching, he begged moſt earneſtly to be baptized. His requeſt was granted, ſoon after which he ended a life of miſery, and departed rejoicing. Our travellers were ſometimes under the neceſſity of ſtaying a day or two in one place, to ſupply themſelves with the neceſſaries of

of life. They ſhot upwards of one hundred and fifty deer during the courſe of the journey, and found great abundance of fiſh in the rivers and brooks. They likewiſe met with a peculiar kind of turtle, about the ſize of a gooſe, with a long neck, pointed head, and eyes like a dove. It had ſcales on its back, and on the lower part of the belly. All the reſt of its covering was ſoft, reſembling leather of a liver color.

July 29th, they left the mountains and arrived on the banks the Ohio, where they immediately built canoes, to ſend the aged and infirm with the heavy baggage down the river. Two days after they were met by Brother Heckenwaelder and ſome Indian Brethren with horſes from Friedensſtadt, by whoſe aſſiſtance they arrived there on the 5th of Auguſt, and were received with every mark of affection by the whole congregation. They now joined in praiſing and thanking the Lord for the grace and protection, received from him during this tedious journey of eight weeks, for having ſupported them under the unuſual fatigue and hardſhips attending it, for giving them health and ſtrength to bear many grievous trials, and for preſerving them from famine, which they feared moſt at ſetting out, and from innumerable dangers and unforeſeen accidents, and chiefly for granting them to continue in love and peace.

The preſervation of the Indian congregation by God our heavenly Father, was at this time moſt admirably diſplayed, and the miſſionaries acknowledged with humility and gratitude, that neither the inhabitants of Friedensſtadt nor their numerous gueſts lacked any thing, but, contrary to the apprehenſions of a great many, had enough and to ſpare.

The travellers received likewiſe a preſent of one hundred Spaniſh dollars from the friends, commonly called Quakers in Philadelphia, with which they provided a ſupply of bread for future neceſſity.

Soon after their arrival in Friedensſtadt, Brother Zeiſberger came from Schoenbrunn, and ſeveral conferences were held concerning the miſſion in general. The miſſionaries and their Indian aſſiſtants were alſo employed in reviſing all the tranſ-

tranſlations of different parts of the Scriptures and hymns made in the Delaware language. A conference of Indian aſſiſtants was likewiſe appointed for each ſettlement.

Auguſt 19th, the Brethren Ettwein, Zeiſberger, and Heckenwaelder went to Schoenbrunn, where they arrived on the 23d. The former, in his report, expreſſed great pleaſure in ſeeing a country ſo pleaſing in every point of view, and ſo richly provided with walnut and locuſt trees; but ſtill more in beholding the new ſettlement Schoenbrunn, begun under ſuch favorable and promiſing circumſtances. Brother Zeiſberger being taken ill, Brother Ettwein went with the deputies, appointed by the Indian Brethren, to Gekelemukpechuenk, to procure renewed aſſurances of protection from the council. The inhabitants of this place had juſt received ſeventy gallons of rum, and were engaged in a drunken frolic, when the news of the arrival of the miſſionary and the deputies came to the Chief. He immediately gave orders to deſiſt, and after they had regained their ſobriety by a ſound ſleep, called a council, in which the deputies mentioned the arrival of the two congregations of Friedenshuetten and Tſchechſchequannink in the uſual ſolemn manner; informing them that they intended to build one or perhaps two ſettlements beſides Schoenbrunn. The ſpeaker of the embaſſy, John Papunhank, took this opportunity, to give the council a full explanation of the ſentiments, conſtitution, doctrine, and worſhip of the converted Indians. He did this in a ſolemn and manly ſtyle, relating how he had lived formerly, and how God had ſhown mercy to him. The anſwer was kind, and a promiſe given that in return an embaſſy ſhould be ſent to Schoenbrunn.

At Schoenbrunn the Brethren Ettwein and Zeiſberger greatly rejoiced at the marvellous diſpenſation of God our Savior, who had thus placed his Indian flock as a candle upon a candleſtick in the midſt of the Delaware country, and in the neighborhood of the Shawanoſe and Hurons. Brother Ettwein then returned to Bethlehem, by way of Friedensſtadt, with the moſt pleaſing proſpects for futurity.

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Some time after a great part of the Indian congregation went from Friedensſtadt to the Muſkingum, and built a ſettlement about ten miles below Schoenbrunn, which they called Gnadenhuetten.

During the building of theſe two places, which was conducted with great chearfulneſs, Brother Zeiſberger with two Indian Brethren made the firſt journey into the country of the Shawanoſe, who were generally conſidered as the moſt ſavage among the Indian nations. In the firſt village, they called at the houſe of a ſon of the before-mentioned Chief Paxnous. (See Part II. p. 157.) Here they were kindly received, and their hoſt paid great attention to the Goſpel, declaring afterwards, that he was convinced, that the miſſionary's doctrine was true, pointing out the right road to ſalvation; that the Shawanoſe had been long ſtriving to find out the way of life, but that they muſt own with regret, that all their labors and reſearches had been in vain; that they had therefore loſt all courage, not knowing what they ſhould further do to obtain happineſs. This man ſpoke the Delaware language fluently, and it was therefore very agreeable and uſeful to the Brethren, that he offered to accompany them through the different towns which they intended to viſit. When they came to the chief town of the Shawanoſe, he adviſed them to take up their abode with the heathen teacher, as his influence among the people was very great. This man received the Brethren very civilly, and when upon his inquiry into the aim of their viſit, Brother Zeiſberger anſwered, that he brought him the words of eternal life, he replied: "This is what we want, and we will hear you with "pleaſure." An houſe was immediately fitted up, and both the miſſionary and his Indian companions found here a deſirable opportunity to make known to a great number of attentive hearers, moſt of whom underſtood the Delaware language, that God hath no pleaſure in the death of the wicked, but that the wicked turn from his way, believe on the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and live. The heathen teacher liſtened in ſilence to this precious word for ſome days, but at length, not able

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to contain the emotions of his heart, he made the following declaration to the miſſionary: "I have not been able to ſleep "all night, for I am continually meditating upon your words, "and will now open to you my whole heart: I believe that "all you preach is truth. A year ago I became convinced "that we are altogether ſinful creatures; and that none of "our good works will ſave us: but we did not know, "what to do, to gain eternal ſalvation. I have therefore "always comforted my people, that ſomebody would come "and ſhow us the true way to happineſs, for we are not in "the right way, and even the day before your arrival, I de-"ſired them to have but a little patience, and that a teacher "would certainly come. Now you are come, and I verily "believe, that God has ſent you to make his word known "to us."

The Brethren having thus preached Jeſus Chriſt as the light of the world in this benighted country with great chearfulneſs, and being upon the point of taking leave, Brother Zeiſberger and his company received the following meſſage from the Chiefs and council, the Indian teacher being ſpeaker: "Brother, we rejoice that you have been with us, "and brought the word of God, which we have heard with "pleaſure. We ſend to let you know, what we have una-"nimouſly reſolved upon in council. The women indeed "were not preſent, being now engaged in gathering in "their crops, but that does not ſignify, for what we agree "to, that we know will be alſo agreeable to them. We "have therefore reſolved, that from this time, we will re-"ceive the word of God, and live in conformity to it. "This we ſpeak not with our mouths only, but alſo with "our hearts. We therefore deſire and pray, that not only "believing Indians, but alſo white teachers would dwell "among us, that they may teach us how to be ſaved. We "lay this requeſt before you, and though we are a bad "people, do not deſpiſe us, but grant our petition." The miſſionary was aſtoniſhed at a meſſage of ſuch import, from a town of the Shawanoſe, and promiſed with pleaſure,

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to mention their requeſt to his brethren at Bethlehem, but deſired them maturely to conſider, whether they were in earneſt, in wiſhing to live conformably to the dictates of the Goſpel; adding, that if a miſſionary ſhould come and reſide among them, the heathen manner of living muſt be entirely abandoned, with all ceremonies belonging to it. They declared not only their willingneſs to part with all things in preference to the Goſpel, but aſſured him, that they would build a new town, where only thoſe ſhould reſide who had reſolved to believe in God. Zeiſberger then inquired of them, whether they might take ſuch a ſtep, without conſulting the other Chiefs of the Shawanoſe tribe, and their grandfather the Delaware nation? But they affirmed, that having long fought the way to eternal life, they had already ſeparated themſelves both from the above-mentioned Chiefs and from the Delawares, and were perfectly independent.

Brother Zeiſberger returned with his company to Schoenbrunn, highly pleaſed with the ſucceſs of his journey. Both here, at Gnadenhuetten, and at Friedensſtadt, the Chriſtmas-holidays were celebrated with particular bleſſing, and young and old were filled with joy, in the contemplation of the meritorious incarnation of God our Savior. Among the numerous viſitors was another of thoſe ſavages who had murdered our Brethren and Siſters on the Mahony, November 24, 1755. He ſtaid a week at Schoenbrunn, heard the word of Chriſt our Redeemer with attention, and was told, that all who come to him by faith, will be received and not caſt out. An Indian aſſiſtant cloſed his converſation with another heathen viſitor in the following manner: "Why "ſhould we not believe? for the word which is here "preached, proves itſelf to be truth within us." Another added, "That is certainly true; for as ſoon as I fought "the Lord with my whole heart, I found him, and what-"ever I aſked of him, he gave unto me; ſo that I increaſed in "happineſs, and my heart burns ſometimes like a flame, "for love towards him." A viſitor ſaid: "Hitherto I "have only *heard*, but now I *believe*, that my Creator be-

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" came a man and ſhed his blood for me. I now deſire to be " cleanſed by that blood, for I cannot live without it." A child about ten years of age, having ſpent a whole night in tears, was aſked whether it was ill? It anſwered: " No, I " have no pain, but feel myſelf loſt, and am like a bird " without air." One of the unbaptized ſaid: " As I ſtood " before our Savior, crying for comfort and meditating upon " the name of Jeſus, it was as if in ſpirit I ſaw my Savior " ſtanding before me, with the marks of his wounds in " hands, feet, and ſide; I then felt my heart much com- " forted." Michael ſaid: " I feel that our Savior has made " his abode within me. Ah, how happy am I, I can only weep " for joy and devote myſelf anew to him." Eve declared that ſhe had never yet ſpent Chriſtmas ſo happily, adding, " I have gained a better inſight into that great myſtery, that " God was manifeſt in the fleſh." Abraham, a venerable old man, ſaid: " My heart is full of joy. How happy are " they who devote themſelves wholly unto the Lord!"

CHAPTER V.

1773. 1774.

Some Account of Schoenbrunn and Gnadenhuetten. The Believers quit Friedensſtadt. External Troubles. Brother Schmick returns to the Miſſion. Brother Zeiſberger's ſecond Journey to the Shawanoſe. An Indian War occaſions many Troubles to the Congregation, but does not diſturb their internal peaceful Courſe. The Delawares reſolve by a ſolemn Act of Council to receive the Goſpel.

THE congregations at Schoenbrunn and Gnadenhuetten being ſurrounded by ſavage tribes, were obliged to walk with circumſpection, leſt either their young people or

newly baptized converts, ſhould be ſeduced by the deceitful intrigues of their heathen neighbors, or the others ſhould be drawn into the political affairs of the Chiefs.

As a ſtrict conformity to the rules and orders already agreed upon and introduced into former ſettlements, was allowed to be the beſt preſervative againſt the above-mentioned dangers, the inhabitants of Schoenbrunn and Gnadenhuetten renewed in January 1773 their reſolution to adhere to them, the miſſionaries having previouſly explained, that they ſhould never conſider theſe rules as a contrivance made to lord it over them, but only as wholeſome advice, approved by experience to be moſt beneficial to the ſettlements; that on the other hand it was evident, that if they were not attended to, miſchief would certainly follow: that the believing Indians ought on that account to be more ſtrict in watching over their due obſervance than their teachers, and that all who refuſed to conform, and perſiſted in their diſobedience, ſhould be removed from the ſettlements. This was unanimouſly agreed to, and faithfully obſerved.

The daily worſhip, the conferences, ſchools, attendance upon viſitors, proviſion for the poor and ſick, and every requiſite for the proſperity of the congregation, was regulated in the ſame manner as formerly in other ſettlements.

Many journies were now made to Gekelemukpechuenk both from Gnadenhuetten and Schoenbrunn, and the teſtimony of our Indians concerning the efficacy of the atonement made by Jeſus Chriſt, was a laſting bleſſing to many of its inhabitants. Great numbers of viſitors came likewiſe from this place, to whom the Goſpel was preached by the miſſionaries and their Indian aſſiſtants, which proved a word of life and conſolation to all thoſe, who received it in faith. A Chief, called Echpalawehund, heard it with ſuch conviction, that he reſolved to renounce heatheniſm and to live with the Brethren. But being a man much honored and followed by a large party, his ſudden reſolution occaſioned

occaſioned great confuſion in the town. Some adverſaries ſhowed their enmity without any reſerve, and inſinuated, that the miſſionaries ſhould be baniſhed the Indian country, as diſturbers of the peace, adding, that formerly they had lived in peace and quietneſs according to the good old Indian way, but now they were told that this and that cuſtom was ſinful, and that even their ſacrifices were not acceptable unto God. The other party held a council three days ſucceſſively, and reſolved at laſt, that they would all change their manner of living, prohibit drunkenneſs and other common vices, not ſuffer any white traders to enter the town, as they introduced many new ſins among them; ſtave the caſks of the rum traders, appoint ſix men to preſerve good order, and, without the aid of miſſionaries, live exactly after the way of the believing Indians, and then neither Chief Echpalawehund nor any other perſon among them need leave the town to live with the Brethren. But Echpalawehund, who by this time was acquainted with the true ſource of all evil, endeavored to explain to them, that if they wiſhed to be delivered from its power, they muſt turn to Jeſus Chriſt, and that otherwiſe their reſolutions, though good in themſelves, would be all in vain, as they had no ſtrength to put them into execution. However, to ſhow that they were in good earneſt, they began by ſeizing upon ten caſks of rum belonging to a travelling trader, which they ſtove in the open ſtreet. But alas, before a long time had elapſed, theſe good reſolutions proved abortive, and they were as drunken as ever.

In the mean time the ſituation of the congregation at Friedensſtadt became more alarming than ever. The encroachments of the ſavages occaſioned daily more perplexity and trouble, and the pernicious conſequences of the rum-trade became at length inſupportable. Sometimes the ſavages would bring a great quantity of rum cloſe to Friedensſtadt, and there drink and rave like madmen. In this ſtate of intoxication they frequently entered the ſettlement, and the inhabitants were obliged to faſten their ſhutters and burn

candles by day, as the dru ken ſavages broke all windows that were left open. It was certainly owing to the gracious providence of God alone, that the ſettlement ſuffered ſo little and was not burnt down; for it happened ſeveral times, that when they were fully determined to do miſchief, they quarrelled among themſelves, ſo that inſtead of injuring the believing Indians and their teachers, they fell upon each other with their knives, and many an one came off with a mangled face. Yet ſome forced open ſeveral doors in the place, by throwing large ſtones at them; then entering the houſes, they brandiſhed their arms, threatening to murder every ſoul living; and our Indians were at laſt obliged, againſt their inclination, to ſeize upon ſeveral of theſe rioters and keep them bound, till they got ſober, leſt they ſhould proceed to greater acts of violence. One day a ſavage came running like a madman into the ſettlement, exclaiming that he would kill the white man. He proceeded full ſpeed to Brother Rothe's houſe, burſt open the door, and entered the room like an enraged wild beaſt. The miſſionary's wife was exceſſively terrified, ſnatched up her child and fled, but the miſſionary, who was then confined to his bed by illneſs, ſat up in the bed and in ſilence looked with great undauntedneſs at the ſavage, which ſo much diſcompoſed him, that he ſtopped ſhort, and the Indian Brethren, haſtening to their teacher's relief, ſeized and bound him with eaſe.

The whole congregation bemoaned the fate of a young unbaptized man, the ſon of one of our Indian Brethren, who ſuffered himſelf to be ſeduced to accompany ſome ſavages to Kaſkaſkunk, where he got drunk, and in endeavoring, in company with another, to croſs the Beaver Creek, fell in, the ice breaking under him. He thrice attempted to ſave himſelf, but in vain; at laſt pronouncing theſe words, "It ſeems I "*muſt* die, and I *will* die," was forced by the current under the ice and drowned.

Theſe circumſtances, which admitted of no alleviation, prevailed at length upon the congregation, in the ſpring of 1773, to quit ſo diſagreeable a neighborhood. April 11th there

there was a ſolemn baptiſmal tranſaction, which cloſed the public worſhip of the congregation at Friedensſtadt, and praiſe and thankſgiving was offered up unto the Lord for all his mercies, favors and preſervation experienced in this place. The day after, the church was levelled with the ground, the heathen having intimated their intention to convert it into an houſe for dancing and ſacrifice. On the 13th our Indians and their teachers ſet out in twenty-two large canoes, down the Beaver Creek to the Ohio, proceeding to the mouth of the Muſkingum, and up that river to Gnadenhuetten and Schoenbrunn. Brother John Heckenwaelder accompanied thoſe who went by water. But many went ſtrait acroſs the country with Brother John Rothe.

This journey laſted three weeks, and not a day paſſed, but they found cauſe to thank the Lord for his gracious help and preſervation, eſpecially in paſſing the numerous falls in the rivers, over which they were obliged to drag the canoes, in performing which ſome Brethren were in great danger of their lives.

When at length the different parts of the Indian congregation met again together, there was univerſal joy and gladneſs. Schoenbrunn was inhabited chiefly by Delawares; Gnadenhuetten by Mahikans; the believers from ſeveral other nations being diſperſed among them in both places. The dwellings, fields and gardens were portioned out among the families according to their ſeveral neceſſities. Thoſe who had lived here for ſome time, ſhowed all poſſible kindneſs to the new-comers, and thus the latter were in a ſhort time conveniently and comfortably ſituated and provided with every thing needful.

External troubles however were not wanting. Intelligence was received, that the Iroquois had ſold a large tract of land below the Canhawa to the Engliſh, to which ſeveral nations claimed a right of poſſeſſion, and that many white people had already ſettled upon it. The ſecret views of the Iroquois in this buſineſs could not remain unobſerved, as they wiſhed to draw the other Indian tribes into a war with

the Engliſh, and while both parties were weakening themſelves by ſlaughter, to gain advantages for themſelves. The petty wars of the Indian tribes continued, and our Indians being conſidered as belonging to the Delaware nation, which was appointed peace-maker, they were inceſſantly called upon to interfere. Thus they were informed, that the Cherokees had declared war againſt the Wawiachtanos, deſtroyed a whole town, making no priſoners, but killing all they met, children not excepted. The head-chief of the Delawares in Gekelemukpechuenk was therefore obliged to ſend an embaſſy of twelve men to the Cherokees, with propoſals of peace, which were accepted. Our Indians willingly contributed twelve fathoms of wampom, towards the expences of this embaſſy, to the great ſatisfaction of the Chiefs. But they did not ſhow the ſame diſpoſition, when called upon to take ſhare in a propoſal made by the Delawares to ſend an embaſſy over the great ocean to the king of England, to deſire that he would make peace between the implacable Iroquois and the Shawanoſe; and at the ſame time to beg his majeſty to inform them, which of all the Chriſtian perſuaſions under his government was the beſt, that they might finally arrive at ſome certainty concerning that point. It was evident, that ſuch an undertaking could not be carried into execution, and indeed, after many ſolemn and ſerious conſultations, the whole affair was ſuſpended, and thoſe who had contributed towards the expences of the propoſed embaſſy, were not a little diſappointed to find, that the Delaware Chiefs would not return their contributions.

July 4th, 1773, the miſſionaries in Schoenbrunn had the joy to baptize the firſtlings of the Cherokee nation, a man and his wife.

Both here and in Gnadenhuetten the labor of the miſſionaries encreaſed ſo much, that they were obliged to beg for aſſiſtants, and to their great ſatisfaction, the miſſionary John Jacob Schmick, who had lived in Bethlehem ever ſince the relinquiſhing of Friedenshuetten, reſolved to enter again into the ſervice of his beloved Indian congregation. But before

he ſet out, it was found expedient to ſend a formal embaſſy, in the name of the believing Indians, to the Chiefs and council in Gekelemukpechuenk, partly to give notice of the arrival of the miſſionary Schmick, and partly to repeat the declaration given by the Indian congregation concerning their tenets, divine worſhip, and manner of living; and to requeſt the favor of a renewed confirmation of the promiſes given by that council, viz. That the believing Indians ſhould be protected againſt all encroachments and attacks of the ſavages. Six deputies were therefore choſen, and Iſaac Glikkikan was appointed ſpeaker. He delivered with great freedom ſeveral ſpeeches before the council and a great number of hearers, which made a deep impreſſion on their minds, and preſented the neceſſary belts and ſtrings of wampom by way of confirmation. In one of theſe ſpeeches he ſaid: "We have already "given you a full explanation of our doctrine and manner of "living, and declared, that we have renounced all heathen-"iſm, and the ſinful practices common among the Indians, "with which we have nothing more to do, but wiſh to lead "a life well-pleaſing to God. But you have not yet given us "an anſwer, though it is now above a year ſince, this was done. "You have rather troubled us with your own fooliſh things, "which we have entirely put away from us. We therefore "declare once more, that we have received the ſweet and "precious doctrine of the Goſpel, not only with our ears, "but with our hearts. We have brought the word which "God ſent unto us, and watch over it as over a great and "invaluable treaſure; being reſolved to preſerve it, even "to the end of our lives. If any Indian therefore wiſhes "to hear and believe the Goſpel, let him come to us; we "ſhall think it a pleaſure to inſtruct him. Therefore ſend "this belt to your nephews the Shawanoſe, and to your uncle "the Delamattenoos, &c." The council was in the beginning not much pleaſed with the information of the appointment of another miſſionary, and the old Chief, Netawatwees, was of opinion, that they had teachers enough, for the new one would teach nothing but the ſame doctrine. He was, however,

however, ſoon convinced, and agreed to his coming; in conſequence of which ſome Indian Brethren went to Bethlehem and conducted Brother Schmick and his wife ſafe to Gnadenhuetten on the 18th of Auguſt.

In September, David Zeiſberger and the two aſſiſtants, Iſaac Glikkikan and William, made another journey to the Shawanoſe. They met the head-chief in one of their towns upon a journey. He immediately gave them his hand, and addreſſing them in an exalted tone of voice, ſaid: "This day God hath ſo ordered, that we ſhould ſee and "ſpeak with each other face to face." He then entered into a long detail of the practices of the white people, deſcribing their manner of deceiving the Indians, which he illuſtrated by various inſtances, and affirmed that they were all alike, ſweet in the mouths, but full of bitterneſs in their hearts, ever intent upon miſchief. As he always pointed to the miſſionary whenever he mentioned the white people, Brother Zeiſberger ſuppoſed that he intended to deter him from coming any more to the Shawanoſe. He therefore took this opportunity to give the Chief an idea of the views of the Brethren in teaching the Indians, nor did he omit to preach the Goſpel to him, cloſing with theſe words: "Though you "ſhould not believe my words now, yet a time will come, "when all of us muſt appear before the judgment-ſeat of "God; then every thing will be made manifeſt, and "you will be obliged to confeſs, that I now have ſpoken the "truth." But the Chief was ſo exceedingly exaſperated againſt the white people, to whom he aſcribed all the miſery of the Indians, that Brother Zeiſberger's words ſeemed at firſt to have little weight with him. However being at length more pacified, he permitted him to continue his viſits in the Shawanoſe towns, but added, that he muſt expect ſome day or other to have his brains beat out. The miſſionary was not to be intimidated by theſe threats, but went to various places, preached the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt with great boldneſs and energy; and, as he expreſſed himſelf, ſowed the word in hope, though he perceived that for the prefent

preſent no regular miſſion could be eſtabliſhed among theſe people.

Soon after his return, the newly-erected chapels in Gnadenhuetten and Schoenbrunn were conſecrated with great joy and ſolemnity.

Among thoſe who departed to eternal reſt in the year 1773, Anthony, who has been frequently mentioned in this Hiſtory, deſerves particular notice. His loſs was greatly lamented by the miſſionaries. Ever ſince the year 1750 he had been a faithful member of the congregation, cleaving to the Lord with his whole heart, and poſſeſſing extraordinary gifts for interpreting the diſcourſes of the miſſionaries. He had a clear inſight into the truths of the Goſpel, and a fervent zeal to preach the word of reconciliation to his countrymen, for which God had given him mouth and wiſdom. He was made inſtrumental in the converſion of many, and rejoiced greatly at their progreſs in grace. Diſtreſs, danger, and perſecution, which he had abundantly experienced, eſpecially at Goſchgoſchuenk, never diverted him from looking up in faith to Jeſus, but rather tended to eſtabliſh him in the love and knowledge of the friend and preſerver of his ſoul, for whoſe ſervice he was willing to endure contempt and reviling, and even death itſelf. Some days before his deceaſe, he ſaid to a company of viſitors: "Brethren, I am now going to our "Savior, and beg you never to deny your faith. Do not "pull down, what the Lord himſelf hath built among you, "but ſeek to preſerve it. Obey your teachers, and follow "them in all things. Do not grieve them by diſobedience, "and ſuffer no one to ſeduce you. Think not when I am "gone, that our Savior's cauſe will ſuffer. He will accom-"pliſh the work he has begun, and prepare for himſelf "Brethren qualified for the labor." He fell aſleep with the moſt chearful countenance, aged 77, and his memory is precious to all who knew him.

The year 1774 proved a time of great trial to the Indian congregations. A war which broke out early in ſpring between the Virginians and Cherokees, Shawanoſe, and Sennekas,

nekas, occaſioned ſuch trouble and confuſion throughout the whole country, that the two ſettlements, Gnadenhuetten and Schoenbrunn, had hardly a ſingle day of reſt to the end of November. This war was firſt occaſioned by ſome Cherokees, who having viſited Schoenbrunn murdered two white traders on their return. Another European traveller was murdered with a tomahawk by the Sennekas. This made the white people in Virginia fly to arms, and it was ſoon reported, that they had killed nine Sennekas, and wounded two, without having permiſſion from government to commence hoſtilities.

The alarm ſoon became general, and a great part of the Shawanoſe engaged in the war, going out in ſmall parties to murder the white people. The Sennekas and Virginians did the ſame; and many white people, lately ſettled on the Ohio, took flight. Thoſe Sennekas who had eſcaped from the Virginians, came now to Gekelemukpechuenk, and threatened to kill every white man they ſhould meet with. All white traders, therefore, were immediately concealed, and well guarded by the Delawares. As ſoon as this news reached Schoenbrunn and Gnadenhuetten, the Indians, fearing an attack upon the miſſionaries, kept ſtrict watch.

The protection granted to the white people greatly enraged the Sennekas and Shawanoſe againſt the Delawares, and conſequently againſt our Indians. On the other hand, the Delaware nation, as the preſerver of peace, was much ſolicited, both by the Engliſh government and the peaceable Indian tribes, to exerciſe their authority, in endeavoring to re-eſtabliſh peace and pacify the contending parties. The Delaware Chiefs were ſincerely diſpoſed to exert themſelves in ſuppreſſing the war, and ſet ſeveral treaties on foot, to which our Indians alſo ſent ſome deputies. But they either proved altogether ineffectual, or only productive of a partial peace; or if a general peace was agreed upon, it was immediately broken. For all theſe well-meant endeavors, the Delawares were ſtill more hated by thoſe Indian tribes, who were fond of war, and at length called by way of deriſion,

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Shwonnaks, or white people. This exaſperated the young men among the Delawares. They could not ſit down patiently, and bear this contempt, but repeatedly ſolicited their Chiefs and captains to join the Shawanoſe, and go to war with the white people. But as theſe ſtood firm, the young warriors aſcribed their refuſal to the powerful influence of our Indians, in the council, who, as they ſuppoſed, were guided and inſtructed by the miſſionaries. Thus the ſettlements were in the greateſt danger from this quarter, for the rage of the young ſavages was ſuch, that they could hardly be kept back from venting their fury upon them. Some even of the principal and oldeſt Chiefs of the Delawares were ſo weak, that they ſent a ſolemn embaſſy to the Shawanoſe, poſitively declaring, "that they would not be called *Shwonnaks*, and that if they "were thus ſhamefully reviled, on account of the white "teachers who lived in Schoenbrunn and Gnadenhuetten, "they took this opportunity of informing them, that they had "no hand in it, and never intended to believe in the word of "God, much leſs to live conformably to it; that they had "never called the believing Indians into their country, but "only connived at its being done by ſome old fools among "them." Though this latter aſſertion was a palpable falſehood, and it was evident that the Chiefs ſent this meſſage merely out of fear, yet the young warriors were ſo much emboldened by it, that they came in great troops to Gnadenhuetten and Schoenbrunn, and committed outrages, the conſequences of which would have been fatal, had not God in mercy protected both ſettlements by his almighty hand.

As the miſſionaries were hourly in danger of their lives, it was thought proper to ſend Brother Rothe and his wife with their two infants to Bethlehem, and the Lord conducted them ſafe through many dangers. For the greater ſecurity of the other miſſionaries, the Indians ſent an embaſſy to the council of the Delawares at Gekelemukpechuenk, deſiring that they would publicly acknowledge their having called the believing Indians and their teachers into the country. They alſo requeſted, that the miſſionaries might be conſidered as belong-

belonging to the Delaware nation, and members of the ſame body. The council pretended to receive this embaſſy with great pleaſure, but as the anſwer was, as uſual, poſtponed to ſome future opportunity, it was of no ſervice to the believing Indians.

The rumours of war and peace varied daily for many months together, keeping our people in diſtreſſing ſuſpenſe. Numerous troops of warriors marched through Schoenbrunn and Gnadenhuetten, ſome upon murdering parties, others returning with ſcalps and priſoners, uttering frequent threats, that both places ſhould ſoon be ſurprized and laid waſte.

Several meſſages were ſent by the Shawanoſe to our Indians, cautioning them to fly from their ſettlements and to ſeek refuge in the towns of the Shawanoſe, by which two families were ſo far intimidated, that they left the congregation, to their great detriment. Another meſſage arrived with the news, that 1000 Shawanoſe were on their march to challenge the Indians in Gekelemukpechuenk, Gnadenhuetten, and Schoenbrunn, to enter the liſts with them againſt the Virginians, and in caſe of refuſal, to murder every one of them, and deſtroy their towns. Another report mentioned, that the Virginians were on the march, and many people fled from Gekelemukpechuenk and other places, adviſing our Indians to do the ſame. But the latter reſolved rather to wait, expecting help from the Lord alone. It was afterwards proved, that moſt of theſe terrifying reports were nothing but malicious lies, by which ſome wicked people in Gekelemukpechuenk endeavored to ſpread terror and confuſion among our Indians. Canoes however were always kept in readineſs for any ſudden emergency, as they were frequently in the night ſo much terrified by frightful accounts, that all were on the point of taking flight. The Siſters were ſeveral times driven from their plantations at noon-day; and all the inhabitants were confined for days and weeks to their dwellings, as ſeveral parties of ſtrollers appeared in the neighborhood with a view to ſeize ſtragglers. The powers of darkneſs were indeed ſeverely

felt

felt during this dreadful period, and the miſſionaries and their congregations could do nothing but cry day and night unto God for protection and help in the time of need.

At length the Engliſh Government was obliged to proceed to ſeverity, and to march troops into the field. Theſe were ſtrictly charged not to moleſt the Chriſtian Indians, nor to paſs through Schoenbrunn and Gnadenhuetten. They attacked a large party of Shawanoſe, whom they defeated, made many priſoners, and deſtroyed four or five of their towns. But as they ſtill refuſed to make peace, Lord Dunmore, Governor of Virginia, marching with a ſufficient force into their country, compelled them to ſubmit and to deliver up all the white priſoners, who were ſtill alive. He then carried off their chief captains and ſeveral other Shawanoſe and Senneka Indians as hoſtages, and thus eſtabliſhed peace throughout the country, to which the Shawanoſe the more readily agreed, as all their endeavors to draw the great council of the Iroquois in Onondago, and other Indian nations into their ſchemes, had been fruſtrated.

From this brief account of the war, we may eaſily infer that the Indian congregations found great cauſe to praiſe and thank God for its happy concluſion. They did this not only in private, but appointed the 6th of November as a day of public thankſgiving, which they celebrated with great ſolemnity, calling to mind the gracious preſervation of that Lord, who had not ſuffered them to be tempted above what they were able to bear, but ſupported them graciouſly. For theſe his mercies they rendered unto Him ſongs of praiſe and gratitude.

The miſſionaries had again great reaſon to rejoice, that amidſt all theſe troubles, the internal eſtabliſhment of the congregations in the grace of God had rather gained than loſt ground. The public preaching of the Goſpel had never been omitted, and to moſt of their hearers, among whom were many warriors, the Goſpel was not preached in vain. Some, who had attended the meetings with much emotion of heart, returned indeed to their reſpective homes, but after a few

a few days came again, to aſſure the Brethren, that they had meditated by day and night upon what they had heard, and could have no peace, until they reſolved to return and to hear more concerning ſo gracious a God and Savior. A celebrated Indian preacher, hearing the Goſpel for the firſt time in Schoenbrunn, was ſo ſtruck with conviction, that he could not reſt, till he had obtained leave to dwell there. Many ſick Indians, women in labor, and travellers who were taken ill in the neighborhood, begged to be carried to Schoenbrunn or Gnadenhuetten, becauſe, as they ſaid, if they ſhould happen to die, they might hope to hear words of their Savior before they departed this life, and be led to turn to him in their diſtreſs. Though the miſſionaries did not expect to ſee much abiding fruit on theſe occaſions, becauſe a man, in diſtreſs, is apt to make good reſolutions, but generally forgets them ſoon after; yet they had the pleaſure to ſee that ſome of theſe poor people turned with their whole hearts to the Lord, and joined his people.

There was another ſtriking contraſt between the conduct of our Indians and the ſavages. The former, though frequently interrupted, continued in their uſual habits of induſtry, planting their fields and gardens, boiling ſugar, &c. while the latter neglected every thing on account of the war. God bleſſed the labor of their hands, ſo much that they had not only ſufficient to aſſiſt the needy, but even generouſly provided many warriors, marching through their ſettlements, with food and other neceſſaries, to their great ſurprize. A captain ſaid on this occaſion: "I have found "your people very different from what I heard them to be, in "our towns. There it is ſaid, that when a ſtrange Indian "arrives he is ſent to make his fire in the wood, and can "get nothing to eat: I now hear the contrary from all that "have come to us from you; for they have all been lodged "and fed. In Gekelemukpechuenk they made wry faces at "us, but here all the men, women, and even children, have "bid us welcome."

Among

Among thoſe, who in 1774 obtained leave to dwell at Schoenbrunn, was a family from Onondago, who had been formerly acquainted with Brother David Zeiſberger. They had been baptized by a Romiſh prieſt, and were therefore only ſolemnly received into the congregation of the Brethren. The man declared, that he had ſpent ſeveral years in great anxiety of mind, laboring to procure reſt unto his ſoul, but could never find any, until he came hither and heard the Goſpel of the incarnation, ſufferings and death of God our Savior. "And now," added he, I believe that Jeſus "Chriſt ſhed his blood alſo for me a poor ſinner. I will "therefore be wholly his property. Not a hair of me ſhall "exiſt, that does not belong unto him." Chief Newaltike, whoſe name was mentioned in the hiſtory of Friedenshuetten, having long heſitated whether he ſhould devote himſelf to the Lord, could no longer withſtand his convictions, but came with his and another family from the Suſquehannah to Schoenbrunn. About this time a remarkable emotion was perceived among the unbaptized; ſome, who had appeared lukewarm, were rouſed to a ſenſe of their backwardneſs. One of them ſaid, "Here am I, a poor ſinner, who have "lived ſo long among God's people, and yet have no life in "my heart. Ah, I am aſhamed, when I conſider, with "what patience our Savior has borne with me hitherto. But "now I cannot remain dead any longer: I deſire to receive "eternal life from him, but I know that I muſt firſt be "waſhed from my ſins in his precious blood." A whole family, having lived for a conſiderable time at Schoenbrunn, but ſhowed no ſigns of true converſion, were therefore informed, that if they knew no reaſon for their living there, they would do better to remove to ſome other place. This cauſed them ſeriouſly to reflect. Both huſband and wife, who hitherto had been at variance, now agreed to turn to the Lord, begged leave to ſtay, and the man added that he ſhould even conſider it as a favor if they were only permitted to ſit without, on the threſhold, to hear the Goſpel. Their requeſt was granted, and the Brethren had no reaſon to repent:

pent: they turned indeed with their whole hearts unto the Lord, were baptized, and remained ever after faithful members of the congregation. An Indian woman, who had been long without ſpiritual life, came, and declared with many tears, that our Savior had manifeſted himſelf to her heart; that ſhe now could believe, that he had received wounds in his hands, feet, and ſide, for her ſins. That having repreſented to her mind how he ſtood with the thorny crown, torn and wounded, this had melted her whole heart: "Now," added ſhe, "I deſire nothing ſo much as to be "cleanſed from my ſins in his precious blood." An unbaptized man, who moved from Gekelemukpechuenk to Schoenbrunn, being ſeverely reproved for it by an heathen, anſwered: "All the Indians know how wickedly I have lived; "I had not my fellow in Gekelemukpechuenk, ſo that "my grandfather, Netawatwees, and all my friends, hated "me on account of my abominable life, often bidding me to "be gone, and never to ſee their face again. But now that "my friends and the other Indians ſee that I am here and be-"lieve the Goſpel, they hate me much more than before, "when I lived in ſin." Chief Echpalawehund came one day to Brother Schmick, and ſaid: "Yeſterday our Savior reveal-"ed himſelf to me, and I felt great pain, when I conſidered "how many years I have grieved him with my ſins. I prayed "to him; 'Have mercy upon me! Thou ſeeſt and knoweſt "my wretchedneſs. Grant me thy mercy, and the remiſſion "of my ſins. Cleanſe my heart; I will devote it unto thee "alone!' I then thought, I will caſt myſelf at the feet of "Jeſus, and never deſiſt until he grants my petition." He ſoon received the joyful aſſurance of the forgiveneſs of his ſins, was baptized and called Peter, and not long after became a zealous witneſs of the truth among the very people, whoſe Chief he had been. The grace of God and the labor of his Spirit were evident, not only in the hearts of the unbaptized and catechumens in general, but more eſpecially among the young people. Even children were awakened, and the miſſionaries remarked with great pleaſure and gratitude,

tude, that theſe little ones both in public and private, wept for grace through the blood of Jeſus, devoting themſelves with ſoul and body to him, who gave himſelf a ſacrifice for us. It happened about this time that a poor girl of ten years old, being engaged in planting Indian corn, was ſuddenly cruſhed to death by the fall of a large tree. This circumſtance afforded an opportunity to remind the children, that they ought to be always ready to depart to the Lord with joy, not knowing how ſoon they may be called hence.

The confidence and courage with which the Indian aſſiſtants preached the word of reconciliation to their countrymen was remarkably great at this period. They did this even publicly in the great council at Gekelemukpechuenk, the Chiefs having deſired that ſome of the eldeſt and moſt reſpected among the believing Indians would always attend, and they ſeldom omitted an opportunity of declaring the truth, as it is in Chriſt Jeſus. One of them ſpoke in the council concerning the miſſionaries: "Our teachers," ſaid he, "do not deſire your land, nor any external advantage, "as other white people do, but their whole aim is, to preach "Jeſus, and to inſtruct us daily, how to attain to a better "knowledge of God our Creator, by whom we receive peace "and joy in our hearts and the hopes of everlaſting life. "They love the Indians, and therefore live among us, and "we muſt not look upon our teachers as upon other white "people, but claſs them among our neareſt friends and "relations." Notwithſtanding theſe declarations the miſſionaries were however a ſtone of offence to many of the Chiefs and to a great part of the council at Gekelemukpechuenk, and it was ſeveral times propoſed to expel them by force. But God brought their counſel to nought, and appointed for this purpoſe, the firſt captain among the Delawares, called White Eye. This man kept the Chiefs and council in awe, and would not ſuffer them to injure the miſſionaries, being in his own heart convinced of the truths of the Goſpel. This was evident in all his ſpeeches, held before the Chiefs and council in behalf of the Indian congregation and their

teachers, during which he was frequently ſo much moved, that his tears prevented his words. He likewiſe declared with confidence, that no proſperity would attend the Indian affairs, unleſs they received and believed the ſaving Goſpel, ſent by God to them, by means of the Brethren. He was therefore unwearied in his endeavors to perſuade them to believe, as the above-mentioned declaration of ſome Chiefs in Gekelemukpechuenk, that they would never hear and believe the word of God, extremely diſtreſſed him. This expoſed him to much reproach and ſufferings, and he had no greater enemy than the above-mentioned old Chief Netawatwees, who was the principal author of that declaration. White Eye however remained firm, and demanded that the Chriſtian Indians ſhould enjoy perfect liberty of conſcience, and their teachers ſafety and protection, adding, that it was but right that the believers ſhould live ſeparate from the reſt, and be protected by the Chiefs and council againſt every intruder. But finding that his remonſtrances would not avail, he ſeparated himſelf entirely from the Chiefs and council. This occaſioned great and general ſurpriſe, and his preſence being conſidered both by the Chiefs and the people as indiſpenſably neceſſary, a negociation commenced, and ſome Indian Brethren were appointed arbitrators. The event was beyond expectation ſucceſsful, for Chief Netawatwees not only acknowledged the injuſtice done to Captain White Eye, but changed his mind with reſpect to the believing Indians and their teachers, and remained their conſtant friend to his death. He likewiſe publiſhed this change of ſentiment to the whole council, in preſence of the deputies from Gnadenhuetten and Schoenbrunn. Captain White Eye then repeated the propoſal which they had formerly rejected; and the council agreeing to it, an act was made in the name of the whole Delaware nation to the following effect:

"From this time forward we ſolemnly declare, that we will "receive the word of God, and that the believing Indians "and their teachers ſhall enjoy perfect liberty throughout "the

"the Indian country, with the ſame rights and privileges "enjoyed by other Indians. The country ſhall be free to "all, and the believers ſhall have their right and ſhare in it, "as well as the unbelievers. Whoever wiſhes to go to the "Brethren and to receive the Goſpel, ſhall be at liberty to join "them, and none ſhall hinder him. But no heathen In-"dians ſhall ſettle in the neighborhood of the believers."

Netawatwees expreſſed great joy at this act and declaration, and concluded his ſpeech with theſe words: "I am an old "man, and know not how long I may live in this world. I "therefore rejoice, that I have been able to make this act, "of which our children and grandchildren will reap the bene-"fit: and now I am ready to go out of the world, when-"ever God pleaſes." He ſent moreover the following meſ-ſage to Chief Pakanke in Kaſkaſkunk: "You and I are both "old and know not how long we ſhall live. Therefore let "us do a good work, before we depart, and leave a teſti-"mony to our children and poſterity, that we have received "the word of God. Let this be our laſt will and teſtament." Pakanke accepted the propoſal, and he and other Chiefs made it known by ſolemn embaſſies in all places where it was neceſſary. For a ſtill greater ſecurity, a treaty was ſet on foot with the Delamattenoos, who had given thi spart of the country to the Delawares about thirty years ago, by which a grant was procured, inſuring to the believing Indians an equal right with the other Delawares to poſſeſs land in it. And that this tranſaction might be duly ratified in the Indian manner and the act remain unrepealed, our Indians ſent a formal embaſſy to the Chiefs and council of the Delaware nation, to return their humble thanks for it. The deputies repeated the whole declaration of the council concerning the believing Indians and their teachers, and Netawatwees confirmed it to be their own act and deed, in preſence of all the people; adding, that they had called the Indian con-gregation and their miſſionaries into this country, and that all the words now repeated by the deputies, had been ſpoken and ratified by this council. Then the deputies proceeded to

return thanks in the name of both congregations, delivering ſeveral belts of wampom, which were forwarded to the neighboring nations. They were made without ornaments, and immediately known by their plainneſs to be the belts of the Chriſtian Indians. Thus this important buſineſs was concluded and confirmed in due form.

Meanwhile Gekelemukpechuenk was forſaken by its inhabitants, and a new town built on the eaſt ſide of the Muſkingum, oppoſite to the influx of the Walhalding. This town was called Goſchachguenk, and Chief Netawatwees choſe it for his future reſidence.

CHAPTER VI.

1775. 1776.

Proſperity of the Indian Congregation. Building of Lichtenau on the Muſkingum. The Situation of the Indian Congregation rendered dangerous by a long Indian War.

THE reſt enjoyed by the Indian congregation in the year 1775 was peculiarly pleaſing, and much favored the viſits of ſtrangers, who came in ſuch numbers, that the chapel at Schoenbrunn, which might contain about five hundred hearers, was too ſmall.

Among theſe was a white man from Maryland, Mr. Richard Connor and his wife, who had lived many years among the Shawanoſe, but afterwards ſettled in Pittſburg. The Goſpel, which they heard in Schoenbrunn, was ſo precious to them, that they reſolved to leave Pittſburg and live with our Indians. The miſſionaries being very ſcrupulous of admitting white people as inhabitants, on account of the above-mentioned ſuſpicions of the Indian nations, repreſented

ſented their ſcruples, adding, that they would find it inconvenient, to ſubmit to thoſe rules and practices agreed upon as eſſentially neceſſary for the welfare of the ſettlement. But Mr. and Mrs. Connor declared their willingneſs to comply with every thing, and that they did not deſire to claim the leaſt prerogative before the believing Indians, their only view being the ſalvation of their own ſouls. They were ſo urgent in repeating their requeſt, that after mature conſideration in the conference of the Indian aſſiſtants, their petition was at laſt granted. They then left Pittſburg, and moved to Schoenbrunn, where they began an Indian houſekeeping, and were publicly received as members of the church of the Brethren. They had ſoon after the ſatisfaction, after much trouble, to ranſom their ſon of four years old, for forty Spaniſh dollars, from the Shawanoſe, who had forcibly detained him.

It was a great pleaſure to the Brethren to ſee the change wrought in the mind of Captain Pipe's wife. She formerly declared that what the Brethren preached, was not true; that ſhe knew better, having been in the manſions of the ſpirits, where the ſtrawberries and bilberries were as large as apples, and in great plenty. Thither ſhe intended to return, but that ſhe would never go to the Brethren's heaven. On this account ſhe would not come to any meeting for a long time. At length venturing to attend the baptiſm of a child, the Holy Ghoſt labored ſo powerfully on her heart, that ſhe melted into tears, and afterwards declared, that ſhe would no more ſay, that the Brethren's doctrine was falſe, being now convinced of its truth and deſirous to be ſaved by it. In this year, Wangomen, the well-known heathen preacher at Goſchgoſchuenk, viſited Schoenbrunn, endeavoring to propagate his fooliſh doctrines, in order to perplex the minds of the people. But the Indian Brethren oppoſed him ſo ſucceſsfully, that he was utterly confounded. They cloſed their rebuke with theſe words: "Go to our children, "they can teach you the way to ſalvation, of which you are "ignorant."

After a ſermon which treated of the great love of God to man, revealed in the incarnation and death of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, a ſtrange Mahikan aſked an Indian Siſter, whether all the people at church had a feeling of this great love of God. She anſwered: "I cannot tell you whether all "feel it, but thoſe who believe and love our Savior feel it "certainly. I will introduce a ſimile. Suppoſe there was "a very delicious meal prepared in this room, and many "people attending; thoſe only who eat, can ſay, that the "victuals taſte well, the others cannot ſay ſo. Thus it is "with our Savior. Only thoſe who have taſted of his love "can ſpeak of it, and they never forget it." The Mahikan replied: "Your ſimile is juſt. Now I will likewiſe tell you "ſomething: When my wife was going to lie in with her "firſt-born, I was impatient to ſee the child. When I ſaw "it, I thought: This child God has made; and I loved it ſo "much, that I could not forbear looking at it continually. "Soon after the child died, and I mourned to that degree, "that nothing would comfort me. I had no reſt, day nor "night, and my child was always in my thoughts; for my very "heart cleaved to it. At laſt I could bear the houſe no "longer, but ran into the woods, and almoſt loſt my ſenſes. "The Indians then adviſed me to take an emetic to get rid of "my ſorrow. I complied, but the love for my child, and "my ſorrow for its loſs, were not removed, and I returned to "the woods. There I beheld the trees and the birds, and "conſidered, that the ſame God created them who made my "child. I then ſaid: 'Thou, O God! who mad'ſt all things, "I know not where thou art, but I have heard that thou "dwelleſt in heaven. Thou haſt taken my child, take my "ſorrow and grief likewiſe from me!' This was done, "and I then could forget my child. From this I conclude, "that thoſe who love God are diſpoſed as I was towards "the child I ſo dearly loved; they can never forget him, nor "find reſt and pleaſure in any thing elſe."

Another viſitor was ſurprized that he had nothing to pay for the miſſionaries ſermons. He ſaid, "I have been here

"three days, and have heard many excellent words, without "paying any wampom. This is not ſo among the Indians, for "when you want to gain any uſeful knowledge from the old "and wiſe men, you muſt firſt give them ſtrings and belts of "wampom, otherwiſe they will not inſtruct you."

In May 1775 the Chief of a large Shawanoſe town ſpent ſix days agreeably at Gnadenhuetten, accompanied by his wife, a captain, ſeveral counſellors, in all above thirty perſons. They attended divine worſhip regularly, and received a good impreſſion from it. At parting the Chief eſtabliſhed a bond of friendſhip with Brother Schmick.

Both theſe ſettlements were much troubled by ſuch Indians, who during the former wars, had neglected their plantations, and were thus reduced to famine. Our Indians fed theſe wretched people as long as they had any thing themſelves, but being ſoon diſtreſſed for proviſions, were obliged to ſeek food for their families, by hunting at a great diſtance from home. On one of thoſe expeditions, a brother having loſt his party, ſtrayed into an immenſe wilderneſs, where he roved about for a whole week before he found his way home. On his arrival, the whole congregation took ſhare in the inexpreſſible joy of his wife and children, who had given him over for loſt. He was almoſt ſtarved, looked like a corpſe; and it was with difficulty that he was ſo far reſtored as to be able to take food. But he could not find words to expreſs his thanks to God our Savior, on whom he placed his ſole confidence in this dreadful hour of trial. "Praiſed be the Lord," ſaid he to Brother Schmick, "who preſerved me ſo long in the woods. Often "did I cry unto him in my diſtreſs: 'Thou knoweſt why "I went out to hunt, I ſought to provide the neceſſary food "for myſelf and my family. Aſſiſt me to find my way to my "wife and children, and to my brethren. Be preſent with "me and ſtrengthen me, for I am very faint!' This prayer "our Savior heard, and brought me back, for which I can-"not thank him ſufficiently."

Among thoſe who were baptized in the year 1775, was a ſon of the well-known Chief Pakanke, in Kaſkaſkunk, who,

being taken ill in the woods, begged to be carried to Gnadenhuetten, where he heard the Goſpel, ſo well adapted to the comfort of all the poor and needy, with eager attention, and begged with tears for baptiſm. "I only deſire," ſaid he, "to "be ſaved, and that our Savior may cleanſe my heart in his "precious blood, forgive me all my ſins, and grant me ever-"laſting life." He then aſked Brother Schmick, when Chriſtmas-day would be, and the day being mentioned to him, he wept and ſaid: "Ah, that the Lord would then "have mercy upon me, and grant me ſpiritual life in holy "baptiſm, for on that day I was born into this world." His requeſt was granted, and he was baptized on Chriſtmas-day. About this time an unbaptized man, who was ſent away from Gnadenhuetten on account of his bad behavior, was exaſperated to ſuch a degree, that having painted himſelf all over black, he entered the houſe of the miſſionary Schmick, armed with a large knife, bent upon revenge. But finding only his wife at home, he returned, and ſoon recollecting himſelf, went and confeſſed his ſins and unhappy condition, begging earneſtly to be re-admitted; and not long after Brother Schmick had the pleaſure to baptize him into the death of Jeſus. Another, who had been appointed ſucceſſor to Chief Netawatwees, declined the offer, and would rather believe and be baptized, than promoted to that honor.

Among thoſe called by the Lord into eternal reſt was John Tapunhank, a man much reſpected, who cleaved ſtedfaſtly unto the Lord, and in every trial gave evident proofs, that he was eſtabliſhed in the true faith. The external affairs of the ſettlement at Schoenbrunn were committed to his inſpection, as warden of the congregation. In this office he ſhowed the greateſt faithfulneſs and activity. During the latter period of his life he was remarkably cheerful, and in his laſt illneſs never wiſhed to recover, but longed to depart and ſee Jeſus, his Lord and God, face to face. In this bleſſed hope he fell happily aſleep, and his end was edifying to all preſent. The deceaſe of Joſhua was a painful ſtroke to the miſſionaries; he was one of the firſt baptized in the year 1742. As an aſſiſtant

aſſiſtant he ſhowed great zeal and fidelity, preached the Goſpel with ſimplicity and power to his countrymen, and having great gifts and capacity, was very uſeful and unwearied in tranſlating. He was univerſally beloved, and being appointed warden of the congregation at Gnadenhuetten, he watched ſtedfaſtly over the due obſervance of the regulations and ſtatutes, himſelf giving a good example unto others. Shortly before his departure he ſaid to Brother Schmick: "I go to our Savior as a poor ſinner, for I am the "pooreſt and worſt of all, and have nothing to plead but the "blood of Chriſt. His righteouſneſs is my wedding dreſs." And clothed with this, he fell happily aſleep, and entered into eternal reſt.

In the year 1775 the diſputes between Great Britain and her North American colonies had riſen ſo high, that the diſturbances occaſioned by them reached the countries ſituated along the Muſkingum and Ohio. I ſhall mention thoſe troubles only in as far as they had an influence upon our Indian congregations, and may tend to throw light upon their hiſtory. The troops and allies of Great Britain I have called *the Engliſh*, and the troops and allies of the preſent United States, *the Americans*.

The Indian miſſion was brought into an extraordinary dilemma by this war, and it is incredible with what circumſpection the miſſionaries were obliged to act, not to offend either the Engliſh or Americans, or the various Indian nations inclining to one or the other party.

In October and November 1775 a treaty of peace was ſet on foot at Pittſburg, with the deputies of the Six Nations. To this Brother Zeiſberger, as miſſionary, and ſome Indian Brethren, as deputies, were invited by the commiſſioners appointed by the American congreſs. Brother Zeiſberger declined attending, but our Indian deputies went to Pittſburg, where the aim to eſtabliſh peace was only in part obtained. The deputies of the Wyondat or Huron Indians ſhowed much diſſatisfaction at parting, being inclined to take the part of the Engliſh.

Captain

Captain White Eye took this opportunity to declare both to the commiſſioners of Congreſs, and to the Indian deputies, that the Delaware nation had formally reſolved to receive the Goſpel. This indeed ſeemed to be the ſincere intention of the people of Goſchachguenk, and muſt be aſcribed to the frequent admonitions given them to this purpoſe by their old Chief Netawatwees. Towards the end of the year a ſolemn embaſſy came from Goſchachguenk to Schoenbrunn, to deſire that a third ſettlement might be eſtabliſhed. Their addreſs was to the following effect: "Brothers and friends! you "told us immediately upon your arrival, that you intended to "build two or three towns for the believing Indians. Two "are erected, and we perceive that they are well filled with "inhabitants. We therefore, having long ago reſolved to "believe in the Goſpel, have thought, upon mature con- "ſideration, that it is now time to build the third town, that "thoſe of our people, who believe, may have a place of "refuge. We therefore deſire you to begin as ſoon as poſſi- "ble. You are to lay the foundation, to plant the word of "God, and to make the proper regulations, as you know "beſt. Theſe muſt not be made only to ſuit the aged and "grown people, but chiefly for our young people and children; "for it is our intention, that this eſtabliſhment ſhall laſt as "long as Indians exiſt. We wiſh particularly, to ſee our child- "ren inſtructed in reading the holy Scriptures, that they may "never forget them. Our eyes look towards you, for we "are not able to accompliſh it ourſelves." The meſſage was duly received, and the deputies having propoſed two places for a third ſettlement, the miſſionary David Zeiſberger went in the ſpring of 1776 with ſome Indian Brethren to view them, when, after due deliberation, a ſpot was choſen with the approbation of the Chiefs and the great council of the Delawares, about three miles below Goſchachguenk, on the eaſt ſide of the Muſkingum, and the ſettlement was called Lichtenau.

Chief Netawatwees and moſt of his people expreſſed great joy on this occaſion; but thoſe who did not wiſh to be diſ-

turbed

turbed in the ſervice of ſin by the preaching of the Goſpel, reſolved to quit the neighborhood of the Brethren, and actually left the country.

April 10th, 1776, the Brethren Zeiſberger and Heckenwaelder, with eight Indian families, in all thirty-five perſons, went from Schoenbrunn to the ſpot propoſed for the building of Lichtenau, and on the evening of their arrival met in the open air to praiſe the name of that Lord, whom they intended to worſhip and ſerve in this place. They firſt dwelt in huts, as uſual on ſuch emergencies, marked out the plantations and gardens, for the ſettlement on the banks of the Muſkingum, and built one ſtreet north and ſouth, with the chapel in the center. They were aſſiſted in this arduous work by many Brethren from Gnadenhuetten and Schoenbrunn, and by Chief Netawatwees, who frequently came with a large party of his people to help them. Even ſome ſtrangers, among whom were four Cherokees, went willingly to work. Thus in a ſhort time, all our Indians, who moved hither with their teachers, left the huts and took poſſeſſion of their houſes. By the preaching of the Goſpel here many Indians in Goſchachguenk and other places became concerned for their ſalvation; and as all thoſe, who appeared in earneſt, were permitted to ſettle at Lichtenau, this place ſoon encreaſed, and the miſſionaries had the ſatisfaction to find, that a better ſituation could not have been choſen for the preaching of the Goſpel. The ſavages came hither from the moſt diſtant parts, and heard it with abiding bleſſing. Among theſe ſtrangers one deſerves particularly to be noticed, who came from the river Illinois, at the diſtance of above a thouſand miles, and appeared very thoughtful. At laſt he thus addreſſed Brother Zeiſberger: "Do you think "that what you preach is true, and good for us?" The miſſionary anſwered, "I preach the word of God, which is "truth, and will remain ſo to all eternity." He replied, "I cannot believe it." His honeſt declaration pleaſed the miſſionary, and he explained to him, that as ſoon as he ſhould hear

hear the Goſpel and perceive its power, he would, without much heſitation, acknowledge it to be truth.

July 28th, 1776, the firſt baptiſm was adminiſtered in Lichtenau to a nephew of Chief Netawatwees, who was named John. He ſoon became an active and zealous witneſs among his countrymen, fearleſs of the perſecution of thoſe, who were avowed enemies of the Goſpel. Being adviſed by an heathen not to ſpeak of what he experienced, becauſe it might eventually coſt him his life, he replied, "I "will therefore ſpeak the more courageouſly. Do you "imagine, that we fear the ſorcery of the Indians, and on "that account ſhut our mouths and conceal what God our "Savior has done and ſuffered for us and all the Indians, "when he ſhed his precious blood for the remiſſion of ſins? "God forbid: We will tell all men how they may come to "Jeſus Chriſt and be ſaved by him, nor will we hold our "peace as long as we live; for this is the commandment of "God unto us." Netawatwees, who greatly rejoiced at the change wrought in his nephew, permitted his ſon to move with his whole family to Lichtenau, and was very thoughtful about his own ſalvation. He related, that he had made thirteen notches in a piece of wood, by way of memorandum, that he had been thirteen Sundays in Lichtenau to hear the word of God; and that when he conſidered how often he had heard of his Redeemer, and looked at the notches in the wood, he could not help weeping, although he endeavored to conceal his tears.

Among thoſe who moved to Lichtenau in 1776, was a Chief from Aſſiningk. He had married a white woman, who, as a child, was taken priſoner by the ſavages about nineteen years ago in Virginia. Being preſent at a morning meeting for the firſt time, ſhe burſt into tears, ſaying, "O how do I "rejoice, that after the ſpace of nineteen years, I at laſt hear "the Goſpel again. I have often deſired to live with you, "and now God has granted my petition; I never felt happier "than when I awoke this morning."

In

In Gnadenhuetten arrived about this time a Chief of the Shawanoſe, commonly called Cornſtock, with a retinue of upwards of an hundred perſons, men, women, and children. His behavior was courteous, and he ſhowed a particular friendſhip for the miſſionary Jacob Schmick, to whom he addreſſed the following ſpeech through his interpreter, an old mulattoe, who had lived twenty years among the Shawanoſe: "I greatly "rejoice to ſee you and your wife. I ſhall never forget the "kindneſs you have ſhown me during my laſt viſit. There-"fore I conſider you and your wife as my parents, and de-"clare and own you anew as ſuch." Brother Schmick anſwered: "This is doing us too much honor. We ſhall be "ſatisfied if you will conſider me as your brother, and my "wife as your ſiſter." He ſeemed pleaſed, and taking the miſſionary and his wife by the hand, thanked them, and ſaid: "I will acquaint all my friends that we have eſtabliſhed "this bond of friendſhip."

In the year 1776, the Delaware Reading and Spelling Book, compiled by Brother Zeiſberger, was introduced into the ſchools at Schoenbrunn and Gnadenhuetten, and gave great pleaſure to the ſcholars.

The believing Indians, conſiſting at the cloſe of 1775 of 414 perſons, lived now in three ſettlements, not far aſunder, and a conſtant edifying intercourſe ſubſiſted between them. Internally the congregations proſpered greatly. The Goſpel ſhowed its divine power in the hearts both of ſtrangers and inhabitants. Of the former many were added to the church of God by holy baptiſm, and the growth of the latter in the love and knowledge of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, was ſo conſpicuous, that the miſſionaries could not but acknowledge the miſſion to have been at that time in the moſt flouriſhing ſtate. But their external ſituation was truly embarraſſing. They firſt received a meſſage in the name of his Britannic Majeſty, deſiring that our Indians, as well as the others, would ſtrictly adhere to the articles of peace, and remain quiet during the troubles ſubſiſting between the colonies and the mother-country. Our Indians were more eſpecially willing

willing to act conformably to the contents of this meſſage, as they loved peace and wiſhed to remain unmoleſted. Soon after another meſſage was received from the Congreſs at Philadelphia, giving notice in the kindeſt terms, that they had appointed an agent of Indian affairs, and that our Indians ſhould correſpond with him in all public concerns. Not long after a report prevailed, that the Shawanoſe had joined the Engliſh againſt the Americans, and were gone out to murder the latter. At laſt intelligence was brought that the Six Nations would go to war, aſſiſt the Engliſh, and that the Delamattenoos and other Indian nations would follow their example: but that the Delaware nation, which was appointed to keep the general peace, ſhould not be informed of theſe proceedings, till it was too late to prevent the war. Theſe and other rumors perplexed our Indians not a little. Being reſolved at all events not to meddle with the war, they ſaw plainly, that they ſhould ſtand, as it were, between three fires, the Engliſh, the Americans, and thoſe Indian nations, who were diſpleaſed with their neutrality; all theſe being ſuſpicious of their conduct. But the greateſt concern they had was on account of their teachers, who, in caſe of an Indian war, muſt either fly and leave their congregations, or every day be in danger of loſing their lives.

The Delaware Chief Netawatwees did every thing in his power to preſerve peace among the Indian nations, by ſending embaſſies, and exhorting them not to go to war. He however received a meſſage from the Hurons, "that the Dela-"wares ſhould keep their ſhoes in readineſs, to join the war-"riors." This meſſage he would not accept, but ſent ſeveral belts to the Hurons, admoniſhing them to ſit ſtill and to remember the miſery they had brought upon themſelves, by taking ſhare in the late war between the Engliſh and French. Theſe belts were carried to the Chiefs of the Hurons in Fort Detroit; but as it was neceſſary to deliver them to the Chiefs in the preſence of the Engliſh Governor, the latter, to fulfil his duty, cut them in pieces, caſt them at the deputies feet, and commanded them to depart within half an hour. He even

even accuſed Captain White Eye of taking part with the Americans, adviſing him to depart inſtantly as he valued his head. After this, Congreſs offered to protect thoſe Indians, who were peaceably diſpoſed, and to place them out of the reach of danger. No Chief would venture to make known this meſſage to his people, the general diſpoſition of all the Indians, the Delawares not excepted, being for war; and the mere mention of this propoſal would have occaſioned them to go to war immediately, and thus have made bad worſe.

The Americans then adviſed the miſſionaries to ſave themſelves, and take refuge in Pittſburg. But well knowing that their congregations would fall into the moſt deplorable circumſtances without their teachers, they declined every offer of that kind, and rather reſolved to ſuffer with the people committed to their care, though threatened by the moſt imminent danger. Brother William Edward arrived in autumn from Bethlehem to aſſiſt the miſſion.

About this time the Hurons and Mingues came into the vicinity of our ſettlements, and murdered eleven white people upon a plantation not far from Lichtenau. Some of them were even found ſkulking about at Goſchachguenk in ſearch of white people. At length ſix of them came early in the morning of the 12th of November to Lichtenau, and Brother Heckenwaelder was not a little alarmed, when upon opening his houſe-door he diſcovered theſe ſavages ſtanding before it. Some Indian Brethren however haſtened to his aſſiſtance, to whom the ſavages owned, that they came in ſearch of white people, intending to kill them, but aſſured them, that they did not mean to hurt the white teachers, but only the white traders.

The Americans now began to march with the Indian warriors in their intereſt, againſt the Engliſh, and deſired a paſſage through the Delaware country, promiſing that if they remained quiet, they ſhould ſuffer no injury. The Delawares however were not a little alarmed, fearing that if the Americans were defeated, the conquerors would plunder and deſtroy all the Delaware towns, and our ſettlements would have undoubt-

undoubtedly ſhared the ſame fate. But as their requeſt could not be refuſed, ſilence gave conſent.

It now became evident, why, by the providence of God, Lichtenau had been placed ſo near to Goſchachguenk; for the believing Indians could neither have defended themſelves nor their teachers againſt the inſults of the warriors, had they not had conſtant ſupport from the Chiefs and council of that place. They cautiouſly avoided interfering with the meſſages of the Delawares, ſent either to the Engliſh, the Americans, or the neighboring Indian nations, or with any thing relating to political affairs. One circumſtance was very perplexing. The Delaware Chiefs now and then received letters from Pittſburg and other places. As they could not read, they generally applied to the miſſionaries to know the contents. Sometimes they deſired them to anſwer theſe letters in the name of the Chiefs. It would have been not only unkind, but even dangerous, to refuſe their requeſt, as the Chiefs would have had occaſion to doubt their friendſhip. Innocent as their compliance was, the miſſionaries wiſhed much to have been ſpared, fearing leſt people, who knew not the connexion of this buſineſs, might begin to ſuſpect that they were themſelves carrying on a correſpondence with the Americans to the prejudice of the Engliſh, and the event proved their fears to be juſt. The more the miſſionaries ſtood in need of a ſenſible and reſpected Chief in this embarraſſing ſituation, the more they had reaſon to lament the death of Chief Netawatwees, which happened in Pittſburg, towards the cloſe of 1776. Ever ſince his ſentiments had changed in favor of the Goſpel, he was a faithful friend of the Brethren, and being one of the moſt experienced Chiefs in his time, his counſel proved often very ſerviceable to the miſſion. The wiſh he uttered as his laſt will and teſtament, that the Delaware nation might hear and believe the word of God, preached by the Brethren, was frequently repeated in the council by his ſucceſſor, and then they renewed their covenant to uſe their utmoſt exertions, to fulfil this laſt wiſh of their old worthy and honored Chief. Upon ſuch an occaſion, Captain White Eye, holding the bible

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and ſome ſpelling-books in his hands, addreſſed the council with great emotion and even with tears: "My friends," ſaid he, "you now have heard the laſt will and teſtament of our "departed Chief. I will therefore gather together my young "men and their children, and kneeling down before that "God, who created them, will pray unto him, that he "may have mercy upon us and reveal his will unto us. And "as we cannot declare it to thoſe, who are yet unborn, we "will pray unto the Lord our God, to make it known to "our children, and children's children."

In the mean time the Hurons continued to commit ravages and murders in all places, attached to the American cauſe. The Chiefs of the Delawares were more than ever concerned for the ſafety of the miſſionaries in Gnadenhuetten and Schoenbrunn, and therefore invited theſe congregations to come to Goſchachguenk, that they might protect the white Brethren in their own town: but the miſſionaries did not then apprehend this ſtep to be neceſſary, placing their only confidence in the Lord, who had preſerved them in ſo many dangers, under the ſhadow of his wings.

A meſſage arrived ſoon after from the Hurons, ſignifying that they were unwilling to go to war, but found themſelves driven to it; adding, that the Iroquois and all the weſtern nations had united to fight againſt the Americans, and that the Delawares ſhould now finally declare what party they intended to join. They anſwered, that they ſhould join neither, but keep the peace, by which they hoped to be moſt benefited. That even the Americans had adviſed them ſo to do, not deſiring any aſſiſtance from the Indians. This anſwer, ſent by a formal embaſſy to the Hurons, was well received, contrary to all expectation. It even made ſuch an impreſſion upon them, that they declared to the governor of Fort Detroit, that as he was always urging them to go to war with the Americans, but himſelf ſat down quietly, plainly ſhowing, that he merely ſought the deſtruction of the Indians, they would only have patience till to-morrow, that is, till next ſpring. If they then ſhould ſtill find, that

he did nothing, they would caſt all his belts at his feet, and go to Goſchachguenk to renew their friendſhip with the Delawares, and to Pittſburg, to make a covenant with the American colonies. They then returned home, and deſiſted from further hoſtilities for the preſent.

The governor of Fort Detroit and the Huron Chief could not comprehend why the Delaware nation was ſo firm in maintaining peace. At laſt it was aſcribed to the miſſionaries and their influence upon the deliberations of the council, and it appeared ſome time after, that, already at that time, a propoſal was made to ſeize the miſſionaries and carry them to Fort Detroit.

CHAPTER VII.

1777.

Lamentable Diviſions in Schoenbrunn. The faithful Part of the Congregation forſake the Settlement and emigrate to Gnadenhuetten and Lichtenau. The Indian War becomes more general. Some Miſſionaries return to Bethlehem. A Troop of Huron Warriors bring Gnadenhuetten and Lichtenau into great Danger. Further Miſchief is prevented. A falſe Alarm occaſions the Flight of the Indian Congregation. Their internal Courſe remains edifying.

IN the year 1777 the troubles continued. The accounts of the advantage gained by the Americans over the Engliſh troops, increaſed the confuſion. The Shawanoſe reſolved again to go to war, and turned a deaf ear to their Chiefs, who adviſed peace. Accounts were received from all quarters that the ſavages intended to maſſacre firſt the

the white people and then all thoſe Indians, who had not joined them in war. The miſſionaries were always more particularly threatened with death and even the time mentioned when they ſhould be murdered.

During all theſe commotions, the Chiefs of the Delawares remained firmly reſolved, not to interfere in the war between England and her colonies. But the Monſys, one of the Delaware tribes, were ſecretly contriving to ſeparate themſelves from the body of the nation, and to join the Mingues, a ſet of idle thieves and murderers. However before they publicly avowed their ſentiments, they endeavored to gain a party among the enemies of the miſſion, of whom there were a large number in thoſe parts. At laſt they even ventured to come into our ſettlements and ſought to decoy ſome to join them.

Newallike, a Chief mentioned in the foregoing hiſtory of Friedenshuetten on the Suſquehannah, was the firſt in Schoenbrunn who was ſeduced to turn back into heatheniſm, pretending, that he had in vain endeavored to believe, but not finding it poſſible, was now convinced that the Chriſtian doctrine was altogether a fable. Captain White Eye, who himſelf did not belong to the believers, hearing this, anſwered: "You went to the Brethren, becauſe you could "find nothing in the world to ſet your heart at eaſe, and "firmly believed, that you had found with them all you de-"ſired. Theſe are the very words I heard you ſpeak, and "now, having hardly begun, you give up already, and re-"turn to your former life. This is not acting the part of a "man!" The bad example of Newallike was followed by many, and before the miſſionaries were aware, they found in the midſt of Schoenbrunn a party of apoſtates, who ſeemed reſolved to replace heatheniſm upon the throne. So ſevere a ſtroke theſe ſervants of God had not yet felt, and it proved an affliction, infinitely greater than all their former ſufferings. They ſpared no pains, uſing every poſſible effort which love could dictate to recover theſe poor backſliders, to gain their confidence, and lead them to reflect

upon the error of their ways, but all in vain. They therefore reſolved, rather than enter into a diſpute with ſo dangerous an enemy, to go out of their way. Added to this, intelligence was received from various places, that the ſavages, in league with the apoſtates, were on their way to attack Schoenbrunn. Towards the end of March Brother Zeiſberger propoſed to the faithful part of the congregation, that they ſhould forſake a place where the Spirit of God had no longer the ſway, and move to Lichtenau. The congregation wept aloud on hearing this propoſal, but unanimouſly agreed to it, as the moſt expedient in the preſent caſe, and prepared for their removal. In the mean time the Monſys and the apoſtate party had nothing leſs in view, than either to convey the miſſionaries to Fort Detroit or to murder them. But their attempts proving vain, they ſpread falſe, though very probable reports, that the miſſionaries and the believing Indians were daily in danger of being ſurpriſed and murdered by the Huron warriors.

Terrified by ſucceeding reports, Brother Jungman and his wife, and brother Heckenwaelder, left Schoenbrunn precipitately in the night of April 3d with the firſt party of the Chriſtian Indians. By the way, ſeveral of the latter reſolved to ſettle at Gnadenhuetten for the preſent, the inhabitants of which were not inclined to fly until they were in greater danger; with the reſt the miſſionaries arrived at Lichtenau on the 4th. But Brother Heckenwaelder returned ſoon to Schoenbrunn, where he comforted the remaining believers, held meetings in the regular courſe, and kept as good order as poſſible; ſeveral idle people having already attempted to take poſſeſſion of the empty houſes. April 19th Brother Zeiſberger delivered his laſt diſcourſe in Schoenbrunn. The congregation was much moved, and joined in fervent prayer for the unhappy apoſtates. Afterwards the chapel was pulled down, as uſual in ſuch caſes, and all the believers left Schoenbrunn the ſame day.

It may eaſily be conceived that the emigration from Schoenbrunn, and the reception of ſo many perſons in Gnadenhuetten

denhuetten and Lichtenau, was attended with great difficulty and inconvenience. The occaſion of it was however by far the greateſt trouble, and an affliction which the miſſionaries could not ſoon forget.

In this month the Chiefs of the Delawares again ſent deputies to the Hurons, among whom were two Brethren from Lichtenau, to aſſure them that they intended to preſerve their neutrality, and at the ſame time to infrom them, that the Delaware nation had received the word of God, and thus publicly taken the white teachers at Lichtenau and Gnadenhuetten under their protection. This was done by the advice of Colonel Morgan in Pittſburg, agent for Government, whom the Indian nations highly reſpected. They had ſecretly written to inform him of their intention, to remove the miſſionaries from the ſettlements, aſking his opinion concerning it. The Colonel replied: "I can ſay "nothing to this. The miſſionaries themſelves muſt know "beſt, what ſteps to take, for God has ſent them hither. "My opinion is, that it would be wrong to compel them to "go away, for I cannot but conſider ſuch a ſtep as the "work of the devil, who ſeeks to hinder and deſtroy the good "work begun among the Indians. Therefore I adviſe and "deſire that you endeavor to keep and protect them among "you." As ſoon as theſe deputies arrived with the Hurons, and it was noiſed about, that two believing Indians were among them, and that even one of them, Iſaac Glikkikan, was ſpeaker of the embaſſy, they immediately ſaid: "Now "we ſhall hear the truth, for the believing Indians tell no "lies." The meſſage was well received both by them and the Engliſh Government in Detroit, and in June a very ſatisfactory anſwer followed, in which the following was ſaid concerning the miſſionaries: "That the Delawares ſhould "conſider them as an invaluable treaſure, on account of "the good they did among the Indians, being the promoters "of both their temporal and ſpiritual welfare. They there-"fore ſhould deem themſelves fortunate in protecting the "miſſionaries, and by no means part with them."

In 1777 the Americans likewiſe entered into ſeveral treaties with the Indians for peace. As they did not anſwer the aim intended, a congreſs of all the Indian nations was appointed to meet at Goſchachguenk in June. The Hurons, who were not inclined for peace, found means to prevent it, and in that ſame month a large party of them went out to murder and plunder the Americans. They even came into the neighborhood of Gnadenhuetten, and ſome Indian Siſters who were on a journey to Lichtenau had nearly fallen into their hands, but hearing their death-ſong at a diſtance, eſcaped by flight.

Towards the end of July another treaty of peace was held at Pittſburg. It had hardly begun, when all hopes of peace vaniſhed at once, a party of Americans having fired upon a body of Senneka Indians, who came to attend the treaty. By this ſtep the ſavages were again enraged at the white people, conſidered them altogether as traitors, and vowed revenge.

Soon after this, an embaſſy of twenty deputies from the Hurons arrived in Goſchachguenk. They offered the Delawares the large war-belt three times ſucceſſively, demanding their aſſiſtance to make war againſt the colonies, and declaring that all the nations on this and the other ſide of Lake Erie were united as one man, to fight againſt the colonies. But the Delaware Chiefs remained firmly reſolved to preſerve peace, returned the war-belt, and ſent word to the Huron Chiefs, that they could not comply with their demand, having promiſed at the treaty of peace, made after the late war, that as long as the ſun ſhould ſhine, and the rivers ſhould flow, they would not fight againſt the white people: that therefore they had no hand left, to take up the war-belt. The Huron Chiefs returned home, much diſpleaſed with this anſwer, and nothing appeared more probable, than that the Delawares, and of courſe our ſettlements would ſoon be attacked by the ſurrounding ſavages. The miſſionaries were now continually in danger of their lives. Indeed the believing Indians guarded them by day and night

night with great faithfulneſs: but as the danger increaſed, it was reſolved to ſend ſome of them home. In May, Brother Heckenwaelder, and in Auguſt, Brother Jungman and his wife returned to Bethlehem. The latter having ſerved the Indian congregation for ſeven years, felt great pain at parting with their beloved flock. God preſerved them in many dangers and brought them ſafe to Bethlehem.

On the very day after their ſetting out, intelligence was received at Lichtenau that two hundred Huron warriors, headed by their ſo-called Half-king, were on their march to that place. This cauſed a general alarm. After mature conſideration the Brethren reſolved to ſhow no ſigns of fear, but to gain theſe ſavages by giving them a kind reception. Oxen and pigs were killed and other food provided, and the liberality of the Indian Brethren and Siſters in contributing to theſe preparations was truly remarkable, for they conſidered it as the only means of ſaving the lives of their beloved teachers. Auguſt the 8th, the warriors arrived in Goſchachguenk, and upon their meeting a number of our Indians from Lichtenau, carrying proviſions for them, their ſurprize and pleaſure were equally great. The good humor which this occaſioned was improved by the aſſiſtants, who ſoon after ſent a ſolemn embaſſy to the Half-king and other Chiefs of the Hurons, Iſaac Glikkikan being ſpeaker. To give my readers an idea how the Chriſtian Indians addreſs warriors on ſuch occaſions, I will inſert his ſpeech as delivered on the ſpot:

"Uncle! we, your couſins, the congregation of believing "Indians at Lichtenau and Gnadenhuetten, rejoice at this "opportunity to ſee and ſpeak with you. We cleanſe your "eyes from all the duſt and whatever the wind may have "carried into them, that you may ſee your couſin with clear "eyes and a ſerene countenance. We cleanſe your ears and "hearts from all evil reports which an evil wind may have "conveyed into your ears and even into your hearts on the "journey, that our words may find entrance into your ears "and a place in your hearts." Here he delivered a ſtring

of wampom and proceeded: "Uncle! hear the words of "the believing Indians, your couſins, at Lichtenau and "Gnadenhuetten. We would have you know, that we "have received and believed in the word of God for thirty "years and upwards, and meet daily to hear it, morning "and evening. You muſt alſo know, that we have our "teachers dwelling amongſt us, who inſtruct us and our "children. By this word of God, preached to us by our "teachers, we are taught to keep peace with all men, and "to conſider them as friends; for thus God has commanded "us, and therefore we are lovers of peace. Theſe our "teachers are not only our friends, but we conſider and "love them as our own fleſh and blood. Now as we are "your couſin, we moſt earneſtly beg of you, Uncle! "that you alſo would conſider them as your own body, "and as your couſin. We and they make but one body, "and therefore cannot be ſeparated, and whatever you do "unto them, you do unto us, whether it be good or evil." Hereupon another ſtring of wampom, ſeveral fathoms in length, was delivered. The Half-king replied, that theſe words had penetrated his heart, and that he would immediately conſult with his warriors about them. This being done, he returned the following anſwer to the deputies: "Couſins! I am very glad and feel great ſatisfaction that "you have cleanſed my eyes, ears, and heart from all evil, "conveyed into me by the wind on this journey. I am upon "an expedition of an unuſual kind: for I am a warrior and "am going to war, and therefore many evil things, and evil "thoughts enter into my head, and even into my heart. "But thanks to my couſin, my eyes are now clear, ſo that "I can behold my couſin with a ſerene countenance. I "rejoice, that I can hear my couſins with open ears and "take their words to heart." He then delivered a ſtring of wampom, and repeating all the words of the deputies relating to the miſſionaries, he expreſſed his approbation of them, and added, "Go on as hitherto, and ſuffer no one "to moleſt you. Obey your teachers, who ſpeak nothing "but

"but good unto you and inſtruct you in the ways of God,
"and be not afraid that any harm ſhall be done unto them.
"No creature ſhall hurt them. Attend to your worſhip and
"never mind other affairs. Indeed you ſee us going to war;
"but you may remain eaſy and quiet, and need not think
"much about it, &c."

During theſe tranſactions the Brethren at Lichtenau were under great apprehenſions, fearing the event. The deputies had therefore agreed, that as ſoon as they ſhould perceive, that the Half-king ſpoke in an angry tone, they would ſend a meſſenger full ſpeed to Lichtenau, before he concluded his ſpeech, that the whole congregation might take flight. So much the greater was the joy of all, when the affair took ſo favorable a turn, and every one felt himſelf excited to thank and praiſe the Almighty Savior of his people, for having heard the numberleſs ſighs and prayers offered up to him at this critical juncture. The word of Scripture for the day was: "*Sing aloud unto God our ſtrength; make a joyful "noiſe unto the God of Jacob!*" Pſ. lxxxi. 1. This was done with one accord and with a full heart.

The ſame day the Half-king, the chief captain and eighty-two warriors came to Lichtenau. They were firſt ſhown into the ſchool-houſe, where the miſſionaries Zeiſberger and William Edwards received them. They ſhook hands with all they met, and the Half-king ſpoke as follows: "We "rejoice to ſee our father, and to take him by the hand: "from this time forth we will conſider you as our father, "and you ſhall own and conſider us as your children, nor "ſhall any thing ever diſturb your minds in this reſpect, "but our covenant ſhall remain firm for ever. We will alſo "acquaint the other nations with the proceedings of this "day, and they will doubtleſs rejoice." Brother Zeiſberger anſwered this friendly compliment in a proper manner, after which the miſſionaries and ſome Indian Brethren dined with the Half-king and his officers under a hut made of green boughs: the other warriors ſeated themſelves in the ſhade in front of the place, and were ſo richly provided with

with food, that after having made a hearty meal, each could carry a large portion with him to Goſchachguenk, to which place they all returned in the evening. The Half-king then ſent meſſengers to the Engliſh governor in Detroit, and to the Chiefs in the Huron country to give them an account of the covenant made with the believing Indians, adding, that he and his warriors had acknowledged the white Brethren to be their father, and would ever own them as ſuch.

The news of the favorable turn of this dangerous affair not having reached Gnadenhuetten in time, the miſſionary Brother Schmick and his wife were perſuaded, upon the repreſentation of the Indian aſſiſtants, who were much alarmed, to fly to Pittſburg, from whence they proceeded to Bethlehem.

Thus the two miſſionaries, Zeiſberger and William Edwards, were left alone, to ſerve two congregations, twenty miles aſunder, with no other proſpect, but that of ſucceſſive troubles. The pain they felt under theſe circumſtances may be more eaſily conceived than deſcribed. But God comforted them and ſtrengthened their faith ſo powerfully, that they renewed their covenant, to remain firm in the ſervice of the Indian congregations, and even to ſuffer death itſelf. Brother Zeiſberger ſtaid in Lichtenau and Brother Edwards went to Gnadenhuetten. Yet they paid mutual viſits, participating in each other's weal and woe, edifying and encouraging each other. They now plainly perceived, how great a favor the Lord had conferred upon them, by permitting the covenant between the Indian congregation and the Huron warriors to take place at this time. Without this they could not have continued to exerciſe any miniſterial functions, or muſt have done it in ſecret. But now they could go ſafely about in the country, and even to the wildeſt ſavages, who treated them with reſpect and kindneſs. Many of the latter attended the public worſhip at Lichtenau, nor did their behavior ever cauſe the leaſt diſturbance. Brother Zeiſberger received every day viſits from people who came to ſalute him as their father, and ſome, who were

ill,

ill, were much pleaſed by his willingneſs and dexterity in granting them relief.

A great number of other warriors, Hurons, Iroquois, Ottawaws, Chippaways, Shawanoſe, Wampanos, Petawontakas, and ſome French, joined the Half-king. He kept good order, and would not ſuffer any extravagance. Sometimes above 200 warriors lay all night cloſe to Lichtenau, but behaved ſo quietly, that they were hardly perceived, which, among ſo wild and fierce a people, was a matter of aſtoniſhment. The Half-king was particularly attentive to prevent all drunkenneſs, knowing that bloodſhed and murder would immediately follow. He even ſent to the Brethren to know, whether his people behaved well, and was glad to hear a good account of them.

The maintenance of ſo many warriors, and the great numbers who came by hundreds dancing before every houſe, to beg bread and tobacco, became at laſt very troubleſome to the inhabitants of Lichtenau. They were therefore glad to ſee them march off on the 22d and 23d of Auguſt, eſpecially as ſo much rum had been lately imported from Pittſburg into theſe parts, that the whole country around became at laſt one ſcene of drunkenneſs and riot, and the noiſe and uproar inſupportable. But it was now to be feared that the friendly behavior of the Hurons, who were of the Engliſh party, might give umbrage to the white people living on the Ohio, and the Delaware Chiefs were hardly able to keep their young warriors quiet, as they were under continual apprehenſions of being attacked by the Americans. After ſome time intelligence was received, that ſeveral plans had been formed to ſurprize and deſtroy Lichtenau, Gnadenhuetten, and other Delaware towns. But God in mercy defeated them all.

Towards autumn the ſituation of affairs appeared ſtill more precarious. A dreadful account was received, that an American general had arrived in Pittſburg, who denied quarter to any Indian, whether friend or foe, being reſolved to deſtroy them all. This made the Delawares at length take up arms, alledging, that they muſt die, whether they fought or not.

Report

Report added, that the Americans would ſoon march into Goſchachguenk, and one account after the other proclaimed their approach. The Delaware warriors therefore joined the Hurons, who were ſtill in the neighborhood. But the Indian congregation firmly reſolved not to take the leaſt ſhare in the war, and to exclude from their fellowſhip all who did. They could at preſent take no other determination, than to be ready for flight. A ſpot of ground on the Walhalding was fixed upon, as a place of rendezvous for the congregations of Lichtenau and Gnadenhuetten, and each family packed up their goods. September 17th, at night, an expreſs arrived at Lichtenau and Gnadenhuetten, with an account of the approach of the enemy. Both congregations immediately fled with their teachers in canoes, and indeed with ſuch precipitation, that they left the greater part of their goods behind. They met, as agreed, at the abovementioned place on the Walhalding, where they encamped, hourly expecting to hear of a bloody engagement in the neighborhood of Lichtenau. Happily before day-break a meſſage arrived, that, what had been taken for the American army was nothing but a great number of horſes in the woods. However both congregations remained together on the 18th, to ſee and converſe with each other, and their mutual brotherly love and cordiality was truly edifying. On the following day they all returned to their reſpective homes,

September 23d, late at night, another meſſage arrived from an American General, and the abovementioned Colonel Morgan in Pittſburg, aſſuring the Delawares that they had nothing to fear from the Americans. But before the truth was known, a report was ſpread at Lichtenau that the Americans were in the neighborhood, and every one was again preparing to eſcape. Brother Zeiſberger therefore aſſembled the congregation after midnight, and acquainted them with the true contents of the meſſage from Pittſburg, upon which all went chearfully to reſt. The Delaware Chiefs returned now to their former ſyſtem of peace.

In the beginning of October, an engagement took place between a party of Hurons and a troop of American free-booters, who went contrary to the expreſs order of the Governor of Pittſburg, to deſtroy the Delaware towns, and conſequently our ſettlements among the reſt. They were entirely defeated by the Half-king, who killed the greateſt part of them.

Soon after accounts were received at Lichtenau, that the Delawares on the Cayahaga and Walhalding prepared to go to war. As theſe proceedings threatened danger both to them and the congregations of believing Indians, Brother Zeiſberger ſent a ſerious remonſtrance to the council of the Delawares in Goſchachguenk, poſitively declaring that the believing Indians would forſake the country, as ſoon as the Delawares went to war.

On this account, the Chiefs in all places were aſſembled to a general council, in which a reſolution was taken Oct. 31ſt, to preſerve peace and neutrality without exception.

During this period of confuſion and calamity, when the ſpirit of murder and the power of darkneſs greatly prevailed, the work of God proceeded unmoleſted amongſt our Indians. The miſſionaries reported that a revival of grace, and ſuch harmony and brotherly affection appeared among the baptized, as is generally obſerved in their firſt love. Amidſt all the diſturbances occaſioned by the daily marches of warriors through the ſettlements, they not only did not loſe their courage, but were led by various trials to cleave the more cloſely to the Lord, and to ſeek help from him. The grace of God was ſenſibly felt in all the meetings, and the public preaching of the Goſpel at Lichtenau, was ſo numerouſly attended by ſtrange Indians, that there was want of room. Many were baptized, and ſome who had been baptized in other communities, were received as members of the Brethren's congregation. The Indian aſſiſtants were peculiarly ſucceſsful in bearing their teſtimony of the truth. Several went to Goſchachguenk, to declare the Goſpel to the ſick, who could not come to Lichtenau, and their viſits were richly bleſſed. Some

heathen

heathen teachers indeed attempted to oppoſe them, but not being able to withſtand the power of God, they were confounded. There was alſo ſo great an awakening among the unbaptized children both at Lichtenau and Gnadenhuetten, that the parents knew not how to comfort their children, who wept, begging moſt fervently to be baptized. Among theſe were the children of an unbaptized Chief from Aſſiningk, called Welapachtſchiechen, living at Lichtenau. The father came one day to the miſſionary, ſaying, that he could not bear to ſee his children lying on their faces, weeping day and night, knowing that he could not help, but only weep with them, and that at laſt he conſidered himſelf the cauſe of their affliction. He therefore would recommend them to the miſſionary, beſeeching him not to delay their baptiſm on his account, adding, that he ſhould greatly rejoice, if they were preferred and received holy baptiſm before him. The ſame Chief addreſſed the whole council in Goſchachguenk in the following words: "Brethren and friends! We hear "alarming accounts from all places, let us therefore pray to "God our Savior with ſo much the greater fervor, that he "would help us through theſe times of danger, for we now "ſtand moſt in need of his help. I dare not as yet conſider "myſelf as belonging to the believers; but yet, I aſſure you, "that I will live and die with theſe people. Where "the Brethren live, there will I live alſo. Whither they "go, I will follow them. I ſhall count it a great favor, to "die amongſt them, and if even I ſhould not experience the "grace to be baptized, yet it ſhall be once ſaid of me, 'Here "lies Welapachtſchiechen, who, though he could not be "baptized, yet remained a follower of the Chriſtian congre-"gation to his death." After this declaration his relations threatened to kill him, unleſs he left the Brethren. But he was as little influenced by their preſent threats as by their former flattery, and was ſoon after baptized. Another awakened Indian, who had obtained leave to live with the Brethren, informed the council of his intentions, declaring that he ſhould not only leave off drunkenneſs, but renounce the

the heathen manner of living, and remove to Gnadenhuetten. The council praiſed his reſolution, and anſwered: "You "have choſen the beſt and the ſafeſt way; for if you move "to Gnadenhuetten, we can believe that you will ceaſe to be "a drunkard, for we know that the believing Indians are "ſober people." The Lord granted the miſſionaries that conſolation alſo, to ſee many of thoſe who were unfaithful laſt ſpring, return as repenting prodigals, begging for pardon and readmiſſion. One of theſe, who lay ill of a painful diſorder, was viſited by the miſſionary, to whom he confeſſed that he himſelf was the only cauſe of all his miſery, but added, that his heart was dead and had no confidence in our Savior, becauſe whenever he thought of returning unto him, he was immediately checked by the greatneſs of his ſins againſt God and his people, having not only forſaken them, but even ſpread many evil reports among the ſavages. He was aſſured, that he might ſtill obtain mercy and forgiveneſs through Jeſus Chriſt, who had received gifts for the rebellious alſo, and at his crucifixion prayed even for his murderers. This proved a word of conſolation to his diſtreſſed heart.

CHAPTER VIII.

1778. 1779. 1780. 1781.

Continuation of the Indian War. Danger and gracious Preſervation of the Indian Congregations and their Teachers. Gnadenhuetten quitted, and again inhabited. Schoenbrunn rebuilt. Lichtenau forſaken, and Salem built. The Work of God continues to increaſe in the midſt of Trouble. Brother Grube, Miniſter of Litiz, viſits the Indian Congregation.

THE war between England and the United States of America, occaſioned a continuation of hoſtilities among the Indian nations. From 1778 to the middle of

1781 nothing very deciſive was done, and the war conſiſted chiefly in ſmall excurſions, which though troubleſome in a high degree, were yet not productive of much interruption to the Indian congregation. I ſhall therefore be more brief in my deſcription of this period. It proved a peculiar ſatisfaction to the miſſionaries that amidſt all difficulties, their correſpondence with the Brethren in Pennſylvania was uninterrupted, and as the congregations there were likewiſe great ſufferers by the war, they ſympathized with and encouraged each other to endure in patience and faith, hoping confidently for the help of the Lord.

The Hurons continued to commit hoſtilities againſt the United States, and the moſt dreadful accounts were received from time to time of the murders and ravages committed by them and other Indians in the plantations of the white people; and alſo of the ſame cruelties exerciſed againſt the Indians by the latter. The miſſionaries and their people were likewiſe much affected, when on the return of the ſavage warriors from their murderous expedition, they ſaw them lead priſoners of both ſexes ſome of whom were wounded and ſome ſmall children, or carrying dead bodies and ſcalps through the ſettlement. Our Indians ſhowed great compaſſion to the priſoners, gave them food, and would never ſuffer them to be ſcourged or otherwiſe abuſed in the ſettlement, as the Indian cuſtom is, whenever they paſs through any town with priſoners. Sometimes the brutal ſavages were greatly enraged at this compaſſionate prohibition, but they were obliged to obey.

Among theſe priſoners was an old man, of venerable appearance, and two youths. Our Indians greatly commiſerated the former and offered a large ſum to the warriors for his releaſe, but in vain. When they arrived at their dwelling-place, the two young men were tortured and burnt alive, in the cruel manner deſcribed in the firſt part of this hiſtory. The old man was condemned to ſuffer the ſame treatment, but being informed of it by a child, he contrived his eſcape, was fortunate enough to ſeize an horſe and fled into the

the woods. The ſavages purſued him, but he arrived ſafe at a place in the neighborhood of Lichtenau, and not being able to proceed through hunger, having eaten nothing but graſs for ten days, an Indian Brother found him lying in the wood, more like a corpſe than a living creature, ſo that he had much trouble to bring him to Lichtenau, where he was well nurſed. He exclaimed: "Merciful God, be praiſed, that "thou haſt brought me, wretched creature, to a Chriſtian "people! If it be thy will, that I die in this place, I am "happy and contented." But he recovered and was afterwards brought to Pittſburg. During this period many troops of warriors were ſo far prevailed upon by the friendly and reaſonable perſuaſions of our Indian Brethren, that they gave up their murderous intentions and returned home, by which much bloodſhed was prevented. Sometimes however the believing Indians had no other way of defending themſelves againſt the robberies and outrages of the warriors, paſſing either through or near the ſettlement, than by ſending deputies to repreſent the injuſtice of their proceedings and delivering ſtrings of wampom.

Theſe troubles were chiefly felt at Gnadenhuetten. Freebooters belonging to the white people infeſted every quarter, and endangered the lives of our Indians. They were therefore invited to come and ſettle at Lichtenau for the preſent, and removed thither in April 1778. Thus three Indian congregations lived on one ſpot; the chapel at Lichtenau was enlarged and new houſes were built.

In the mean time the Delaware Chiefs were repeatedly called upon by the governor of Fort Detroit and the Indian nations in his intereſt to go to war, threats being often added to intreaties. But they remained firm and were ſupported in their amicable reſolutions by the good influence of the miſſionaries and their Indian aſſiſtants, who thought it a duty owing both to the Indian congregations and to the country at large to aſſiſt in preſerving the peace, as by the neutrality of the Delawares, many other Indian nations were kept quiet, not being willing to offend the Delaware

nation, whom they called their grandfather. The government at Pittſburg owned the deportment of the Indian congregation to be a benefit conferred upon the whole country, and Colonel Morgan obſerved with gratitude, that the fury of the Indian warriors was upon the whole greatly mitigated by the behavior of their Chriſtian countrymen.

Thus the miſſion enjoyed reſt and peace for a conſiderable time, which was the more agreeable, as the troubles had been of long continuance. But the evil-minded Monſys perſiſted unweariedly in their endeavors to ſet the other Indian nations againſt the Delawares, and eſpecially againſt the believing Indians and their teachers. Added to this, the United States began now to call upon the Delawares to make war againſt the Indians in the Engliſh intereſt. This cauſed the chiefs to waver in their reſolutions, and at length they reſolved to join the Engliſh. They not only loſt their friendſhip for the miſſionaries and the Chriſtian Indians, who perſevered in their amicable diſpoſition, but by degrees became their enemies. They now conſidered all peaceful people as a check upon their wild behavior, and humanly ſpeaking, the Chriſtian Indians had now nothing but ruin before them, the Engliſh Indians having unanimouſly reſolved in a council held at Detroit, that the hatchet ſhould fall upon the head of every one, who ſhould refuſe to accept it. Thoſe in league with the United States being of the ſame mind, the believers were now between two enemies. The firſt ſtep taken againſt them was a ſerious and repeated charge ſent by the Delaware Chiefs to the young men to take up arms. This they firmly refuſed to do, though their ſituation was rendered very critical, through a malicious report raiſed by the Delawares, that the Chriſtian Indians intended to take part with the Americans. The miſſionaries were in the greateſt danger, for to their authority and influence alone, their refuſal was aſcribed. The ſavages therefore frequently repeated their threats, that the miſſionaries ſhould be either killed, or carried away priſoners, as they flattered themſelves that if theſe were removed, the Indian congregation would ſoon be forced to comply.

About

About this time there appeared numerous inſtances of the preſervation of God. In ſummer 1778 the miſſionaries received certain information, that the governor of Detroit intended to ſend a party of Engliſh and Indians to carry them off. Some time after they heard that his deſign was fruſtrated by the ſudden death of the captain appointed to command this expedition, whoſe ſtation could not be immediately ſupplied. Another officer charged the Indians to bring the miſſionaries dead or alive. They indeed promiſed, but afterwards neglected to fulfil their word. During the ſummer of 1779 they were in the moſt imminent danger, and knew no way to eſcape. An army conſiſting of Engliſh and Indians, marching from Fort Detroit to Fort Lawrence arrived in Tuſkarawi on this ſide of the Huron towns, and the commanding officer intended to come into the neighborhood of our ſettlements and to take the miſſionaries priſoners. But ſuddenly the news of an attack of the Americans upon the Indian country cauſed all the Indians in his army to forſake him, upon which he was obliged to return to Detroit. Brother Scheboſch on a journey to Pittſburg, got between two parties, one purſuing the other, and did not hear of his danger till after his eſcape. Several meſſengers ſent out by the Brethren upon neceſſary buſineſs to various places were in danger of being murdered by people, lying purpoſely in ambuſh, but God preſerved their lives.

That word of ſcripture was alſo frequently fulfilled, "*The "Lord bringeth the counſel of the heathen to nought: he maketh "the devices of the people of none effect.*" The Half-king of the Hurons cautioned the miſſionaries to be upon their guard, having received authentic information, that a plot was laid againſt their lives, but particularly againſt Brother Zeiſberger. Some malicious people took great pains to publiſh a falſe report, that this miſſionary was going over to the Americans with all the baptized Indians. The great danger he was in being mentioned to him by letter, his anſwer was: "If I am "in danger, I cannot prevent it, but I commit my work, "my fate and my future courſe to my gracious Lord and

" Maſter, whom I ſerve. I remain chearful and confident, " though I ſhall uſe all caution, not to expoſe myſelf without " neceſſity." Once he had a very narrow eſcape. A white man from Sanduſky, meeting with another who headed a troop of robbers and murderers of the Mingues nation, heard him ſay, that he hoped to be fortunate enough to carry either all or at leaſt one of the white Brethren to Detroit. This was related to Brother Zeiſberger, but being accuſtomed to ſuch threats, he diſregarded them and went about as uſual. Being upon a journey with two Indian Brethren, this white man met him with eight Mingues and a priſoner. As ſoon as he ſaw the miſſionary, he called to the party; " See " here is the man whom we have long wiſhed to ſee and to " ſecure; do now as you think proper!" The captain of the Mingues ſaid nothing in reply, but ſhook his head. After a few queſtions they walked off. An officer marching from Detroit to Fort Lawrence in 1779 told a white man, that one of his principal views in this expedition was to carry off the miſſionaries, eſpecially Zeiſberger. Upon his repreſenting to him, that the miſſionaries had done no harm to the Engliſh, but were of great benefit in civilizing the Indians, the officer replied, that this was well known, but that if they were removed, then not only the Delawares but many other tribes would join their army.

All the accounts received about this time agreed, that the deſtruction of the Indian congregations was reſolved upon. This proved a great temptation to ſuch as were not well eſtabliſhed in the faith, and their fears prevailed upon them to leave the Brethren for a time. But in this circumſtance, the mercy of the Lord was peculiarly evident. He had patience with their weakneſs, and preſerved them from the ſnares of ſin, ſo that they did not ſuffer damage in their ſouls. They ſoon returned, and were aſhamed of their want of faith.

The political diviſions among the Delawares increaſed daily. Several took flight, but knew not for what reaſon. Yet they left their homes, their plantations and crops. Our Indians remained quiet, depending upon God, and many of them

them found, even in this evil day, an opportunity to bear witneſs to the truth. An American General had once a long converſation with the Indian Brother John Martin, putting various queſtions to him concerning his faith and other things, which he anſwered to the General's ſatisfaction and aſtoniſhment. John Martin then added: "Indeed I "cannot read in the Bible, but I know what is written in it, "having been inſtructed by my teachers. Now the General "may read the Bible himſelf, and ſoon know, whether what "I ſay of God, be true."—"Very true," replied the General, "all you have ſaid is true, and I am glad to ſee an Indian "like you. I am now convinced that you are no more hea-"then, but Chriſtian Indians, and I will aſſiſt and ſerve you, "as much as lies in my power."

As the Indian congregations were continually troubled by falſe alarms, Colonel Gibſon gave the miſſionaries an invitation, to retire with their people to Fort Lawrence or at leaſt to ſettle in the neighborhood of this fort. This was the more deſirable to the governor of Pittſburg, as the troops of the United States were obliged to ſpare the enemy on account of our ſettlements, but if they were removed, he knew they would have none but enemies to deal with. This kind offer could however not be accepted with propriety, as the war was always moſt violent near the forts. Fort Lawrence was even once beſieged by the Indians and at length forſaken by the Americans. The Shawanoſe gave likewiſe a friendly invitation to all the believing Mahikans or Monſy Indians in the congregation, to move into their country, bring their teachers with them and keep to their modes of worſhip. But the congregation would not be divided, and remained quiet.

It ſoon appeared that Lichtenau was too much crowded with inhabitants. A reſolution was therefore taken in 1779 that part of the congregation ſhould return to Gnadenhuetten, and that Schoenbrunn ſhould be rebuilt, though not upon the ſame ſpot, but on the oppoſite bank of the Muſkingum. Gnadenhuetten was ſoon reſtored to its former order and Brother Edwards appointed miniſter. The build-

ing of Schoenbrunn was attended with greater difficulties than uſual. That part of the congregation, which had gone thither with Brother Zeiſberger, dwelt for the greater part of the year in huts, and met to worſhip in the open air, till at length they could move into the new town in December 1779, and conſecrate the church.

Lichtenau had been ſerved by Brother John Heckenwaelder, who returned to the miſſion with Brother Scheboſch, and ever ſince 1778, and hitherto been always the fitteſt and ſafeſt place of reſidence for the Chriſtian Indians, but now the people of Goſchachguenk, having changed their minds with reſpect to them, endeavored to moleſt them in various ways. The robberies, drunkenneſs, and conſequent outrages, inceſſantly committed by the ſavages, became an inſupportable burthen to the congregation. Added to this, the warriors made it now a conſtant practice to paſs through Lichtenau. It was therefore thought moſt prudent to quit this place, and build a new ſettlement. A ſpot about five miles below Gnadenhuetten was fixed upon, and the ſettlement called Salem. March 30th, 1780, the laſt meeting was held at Lichtenau, and the congregation united to praiſe God for all the bleſſings received from him in this place. The chapel was then pulled down and the congregation ſet out: but though Salem was only twenty miles from Lichtenau, a week was ſpent in performing the journey, as they were obliged to row againſt the ſtream. The building of this new ſettlement, was by the aſſiſtance of the Brethren from Schoenbrunn and Gnadenhuetten and the diligence of its inhabitants carried on with ſuch expedition, that already on the 22d of May the new chapel could be conſecrated. The day after they partook of the holy communion, and on the 28th, baptiſm was adminiſtered for the firſt time at Salem. In December 1780 the buildings were completed and many ſtrange Indians viſited this ſettlement.

But even here the evil-minded Delaware Chiefs ſought to moleſt our Indians. They agreed that all the inhabitants of Goſchachguenk, who would not go to war, ſhould ſettle in the

the vicinity of Salem. All remonſtrances made by our Indians, were in vain. Their evil intentions were however fruſtrated.

As to the internal ſtate of the congregation, this period was diſtinguiſhed by particular grace. The miſſionaries lived in harmony, ſerving the Lord with gladneſs. Among the Indian Brethren and Siſters brotherly love bore the ſway, and it was a pleaſure to obſerve the willingneſs with which they avoided every thing that might tend to diſturb it. The labor of the Holy Ghoſt in their hearts was ſo evident, that the miſſionaries forgot all their ſufferings for joy. A ſermon preached upon our Savior's parable of the ſower, gave occaſion to many to examine their hearts. One ſaid that he had found himſelf deſcribed in it, for with him the ſeed had fallen by the way-ſide and was trodden down and eaten up by the birds. Another was afraid that the word had fallen among thorns, becauſe he found his good reſolutions ſtriving againſt thoſe that were bad, and that he could not devote himſelf wholly unto the Lord. A third complained that his heart was yet ſtony, in which the word could not take root. But the moſt, not being able to deny that in them the gracious word of the Goſpel had fallen upon good ground, thanked our Savior in ſtillneſs for ſuch undeſerved mercy. A miſſionary ſpeaking with an Indian Brother previous to the Lord's ſupper, addreſſed him thus: "Tell me, how is your heart "diſpoſed at preſent?" He replied: "You could not have "aſked me a more agreeable queſtion: I am ready to anſwer "it every day, and if you was even to wake me at night, I "ſhould want no time to conſider, for our Savior has given "me ſuch an heart, that I am as willing to lay my wants and "deficiencies open before my brethren, as to deſcribe the "happineſs I enjoy." One of the baptized complained to his teachers, "that he had loſt our Savior." He was aſked, what he meant by this expreſſion, and replied: "I thought I "would lead a life altogether void of offence, and uſed to "judge others who have been longer in the congregation than "myſelf, whenever I thought them guilty of any thing

" which appeared to me not quite conformable to the con-
" duct of a child of God. I was reſolved to be better than
" they, and to keep all the promiſes I had made to our Savior.
" At length I was ſatisfied with myſelf, forgot Him, and am
" now an orphan without him." Another of the newly bap-
tized ſaid to his mother and friends in Goſchachguenk;
" You are perhaps of opinion, that there is nothing real in
" the great Goſpel of Chriſt and his atonement, and that we
" only talk of it. I alſo thought ſo formerly, and made it a
" laughing-ſtock. But now I can inform you by experience
" that it is great and marvellous, and that the power of God
" ſeizes and melts my heart, when I hear what our Savior has
" done and ſuffered for us, and how much it coſt him to de-
" liver us loſt and undone human creatures from the power of
" Satan." Two old men began to queſtion a baptized youth
concerning his faith, and one of them challenged him to
ſpend the night with him in diſpute, ſaying, that he wiſhed
to ſee whether a mere boy would be able to give proper
anſwers to the queſtions and arguments of an hoary head.
But before their converſation had laſted long, the old man
declared himſelf ſatisfied, and admoniſhed the youth to re-
main among the believers as long as he lived, adding, " I am
" too old and callous, to think of believing." Another bap-
tized Indian declared to a viſitor: " I now do not believe
" our white teachers in things relating to my ſalvation, be-
" cauſe *they* ſay ſo; but before I was baptized I was con-
" vinced of my forlorn eſtate and then learnt to believe, that
" Jeſus Chriſt is my Savior and Redeemer. After my bap-
" tiſm, I experienced a total change within me. My heart
" was filled with the love of God and I was inexpreſſibly
" happy. I ſtill feel the ſame, becauſe our Savior has for-
" given me my ſins and waſhed me in his precious blood."

During the public ſermon, there was frequently ſuch a general emotion and weeping, that the miſſionary was obliged to ſtop. Many viſitors were overpowered by the grace of God, and as many as became obedient to the Goſpel, were baptized. Among the latter were two white perſons, John Leath

Leath and his wife. He had lived many years among the Indians, and his wife was taken by the ſavages as a child of half a year old. Some ſtrange Indians, hearing that miracles were wrought at Lichtenau, came to ſee and hear of them. The Indian Brethren aſſerted, that undoubtedly miracles were done even now, of which they had perhaps never heard in their lives, and then related, that God the Creator of all things was manifeſt in the fleſh to ſave ſinners, and that he did now ſave them, even here in Lichtenau. That this his love to us was above all comprehenſion, and that we ſhould even in eternity never ceaſe to marvel at the wonders of his grace. The heathen heard this teſtimony with great attention, and as Iſaac Glikkikan, one of theſe witneſſes of Jeſus, roſe to retire to reſt, it being midnight, one of the heathen, his former companion, ſtopped him, ſaying: "We "uſed formerly to ſpend many a night in feaſting and drink- "ing, and never felt diſpoſed to ſleep; let us for once paſs "a night in conſidering this great ſubject, and ſpeak "fully about it." Iſaac gladly conſented and thus they ſpent the night in aſking and anſwering queſtions concern- ing what the Lord Jeſus had done and ſuffered for us. A ſtrange Indian, from the banks of the Miſſiſippi, came to Salem, and having given the miſſionary a circumſtantial account of his travels, of the face of the country on the Miſſiſippi and of its inhabitants, added: "Thus have I "roved about, till I am grown old and grey. I have taken "great pains to find ſomething profitable for myſelf and my "children, but have not found any thing good. With you "I find at once all I wanted; and the cauſe of my ſtaying ſo "long is, that I may hear as much as poſſible, and have "ſomething to relate to my countrymen, on my return." A heathen woman ſaid to one of the baptized Indians after a ſermon: "I could very well live among you, and believe in "God, for I am not as bad and wicked as many others, but "have always avoided every ſinful practice." The Indian Brother replied: "I once thought the ſame of myſelf, and "eſteemed myſelf more righteous than other Indians. But

"during

"during a diſcourſe I was convinced, that I was the worſt of "all, I even thought that our Savior had ſuffered more on "my account. Upon this I caſt myſelf at his feet with all my "ſins, and he forgave me. Now I know of no other good "in me, but that I am a ranſomed ſinner, and ſhall "live eternally with my Redeemer. This is enough for "me." Abraham an aſſiſtant, cloſed a diſcourſe to the viſitors with the following words: "Now we have told you, "how you may be ſaved. If you believe, you will experience "that our words are truth. But if you do not, we have "however done what we ought to do, and you will never be "able to ſay, that you went to the believing Indians, but "they would not tell you how to be ſaved." An Indian from the river Wabaſh inquired very minutely of the Indian Brethren at Lichtenau, what their faith was, and what could poſſibly cement them ſo together, adding, that he believed it to be ſome myſterious charm. In anſwer to this, his own brother, who was baptized, took occaſion to declare unto him the love and mercy of Jeſus Chriſt with great energy. But before he had proceeded far, he was ſtopped by the heathen, who exclaimed: "I have enough; ceaſe, I be-"ſeech you, for your words pierce me to the ſoul. I "cannot expreſs what I feel; but this I perceive, that if I "give way to it, I ſhould be unfit for my office, as meſſenger "to the Indian nations." Another heathen Indian came weeping to the miſſionary and ſaid: "During the ſermon to-"day ſomething extraordinary has entered into my heart, "which makes me uneaſy. I am convinced that I am a "miſerable and depraved creature, and that the evil ſpirit rules "over me, and my ſoul muſt be loſt to all eternity, unleſs a "change takes place." A murderer, being preſent at a baptiſm, and getting upon a form, to have a full view of the ceremony, was ſo moved, that he crept under the ſeats. He entered afterwards into converſation with Iſaac Glikkikan and among other things aſked him, whether he knew where the devil lived. "That I do," replied Iſaac, "he lives in "your heart." An heathen Shawanoſe ſaid upon another occaſion:

occaſion: "When I firſt came hither, and heard you ſpeak "ſo much of the wretchedneſs and depravity of the human "heart, I thought, 'Well ſaid, God grant the believing In- "dians may begin to mend their lives, for they ſeem to be "very bad people. I am not ſo wicked, and commit no ſins, "but pleaſe my God. I have alſo always endeavored to ſerve "him and ſacrificed enough. But lately I was convinced "at your chapel, that I am a very ſinful man, and that it "is exactly in my heart as in that old baſket;" pointing to an old baſket full of rubbiſh, which happened to ſtand in the room. "The more I formerly felt my pride and ſelf- "complacency, the more I am now humbled, ſo that I can "hardly venture to look at a believer, and I deſire moſt fer- "vently, that our merciful Savior would have pity on me "and forgive my ſins." He then began to weep aloud. Some time after, this penitent was baptized into the death of Jeſus, being the firſt of the Shawanoſe in this country, who was added to the Chriſtian church. He was ſo over- come with gratitude, that long after he ſaid to Brother Heckenwaelder: "My eyes are all day filled with tears "of joy, and whenever I awake at night, my firſt thought "is, that our Savior was tormented and ſlain for my ſins. "Therefore he ſhall poſſeſs my whole heart, yea and even "the ſmalleſt bone in my body." Ever ſince his baptiſm, the death and ſufferings of Jeſus were ſo precious to him, that he ſpoke of them to all who viſited him, telling them, that he was no more afraid of death, being aſſured that his ſoul was redeemed and ſaved by the death of his Savior.

The labor of the Holy Ghoſt was more particularly per- ceptible in the ſick and dying: a ſick girl ſix years old, ſaid with tears: "I now deſire nothing more in this world, but "to be baptized, and cleanſed by the blood of Jeſus to whom "I wiſh to depart." Her requeſt was granted to her great joy. An Indian woman, to whom holy baptiſm was ad- miniſtered on her death-bed, could not ſleep the following night for joy, and ſaid: "I now wiſh the ſooner the better

"to

" to depart to Chriſt, and do not deſire to recover." The day before ſhe died, ſhe aſked: " What can make our Savior " delay, that he does not take me unto himſelf?" She was aſſured that he would ſoon grant her requeſt. The day following ſhe exclaimed: " Now he appears," and ſoon after expired. A boy of eight years old, lately baptized, ſent ſhortly before his departure for Brother Zeiſberger and ſaid: " Now I ſhall depart, but what dreſs ſhall I put on?" Brother Zeiſberger anſwered: " You have put on the right dreſs " in holy baptiſm, when you was clothed with the blood and " righteouſneſs of Chriſt Jeſus your Savior: you want no other " dreſs." The boy replied: " True, O how do I rejoice!" and during Brother Zeiſberger's prayer he departed gently and happily. A ſick Indian woman, got her friends to carry her to Lichtenau, and begged Brother Zeiſberger to pay her a viſit. When he came, ſhe ſaid: " Ah, how glad " am I that I am here! I am a miſerable creature: I have " done nothing all my life, but committed one ſin after the " other. Indeed I knew not what I did, and was uncon- " cerned about it, but now that I am taken ill, I tremble for " fear. All my ſins appear before me, and I am afraid to " die." Brother Zeiſberger deſcribed that Savior to her, who had deſtroyed him that had the power of death, that is the devil. She received and believed the Goſpel, turned with her whole heart to Jeſus Chriſt, and was ſoon after baptized. All preſent rejoiced over this poor ſinner, and the ſerenity viſible in her countenance after her baptiſm, aſtoniſhed every one, but particularly the ſtrangers. She afterwards repeated ſeveral times the following ejaculation: " Merciful Savior, take me now home unto thyſelf." And ſoon after added: " It will ſoon happen, very ſoon. Our " Savior is ſtanding ready. O Jeſus take me home." At laſt ſhe exclaimed, " Now, now I am going!" and fell aſleep. Beſides theſe few mentioned here, many more of our Indians departed unto the Lord. Among theſe was an old man, who muſt have been conſiderably above an hundred

dred years old, for he remembered the time, when in 1682 the firſt houſe was built in Philadelphia, in which he had been as a boy.

A Swiſs, called Lange, who had ſet up a blackſmith's ſhop in Goſchachguenk, was at his particular requeſt in his laſt illneſs, conveyed in a ſledge to Lichtenau and complained to Brother Heckenwaelder of the wretched ſtate of his ſoul. Among other expreſſions he ſaid: "Ah what a ſinner am I, "it is impoſſible, that a greater ſhould exiſt any where." Brother Heckenwaelder then preached the Goſpel unto him, telling him that Jeſus Chriſt had ſhed his precious blood for ſuch poor ſinners, and would receive even the worſt in mercy, if he only ſought pardon with a ſincere heart. This addreſs had ſuch an effect upon the patient, that he received comfort and departed with joy unto the Lord.

Captain White Eye, who had ſo often adviſed other Indians, with great earneſtneſs, to believe in the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, but had always poſtponed joining the believers himſelf, on account of his being yet entangled in political concerns, was unexpectedly called into eternity, and died of the ſmall-pox at Pittſburg. The Indian congregation to whom he had rendered very eſſential ſervices was much affected at the news of his death, and could not but hope, that God our Savior had received his ſoul in mercy.

That the Chriſtian Indians could fervently pray, not only for their friends, but alſo for their enemies and ſincerely wiſh them well, was very ſtriking and incomprehenſible to the heathen. The apoſtate part of the congregation, who left Schoenbrunn in 1777, were more eſpecially an object of their prayers; for notwithſtanding their malicious behavior, they never would conſider them as enemies, but rather as ſtrayed ſheep. They had alſo the joy to find that their prayers were graciouſly heard by the Lord; for moſt of theſe unfortunate people, eſpecially the deluded young people, returned as repenting prodigals and begged earneſtly for pardon and readmiſſion. This was granted in preſence of the whole

whole congregation, whoſe tears of compaſſion and joy on ſuch occaſions teſtified of that brotherly love, which diſtinguiſhes true diſciples of Jeſus. Moſt of them were alſo received as inhabitants of the new ſettlements and ſome died comforted and rejoicing in the Lord their Redeemer. As to the external maintenance of the believing Indians in theſe heavy times, we cannot ſufficiently extol the bounty of our gracious heavenly Father. Beſides their own, they had to ſupply the wants of great numbers of their hungry and ſuffering countrymen. But all things were added unto them. They had ſucceſs in hunting, and plentiful crops, ſo that not one lacked any thing.

In May 1780 Brother Grube, then miniſter of Litiz in Pennſylvania, went to hold a viſitation in the Indian congregations. Brother Senſeman and his wife, who were appointed to the ſervice of the miſſion, went in his company, as likewiſe the ſingle Siſter Sarah Ohneberg who afterwards married John Heckenwaelder. They paſſed over high hills, as the Seidling, Alleghene and Laurel, which was particularly troubleſome to Brother Grube, who had been hurt by the kick of an horſe. At Pittſburg he preached the Goſpel to a congregation of Germans, and baptized ſeveral children, no ordained clergyman being then reſident in that country. From this place the Indian Brethren brought him and his company ſafe to the ſettlements. The Governor of Pittſburg, Colonel Broadhead, and Colonel Gibſon, treated theſe travellers with great kindneſs. The latter gave them a travelling tent, and aſſiſted them in every thing requiſite for their ſafe conveyance, as the roads to our ſettlements were at that time infeſted with hoſtile Indians. Indeed the Brethren ſoon experienced a proof of this. Three white people, who were ſeeking to get Indian ſcalps, a large premium being then given for them, lay in ambuſh near the road, and ſhot at an Indian, who was but a little way before Brother Grube and his company. But providentially the ball paſſed only through his ſhirt ſleeve, and the other Indians taking the alarm, the men who lay in wait jumped up and ran off. June 30th, the whole company arrived ſafe in Schoenbrunn,

brunn, and their arrival gave inexpreſſible joy to the miſſionaries and their congregations.

Brother Grube paid viſits to all the ſettlements, ſtaying ſome time in each, converſing with every individual, even with all the children, and rejoiced greatly at the open and unreſerved behavior of both old and young. Beſides this, he held many conferences, both with the miſſionaries, to whom his viſit proved a great encouragement, and with the Indian aſſiſtants. The diſcourſes he delivered to the congregation and its diviſions were likewiſe attended with diſtinguiſhed bleſſing.

Auguſt the 15th this venerable man ſet out on his return, accompanied by Brother Scheboſch. At taking leave all the people were in tears. Though he was taken very ill on the journey, he proceeded, and arrived September the 2d, at Litiz, thanking God for his deliverance from ſo many dangers.

In November 1780, Brother Scheboſch returned and brought Brother Michael Jung from Bethlehem to ſerve the miſſion. In ſpring 1781 the miſſionary David Zeiſberger travelled to Bethlehem, and notwithſtanding the danger of the roads, was providentially brought ſafe to the end of his journey.

CHAPTER IX.

1781.

The Miſſionaries Zeiſberger and Jungman return to the Settlements. A ſhort Time of Reſt. Unexpected Arrival of a Troop of Warriors. The Miſſionaries are taken Priſoners: releaſed and carried with the whole Indian Congregation to Sanduſky Creek. Their Diſtreſs in that Place. Moſt of the Miſſionaries are brought to Fort Detroit: examined and honorably acquitted. They return to their Congregations.

IN the year 1779 Biſhop John Frederic Reichel arrived from Europe to hold a viſitation in all the Brethren's ſettlements and congregations in North America, having a particular charge to endeavor to procure ſome real and ſubſtantial relief for the afflicted Indian congregations. But the diſturbances then prevailing, and his other avocations prevented him from travelling into the Indian country. He was therefore glad to be circumſtantially informed of every thing relating to that miſſion, firſt by the report made by Brother Grube after his viſitation and afterwards by Brother Zeiſberger himſelf during his abode in Bethlehem in the ſummer of 1781. He conferred about the future management of the concerns of the Indian miſſion both with the latter and with Brother Jungman and his wife, who were again willing to devote themſelves to its ſervice. He alſo wrote a letter of encouragement to each miſſionary and aſſiſtant in that important work, with whom he could not perſonally converſe, exhorting them to perſevere in faith in their difficult but bleſſed labor. He likewiſe ſent a letter to the whole Indian congregation, full of comfort and wholeſome advice, admoniſhing and beſeeching them to

continue firm in living faith and love towards Jeſus Chriſt, and to walk in the light of his countenance.

In July 1781 the miſſionaries Zeiſberger and Jungman with their wives arrived ſafe at the ſettlements, and the joy of the Indians was like that of children at the return of their beloved parents. The above-mentioned letter of Biſhop J. Frederic Reichel was publicly read to the whole congregation, and heard with great attention and joy, in anſwer to which each individual declared a firm reſolution to cleave to Chriſt our Savior, to love him above all things and to live for him alone in the world.

By a new arrangement, each ſettlement was provided with proper teachers. Brother David Zeiſberger ſuperintended the whole miſſion, but ſerved particularly the congregation at Schoenbrunn as miniſter, in conjunction with Brother Jungman. The Brethren Senſeman and Edwards ſerved the congregation at Gnadenhuetten, and the Brethren John Heckenwaelder and Michael Jung that at Salem.

At this time, and indeed ever ſince autumn 1780, the miſſion enjoyed peace and reſt, ſeeing and hearing hardly any thing of the hoſtile Indians, except that ſometimes warriors paſſed through one or the other ſettlement, and that once a party of eighty men, of different nations, pretended that they came to take our Indians with their teachers, and carry them into the land of the Shawanoſe. Theſe people were however ſoon brought to reaſon by gentle perſuaſion. Nor did the congregation expect any attack from the Engliſh, depending entirely upon the ſincerity of the declaration given concerning them at Fort Detroit, as mentioned in the former chapter.

But this happy and peaceful period came to an unexpected cloſe in Auguſt. It appears, that God for wiſe purpoſes had ordained, that this his Indian flock and their teachers ſhould glorify his name in a more conſpicuous manner by ſufferings, and be a witneſs of the truth of his Goſpel, by giving the moſt eminent proofs of Chriſtian patience, in the moſt grievous tribulations. Thus they entered now upon

ſcenes of diſtreſs, hitherto unexperienced and unprecedented.

The moſt authentic evidence has proved, that the prime cauſe of all their trouble was a ſuſpicion entertained by the Engliſh governor at Fort Detroit, that our Indians were partizans in the American cauſe, and that the miſſionaries were ſet as ſpies, to carry on a correſpondence prejudicial to the Engliſh intereſt. This ſuſpicion was originally owing to the calumnies of the enemies to the miſſion, and was by them ſo ſucceſsfully kept up and aggravated, that the governor of Fort Detroit reſolved at laſt, to rid himſelf at once of neighbors ſo troubleſome and dangerous. In this view the Engliſh agent of Indian affairs went to Niagara, to attend the great council of the Iroquois, of whom he requeſted that they would take up the Indian congregation and their teachers and carry them away. This the Iroquois agreed to do, but not being willing themſelves to lay hands upon them, they ſent a meſſage to the Chippeways and Ottawaws, intimating that they herewith made them a preſent of the Indian congregation to make ſoup of, which in the war-language of the Indians ſignifies "We deliver them over "to you, to murder them." The Chippeways and Ottawaws refuſed, declaring that they had no reaſon to do ſo. Upon this the ſame meſſage was ſent to the above-mentioned Half-king of the Hurons. This man, who formerly treated both the believing Indians and the miſſionaries with great kindneſs, accepted of it, but declared, that he only did it to ſave the believing Indians from total deſtruction. However even the Half-king would certainly never have agreed to commit this act of injuſtice, had not the Delaware Captain Pipe, a noted enemy of the Goſpel and of the believing Indians, and the moſt active calumniator of the Brethren at Detroit, inſtigated him to do it.

Pipe and his party of Delawares having joined the Half-king and his warriors with ſome few Shawanoſe, they all aſſembled to a war-feaſt, for which they roaſted a whole ox. Here they conferred more particularly about the beſt mode of

proceeding, but cautiouſly, ſo that only the captains knew the true deſign of the expedition. Their order was, to bring the miſſionaries, dead or alive, and the whole buſineſs was conducted with ſuch ſecrecy that our Indians did not hear the leaſt of it till the beginning of Auguſt, when news arrived that a party of ſavage warriors were on their march.

At firſt, hopes were conceived that this rumor was fabulous. But on the 10th of Auguſt the ſavages made their appearance firſt in a troop of an hundred and forty, their number gradually increaſing to three hundred and upwards. They were commanded by the Half-king of the Hurons, an Engliſh captain, and the Delaware Captain Pipe, bearing Engliſh colours, which were planted in their camp. When they approached to Salem, the Half-king ſent a meſſage to our Indians, deſiring them to fear nothing, adding, that he came himſelf to ſee that no injury ſhould be done to them; but having good words to ſpeak, he wiſhed to know which of their ſettlements would be moſt convenient for a meeting. Now as Gnadenhuetten was in every reſpect the moſt proper place, it was accordingly fixed upon. The warriors therefore pitched their camp on the 11th of Auguſt on the weſt ſide of Gnadenhuetten, and were treated in the moſt liberal manner by our Indians.

In the beginning the behavior both of the Engliſh officer and the ſavages was friendly. But on the 20th of Auguſt the Half-king appointed a meeting of the believing Indians and their teachers, and delivered the following ſpeech: "Couſins! ye believing Indians in Gnadenhuetten, Schoen-"brunn, and Salem! I am much concerned on your account, "perceiving that you live in a very dangerous ſpot. Two "powerful, angry, and mercileſs Gods ſtand ready, opening "their jaws wide againſt each other: you are ſitting down "between both, and thus in danger of being devoured and "ground to powder by the teeth of either one or the other, "or of both. It is therefore not adviſeable for you to ſtay "here any longer. Conſider your young people, your wives

" and your children, and preſerve their lives, for here they " muſt all periſh. I therefore take you by the hand, lift you " up, and place you in or near my dwelling, where you " will be ſafe and dwell in peace. Do not ſtand looking at " your plantations and houſes, but ariſe and follow me! " Take alſo your teachers with you, and worſhip God in " the place to which I ſhall lead you, as you have been ac- " cuſtomed to do. You ſhall likewiſe find proviſions, and " our father beyond the lake (meaning the governor of Fort " Detroit) will care for you. This is my meſſage, and I am " come hither purpoſely to deliver it." He then delivered a ſtring of wampom, and the miſſionaries and Indian aſſiſtants of the three ſettlements met in conference, to conſider this unexpected addreſs, and on the 21ſt the latter delivered the following anſwer to the Half-king: " Uncle! and ye cap- " tains of the Delawares and Monſys, our friends and coun- " trymen! Ye Shawanoſe, our nephews, and all ye other " people here aſſembled! We have heard your words; but " have not yet ſeen the danger ſo great, that we might not " ſtay here. We keep peace with all men, and have nothing " to do with the war, nor do we wiſh or deſire any thing, " but to be permitted to enjoy reſt and peace. You ſee " yourſelves, that we cannot riſe immediately and go with " you, for we are heavy, and time is required to prepare for it. " But we will keep and conſider your words, and let you, " uncle! know our anſwer next winter, after the harveſt; " upon this you may rely."

The Half-king would undoubtedly have been ſatisfied with this anſwer, had not the Engliſh officer and Captain Pipe urged him to proceed. The conſequence was, that the Half-king, in a rough ſpeech held on the 25th, expreſſed great diſpleaſure at the anſwer of the believing Indians. This was anſwered by a repeated remonſtrance, that his commands were too ſevere, and that he ſhould only permit the inhabitants of the three ſettlements to make good their harveſt, as they would otherwiſe be reduced to famine and extreme

extreme diſtreſs, in attempting to travel to ſo diſtant and unknown a country with empty hands. To theſe remonſtrances the Half-king liſtened with ſilence. In the mean time the common warriors endeavored to deſcribe the country intended for our people, as a paradiſe, and by theſe lies made an impreſſion upon the minds of ſome, unacquainted with their cunning, who were not unwilling to follow the Half-king. Thus a diviſion aroſe among our Indians. Some adviſed, to riſe and go with the Half-king, without conſidering the conſequences. Others, and by far the greater number, oppoſed this meaſure, declaring that they would rather die on the ſpot.

This cauſed great perplexity in the minds of the miſſionaries. They were now obliged to decide, and plainly ſaw that they would offend either one or the other party. The more they ſought to extricate themſelves from this dilemma, the more they diſcovered themſelves beſet on all ſides. However the meetings continued in their regular courſe, and the miſſionaries perſevered in exhorting, encouraging, comforting and directing the congregation to put their truſt in the Lord, to whom they themſelves prayed day and night for deliverance. But at this time his ways ſeemed truly unſearchable, and they knew not what to aſk or pray for. They had nothing left, but to be reſigned to His wiſe leading, and to expect the event in quietneſs and ſilence, ſo that their prayers were all centered in that one petition, "*Thy will be done:*" yet they believed it to be moſt prudent, to wait the iſſue, and not to follow the ſavages, but by compulſion, that if the congregation was brought to diſtreſs and miſery, they might not be liable to blame and reproach on that account.

It once ſeemed as if the Half-king would entirely forſake his intentions of uſing violent meaſures, but the Engliſh officer urged him and his captains to take the miſſionaries priſoners, alledging, that if he returned to Fort Detroit without them, the governor would be very much diſſatisfied. To add to this calamity, ſome of our people proved unfaithful, and even inſinuated to the ſavages, that if they only ſeized

upon the miſſionaries and carried them off, the reſt of the congregation would ſoon follow. Others were ſo weak, that upon being aſked, whether they would follow the Half-king, they replied: "We look to our teachers; what they "do, we will do likewiſe." Thus the whole blame fell upon the miſſionaries, and they became the main object of the reſentment of the ſavages. Beſides this an unfortunate circumſtance rendered their ſituation ſtill more precarious. They had diſpatched two Indian Brethren to Pittſburg to give notice of the danger they were in, but without giving them any letters. Theſe meſſengers were intercepted by the ſavages, brought back and ſtrictly examined. They told the truth, and nothing prejudicial to the Half-king appeared in it. But the ſavages would not give up their ſuſpicions, that the miſſionaries had ſent to call the Americans to their aſſiſtance. The heads of the party had ſeveral conſultations, in which, as ſome of them related afterwards, they reſolved to kill all the white Brethren and Siſters. However they wiſhed firſt to know the opinion of a common warrior, who was highly eſteemed amongſt them as a ſorcerer. His anſwer was, that he could not underſtand, what end it would anſwer to kill the white Brethren: that this would only increaſe the evil, for the chief people among the believing Indians would ſtill exiſt, if even their teachers were ſlain. The captains therefore held another council in which they reſolved, to kill not only the miſſionaries and their wives but alſo all the Indian aſſiſtants. This reſolution was likewiſe communicated to the ſorcerer. He then ſaid: "Thus you have re-"ſolved to kill my deareſt friends, for moſt of their chief "people are my friends, but this I tell you, that if you hurt "any one of them, I know what I will do." They were terrified at his threats and gave up their deſign.

The ſavages now became more bold, dancing and making merry in the ſettlement. Though nothing was denied them, but they were ſupplied with as much meat at they wanted, yet they ſhot at the horned cattle and pigs in the road, nor did they ſuffer the carcaſſes to be taken away, ſo that the

place

place was ſoon filled with inſupportable ſtench. Small parties of them made inroads into the neighboring country, bringing priſoners to Gnadenhuetten, which was thus rendered a theatre of war and pillage.

At length the Half-king called the white Brethren from Schoenbrunn and Salem with all the Indian aſſiſtants to Gnadenhuetten. Some of them however could not forſake their places, wiſhing to keep order and to protect the ſiſters and children from the inſults of the ſavages. But the miſſionaries Zeiſberger, Senſeman and Heckenwaelder, with ſome of the aſſiſtants, arrived there on the 2d of September, and ſoon perceived that they ſhould not be well treated. According to their own expreſſion it appeared as though the whole atmoſphere was infeſted with evil ſpirits.

They were ſoon ſummoned before a council of war, and the Half-king inſiſted upon their giving an immediate anſwer, whether they would go with him or not, without retiring to conſult upon it? But as the miſſionaries appealed to the anſwer given already, declaring, that they intended to abide by it, the aſſembly broke up without further debate. A Delaware captain then called upon Brother Zeiſberger and told him in ſecret, that being adopted as one of the Delaware nation and conſequently one fleſh and bone with them, the Delaware warriors were willing to protect him. But as this protection was meant to extend only to him and not to his fellow-laborers, he nobly refuſed the captain's offer; upon which both he and the two other miſſionaries were immediately ſeized by a party of Huron warriors and declared priſoners of war. As they were dragged off into the camp a Huron Indian aimed a puſh at Brother Senſeman's head with a weapon reſembling a lance, but miſſed his aim. Upon this a Monſy approached the miſſionaries, and ſeizing them by the hair, ſhook them, calling out in a tone of deriſion: "Welcome among us, my "friends!"

They were then led into the camp of the Delawares, where the death-ſong was ſung over them. During theſe tranſactions the Hurons, fearing the reſentment of our Indians,

loaded their guns with great haſte, and appeared in ſuch a panic, that they hardly knew what they did. They then ſtript the miſſionaries to their ſhirts and took away their clothes. Meanwhile the whole troop of common warriors ran into the miſſionaries' houſe, which they plundered and damaged in a dreadful manner. Indeed ſome of our young Indians had placed themſelves before the houſe door, armed with hatchets to keep the ſavages in awe, but they were ſoon obliged to yield to numbers. However they ſuffered Brother Edwards to go out unhurt. Not chuſing to ſhare a better fate than his Brethren, he went to them into the camp and was made priſoner.

They were now all led into the tent of the Engliſh officer, who ſeeing the pitiable condition they were in, expreſſed ſome compaſſion, and declared that this treatment was utterly againſt his intention, though indeed the governor at Detroit had given orders to take them away by force, if they refuſed to go willingly. Having received here ſome rags to cover themſelves, they were now led to the camp of the Hurons, and ſecured in two huts, the Brethren Zeiſberger and Heckenwaelder in one and Edwards and Senſeman in the other. The ſavages were going to confine the latter in the ſtocks, but upon his repreſenting to them that that caution was quite needleſs, they deſiſted. Nor were the Brethren bound like other priſoners, but only carefully watched. Here they ſat upon the bare ground, having nothing to ſcreen them from the cold at night.

Soon after they had been thus ſecured, they ſaw a number of armed warriors marching off for Salem and Schoenbrunn, and the conſideration of what their families would ſuffer, was a greater torment to their afflicted minds, than any inſult offered to their own perſons. About thirty ſavages arrived in Salem in the duſk of the evening and broke open the miſſion-houſe. Here they took Brother Michael Jung, Siſter Heckenwaelder and her child priſoners, the former having narrowly eſcaped being killed by a tomahawk, aimed at his head. Having led them into the ſtreet, and plundered the houſe

houſe of every thing they could take with them, they deſtroyed what was left, and brought Brother Michael Jung about midnight to Gnadenhuetten, ſinging the death-ſong. He was confined in the ſame hut with the Brethren Zeiſberger and Heckenwaelder. As to Siſter Heckenwaelder, the ſavages were prevailed upon by the interceſſion of the Indian Siſters to leave her at Salem till the next morning, when ſhe and her child were ſafely conducted by our Indians to Gnadenhuetten.

During the ſame night ſome Hurons came to Schoenbrunn, and ſuddenly broke into the miſſionaries' houſe, where they ſeized the miſſionary Jungman and his wife, and the Siſters Zeiſberger and Senſeman who were already in bed. Without even giving them time to dreſs, they ſeemed in haſte and out of breath to tell them, that between thirty and forty warriors were on the road to murder them, that they therefore ſhould immediately deliver themſelves up to them as priſoners of war, and thus ſave their lives under their protection; that they would pack up their things and bring them all ſafe to Gnadenhuetten, where they ſhould be returned to them. The poor frightened women believed their words, and Siſter Zeiſberger even helped the robbers to pack up, till ſhe ſaw that the beds were cut to pieces and the feathers ſhook out into the ſtreet, in the ſame manner as was done at Gnadenhuetten and Salem. Having alſo plundered the church of every thing, the ſavages ſet off with their booty and priſoners, and proceeded by water to Gnadenhuetten. No one was more to be pitied, than Siſter Senſeman, who had been brought to bed but three days before, and now with her infant was hurried away by theſe mercileſs barbarians, in a dark and rainy night. But God who does all things well, did not ſuffer either her or the child to receive the leaſt injury, by imparting to her an uncommon degree of ſtrength and fortitude. Had ſhe been too weak to follow the ſavages, ſhe and her infant would have been inſtantly murdered, according to their uſual practice in ſimilar caſes. September 4th early, they led this company into Gnadenhuetten, ſinging the death-

ſong.

ſong. When the Brethren Zeiſberger and Senſeman ſaw their wives led captive in proceſſion, I muſt leave my readers to gueſs what their feelings muſt have been, not knowing how this affair would end.

The day following the priſoners obtained permiſſion to ſee and ſpeak with each other. This produced a ſcene ſo moving and intereſting, that even the ſavages ſeemed ſtruck with aſtoniſhment and remorſe. The Siſters, who behaved with great compoſure and reſignation, bearing every inſult with exemplary patience, were ſoon ſet at liberty, as was alſo Brother Jungman; but as the miſſionaries' houſe was almoſt deſtroyed, they went to lodge in the houſe of Brother Sheboſch, who had not been taken priſoner, being conſidered as a native Indian, having altogether adopted the Indian manner of living and married an Indian woman. Here the priſoners were allowed to viſit them now and then, and they had the ſame leave to return their viſits. The ſavages were meanwhile ſtrutting about in the clothes taken from the miſſionaries, and even compelled their wives to make ſhirts for them of the linen they had robbed them of.

The night following ſome malicious people ſpread a report, that the wives of the miſſionaries had effected their eſcape and were gone to Pittſburg. All was uproar and confuſion. Brother Heckenwaelder was waked and examined about it, and though he aſſured the warriors, that the Siſters were nowhere but in their own lodgings in bed, they would not believe it, till they had ſearched their ſleeping place and there found his aſſertion to be true.

In the beginning of theſe proceedings the behavior of the believing Indians much reſembled the conduct of the diſciples of our bleſſed Savior. They forſook their teachers and fled. When they arrived together in the woods, they lift up their voices and wept ſo loud, that the air reſounded with their lamentations. But ſoon recollecting themſelves, they returned, and having recovered many things belonging to the miſſionaries, even out of the hands of the robbers, or paid for them, returned them to the owners. They likewiſe brought

brought blankets to the priſoners, to cover themſelves during the cold nights, but ſecretly and late in the evening, fetching them back early in the morning, leſt the ſavages ſhould ſteal them in the day time. Some had even courage enough to enter the camp in the day time, and to ſeize the booty made by the ſavages, and carry it off by main force.

But now another very dangerous circumſtance occurred. A young Indian woman, who came with the ſavages and was witneſs to their brutal behavior, undeſignedly ſaid to an Indian Siſter, that ſhe ſhould never forget the unjuſt treatment the white Brethren received, nor could ſhe ſleep all night for diſtreſs. Soon after, without further explanation, ſhe found means to get Captain Pipe's beſt horſe, and rode off full ſpeed to Pittſburg, where ſhe gave an account of the ſituation of the miſſionaries and their congregations. As ſoon as her departure was known, ſhe was inſtantly purſued. But as ſhe could not be taken, the ſavages were enraged in the higheſt degree; they firſt charged the miſſionaries with having ſent this woman with letters to Pittſburg, to call the Americans to their deliverance. But as it appeared more probable, that Iſaac Glikkikan, to whom the woman was related, had ſent her, a party of warriors immediately ſet off for Salem and brought him bound to Gnadenhuetten, ſinging the death-ſong. While the ſavages were binding him, perceiving that they ſeemed much terrified, he encouraged them, ſaying, "Formerly, when I was ignorant of God, I ſhould "not have ſuffered any one of you to touch me. But now, "having been converted unto him, through mercy, I am will-"ing to ſuffer all things for his ſake." He no ſooner arrived in the camp but a general uproar enſued, the ſavages demanding that poor Iſaac ſhould be cut in pieces. The Delawares, who hated him more particularly for his converſion, thirſted for his blood, but the Half-king interfering, would not ſuffer him to be killed. However they examined him very ſeverely, and though his innocence was clearly proved, yet they attacked him with the moſt opprobrious language,

and

and after ſome hours confinement, ſet him at liberty. An account was afterwards received, that upon the report made by the abovementioned woman, the Governor of Pittſburg intended to ſend a proper force to releaſe the miſſionaries and their congregations, but was afterwards led to forſake this reſolution, which may be conſidered as a gracious providence of God: for the Indian congregation would then indeed have been between two fires, and the firſt ſtep taken by the ſavages would have been to murder all the white Brethren and Siſters.

The five impriſoned Brethren having for four days and nights together experienced in the moſt cruel manner, what is to be at the mercy of a gang of robbers and murderers, the Indian aſſiſtants went to the Half-king and the reſt of the captains, and entreated them moſt earneſtly, to ſet their teachers at liberty. The ſavages indeed were convinced that the believing Indians would never be perſuaded to leave the ſettlements, unleſs they were led by the miſſionaries. On the 6th of September therefore they called them before the council, declared them free, and adviſed them to encourage the Indians to prepare for their emigration.

Filled with thanks and praiſes to God they now returned to their beloved people, and went to Salem, where they had appointed the congregations of Salem and Gnadenhuetten to meet them. Here they adminiſtered the ſacrament, during which a moſt extraordinary ſenſation of the preſence of the Lord comforted their hearts. They alſo preached the Goſpel with boldneſs, baptized a catechumen and exhorted all the believing Indians to ſtand firm and to ſhow that faithfulneſs which they in a more particular manner owed to the Lord and his cauſe in theſe hours of trial and temptation. The daily words of ſcripture during this afflicting period, were ſo applicable to their circumſtances, that they could not have been better choſen, if the event had been foreſeen.

Having thus refreſhed themſelves for ſome days in peace and reſt at Salem, about 100 ſavages, who had continually watched their motions and ſurrounded them at ſome diſtance, entered

entered the place on the 10th of September and behaved like madmen, committing the moſt daring outrages. The miſſionaries now perceived, that there was no other reſource for themſelves and their congregation, but to emigrate, as the ſavages ſeemed reſolved to follow them every where. Having therefore determined to propoſe it to the congregations, and finding them of the ſame mind, they quitted Salem on the 11th of September.

But they never forſook any country with more regret. They were now obliged to forſake three beautiful ſettlements, Gnadenhuetten, Salem and Schoenbrunn, and the greateſt part of their poſſeſſions in them. They had already loſt above 200 head of horned cattle and 400 hogs. Beſides this they left a great quantity of Indian corn in ſtore, above 300 acres of corn land, where the harveſt was juſt ripening, beſides potatoes, cabbage, and other roots and garden fruits in the ground. According to a moderate calculation their loſs was computed at 12,000 dollars, about 2000l. But what gave them moſt pain, was the total loſs of all books and writings, compiled with great trouble, for the inſtruction of their youth. Theſe were all burnt by the ſavages. Added to this they had nothing before them, but diſtreſs, miſery and danger. However they could do nothing, but poſſeſs their ſouls in patience, and go forward, even whither they would not. But God was with them, and the powerful ſenſation and experience they had of his preſence ſupported their courage. A troop of ſavages commanded by Engliſh officers eſcorted them, encloſing them at the diſtance of ſome miles on all ſides. They went by land through Goſchachguenk to the Walhalding; and then partly by water and partly along the banks of that river to Sanduſky Creek. Some of the canoes ſunk, and thoſe who were in them loſt all their proviſions and every thing they had ſaved. Thoſe who went by land, drove the cattle, a pretty large herd having been brought together from Salem and Schoenbrunn. Sept. 19th the Half-king overtook them with his troops. He had lain in Salem ever ſince the emigration of our people, his troops had

had plundered all the three ſettlements, and even dug up as much as they could find of what the Indians had buried in the woods.

One may eaſily conceive, that this journey was very tedious and troubleſome. However the people went on with great patience. Not one left the congregation under theſe circumſtances: no one laid the blame of theſe troubles and loſſes upon others: no diſſatisfaction or diſharmony took place, but they cleaved together as one man in the ſpirit of true brotherly love, rejoiced in God their Savior, and held their daily meetings on the road. At Gockhoſink, or the habitation of owls, ſo called from the quantity of theſe birds reſorting thither, they forſook the river and proceeded altogether by land. The ſavages now drove them forward like a herd of cattle. The white Brethren and Siſters were uſually in the midſt ſurrounded by the believing Indians. But one morning, when the latter could not ſet out as expeditiouſly as the ſavages thought proper, they attacked the white Brethren, and forced them to ſet out alone, whipping their horſes forward till they grew wild, and not even allowing the mothers time to ſuckle their children. The road was exceeding bad, leading through a continuation of ſwamps. Siſter Zeiſberger fell twice from her horſe, and once hanging in the ſtirrup was dragged for ſome time. But aſſiſtance was ſoon at hand and the Lord preſerved her from harm. Some of the believing Indians followed them as faſt as poſſible, but with all their exertions did not overtake them till night. Thus they were not delivered out of the hands of the ſavages till the next morning.

October 11th, they at length arrived at Sanduſky Creek, from which the whole country receives its name, being divided into Upper and Lower Sanduſky, about 125 miles diſtant from the ſettlements on the Muſkingum. Here the Half-king with his Huron warriors left them, without leaving any orders for their future obſervance, and marched into his own country. Thus they were left in a wilderneſs, where there was neither game nor any other proviſions; and

thoſe,

thoſe, who had ſuffered themſelves to be deceived by the treacherous repreſentations made by the ſavages of this paradiſe, were aſhamed of their credulity. After roving to and fro for ſome time, they reſolved to ſpend the winter in Upper Sanduſky, where they pitched upon the beſt ſpot they could find in this dreary waſte, and built ſmall huts of logs and bark to ſcreen themſelves from the cold, having neither beds nor blankets, and being reduced to the greateſt poverty and want; for the ſavages had by degrees ſtolen every thing both from the miſſionaries and the Indians on the journey, only leaving them the needful utenſils for making maple ſugar. During the building of theſe huts, the evening meetings were held in the open air, and two large fires kindled to ſerve for warmth and light. They ſo much diſliked their ſituation here, that they gave their town no name, and I muſt therefore call it Sanduſky, from the country and river near to which it lay.

Nothing brought them into greater ſtraits, than the want of proviſions, and they frequently thought of the children of Iſrael in the wilderneſs, and of that bread, with which they were fed by God from heaven. Some had long ago ſpent all their own proviſions, and depended upon the charity of their neighbors, for a few morſels. Even the miſſionaries, who had hitherto always lived upon their own produce, were now obliged to receive alms, they and their families being ſupported by a contribution gathered in the congregation. On this account Brother Sheboſch and ſeveral Indian Brethren returned as ſoon as poſſible to the forſaken ſettlements on the Muſkingum, to fetch the Indian corn, which, as mentioned above, had been left in great quantities in the fields.

Many ſavages came at that time to Sanduſky, not to hear the Goſpel, but rather to ſcoff and laugh at it. The Delaware Captain Pipe boaſted publicly, that he had taken the believing Indians and their teachers priſoners, and conſidered them now as his ſlaves. The Half-king came to inform them, that they were now under his dominion, and were bound to do whatever he commanded them, even to go to war in his ſervice.

vice. This vain boaſting being anſwered with ſilence, the ſavages grew more impudent, and even ſeemed to have loſt all regard for the miſſionaries. The leſs proſpect there appeared under theſe circumſtances, of gaining the hearts of the heathen by the preaching of the Goſpel, the more joy the miſſionaries felt at ſeeing ſeveral who laſt year, in times of trial, had forſaken the congregation and wandered about as ſtraying ſheep, return unto the Shepherd and Biſhop of their ſouls, and unto his perſecuted flock.

But ſcarce had the miſſionaries and their people had a moment's breathing-time in this place, when two Delaware captains arrived with the following meſſage from the Engliſh governor at Fort Detroit to the Delawares and Hurons: "Chil-
" dren! your father beyond Lake Erie is glad to hear that
" you have brought the believing Indians and their teach-
" ers to Sanduſky, for now all nations may be united
" and all hindrances removed, and the little birds in the
" wood cannot ſing ſo many lies in your ears. Now the
" Virginians will ſit in the dark and hear nothing more
" about us, from which we expect to reap great advantages.
" I leave it to your diſcretion, to find a dwelling for the
" believing Indians, wherever you pleaſe. In a few days a
" veſſel will arrive from Detroit in the river Miami with
" goods, where your father will reward you well for your
" good ſervices. But he requeſts, that Captain Pipe would
" conduct the teachers and ſome of the Chiefs of the
" believing Indians to him, as he wiſhes to ſee and to ſpeak
" with them himſelf. He ſays: 'I know better how to
" ſpeak with them than you, for I know them, and can
" better provide and care for them, having plenty of every
" thing."

The miſſionaries, who long ſince wiſhed to ſpeak with the governor himſelf, and to refute the many lies he had heard, by laying the truth before him, were very willing to go, and October 25th the Brethren Zeiſberger, Senſeman, Heckenwaelder, and Edwards, ſet out with four Indian aſſiſtants for Fort Detroit. But the Brethren Jungman

man and Michael Jung ſtayed with the congregation at Sanduſky. The pain they felt at taking leave of each other, was very great, partly as no one could tell what would be the event of their journey, and partly as they were obliged to leave their families in want of all the neceſſaries of life. They travelled chiefly by land along the banks of the lake, paſſing over many ſwamps, large inundated plains, and through thick foreſts, ſuffering great hardſhips by the way. But the moſt painful circumſtance attending this journey was this, that they received an account, that ſome of their Indians who went, as above mentioned, to the Muſkingum to fetch Indian corn, had been taken and killed by the white people, and that a large body of the latter were marching to Sanduſky, to ſurpriſe the ſettlement there. Of this account only ſo much was true, that Brother Sheboſch and five believing Indians had been taken priſoners at Schoenbrunn and carried to Pittſburg. The reſt returned ſafe to Sanduſky, loaded with about four hundred buſhels of Indian corn, which they had procured in the fields with great trouble. But as the travellers did not hear the truth, it may eaſily be conceived how great their affliction was, and with what anxiety their minds were oppreſſed during the journey.

November the 3d they arrived at Detroit, and were immediately brought before the Governor, Arend Scuiler de Peyſter. He was at firſt diſpleaſed, having expected all the miſſionaries with their families, whom he intended to ſend all together to Philadelphia. He however aſſured them, that the only cauſe for his calling them from their ſettlements on the Muſkingum, was becauſe he had heard, that they carried on a correſpondence with the Americans to the prejudice of the Engliſh intereſt, and that many complaints had ariſen againſt them on that account. The miſſionaries anſwered, that they doubted not in the leaſt but that many evil reports muſt have reached his ears, as the treatment they had met with, had ſufficiently proved that they were conſidered as guilty perſons; but that theſe reports were falſe, would fully appear, if he would only grant a ſtrict inveſtigation of their

conduct. They added, that it would not only cauſe them great grief, but would alſo be the ruin of the miſſion, committed to their care, if they were ſeparated from their congregations, which they were in conſcience bound never to forſake. His Excellency then diſmiſſed them, and kindly ordered them to be decently lodged and provided with neceſſaries. Many Engliſh, German and French officers viſited them and expreſſed great compaſſion, upon hearing how cruelly they had been treated, the marks of which they ſtill bore about them; their clothes were all tattered and torn, and they ſaw Indians ſtrutting about the ſtreets in Detroit in the very clothes taken from them on the Muſkingum.

Their trial was deferred till Captain Pipe, their principal accuſer, ſhould arrive, and they felt ſome uneaſineſs in conſidering that the verdict ſeemed to depend upon the evidence given by this malicious opponent. They had no friend to interfere in their behalf. But God was their friend and ſtay, and they truſted in him with full confidence; nor were they put to ſhame.

The 9th of November was the day appointed for the trial. After ſome ceremonies had paſſed between the Governor and Captain Pipe, relating to the ſcalps and priſoners he had brought from the United States, Captain Pipe roſe and thus addreſſed the Governor: "Father, you have commanded us "to bring the believing Indians and their teachers from the "Muſkingum. This has been done. When we had brought "them to Sanduſky, you ordered us to bring their teachers "and ſome of their Chiefs unto you. Here you ſee them "before you, now you may ſpeak with them yourſelf, as you "have deſired. But I hope you will ſpeak good words "unto them, yea I tell you, 'ſpeak good words unto them, "for they are my friends, and I ſhould be ſorry to ſee "them ill uſed." Theſe laſt words he repeated two or three times. In anſwer to this, the Governor enumerated to the captain all the complaints he had made againſt the Brethren, in his own words, calling upon him now to prove, that

that his accuſations were true and that the miſſionaries had correſponded with the Americans, to the prejudice of the Engliſh intereſt. Pipe anſwered, that ſuch a thing might have happened; but that the miſſionaries would do it no more, for they were now at Detroit. The Governor was not ſatisfied with this anſwer, but peremptorily demanded, that Pipe ſhould anſwer his firſt queſtion deciſively. Pipe was now greatly embarraſſed, began to ſhift and ſhuffle, and bending towards his counſellors, aſked them what he ſhould ſay? But they all hung their heads and were ſilent. On a ſudden recollecting himſelf and riſing up, he addreſſed the Governor: "I ſaid before, that ſome ſuch thing might "have happened, but now I will tell you the plain "truth. The miſſionaries are innocent. They have done "nothing of themſelves, what they have done, they were "compelled to do." Then, ſmiting upon his breaſt, he added, "I am to blame, and the Chiefs who were with me in "Goſchachguenk; we have forced them to do it, when they "refuſed." This alluded to the innocent correſpondence carried on through the miſſionaries in the name of the Delaware Chiefs mentioned above (page 116). The Governor then aſked Captain Pipe whether he and his party were willing to permit the miſſionaries to return to their congregations, or would rather, that they were ſent away? But contrary to all expectation Pipe approved of their return, and it was evident, that God had changed his heart in this affair. The Governor then queſtioned the miſſionaries about their ordination and vocation to the miſſion, but eſpecially about their connexion with the United States. As to the latter, they replied, that Congreſs indeed knew that they were employed as miſſionaries to the Indians, and did not diſturb them in their labors, but had never, in any thing, given them directions how to proceed.

The Governor, having done nothing in this whole affair, but what his duty required, declared now publicly before the whole court, that the Brethren were innocent of

all things laid to their charge, that he felt great ſatisfaction in ſeeing their endeavors to civilize and chriſtianize the Indians, and would permit them to return to their congregations. All this was interpreted to Captain Pipe and his warriors. Then addreſſing the Indian aſſiſtants, he expreſſed his joy to ſee them, admoniſhing them to continue to obey their teachers and not to meddle with the war, after which he took them by the hand, and promiſed to ſupply them gratis with all they wanted, which was accordingly done. To the miſſionaries he offered the uſe of his own houſe, in the moſt friendly terms, and as they had been plundered contrary to his will and expreſs command, he ordered, that they ſhould be provided with clothes and every other neceſſary without delay. He even bought four watches, which they had been robbed of, upon their impriſonment in Gnadenhuetten, from a trader, to whom the Indians had ſold them at Detroit, and returned them to the miſſionaries. Having frequently conferred with them in a kind and ſympathizing manner, concerning the ſtate of the miſſion, and given them a paſſport for their journey, to which a permiſſion was added, that they ſhould perform the functions of their office among the Chriſtian Indians without moleſtation, he diſmiſſed them in peace. The miſſionaries entreated him to ſend them an account of all accuſations made againſt them in future, promiſing to clear up every thing to his ſatisfaction and according to ſtrict truth. This he promiſed to do, and at parting declared as a ſincere friend, how heartily ſorry he was for the ſufferings they had ſo innocently undergone. Both the miſſionaries and the Indian aſſiſtants returned praiſes to God for the favorable turn given to their affairs, in which the Governor approved himſelf as a ſervant of God. They left Detroit on the 14th of November and arrived on the 22d at Sanduſky. The joy of their families and the congregation was inexpreſſible, as nothing appeared to them more probable, than that they would be detained priſoners at Detroit.

They

They were now left for ſome time at reſt and built a chapel. But their external ſupport was a matter of great difficulty and cauſed many melancholy reflections. They knew not to-day, what they ſhould eat to-morrow. Frequently their hunger became almoſt inſupportable and the cry for food was general. Providentially it happened that towards the end of the year a great number of deer came into thoſe parts. Two Engliſh traders who lived in the neighborhood, Mr. Mac-Cormick and Mr. Robins, were very kind in aſſiſting them. They bought Indian corn for them and ſerved them to the utmoſt of their power, which was gratefully acknowledged by our Indians as a proof of the gracious providence of our heavenly Father.

December 7th the Indian congregation held their firſt meeting in the new chapel, and offered up prayers and ſupplications, that the Lord would alſo in this place dwell and walk among them, and bleſs the word of his atonement with rich fruits in the hearts of all who ſhould hear it. They celebrated the Chriſtmas holidays with chearfulneſs and bleſſing, and concluded this remarkable year with thanks and praiſe to him, who is ever the Savior of his people. But having neither bread nor wine, they could not keep the Holy Communion.

CHAPTER X.

1782.

Great Famine in Sanduſky. All the Miſſionaries are carried to Fort Detroit. Part of the Indian Congregation ſurprized on the River Muſkingum by a Troop of white People, and murdered. Arrival of the Miſſionaries at Detroit. The Indian Congregation diſperſed, by which their total Deſtruction is prevented.

THE Indian congregation entered into the year 1782 with joy, and renewed hopes of reſt, little imagining that it would be the moſt trying period they had ever experienced.

In the firſt months of this year the daily worſhip of the congregation was held in the uſual order, and the grace of God prevailed. Some new people were baptized, and ſeveral of the baptized, who formerly went aſtray, obtained forgiveneſs and were readmitted to the fellowſhip of the believers.

However they were not without diſtreſs. Towards the end of January, the cold became ſo intenſe, that the nights were almoſt inſupportable. After it abated, the water forced out of the earth in ſuch abundance that it did much damage to the inhabitants. The cattle, of which the Indians had collected large herds, had no forage in theſe dreary regions, nor was any to be procured elſewhere, and thus ſuch of them as were not killed for meat, periſhed with hunger. Famine ſoon ſpread amongſt the people, and the calamity became general. Proviſions were not to be had, even for money, and if any were bought in other places, an exorbitant price was demanded. Many of the poor lived merely upon wild potatoes, and at laſt their hunger was ſuch, that they greedily ate the carcaſes of the horſes and cows which were ſtarved to death.

In

In this wretched ſituation the Half-king of the Hurons with a retinue of Indians and white people paid them a viſit. As our Indians were now not able to furniſh a meal for their gueſts, one of the aſſiſtants went to the Half-king, informed him that there was no meat to be had but the fleſh of dead cattle; and added: "Whenever you came to Gnadenhuetten, we gave you not only enough to eat, but if you deſired to have tea and ſugar, bread, butter, milk, pork and beef, or any other article, we always gave it to you, and have never refuſed any thing to you and your warriors. But you told us to riſe, and to go with you, and that we need not mind our plantations, for we ſhould find enough to live upon. Now if any one catches a bird, or any another animal, his firſt care is to get food for it. But you have brought us hither, and never offered a grain of Indian corn to any one of us; thus you have obtained your whole aim, and may rejoice that we are here miſerably periſhing for want." The Half-king ſeemed ſtruck with the truth of this reproof, and went away in ſilence. Other ſavages who came on a viſit to Sanduſky, ſeeing ſuch quantities of cattle lying dead by the way ſide, laughed, and reviled our Indians, expreſſing great joy at their ſufferings. "Now," ſaid they, "you are become like us, and certainly you ought not to fare better."

The famine drove ſeveral parties from Sanduſky to Schoenbrunn, Gnadenhuetten and Salem on the Muſkingum, to fetch proviſions, a report prevailing, that there was no danger in thoſe parts. Indeed this was now the only reſource our Indians had left, for though moſt of their Indian corn was ſtill ſtanding in the fields ſince laſt year, it was much better than what was ſold by ſome people in Sanduſky at an enormous price.

The greateſt ſufferings of the miſſionaries about this time were occaſioned by the behavior of ſome falſe Brethren, who having returned to their former ſinful ways, endeavored to introduce their heatheniſh practice into the congregation, and would not leave the ſettlement. They ſtaid there in defiance

of all remonſtrances, were enraged, when kindly reproved, and went about in the villages of the heathen, endeavoring to exaſperate them againſt the miſſionaries.

It became now more evident than ever that the aim of the enemies of the Brethren was nothing leſs than forcibly and effectually to deſtroy the preaching of the Goſpel among the Indians, and to diſperſe the Indian congregation. The Governor of Fort Detroit had promiſed the miſſionaries that they ſhould not be moleſted in their labors, but he found it impoſſible to keep his word, as theſe people left him no peace. Soon after the return of the miſſionaries from Detroit laſt autumn, ſome of the head-chiefs of the Delawares expreſſed their aſtoniſhment to the Governor, that he had ſuffered the white Brethren to depart, and thus diſappointed them in their hopes of getting rid of theſe dangerous people. The Governor had always found means to pacify them by his wiſe and firm behavior. But now the Half-king of the Hurons appeared again againſt them. It happened that two of his ſons, who went laſt year upon a murdering party, loſt their lives during the expedition. This the father aſcribed to ſome ſecret intrigues of the Brethren, nor would he be convinced of the contrary, but meditated revenge. He lived alſo in continual fear, leſt our Indians ſhould revenge the injuries they had ſuffered, upon his own perſon. He therefore thought of means to diſperſe them, and knew no method more likely to effect this, than to ſeparate them from their teachers. Another diſagreeable occurrence happened alſo about this time. Two Indians, members of the congregation, had a deſire to viſit their impriſoned relations at Pittſburg. But as it was evident, that their journey would only tend to increaſe the ſuſpicions raiſed againſt the miſſionaries, as though they carried on a correſpondence with the Americans, the danger was repreſented to them and they were deſired to give up the deſign. Nevertheleſs they ſet off in ſecret. Now though Brother Zeiſberger gave immediate information of this circumſtance both to the Governor of Detroit and to the Half-king of the Hurons, yet the latter gladly

ſeized

ſeized this opportunity, to accuſe the miſſionaries before the Governor of having carried on a conſtant correſpondence with the Americans, as long as they had been in Sanduſky, by letters ſent every ten days to Pittſburg, endeavoring to perſuade the Americans to deſtroy the Huron nation. In a letter, dictated by him to ſome white people, he mentioned to the Governor: "That he was uneaſy in his mind as long as the "teachers lived in Sanduſky, fearing ſome misfortune, and "therefore requeſted the Governor to carry them away as "ſoon as poſſible; but that if he refuſed, he himſelf ſhould "know what to do."

A written order therefore arrived on the 1ſt of March, 1782, ſent by the Governor to the Half-king of the Hurons and to an Engliſh officer in his company, to bring all the miſſionaries and their families to Detroit, but with a ſtrict charge, neither to plunder nor to abuſe them in the leaſt. It may eaſily be conceived how this account pierced the miſſionaries to the very heart. According to their own declaration, they would much rather have met death itſelf, than be forced to forſake their congregation whom they loved by far more than their own lives, and thus to deliver their flock over to the wolves. They were ſtunned with grief; but conſultations were of no avail. For indeed nothing was now left, but to ſubmit with due reſignation, for the ſlighteſt remonſtrance might have given occaſion to abuſe and plunder them, and could not have been of the ſmalleſt ſervice.

When this order was communicated to the congregation, expreſsly aſſembled for the purpoſe, the people wept to ſuch a degree, that the miſſionaries were almoſt cruſhed with the weight of grief and diſtreſs. One Indian after the other came afterwards to ſee them, and they were entirely engaged in attending to their complaints, exhorting and comforting them. All uttered their lamentations aloud, exclaiming that they were forſaken and left as ſheep without a ſhepherd. Among the reſt an Indian Brother ſaid, "I am unconcerned "as to all the loſſes I have ſuſtained, that I am become poor "and hungry and have loſt all my cattle. I would gladly

"ſuffer

" ſuffer all this and more, but that our enemies have at length " taken our teachers from us, and intend to rob us of the " nouriſhment of our ſouls and the word of ſalvation, is too " bad, and breaks my heart. But they ſhall never find me " willing to be one with them and to enter again into their " heatheniſh manner of living. Nor ſhall they ever make " me ſubject to their power, and force me to do things, " which are abominable in the eyes of God my Savior. I will " rather run into the woods, fly from all human ſociety, and " ſpend the remainder of my life in the utmoſt miſery." Another, who had proved unfaithful, came and confeſſed his guilt in public. " I have grievouſly ſinned," ſaid he, " for I " have accuſed my teachers and betrayed them, as Judas be- " trayed our Savior, and now I ſhall be loſt eternally, un- " leſs I obtain forgiveneſs." The miſſionaries aſſured him in the moſt affectionate terms of their forgiveneſs, and comforted their weeping flock by repreſenting the unbounded faithfulneſs of the Lord, who crowns all things which He permits with an happy iſſue. But they found that it would be moſt prudent not to give any particular advice to the Indian aſſiſtants, for the management of the affairs of the congregation during their abſence, but to commend them to the guidance of the Spirit of God, having no other conſolation both for themſelves and their families, but that they were yet in the hands of a gracious Lord, though now led through a dark and diſmal valley, who would be their leading ſtar, protector and preſerver in all circumſtances.

The day before their departure, they were terrified to the utmoſt degree, by the arrival of a warrior from the Muſkingum, who related that all our Indians, who were found in our deſerted ſettlements ſeeking proviſions, had been taken priſoners by the Americans, carried off to Pittſburg, and ſome of them murdered. Thus overwhelmed with grief and terror the miſſionaries were obliged to take leave of their people on the 15th of March, and ſuffered as it were a thouſand deaths. The congregation being aſſembled for this purpoſe, Brother Zeiſberger as a tender father exhorted the Brethren

Brethren and Sisters to cleave the closer unto the Lord, as they were now to be separated from their teachers, for that He was the source of all salvation and the well spring of life. He admonished them to seek and find pasture in the merits of his sufferings and death, by which they would be preserved from the world and all the allurements of sin. He then kneeled down with the congregation, gave thanks unto the Lord for all the spiritual blessings received at his hands, amidst earthly misery and distress, commended this Indian church of Christ, purchased unto himself by his own blood, unto his grace, to the love and preservation of God the heavenly Father, and to the fellowship and guidance of the Holy Ghost, praying fervently, that they might be preserved in faith and in the pure and saving doctrine of Jesus Christ and his atonement, till they should see each other again, either here below, or before the throne of the Lamb. The tears shed on this occasion are only known to the Lord, who seeth the affliction of his children. In this state of mind, believing one part of the congregation to be imprisoned, another part murdered and the third in danger of being dispersed and forsaken, the missionaries entered upon their journey to Detroit, accompanied by a Frenchman, whom the English officer had appointed in his place to conduct them, and passing as in review before the Half-king and his warriors.

I will here leave the travellers, to describe the bloody catastrophe which took place on the Muskingum, the above-mentioned report being by far not equal to the extent of the horrible transaction.

The Governor of Pittsburg thought it but just, to release the believing Indians who with Brother Schebosch were taken prisoners last year by the Americans in Schoenbrunn. The Indians arrived safe in Sandusky, and Brother Schebosch went to Bethlehem, to give a circumstantial account of the present situation of the Indian congregation. The humane behavior of the Governor at Pittsburg greatly incensed those people, who, according to the account given in the former

Part

Part of this Hiſtory, repreſented the Indians as Canaanites, who without mercy ought to be deſtroyed from the face of the earth, and conſidered America as the land of promiſe given to the Chriſtians. Hearing that different companies of the believing Indians came occaſionally from Sanduſky to the ſettlements on the Muſkingum to fetch proviſions, a party of murderers, about one hundred and ſixty in number, aſſembled in the country near Whiling and Buffaloe, determined firſt to ſurpriſe theſe Indians, and deſtroy the ſettlements, and then to march to Sanduſky, where they might eaſily cut off the whole Indian congregation. As ſoon as Colonel Gibſon, at Pittſburg, heard of this black deſign, he ſent meſſengers to our Indians on the Muſkingum to give them timely notice of their danger: but they came too late. They however received in all the ſettlements early intelligence of the approach of the murderers, time enough for them to have ſaved themſelves by flight; for a white man, who had narrowly eſcaped from the hands of ſome ſavages, warned them with great earneſtneſs to fly for their lives. Theſe ſavages, having murdered and impaled a woman and a child, not far from the Ohio, arrived ſoon after at Gnadenhuetten, where they expreſſed to our Indians their fears, that a party of white people, who were purſuing them, would certainly kill every Indian they met on the road. But our Indians, who at other times behaved with great caution and timidity, if only the leaſt appearance of danger exiſted, ſhowed now no ſigns of fear, but went to meet real danger with incredible confidence.

This was undoubtedly owing to an idea, that they had nothing to fear from the Americans, but only from the Indians. However on the 5th of March, Samuel, an aſſiſtant, was called from Schoenbrunn to Salem, where all the aſſiſtants in thoſe parts met, to conſult whether they ſhould fly upon the approach of the white people; but both thoſe of Salem and Gnadenhuetten were of opinion, that they ſhould ſtay. Samuel adviſed, that every one ſhould be left to act according to his own ſentiments, and thus they parted. When Samuel

muel returned to Schoenbrunn, ſome Brethren accompanied him part of the way, and he declared that ſuch love and harmony prevailed among the believing Indians, as he had never ſeen before.

Meanwhile the murderers marched firſt to Gnadenhuetten where they arrived on the 6th of March. About a mile from the ſettlement they met young Scheboſch in the wood, fired at him and wounded him ſo much that he could not eſcape. He then, according to the account of the murderers themſelves, begged for his life, repreſenting that he was Scheboſch the ſon of a white Chriſtian man. But they paid no attention to his entreaties and cut him in pieces with their hatchets. They then approached the Indians, moſt of whom were in their plantations, and ſurrounded them, almoſt imperceptibly, but feigning a friendly behavior, told them to go home, promiſing to do them no injury. They even pretended to pity them on account of the miſchief done to them by the Engliſh and the ſavages, aſſuring them of the protection and friendſhip of the Americans. The poor believing Indians, knowing nothing of the death of young Scheboſch, believed every word they ſaid, went home with them and treated them in the moſt hoſpitable manner. They likewiſe ſpoke freely concerning their ſentiments as Chriſtian Indians, who had never taken the leaſt ſhare in the war. A ſmall barrel of wine being found among their goods, they told their perſecutors on enquiry, that it was intended for the Lord's Supper, and that they were going to carry it to Sanduſky. Upon this they were informed that they ſhould not return thither, but go to Pittſburg, where they would be out of the way of any aſſault made by the Engliſh or the ſavages. This they heard with reſignation, concluding, that God would perhaps chuſe this method to put an end to their preſent ſufferings. Prepoſſeſſed with this idea, they chearfully delivered their guns, hatchets and other weapons to the murderers, who promiſed to take good care of them and in Pittſburg to return every article to its rightful owner. Our Indians even ſhowed them all thoſe things, which they had

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ſecreted in the woods, aſſiſted in packing them up, and emptied all their bee-hives for theſe pretended friends.

In the mean time the aſſiſtant John Martin went to Salem and brought the news of the arrival of the white people, to the believing Indians, aſſuring them that they need not be afraid to go with them, for they were come to carry them into a place of ſafety, and to afford them protection and ſupport. The Salem Indians did not heſitate to accept of this propoſal, believing unanimouſly that God had ſent the Americans, to releaſe them from their diſagreeable ſituation at Sanduſky, and imagining that when they had arrived at Pittſburg, they might ſoon find a ſafe place to build a ſettlement and eaſily procure advice and aſſiſtance from Bethlehem. Thus John Martin with two Salem Brethren returned to Gnadenhuetten, to acquaint both their Indian Brethren and the white people with their reſolution. The latter expreſſed a deſire to ſee Salem, and a party of them was conducted thither and received with much friendſhip. Here they pretended to have the ſame good will and affection towards the Indians, as at Gnadenhuetten, and eaſily perſuaded them to return with them. By the way they entered into much ſpiritual converſation, our Indians, ſome of whom ſpoke Engliſh well, giving theſe people, who feigned great piety, proper and ſcriptural anſwers to many queſtions concerning religious ſubjects. The aſſiſtants Iſaac Glikkikan and Iſrael were no leſs ſincere and unreſerved in their anſwers to ſome political queſtions ſtarted by the white people, and thus the murderers obtained a full and ſatisfactory account of the preſent ſituation and ſentiments of the Indian congregation. In the mean time the defenceleſs Indians at Gnadenhuetten were ſuddenly attacked and driven together by the white people, and without reſiſtance ſeized and bound. The Salem Indians now met the ſame fate. Before they entered Gnadenhuetten, they were at once ſurpriſed by their conductors, robbed of their guns and even of their pocket knives, and brought bound into the ſettlement. Soon after this, the murderers held a council, and reſolved by a majority of votes, to murder them all the very next day.

Thoſe

Thoſe who were of a different opinion, wrung their hands, calling God to witneſs, that they were innocent of the blood of theſe harmleſs Chriſtian Indians. But the majority remained unmoved, and only differed concerning the mode of execution. Some were for burning them alive, others for taking their ſcalps, and the latter was at laſt agreed upon; upon which one of the murderers was ſent to the priſoners, to tell them, that as they were Chriſtian Indians, they might prepare themſelves in a Chriſtian manner, for they muſt all die to-morrow.

It may be eaſily conceived, how great their terror was, at hearing a ſentence ſo unexpected. However they ſoon recollected themſelves and patiently ſuffered the murderers to lead them into two houſes, in one of which the Brethren and in the other the Siſters and children were confined like ſheep ready for ſlaughter. They declared to the murderers that though they could call God to witneſs that they were perfectly innocent, yet they were prepared and willing to ſuffer death. But as they had at their converſion and baptiſm made a ſolemn promiſe to the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, that they would live unto him and endeavor to pleaſe him alone in this world, they knew that they had been deficient in many reſpects, and therefore wiſhed to have ſome time granted, to pour out their hearts before Him in prayer, and to crave His mercy and pardon. This requeſt being complied with, they ſpent their laſt night here below in prayer, and in exhorting each other to remain faithful unto the end. One Brother, called Abraham, who for ſome time paſt had been in a lukewarm ſtate of heart, ſeeing his end approaching, made the following public confeſſion before his brethren: "Dear "Brethren! it ſeems as if we ſhould all ſoon depart unto "our Savior, for our ſentence is fixed. You know that I "have been an untoward child, and have grieved the Lord "and my brethren by my diſobedience, not walking as I "ought to have done. But yet I will now cleave to my "Savior with my laſt breath, and hold him faſt, though I am "ſo great a ſinner. I know aſſuredly, that He will forgive

"me all my ſins, and not caſt me out." The Brethren aſſured him of their love and forgiveneſs, and both they and the Siſters ſpent the latter part of the night in ſinging praiſes to God their Savior, in the joyful hope, that they ſhould ſoon be able to praiſe him without ſin.

When the day of their execution arrived, namely the 8th of March, two houſes were fixed upon, one for the Brethren and another for the Siſters and children, to which the wanton murderers gave the name of ſlaughter-houſes. Some of them went to the Indian Brethren and ſhowed great impatience, that the execution had not yet begun, to which the Brethren replied, that they were all ready to die, having commended their immortal ſouls to God, who had given them that divine aſſurance in their hearts, that they ſhould come unto him, and be with him for ever.

Immediately after this declaration the carnage commenced. The poor innocent people, men, women, and children were led, bound two and two together with ropes, into the above-mentioned ſlaughter-houſes and there ſcalped and murdered.

According to the teſtimony of the murderers themſelves, they behaved with uncommon patience and went to meet death with chearful reſignation. The above-mentioned brother Abraham was the firſt victim. A Siſter, called Chriſtina, who had formerly lived with the Siſters in Bethlehem, and ſpoke Engliſh and German well, fell on her knees before the captain of the gang and begged her life, but was told, that he could not help her.

Thus ninety-ſix perſons magnified the name of the Lord, by patiently meeting a cruel death. Sixty-two were grown perſons, among whom were five of the moſt valuable aſſiſtants, and thirty-four children.

Only two youths, each between fifteen and ſixteen years old, eſcaped almoſt miraculouſly from the hands of the murderers. One of them, ſeeing that they were in earneſt, was ſo fortunate as to diſengage himſelf from his bonds, then ſlipping unobſerved from the crowd, crept through a narrow

narrow window, into the cellar of that houſe in which the Siſters were executed. Their blood ſoon penetrated through the flooring, and according to his account, ran in ſtreams into the cellar, by which it appears probable, that moſt, if not all of them, were not merely ſcalped, but killed with hatchets or ſwords. The lad remained concealed till night, providentially not one coming down to ſearch the cellar, when having with much difficulty climbed up the wall to the window, he crept through and eſcaped into a neighboring thicket. The other youth's name was Thomas. The murderers ſtruck him only one blow on the head, took his ſcalp, and left him. But after ſome time he recovered his ſenſes and ſaw himſelf ſurrounded by bleeding corpſes. Among theſe he obſerved one Brother, called Abel, moving and endeavoring to raiſe himſelf up. But he remained lying as ſtill as though he had been dead, and this caution proved the means of his deliverance: for ſoon after, one of the murderers coming in, and obſerving Abel's motions, killed him outright with two or three blows. Thomas lay quiet till dark, though ſuffering the moſt exquiſite torment. He then ventured to creep towards the door, and obſerving nobody in the neighborhood, got out and eſcaped into the wood, where he concealed himſelf during the night. Theſe two youths met afterwards in the wood, and God preſerved them from harm on their journey to Sanduſky, though they purpoſely took a long circuit, and ſuffered great hardſhips and danger. But before they left the neighborhood of Gnadenhuetten they obſerved the murderers from behind the thicket making merry after their ſucceſsful enterpriſe, and at laſt ſetting fire to the two ſlaughter-houſes filled with corpſes.

Providentially the believing Indians, who were at that time in Schoenbrunn, eſcaped. The miſſionaries had immediately upon receiving orders to repair to Fort Detroit, ſent a meſſenger to the Muſkingum to call our Indians home, with a view to ſee them once more, and to get horſes from them for their journey. This meſſenger happened to arrive

at Schoenbrunn the day before the murderers came to Gnadenhuetten, and having delivered his meſſage, the Indians of Schoenbrunn ſent another meſſenger to Gnadenhuetten to inform their brethren there and at Salem of the meſſage received. But before he reached Gnadenhuetten, he found young Schebosch lying dead and ſcalped by the way ſide, and looking forward, ſaw many white people in and about Gnadenhuetten. He inſtantly fled back with great precipitation and told the Indians in Schoenbrunn what he had ſeen, who all took flight and ran into the woods. They now hesitated a long while, not knowing whither to turn or how to proceed. Thus when the murderers arrived at Schoenbrunn the Indians were ſtill near the premiſes, obſerving every thing that happened there, and might eaſily have been diſcovered. But here the murderers ſeemed as it were ſtruck with blindneſs. Finding nobody at home, they deſtroyed and ſet fire to the ſettlement, and having done the ſame at Gnadenhuetten and Salem, they ſet off with the ſcalps of their innocent victims, about fifty horſes, a number of blankets and other things, and marched to Pittſburg, with a view to murder the few Indians lately ſettled on the north ſide of the Ohio, oppoſite to the Fort. Some of them fell a ſacrifice to the rage of this blood-thirſty crew, and a few eſcaped. Among the latter was Anthony, a member of our congregation, who happened then to be at Pittſburg, and both he and the Indians of Schoenbrunn arrived after many dangers and difficulties ſafe at Sanduſky.

The foregoing account of this dreadful event was collected, partly from what the murderers themſelves related to their friends at Pittſburg, partly from the account given by the two youths, who eſcaped in the manner above deſcribed, and alſo from the report made by the Indian aſſiſtant Samuel of Schoenbrunn, and by Anthony from Pittſburg, all of whom agreed exactly as to the principal parts of their reſpective evidences.

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It afterwards appeared from the New York papers, in which the Chriſtian Indians are called Moravian Indians, and repreſented in a very unfavourable light, that the murderers had been prevented, for the preſent, from proceeding to Sanduſky, to deſtroy the remnant of the congregation.

The following remark of ſome ſavages on this occaſion deſerves particular notice: "We intended to draw our "friends, the believing Indians, back into heatheniſm, but "God diſapproved of it, and therefore took them to him-"ſelf."

To deſcribe the grief and terror of the Indian congregation, on hearing that ſo large a number of its members were ſo cruelly maſſacred, is impoſſible. Parents wept and mourned for the loſs of their children, huſbands for their wives, wives for their huſbands, children for their parents, brothers for their ſiſters, and ſiſters for their brothers. And having now alſo loſt their teachers, who uſed to ſympathize with and take ſhare in all their ſorrows and to ſtrengthen their reliance upon the faithfulneſs of God, their grief was almoſt inſupportable. But they murmured not, nor did they call for vengeance upon the murderers, but prayed for them: and their greateſt conſolation was a full aſſurance, that all their beloved relations were now at home, in the preſence of the Lord and in full poſſeſſion of everlaſting happineſs.

Brother Scheboſch received at Bethlehem the news of the cruel murder of his ſon, with the deepeſt affliction. To this place the firſt account of the maſſacre was brought by ſome people, who had been preſent at an auction held at Pittſburg of the effects taken from the believing Indians, at which alſo their ſcalps were expoſed to view.

All the congregations of the United Brethren both in America and Europe took the moſt affecting ſhare in this great calamity. But as God has always wiſe and ſacred reaſons, for permitting ſo great tribulations to befall his children, the Brethren, viewing this dreadful and incomprehenſible event in this light, could do nothing, but ſilently adore

the wiſdom of the Lord, whoſe ways are unſearchable, but always replete with juſtice and truth. It appears from all circumſtances attending this maſſacre that the murderers did not deſtroy the believing Indians on account of their being Chriſtians, but merely becauſe they were Indians, and therefore they would not even ſpare the infant children. I will therefore not compare them with the martyrs of the ancient church, who ſometimes were ſacrificed in great numbers to the rage of their perſecutors on account of their faith in Chriſt. But thus much I can confidently aſſert, that theſe Chriſtian Indians approved themſelves to the end as ſtedfaſt confeſſors of the truth, and though conſcious of their innocence, were yet reſigned to the will of God, patiently ſubmitting to be led as ſheep to the ſlaughter, and having commended their ſouls to their Creator and Redeemer, delivered themſelves without reſiſtance to the cruel hands of their blood-thirſty murderers, and thus in death bore witneſs to the truth and efficacy of the Goſpel of Jeſus. The murderers themſelves acknowledged that they were *good* Indians, "for," ſaid they, "they ſung and prayed to their laſt breath." This teſtimony of the truth will preach to every thinking mind, as long as the remembrance of this bloody maſſacre exiſts.

There were three circumſtances which may be looked upon as gracious interpoſitions of God's providence. The firſt is, that laſt autumn the Indian congregations were carried away from their ſettlements on the Muſkingum. If they had remained there, they would moſt probably have been totally deſtroyed. But now above two thirds of their number were ſaved. Secondly, when our Indians were obliged to go to the Muſkingum for food, and the miſſionaries mentioned it to the Hurons, partly to prevent all ſuſpicion and partly that ſome of them might go with them, the Hurons refuſed to go. If they had gone, they could not have defended the believing Indians, their preſence would only have held out a more plauſible pretence for the murderers, to treat the believing Indians and Hurons alike as hoſtile

warriors, and thus their death would have appeared to the world in a very different light. The third remarkable circumſtance was this, that the miſſionaries were ordered to Fort Detroit preciſely at a time, when their arrangements tended to preſerve thoſe Indians, who were then at Schoenbrunn. Thus amidſt all diſtreſs, they found great cauſe to thank and praiſe the Lord. Though we may not comprehend his ways, our underſtanding being too weak and imperfect to diſcover his purpoſes, yet this we know, that he is juſt and merciful, and that all things work together for good to them that love God.

I now return to the miſſionaries. When they left Sanduſky, they were accompanied a conſiderable way by a large part of their weeping congregation, and by ſome as far as Lower Sanduſky. As they could not procure a ſufficient number of horſes, ſome were obliged to wade through water and marſhy grounds, and Brother Edwards had the misfortune to get lame. They were alſo obliged to ſpend ſeveral nights in the open air, and ſuffered great cold, beſides other hardſhips. But the Lord graciouſly ſupported the Siſters and children, ſo that they were able to bear it. Their French conductor behaved with kindneſs towards them; and as they were in great want of proviſions, God inclined the hearts of ſeveral perſons to aſſiſt them. Some traders from Detroit, who then reſided in Lower Sanduſky, afforded them eſſential relief, the travellers being detained for a conſiderable time at that place. Theſe good people took them into their houſes and ſupplied them with food and other neceſſaries. March the 21ſt they experienced another affliction in taking a final leave of thoſe believing Indians, who had accompanied them thus far, and were obliged to return to their families.

The miſſionaries now found themſelves entirely ſeparated from their beloved congregation, a circumſtance which, amidſt all their ſufferings and trials, they had never before experienced, nor could they at this time diſcern the ways of the Lord in permitting this apparent evil: they all appeared

dark and myſterious. Soon after this, ſome Indian Brethren who brought their baggage after them, informed them of every circumſtance relating to the murder of the believing Indians on the Muſkingum, by which their minds, already grievouſly afflicted, were filled with inexpreſſible anguiſh; for they mourned like parents, who had loſt their own children in the moſt cruel manner. They write; "This account was heart-rending indeed, and God alone can "comfort and ſupport us under it."

As they were obliged to wait longer in Lower Sanduſky for veſſels to conduct them forward than was firſt expected, they received ſeveral viſits from the believing Indians in Upper Sanduſky. But even theſe viſits occaſioned ſome trouble, for one day the Hurons made a dreadful outcry, giving out that the believing Indians had murdered ſome Huron women. However upon an immediate examination, their lies were detected, and the calumniators publicly put to ſhame.

April 11th the Engliſh officer who had been ordered to conduct the miſſionaries to Fort Detroit, but had committed this buſineſs to the above-mentioned Frenchman, arrived with a party of Indian warriors in Lower Sanduſky. He behaved like a madman towards the miſſionaries, and with horrid oaths threatened ſeveral times to ſplit their ſkulls with an hatchet. He then ſat drinking all night in the houſe where lodged, raving much worſe than any drunken ſavage. But the Lord protected the miſſionaries and their families from all harm. At length the governor at Detroit ſent two veſſels with a corporal and fourteen rifle-men, who brought a written order, to take the miſſionaries from Lower Sanduſky, to treat them with all poſſible kindneſs, and in caſe of ſtormy weather, not to endanger their lives in croſſing Lake Erie; adding, that whoever did them the leaſt injury, ſhould be called to account for it. This threat kept the above-mentioned Engliſh officer in awe, and he ſtaid behind in Sanduſky, to the great ſatisfaction of the travellers.

They

They ſet out on the 14th, and croſſing over a part of the lake, arrived at Detroit by the ſtreights which join the Lakes Erie and Huron. Here a large room in the barracks, juſt fitted up for an officer's dwelling, was given them, by order of the governor. He ſoon came to ſee them, and aſſured them, that though many new accuſations had been made againſt them, yet he conſidered them as perfectly innocent, and had not ſent for them on that account, but merely for their own ſafety, having the moſt authentic intelligence, that their lives were in imminent danger, as long as they reſided at Sanduſky. He further left it entirely to their own option, to remain at Detroit, or to go to Bethlehem, and gave orders that they ſhould be ſupplied with every thing they ſtood in need of. Some weeks after, they left the barracks with his conſent and moved into an houſe at a ſmall diſtance from the town, where they enjoyed more reſt and quiet.

In the mean time the Indian congregation was brought into the moſt precarious ſituation. After the departure of the miſſionaries, the Indian aſſiſtants continued to meet and exhort the congregation in the uſual regular manner. This the miſſionaries heard with pleaſure from an Engliſh trader who viſited Sanduſky and was preſent at ſeveral of their meetings. He related that he heard them ſing hymns and exhort each other, till they wept together like children, which greatly affected him. But ſome falſe brethren among them took this occaſion to ſhow their perfidy. They aſcribed all the misfortunes of the believing Indians to the miſſionaries, and even aſſerted that they were the ſole cauſe of the murder of their countrymen, and that foreſeeing this, they had gone off into ſafety. Such fooliſh aſſertions, though reprobated by the faithful part of the congregation, occaſioned however much diſſatisfaction and uneaſineſs. Beſides this, the Half-king of the Hurons was ſo inceſſantly tormented by his evil conſcience, that he could not reſt, as long as any Chriſtian Indians were in his neighborhood, for their preſence continually reminded him of his treacherous and cruel

behavior towards them and their teachers. He therefore ſent them a peremptory order to quit the country, and ſeek a dwelling in ſome other place. It appeared indeed, as if no place was left where theſe perſecuted Indians might have reſt for the ſoles of their feet. For they lived between two contending parties, one of which had plundered and led them away captive and the other had murdered a great number of them. They could expect no protection from the white people, and the heathen hunted them as outlaws from one region to the other. Yet they had one great and ineſtimable ſource of comfort: "The Lord our God liveth," ſaid they, "and he will not forſake us." However the contempt they ſuffered and the ſcoffing of the heathen, appeared ſometimes very grievous: "Let us ſee," ſaid they, "whether that God, "of whom the Chriſtians talk ſo much, deſcribing him as "a great and almighty Lord, and placing all their confidence "in him, will protect and deliver them, and whether he is "ſtronger than our gods."

They reſolved at length to make no reſiſtance, but as it ſeemed to be the will of God to permit them to be ſcattered, patiently to ſubmit. One part therefore went into the country of the Shawanoſe, the reſt ſtaid ſome time in the neighborhood of Pipestown, and there reſolved to proceed further to the Miami river.

This diſperſion of the believing Indians put a period for ſome time, to the exiſtence of the congregation. But it was not long before the gracious providence of God was diſcernible in this event. The ſame gang of murderers, who had committed the maſſacre on the Muſkingum, did not give up their bloody deſign upon the remnant of the Indian congregation, though it was delayed for a ſeaſon. They marched in May 1782 to Sanduſky, where they found nothing but empty huts. Thus it became evident that the tranſportation of the miſſionaries to Detroit happened by the kind permiſſion of God. For had they remained in Sanduſky, the Indian congregation would not have been diſperſed and conſequently in all probability have been murdered.

And

And thus this painful event, which at firſt ſeemed to threaten deſtruction to the whole miſſion, ſaved the lives of our Indians in two different inſtances firſt by the meſſage ſent to Schoenbrunn, and ſecondly by the diſperſion of the whole flock.

Soon after the diſappointment which the murderers met with at Sanduſky, they were attacked by a party of Engliſh and Indian warriors, and the greater part of them were cut to pieces.

CHAPTER XI.

1782. 1783. 1784.

The diſperſed Indian Congregation begin to flock to the Miſſionaries. Building of New-Gnadenhuetten on the River Huron. Gradual Succeſs of the Endeavors to collect the diſperſed Congregation. Severity of the Winter. Famine. Relief procured. The Situation of Affairs requires an Emigration from New-Gnadenhuetten.

THE above-mentioned diſperſion of the Indian congregation was more particularly painful to the miſſionaries, as they juſtly feared, that the ſouls of the believing Indians would ſuffer great injury by their converſe with the Heathen. They therefore, far from making uſe of the liberty given them by the Governor to return to Bethlehem, reſolved from motives of duty and affection, to uſe their utmoſt exertions, by degrees to gather their ſcattered flock. In this view they took ſteps to build a new ſettlement and to invite the believing Indians to return to them. After ſeveral conferences with the Governor, who much approved of their plan, he propoſed

propoſed a ſpot about thirty miles from Detroit on the river Huron, which upon examination they found very convenient for the purpoſe. But as it was neceſſary to have the conſent of the Chief of the Chippeway tribe to whom that country belonged, the Governor undertook to procure it. The only objection the Chief made, was, that perhaps the Delawares would be diſpleaſed, and reproach them with having perſuaded their friends to forſake them. To this the Governor replied, that as the Delawares had driven the Chriſtian teachers away, they had likewiſe baniſhed the Chriſtian Indians, who were now ſeeking ſome friend to receive them, and that the Delawares could not interfere without ſhowing their own ſhame and folly. The Chippeways then gave their conſent with the uſual ſolemnities, and the Governor generouſly ſent a meſſage with a ſtring of wampom to all the diſperſed Chriſtian Indians, to give them notice of this tranſaction and to invite them to rejoin their teachers, promiſing, that they ſhould enjoy perfect liberty of conſcience and be ſupplied with proviſions and other neceſſaries of life.

The conſequence of this meaſure was, that on the 2d of July the miſſionaries had the inexpreſſible ſatisfaction, to bid two families of their beloved Indian flock welcome. Theſe were ſoon followed by Abraham, a venerable aſſiſtant, with his and another family, who immediately erected huts near the miſſionaries houſe. Brother Richard Connor arrived likewiſe with his family at Detroit. One of the diſperſed came with ſome heathen warriors to Detroit, painted like a ſavage. He did not expect to find the miſſionaries ſtill there, but upon ſeeing them, ſaid, "You ſee, my brethren, that I have no more "the appearance of a Brother. I deſpaired of ever hearing "the word of God again from the Brethren; I therefore "thought, that I ought to live peaceably with the heathen "and do as they do, leſt they ſhould perſecute me. But as "I perceive that the Indian congregation is gathering to-"gether again, and our teachers are with them, I pray, that

"they would kindly receive me again." This request was granted with pleasure. The rest of the dispersed Indians rejoiced greatly at the friendly message sent them by the Governor and the missionaries, but suffered themselves to be intimidated by the lies of some malicious people, who wished to prevent them from returning to the Brethren, and resolved therefore to wait a little longer. In the mean time the missionaries began their usual daily meetings with their Indians, and met in the open air for want of a chapel. They were commonly joined by the neighbors, prisoners and other strangers, to whom it was a new and interesting sight, to see such devotion among the Indians; and the sweet singing of of the Christian Indians was particularly admired. Here the missionaries had a good opportunity of bearing many a testimony of the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom they invited all the weary and heavy laden. As they were frequently desired to baptize children or to bury the dead, they improved these opportunities to preach the Gospel both in the English and German languages. Brother Zeisberger delivered also several discourses to the prisoners, many inhabitants of Detroit being present. By this time twenty-eight believing Indians had returned to the missionaries, and they therefore resolved, with the consent of the Governor, to begin the building of the new settlement on the above-mentioned spot near the river Huron, trusting in the Lord, that he would collect the remnant of the congregation in this place. The Governor liberally assisted them in various ways, furnished them with provisions, boats, planks and the necessary utensils from the royal stores, and gave them some horses and cows. His Lady presented them with a valuable assortment of seeds and roots, and both gave them the most obliging proofs of their benevolent disposition. The Brethren were more particularly thankful to the Governor, that he assisted them in renewing their correspondence with Pennsylvania and Europe, so that they could again procure money, which was remitted by way of Montreal.

July

July 20th, 1782, the Brethren Zeiſberger and Jungman with their wives, and the two ſingle Brethren Edwards and Michael Jung ſet out with nineteen Indian Brethren and Siſters from Fort Detroit. Many of the inhabitants had conceived ſo great a regard for them during their abode there, that they ſhed tears at ſeeing them depart. The Brethren Senſeman and Heckenwaelder with their families remained with the reſt of the believing Indians at Detroit, to attend to the concerns of the reviving miſſion in this place. The travellers paſſed over lake St. Claire into the river Huron, arrived on the 21ſt in the evening at the place deſtined for their future reſidence and choſe on the following day a convenient ſpot on the ſouth ſide of the river, where they marked out a ſettlement, calling it Gnaden-huetten, in remembrance of their ſettlement on the Muſkingum. But for the ſake of greater perſpicuity, I ſhall call this place New-Gnadenhuetten. In the evening they aſſembled to thank and praiſe the Lord for his mercy, and to implore his aſſiſtance, grace and protection in future.

They now entered chearfully upon the work, built huts of bark, laid out gardens and plantations, for which they found good ſoil, and maintained themſelves by hunting and fiſhing. Sycamore, beech, aſh, lime, oak, poplar and hiccory were the moſt common trees. They alſo found here ſaſſafras trees of a larger ſize than they had ſeen any where elſe. Wild hemp grew in abundance, but ſalt was a rare article, and could not be had even for money. They therefore acknowledged it as a bleſſing of God, when they diſcovered ſome ſalt ſprings which yielded a ſufficient quantity. There were alſo freſh ſprings in great plenty. The climate ſeemed very different from that on the Muſkingum. In the beginning they were ſo tormented by the ſtings of all manner of inſects, particularly muſquitoes, that they were obliged conſtantly to keep up and lie in a thick ſmoke. But the more they cleared the ground of the under-wood with which it was every where covered, the more the inſects decreaſed

creaſed in numbers. They had no where met ſo few ſerpents.

In Auguſt they began to build, and firſt erected only one ſtreet of block houſes. Towards the end of the month thoſe who had ſtaid in Detroit followed them to New-Gnadenhuetten, and the miſſionaries moved into their new houſe. September 21ſt they had a ſolemn celebration of the Lord's Supper, which appeared as new to the Indians, as if they now partook of it for the firſt time. By degrees more of the diſperſed flocked together. They had been in great danger of their lives in the country of the Shawanoſe, and eſcaped only by a precipitate flight. Whenever our Indians paſſed through Detroit to New-Gnadenhuetten the Governor always provided them with food, and if needful with clothing. Even the inhabitants of New-Gnadenhuetten went now and then to Detroit to fetch proviſions, which the Governor kindly ordered to be given them gratis, till they could reap their own fruits. General Haldimand at Quebec greatly approved of the friendly behavior of the Governor, and it muſt be in general obſerved, that the Engliſh Government always ſhowed extraordinary kindneſs and benevolence towards the miſſion and its ſervants.

In Autumn 1782 the Chippeways began to viſit New-Gnadenhuetten, and behaved with friendlineſs and modeſty. But as to the Goſpel, which the Indian aſſiſtants preached to them with great zeal, they only heard it with ſilent attention. The Chippeways are generally eſteemed the beſt and moſt peaceable among the Indian tribes, but they are very indolent, plant but little, live chiefly by hunting, boil acorns as ſauce to their meat, and even like the Calmuck Tartars eat the fleſh of dead horſes.

November 5th, the ſmall flock of believing Indians, collected here to the number of fifty-three perſons, met to conſecrate their new church unto God, and having enjoyed great bleſſing during the celebration of the feſtival of our Lord's nativity, cloſed this year of weeping and ſorrow, with praiſe and

and thankſgiving, humbly adoring the Lord for the wiſe and gracious leading of His providence.

The beginning of the year 1783 was attended with the bleſſings of the peace of God. The miſſionaries particularly felt great ſatisfaction in having eſcaped from the power of the ſavage Delaware Chiefs, having made a ſad experience of the dreadful ſituation of a Chriſtian congregation under heathen rule and government. They began again, as formerly, to preach the Goſpel with boldneſs, and ſaw with pleaſure, that the word of the croſs proved alſo here to be the power of God unto ſalvation to ſome ſavages, one of whom requeſted and obtained permiſſion to dwell at New-Gnadenhuetten.

God alſo bleſſed our Indians in externals. The maple-ſugar boiling turned out well beyond expectation. In hunting they had extraordinary ſucceſs, and their trade conſiſted chiefly in bartering veniſon and ſkins for Indian corn and other neceſſaries of life. They alſo made canoes, baſkets and other articles, for which they found good cuſtom at Detroit.

In May 1783 the miſſionaries received the joyful news of the concluſion of peace between England and the United States, and in July they had the pleaſure to ſee the Brethren Weygand and Scheboſch arrive from Bethlehem, after a journey of above ſeven weeks by way of Albany, Oſwego, Niagara, Fort Erie and Fort Detroit. By theſe Brethren they received an account of the ſympathizing ſhare which the whole Unity of the Brethren both in America and Europe took in their great afflictions, and derived great conſolation from this proof of brotherly love. Brother Scheboſch, whoſe wife and family had already ſettled at New-Gnadenhuetten, ſtaid with them, but Brother Weygand returned in September with Brother Michael Jung.

The greater part of the Indian congregation was yet ſcattered among the heathen, moſtly in the country of the Twichtwees, about 250 miles to the ſouth weſt of New-Gnadenhuetten. The miſſionaries omitted no opportunity of ſending verbal meſſages to invite them to come to the new ſettlement,

ment, but frequently found that the bearers perverted their contents, from motives of malice and treachery. The enemies of the Goſpel ſpared no pains, to cheriſh the imaginary fears which the believing Indians had of the white people and eſpecially of the Engliſh Government, merely with a view to hinder the re-union of the congregation, and, if poſſible, to detain the greater part in the clutches of the heathen. There they were truly as ſheep among wolves, expoſed to numberleſs vexations, and robbed by the ſavages even of the little they had ſaved. New-Gnadenhuetten was deſcribed to them as a very deſolate and dangerous place, where they would meet with certain death. Some heathen Chiefs commanded them in an authoritative tone, to be reſigned to their fate and to reſume the heathen manner of living, "for now," ſaid they, "not a ſingle word of the Goſpel ſhall be any "more heard in the Indian country." Some weak minds were intimidated, others even fell into ſinful practices, and a falſe ſhame afterwards hindered them from returning to the congregation.

Accounts of theſe painful occurrences arrived from time to time at New-Gnadenhuetten, and as no outward meaſures could be contrived to help the afflicted people, the whole congregation was the more earneſt in offering up prayer and ſupplication unto God, that he himſelf would ſearch and ſeek out his ſcattered flock. Theſe prayers were graciouſly anſwered. For in the ſummer of 1783 three young Indians ventured to go to New-Gnadenhuetten, that with their own eyes they might diſcover the truth. One of them ſtaid there, but his two companions returned with joy, to bring the good news of what they had ſeen and heard to the reſt.

On hearing this report forty-three of their companions ſet out immediately to return to the flock. But as they were frequently detained on the road to procure food by hunting, they ſent a meſſenger to inform the miſſionaries of their ſituation. The latter applied to the Governor of Detroit, who humanely ſent them a ſufficient ſupply of proviſions, ſoon after

after which they arrived at New-Gnadenhuetten, where the joy of all was inexpreſſible.

Others followed from time to time, nor would they be kept back either by cunning inſinuations or force. A baptized woman was threatened by her relations, who all belonged to the family of a principal Chief, that if ſhe returned to the believing Indians, all her fine clothes ſhould be taken from her. But ſhe was not to be intimidated by theſe threats: "What drives me to my teachers," ſaid ſhe, "is the con-"cern I feel for the welfare of my ſoul and eternal happineſs. "What can it avail, though I poſſeſs a houſe filled with fine "clothes, ſilver and other precious things, if after all, my "poor ſoul is loſt?"

Many of theſe ſcattered ſheep however found cauſe to mourn, even with bitter tears, over the damage done to their ſouls by their late intercourſe with the heathen, which now grieved them much more than all the misfortunes they had otherwiſe experienced. On this account ſome of them were very baſhful, and upon their arrival at New-Gnadenhuetten durſt not as much as aſk leave to dwell there: but ſaid; "Though we ſhould not be permitted to live "again amongſt you, yet it will yield us ſome conſolation, to "be allowed to ſee your dwellings at a diſtance." But they were all received with open arms, and treated with brotherly love and compaſſion. Others ſtaid through fear among the ſavages, and ſome fell back into heatheniſm.

In all theſe events it became more evident than ever, that God had been pleaſed to permit the Indian congregation to be ſifted as wheat, that all who were not of Iſrael's right kind, might fall through. The miſſionaries were therefore the more thankful for the evident proofs of the labor of the Holy Ghoſt in the hearts of thoſe who returned to the flock, and who ſoon recovered a full participation of all the bleſſings and privileges enjoyed in the fellowſhip of believers. A baptized man, called Renatus, who had been enticed away from the congregation at Friedenshuetten, and ſtrayed for many years together

together in the wilderneſs, returned to the congregation in this place. Being ill, he begged for mercy and pardon. Some Brethren having aſſembled around his bed, gave him ſolemn aſſurance of the forgiveneſs of the congregation; after which he ſaid: "I am now ſatisfied, and rejoice, that "I ſhall ſoon be with the Lord for ever. I do not deſire to "recover, but that my Savior would ſoon take me home unto "himſelf."

By the accounts brought by ſeveral who returned to the Brethren, it appeared that the three tribes of the Delaware nation had frequent and violent diſputes, concerning the deplorable fate of the Indian congregation. Thoſe of the Wolf [ſee Part I.] under the command of Captain Pipe, had ſworn deſtruction to the Brethren, and made the ruin of the Goſpel the chief aim of their warlike proceedings, in which view alſo they inſtigated the Hurons to act ſo treacherous a part towards our Indians, and as a reward for their ſucceſs, had willingly made over to them the whole booty gained on the Muſkingum. Finding themſelves diſappointed at laſt, and not able, with all their lies and cunning, to hinder the ſcattered Indian Brethren from following their teachers, they were greatly enraged. The other two tribes, who had never conſented to their proceedings, now reproached them in the moſt bitter terms on account of their malice and folly. One of the Delaware Chiefs, who was adviſed by the reſt, to prevent the believing Indians in his territory from returning to the miſſionaries, replied, "I ſhall never hinder any "one of my friends from going to their teachers. Why did "you expel them? I have told you beforehand, that if you "drive the teachers away, the believing Indians would not "ſtay. But yet you would do it, and now you have loſt the "believing Indians together with their teachers. Who mur- "dered the believing Indians on the Muſkingum? Did the "white people murder them? I ſay, No! You have com- "mitted the horrid deed! Why could you not let them live "in peace where they were? If you had let them alone, "they would all have been living at this day, and we ſhould

"now ſee the faces of our friends: but you determined "otherwiſe." In a council of war, held in the autumn of 1783, in which they conſulted how they might carry on the war to the greateſt advantage, the above two tribes ſaid to the Wolf, whoſe Chief was Captain Pipe: "Lift up the "hatchet, and make as good uſe of it againſt your enemies, "as you have done againſt your friends, the believing In- "dians, who always treated you well, and did not even lift "up a knife to defend themſelves, when you attacked "them."

In November the miſſionaries began the uſual conferences with the Indian aſſiſtants, and renewed their covenant with them, to ſerve the Lord with faithfulneſs and in brotherly love, and to treat their brethren and ſiſters with love and forbearance.

Several of our Indians departed this life in the year 1783, and their end was edifying. Among others an Indian ſiſter, called Martha, fell happily aſleep in Litiz, a ſettlement of the Brethren in Pennſylvania. She was born at Shekomeko in the year 1737, and left a written account of her life, in which ſhe relates with great frankneſs, how wicked ſhe lived as an heathen; and that on her being awakened, none of all her ſins and tranſgreſſions appeared ſo great and dreadful, as her unbelief in Jeſus Chriſt, her Creator and Redeemer. That he afterwards received her in mercy and granted her a ſeal of her pardon and redemption in holy baptiſm, and then led her into the enjoyment of all the bleſſings procured for us by his ſufferings and death. She adds: "To conclude, I can ſay with joy and confidence, "that though I feel myſelf very unworthy, yet my ſoul is "redeemed. I depend entirely upon his mercy. I have "nothing to plead, but his merits, and the virtue of the "blood he ſhed, when he was wounded for my tranſgreſſions." She was one of thoſe four Indian Siſters, who were ſent in 1764 to our Indian congregation, then confined in the barracks at Philadelphia. She had learnt the mantua-making buſineſs, of which ſhe became perfect miſtreſs, and aſſiſted

alſo in the ſchool with moſt exemplary faithfulneſs. The cruel murder committed upon ſo many of her beloved countrymen and relations gave her declining health a fatal blow. She fell aſleep in peace, longing ardently to ſee her Redeemer face to face.

In the beginning of the year 1784 a moſt extraordinary froſt ſet in, extending over the whole country about New-Gnadenhuetten. All the rivers and lakes were frozen, and the oldeſt inhabitants of Detroit did not remember ever to have ſeen ſuch a deep fall of ſnow. In ſome places it lay five or ſix feet deep. The long continuance of this ſevere weather was the cauſe of great diſtreſs. March 6th the ſnow was ſtill four feet deep; about the end of the month it began to melt, but the ice on the river Huron did not break till the 4th of April, and Lake St. Claire was not free from ice in the beginning of May.

As no one expected ſo long and ſevere a winter, there was no proviſion made either for man or beaſt. The extraordinary and early night-froſts laſt autumn had deſtroyed a great part of the promiſing harveſt of Indian corn, and thus our Indians ſoon began to feel want. For what was bought at Detroit was very dear, and the bakers there refuſed to ſell bread at a Spaniſh dollar per pound. The deep ſnow prevented all hunting. Our Indians were therefore obliged to diſperſe to ſeek a livelihood wherever they could get it, and ſome lived upon nothing but wild herbs. At length a general famine prevailed, and the hollow eyes and emaciated countenances of the poor people were a ſad token of their diſtreſs. Yet they appeared always reſigned and chearful, and God in due ſeaſon relieved them. A large herd of deer ſtrayed unexpectedly into the neighborhood of New-Gnadenhuetten, of which the Indians ſhot above an hundred, though the cold was then ſo intenſe, that ſeveral returned with frozen feet, owing chiefly to their wearing ſnow ſhoes.

They now began again to barter veniſon for Indian corn at Detroit, and thus were delivered from the danger of ſuffering the ſame extremity of diſtreſs as in Sandusky. As ſoon

as the ſnow melted, they went in ſearch of wild potatoes, and came home loaded with them. When the ice was gone, they went out, and caught an extraordinary number of fiſhes. Bilberries were their next reſource, and they gathered great quantities, ſoon after which they reaped their crops of Indian corn, and God bleſſed them with a very rich harveſt, ſo that there was not one who lacked any thing.

Towards the end of May, the Governor of Detroit, now Colonel De Peyſter, removed to Niagara, and both the miſſionaries and the believing Indians ſincerely regretted the loſs of this humane man, their kind friend and benefactor. He recommended them to the favor of his worthy ſucceſſor, Major Ancrom, in whom they found the ſame benevolent diſpoſition towards them.

The more the good fame of New-Gnadenhuetten ſpread, the more frequent were the viſits of the white people, who could not ſufficiently admire the expedition with which the believing Indians had raiſed this pleaſant ſettlement. They alſo heard here the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, which doubtleſs had a good effect on ſome. As it happened, that no ordained Proteſtant divine reſided in Detroit at that time, the miſſionaries, at the requeſt of the parents, baptized ſeveral children, when they viſited the Fort. Some parents brought their children to New-Gnadenhuetten, to be baptized there, and a trader, who had two unbaptized children, went thither with his wife and whole family, and publicly preſented his children to the Lord in holy baptiſm. This tranſaction was moſt awful and ſtriking to all preſent. But as to the ceremony of marriage, which ſeveral perſons deſired the miſſionaries to perform, they wiſhed on many accounts to be excuſed as much as poſſible.

The induſtry of the Chriſtian Indians had now rendered New-Gnadenhuetten a very pleaſant and regular town. The houſes were as well built, as if they intended to live and die in them. The country, formerly a dreadful wilderneſs, was now cultivated to that extent, that it afforded a ſufficient maintenance for them. The reſt they now

now enjoyed was particularly ſweet after ſuch terrible ſcenes of trouble and diſtreſs. But towards the end of the year 1784 it appeared that they would likewiſe be obliged to quit this place. Some of the Chippeways had already laſt year expreſſed their diſſatisfaction, that the believing Indians ſhould form a ſettlement in a country, which had been their chief hunting place: but the Governor of Detroit pacified them at that time with good words. Now they renewed their complaints, pretending, that they had only allowed our Indians to live there, till peace ſhould be eſtabliſhed, and even threatened to murder ſome of them, in order to compel the reſt to quit the country. After many conſultations, it evidently appeared, that the complaints and vexatious demands of this nation would not ceaſe. Added to this, the Governor of Detroit ſent word to the believing Indians, that they ſhould not continue to clear land and build, nothing being yet fixed either as to the territory or government. The miſſionaries therefore thought it moſt prudent to take ſteps to return with their congregation to the ſouth ſide of Lake Erie, and to ſettle near the river Walhalding. This propoſal being approved of by the congregation, the Governor of Detroit was informed of it and preparations were made to emigrate in the ſpring of 1785.

November 14, 1784, the firſt grown perſon was baptized in New-Gnadenhuetten, which proved a great encouragement, both to the miſſionaries and the Indian congregation, and the year was cloſed with joy and praiſe to the Lord, who had laid a peculiar bleſſing upon the internal courſe of the congregation.

CHAPTER XII.

1785. 1786.

Further Revival and happy Progreſs of the Miſſion. Some Miſſionaries return to Bethlehem. Emigration from New-Gnadenhuetten. Tedious Voyage to Cayahaga, where Pilgerruh is built. Various Accounts.

THE pleaſing and peaceful internal ſtate of the miſſion made the year 1785 a period of joy and conſolation. The daily worſhip of the congregation went on unmoleſted and in a regular courſe, the public and private diſcourſes of the miſſionaries were full of comfort and inſtruction, by which the growth of our Indians in the knowledge of Jeſus Chriſt, and of themſelves, was greatly promoted. They could rejoice in an extraordinary manner over the young people, whoſe internal proſperity exceeded all their expectation.

The preaching of the Goſpel was alſo attended with much bleſſing to the white viſitors. One of them, a captain of a ſhip, declared after the ſermon, that the miniſter had certainly meant him; for his whole diſcourſe had been deſcriptive of his ſtate of mind, and had pointed out to him the whole of his preſent ſpiritual condition.

Several companies of Chippeways who came to New-Gnadenhuetten, were not only hoſpitably treated by our Indians, but heard the word of God from them. On Whitſunday two grown perſons were baptized, which not happening very frequently at this time, afforded peculiar pleaſure to the miſſionaries.

During the winter the wolves became very troubleſome. They traverſed the country in packs, ſeeking food, and tore a Chippeway Indian and his wife to pieces, not far from the ſettlement. One of the Indian brethren was chaſed for ſeveral

veral miles on the ice by ſome of theſe voracious animals, but being furniſhed with ſkates, he got the ſtart of them and eſcaped. The miſſionaries had the misfortune to loſe all their horſes, by their greedily eating a certain juicy plant, which proved a deadly poiſon.

The believing Indians had now made all the neceſſary preparations to leave New-Gnadenhuetten. The agent of Indian affairs at Fort Detroit had alſo ſent meſſages to all the nations on the other ſide of Lake Erie, to acquaint them with the return of the Indian congregation and to enſure to them a kind reception. But ſome unexpected accounts of new troubles in thoſe parts and a variety of contradictory reports rendered every thing ſo uncertain, that even the Governor of Detroit and the above-mentioned agent adviſed them not to emigrate at preſent. They therefore reſolved to plant once more on the river Huron.

In May 1785 the miſſionaries Jungman and Senſeman returned with their families from New-Gnadenhuetten to Bethlehem. They took a very affecting leave of their beloved Indian Brethren, with whom they had faithfully ſhared the greateſt anxiety, diſtreſs and affliction, and then proceeded down the river Huron into Lake St. Claire, thence to Detroit, and croſſing Lake Erie to Niagara and Oſwego, then down Oſwego river to Lake Oneida, and thence down the Waldbach to Fort Stanwix. They then arrived by a carrying-place at the Mohawk river, and proceeding to Schenechtady, went by land to Albany, then by water to New Windſor, and again by land to Bethlehem. God diſpoſed ſeveral people kindly to aſſiſt them in this tedious and perilous peregrination, and brought them ſafe to their brethren. Brother Senſeman met with a particular preſervation upon the water, being in a ſudden ſquall thrown overboard by the yard. But providentially a float of timber had come alongſide, and he fell upon it without receiving any hurt.

The miſſion was now under the care of the Brethren Zeiſberger, Heckenwaelder, and Edwards. The latter went in July with three Indian Brethren to Pittſburg with a view

to gain certain information concerning the ſtate of affairs in the Indian country, and to ſearch out for a proper ſituation on the river Walhalding to eſtabliſh a new ſettlement. In Pittſburg he was told, that ſtrictly ſpeaking not an inch of land to the eaſt of Lake Erie could be called Indian country, the United States having claimed every part of it; and though they did not intend to drive the Indians away by force, yet they would not permit them to live in the neighborhood of the white people. He alſo received letters from Biſhop John de Watteville, who had arrived from Europe to hold a viſitation in the congregations of the Brethren in North America, by which he was informed that Congreſs had expreſsly reſerved the diſtrict belonging to the three ſettlements of the Chriſtian Indians on the Muſkingum to be meaſured out and given to them, with as much land as the ſurveyor general ſhould think proper. The ſame intelligence he likewiſe received from the Philadelphia papers, and haſtened home to acquaint the Indian congregation with this unexpected deciſion in their favor, which occaſioned univerſal joy. An Indian is naturally very averſe to dwelling in any place, where one of his relations has been killed, but the believing Indians had even parted with this kind of ſuperſtition, and longed to be there as ſoon as poſſible.

But one circumſtance after the other tended to delay their removal. The Indian nations ſeemed reſolved to carry on the war againſt the United States; and even a great part of the Delawares and Shawanoſe declared their intention to oppoſe the return of the believing Indians by force. But notwithſtanding theſe gloomy proſpects, the miſſionaries ſent word to thoſe of their Indians, who were ſtill ſcattered abroad, that having reſolved to return to the Muſkingum they ſhould be glad to meet them beyond Lake Erie at any place they might appoint.

In September 1785 above forty ſtrange Indians, Delawares and Mahikans, came on a viſit to New-Gnadenhuetten. This was the firſt viſit of this kind the Brethren had received on the river Huron, and it gave them great joy to perceive that in many the Goſpel found entrance. One of them

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ſpoke afterwards with one of the aſſiſtants, and ſaid, "That "he was anxious to be ſaved, but not having found the way "to happineſs among the wild Indians, he hoped to find it "among the believers. One thing only," added he, "makes "me doubt and heſitate: I am a wicked ſinner, and have "ſhed much human blood in war. When I conſider this, "I think I hear ſomebody ſay: It is all in vain; do not "think of being ſaved: you cannot be converted, for you "have committed too many ſins. But yet I wiſh to know, "whether there be help for me, and whether there be any "one among the believers, who has been as great a ſinner as "I am." This gave the aſſiſtant an opportunity to declare to him the great love of Jeſus to the worſt of ſinners, aſſuring him that he would alſo pardon and ſave murderers, having done it when hanging on the croſs. The ſame heathen one day related to a party, who arrived too late to attend the ſermon, what he had heard and retained in his memory; viz.: "That we may receive the forgiveneſs of ſins, new "life and happineſs in Jeſus Chriſt alone, who had purchaſ-"ed all theſe bleſſings for us by his bitter ſufferings and death "upon the croſs; that he is the true God, and our only Sa-"vior." He added, "Much more has been told us, but thus "much I have kept in my memory."

Soon after this viſit, another large party of Delawares, Mahikans, and Nantikoks came to New-Gnadenhuetten, and their behavior gave great ſatisfaction both to the miſſionaries and their congregation. They did not miſs one opportunity to hear the Goſpel, being remarkably attentive and even deſiring the aſſiſtants further to explain the words of the miſſionaries to them, ſo that there was reaſon to hope that the ſeed of the word would fall upon good ground and bring forth fruit in due ſeaſon.

In the beginning of the year 1786 our Indians received another meſſage, that the Chippeway Chief, upon whoſe land they had ſettled, was determined not to ſuffer them to ſtay any longer. Beſides this a band of murderers of the Chippeway tribe rendered the whole neighborhood very unſafe.

ſafe. The miſſionaries therefore reſolved, notwithſtanding the threats of the ſavages beyond Lake Erie, to accompliſh their deſign of emigrating this ſpring, and even though they could not at preſent take poſſeſſion of their ſettlements on the Muſkingum, to ſettle in the firſt convenient place they ſhould find. The commanding officer at Detroit, Major Ancrom, approved of this plan, and ſent a formal meſſage to the Indian tribes, that they ſhould not moleſt the believers. He alſo managed matters ſo, that they received ſome conſideration for their houſes and plantations on the river Huron, came himſelf to New-Gnadenhuetten, and moſt humanely offered to grant veſſels to carry the whole congregation at once to Cayahaga, and to furniſh them there with proviſions. They accepted of this kind offer, as proceeding from the gracious interference of the Lord in their behalf, and were thus at once delivered from an embarraſſing ſituation.

In March, Government having ordered a ſurvey of the land, and determined that New-Gnadenhuetten ſhould be inhabited by white people, they received many viſitors from Detroit, who took a view of the place and premiſes.

Immediately after Eaſter 1786 both the miſſionaries and Indians put themſelves in readineſs to depart. April 20th they met for the laſt time in the chapel at New-Gnadenhuetten to offer up praiſe and prayer unto the Lord, thanking him for all the benefits and mercies received in this place, and commending themſelves to his grace and protection. Then they all ſet out in twenty-two canoes, except the family of Richard Conner who ſtaid behind. The white inhabitants of that country, both Engliſh and French, came from all places to take leave of our Indians, and expreſſed great ſorrow at their departure; having always found them upright and punctual in their dealings. At Detroit they were well received by the Governor and treated with great hoſpitality for ſeveral days. By conſent of the agent of Indian affairs, a meeting was appointed between our Indians and ſeveral Chippeway Chiefs, one of the king's interpret-

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ers attending. Some deputies of the Indian congregation delivered ſeveral ſpeeches to the Chippeway Chiefs, expreſſing their gratitude for their goodneſs in allowing them to take refuge in their country, where they had now lived four years in peace and ſafety, and informing them of their intention to return to their own home beyond the Lake. After this addreſs, they preſented the Chiefs with a bundle of ſome thouſands of wampom, in token of gratitude. One of the Chiefs, riſing and holding a ſtring of wampom in his hand, ſaid: "Grandfather! we love you, and would rather that "you would ſtay with us, and return to the river Huron." This empty compliment was however contradicted by another Chief on the ſame day.

The following circumſtance gave peculiar joy to the miſſionaries: the whole neighborhood acknowledged the believing Indians to be not only an induſtrious, but an *honeſt* people, inſomuch that the traders in Detroit never refuſed them credit, being ſure of punctual payments. However ſome of them were not ſufficiently cautious, eſpecially during the famine, when they were obliged to run into debt. One trader alone had a claim of 200l. ſterling upon them, ſo that the miſſionaries feared, that diſagreeable conſequences might enſue. But the Indian Brethren began betimes to work hard for it, and at their departure, paid all their debts to the laſt farthing. There was only one poor man, who, being a father of many children, could not find money to pay, and therefore came to make his diſtreſs known to the miſſionaries. They were immediately willing to aſſiſt him, but it happened meanwhile, that as his wife was walking in the fields with the children, one of them found a guinea. She firſt took it to be a piece of braſs, till the miſſionaries informed her of its value, when the father immediately went to his creditor, paid his debt, and had a few ſhillings to ſpare.

April the 28th the travellers went on board of two trading veſſels, called the Beaver and the Makina, belonging to the North-Weſt Company. Mr. Aſking, a partner and director, had

had kindly offered them for the ſervice of the Indian congregation, and given orders to the captains to treat their paſſengers with all poſſible kindneſs and not to run any riſk, in caſe of danger. They had a good voyage till they arrived at a certain iſland, where their patience was tried for four weeks, the wind being contrary the whole time. They pitched their camp upon the iſland, following the veſſels whenever they ſhifted their poſition to be ready to ſtart with the firſt favorable breeze. As often as there appeared the leaſt proſpect of proceeding, they all went on board, but returned on ſhore ſeveral times through diſappointment. Once they ſet ſail in good earneſt, and with a briſk gale, made ſo ſwift a progreſs, that they ſoon ſaw the coaſt of Cayahaga before them, but ſuddenly the wind ſhifted and drove them to their former ſtation on the iſland. Moſt of our Indians were ſo ſick during this gale, that they lay on deck half dead and ſenſeleſs. To prevent their rolling overboard, the captains ordered them to be faſtened to the deck.

During their reſidence in this iſland they met to their daily worſhip in the uſual regular manner, praiſing the Lord who had helped them thus far, and truſting that he had wiſe reaſons for detaining them here ſo long. They lived by hunting and fiſhing, and found wild potatoes, onions, and ſeveral kinds of wholeſome herbs in abundance. But after a few weeks, obſerving that they had cleared this iſland of game, they went to another, where they found a better haven and good hunting, but a remarkable number of rattleſnakes.

May 28th a veſſel ſent from Detroit, to inquire into the cauſe of their long abſence and to recall the Beaver, arrived from Detroit; the Makina was then ordered to carry the congregation over to Cayahaga in two diviſions. But as this would have laſted too long, and might have occaſioned great inconvenience, for want of proviſions, the captains agreed to a propoſal made by the miſſionaries, to land the people in two diviſions at Sanduſky bay, and then to carry the bag-

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gage to Cayahaga. The wind ſhifting in their favor, the firſt diviſion, led by Brother Zeiſberger, ſailed on the 29th; but being unable to reach Sanduſky, they went on ſhore at Rocky Point about eighty miles off that bay. Here they had to aſcend very high and ſteep rocks, and to cut a way through the thicket to their ſummit, but yet were glad to ſet their feet on land again.

They had hardly pitched their camp, before a party of Ottawaws who were hunting in that neighborhood, rode towards them and expreſſed great aſtoniſhment to find ſuch a large number of people encamped in this pathleſs deſert. Our Indians treated them as hoſpitably as their circumſtances would permit, and were in return preſented by the Ottawaws with ſome deer's fleſh, and informed of the manner in which they might beſt make a way through the foreſts through which they had to paſs. The day following they all ſet out on foot, and every one, the miſſionary and his wife not excepted, was loaded with a proportionable part of the proviſions. Thoſe who formed the van, had the greateſt difficulties to encounter, being obliged to cut and break their way through the thicket. They ſoon arrived at a large brook running through a ſwamp, through which all the Indians, both men and women, waded, ſome being up to their armpits in the water. Some of the children were carried, others ſwam, and Brother Zeiſberger and his wife were brought over upon a barrow, carried by four Indian Brethren. When they arrived at Sanduſky Bay, they hired boats of the Ottawaws, from whom alſo they received frequent viſits during their ſtay. One evening the ſavages had a dance, and none of the Chriſtian Indians appearing at it, as they expected, ſome came and endeavored to perſuade the young people to join them; but meeting with a refuſal, they addreſſed Brother Zeiſberger, begging him to encourage them. He replied, that the Chriſtian Indians lived no more after the manner of the heathen, having found ſomething better. June 3d they croſſed the Sanduſky Bay, and the day after, the river Pettquotting, in a veſſel belonging to a French trader. During

this journey they celebrated the Whitſuntide holidays, and rejoiced to ſee many attentive hearers among the heathen.

June 4th the ſecond diviſion of the congregation led by Brother Heckenwaelder, overtook them in ſlight canoes, made haſtily of bark, the ſloop Makina having ſailed with the heavy baggage ſtrait for Cayahaga. The whole congregation now travelled together, one half on foot along the coaſt of the lake, and the other in canoes, keeping as cloſe as poſſible to the ſhore. June 7th they arrived at the celebrated rocks on the ſouth coaſt of Lake Erie. They riſe forty or fifty feet perpendicular out of the water, and are in many places ſo much undermined by the waves, that they ſeem conſiderably to project over the lake. Some parts of them conſiſt of ſeveral ſtrata of different colours, lying in an horizontal direction and ſo exactly parallel, that they reſemble the work of art. The foot paſſengers had a noble view of this magnificent work of nature, but though the proſpect from the water was yet more grand, our Indians paſſed with trembling, thanking God that the wind proved favorable and gentle; for if the leaſt ſtorm ariſes, the force of the ſurf is ſuch, that no veſſel could eſcape being daſhed to pieces againſt the rocks. They had hardly paſſed the laſt cliffs, which are about ten miles in length, on which Colonel Broadſheed ſuffered ſhipwreck in the late war and loſt a great number of his men, when a ſtrong wind aroſe, ſo that the laſt canoe was in danger and but narrowly eſcaped. Whenever the heathen paſs by theſe rocks, they ſacrifice ſome tobacco to the water. Here the river Cayahaga, ſometimes called the Great River, empties itſelf into the lake. After the canoes, the ſloop alſo arrived ſafe, and drifted ſo near the ſhore in a calm, that the baggage could be taken out and carried to land in canoes, upon which the ſloop returned to Detroit.

Want of proviſions made the travelling congregation ſoon haſten their departure from the mouth of the Cayahaga. Indeed they found a large ſtorehouſe filled with flour; but not meeting with its owner, they would not take any, though preſſed

preſſed by hunger, and alſo obſerving, that the neighboring Chippeways continually robbed the ſtore in a clandeſtine manner. They now built canoes, ſome of wood and ſome of bark, and continued their voyage up the river, till they arrived on the 18th of June at an old town, about one hundred and forty miles diſtant from Pittſburg, which had been forſaken by the Ottawaws. This was the firſt ſpot they diſcovered, fit for a ſettlement; for from the mouth of the river to this place, they had met with nothing but a wild foreſt.

Being entire ſtrangers to the ſtate of the adjacent country, they reſolved to ſpend the ſummer here. They firſt encamped on the eaſt ſide of the river, upon an elevated plain, built huts, and having with much trouble cleared ground for plantations, they even ventured to ſow Indian corn, though it was ſo late in the ſeaſon. I ſhall call this place *Pilgerruh* (Pilgrims Reſt).

Here they regulated their daily worſhip in the uſual manner, re-eſtabliſhed the ſtatutes of the congregation, and God bleſſed their labors. Auguſt the 13th they partook of the Lord's Supper for the firſt time on this ſpot, which to them was the moſt important and bleſſed of all feſtivals.

In externals, God granted them his gracious aſſiſtance. Brother Zeiſberger having given information of the arrival of the Indian congregation at the Cayahaga Creek to the Governor of Pittſburg, and Brother Scheboſch having been at that place to endeavor to procure proviſions, Meſſrs. Duncan and Wilſon were ſo kind as to provide our Indians with a ſufficient ſupply, truſting them for a great part of the payment. Congreſs likewiſe ordered a quantity of Indian corn and blankets to be given them. They alſo found means to purchaſe ſeveral neceſſary articles from traders, paſſing through on their way from Pittſburg to Detroit, and as they had an opportunity of going by water to Sanduſky and Pettquotting, they eaſily procured Indian corn from theſe places. The two hundred dollars, which they received for their houſes and fields on the river Huron, enabled them to make their payments good. In hunting deer, bears, and mooſe-

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deer they were remarkably ſucceſsful. The congregation at Bethlehem had charitably collected a conſiderable quantity of different articles, to ſupply the neceſſities of the Chriſtian Indians, but theſe, having been detained on the road, did not arrive at Pilgerruh till Auguſt 1786, when they were equally divided among all; the children even received their ſhare, and the whole congregation expreſſed in the moſt lively terms their ſincere acknowledgements to their kind benefactors. Salt was not ſo eaſily procured here as on the river Huron, the ſalt ſprings being a great way off.

Though our Indians were again comfortably ſettled, yet their minds were ſtill bent upon returning as ſoon as poſſible to their ſettlements on the river Muſkingum. But they were ſoon cautioned, from the beſt authority, not to proceed on their journey, as ſome white traders had been plundered and murdered by the ſavages on the Muſkingum no later than laſt May. They now clearly diſcovered, why God had graciouſly permitted them to be detained ſo long on the iſlands in Lake Erie. Had the voyage been expeditious, they would have arrived on the Muſkingum before the murder of theſe white people, and of courſe have been again brought into the moſt perilous ſituation. Some Indian Brethren having travelled by land to the river Muſkingum, with a view to await the arrival of the congregation, happened to be at Schoenbrunn at the time of the above-mentioned murder, and ſaved themſelves by a timely flight: for as a great number of white people went out immediately in purſuit of the murderers, the Indian Brethren would doubtleſs have been taken for them and fallen a ſacrifice to their revenge. Many other circumſtances plainly proved, that no ſettled peace was yet eſtabliſhed between the Indian nations, who were all waiting for a renewal of hoſtilities; alleging, that the war-hatchet put into their hands ſome time ago, had not been taken from them and buried, but only laid aſide for a ſhort time. The American militia were alſo ſtill greatly enraged at the Indians, and threatened to kill all our people, if they ſhould attempt to return to their ſettlements on the Muſkingum.

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The Chriſtian Indians therefore thought it moſt adviſeable, to remain at Pilgerruh, till God himſelf ſhould point out the way, if it was his gracious will that they ſhould proceed. It became alſo more and more evident, that, as ſo many nations reſiſted the power of Congreſs and reſolutely oppoſed the meaſuring of their lands, the Indian congregation was in much greater ſafety on the Cayahaga, than on the Muſkingum, the warriors taking their uſual route through the latter country. Another advantage attending the ſettlement at Pilgerruh was this, that in caſe of a recommencement of the war in thoſe parts, it was eaſy for them, by croſſing Lake Erie, to take refuge at Detroit or Niagara. Notwithſtanding all theſe precautions, our Indians were however determined, not to give up their right to the land granted them by Congreſs, and at leaſt, if poſſible, to take previous poſſeſſion of it.

The firſt Indian Brother who departed this life at Cayahaga was Thomas, who as a youth had been ſcalped at Gnadenhuetten. He then eſcaped from the general maſſacre, but was now drowned in the river, as he was fiſhing. Since he loſt his ſcalp, he was afflicted with ſo violent a rheumatiſm in the head, that it frequently took away his ſenſes. This was probably the occaſion of his death, for he was an excellent ſwimmer, and his body was found in ſhallow water.

Pilgerruh was often viſited by Chippeways, Ottawaws, and Delawares, who expreſſed a wiſh to hear the Goſpel, which the Brethren preached to them with much pleaſure. But here they again met with a ſource of trouble, which they had not experienced at the river Huron. For ſeveral heathen Indians, who had relations among the believers, came and endeavored to perſuade weak minds, to return to heatheniſm. Their ſeductive inſinuations ſo far gained upon a married woman, that ſhe forſook her huſband, and with her children followed her heathen friends. But the huſband with ſome courageous Indian Brethren purſued them, and by force brought both his wife and children back, to the

great joy of the woman, who already moſt ſincerely repented of her raſh conduct.

In September 1786 the miſſionaries ſent ſome meſſengers to the diſperſed Chriſtian Indians, admoniſhing them not to loſe their courage or to think that they were now too much entangled with the heathen, and caſt off by God, but to go with boldneſs to Jeſus, our compaſſionate Lord and Savior, caſt themſelves upon his mercy and return to their brethren. In conſequence of this meſſage, many returned. But one of them, who had loſt all his children and almoſt all his relations by the maſſacre on the Muſkingum, falling into a deep melancholy, miſtruſted the miſſionaries and retired among the ſavages. Being however uneaſy in his conſcience, he diſcovered his ſentiments to Samuel, one of the above-mentioned meſſengers: "I cannot," ſaid he, "but entertain bad thoughts "of our teachers, nor can I get rid of them; they always "recur to my mind. I think it was their fault, that ſo many "of our countrymen were murdered at Gnadenhuetten. "They betrayed us, and informed the white people of our "being there, by which they were enabled to ſurpriſe us "with eaſe. Tell me now, is this the truth, or not?" Samuel anſwered: "Let me firſt aſk you, whether you are "quite in your right mind. Your queſtion ſounds, to me, "as if you were not in your ſenſes, and if ſo, I would not "chuſe to give you any anſwer." The poor man aſſuring him, that he was perfectly ſenſible, Samuel aſſerted the innocence of the miſſionaries in the moſt poſitive terms. Then recollecting himſelf, he replied: "I have now a wicked "and malicious heart, and therefore my thoughts are evil. "As I look outwardly, ſo is my heart within:" for he was painted all over red, and dreſſed like a warrior. "What "would it avail," added he, "if I were outwardly to ap-"pear as a believer, and yet my heart were full of evil? "However I will ſoon come and viſit you."

Samuel endeavored likewiſe to ſpeak to his own brother in regard to his converſion, but received this unexpected anſwer: "My anceſtors are all gone to the devil, and where

"they are, I will be likewiſe." Samuel anſwered: "I "tremble at your words, they are harſh. But now I will "tell you my mind. As long as I live, nothing ſhall make "me forſake our Savior and his congregation, neither tribu-"lation, nor perſecution, nor fear, nor famine, nor danger "of my life. All this I can deſpiſe, if I only poſſeſs Jeſus, "and the ſalvation of my ſoul, of which I am aſſured if I "remain faithful to him."

In October 1786, the miſſionary John Heckenwaelder took an affecting leave of the Indian congregation, whom he had ſerved for many years with great faithfulneſs, and returned with his family to Bethlehem, attended by the beſt wiſhes and prayers of all the people, by whom he was greatly beloved.

CHAPTER XIII.

1786. 1787.

The Indian Congregation is encouraged to return to the Muſkingum, but detained by unfavorable Circumſtances. They reſolve to leave Pilgerruh and to ſettle at Pettquotting. Building of New-Salem. Pleaſing Courſe of the Miſſion. Concluſion of the Hiſtory.

DAVID Zeiſberger with his wife and the ſingle Brother Edwards were now left alone to care for the miſſion. They had all but lately recovered from heavy illneſſes, and had to ſurmount many difficulties attending their hard labor. But they put their truſt in God, determined to employ all the remaining powers of their ſouls and bodies with joy in his ſervice.

Meanwhile the Brethren at Bethlehem received repeated aſſurances from Congreſs that their endeavors to propagate

the Goſpel among the Indian tribes ſhould be ſupported by Government. Mr. Charles Thompſon, ſecretary of Congreſs, was particularly well diſpoſed towards them, and in a letter declared that he ſhould eſteem himſelf happy to be made inſtrumental in ſaving the precious remnant of the Indian congregation, and in promoting the general welfare of this poor people. He therefore earneſtly recommended the cauſe of the believing Indians both to Mr. James White, agent of Indian affairs ſouth of the Ohio, and to General Richard Butler, agent for the northern diſtrict, in which Pilgerruh was ſituated. This gentleman was ſo kind as to aſſure the Brethren, that he would ſeize every opportunity to promote the welfare of the miſſion, not only on account of Mr. Thompſon's recommendation, but from motives of humanity and religion. Congreſs had likewiſe ſent a written order, to acquaint our Indians that it had given Government much ſatisfaction, to hear of their return into the territory of the United States on this ſide of Lake Erie; that they had leave to go back to their former ſettlements on the river Muſkingum, where they might be aſſured of the friendſhip and protection of Government, and that immediately upon their arrival five hundred buſhels of Indian corn ſhould be given them from the public magazines on the river Ohio, with other neceſſaries of life.

Our Indians accepted this kind promiſe with great gratitude, and rejoiced in the proſpect of taking poſſeſſion of their own land on the Muſkingum, to which they were frequently encouraged by letters from Bethlehem. In the mean time they doubted not but that they ſhould be left undiſturbed at Pilgerruh, and there have the pleaſure to ſee their diſperſed Brethren gather unto them from the heathen. But on the 17th of October they were again diſturbed. A meſſenger arrived late in the evening from Captain Pipe with an account that the Americans had ſurprized the towns of the Shawanoſe, killed ten men, among whom was a Chief, burnt and pillaged the houſes and carried away thirty women and children priſoners: that beſides this, an army had arrived from

from Pittſburg at Tuſcarawi, and therefore the inhabitants of Pilgerruh were adviſed to fly immediately, leſt they alſo ſhould be ſurpriſed by the enemy. The latter ſeemed ſo incredible, that the miſſionaries endeavored to perſuade the Indians to the contrary. But all their arguments were in vain. The horrid maſſacre on the Muſkingum in the year 1782 immediately preſented itſelf to their imaginations, and they were ſo overcome with fear and dread, that in the ſame night all the women and children fled into the thickeſt part of the wood to hide themſelves. On the following day, field huts were erected for them, where they might ſhelter themſelves from the cold, and the Indian Brethren brought them proviſions. Meſſengers were ſent to Tuſcarawi and on the road to Pittſburg, whoſe evidence tended to prove, that the fear of an American army was entirely without foundation. However in the evening of the 27th of October, a great noiſe and the ſound of many horſe-bells was diſtinctly heard. The miſſionaries ſuppoſed it to proceed from a tranſport of flour, which proved true; but the Indians would not even liſten to their repreſentations, but imagining that the army was now approaching to ſurprize and kill them, fled with precipitation into the woods, and left the miſſionaries quite alone in the ſettlement. In the following days they recovered by degrees from their fright and all returned to their dwellings.

November 10th a new and ſpacious chapel was conſecrated, but they built only a few dwelling-houſes, moſt of the Indians being content to ſpend the winter in poor huts ſlightly reared; for they conſidered themſelves here as gueſts, and therefore gave this place only the name of a night's lodging, that is, a year's reſidence. Thus they ſuffered much from the wet and ſnow, which was three feet deep.

They began the year 1787 very comfortably, with the pleaſing hope, that they ſhould conclude it on the Muſkingum. Nor did they doubt of ſpending it in peace and tranquillity. But they ſoon were threatened with a ſtorm by the Indian nations.

Towards the cloſe of the year 1786 the well-known Delaware Captain Pipe ſent a belt of wampom to inform our Indians, "That as appearances among the Indian nations "were very doubtful and a new war would probably break "out, the believing Indians were not well ſituated on the "Cayahaga, but as much as ever in danger of being ſurpriſed "by the white people: that he therefore would place them "in Pettquotting, and order that country to be cleared for "them, where they might always live in peace and ſecurity. "That they ſhould believe him to be ſincere and accept of "his offer." Our Indians, fearing to raiſe new enemies, did not return the belt, and conſequently by not giving a poſitive refuſal, ſilently conſented. Another meſſage of the Delawares, ſent at the inſtigation of an unfaithful baptized man, called Luke, inviting them in preſſing terms, to come to Sanduſky, they anſwered reſolutely in the negative. In the year 1787 at a great council of the Indian tribes held at Sanduſky, it was reſolved, that the war with the United States of America ſhould begin again with renewed vigor, and that if the Chriſtian Indians would not of their own accord give up the idea of returning to the Muſkingum they ſhould be obliged to do it by force; that the miſſionaries ſhould not be taken priſoners, but killed, in order at once to put an end to the miſſion. When this account came to Pilgerruh, the miſſionaries comforted the congregation by repreſenting to them in the moſt ſoothing terms, that though they might reaſonably expect ſeveral heavy troubles, yet they might reſt aſſured, that their firm and childlike confidence in God our Savior would not be put to ſhame. This and ſimilar exhortation, frequently given to the congregation in their daily meetings, had ſo ſalutary an effect, that the courſe of the congregation became peaceful and edifying.

The miſſionaries conſidered the above-mentioned account as a warning, to uſe the utmoſt precaution in the future leading of their Indian congregation. In the ſame month the Iroquois ſent a ſolemn embaſſy to the warlike nations, and eſpecially to the Shawanoſe, adviſing them to keep peace. It

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was alſo reported that nine or ten tribes had, by the perſuaſion of the Engliſh Governor of Detroit, declared for peace, and that they would immediately proceed to puniſh ſuch, as ſhould commence hoſtilities. However Lieutenant-colonel Harmar ſent word to the miſſionaries, that our Indians ſhould not wait till their arrival on the Muſkingum to receive the 500 buſhels of Indian corn, 100 blankets and other neceſſaries, but might now fetch them from Fort Intoſh. General Butler wrote alſo to Brother Zeiſberger, that they might for the preſent remain at the Cayahaga, but mentioned no reaſon, not willing to entruſt it to a letter. The ſavages frequently repeated their former dreadful threats, and there was no doubt, but that they waited only for a convenient opportunity to put them into execution.

All theſe circumſtances tended to diſtreſs the Indian Brethren. Their own inclination was fixed to return to the Muſkingum, and this was alſo the wiſh of the Brethren at Bethlehem. The United States adviſed them to ſtay for the preſent at the Cayahaga, and the ſavages on the contrary would not ſuffer them to remain there, but inſiſted on their removal to ſome other country. Though they did not know how and whither the hand of the Lord would direct their courſe, they prepared boats and every thing elſe neceſſary for their removal, and were unanimouſly reſigned to the will of God, to go to the firſt place, to which He ſhould point out an open way. This diſpoſition of the Indian congregation greatly comforted the miſſionaries; yet they were not a little embarraſſed, knowing that their people looked up to them for advice, in order to come to a final determination. Accuſtomed to venture their lives in the ſervice of the Lord, they were unconcerned as to their own ſafety, and if that alone had been the point in queſtion, they would not have heſitated a moment to return to the Muſkingum. But they durſt not bring the congregation committed to their care into ſo dreadful and dangerous a ſituation. They rather thought it their duty, to ſacrifice every other conſideration to the welfare and ſafety of their flock, and therefore, after

mature deliberation, reſolved to propoſe to them, that they ſhould give up all thoughts of returning to the Muſkingum for the preſent, but at the ſame time not remain on the Cayahaga, but rather ſeek to find ſome ſpot between that river and Pettquotting, where they might procure a peaceable and ſafe retreat. This propoſal was ſolemnly accepted, firſt by the Indian aſſiſtants and then by the whole congregation. Soon after this, the following meſſage arrived from a Delaware Chief to Brother Zeiſberger: "Grandfather! having heard, "that you propoſe to live on the Muſkingum, I would adviſe "you, not to go thither this ſpring. I cannot yet tell you "my reaſon: nor can I ſay, whether we ſhall have war or "peace, but ſo much I can ſay, that it is not yet time. Do "not think that I wiſh to oppoſe your preaching the word of "God to the Indians. I am glad, that you do this; but I "adviſe you for your good. Go not to the Muſkingum." This meſſage tended to confirm the people in the above-mentioned reſolution, which was undoubtedly the moſt prudent at that time; and in the beginning of April, ſome Indian Brethren ſet out, with a view to ſeek a place for a new ſettlement, and found one much to their mind.

Meanwhile the Indian congregation of Pilgerruh celebrated Lent and Eaſter in a bleſſed manner. The public reading of the hiſtory of our Lord's paſſion was attended with a remarkable impreſſion on the hearts of all preſent. The congregation could not ſufficiently expreſs their deſire to hear more of it, and it appeared as if they now heard this great and glorious word for the firſt time.

April 19th, the Chriſtian Indians cloſed their reſidence at Pilgerruh, by offering up ſolemn prayer and praiſe in their chapels, which they had uſed but a ſhort time. They thanked the Lord for all the internal and external bleſſings He had conferred upon them in this place, and then ſet out in two parties, one by land, led by Brother David Zeiſberger, and the other by water with Brother Edwards. The latter were obliged to croſs over a conſiderable part of Lake Erie. But before they had left the Cayahaga creek, a dreadful ſtorm aroſe,

aroſe, the wind blowing from the lake. The waves beat with ſuch violence againſt the rocks deſcribed above, that the earth ſeemed to tremble with the ſound. The travellers thanked God that they were yet in ſafety in the creek, and being in want of proviſions, ſpent the time in fiſhing. One night they fiſhed with torches, and pierced above three hundred large fiſh of a good flavor, reſembling pikes, and weighing from three to four pounds, part of which they roaſted and ate, and dried the reſt for proviſions on the voyage. April 24th, the travellers by land, and the day following thoſe who went by water, arrived at the place fixed upon for their future abode. It appeared like a fruitful orchard, ſeveral wild apple and plumb trees growing here and there. They had never ſettled upon ſo good and fertile a ſpot of ground. The camp was formed about a league from the lake, which in theſe parts abounded with fiſh. Wild potatoes, an article of food much eſteemed by the Indians, grew here plentifully. The Brethren rejoiced at the thoughts of eſtabliſhing a regular ſettlement in ſo pleaſant a country, eſpecially as it was not frequented by any of thoſe ſavages who had hitherto proved ſuch troubleſome neighbors.

But their joy was of ſhort duration. April 27th a Delaware Captain arrived in the camp, and informed them that they ſhould not remain in this place, but live with them at Sanduſky, adding, that they ſhould conſider it as a matter poſitively determined, and not firſt deliberate upon it. He added, as uſual, the moſt ſolemn declarations of protection and ſafety. The captain aſſured them likewiſe, that the place appointed for their habitation was not in the vicinity of any heathen towns, but ten miles diſtant from the neareſt. To the miſſionary, David Zeiſberger, he had brought the following particular meſſage: "Hear, my friend; you are my "grandfather. I am not ignorant of your having been for-"mally adopted by our chiefs as a member of our nation. No "one ſhall hurt you, and you need not have any ſcruples "about coming to live at Sanduſky." He then delivered a ſtring of wampom. Diſagreeable as this meſſage was to our Indians,

Indians, and though they repreſented to the Captain the malice, deceit and treachery of the Delaware Chiefs which they had painfully experienced for theſe ſix or ſeven years paſt, yet after many ſerious conſultations, they and the miſſionaries could not but reſolve to ſubmit to the will of the Chiefs, leſt they ſhould bring new troubles and perſecutions upon the miſſion. Their anſwer was therefore in the affirmative. Brother Zeiſberger anſwered likewiſe the particular meſſage ſent to him to the ſame effect, yet, with this expreſs condition, that all the other white Brethren ſhould have the ſame privileges granted them, and his ſucceſſor in office enjoy the ſame rights.

Nothing appeared in this affair ſo dreadful to the miſſionaries, as the proſpect of being again ſubject to heathen rule and government. Yet they could not deny that it was more agreeable to their peculiar calling to live in the midſt of thoſe heathen, to whom they were to preach the goſpel, and therefore write, "We muſt be ſatisfied to live in the very neſt "of Satan, for it appears indeed, as if every ſavage Indian "was poſſeſſed by a number of evil ſpirits, with whom we "muſt be at war."

In the beginning of May, they with great joy welcomed two aſſiſtants in the work of the miſſion, ſent by the congregation at Bethlehem, Michael Jung and John Weygand, and ſoon after left a country ſo pleaſing in every reſpect with great regret, proceeding partly by water on Lake Erie, partly by land along its banks to Pettquotting, where they encamped about a mile from the lake. Here they found that the greateſt part of the meſſage brought by the above-mentioned captain from the Delaware Chiefs was fallacious; for the place fixed upon for their reſidence was not above two miles from the villages of the ſavages. Our Indians therefore and the miſſionaries reſolved not to go any farther for the preſent, leſt they ſhould be entangled in ſome ſnare, but to ſettle near Pettquotting, and even to maintain their ſituation in oppoſition to the will of the Delaware Chiefs. They then ſought and found an uninhabited place ſituated on a river called

called alſo Huron, which empties itſelf into the lake at Pettquotting, whither they all went in canoes on the 11th of May, and before night a ſmall village of bark-huts was erected. Hence they ſent deputies to the Chiefs, to inform them of their reſolution and their reaſons for it, and obtained leave to ſtay at leaſt one year in that place without moleſtation. They hoped alſo, that during that period, circumſtances might alter in their favor, and that they might perhaps be permitted to continue there longer.

They therefore made plantations on the weſt bank of the river, and choſe the eaſt, which was high land, for their dwellings. This place was called New-Salem. Here they celebrated Aſcenſion-day and Whitſuntide in the uſual manner, meeting in the open air, and on the ſixth of June, finiſhed and conſecrated their new chapel, which was larger and better built than that at Pilgerruh. They indeed wanted more room, for a larger number of heathen Indians attended their public worſhip here, than at the Cayahaga, and hardly a day paſſed without viſits from ſtrangers. June 9th the whole Indian congregation held a love-feaſt, for which flour had been ſent from Bethlehem. A letter to the believing Indians from Biſhop Johannes von Watteville was read to them on this occaſion, and heard with much emotion. He had held a viſitation in all the ſettlements of the Brethren in North America, but to his ſorrow found it impoſſible to go to the Indian congregation, and was then on his return to Europe. On the ſame day the congregation at New-Salem partook of the Lord's Supper, rejoicing in God their Savior, whoſe gracious preſence comforted their hearts in an inexpreſſible degree.

Among thoſe ſavages, who in 1787 became concerned for the ſalvation of their ſouls, was a noted profligate, who in 1781 had formed a plan againſt the lives of the miſſionaries, and often lain in ambuſh to ſurprize them, but without ſucceſs. He was travelling, and came without deſign to Pilgerruh, where he heard the goſpel with great attention, and afterwards expreſſed his ardent deſire, to be delivered from the ſervice

vice of ſin; nor would he leave the congregation, but giving up his intended journey, ſtaid with the believing Indians, turned with his whole heart unto the Lord, and was baptized at New-Salem, ſome months after. A Huron Indian, who had been invited by his people to be their Chief, refuſed it, came to New-Salem, and declared that he had been theſe two years ſeeking in vain for ſomething better than worldly honor; "Now," ſaid he, "I ſeek reſt for my ſoul, and believe that "I ſhall find it here. I therefore deſire to live with you, that "I alſo may enjoy the good which you poſſeſs, and of which "you can bear witneſs." The Brethren gladly preached to him Jeſus and his great love to poor ſinners: but as he firſt wiſhed to go to his heathen relations beyond Fort Detroit, to take leave of them, he was told, that he could not obtain leave to live at New-Salem, till after his return, as there had been many inſtances of perſons, who, having received permiſſion to live with the believers, would yet viſit their heathen friends and relations, againſt which our Lord himſelf cautions us (Luke, ix. 62.), and had ſuffered ſo much harm in their ſouls, that they never returned. Hearing this, he reſolved to give up all idea of a viſit, ſent word to his relations that he had changed his mind, and remained faithfully attached to the congregation, with whom his heart found that reſt, which he had ſo long ſought for.

Many of the poor loſt ſheep were found in this period; and the above-mentioned unfaithful Luke was of their number. He had been the principal promoter of all the troubles occaſioned to our Indians by the heathen Chiefs, and ſeemed reſolved to force them to remove to Sanduſky, where he had lived ſince his removal from the congregation. When his wife once came to Pilgerruh on a viſit, Brother Zeiſberger aſked her, whether ſhe and her huſband lived happily and peacefully together? "No," ſaid ſhe, "we accuſe each other by turns: "You are the cauſe that we are ſeparted from the believers." "You ſee," replied the miſſionary, "that you are not in the "right track; for otherwiſe you would enjoy reſt and peace "in your hearts." He then exhorted them, to return, while it

it was yet time, and not to wait till all hopes of readmiſſion were paſt. She expreſſed a great deſire after it, but her huſband would not conſent. He even came in ſpring to New-Salem, and took great pains to raiſe apprehenſions in the minds of our Indians, and make the preſent place of their reſidence ſuſpicious. However, his inſinuations were not only diſregarded, but the ſerious exhortations of the miſſionary David Zeiſberger, and all the Indian aſſiſtants, who took much trouble to convince him, had ſo good an effect, that the poor man was ſtruck with remorſe. He confeſſed his dreadful offences againſt God and his children, begged forgiveneſs and readmiſſion, and obtained his requeſt, to the great joy of the whole congregation; for all had frequently offered up prayers for the ſalvation of this poor man and his family, whoſe apoſtacy had contributed to bring diſtreſs upon them.

It was pleaſing to obſerve the increaſe of the Indian aſſiſtants in grace and knowledge of the truth. One day after a ſermon preached upon the words of our Savior (Mark, xi. 17.), "*My houſe ſhall be called of all nations the houſe of prayer, but* "*ye have made it a den of thieves*," Samuel obſerved, that it was uſeful to apply theſe words to our own hearts: "Our "body," added he, "is a temple of God. Our Savior has "waſhed us from ſin in his own blood, and prepared our "hearts for his dwelling. Now we ought not to defile the "temple of God, and to ſuffer ſin and its evil fruits, from "which our Savior has delivered us, to enter in, but "always to remember, that we are not our own, but "the Lord's, with ſoul and body, and therefore to pre-"ſerve ourſelves undefiled."

The miſſionaries rejoiced likewiſe at the proſperity of the young people, born and educated in the congregation, many of whom excelled the aged, in proving that they lived by faith in the Son of God, and walked in conformity to the precepts of the goſpel.

According to the accounts tranſmitted to the middle of the year 1787 the miſſionaries were full of courage and confidence,

and diligent in the work of God committed unto them. They praiſed the Lord for the proofs He gave them, that their labors were not in vain; for the believing Indians had a real enjoyment of the precious ſalvation, procured for us by our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, which they on all occaſions endeavored to make known to their neighbors. Old and young appeared chearful and contented.

The miſſion had now ſtood forty-five years. From a regiſter of the congregation, dated in 1772, we learn, that from the beginning of the miſſion to that year, 720 Indians had been added to the church of Chriſt by holy baptiſm, moſt of whom departed this life rejoicing in God their Savior. I would willingly add the number of thoſe converted to the Lord ſince that period, but as the church-books and other writings of the miſſionaries were burnt, when they were taken priſoners on the Muſkingum in 1781, I cannot ſpeak with certainty. Suppoſing even, that from 1772 to 1787 the number of new converts was the ſame, yet, conſidering the long ſtanding of the miſſion, and the great pains and ſufferings of the miſſionaries, the flock collected was very ſmall. The reaſon of this may be found partly in the peculiar character of the Indian nations, but chiefly in this, that the miſſionaries did not ſo much endeavor to gather a large number of baptized heathen, as to lead ſouls to Chriſt, who ſhould truly believe on and live unto him. This ſmall flock is however large enough to be a light of the Lord, ſhining unto many heathen nations, for the eternal ſalvation of their immortal ſouls.

I here leave the Indian congregation at New-Salem. We truſt that God will aſſuredly lead them alſo in future with ſuch grace, wiſdom and faithfulneſs, that they will be able to confeſs with thanks and praiſe: *He is wonderful in counſel, and excellent in working.* Iſa. xxviii. 29.

APPENDIX.

IN the year 1787 an event took place, which ſeems to promiſe much for the future ſervice of the miſſion among the Indians.

The Brethren in North America eſtabliſhed a ſociety called *The Society of the United Brethren for propagating the Goſpel among the Heathen*, in imitation of the Society for the furtherance of the Goſpel eſtabliſhed by the Brethren in England forty-ſix years ago. This ſociety conſiſts of all the elders and miniſters of the congregations of the United Brethren in North America and many other members choſen at their requeſt and with the conſent of the Society. They held their firſt meeting on the 21ſt of September 1787 at Bethlehem in Pennſylvania, and February 27, 1788, this ſociety was declared and conſtituted a body politic and corporate by the ſtate of Pennſylvania. The following is an extract of the act:

STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA.

An Act to incorporate the Society for propagating the Goſpel among the Heathen, formed by Members of the Epiſcopal Church of the United Brethren or Unitas Fratrum.

WHEREAS it has been repreſented to this Houſe by the Reverend John Ettwein, one of the Biſhops of the Church called Unitas Fratrum or the United Brethren, and the Reverend John Meder, Paſtor in ordinary of the ſaid Church in the city of Philadelphia, That ſince the year of our Lord one thouſand ſeven hundred and forty, when the ſaid Church began to make ſettlements in America, the principal aim of their members, coming over from Europe, was to carry the glorious truths of the Goſpel to the Indians here; that they have without intermiſſion continued their labors among the Indians, and notwithſtanding the increaſe of expences and other difficulties, are reſolved to purſue and ſupport this commendable work, and for this purpoſe have formed a ſociety for propagating the Goſpel among the Heathen, and entered

entered into certain rules of aſſociation (a copy whereof they have ſubjoined to their petition) and prayed to incorporate the ſaid ſociety:

And whereas the propagation of the Goſpel among the Indians of America is of great importance to the citizens of this and other the United States, and may, by the bleſſing of God, be conducive to the peace and ſecurity of the inhabitants and ſettlers of our frontiers; and by living examples of the miſſionaries and the converts, the ſavages may be induced to turn their minds to the Chriſtian religion, induſtry, and ſocial life with the citizens of the United States:

And whereas this Houſe is diſpoſed to exerciſe the powers veſted in the Legiſlature of the Commonwealth, for the encouragement of all pious and charitable purpoſes:

Be it therefore enacted, &c. &c. Here follows a circumſtantial declaration, that by the laws of the State the ſaid ſociety is a corporation, entitled to all rights, privileges, &c. enjoyed by other bodies corporate in the State of Pennſylvania.

As the views of the ſociety are beſt underſtood by their ſtatutes, they are here inſerted at length:

STATED RULES

Of the Society of the United Brethren, for propagating the Goſpel among the Heathen.

WHEREAS we the ſubſcribers are fully convinced of the Chriſtian zeal and godly concern, wherewith the evangelical Church, known by the name of the UNITAS FRATRUM or UNITED BRETHREN, has at all times endeavored to ſpread the ſaving knowledge of Jeſus Chriſt, and to carry the ſame even to the remoteſt heathen nations; for which purpoſe alſo in this part of the world a miſſion among ſeveral Indian nations was begun by ſaid Church, and with bleſſing and good ſucceſs continued near fifty years: And as we ourſelves are members of ſaid Church, which has the ſalvation of men ſo near at heart, we cannot but moſt ardently wiſh to further this

this great work of God, the converſion of the Heathen, by all juſt and poſſible means.

Therefore we have reſolved, in the name of God, to form ourſelves into a Society by the name of "*A Society of the "United Brethren for propagating the Goſpel among the Heathen.*" And do herewith unanimouſly agree to the following articles, as the ſtated rules of this Society:

ARTICLE I.

This Society being formed of members of the Brethren's Church, ſhall have its fixed ſeat at Bethlehem, in Northampton county, in the State of Pennſylvania, where the board of directors will meet and the uſual general meetings ſhall be held.

ARTICLE II.

All biſhops, preſbyters, and deacons of the Brethren's Church, and others in office in the Brethren's congregations, are, by virtue of their office and character, members of this Society. Others may, upon their deſire, or the recommendation of others, be alſo received as members, with the conſent of the Society.

ARTICLE III.

Only ſuch members of the Society who are alſo members of the Brethren's Church, have ſeat and vote in the Society, and are conſidered as actual members.

Beſides ſuch, the Society may receive as honorary members, perſons of other churches and denominations, who are friends and well-wiſhers to the furtherance of the Goſpel among the Heathen; who may be admitted to the general meetings of the Society, but have no vote in their deliberations.

ARTICLE IV.

As the true and only deſign of the Society is, to aſſiſt ſuch miſſionaries and their aſſiſtants, who from time to time are ſent to the Heathen by the directors of the Brethren's miſſions; we will not confine our aſſiſtance to mere ſtated charities and contributions, but it ſhall be a pleaſure to us to further this bleſſed work by all poſſible means.

ARTICLE V.

We therefore hold ourſelves in duty bound to ſupport the miſſions of the Brethren by a free contribution, and taking an efficient part as often as it is found neceſſary.

ARTICLE VI.

To be conſtant directors of our Society, we chuſe, conſtitute, and appoint thoſe Brethren, who are appointed to be directors of the Brethren's congregations in North America, and their ſucceſſors in office, together with three other aſſiſtants, to be choſen by the Society from the number of the actual members.

ARTICLE VII.

The three aſſiſtant directors ſhall annually be choſen or confirmed by a majority of votes, in the appointed general meeting of the Society.

ARTICLE VIII.

In the ſame general meeting alſo the preſident of the Society ſhall annually be choſen in like manner, or confirmed by a majority of votes, ſo that the ſame be always one of the aforeſaid directors.

ARTICLE IX.

The directors of the Society ſhall take care that a true and regular account of the ſituation and progreſs of the miſſions be from time to time communicated to the members of the Society. And the agents for the miſſions of the United Brethren are to correſpond with the miſſionaries and their aſſiſtants, and to provide them with whatever the directors find neceſſary.

ARTICLE X.

One of the appointed agents is always to officiate as treaſurer and book-keeper of the Society, and has every year to give a regular and true account to the Society of all receipts and diſburſements.

ARTICLE XI.

The directors ſhall, at leaſt once every year, appoint a general meeting of the Society: But the preſident, with four directors, may, if the concerns of the Society require it, call an extraordinary meeting.

ARTICLE XII.

The directors are likewiſe empowered, upon an emergency, to borrow in the name of the Society any ſum of money not exceeding five hundred dollars, from one general meeting to another, and to expend it for the uſe and benefit of the miſſions, whereof they are to give an account to the Society in the next following general meeting.

ARTICLE XIII.

All donations and bequeſts to the Society, and all its poſſeſſions, effects, and property, whatſoever and whereſoever, ſhall, at all times and for ever, be and remain appropriated, ſecured, made uſe of, and expended, to no other uſe but only the advantage and the furtherance of the miſſions among the Heathen.

And every member of the Society renounces herewith expreſsly, all and every claim to the property of the Society, and promiſes that in caſe any thing of ſaid property ſhall be intruſted to his hands, or put upon his name in truſt, he will in no manner abuſe ſuch confidence, nor make for himſelf or his heirs any claim or pretenſion to property, thus intruſted unto him by the Society: And that he will act and do with it agreeably to the diſpoſal of the Society by the directors, and will, at all times and in all caſes, faithfully and punctually obſerve their orders.

ARTICLE XIV.

And as we have hereby no other view or aim but the furtherance and propagation of the knowledge of Jeſus Chriſt among the poor benighted Heathen, and eſteem it a grace to ſupport that praiſe-worthy work by our ſmall ſervices, being conſtrained to it by the love of Chriſt—all the directors, aſ-

ſiſtants, and officers, of the Society, renounce for ever all demands and claims for ſalaries or rewards for their ſervices, and promiſe to do all they do for the benefit of the Society, *gratis*.

ARTICLE XV.

The Society will be ever ready and willing to provide, in a fatherly manner, the neceſſaries of life for the miſſionaries and their aſſiſtants, as alſo for their widows and children. Therefore the miſſionaries and their aſſiſtants ſhall, in conformity to the rules of the Brethren, ſet aſide all temporal views and intereſts, and their ſole and only care and endeavour ſhall be, to preach the Goſpel to the Heathen, to inſtruct them faithfully in the doctrine of Jeſus and his apoſtles, and by their word and example to encourage them to virtue and induſtry.

ARTICLE XVI.

If one or more perſons are propoſed for new members of the Society, the directors ſhall firſt conſider, whether ſuch perſon or perſons can be uſeful to the Society in the execution of their aforeſaid deſigns: And when the propoſed perſons are approved by a majority of the members preſent, they are then admitted as members of this Society.

ARTICLE XVII.

But if negative votes are found, the directors ſhall inform themſelves of the reaſon of the objections; and if they can be removed to the ſatisfaction of the objectors, ſuch perſon or perſons may be propoſed again, and be received as members, if no new objection is made by the voters.

ARTICLE XVIII.

As every member is at liberty to withdraw from the Society, the Society alſo reſerves the liberty to exclude any member when it is found neceſſary; but this ſhall not be done without mature conſideration of the directors, and approbation of two thirds of the general meeting, and ſuch an excluded

excluded perſon can in no manner be re-admitted, but by a new election.

ARTICLE XIX.

When new members are received, the rules of the Society are to be read to, and ſubſcribed by them.

ARTICLE XX.

The Society may in future agree upon new articles and rules, if circumſtances require it; ſo that the ſame be not contrary to theſe preſent articles and the well-being of the Society.

ARTICLE XXI.

Theſe articles, hereby agreed upon and accepted, can only after moſt mature deliberation, be altered; and if any alteration is made, it ſhall be in no wiſe againſt the conſtitution of the Brethren's Church, and the inſtruction for thoſe Brethren and Siſters who ſerve the Goſpel among the Heathen. And that each ſuch intended alteration may be maturely examined by the directors and every voting member, it ſhall be firſt propoſed in a general meeting, and communicated to ſuch as were abſent, and in the next following general meeting it ſhall be conſidered, and brought to a determination.

Bethlehem, Sept. 21ſt, 1787.

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