THE MORAVIANS AND THEIR MISSIONS AMONG THE INDIANS OF THE OHIO VALLEY.

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One of the corner stones of the Christian religion is Christ's injunction: "Go yet into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature." And from Rome Christianity was carried over Europe and into Asia and Africa, and when America was discovered it was brought across the Atlantic Ocean to this continent. Among the Protestant North American pioneers of English extraction, struggling in the wilderness for their very existence, the teaching of the Gospel to those who were unfamiliar with its consolation was of far less moment than the stern battle in which they were engaged. Prior to the French and Indian War there was only a thin line of settlements along the Atlantic coast, and few attempts were made to proselyte among the aborigines. In New England in early colonial days John Eliot made his noble, but almost valueless effort to convert the Indians to Christianity. In New Jersey David Brainerd made a gallant attempt in this direction from 1743 to 1747, but dying in the latter year at the early age of thirty, the work bore no substantial fruit. Other attempts ended still more completely in failure.

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In contradistinction to the English colonies, farther north in Canada, where Roman Catholic France was dominant, a different atmosphere prevailed. When the French came to Canada they carried the sword of conquest in one hand and the cross of salvation in the other. Connected with every expedition that landed on the Canadian shores were priests who had ever before their eyes the glory of God and the extension of French dominion. The majority of the priests were members of the Society of Jesus, an organization founded by a former soldier, on military lines with a general at its head and composed of the most able, zealous, cultured and affable priests in the world. In addition to the vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience, they had promised to go as missionaries to any part of the world to which the Pope might send them. Dressed in the ordinary garb of the people with whom they mingled, they went forth in winter snows and summer heats, through forests and plains, over lakes and rivers, carrying the cross of the Saviour to the benighted heathen. They endured hardships, and met torture and death with the enthusiasm of martyrs. As the French extended their territory, their priests went with them bringing the solace of the Christian religion not only to the French soldiers and settlers, but to the Indians as well.

The French discovered the Ohio River and by virtue of this discovery claimed all the contiguous territory. Robert Chevalier de la Salle was the discoverer and was the first white man to descend the Allegheny and Ohio Rivers which occurred either in 1669 or 1670, the exact year not being known. He had once been a Jesuit. For the next eighty years the French priests were the only men of God to bear the altar and the cross to the wondering savages of the Ohio Valley; and ever and anon there appeared in the wilderness baptized Indians, distinguished by their beads and crucifixes who babbled of Christianity to their heathen brethren. In 1749 Captain Louis Bienville deCeleron took possession of the Ohio Valley in the name of the French King, by erecting wooden crosses and burying leaden plates along the Ohio river. The *Te Deum* was chanted, the hills and valleys rang with the cries of *Vive le Roi*, and the country became French territory. Father Piétre Joseph deBonnecamp, a Jesuit priest, was the chaplain of the expedition. Five years later Captain Piètre Claude deContrecoeur erected Fort
Duquesne. The coarse brown habit, the cowl and the girdle from which a cross depended, of the Recollet friars, were as familiar in the French Canadian forts as were the uniforms of the soldiers. Fort Duquesne was no exception, and when Contrecoeur descended the Allegheny he brought with him as chaplain, Friar Denys Baron who remained until December, 1756. Other priests also wandered into Fort Duquesne during its existence of four years. The year after Friar Denys Baron left the Ohio country, a French Jesuit priest, Father Claude P. Virot, planted his mission cross at the mouth of the Big Beaver River, and was joined the same year by another Jesuit priest, Father Piérre Joseph Antonie Rouboud. The mission remained during the continuance of the French occupation of Fort Duquesne; after its abandonment Packankee, the head chief of the Monseys, one of the three principal tribes of the Delaware nation, which was also known as the Wolf tribe, and had the wolf as its totem, drove the priests away.

The Protestant missionaries came into the Ohio Valley at a much later date. During the fifty years that succeeded the taking of Fort Duquesne by General John Forbes, many English missionaries, representing most of the Protestant divisions of the Christian church, arrived in the valley. Some of them came for the purpose of evangelizing the Indians, but the majority were intent only on bringing Christianity back home to the settlers whose religion had begun to sit lightly on their shoulders. The attempts to Christianize the savages failed utterly, the Indians refusing even to give the missionaries permission to remain in their country. Generally the missionaries were unfamiliar with Indian life and customs, and not speaking the Indian tongue, addressed the Indians through interpreters; also they had little sympathy with Indian aspirations and weaknesses. Besides the English-speaking settlers had a supreme contempt for the Indians which no doubt created at least an unconscious prejudice in the minds of the missionaries. Speaking of the failure of the English attempts to Christianize the Indians and comparing them with the efforts of the French, Parkman wrote: "English civilization scorned and neglected him; French civilization embraced and cherished him."

The Protestant missionaries who braved the fatigues and dangers of the Indian country were the Rev. Charles Beatty,
who has been on the Ohio River before, having been chap- lain in the army of General Forbes, and the Rev. George Duffield, both Presbyterians, who were sent out in 1766, by the Synod of New York and Philadelphia. In 1772 and again in 1773 the Rev. David Jones, a Baptist clergyman from New Jersey, went among the Ohio Indians. In 1772 a New England Congregational clergyman, Rev. David McClure, was sent out by the Board of Correspondence of the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge. Finally the Moravians appeared, whose communion had been Protestant since the days of John Huss, and who believed themselves to be called upon to preach the Gospel of Jesus Christ to the heathen nations in all the world. They accomplished that in which all the others failed.

They were a sect of Germans descended from German immigrants who had settled in Moravia, a crown land of Austria. They were known as the Unitas Fratrum, or the Unity of the Brethren, but were commonly called Moravians after the country where they originated. They were the rev- vival of the ancient sect, originating in Bohemia, which had survived the martyrdom of John Huss. To avoid persecution they had fled from Moravia into Saxony in 1722, where they were established by Count Nickolaus Ludwig vonZinzendorf and Pottendorf on his estate. Count Zinzendorf was a pious young Lutheran who subsequently joined the Moravian church and became one of its bishops, and was its patron and guide. On his estate was founded the town of Herrnhut which became the center of Moravian activity.

Small in numbers and poor, but full of zeal, the Moravians set about evangelizing the world, receiving financial assistance from Count Zinzendorf and from Protestant sympathizers in England. In 1732 they sent missionaries to the negroes of the Island of St. Thomas in the West Indies, and in the following year to the natives of Greenland. In 1735 their missionaries were in Georgia. In the same ship that carried to Georgia the second contingent of Moravians, was John Wesley, the founder of the Methodist Church, who went as a missionary to the Indians, and his brother, Charles Wesley, who was on his way to assume the duties of secretary to Governor James Oglethorpe, the founder of Georgia. John Wesley was deeply impressed with the meek- ness, humility and courage of the Moravians. He acquired
a high opinion of the Moravian religion, and on his return to London he sought the companionship of the leaders of that church, a number of whom were in the city. Here he met Peter Böhler, a young Moravian, who later became a bishop in the Moravian Church. He was a man of culture, educated at the Universities of Jena and Leipsic, and had just come from Germany and been ordained by Count Zinzendorf as a missionary to the Indians of Georgia and the negroes of South Carolina. The zealous Moravian, convinced Wesley that he “lacked that faith whereby alone we are saved;” and the result of this conviction, historians agree, was the true source of English and American Methodism.

A higher power than the General Board at Herrnhut, decreed that the northern colonies presented a more important field for missionary labors than Georgia. In 1740 Christian Henry Rauch began his labors among the Indians of New York. The next year Bethlehem in Pennsylvania, situated about sixty miles north of Philadelphia, was founded and soon became the headquarters of the Moravian Church in America. Almost insurmountable difficulties beset the Moravians. In Georgia the settlers became involved in trouble with the Spaniards settled in Florida, which was expected to terminate in war, and they demanded that the Moravians join the forces that were being levied to invade Florida. This the Moravians stoutly refused to do, as it was contrary to their principles to bear arms, and Parliament had relieved them of that duty on payment of additional rates. The Georgians became so enraged that it was deemed advisable for the Moravians to leave Georgia, and accordingly in 1738, most of them abandoned their plantations and came north to Pennsylvania where the Quakers, who were most influential in governmental affairs, were in sympathy with the religious beliefs of the Moravians. The next year when England declared war against Spain, the remainder of the Moravians also left for Pennsylvania, arriving there in April, 1740, and the mission in Georgia was abandoned.

The backwoodsmen of New York and Pennsylvania early exhibited hostility toward the Moravians. Their intercourse with the Indians was far from friendly; they were occupying lands which had been taken from the Indians in a questionable manner, and they were casting covetous eyes on the remaining lands of the Indians. The Moravians were
teaching the Indians religion and sobriety, and the arts of civilization as well, which the settlers feared would make it more difficult to deal with them. In New York this sentiment caused a law to be enacted prohibiting the Moravians from instructing the Indians; and they were expelled from the colony, on the senseless pretext of being in league with the French, whose traders were already encroaching on territory which until then had been held sacred to the English traders. The Moravians had not only to combat the hatred of the settlers toward the Indians, but the envy of the other German Protestants as well, and the ill will of the English-speaking dissenters, who were jealous of the prestige which the Moravians had gained through the law which Parliament enacted in 1749, acknowledging them as "An ancient Protestant Episcopal Church," while they were despised non-conformists.

Nevertheless the work of the Moravians prospered; their converts grew in numbers; additional missionaries were sent into the field, who traversed the country to the north and west of Bethlehem, carrying the propaganda of Christ to the Indians. Some of the more venturesome even penetrated close to the debatable land tributary to the Ohio River, which was claimed by both the French and the English. The song which their ancient Bohemian Brethren sang when fleeing from the persecution which all but exterminated them, was as applicable to the missionaries as to the older followers of John Huss.

"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."

In Pennsylvania the Delaware nation was the largest and most influential of the divisions of the aboriginal race, and the work of the Moravians was to a great extent among them. A number of Indian missions were established from the time of the settlement of Bethlehem to within a few years prior to the Revolutionary War. Also itinerant missionaries were holding services at many distant points. Owing to the turbulent condition of the country it was necessary to frequently change the location of the missions, and to establish new missions. There was a temporary mission at Bethlehem which was called Friedenshütten or Tents of Peace. Another Christian Indian hamlet was situated beyond
the Blue Mountains on the north bank of Mahoning Creek near its junction with the Lehigh River on the site of the village of Lehighton in Carbon County. It was called Gnadenhütten or Tents of Grace. This village was later removed to the eastern bank of the Lehigh River where the town of Weissport is now situated. A third mission was at Shamokin on the Susquehanna River near the location of the town of Sunbury in Northumberland County. Shamokin was the principle Indian town in Pennsylvania, where the King of the Delawares had his seat, and where resided the representative of the Six Nations of which the Delawares were dependants. Another Christian Indian town was later established about two miles from Bethlehem in Hanover Township, Lehigh County, which was called Nain, after the village in Galilee, near the gate of which Jesus performed the miracle of raising the widow’s son from the dead. A less important mission was Wechquetuk, situated on the north side of the Blue Mountains between Wechquetuk Creek and Heads Creek in Polk Township, Monroe County.

Pontiac’s Conspiracy caused much distress in Pennsylvania, and the settlers in retaliation intended to attack the Christian Indian towns. In anticipation of trouble the Indians were taken to Philadelphia, and later were sent to New York, but were obliged by the authorities of that Province to return to Philadelphia, where they were imprisoned in the barracks. Here a new danger threatened, and a movement was inaugurated for their extermination. It has been called the Paxton Rebellion, because a majority of the men engaged in it belonged to Paxton Township in Lancaster County. Gordon, in his History of Pennsylvania, commenting on the partisans of the Paxtons, said they were found principally among the Presbyterians, “to whom according to the belief of their opponents, the use of the sword in civil and religious warfare was not objectionable; and who believed it wiser to exterminate them to convert the heathen.” The Paxtons had just murdered twenty defenceless Indians and their appetite for blood being whetted they were now marching to Philadelphia intent on killing the Moravian Indians. Not until Germantown was reached did they pause in their march. On every hand they saw ominous signs of the resistance that would be made to their farther progress by the Quakers and Germans of Philadel-
phia, and a small force of soldiers; and their project was abandoned and they returned to their homes. In 1765 the Indians returned to Nain and were then taken to Machiwhlusing on the Susquehanna River at the mouth of Wyalusing Creek in Bradford county. Machiwhlusing was an Indian village which had been formerly occupied by Monseys.

As early as the French and Indian War, which involved all the North American colonies, the value of the services of the Moravians had been appreciated in Pennsylvania. When the expedition, under General Forbes was about to be sent against the French, the Moravians were called upon for assistance. Forbes realized the advantage of detaching from the French interest the Indians on the Ohio River, or at least keeping them neutral, and made his wishes known to the colonial authorities. The work required a man of discretion and courage, well known and popular with the Indians. No one could be found until the Quakers, who always desirous of maintaining peace, suggested the Moravian missionary, Christian Frederick Post. Post accepted the appointment and went forth to almost certain death, accompanied by only two Indians who served as guides, and penetrated the hostile country to the very gates of Fort Duquesne. Across the river from the fort, under the eyes of French officers he held a conference with the Indians. So convincing were his arguments that the object of the journey was attained. The Delawares proclaimed that they were for peace, the Mingoes agreed with them; the Shawanese promised to send the peace belts to all the Indians and in twelve days to meet again. The apostle of peace had won a great victory; not an Indian whom he reached, raised an arm against the English.

On his return home Post was accompanied by one of the Delaware chiefs, Pisquetumen, who was delegated by his tribe to attend the conference to be held at Easton between the Indians, and the governors of Pennsylvania and New Jersey and George Croghan, the Deputy Indian Commissioner. The conference ended successfully, the result being a declaration of peace between the Indians and the whites; and Post was directed to return to the West and report the successful outcome of the gathering and bear a message of peace from the eastern to the western Indians.

The knowledge that he gained of the Indians on the two
journeys determined Post to undertake their Christianization. Accordingly in 1761 before formal peace had been declared between England and France by the treaty of Paris which was signed in 1763, whereby all of Canada was ceded to England, he made a journey westward, traveling about a hundred miles beyond Pittsburgh to the Indians living on the Tuscarawas River in what is now the state of Ohio. On the bank of this stream near the present town of Bolivar, across the river from an Indian village he built a log house. Returning to Bethlehem for assistance, the society gave him as helper John Heckewelder, then nineteen years old, who, after a life spent in the mission field, was to publish his Narrative, and other writings in which are preserved much that is of interest in regard to the Indians and the Moravian missions. Together the two missionaries went back the next year to the Indian country. Hardly had Post marked off the land where he intended to raise his provisions, when trouble arose. The Indians seemed to be imbued with French sympathies, and demanded that the land intended for cultivation should not be larger in area than that occupied by the French priests at Detroit for their gardens. Post was compelled to do as directed. Having been requested by Governor Hamilton of Pennsylvania to come to Lancaster, where a treaty was to be made with the Indians, and to bring with him as many of the western Delawares as possible, Post left for the East accompanied by a number of Delaware chiefs. Heckewelder remained in charge and scarcely six weeks elapsed before it became evident that the Indians were contemplating a war against the English. The situation of Heckewelder became so precarious that he also returned home; and the war of Pontiac's Conspiracy opened in the spring of the following year.

At the conclusion of Pontiac's War the missionary labors of the Moravians, which had been greatly disorganized by both this and the French and Indian War, were resumed with redoubled vigor. The tide of civilization was forcing the Indians farther westward, and many Indians from eastern Pennsylvania had gone to the Ohio Valley since the Moravian missions were first established. Also the reports that Post brought from the Ohio country indicated that in this region lay a rich field for their endeavors, and they decided to extend their labors across the Allegany Moun-
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tains. David Zeisberger was the instrument to whom was entrusted the task of carrying the cross of the Reformation to the savages on the Ohio River. He was born in Moravia in 1721, and five years later his parents fled with him to Saxony, where they left him, and with other Moravians proceeded to Georgia. Attracting the attention of Count Zinzendorf, he was taken by him to Holland. But he was not happy and having heard that Governor Oglethorpe of Georgia was in London, he determined to run away to England with the intention of asking the assistance of that redoubtable colonizer in procuring passage to Georgia. Securing an interview with Governor Oglethorpe he had no difficulty in obtaining the desired help, and rejoining his parents. In 1740, with the remnant of the Moravians, settled in Georgia, he arrived in Pennsylvania.

While in the South Zeisberger sat at the feet of Peter Böhler, who had come to America in 1738, and continued the education that was begun in Europe, developing both in culture and in religion under the instructions of this learned and devout clergyman. In Bethlehem the Moravians had established a class for the instruction of persons intending to enter the Indian mission fields under the direction of Bishop Spangenberg, who had been a professor at the University of Halle. Zeisberger now joined this class. His teacher in the Indian languages was John Christopher Pylaeus who had become an adept in those tongues. In 1745 Zeisberger began his career as a missionary and accompanied Christian Frederick Post to the Mohawk Valley in New York. Here they were both thrown into prison and finally expelled by the authorities as French spies.

His enforced leisure during the unsettled state of the country, afforded Zeisberger the opportunity to write an Iroquois grammar, and complete the Iroquois-German Dictionary which he had begun in 1748, and on which he had been laboring for a number of years. Part of the task was performed at Onondago, the capital of the Iroquois Confederacy, where he was assisted by one of the sachems. So highly was he regarded by this tribe that he was adopted into it in the family of the Turtle, the most noble family of the whole Iroquois League, and received the name of Ganousseracheri, or On The Pumpkin. Zeisberger was occupied mostly in Pennsylvania, where in 1749 he was
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ordained to the ministry by Bishop John vonWatteville, the son-in-law of Count Zinzendorf, and the same year was sent to Shamokin; but he also made journeys to New England, and North Carolina.

In 1767 he projected the establishment of a mission in the Ohio Country. He was in the prime of life, forty-six years of age and unmarried. He had been too busily engaged in an occupation which hardly permitted the companionship of a wife. Accompanied only by two Christian Indians he set out on foot from Friedenshitten on the Susquehanna River, with one pack-horse, on what he termed an exploratory tour. His destination was an Indian village called Goschgschünk, situated on the left bank of the Allegheny River near the mouth of Tionesta Creek in Venango County, built two years before by Monseys—one of the three principal tribes of the Delaware nation—who had come from Machiwhilusing; and Ziesberger relates of them: “Intelligence has reached us although in a very unreliable form of their desire to hear the Gospel.”

It was a painful journey of seventeen days. The only human beings they encountered were Indians; the only human habitations they saw were Indian villages. Part of the way lay over miry ground; the underwood was dense, a swamp that crossed the path was dark and treacherous, a great spruce forest through which they traveled was well nigh impenetrable. The Indians looked with suspicion on the travelers. “I am Ganousseracher!” proclaimed Ziesberger at one of the Seneca villages and the demeanor of the Indians changed. The Indian chief grasped the missionary’s hand and said he had heard of him, and called him brother. At another Seneca village he met two Onondagos with whom he was acquainted, and his reception was equally cordial.

At Goschgschünk Ziesberger was to preach in the Council House. It became known that he was the great teacher who had preached at the village where the Indians hailed from, and as several of them had witnessed the religious services of the Moravians, they arranged the Council House to look as much like the interior of a church as possible. Around the indispensable fire which burned in the center of the structure, the Indians were seated, the men on one side, the women on the other. In strange contrast with the inhabitants of the woods, in their blankets of red, and black,
with their beads and their painted faces, was Zeisberger. He was dressed in the simple garb of his sect, wearing a close-fitting unlapelled black coat, knee-buckled small clothes, and broad round-toed shoes; his low-crowned, broad-brimmed hat was laid aside. He was small of stature but full of fire. The house rang with his words. He had studied Indian oratory and employed it on this occasion. He was dignified, calm, simple, forcible; he was bold and frank, and spoke in a loud voice. He gesticulated often, his address abounded in metaphor. He was clearly making an impression. But the Indians also had had their preacher among them, a man named Wangomen. This man announced that he also would preach, and when he spoke he opposed the establishment of the mission. He was soon silenced by the little missionary, and stated that he too was willing for the mission to be established.

Zeisberger returned home, and the next spring came back accompanied by another missionary named Gottlieb Senseman and by three families of Christian Indians who were to form the nucleus of a church on the Allegheny River. Soon a house was built, and the mission began. The Monseys were divided, one faction being in favor of the missionaries, the other opposed to them, and two plots against their lives were discovered and frustrated. The troubles increased, the converts became discouraged and the mission was in 1769 removed to Lawunakhannek on the eastern bank of the Allegheny River, three miles above Goscghsünk.

Famine breaking out Zeisberger and Senseman went to Pittsburgh for supplies. Here Zeisberger found an opportunity of doing the inhabitants of Pittsburgh and its vicinity a valuable service, as well as protecting the Indians against an unwarranted attack from Pittsburgh. The place was in uproar. Bands of roving Senecas on their way south had stolen horses, shot cattle, and murdered settlers. The farms about the village were deserted, as the people were fearful of another Indian uprising. Being fresh from his labors among the Indians, Zeisberger knew their sentiments better than the governor and the officers at Pittsburgh, and calmed their fears. Instead of levying war on the Indians, delegates were sent to those Indians with whom the whites were friendly, complaining of the conduct of the Senecas and
asking their assistance in bringing the Senecas to justice, which assistance was promptly given.

The heathen Indians at Goschgschünk still caused trouble at the mission, and it was determined to accept the invitation received from Packanke to settle on his lands on the Big Beaver River. The removal was effected in April, 1770, the Christian Indians leaving the mission in fifteen canoes. The party attracted much attention at Pittsburgh. While this village bore the name of Fort Duquesne, French priests had been as active in the cause of their religion, as the French soldiers in repelling the English, and had made numerous converts. Now for the first time there appeared a company of Protestant converts, and the traders and the garrison thronged the camp which Zeisberger had set up outside of the fort, around which the village clustered.

The exact location of the town that Zeisberger built in Packanke's country is uncertain, but it must have been in Lawrence County, between the Shenango River and Slippery Rock Creek. It was given the name of Friedenstadt, or City of Peace, in contra-distinction to the turbulent places which had just been abandoned. In July, 1770, Friedenstadt was removed across the Beaver River to a point a short distance above its mouth, near the present town of Moravia. The next year John Heckewelder came to Friedenstadt and became an assistant to Zeisberger. While at this place Zeisberger was adopted by the Monseys into their tribe which made his position among the Indians stronger than ever.

Two years later the Moravian missions on the Susquehanna River were also removed to the Ohio River country. The settlements were fast reaching out to the Indian lands, Indians and settlers were both becoming restive, and it was believed that the locality was no longer safe for the missions. Also the Grand Council of the Delawares at Gekelemukpechünk, the capital of the Delaware nation, which was situated about eighty-five miles west of Pittsburgh in the Tuscarawas Valley a short distance east of Newcomers Town in Oxford Township, Tuscarawas county, had invited the Moravians to settle on their lands. On their migration from eastern Pennsylvania about 1742, the Delawares had been granted territory by the Wyandots which comprised nearly one-half of the present state of Ohio. A portion of this domain was now set apart for the Christian Indians. They be-
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longed to the Delaware nation the same as the Delawares on the Tuscarawas River, and Zeisberger himself stood high in the favor of the heathen Indians, who deemed it desirable that he and his Christian Indians should dwell among them. They were promised the same rights and privileges as the owners of the soil. Their removal to the Tuscarawas Valley was decided upon, and to the number of two hundred and four, the Christian Indians were settled on the lands of their cousins. On a wooded plain beside a large spring about two miles southeast of New Philadelphia in Goshen Township, Tuscarawas County, a village was built which was named Schönbrunn, or Beautiful Spring, and was laid out in the form of a cross. Later a second settlement was made called Gnadenhütten, or Cabins of Grace, after the mission of the same name in Pennsylvania which had been destroyed in 1756 by Indians allied with the French. It was situated in the southeastern extremity of the present town of Gnadenhütten in Clay Township, Tuscarawas County. The scope of Zeisberger's plans was comprehensive. He was a statesman as well as a missionary. He had visions of a Christian-Indian state which he intended to create in the midst of the aboriginal domain. He would gather together the tribes of the South and those of the Northwest and the League of Iroquois, and have them living in a state of civilization, and their government was to be powerful enough to compel recognition by the whites.

All was not tranquil at Friedenstadt. Intoxicated Indians from the neighboring Indian village frequently overran Friedenstadt, and Zeisberger concluded that this mission also must be removed to the Tuscarawas Valley. Accordingly in 1773 the sanctuary was laid low in order that it might not be desecrated by the heathen; and the converts were removed, some to Gnadenhütten and the others to Schönbrunn. The Muskingum River is formed by the junction of the Tuscarawas River with the Walhonding River where the city of Coshocton now stands. To this point the Delaware capital had just been removed. Two and a half miles below this spot on the left bank of the Muskingum River, a third mission was established in 1776, which was called Lichtenau, or Pasture of Light.

The missions caused widespread interest among the Indians, Christian and heathen alike. It was the policy of the
missionaries to encourage the sports of the Indians. They often accompanied them on their hunting excursions; they paddled in their canoes and went fishing with them; at the same time they encouraged them to adopt the usages of civilization. At every mission there were substantial log houses built by the Indians with the assistance of the missionaries. Each town had its chapel; plantations were laid out, fences built, a spirit of thrift was inculcated in the minds of the converts, and they acquired horses, cattle, hogs and poultry and took pride in their prosperity. The missionaries were adepts in the language of the Indians, and conducted schools where the Indians were taught the rudiments of reading and writing. From the missionaries the Indians learned to farm, to do carpenter work, and such blacksmithing as their simple needs required.

Drunkenness was the curse of the Indians. The missionaries not only preached against the evils of intemperance, but they forbade the introduction of liquor into the missions. The religion of the Moravians was better adapted to the Indian mind than a religion that was most austere. The Moravian Church had a liturgy, composed like that of the Protestant Episcopal Church, of sentences from the Bible, of psalms, and hymns, and prayers. Portions of the liturgy the missionaries were at great pains to translate into the Indian tongue, and were at still greater pains to teach them to the Indians. The Indians were always anxious to take part in the services. They made the responses with vigor, and sang with fervor. The Church holidays appealed to them; they loved the granduer of the Christmas and Easter services, as well as the feasting afterward. The missionaries being of German nationality, music with them was a passion almost equal to their love of religion. When connected with their religion, their love for it became doubly strong; and their very souls went into their work when they taught the Indians to sing psalms and hymns. Zeisberger made a translation into Delaware of the Easter Morning Litany and taught it to the Indians. The first time that he stood in the church in the early morning, preliminary to proceeding to the burial ground where the Litany was to be said, and chanted the Easter greeting of the primitive Christians, "The Lord is risen!" and the congregation answered with a burst of song, "The Lord is risen indeed!" he was looked
upon as being but little lower than the Saviour whom they were worshipping. Also the missionaries understood and respected Indian customs. Wampum was used diligently. No visit was made to any tribe unless the missionary carried his string or belt of white wampum, white being the color of peace. The wampum was presented as a confirmation of that which had been spoken. As a further indication of their respect for this Indian practice, the missionaries designed for the Christian Indians belts of wampum, half a fathom long, without devices, except a band through the middle and a white cross at one end.

During the Revolutionary War the Moravian missions reached their zenith, and had their fall. In the early years of the war, the British made desperate efforts to enlist the Indians in the war against the Americans. William Pitt, the first Earl of Chatham, after whom Pittsburgh was named, was the most influential of the English politicians who spoke against the employment of Indians. His speech on the subject vibrates with feeling. The address was once on the lips of every school boy, but since oratory is less cultivated than of old, the ringing words are not as familiar as formerly. "Who is the man," the fiery speaker asked—"that has dared to authorize and associate to our arms the tomahawk and the scalping knife of the savage? To call into civilized alliance, the wild and unhuman savage of the woods; to delegate to the merciless Indian the defence of disputed rights; and to wage the horrors of this barbarous war against our brethren?" The ministry was deaf to his extreaties, and the consequent outrages committed by the savages, have been the occasion during more than a hundred years succeeding the war, for the feeling of resentment entertained by the Americans toward the English.

Pittsburgh was the western outpost of American influence, as Detroit was of the English, and it was from these points that the American or English sentiments irradiated among the Western Indians. The collapse of the original project of aligning the Delawares on the English side was mainly the result of the treaty made in October, 1775, in Pittsburgh, at which the Moravian Indians participated together with the other Delawares. The neutrality of the Delawares being secured, all the Indian tribes who acknowledged the Delawares as grandfathers also remained neutral.
War broke out on the Western border in the spring of 1777. At Detroit Henry Hamilton was the English governor and he was constantly urging the Indians to declare war against the Americans. At his instigation a hatchet wrapped in a belt of red and white beads, the invitation to go to war, was sent from Detroit and accepted by the Shawanese, Wyandots and Mingoys. It was declined by the Delawares. But the action tended to demoralize the Indians. A spirit of discord appeared even among the Christian Indians. The Monsey Indians living on the Walhonding River secretly incited their tribesmen among the converts at Schönbrunn, to rise against the Delaware Council, and against the mission. The plot succeeded and most of the Monseys at the mission renounced Christianity and defied the authority of the missionaries. Zeisberger determined to remove the mission to Lichtenau. A last service was held in the chapel, which, like the chapel at Friedenstadt, was razed to the ground, and with those Indians who still remained faithful, the missionaries went to Lichtenau; and Schönbrunn was deserted.

The entire western border of New York, Pennsylvania and Virginia was now ravaged with fire and tomahawk. The Indian war came ever nearer the missions. While maintaining their friendly relations with the authorities at Pittsburgh, the missionaries themselves became nervous, and all left the missions for eastern Pennsylvania except Zeisberger, and an Englishman named Edwards who had joined the Moravians the previous autumn. War party succeeded war party. Now it was the haughty Half King of the Wyandots with two hundred warriors from Upper Sandusky; then an army of Mingoys, Ottawas, Chippewas, Shawanese, Wampanoags, Pottawatommies, and French Canadians. Through the efforts of Zeisberger the missions remained unmolested, and when the appostate Monseys returned, and with painted faces and nodding plumes filled the chapel at Lichtenau, and confessed their sins and asked to be taken back, his heart was again filled with joy. But owing to the continued disturbances all the converts including those from Schönbrunn were concentrated at Lichtenau.

In March, 1778, Alexander McKee, Matthew Elliott and Simen Girty fled from Pittsburgh and went over to the English. In their endeavor to win the Delawares to the English
cause, they spread false reports among the Indians concerning the Americans. They said the American armies had been totally defeated in the Atlantic states; and that their forces were then on the march westward where they intended to wage an indiscriminate warfare against the Indians. The Indians became wild with excitement and fear; the capital of the Delawares rang with the war song; rifles were cleaned, tomahawks sharpened; the warriors painted their faces and selected their plumes. They proposed to defend their homes, and called upon their countrymen to take up the hatchet, but agreed to postpone the declaration of war for ten days in order to ascertain the truth or falsity of the report of the three renegades. Heckewelder and Schebosh, another of the missionaries, were sent to Pittsburgh to learn the facts. On their return they rode three days and two nights stopping barely long enough on the way to eat, and to refresh their horses, and only reached Gnadenhütten an hour before midnight of the ninth day. Although scarcely able longer to sit on his horse, Heckewelder rode on to the Delaware capital and arrived there at ten o'clock the next morning. From his horse he addressed the Indians and told them that they had been deceived, that instead of the Americans having been defeated, they had won a great victory and had forced General Burgoyne and his entire army to surrender; and that the Americans were friends and not enemies of the Delawares. A quick change in the sentiments of the Delawares took place, and war was averted. In September a second treaty was concluded at Pittsburgh with the Delawares in which they entered into a perpetual alliance with the Americans. But all the good results obtained were rendered nugatory when the American Commissioners secretly gave the Indians the war-belt, encouraging them to levy war on the English and their Indian allies, a proceeding that was a repudiation of the entire former policy of the new republic, and which finally was a dominating factor in the secession of the Delawares from the American interests.

At Lichtenau the missionaries and their converts remained for a year, and in 1779 it was deemed advisable to again divide the Christian Indians into three colonies. Edwards with a part of the converts reoccupied Gnadenhütten, Zeisberger with another division proceeded to Schönbrunn.
Here amid the ruins of the town, they remained encamped for a few months, when they built a new town on the western bank of the Tuscarawas River, nearly opposite the old mission, which was called New Schönbrunn. The rest of the Indians remained at Lichtenau. The hostile conduct of the Wyandots and Mingoes, and the open declaration in 1780 of the larger part of the Delawares in favor of the English crown, rendered it necessary to leave Lichtenau and remove the mission farther up the valley a few miles from Gnadenhütten; and the new town was given the name of Salem, signifying Habitation of Peace. It was another mode of giving utterance to the ever present desire for peace, which had already found expression in the names of Friedenshütten and Friedenstein. Salem was situated in Salem Township, Tuscarawas County, one and a half miles southwest of Port Washington.

In the spring of 1781 Zeisberger visited Bethlehem. He was now sixty years of age and had spent thirty years among the Indians. His whole being had been engrossed in his work, and he had never thought seriously of marriage. His friends reminded him of the advisability of getting married, recalling to him the dreariness of the single state in old age. He allowed himself to be persuaded and went in search of a wife. He found the lady at Litiz. His biographer fails to relate that there was any romance in the courtship, but it was successful, and Zeisberger was married and on his return West took his wife with him. At Pittsburgh an escort of twenty Indians awaited him, and under their protection he proceeded to New Schönbrunn. During his absence Lichtenau had been destroyed by Colonel Brodhead, who commanded an expedition sent out from Pittsburgh against the capital of the Delawares for the purpose of punishing them for their breach of faith in going over to the English. The capital of the Delawares was captured and a number of the Indians killed and taken prisoner, including the capture of five Christian Indians, who, however, were released.

Now the sun of the missions began to sink, and in the following year it was to set on a scene of desolation. The smiling missions were again to become a wilderness; and the wolves were to howl among the deserted fields and ruined cabins, as they had howled before the missions were
established. The Moravian Church had maintained a neutral attitude in the Revolutionary War. Its members were non-combatants from principle and fought on neither the English nor American side. They never took the test oath prescribed by the American Congress, as they were opposed to all forms of swearing. Their sympathies were, however, always with their American neighbors; they desired the success of the American arms, and maintained friendly relations with the leading Americans engaged on the patriot side. Their town of Bethlehem was more than once filled with American wounded, who were cared for by the Moravians. After the defeat of the Americans on Long Island in 1776, the Continental authorities showed their faith in the Moravians by taking eight hundred of their wounded to Bethlehem, and the graves of one hundred and ten American soldiers who died of their wounds and were buried in the town, still testify to the confidence reposed by the Americans in the Moravians. The next year, after the battle of Brandywine, seven hundred wounded Americans were crowded into the Ladies Seminary at Bethlehem. LaFayette, who was wounded in the battle, was also taken to Bethlehem, remaining for about two months and being nursed back to health by the Moravians. Here Pulaski visited Lafayette, and the gallant Pole so endeared himself to the Moravians, that when he organized a corps of cavalry for service on the American side, the patriotic young unmarried women of Bethlehem prepared a crimson banner, worked with their own hands, and made a gift of it to him. The sentiment expressed by Longfellow in his hymn, commemorative of the presentation of this banner is indicative of the faith of the American public in the loyalty of the Moravians during the Revolutionary War:

"Take thy banner! and beneath
The battle-cloud's encircling wreath,
Guard it till our homes are free!
Guard it! God will prosper thee!"

In the Ohio Valley the missionaries frequently persuaded war parties stopping in their towns while on their way to attack the American settlers to forego their purpose. On a number of occasions they notified the commander at Pittsburgh of the movement of war parties. This angered the British, and they held the missionaries to be abettors of the
American cause, and determined to stop their activities. The three deserters from Pittsburgh, McKee, Elliott and Girty, had been persistent plotters against the missionaries, and in 1781 their opportunity arrived. On the afternoon of August 10th, the first party of Indians who had been deputed to act for the English, rode into Salem. Matthew Elliott, holding the commission of an English captain, was in command. With him was Alexander McCormick, a trader who had formerly befriended the missions, serving as ensign and bearing an English flag. With the exception of five other white men, the force consisted of Indians. The Half King of the Wyandots was there with his men, also Wyandots from Lower Sandusky, Wyandots from Detroit, Mingoes, Shawanese, Monseys and other Delawares. The secret instructions that they carried were either to convey the Christian Indians together with their teachers, as prisoners to Detroit, or to put them to death and bring back their scalps.

But the Indians had received too many kindnesses at the missions, and listened attentively to the pleas of the missionaries for a reconsideration of their designs; the missionaries asked for time to harvest their crops. The Indians wavered for days, then quarrelled with Elliott and even fired on the English flag, but were finally forced by Elliott to agree to do his bidding. The invading force was constantly augmented by new arrivals drawn thither by the expectation of spoils until it numbered more than three hundred warriors. For a full month they tarried, holding the missionaries and their converts prisoners, in the meantime plundering the houses, and robbing the missionaries of their possessions. On September 11th the prisoners to the number of almost four hundred, were started on the march to the Sandusky River. Everything was left behind, crops, stores, cattle, hogs, household effects. In the heart of a wilderness they were deserted by their captors. Near this spot a village of small log houses was built in which to pass the winter. The village stood on the North bank of the Sandusky River, a mile above its junction with Broken Sword Creek. In the middle of October the missionaries were ordered to Detroit. Here they were tried for being American spies but were acquitted and given permission to return to the Sandusky River.
Provisions had been scare from the beginning and were becoming scarcer. At the time when the missionaries set out for Detroit, a party of the converts had returned to the Tuscarawas Valley to gather corn. They were made prisoners by Pennsylvania militia under command of Colonel David Williamson, a settler in Buffalo Township, Washington County, who, ignorant of the removal of the converts by the English, had come to the Valley to take them to Pittsburgh. General William Irvine, the commander at Pittsburgh who had succeeded Colonel Brodhead, set the converts free and they returned to the Sandusky River. By February of the next year, the distress on the Sandusky River became so acute that about one hundred and fifty converts were sent to the Tuscarawas Valley to gather more corn.

Now came the most appalling tragedy of all the frontier warfare in American history. An intense hatred prevailed along the American border against the Indians and by common consent they were outlawed. The Revolutionary War increased the outrages committed by the Indians. There was scarcely a pioneer family which had not lost some member by maurauding bands of Indians, scarcely a family that had not lost cattle and horses. In the spring, a band of Indians attacked the farm of Robert Wallace, situated one mile west of the village of Florence in Washington County, and murdered his wife and five children, impaling one of the children face downward. The whole border flamed with indignation and horror. The opinion gained ground that the Christian Indians had either themselves been engaged in the terrible deed, or that the miscreants who had committed it had wintered in one of the mission towns. Militia to the number of from ninety to one hundred were hastily called out by Colonel James Marshall, the county lieutenant of Washington County, and again under command of Colonel Williamson, they repaired to the mission towns. The converts, all unsuspicious of impending danger, had reoccupied their former homes. They were warned of the danger by the maurauding Indians who had murdered Wallace's family, as they passed through the missions. The converts intended to leave again on the seventh of March. On the sixth, while busily at work in the fields, Williamson's party arrived at Gnadenhütten and although they had al-
ready killed and scalped one of the converts, greeted the others in the friendliest terms. Through guile of the most shameless character, they procured the surrender by the Indians of their arms; they induced those Indians who were at Salem to cross the Tuscarawas River and come to Gnadenhütten. The next day the eyes of the Indians were opened and they realized that they were facing death. They were charged with being responsible for the butchery at Wallace's farm. Their denials availed not. Their captors condemned them to death by the tomahawk. There was to be a repetition but on a larger scale, of the bloody work done by the Paxton Boys in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania.

Poets and romancers have idealized the heroic behavior of the nobility of France, when imprisoned and awaiting death in the name of liberty, fraternity, and equality, during the Great Revolution. The prisoners are said to have played games, to have sung and danced and to have gone to their death with jests on their lips. The civilization of the Indians may have been only a very thin veneer, but death seemed to have for them no more terror than for the French nobles. Their religion had taught them resignation and the hope of a joyous life hereafter, and the scarcely subdued savagery of their nature rendered them incapable of fear. To the murderers who were impatient to begin their work, they replied calmly, "We are ready now," and they prayed together, and the strong comforted and consoled the weak, and their voices rose in exultant psalms and hymns and they waited calmly for the moment when the butchers would strike; and when the tomahawks found their victims, ninety-six defenceless human beings, men, women and children, twelve of whom were babes, went to their death; and as if to outdo the savages themselves, the Christian frontiersmen tore off ninety-six reeking human scalps. A funeral pyre was made of the mangled corpses, by setting fire to the two houses in which the butchery had been committed. Then the murderers spent the night in drunken revelry by the light of the burning buildings, and the next day proceeded back to the settlements, carrying their bloody booty with them in triumph. General Irvine called the deed "the only black spot in the whole of the Revolution, and brought on by a set of the basest scoundrels that could disgrace a country."

(For bibliography see page 96)