CULTURAL CONTRIBUTIONS OF MORAVIAN MISSIONS AMONG THE INDIANS

By Kenneth G. Hamilton

RELIGION has been called the womb of culture. Whether all the claims implied in the metaphor be justified or not, few students of history will deny that throughout many centuries Christianity made a very considerable contribution to European culture, the culture which white men brought with them when they came to America. Nor did this function of religion cease when the first settlers landed on our shores. It is the purpose of this paper, then, to outline the civilizing influences of Moravian missions upon the Indians in the eighteenth century.

The extent of early Moravian missionary activity among the Indians is impressive. Quite apart from their labors among Cherokees and other southern tribes, Moravians won converts in this section of the United States and Canada from among many tribes: Mohicans, Onondagas, Cayugas, Senecas, Delawares, Chippewas, Ottawas, and Wyandots, in chief. In 1740, their missionaries opened their work among the Mohicans in Dutchess County, N. Y., establishing stations also across the border in Connecticut. Almost simultaneously they began to evangelize the Delawares in eastern Pennsylvania in the neighborhood of Nazareth and Bethlehem. When hostile colonial authorities in New York brought their labors in that area to an untimely end, the Mohican converts followed their teachers into voluntary exile in Pennsylvania. Thereafter Christian Indians belonging to various tribes found shelter together in the same villages. Thirty miles up the Lehigh River
from Bethlehem, a flourishing Indian settlement was built, Gnadenhütten on the Mahoning. The Indian wars laid it in ashes in 1756. After protracted trials, the Christian Indians located at Friedenshütten, or Wyalusing, on the Susquehanna in 1765. Thence they spread to Goschgoschünk on the Allegheny River and to Languntoutenünk on the Beaver River. In 1772, they migrated to the Tuscarawas Valley in eastern Ohio, where they enjoyed their golden age—only to be uprooted again by war in 1781. A long and tragic period followed, during which the Moravian Indians were driven from one place of temporary refuge to another; in their migrations they practically circled Lake Erie. Finally, in 1792, they found a new home in Fairfield, Ontario, Canada. Five years later, despite the somber memories of the massacre of ninety-six of their race at Gnadenhütten in 1782, some of the refugees returned from Canada to the charred remains of their homes in the Tuscarawas Valley. In the nineteenth century stations also were established in Indiana, Kansas, and Nebraska.

The response of the Indians to the efforts of the Moravians—truly remarkable when one keeps in mind the general hostility between redskins and whites and the meager result so often noted in connection with other missionary endeavors among the Indians—did not always represent true conversion of heart and life, of course. The minutes of a conference on Indian affairs held on April 25, 1745, for instance, contain the following entries:1

26. We must consider how we can best deal with the strange Indians who have come to us, so that they should not be able to cherish the thought that we are drawing them to us by benevolent acts, but we must behave so toward them that they love us. It can be made plain to them that we consider them our brethren, because we are united with the Six Nations by a covenant.

27. Thomas [an Indian charged with supervising hospitality to Indians in the name of the Moravian community] said he didn’t know how we would accomplish this, for some come to us just for the sake of their stomachs and do not have anything else to praise, when they return to their people, but how well they had eaten or drunk.

1 This and all other quotations, where not otherwise indicated, have been translated from German by the writer.
28. It will be best to let things continue as they are.
29. Would it not be well if Brother Thomas would urge those people who stay here for eight days or longer to work?
30. We look upon the Indians as our brethren because we have a covenant with them. We are indebted to them even if they do not come seeking conversion, but we will therefore give them because they are hungry.²

Needless to say, this far-flung missionary activity was not consciously dedicated to cultural ends. Early Moravian missionaries summed up the goal of their labors in a classic phrase: they sought “to win souls for the Lamb.” The spirit that inspired them is reflected in the minutes of a conference on missionary methods held probably in 1755. The closing paragraphs read:

The synodal resolution, that no distinction is to be made between a child of God belonging to this nation or that nation and that in the matter of the Saviour an Englishman must think like a German, must be observed also in the case of the Indians; they, too, must abide in his teaching, etc., for they share with us one faith and one ground of salvation.

In this connection Brother Joseph [i.e. Bishop A. G. Spangenberg] reported how he had felt when he had spoken with the Indians in Gnadenhütten in June. He knew no church fellowship in all Germany where so many sensitive and contrite hearts could be found.

It was also remarked that the Indians had grown up like cattle and if, as a result, they are in an evil condition, they are less able to help themselves by their intelligence, as do other people, and fall into all manner of gross and evil things, so that it is easy to pass a wrong judgment upon them. One should not think, what is the use to pursue such a slovenly people, to do so much for them and be attached to them. For besides the fact that a single soul is worth more than gaining the whole world, the Saviour's true faith will be propagated among these people's children.³

But missionary activity can no more be divorced from its cultural consequences than can a man dissociate himself from his shadow when he walks in the sunlight.

² Indianische Conferenz d. 25 Aprill 1745.
³ Ettwein Papers No. 1628.
No doubt one must guard against the tendency to exaggerate the importance of this phase of mission history. It is easy to fail to allow sufficiently for the worth of indigenous civilization among the Indians and, at the same time, to overlook certain weaknesses of the type of culture represented by the missionary. Neither group had a monopoly on either the plus or minus quantities, of course. The former danger was impressed upon me, as a quondam assistant archivist, when I stumbled across the following record which dates back to 1767:

On the 9th of September [1767] the dear Saviour gave us a joy in what we believe to have been the blessed departure of a seventy year old Onondaga chief. . . . The departed was the archivist of the Six Nations, a true friend of the Brethren and the first host of our Bro. D. Zeisberger in Onondaga and ever since his eldest brother.4

With this caution in mind then, let us proceed with our appraisal of the cultural contributions of early Moravian missions among the Indians.

Knowledge of the Scriptures. All Christian missionary work, based as it is upon dissemination of the teachings of Holy Scripture, is mentally illuminating to a degree which it is difficult to overestimate. Early Moravians themselves believed in constant study of the Bible; quite naturally they encouraged their converts to occupy themselves much with Bible study. In Gnadenhütten on the Mahoning, for instance, the whole varied cultus of the church was reproduced, including daily devotions and repeated meetings on Saturdays and Sundays; the Choir system of Christian education, with its quarter hour services; also meetings held specifically for Bible study; lovefeasts for special occasions, including events connected with the harvest and specialized community occupations—like the spinners’, for instance; etc. The teachings thus imparted were further illuminated by the rich symbolism traditional in the Moravian church. And the frequent addresses by Indian converts which are reproduced in the records indicate the degree of understanding of the Holy Scriptures which had successfully been imparted to them in this way. Now, the Scriptures unroll be-

4 Ettwein Papers No. 837.
fore the mind's eye a panorama of lands and nations seen through diverse periods of culture. The Bible truly is a book of books in this respect, too. Familiarity with its record gave the Indians knowledge of other races and times and customs, a knowledge which could not fail to broaden their outlook upon life in their own day and environment.

Schools. Wherever the Moravian missionary went he also organized schools. As early as December 20, 1745, a conference on mission work held in Bethlehem records:

A Mohican school has been begun, because it is thought that it would be useful both for our brethren who are engaged in learning the language and for those whom they instruct in it. This is to be continued.\(^5\)

By 1749, as Loskiel reports in the English version of his history:

A school of three classes, for children, boys, and young men was established this year at Gnadenhütten, 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.\(^6\)

Even while the Moravian Indians were confined in barracks in Philadelphia during the height of the Indian War and while epidemics ravished them there, the school work went on. In 1785, when the Christian Indians had been driven from their land of promise in Ohio and had spent years as homeless refugees in the region about Lake Erie, the authorities in Bethlehem sent their missionaries the following message:

We regret from our heart that in all this time during which you were together, no school was held. According to our view the children, or at least the boys, should attend school from seven to fourteen years of age, and none should grow old in your care without learning to read.\(^7\)

Under the circumstances few comments, it seems to me, could so

\(^5\)Heiden Conferenz Gehalten zu Bethlehem, Dec. 20 n. st.45.
\(^7\)Ettwein Papers No. 1244.
eloquently express the concern of the church for the education of the Indians under its care as does this quotation.

In connection with their educational work, Moravian missionaries, and especially their outstanding leader, David Zeisberger, wrote manuals for use in the classroom. Some of these were published by the church and form a remarkable contribution to American education in colonial times. In 1776, a 113-page book prepared by David Zeisberger was printed by Henry Miller in Philadelphia, entitled *Essay of a Delaware-Indian and English Spelling-Book, for Use of the Schools of the Christian Indians on Muskingum River*. It contains lessons, words, phrases, the Lord’s Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and a short litany, all in Delaware and English. This book was at once introduced into the schools at Schoenbrunn and Gnadenhütten in Ohio. Perhaps the most noteworthy of all is a short treatise in Delaware entitled, Aug. Gott. Spangenberg, *Something of Bodily Care for Children*, translated by David Zeisberger. It constitutes pages 91-115 of a book printed in Philadelphia in 1803 by A. G. Way, the first part of which contains a selection of Spangenberg’s *Sermons to Children*, also translated by David Zeisberger into Delaware. And while Spangenberg’s treatise stresses the subject of morals more than its title would imply, yet the fact that by the turn of the eighteenth century Moravians were enough concerned about hygiene—spiritual and physical—among their converts to publish such a book surely is a matter that deserves mention.

*Cultivation of Music.* That music exerts important civilizing influences is so generally admitted in our day as to need no apologetic in this paper. Christendom has always recognized the effectiveness of hymnody both because it stimulates religious emotion and provides a release for it, and because it impresses Christian truth upon those who participate in it or who listen to it. From the days of John Hus, the great forerunner of the Moravian Church, on, those who later organized and constituted it cultivated

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8 In 1806 a revised edition of this book was published in Philadelphia by Mary Cist. Its title read: *Delaware Indian and English Spelling Book, for the Schools of the Mission of the United Brethren; with some Short Historical Accounts from the Old and New Testament, and Other Useful Instruction for Children*. By David Zeisberger. It contains, among other additions, the conjugation of the verb *luen*, “to say” or “to tell,” and also a simplified multiplication table.
hymnody. It was in this church, for instance, that the first hymnbook was placed into the hands of the people.

It was to have been expected, therefore, that Moravian missionaries among the Indians would from the beginning be concerned to develop an understanding and an appreciation of hymnody among their converts. Christopher Pyrldus compiled the first Indian hymnal as early as 1746 in manuscript form. In 1803, David Zeisberger’s *A Collection of Hymns for the Use of the Christian Indians, of the Missions of the United Brethren in North America* was printed by Henry Schweitzer in Philadelphia. It is a 358-page book containing 524 hymns, the church litany for public worship, and liturgies for the use on Easter morning, at the baptism of infants and adults, and for funerals. In 1847, Abraham Luckenbach prepared a second, abridged edition of this work, which was printed at Bethlehem.

In Gnadenhutten on the Mahoning at least, congregational singing was accompanied by the playing of a spinet, which had been presented to the Indian congregation by the Moravians in Bethlehem.

Concerning the place given to hymnody in the Moravian missionary enterprise the following remarks are illuminating. They were written by Bishop Ettwein in reporting to the headquarters of the church in Germany, after his visitation in Friedenshütten in 1768.

It is similar in regard to singing; the Indian congregation has lost rather than gained in this, since Brother Schmick was alone among them. Many of the best singers died in the barracks and of those who knew most hymns. The new people, mostly Delawares, have had little opportunity to learn anything. Brother Schmick indeed proposes to hold school for the children several times a week for this purpose. . . . In the services I felt a special atmosphere of peace, they are liturgically inclined. Their meeting house is made of properly squared logs and more than two-hundred people can easily be accommodated in it.⁹

*Progress in External Matters.* It should be possible to measure cultural progress by the rise of living standards. That the contri-

⁹Ettwein Papers No. 836.
butions of the Moravian mission were considerable in this field, too, the records offer abundant evidence. The missionaries wisely sought to develop the native skills and habits of their converts rather than to introduce entirely foreign activities among them. The crude agriculture already practised by the heathen Indians was systematized and expanded. The missionaries brought approved methods and initiated their people in the use of the plow. Family heads were impressed with their Christian obligation to care adequately for the needs of their dependents, to provide for strangers, and to share their goods with their less fortunate fellows.

Bishop Ettwein, in one of his reports on Friedenshütten, underlines the difference at this point between heathen and Christians:

They have to go pretty far for firewood. If they would follow Indian custom and use only the branches and the tops, they would not have enough. But most of them split proper cord wood and chop up the trees completely. I marvelled also at the good fences. They have fenced in three to four [German?] miles around the town and their farm lands, so that they could be called lawful among white people. That is good and necessary because of the pigs of which they have large numbers. They also have many cattle and horses. They make their hay at least six to seven [German?] miles above Friedenshütten on the Susquehanna and bring it down by boat. Nearly every family has its own canoe, and it is a nice sight to see them all lying side by side on the Susquehanna.10

Orderliness and industry were cultivated in all the Christian communities. The settlement itself was laid out in uniform lots along regular streets, with the church, school, and missionaries’ houses placed in the center. By preference the Christian Indians constructed their houses of squared logs, with windows and chimneys and shingled roofs. In Gnadenhütten on the Mahoning, at least, all of the buildings in the community were numbered.

Agriculture formed the backbone of the economy of the Moravian Indians, though, of course, they were not forbidden to hunt and fish. Where the community lay within easy reach of the whites, the Indians also augmented their income by the sale of berries, firewood, butter, pork, brooms, ashes for the manufacture of potash, baskets, wooden bowls, ladles, shovels, sieves. But the

10 Ettwein Papers No. 112.
cultivation of corn, potatoes, squash, pumpkins, beans, cabbages, beets, and the boiling of maple sugar supplied the mainstay of these Indians. In Fairfield, in 1798, even wheat was successfully introduced; the Moravian Indians sold two thousand bushels annually in Detroit. There they also produced five thousand pounds of maple sugar each year.

Interesting sidelights upon their progress in such external affairs can be found in data gathered by Bishop Ettwein, when he endeavored to estimate the losses suffered both by the mission and by the Christian Indians in the destruction of the villages in the Tuscarawas Valley. He secured the following statement from missionary Georg Jungmann of the losses at Gnadenhütten.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item Description</th>
<th>£</th>
<th>s</th>
<th>d</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cattle lost on the Muskingum</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>25</td>
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<tr>
<td>2 cows, 1 ox, 2 calves, together 5 cwt.</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2 horses, with a man’s and a woman’s saddle, bridle, collar and harness</td>
<td>40</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>16 pigs</td>
<td>10</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>twenty and odd chickens</td>
<td>10</td>
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<tr>
<td>tools, 1 saw for boards</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1 cross saw</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>axes, broad axes, handsaws, hollow adze, borer &amp; knives</td>
<td>20</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>carpenter’s and cooper’s tools, too numerous to mention</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the waggon chain</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>cauldron for boiling sugar</td>
<td>36</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kitchen utensils, namely dishes, plates, crocks [?], pans, spoons, etc.</td>
<td>15</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2 bells—communion vessels, with surplice and wine</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a tea set, tea kettle, coffee, sugar and tea, namely that belonging to Zeisbergers and Jungmanns, priv.</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other furniture, such as benches, clothes and linens for Zeisbergers the same, plus an alarm clock</td>
<td>60</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>provisions from the field and garden; corn, potatoes, cabbage, beets, etc.</td>
<td>150</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>£448</td>
<td>10</td>
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(or approximately $1,200 =)11

11 Ettwein Papers No. 1362; cf. also Nos. 1360, 1361, 1363.
Then he considered the three hundred acres of corn that had stood in the fields, almost ripe to harvest. Estimating the yield of an acre at fifty bushels and the value of a bushel at six shillings, he established this loss alone to have amounted to £4,500 or $12,000. In addition, the two hundred head of cattle which had been killed were worth £3 per animal or £600. Fifty cows had perished of starvation during the flight; estimating a cow at £5 that meant £250. Fifty horses had been stolen; valued at £6 a head, this would be another £300. Thus the total of livestock represented £1,150 or $3,067. The Salem and Gnadenhütten losses he put at £600 or $1,600; the buildings at all three places at £400 or $1,067. Thus according to Bishop Ettwein's figures the losses suffered in this one calamity alone exceeded $17,700.

Social Relations. Far more important for true cultural progress than the rise in living standards are the standards that govern social intercourse. Since the moral field is so closely related to the religious in Christianity it could be expected that the acceptance of the new faith by these Indians would transform the pattern of social relationships among them, as indeed it did.

Christianity made its influence felt on the family level. Experience shows how easily polygamy becomes a divisive force within the family unit. Our records of the Indian mission indicate this fact. Again I quote from a report forwarded to Herrnhut by Bishop Ettwein:

Regarding marriage I observed on the occasion of my stay among the Indian converts and my journey with them

1. That very few of them have a true conception of the state of matrimony or of its importance. From heathenism they are used to take each other without ceremony and similarly to leave each other. The men often have three or four wives in different sections and the wives are not ignorant of this. Therefore, also they always have two distinct sets of property: the man his and the woman hers, and the women estimate the men's love according to the gifts which they receive of them.

Our Indian sisters still hold to this custom and still have their separate property, though they don't usually have much. But it is curious to hear: the kettle belongs to the husband, the horse to the wife. The husband gave the horse to his wife and she to her mother or sister and
the man now has nothing. E.g. Marcus married in Friedenshütten as a widower. He was already too old for the woman; to gain her love he gave her a cow and a horse. In her illness she willed all to her mother and he and his child had nothing left.\textsuperscript{12}

The Moravian missionaries took a less radical stand against polygamy than one might have expected from men and women with their background and training, yet they labored by word and example to impress upon the married Indians "that God instituted the married estate and that He Himself has joined together each couple which is united within the Christian congregation; that they are one—that they must remain faithful to each other until death; and that they must mutually reach an understanding on the point of abstinence, and that they are to do all they do with prayer as in the presence of God."\textsuperscript{13} Such an attitude could not fail to influence profoundly the concept of family life and its obligation among their charges.

Another observation by Bishop Ettwein may seem rather naive. A paragraph in the same report reads:

The greatest disorder reigns in their housekeeping. The wife cooks the food; then each one eats when and what he likes, without grace or returning thanks. Some family heads do indeed sing a stanza with their family each morning and evening. But most give no external evidence of devotion when they arise or when they go to sleep. The children do as they please, and there is little discipline to be found.\textsuperscript{14}

For him to expect from the Indian family the kind of orderly and well regulated behaviour in which he himself had been reared in civilized Germany, was surely asking too much from Indians only recently evangelized. But these views of his carried weight in the mission and must have had effect.

However, the social implications of the Christian gospel reach out far beyond the family circle, of course. Earlier I noted in passing that their common faith aided the Christian Indians in overcoming mutual tribal suspicions, so that normally antagonis-

\textsuperscript{12} Ettwein Papers No. 856.
\textsuperscript{13} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{14} Ibid.
tic groups of Indians could not only live together but cooperate with one another in the new Christian community. As one instance when the new bonds actually proved stronger than the old, let me quote the following from a report in 1768.

The Mohicans have replied to General Johnson's letter in which he had proposed that they should move nearer to their nation, that they thank him for his good intentions and his thoughtfulness, but that it would not be good for them or their children to leave Friedenshütten, and move to others of their nation who were not of one mind with them; they were of one mind with their brethren the Delawares who were living in Friedenshütten, to know the Saviour and to rear their children for him.¹⁵

In all honesty it must be added, however, that this reconciliation of traditional antipathies among the Christian Indians was not perfect. The record of their joint tribulations contains repeated instances of friction illustrating how difficult it is to eliminate such deep-grained attitudes. Yet the degree of harmony achieved held great promise for future unity among the Indian nations had the Christianizing process been permitted to develop.

Day in, day out the missionaries encouraged their charges to overcome the weaknesses for which the Indians were noted: immorality, drunkenness, laziness, slovenliness, dishonesty, vengefulness, and cruelty. A well-known document in the Moravian Archives written in English offers concrete evidence of the fruits of their labor.

Statutes and Rules agreed upon by the Christian Indians at Langunto Utenink and Welhik Tuppek [Schoenbrunn] August, 1772.

1.) We will know of no other God and pray to no other, but him who has made us and all creatures and who came into this world to save us poor Sinners.
2.) We will rest from all labour on Sunday and attend the usual meetings.
3.) We will honor father and mother and do for them what we can if they grow old and needy.
4.) Nobody shall get leave to dwell with us, without the Consent of our Teachers, when they have been examined by the Helpers.

¹⁵ Ettwein Papers No. 891a.
5.) With Thieves, murderers, whoremongers & adulterers and Drunkards, we will have nothing to do, till they repent of their bad ways.

6.) We will not go to any Dances, offerings or heathenish festivals or sinful plays.

7.) We will use no tshapict, or witchcraft, in hunting.

8.) We will renounce & abhor all cheats) lies and deceits of Satan.

9.) We will be obedient to our Teachers and the helpers who are appointed to keep good order in our meetings, the Town and in the fields.

10. We will not be idle & lazy; we will not scold or beat anybody. We will not tell lies.

11. Whosoever does hurt anybodys goods, shall make the Damage good.

12. A man shall have only one Wife, he shall love her and care for her and his children.
A woman shall have only one husband and be obedient unto him, she shall take good care of the children unto him and shall be cleanly in all things.

13. We will not admit any Rum or Strong liquor into our Towns: If Strangers or Traders bring any, the helpers shall get it from them and not deliver it until they get from the place.

14. None of the inhabitants shall run into debt with Traders. None shall receive any goods to sell for Traders, without the Consent of the helpers.

15. If any will go a hunting or on a journey they shall inform the minister or the Stewards of it.

16. Young people shall not marry without the Consent of their parents and the minister.

17. If the Stewards or Helpers, apoint a time to make fences or some other work, we will all assist and do as we are bid.

18. We will freely contribute, when Corn or Sugar is gathered for Lovefeasts or to entertain Strangers.10

This document and the social relations which it implemented were the fruit of more than thirty years of experience in the Indian mission. These statutes, it seems to me, provide most eloquent testimony concerning the cultural contributions of Moravian work among the Indians. During the Revolutionary War the Christian Indians adopted a nineteenth statute which reads: "[We

10 Ettwein Papers No. 1634.
resolve] not to go to War, nor to buy any thing taking of war-
riors supposed to have been taken at war."\textsuperscript{17}

It goes almost without saying that in the Moravian villages the
people neither practiced nor permitted the cruel custom of forcing
captives to run the gauntlet when war parties passed through the
settlements. Rather they sought to alleviate the sufferings of such
prisoners and stood to aid escaping fugitives to regain safety.
Such an attitude was only too easily misunderstood; it laid the
Christian Indians open to charges from both camps of favoring
the enemy.

\textit{Extent of the Influence of the Moravian Indians.} In trying to
appraise the importance of such cultural contributions we should
not forget that the influence of Moravian missions traveled far
beyond the confines of the Christian Indian villages. Reports con-
cerning them were the source of constant wonder throughout the
American forest. A stream of strangers passed through them,
sure of a warm welcome in the guest houses which were provided
in each settlement. Such visitors closely observed the life of the
Christians and usually conformed, outwardly at least, to the regu-
lations governing them. A curious instance of the effectiveness of
the example set by the Christian Indians is to be found in a letter
of Ettwein’s addressed to two Quakers in Philadelphia in 1773,
an English letter. It is worth reading a portion of it, I think.

One of the Chiefs of the Delawares, has renounced
Heathenism and not only publikly confessed his Faith,
but declared his resolution to leave his friends & to move
to the Brethren, this has made a great Stirr in Gekele-
muchpechünk or New Comers Town, as they can foresee
that many will follow him, for he was highly loved &
honoured by the Chiefs and all the Delawares. They met
several Days in Council, enquired into his Reasons &
when he reproved them of their wiked Ways, they prom-
issed, yea resolved, to reform their Lives altogether & to
shew that they could live without Preachers as orderly
as the Believers lived, they will banish all games and the
Traders who taught them to play at Cards & Dice. All
Rum brought into their Town, shall be destroyed, for
which they appointed 6. Executioners who then showed
their Resolution & Strength in destroying 10. Cags of
Rum. It was proposed in their Council to send all the

\textsuperscript{17} Ibid.
White Brethren out of their country, but as they feared to offend their Friends the Christian Indians, already too many for them, they adopted the measure above said & I hope their good Resolution will serve them to find out, that Sin is Stronger within than without them and that they stand in Need of a Saviour & Redeemer.\textsuperscript{18}

Progress always exacts a price. In the unsettled time of warfare and in the face of deep racial antagonisms then existing, the price paid by the Christian Indians for the cultural advances which we have referred to proved to be unusually high. Yet that fact cannot deprive these contributions of real significance or of the inspiration they hold for men of good will today. John Heckewelder, himself a distinguished Moravian missionary to the Indians, in a report to the Society for Propagating the Gospel once quoted Col. George Morgan, Indian agent for the Western District, as follows:

that he [Col. Morgan] was astonished at what he had seen in our towns. That the improvements of the Indians bespoke their industry; and that the cleanliness, order, and regularity which were everywhere observable, added to their devotion, gave them a claim to be ranked among the civilized part of mankind. That they deserved to be set up as an example to many of the whites. That to him it was now evident that the Indians, when living by themselves and out of connection with the white people, could easily be brought to a state of civilization and become good citizens of the United States; and that he considered our mode the surest, if not the only successful method, of training converts who had been brought from paganism, idleness, and debauchery to a state of Christianity.\textsuperscript{19}

Social service that could claim such commendation from a disinterested yet highly qualified observer is a tribute to the best that lies in human nature. When rendered in Christian faith and obedience, it is sure of the promise voiced long ago by the great missionary of New Testament times: “Therefore, my beloved brethren, be ye steadfast, unmoveable, always abounding in the work of the Lord, for as much as ye know that your labor is not in vain in the Lord.”\textsuperscript{20}

\textsuperscript{18} Ettwein Papers No. 816.
\textsuperscript{19} De Schweinitz, The Life and Times of David Zeisberger (J. B. Lippincott and Company, 1870), 425, note.
\textsuperscript{20} I Corinthians 15:58.