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A Narrative of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Delaware and Mohegan Indians from Its Commencement in the Year 1740 to the Close of the Year 1808

by John Heckewelder

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THE HECKEWELDER NARRATIVE

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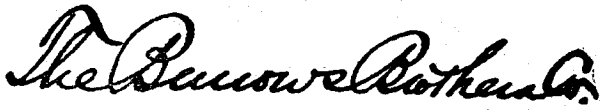

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A NARRATIVE

OF THE

Mission of the United Brethren

AMONG THE

Delaware and Mohegan Indians

From its commencement in the year 1740
to the close of the year 1808

By John Heckewelder

Who was many years in the service
of that Mission

Edited by

William Elsey Connelley

Author of "John Brown," "Memoirs of John James Ingalls,"
"Wyandot Folk-Lore," etc., etc.



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WILLIAM ELSEY CONNELLEY, son of Constantine and Rebecca J. (McCarty) Conley; born on the Wolf Pen Branch of the Middle Fork of Jennies Creek, Johnson County, Kentucky, March 15, 1855; lived in native county until 1881, and in Kansas since that date; present address (1907,) Topeka. For brief sketch see recent editions of *Who's Who in America.*

Author of

JOHN BROWN,
JAMES H. LANE,
WYANDOT FOLK-LORE,
AN APPEAL TO THE RECORD,
KANSAS TERRITORIAL GOVERNORS,
MEMOIRS OF JOHN JAMES INGALLS,
DONIPHAN'S EXPEDITION, MEXICAN WAR,
PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF NEBRASKA TERRITORY.

With Frank A. Root

THE OVERLAND STAGE TO CALIFORNIA.

Editor of

THE HECKEWELDER NARRATIVE.

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THE EDITOR'S PREFACE

IN March, 1904, there was sold at public outcry, by order of the administrator, in the city of Philadelphia, the stock of Rare and Scarce Americana, formerly the property of Moses Polock, believed to have been at his death the oldest bookseller in the United States. The collection of books, manuscripts, et cetera, was a most remarkable one. It comprised, among other important pieces, the original autograph manuscript of THE HECKEWELDER NARRATIVE, neatly written by the author on 445 quarto pages. With this was a letter from William McCarty to his firm, McCarty & Davis, setting out the terms of his contract with Heckewelder for the publication of the book, and which is as follows:

BETHLEHEM, Sunday, May 30, 1819.

Dear Sir,

While in this place, I have made a contract with Mr. Heckewelder, to publish his Book on our own account, and give him 60 Copies in boards for the Manuscript, being the same number which Mr. Small has given him for the work already published. Mr. Heckewelder has received the most flattering testimonies to the merit of the work already published, from gentlemen of distinguished abilities in various parts of the Union. Those gentlemen urge the publication of the present volume in the most pressing manner, all promising it their own support and also to obtain the support of their friends. Mr. Hemble, the gentleman who hands this to you, will communicate to you his opinion of its merit. It is to be done in Octavo, to match Mr. Small's volume, and to be commenced on the 1st of next January

from hence to Reading.

Yours Dear Sir

respectfully

WM. MCCARTY

Addressed as follows:

Messrs. McCarty & Davis
Booksellers
S. E. Corner 9th & Race Streets
Philadelphia

favored by
Mr. Hembel

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Written in the upper left-hand corner of the letter as folded (there were no envelopes in those days):

Wm. McCarty
Bethlehem Pa.
May 30, 1819.

It is not known how the manuscript came into the possession of Mr. Polock. It is written on both sides of the paper, and is in good condition. The penmanship is uniform and very good, and a quill pen was used. The ink was of excellent quality, and the writing has faded but little. Before the sheets were written upon they were sewn together like a child's writing-book; they were probably torn apart by the printer. The manuscript bears the marks of the proof-reader, the indications of the signatures of the first edition having been made with a pen. The manuscript shows painstaking care. It must have been written from notes and diaries made when the events transpired. The construction often plainly indicates the German form of expression, but the meaning is always clear. The style is quaint, simple, direct, strong, not infrequently approaching the elegant. The capitalization is that of Heckewelder's time. The punctuation is peculiar; the author had a system of his own. It was his weak point, and proves that he had not mastered that feature of English composition. But it never obscures the meaning.

The text of this edition is exactly that of the manuscript in every particular. The Editor regarded that point as of so much importance that he did not entrust the work to a copyist, but made the copy himself. Accuracy in history demands that a document appear precisely as it was written. The publishers of the former edition made such changes as they supposed were desirable. There is scarcely a page of the manuscript free from these changes, and it is estimated that they number at least four thousand. They often change the meaning from that intended by the author. They were in most instances made with a pencil in the manuscript, where they show plainly at this time. They are so numerous that no means could be devised by which

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they could be indicated in this edition, and can be observed only by comparing this with the former text.

The former edition contained the text as changed by the publishers set solid without a break from beginning to end. There were no chapters or other divisions. This made the book appear monotonous, and much impaired its usefulness. The Editor has corrected this fault, and broken the text into chapters for convenience. The manuscript shows some divisions, but the separation of the text into chapters is that of the Editor, and consists solely in an effort to discover the most suitable place in the text to end one chapter and begin another. It is believed this feature of the edition will be appreciated by students.

The notes written by Heckewelder are reproduced in this edition just as they were written, and are referred to by the characters found in the manuscript. The notes written by the Editor are referred to by numbers.

That Heckewelder's Narrative is a work of great value is generally admitted. It covers a most important period of American history — the establishment of the English in North America, the Revolution, the settlement of the country west of the Great Lakes and the Alleghany Mountains, and the acquisition of Louisiana. It has been the intention to make this edition correspond in every way with its importance as a great historical work.

WILLIAM ELSEY CONNELLEY.

816 Lincoln Street,
Topeka, Kansas, October 21, 1907.

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Reproduced from Painting owned by one of the families of grandsons of John Heckewelder.

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Drawn by William E. Connelley.

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PRELIMINARY

A BRIEF ACCOUNT

OF

THE CHURCH OF THE UNITAS FRATRUM

"Whose sons no yoke could crush, no burthen tire,
Unaw'd by dungeons, tortures, sword and fire"—

THE ANCIENT CHURCH

[This brief sketch is taken principally from the excellent little work of Edward H. Reichel entitled *Historical Sketch of the Church and Missions of the United Brethren, Commonly Called Moravians*, Bethlehem, Pa., 1848.]

SAINT Paul tells us (Rom. xv, 19) that he visited Illyricum. Titus visited Dalmatia (II Tim. iv, 10). Illyricum and Dalmatia were Sclavonic provinces. The Gospel was preached in those countries by these great missionaries of the early Church. Christianity seems to have existed there continuously after their visitation; and it seems also to have spread from these provinces into adjoining countries. In the first great division of the Church Illyricum and Dalmatia fell to the Eastern or Greek Church, which had its chief seat at Constantinople.

It is said that the sister of Bogaris, a Bulgarian king, was captured in a predatory excursion, and carried to Constantinople, where she was treated with consideration and instructed in the doctrines of the Greek Church. She returned to her native land, anxious that it should receive Christianity. At her request two missionaries, Cyrillus and Methodius, were sent by the Church

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at Constantinople to Bulgaria. They won the king to the faith, and established congregations throughout the country. From thence the Church entered Moravia. From Moravia the Gospel was carried to Bohemia. The worship was according to the ritual of the Greek Church.

In the year 940 the Roman Emperor, Otho I, invaded Bohemia, and attached it to the Western Empire. As a result of this conquest the Roman Church sought to induce the people to abandon their ancient mode of worship and become subjects of the Papal See. The effort was unsuccessful, and persecution was resorted to. Many Bohemians and Moravians suffered martyrdom, and many others were despoiled of their property, imprisoned, and exiled. These persecutions continued there for a period of more than two hundred years.

Persecution of the Waldenses in Italy and France caused them to leave their homes in those countries and wander over Southern Europe in search of an asylum. They entered Bohemia and Moravia about the year 1176. There they united with those members of the Greek Church who had preserved their ancient faith and its ritual. The union was of great benefit to the inhabitants, and a purer form of worship resulted.

In the effort to subjugate the ancient Church of Bohemia and Moravia to the See of Rome the University of Prague was established about the middle of the fourteenth century. This institution, however, rather tended to defeat the object sought in its erection. One of the professors was Militsch, a court chaplain. He caused many secessions from the Romish Church, and attacked the doctrine and depravity of the Romish clergy. He bore witness to his convictions in Rome. He preached in Moravia and Silesia; also in Poland, where he died. Matthias Janowsky was banished for preaching a reform, but was allowed to return and die in retirement. His death was in 1394. From his death-bed he uttered this prophecy: "The fury of the enemies has now the upper hand, but this will not always be the case; for there will arise a despised people, without sword or

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power, against whom they will not prevail." He said that one of those present would live to see the beginning of the fulfilment of his prophecy. And Wenceslas, who heard the prophecy, lived to become a member of the Brethren's Church upon its organization sixty years later.

John Huss was born in Southern Bohemia, July 6, 1373. He was reared in poverty, but was enabled to enter the University of Prague, where he made rapid progress in his studies. He studied deeply the writings of the Fathers of the Eastern and Western Churches, and became profoundly learned therein. He read, also, the works of Wickliff, "the Morning Star of the Reformation." So impressed was Huss with the writings of Wickliff that he declared their author "an angel sent from heaven to enlighten Mankind." Huss became the greatest reformer of his time. The people believed him the hope of their liberation. But the Romish Church, in the spirit which actuated it in those days, decided to destroy him for its own safety. It caused him to be burned at the stake July 6, 1415, and his ashes to be thrown into the Rhine. He left many followers, called by their enemies Hussites. They were bitterly persecuted, and many suffered death at the stake. They rose in defense of their religion and themselves, and the result was that conflict known as the Hussite War, which raged for thirteen years, both sides displaying inhuman cruelty. The Hussite leader was John Zisca, who gained possession of the kingdom of Bohemia, and secured to his followers their religious liberty. Zisca died of the plague October 12, 1424. His followers became divided into two factions known as Calixtines and Taborites, the latter standing for the doctrines of Huss and the reformation preached by him, the former favoring the supremacy of the Pope. In the war which followed the Taborites were defeated and their power destroyed. They had for leader John Rokyzan, who attained to much prominence. He induced his country to send a deputation to the Patriarch of the Greek Church to solicit a reunion with that body. The success of this movement was prevented

by the capture of Constantinople and the destruction of the Eastern Empire by the Turks in 1453.

Through the efforts of John Rokyzan a place of refuge was assigned to the followers of Huss. It belonged to the king, and was on an estate in the Barony of Lititz on the confines of Moravia and Silesia. There they were free to regulate their worship, and the forms adopted constituted them a distinct branch of the Christian Church. They became the original organization of the Ancient Church of the Brethren. The Church increased in numbers, but dissensions arose. In 1457 a close union was formed among those most devout, the members of which were called Brethren and Sisters, the general appellation being *Fratres Legis Christi*—Brethren of the Law of Christ. Objection being found to this name, that of *Fratres* was adopted. They increased by accessions from Moravia, and adopted the name UNITAS FRATRUM—The Unity of the Brethren, or The United Brethren—which name they bore until 1847. In that year the American Church adopted the name, *Moravian Brethren,* to distinguish them from another denomination calling themselves United Brethren.

Many troubles came upon the little Church. Realizing the need of regular ecclesiastical authority, they sent three of their members to the Waldenses to request ordination from the Apostolic Church preserved by that people. This request was granted, and a close relation was established between the two Churches. A perfect union would have been effected but for the persecution commenced against the Waldenses in which their Bishop, Stephen, and many of their members, perished at the stake.

The possession of a regular ecclesiastical constitution brought persecution upon the Church for a number of years. When it had abated somewhat the Brethren translated the Bible into the Bohemian language, three editions of which they published before the commencement of the Reformation by Luther. The Church sent messengers to this great reformer, and in 1536

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submitted to him their Confession of Faith, which he approved. At Luther's death persecutions were renewed against Protestants generally. A large party of the United Brethren emigrated to Poland, where, in 1549, they were accorded equal civil rights. But the Church eventually did not prosper there.

In 1564 the Moravian branch of the Church entered upon a period of rest from persecution. Fourteen years were spent in perfecting a translation of the Bible into the Bohemian language from the original tongues. Schools for the education of their children and the instruction of their members were established and maintained. But in 1612 persecutions began again. The schools of the Brethren were closed forever. Many perished at the stake. This season of trial continued to the year 1627. Indeed, the remainder of the century was full of tribulation for the Brethren. The final effect of persecution was the emigration of the Brethren to Upper Lusatia, Saxony. There the Ancient Church was renewed.

THE RENEWED CHURCH

Christian David was the Apostle of the Renewed Church. He was born at Senftleben, December 31, 1690, and was a Roman Catholic. He was twenty before he saw a Bible; when at last he had secured one he studied it day and night. It so modified his views that he joined the Lutheran Church, but by this act his unrest of soul was only increased. He became a soldier, and served at the siege of Stralsund. After his discharge from the army he was a wanderer for a time, but finally married and settled in Goerlitz, Upper Lusatia. While on a visit to his native village he became acquainted with the family of Neissers, grandsons of George Jaeschke, one of the members of the Ancient Church. He became interested in the people of that faith, still heavily oppressed, though their zeal for the ancient tenets was much abated. David conceived the idea of an asylum in another land, and for a time vainly endeavored to find one. Finally he was directed to apply to Count Zinzendorf, who gave him

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permission to settle the Brethren on his Estate of Berthelsdorf, near Goerlitz.

The first company of the Brethren consisted of Augustin and Jacob Neisser, their wives and four children, their niece Martha Neisser, and their cousin Michael Jaeschke. This little band emigrated early in 1722, and provided a temporary residence upon arrival at the Zinzendorf Estate. At the foot of Hutberg Hill, a piece of woodland swamp was selected as a site upon which to build the refuge village. The first tree was felled June 17, 1722, and the settlement commenced amid derision and contempt of other tenants. The village was named Herrnhut, *The Watch of the Lord.* It grew and prospered. So many of the Brethren left their native land to settle at Herrnhut that Count Zinzendorf was finally accused of inducing people to emigrate from Moravia and Bohemia; and because of this and other false accusations he was exiled for a period of ten years. A bitter persecution in Moravia followed the first emigration of the Brethren. This increased the number of exiles. Many of the best of the land fled to Herrnhut, among them three David Nitschmans, John Toeltchig, and Melchior Zeisberger, father of David Zeisberger, the great missionary to the Indians of North America. They arrived at Herrnhut May 12, 1724.

In the new home diverse elements were represented. They came to unity only after much discussion and resort to temporary expediencies. The unhappy differences were finally overcome, and peace prevailed. The Lord's Supper was celebrated August 13, 1727, that date being now observed as the Birthday of the Renewed Brethren's Church. It was necessary, at least important, that the Renewed Church secure regular Episcopal Ordination, the line of Bishops of the Moravian branch of the Brethren's Church having terminated with the death of Amos Comenius. The succession still existed in the Polish branch of the Ancient Church, Bishops Daniel E. Jablonsky and Christian Sitkovius being yet living. At Berlin, March 13, 1735, they consecrated David Nitschman the first Bishop of the Renewed

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Church. In May, 1737, Jablonsky and Nitschman consecrated Count Zinzendorf a Bishop of the Renewed Church.

The exile of Count Zinzendorf proved of great benefit to the Church. He considered the Brethren's Church as having been revived by the Lord for spreading the Gospel throughout the world. He founded a Congregation of Pilgrims, which followed him from place to place as he moved his residence. He lived for a time in the old castle of Ronnenburg, near Marienborn, Wetteravia. About 1737 he purchased a tract of land there, and founded Herrnhaag, which came in time to have more inhabitants than Herrnhut. A season of great missionary activity followed the efforts of Zinzendorf. Settlements were formed in England, Ireland, and Holland, also in various parts of Germany and Prussia. The Renewed Church lost, at that time, individual leadership, and assumed that of Synods and Conferences. The event, beyond this point, which becomes of interest to us, was the establishment of a branch of the Unitas Fratrum in North America.

The Brethren were induced to send a colony to Georgia by the English Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. The Trustees of Georgia, of whom General James Oglethorpe was the principal member, offered them "a free passage; provisions in Georgia for a whole season; land for themselves and their children, free for ten years, then to be held for a small quit-rent; the privileges of native Englishmen; freedom of worship." They set out the last day of October, 1733, "well supplied with Bibles and hymn-books, catechisms and books of devotion," after "a discourse, and prayer, and benedictions, cheerfully and in the name of God." They arrived at Charleston, S. C., March 18, 1734, and five days later reached Savannah. A village was founded, named Ebenezer, and missionary labors begun among the Creek Indians residing on Irene Island five miles from Savannah.

The second company of the Brethren arrived at Savannah February 6, 1736. This party came over on the ship which

bore to America John Wesley, the founder of Methodism. Wesley claims to have been converted by these Brethren. He adopted for Methodism much they taught and practiced. In this they rendered a great service to America. He had this to say of them:

"At seven I went to the Germans. I had long before observed the great seriousness of their behaviour. Of their humility they had given a continual proof, by performing those servile offices for the other passengers, which none of the English would undertake; for which they desired, and would receive no pay, saying, 'It was good for their proud hearts,' and 'their loving Saviour had done more for them.' And every day had given them occasion of showing a meekness which no injury could move. If they were pushed, struck, or thrown down, they rose again, and went away; but no complaint was found in their mouth. There was now an opportunity of trying whether they were delivered from the spirit of fear, as well as from that of pride, anger, and revenge. In the midst of the psalm wherewith their service began, the sea broke over, split the mainsail in pieces, covered the ship, and poured in between the decks, as if the great deep had already swallowed us up. A terrible screaming began among the English; the Germans calmly sung on. I asked one of them afterward, 'was you not afraid?' He answered, 'I thank God, no.' I asked, 'But were not your women and children afraid?' He replied mildly, 'No; our women and children are not afraid to die.' "

The Georgia colony of the Brethren was broken up by the war between Great Britain and Spain. They do not believe in bearing arms, and by their arrangement with Georgia were specially exempted from this service. However, their refusal to perform military service caused much dissatisfaction in Georgia. Rather than comply with the popular desire, they decided to abandon that colony. This decision was reluctantly reached in the year 1739. Some of them accompanied Whitefield to Pennsylvania, where they settled and successfully prosecuted

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their work. Of their operations from the time they settled in Pennsylvania, this volume is sufficiently elaborate in text and notes to render the account here unnecessary. Following is a short account of the manner of conducting the Missions among the Indians:

"The *Internal* regulations are the same in every Mission. Such heathen, who, from hearing the Gospel, or the private conversations of the Missionaries, are led to serious reflections, and desire their names to be put down, for further instruction, are called *New People*, and reckoned to the class of *Catechumens*. If they remain steadfast in their resolutions to forsake heathenism, and desire *Baptism*, they are considered as *Candidates* for that Holy Ordinance; and after previous instruction, are baptized. If their conduct proves consistent with their professions, they at length become *Candidates for the Communion,* and finally *Communicants*. When the number of *Converts* is very large, *Assistants* are chosen, who have particular districts assigned them, in which they visit the people; attend to the poor, the sick, and infirm; and are occasionally employed to hold meetings, and to preach at the outposts.

"*Church Discipline* is exercised without respect of persons; and consists according to the nature of the offence, either in exclusion from the meetings of the baptized, or in suspension from the Lord's Supper, or in total separation from the Church.

"The *General Superintendence of the Missions,* is properly vested in the Synods of the Church. But, as they are convened only occasionally, the Unity's Elders' Conference has the oversight of the Missions, as of the other Establishments of the Church.

"The *Missionary Service* is, in the strictest sense, *voluntary*. Any person desirous of engaging in it, makes known his wishes to the Directors; and if, after being informed of the difficulties and dangers attending the life of a Missionary, his resolution remains fixed, he is considered a *Candidate* for the Service.

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Should he eventually feel any reluctance, he is at full liberty either to accept or decline any proposal or call, which may be offered him.

"The Brethren's Church has no permanent *Fund* for the Missions. They are maintained by voluntary contributions collected mostly at stated times in our Congregations; and also by the many Female, Young Men's, and Juvenile Missionary Societies in the Church. Not able, however, to raise one half of the sum annually required, Friends, and Societies in other Christian Communities, have hitherto been most liberal in their donations; urged to this benevolence, no doubt from the consideration of the Brethren having led the way in this great work of *Christianizing the World;* and of their inability further to carry on the portion allotted them by the Lord of the vineyard, unless aided by others." — *Edward H. Reichel.*

No better people than the Moravian Brethren ever found refuge in America. They had from the first an intense desire to Christianize and save the Indians. They adopted the only policy which has been successful in that work. Many tribes were destroyed and others ruined before the United States assumed control of them, but even then, if the methods of the Moravians had been made the Indian policy, the destiny of the aborigines of North America would have been different. The Indians would have become self-supporting, progressive American citizens, successfully competing in the walks of life. What the Brethren accomplished was done under such discouraging circumstances that we wonder at their escape from death. They overcame the bitterest and most unjust persecutions by their patience, meekness, righteousness. And they walked by faith; their reliance was upon Him whom they served. Their courage was, therefore, sublime. Even women could face the tomahawk and torch with perfect composure and the words, "It is all right, dear Saviour; we expected nothing else," and die in peace. By their faith, by their walk through the journey of this life, in those things by which just men are measured in this world,

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by their conformity to the means for man to attain a better state, the Moravians have failed in nothing in North America.

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TABLE OF THE MISSIONARY STATIONS AND PREACHING PLACES WHICH THE UNITED BRETHREN FORMERLY HAD AMONG THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS.

Commenced.	*Stations.*	*Countries.*	*Indian Tribes.*	*First Missionary.*	*Discontinued.*
1740.	Shekomeko, An Indian Town.	Duchess Co., New York.	Mohicans.	Christian Rauch.	1746.
1742.	Pachgatgoch, Potatik } Indian Towns.	Litchfield Co., Conn.	Mohicans.	Martin Mack.	1746.
1746.	Friedenshutten.	Near Bethlehem, Pa.	Residence of fugitive Indians.	Martin Mack.	1746.
1746.	Gnadenhutten.	Carbon Co., Pa.	Delawares and Mohicans.	Martin Mack.	1755.
1747.	Shamokin, An Indian Town.	Northumberland Co., Pa.	Iroquois.	Anthony Schmidt.	1755.
1749.	Meniolagomekah, An Indian Town.	Monroe Co., Pa.	Mohicans.	Nathaniel Seidel.	1754.
1750.	Onondaga, An Indian Town.	Onondaga Co., New York.	Iroquois.	Christian Frederick Post.	1755.
1755.	Wajomick, Neeskopeko } Indian Towns.	Luzerne Co., Pa.	Shawanose.	David Zeisberger.	1756.
1757.	Nain.	Near Bethlehem, Pa.	Fugitive Indians.	Brn. Grube and Schmidt.	1763.
1760.	Wechquetank.	Monroe Co., Pa.	Fugitive Indians.	G. Senseman.	1763.
1760.	Machwihilusing, An Indian Town. Called also Friedenshutten	On the Susquehanna, Bradford Co., Pa.	Different Tribes.	David Zeisberger.	1772.
1768.	Goshgoshuenk, An Indian Town.	Venango Co., Pa.	Delawares.	David Zeisberger.	1769.
1769.	Lawunakhannek, An Indian Town.	Venango Co., Pa.	Christian Indians.	David Zeisberger.	1770.

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1746.	Gnadenhutten.	Carbon Co., Pa.	Delawares and Mohicans.	Martin Mack.	1755.
1747.	Shamokin, An Indian Town.	Northumberland Co., Pa.	Iroquois.	Anthony Schmidt.	1755.
1749.	Meniolagomekah, An Indian Town.	Monroe Co., Pa.	Mohicans.	Nathaniel Seidel.	1754.
1750.	Onondaga, An Indian Town.	Onondaga Co., New York.	Iroquois.	Christian Frederick Post.	1755.
1755.	Wajomick, Neeskopeko } Indian Towns.	Luzerne Co., Pa.	Shawanose.	David Zeisberger.	1756.
1757.	Nain.	Near Bethlehem, Pa.	Fugitive Indians.	Brn. Grube and Schmidt.	1763.
1760.	Wechquetank.	Monroe Co., Pa.	Fugitive Indians.	G. Senseman.	1763.
1760.	Machwihilusing, An Indian Town. Called also Friedenshutten	On the Susquehanna, Bradford Co., Pa.	Different Tribes.	David Zeisberger.	1772.
1768.	Goshgoshuenk, An Indian Town.	Venango Co., Pa.	Delawares.	David Zeisberger.	1769.
1769.	Lawunakhannek, An Indian Town.	Venango Co., Pa.	Christian Indians.	David Zeisberger.	1770.

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1769.	Tschechshequannink, An Indian Town.	Bradford Co., Pa.	Cayugas.	John Rothe.	1772.
1770.	Friedenstadt.	Columbiana Co., Ohio.	Delawares.	David Zeisberger.	1773.
1772.	Schonbrun.	Tuscarawas Co., Ohio.	Delawares.	David Zeisberger.	1781.
1772.	Gnadenhutten.	Tuscarawas Co., Ohio.	Delawares.	David Zeisberger.	1781.
1776.	Lichtenau.	Coshocton Co., Ohio.	Delawares.	David Zeisberger.	1780.
1780.	Salem.	Tuscarawas Co., Ohio.	Delawares.	John Heckewelder.	1781.
1781.	Sandusky.	Wyandot Co., Ohio.	Christian Indians.	Zeisberger and Heckewelder.	1782.
1782.	New Gnadenhutten.	Macomb Co., Michigan.	Christian Indians.	David Zeisberger.	1785.
1787.	Pilgerruh.	Cuyahoga Co., Ohio.	Christian Indians.	David Zeisberger.	1787.
1787.	New Salem.	Huron Co., Ohio.	Christian Indians.	Brn. Jung and Wiegandt.	1791.
1793.	Fairfield.	Thames River, U. Canada.	Delawares.	G. Senseman.	1813.
1798.	Goshen.	Tuscarawas Co., Ohio.	Delawares.	David Zeisberger.	1821.
1801.	Spring Place.	Murray Co., Georgia.	Cherokees.	Abraham Steiner.	1834.
1801.	Woapekamikunk, An Indian Town.	Madison Co., Indiana.	Delawares.	Brn. Kluge and Luckenbach.	1806.
1802.	Temporary Residence in	Upper Canada.	Chippeways.	Christian Denke.	1806.
1804.	Pettquotting.	Huron Co., Ohio.	Delawares.	Brn. Oppelt and Haven.	1809.
1807.		In Georgia among the	Creeks.	Brn. Burkhardt and Peterson.	1813.
1811.	Sandusky Creek.	Sandusky Co., Ohio.	Monsey Tribe.	Abraham Luckenbach.	1812.
1815.	New Fairfield.	Thames River, U. Canada.	Delawares.	Brn. Denke and Schmidt.	Continued.
1821.	Oochgelogy.	Murray Co. Georgia.	Cherokees.	J. Gambold.	1834.
1837.	Westfield.	Franklin Co., Kansas.	Delawares.	Brn. Micksch and J. Vogler.	....
1837.	Barren Fork.	Indian Territory.	Cherokees.	Brn. T. Smith, Vogler, Ruede.	1838.
1838.	Beattys Prairie.	Indian Territory.	Cherokees.	Brn. M. Vogler and H: Ruede.	....
1843.	New Spring Place.	Indian Territory.	Cherokees.	Brn. Ruede, Bishop, D: Smith.	....

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1776.	Lichtenau.	Coshocton Co., Ohio.	Delawares.	David Zeisberger.	1780.
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COUNT ZINZENDORF

NICHOLAS Lewis, Count and Lord of Zinzendorf, etc., etc., was born at Dresden, May 26, 1700; died at Herrnhut, Saxony, May 9, 1760. It was principally through his direction that the Brethren's Church so prospered and spread abroad in the world after its establishment at Herrnhut. This seems to have been providential, for it grew out of the misfortunes of the Count himself.

He was educated at Halle and Wittenberg, and his life during the period was a promise of what he afterward became. He formed a Society which he called "The Order of the Grain of Mustard Seed," the fundamental principle of which was that its members should steadfastly maintain the doctrine of Christ. He owed this inclination of mind to residence with his maternal grandmother after the death of his father. In this spirit he granted refuge to the Moravians on his Estate of Berthelsdorf, the first band of whom arrived early in 1722, founding Herrnhut June 17 of that year. He married Countess Erdmuth Dorothea von Reuss in 1732. It is related that on his wedding-tour he approached his estate as the shades of night were falling. Through the darkness he saw at a distance a small light glimmer in the forest. Being arrived there he found it proceeded from a Moravian place of worship. He descended from his carriage, went inside to the congregation, and joined in the hymns and prayers.

Zinzendorf was blessed with an ardent and enthusiastic nature. He became a member of the Brethren's Church. Upon an accusation of disseminating false doctrine, Count Bruhl secured his banishment from Saxony for a period of ten years. Thus was he early compelled to bear the consequences of the

slanders and misrepresentation which assailed the Church in its new home. He dwelt for a time in the old castle of Ronnenberg, where he gathered about him a number of kindred souls and founded the Pilgrim Congregation, which often changed place of residence, but held the name. This congregation became one of the chief means of carrying abroad the Gospel. In 1736 he made a journey to England, where he met the Archbishop of Canterbury. At Berlin, in 1737, he received the Episcopal Ordination from Jablonsky. He visited the Island of St. Thomas in 1739, and in 1740 made a tour of Germany and Switzerland. All his going up and down in the world was in the interest of the Brethren's Church. He preached the Gospel, composed hymns, gave of his substance, established congregations in many lands.

Zinzendorf visited America in 1741, naming Bethlehem on Christmas Eve of that year. He remained with the American Mission all the year 1742, laboring faithfully in its interest. In this work he made three journeys into the wilderness to see the Indians in their native villages. His first tour was to Meniolagomekah, a Delaware town in what is now Monroe County, Pennsylvania. The second journey was to Shekomeko, a Mohican village in Duchess County, New York, where some Brethren had established a station, and where, by Zinzendorf's direction, the first Indian congregation was formed. His last journey was to the Shawnees at Wajomick (Wyoming) on the Susquehanna River. Here he was saved from death at the hands of the Indians by Conrad Weiser. Once while upon this journey he was almost strangled by a snake which coiled about his neck while he was asleep and which he removed without assistance. It is also related that the Indians determined to kill him in his tent at night. When they arrived there they saw Zinzendorf absorbed in his work before a fire which the cool air made necessary. They noticed with awe and consternation a large rattlesnake glide from the bundle of brush upon which he was sitting, and coil itself at his feet before the blazing fagots. They hurried away fully persuaded that he was under the care of this

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serpent to which they attributed supernatural powers. He has left us accounts of his tours among the Indians. He closed his labors in America at the new Moravian Church in Philadelphia, where he preached December 31, 1742. At the close of his sermon he left the congregation unobserved to avoid a formal leave-taking. He went to New York in a coach and embarked for Europe.

Upon his return he labored in England and Germany, and in 1747 returned to Herrnhut. He personally participated in that season of darkness in the Church known as the "Sifting Time," and which resulted in a return to first principles and the dispersion of the Herrnhaag, and the emigration of many of the Brethren to America.

Prior to his reinstatement at Herrnhut the affairs of the congregation were investigated by a Commission appointed by the authorities, the determination of which was in every way favorable to the Church. A similar investigation was made in England and discussed in Parliament with the result that the Brethren were highly commended.

The expenses of the Pilgrim Congregation were borne by Zinzendorf; they were very heavy, and the debts he incurred threatened him with financial ruin and to bring him to prison. This catastrophe was averted by his Holland friends.

After the death of his first wife he was married to Anna Nitschman, daughter of the Bishop.

Zinzendorf wrote much on matters pertaining to the Church. He composed many hymns. He composed a curious song for the Watchman of Herrnhut, which is given here:

8 o'clock. The clock is eight! to Herrnhut all is told
How Noah and his Seven were saved of old.

9 o'clock. Hear, Brethren, hear! the hour of nine is come;
Keep pure each heart and chasten every home.

10 o'clock. Hear, Brethren, hear! now ten the hour-hand shows;
They only rest, who long for night's repose.

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11 o'clock. The clock's eleven! and ye have heard it all
How in that hour the mighty God did call.

12 o'clock. It's midnight now! and at that hour ye know
With lamps to meet the bridegroom we must go.

1 o'clock. The hour is one! through darkness steals the day;
Shines in your hearts the morning star's first ray?

2 o'clock. The clock is two! who comes to meet the day,
And to the Lord of days his homage pay?

3 o'clock. The clock is three! the Three in One above
Let body, soul and spirit truly love.

4 o'clock. The clock is four! where'er on earth are three,
The Lord has promised He the fourth will be.

5 o'clock. The clock is five! while five away were sent,
Five other virgins to the marriage went.

6 o'clock. The clock is six! and from the watch I'm free,
And every one may his own watchman be.

The office of night-watch was instituted in Herrnhut in 1727. In winter the watchman began at eight in the evening, and walked the rounds till six in the morning; in summer the hours were from nine at night till four in the morning. The male inhabitants of the town between the years of sixteen and sixty watched in rotation.

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MEMOIR OF HECKEWELDER

JOHN Gottlieb Ernastus Heckewelder was born at Bedford, England, March 12, 1743; died at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, January 31, 1823.

His father, David Heckenwaelder, as anciently written, was one of the Moravian exiles who came with Christian David to Herrnhut, the village of refuge founded by the grace of Count Zinzendorf on his Estate of Berthelsdorf, Saxony. He was sent to reside in England "in the service of the Lord," and was living there when his son was born.

Young Heckewelder attended the Brethren's schools at Buttermere and Fulneck. His mind was peculiarly receptive and retentive in childhood, and remained so to the end of his life. His temperament was sanguine, his disposition cheerful. In physical and moral courage he was not surpassed by any of the great men with whom he was associated. As a child he was warm-hearted, and as a man, sociable and sympathetic, enjoying the society of his fellow-men, valued as friend, associate or companion by those so fortunate as to secure his confidence.

At the age of eleven Heckewelder came with his parents to America. They landed at New York. While the others were waiting for wagons which were to convey them to Bethlehem, Bishop David Nitschman and young Heckewelder made the journey on foot, the Bishop wading and carrying the boy across the many creeks found in the way. They arrived at Bethlehem April 20, 1754.

At Bethlehem Heckewelder attended school for about two years, when he went to live at Christianspring, two miles southwest of Nazareth. There he labored in the field. His parents assisted the missionaries at the different places about Bethlehem,

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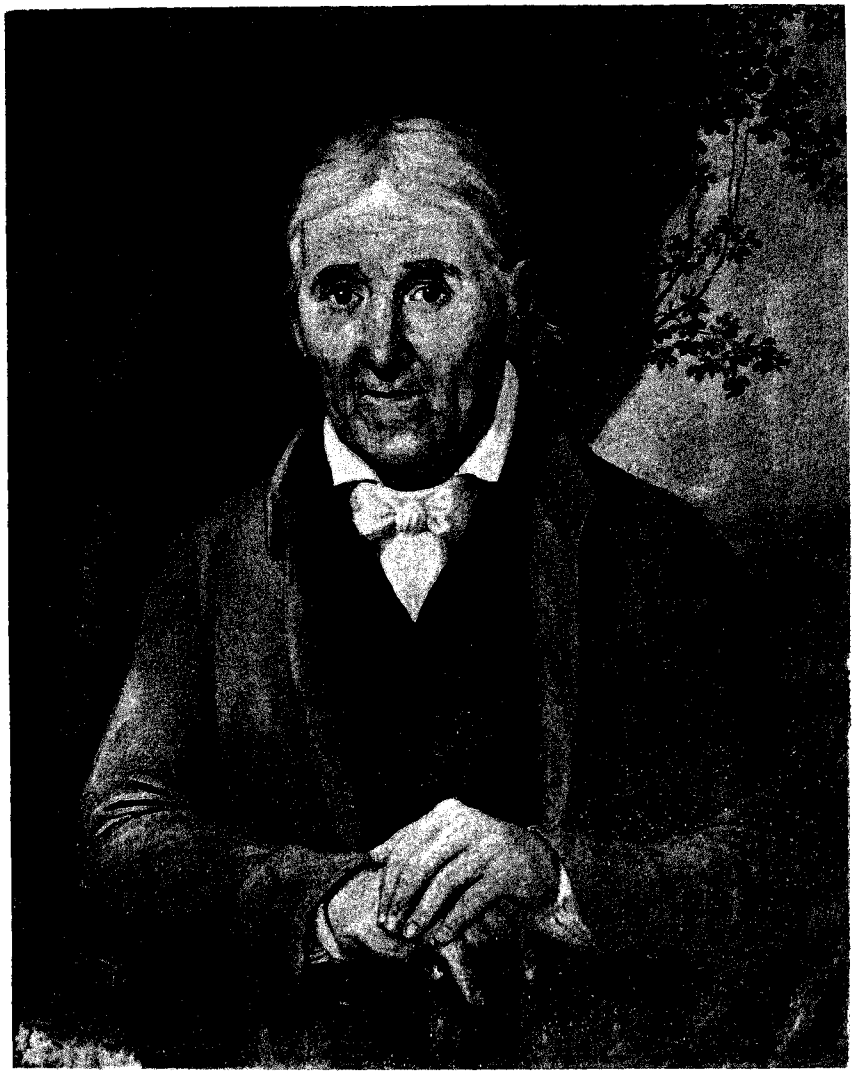

but were finally assigned to the mission in the Danish West Indies, and died there. Young Heckewelder returned to Bethlehem in 1758, and was there apprenticed to William Nixon, a cedar-cooper.

In the year 1761 Christian Frederick Post built a house on the Tuscarawas, in what is now the State of Ohio, and prepared to begin a mission there among the Delawares. It was necessary for him to have an assistant, and Heckewelder was fortunately enabled to accept the place, though he had not completed his term as an apprentice and was but nineteen. He left Bethlehem March 8, 1762, and met Post at Lititz. They left the village together on the twelfth, Post singing with enthusiasm as they departed. They encountered streams overflowing from the melting snow, and at Harris's ferry they crossed the Susquehanna with difficulty. The trail carried them by Carlisle. Some twelve miles west of Shippensburg, half way up a mountain, they observed the Sabbath lovefeast. At Juniata Crossing they narrowly escaped drowning. A recruiting officer at Fort Bedford was with difficulty prevailed on to allow Heckewelder to proceed, doing so only after an examination of the indenture by which he was apprenticed to Post. This paper was executed for just such an emergency. The ascent of the Alleghany Mountains was begun March 30th while a heavy snow was falling. This snow ceased about the middle of the afternoon, allowing them barely time to reach a hunter's cabin at the foot of the mountain at dark, which, had they missed, they would have perished. The journey from that point is well described by Heckewelder:

> At last, after a hard day's journey, and just as night came on, we succeeded in reaching the cabin of a hunter, whose name was Jack Miller, (also Saucy Jack,) in Edmonds's Swamp. Scarcely had we entered, when the wolves began their dismal howl, which was the hunter's night music all the year round. Jack had no stable; but our horses found tolerable pasture on a piece of land of about three acres, which had been cleared and fenced in by the hunter and his sons. The young men offered to watch our beasts, and protect them from

the wolves. A bell was fastened to the neck of each horse, a few fires were kindled, the hunters took their guns, and, followed by their dogs, began their watch, while we tried to refresh ourselves by a good night's sleep. But in this we were disappointed. The howling of the wolves, the barking of the dogs, the tinkling of the bells, by means of which the young men were enabled to tell where the horses were, and more than all the continual shouting of the guard from without, to assure their father of their watchfulness, and the answering cry of the old hunter from within, drove sleep from our eyes. Still we were thankful for the safety in which we were permitted to pass the night; and the next morning we took an affectionate leave of this wild but hospitable family.

We soon reached Stony Creek; where we were very nearly brought to a perfect stand. The bed of the creek is about four rods wide, but the water had risen to a great height; the canoe had been carried off by the stream the night before, and the few settlers, together with a small garrison, were all on the other side of the creek. After many entreaties and promises on our part, a sugar trough was brought from the woods; and in this novel vessel, we were safely ferried over; but had almost lost our horses, which were saved only by the greatest exertions. Having crossed the Laurel Hill and the Chestnut Ridge, we reached Bushy Run on the 1st of April, and pushed on rapidly, in order if possible to reach Pittsburgh, a distance of twenty-five miles, before night. Having approached the fort within seven or eight miles, we suddenly found ourselves on the field of Braddock's defeat. A dreadful sight was presented to our eyes. Skulls and bones of the unfortunate men slain here on the 9th of July, 1755, lay scattered all around; and the sound of our horses' hoofs continually striking against them, made dismal music, as, with the Monongahela full in view, we rode over this memorable battle-ground.

We felt as if relieved from an insupportable weight, when, on arriving at Fort Pitt, we again found ourselves in the company of the living. The only private dwelling in the neighborhood of the Fort was situated at the junction of the Alleghany and Monongahela. It was owned by two traders, Messrs. Davenport and McKinney; who received us in a very friendly and hospitable manner. Within the Fort, also, we met with kind well-wishers; and the treatment we received at the hands of the gallant commander Col. Bouquet, and all his officers, calls for my lasting gratitude. To a youth far from home and friends, engaged in an enterprize the success of which was more than doubtful, each kind word is as an angel from heaven.

Post had expected to be able to make arrangements at Fort Pitt for a supply of flour, which could easily have been brought to our new home by the

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travelling traders. But to our great disappointment, the magazine had been overflowed by a tremendous inundation, and no flour was to be had. Neither could any be procured from the surrounding country, as there were no farms within hundreds of miles.

On the 5th of April, we crossed the Alleghany. The heavy rain of the preceding day, had swelled the different streams in our way, so that we could travel only sixteen miles before night. We pitched our tent on a rising ground near a creek. During the night a dreadful thunder storm came on, and we were awakened by the water rushing through our tent. We immediately laid our baggage on the top of the tent, to prevent it from being washed away, and the night being perfectly dark, we heaped wood on the fire, to produce a bright blaze, that we might see our way to a safer resting place. Our companion from Pittsburgh, a Virginian, who seemed accustomed to a life of hardships, and perfectly at home in such scenes as these, led the way with lighted fire-brands, and enabled us to find the most shallow places. Here we crossed while the water was running knee deep around us. By dint of great exertion, we managed to save our horses, tents and baggage. There was no time to lose. The last time we crossed from our first encampment, we could scarcely stem the flood; and in the morning the spot where our tent had been standing was covered by the deep waters. Our baggage had been completely wetted; and as we supposed that the creeks we should have to pass must have risen during the night, we resolved to remain where we were till the next morning.

The Virginian kindly offered to go out hunting and procure us food; and Post and myself spent the greater part of the day together, thanking God for his mercy, and reminding each other, that a path like ours could not be strewn with flowers. The next day we continued our journey, and found the smaller streams fordable. The Beaver river we crossed in canoes with the assistance of the Indians who lived there. They also gave us some venison and bear's fat; and one of them, White Eyes, presented us with a few chickens. Four days after, on the 11th of April, we arrived at Tuscarawas on the Muskingum, after a pilgrimage of thirty-three days. We entered our cabin singing a hymn.

The cabin which Post had built the year before, stood on a high bank, on the east side of the Muskingum, about four rods from the stream. No one lived near us on the same side of the river; but on the other, a mile down the stream, resided a trader, named Thomas Calhoon, a moral and religious man. Farther south was situated the Indian town called Tuscarawas; consisting of about forty wigwams. A mile still farther down the stream, a few families had settled; and eight miles above our dwelling, there was another Indian village.

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The circumstances attending the selection of a garden, and the permission from the Indians to clear it of trees after the matter had been considered in the tribal council which Post had been summoned to attend are described in the *Narrative*.

Post went with the chiefs of the Delawares to the treaty held with the Indians at Lancaster. He left Heckewelder alone in the cabin on the banks of the Tuscarawas. Of his life there, and his escape from death, Heckewelder says:

We perceived at once the insurmountable difficulties of our situation. As was mentioned above, there was no flour to be procured at Fort Pitt. Neither was Indian corn to be had, as a famine prevailed at the time among the Indians, and every grain of maize was saved for planting. Potatoes were also very scarce. We were therefore forced to depend, partly on my expertness with the gun and fishing hook, and partly on the few vegetables that were to be found in the surrounding forest. There were wild ducks in abundance; but the river being in some places too deep to ford, and we having no canoe, I often had to wait very long, until they flew so near the bank that I could reach them when shot. The wild geese were still more difficult to get, as these seldom approach the banks, but generally keep in the middle of the river. Pheasants and squirrels are almost worthless in summer; and the larger game of the forest was rapidly shot down by the more expert Indians, whom hunger rendered still more active. Of fish we could procure more than enough; but in the manner in which we were forced to prepare them they became tasteless and even disgusting; and besides, when used exclusively, these are not a food calculated to give strength to the body. We lived mostly on nettles; which grew abundantly in the bottoms, and of which we frequently made two meals a day. We also made use of some other vegetables and greens. Besides, we had brought along some tea and chocolate; which we drank as well as we could without milk or sugar.

Of course such a diet could have no other effect than to weaken us from day to day. Nevertheless, we were obliged to clear the space allotted us for a garden, and which was covered by thick trees. When these were removed, the ground had to be loosened with pickaxes. The wood we chopped very short, so that we could roll and drag it from the enclosure. How often, while engaged in this laborious employment without strengthening food, did I think of the pieces of bread which I had frequently seen given to the hogs; and how gladly would I have shared them!

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One day some chiefs came to request my assistance for a few days in making a fence round their land. I gladly accepted the invitation, being desirous of doing any thing to secure their good will; and I did my best to be of service to them. At the same time, I was enabled to restore my health and strength; for as long as I staid with them, I could eat enough to satisfy the cravings of hunger. Thus I found myself suddenly transferred as it were to a land of plenty, and where I had opportunities to cultivate the acquaintance of the Indian youth, and to secure the favour of the tribe by my industry. During my stay with them, I received the name of "Piselatulpe," Turtle; by which I am still known among the Delawares.

Hitherto, amidst all my privations, I had still enjoyed the company of a white man; but of this comfort too I was soon to be deprived. Previously to our leaving Philadelphia, Post had promised the Governor of Pennsylvania to do his best to encourage the chiefs of the Western Delawares to come to Lancaster, in the latter part of summer, in order to hold a talk with the Government; and had also given his word to accompany them. In view of this arrangement, it had been resolved by the Elders of the Congregation, that in case of Post's succeeding in this negotiation, he should not leave me in Ohio, but that we should set out together for Lancaster, and then return to our station. The time when Post was to set out being near at hand, he became not a little embarrassed. It was evident that if we both left the Muskingum, we should not be able to return, and in travelling to Lancaster together, would be virtually abandoning our missionary enterprize. For the Indians were already suspicious; and during our absence, designing men might easily increase their fears, and induce them to destroy our cabin and forbid our return. On the other hand, Post was unwilling to leave me alone in a strange country, surrounded by an unfriendly and savage tribe, of whose very language I was still ignorant. He laid the whole matter before me; and we at last agreed that I should remain.

In order to enable us to bring down cedar wood, for the purpose of making tubs and the like articles for the Indians, and also to procure the game that I might shoot on the river, we resolved to make a canoe. We set about the work without delay; and with the assistance of one of Mr. Calhoon's men, we succeeded in finishing one that answered our purpose very well.

To assist me in passing my time, Post left me a number of old sermons and religious books, requesting me at the same time, never to read or write in presence of the Indians, and even to conceal the books from their sight. "For otherwise," said he, "you will be in great danger. The Indians are very suspicious of those white people whom they see engaged in reading and writing,

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especially the latter; believing that it concerns them or their territory. They say that they have been robbed of their lands by the writing of the whites." I was therefore compelled to keep my books and papers in the garret, from a window of which I could see whether any one was approaching the cabin. Here I whiled away many an hour, far from civilization, alone with my books, my thoughts and God.

As long as I had my canoe, I could always procure a plentiful supply of provisions. The wild ducks were so numerous that I frequently brought down five or six at one shot. But by the carelessness or dishonesty of the Indian boys, who often borrowed the canoe in order to spear fish, or to pursue deer on the river by torchlight, it was lost before many days were over. I was often in great distress for food; and indeed, many a day I was entirely destitute of it. The nettles had become too large and hard; and every vegetable that grew in my garden was stolen by the passing traders. Whenever I wished to visit Mr. Calhoon, I had to wade the Muskingum; in consequence of which I was soon attacked by fever and ague. . . .

The fever soon prostrated my strength, and the gloom of my situation increased. It would be impossible to give an adequate idea of my sufferings, both in mind and body; alone and sick, and almost famished. More than once, on returning from Mr. Calhoon's, the paroxysm of fever became so violent that I had to lie down on the path till it was over. An Indian once found me in this condition, and kindly led me to my cabin. Mr. Calhoon, a man of open hand and heart, invited me to come and stay with him; and I would gladly have accepted the kind offer, but I had promised Post to remain at the cabin, as otherwise the Indians would have stolen every thing. At last my strength failed to such a degree that I was afraid to venture upon fording the river, and was compelled to stay at home, if such a place might be called home.

Whilst I was in this miserable condition, I was once visited by an Indian of my acquaintance; and I begged him to make me a little bark canoe; in return for which I promised to give him a knife. He did so, and I soon made my first trial with it, passing down the river to visit Mr. Calhoon. He hardly recognized me, so much had hunger and fatigue changed my appearance. I was received in the most friendly manner, and food was immediately set before me. I told him of my new acquisition, and told him that I intended to use my canoe to visit him and the Indians in the village, in order to procure some food, until I should be sufficiently recovered to hunt. "Very well;" said he, "never pass me by in your expeditions, I shall cheerfully share with you." I then preferred my first request for a knife to give the Indian as I had promised. The good-natured trader immediately told me to send the man to his store, so

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that he might have his choice; as he was the best Indian that he had ever known; and that I need not pay him any thing for it. I had in fact not one cent in my possession, but had permission from Post, in case of necessity, to draw upon the trader for what was absolutely necessary. At this time I was frequently reduced to such distress, that the least morsel of food, if offered, would have been acceptable. But although I could make out to live, I was unable to do anything towards effecting the object for which I had come. Indeed, it soon became evident that our enterprise was to be a complete failure.

Post had hardly been gone three weeks, when the rumor was spread, that he never intended to return; nay more, that even were he to attempt it, he would not be allowed by the tribe to do so; that his sole purpose was to deliver the Indian country into the hands of the white people, and that this was the secret of his pretended missionary efforts. It was also reported that a war would soon break out between the English and the Indians, in which the latter would be assisted by their old allies, the French. All this I had written to Post; having found means to send him the information by a Mr. Denison, from Detroit, who was travelling to Philadelphia. He returned answer, that he had already heard the unwelcome news, and that, in the pass things had come to, I could do no better than to return as speedily as possible. Gladly would I have followed his advice, but my horse was lost, or had been stolen, for upwards of three months. I was too weak to travel on foot; and Mr. Calhoon's pack-horse drivers, who had intended to set out for Pittsburg with furs, were all laid up with the fever. I was therefore under the necessity of waiting for their recovery; and in the mean time put my trust in that Lord whom I served.

Meanwhile I was twice warned by friendly Indians to leave their country; and every time I visited Tuscarawas, I saw strangers among the real inhabitants, and perceived that I was the object of their scrutiny. But I remained in happy ignorance of my dangerous situation, until, one afternoon, one of Mr. Calhoon's men called from the opposite bank of the Muskingum, requesting me to lock my door and cross the river immediately, as Mr. Calhoon wished to speak with me on business of great importance. Having wrapped up a few articles of dress in my blanket, I paddled across. As soon as I arrived at Mr. C's, he told me privately, that an Indian woman who frequently came to his store, and who made spirits, which he kept for sale, had asked him that day whether the white man who lived above, on the other side of the river, were his friend; and that, on his answering in the affirmative, she had said: "Take him away: don't let him remain one night longer in his cabin: he is in danger there."

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The next morning I wished to return, to see whether any thing had taken place at the cabin, and if possible, to fetch a few necessary articles which had been left behind in the hurry of my departure. Mr. Calhoon however would not let me go, but sent two of his strongest men to see how things stood. One of them, James Smith, was a man of such uncommon strength, that the Indians considered him a Manitto, and would hardly be anxious to engage him personally. They reported that the house had been broken open during the night, and that judging from appearances there, two persons had been in. There were signs of a late fire on the hearth, and they had evidently been waiting for me. Of course my return was out of the question; the attempt would have been actual fool-hardiness. I never saw my lonely cabin again, remaining under the hospitable roof of the trader. Meanwhile, as I afterwards heard, emissaries of the Senecas and Northern Indians, were busily engaged in exciting the Delawares to take up the hatchet against the English; and soon after my departure, war broke out, and more than thirty white people of my acquaintance lost their lives.

At Mr. Calhoon's I experienced nothing but the most true-hearted friendship; and under his kind treatment I recovered from the fever.

About this time the Indian chiefs whom Post had accompanied to Lancaster, returned home; and we soon perceived that from some cause or other, their friendship had considerably cooled. One of them, however, King Beaver, remained favorably disposed; but all he could do was to give me several friendly hints to hasten my departure. Fortunately, Mr. Calhoon's men were now restored to health, and determined to set out on their journey to Pittsburgh. My kind host lent me a young horse to ride on; and in return I offered what assistance I could give his men in loading and unloading at the encampments.

We now took an affectionate leave of each other. His conduct had been that of a Christian indeed; and his kindness will be remembered by me as long as I live. He would have left the country with me; but property of great amount had been entrusted to him, and this he considered himself bound to guard as long as possible. After my return to Bethlehem, I learned through the public papers, that he and his brother, together with their servants, had been ordered by the Delaware chiefs to leave their country; as they were unable any longer to protect them. They set out for Pittsburgh; but were attacked on the road, at the Beaver river, by a party of warriors, and only two saved their lives, Mr. C. himself, who out-stripped his pursuers in the race, and James Smith, who had strangled his antagonist.

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the "Gunpowder affair." Following is the account of the matter:

The only white man at Wajomick (Wyoming), a trader by the name of Ogden, entertained us hospitably, and did what he could to make our stay with him as agreeable as possible; particularly so, as the Indians, who were expected from Friedenhutten, had not yet arrived. The dwelling of this man consisted of two small buildings adjoining each other. In one his goods were stored for sale; in the other several kegs of powder were deposited. He slept in the store-room, from which a door opened into the powder-magazine; another opened into it from the outside. A change of weather threatening to come on, he prepared a couch of dry straw or hay for us in his powder-magazine; requesting us, in the most friendly terms, on no account to smoke tobacco in the apartment, not only because some grains of powder might be scattered upon the floor, but because some kegs were opened. It being now bed-time, Mr. Ogden placed a lighted candle in his store, in such a direction as to throw sufficient light through the middle door, left open for that purpose, till we should have retired to rest. Brother Angerman, however, wished to have the candle placed nearer to him, in order to inspect and bind up his lacerated feet. The landlord and the rest of us represented to him the danger to which he would expose himself and us; but he ceased not to plead for it, promising neither to bring the candle in contact with the straw nor to blow it out, but to leave it standing on the door-sill, and then to extinguish it on the outside of the house. Mr. Ogden at last gave way to his request, and then shut the middle door. We now lay down, after once more earnestly charging Brother Angerman to be careful with the light. We soon fell asleep, and he too was overpowered by sleep before he had extinguished the light. Next morning Brother Zeisberger awakened me, and took me alone with him into the woods. He then drew the candle out of his pocket, and imparted to me in confidence, what he would reveal to no soul besides; saying: "If, in the preceding night, we had not had an invisible watchman with us, we should all have been blown to atoms, and no soul could have known how it happened. I was fast asleep, for I was tired and in my first doze; suddenly I felt a shock, as though somebody was forcibly rousing me; I jumped up, and lo! the candle was burnt down on one side, and just on the point of dropping in a blaze on the straw; to prevent which accident, there was but one moment left. From that instant, I could sleep no longer; for one chill after another thrilled through my veins."

The above circumstance occurred in 1768. The company

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On the third day after our departure from Muskingum, we met Post and the Indian agent, Captain McKee; who were returning to the Indian country, totally ignorant of the real state of affairs. In spite of our earnest remonstrances, they insisted on proceeding, not considering the danger so imminent. They were soon undeceived on their arrival; and their lives were in danger. The agent was protected by the friendship of the chiefs; but Post, whom the Indians suspected of secret designs against them, as they were at a loss to explain his missionary movements, had to fly for his life, and was conducted to a place of safety, through a secret forest path, by one of his former fellow-travellers to Lancaster.

Having taken leave of Post, I hastened after my companions, who had proceeded in the meantime. At a distance of five miles I expected to find their tents; and seeing the smoke of an encampment curling above the trees, I rode on, but was much surprised to find myself suddenly in the midst of a war-party. The sight of the Indian captives, and of the scalping pole with its savage decorations, was not calculated to encourage me. I was however suffered to pass on; and on riding five miles farther, I found my company, by whom I was informed that I had fallen in with a party of Senecas, who had just returned from an expedition against the Cherokees.

When Heckewelder returned to Bethlehem he found many changes in the condition of affairs. The Economy had been abolished, and every one carried on his own business in his own way. Some of his friends were no longer there, and as he had no means of support, he thought of returning to England. Very fortunately, he did not do so. He went to work at his trade, and was often sent to assist the missionaries. In 1765 he was for a time in Friedenshutten (Wyalusing); afterwards he was there frequently, and also at Schechschiquanink, the second Susquehanna mission. On a journey in winter he came near losing his life from the extreme cold. He gave up hope and seated himself on a log, one end of which still rested upon its stump. He immediately fell into a deep sleep from which he never would have awakened but for the sliding of the log from the stump, which caused him to fall. He roused himself and succeeded in reaching the only inhabited house at Gnadenhutten. He was near losing his life at another time by what is remembered as

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consisted of Heckewelder, Ettwein, Zeisberger, Senseman, and Angerman.

The real missionary life of Heckewelder began in 1771. In that year he was made an assistant to Zeisberger and sent to Friedenstadt, on the Beaver River. In 1773 this place was abandoned and the mission established on the Tuscarawas. He has given us in his *Narrative* the history of the mission there during the perilous and stormy days of the Revolution. His daring saved the mission from ruin upon his return from Bethlehem in 1778. He was carried away to Sandusky, finally to Detroit, by the savages under the Half-King and Captain Pipe. The hardships borne by the Brethren were many and severe. It seemed that there was no rest for the poor Christian Indian; his geatest enemy, next to the border settler, was his pagan brother. All the congregation of Christian Indians wanted was to remain unmolested; this neither the white settler nor the pagan Indian would allow. When the congregation returned to Ohio after the Revolution it was with the expectation of enjoying peace in a permanent home, but it became necessary to return to Canada to avoid extermination.

In 1786 Heckewelder returned from Cuyahoga to Bethlehem. But his labors did not cease. He became the business agent of the missions, and conducted their affairs. He made journeys to the Ohio country to look after the lands granted the Christian Indians by Congress. He removed with his family to Gnadenhutten in 1801, and resided on the Tuscarawas until 1810. He was postmaster of the village, and acted as agent for owners of large tracts of land. Many land titles in Tuscarawas County, Ohio, rest on contracts made by Heckewelder with the first settlers.

Heckewelder was married in 1780 to Miss Sarah Ohneberg. She went with him to the wilderness of the Muskingum. Their daughter, Johanna Maria, was born April 6, 1781, at Salem, now in Tuscarawas County, Ohio. She was the first white female child born in the State, and the first child born in the

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State of permanent settlers — the first white child born in a home in Ohio. Their second child, Anna Salome, was born August 13, 1784, at New Gnadenhutten on the Huron (Clinton) River, Michigan. Susanna was born at Bethlehem December 31, 1786. These daughters survived Heckewelder. Johanna Maria died unmarried, at Bethlehem, September 19, 1868. Anna Salome married Mr. Joseph Rice, of Bethlehem; died January 15, 1857. Susanna married Mr. J. Christian Luckenbach, of Bethlehem; died February 8, 1867. Heckewelder's wife died in 1815.

Heckewelder built him a house in Bethlehem where he spent his old age. He planted the grounds with native trees he learned to love in the woods. He established a nursery for the propagation of fruit trees and there are yet standing about Bethlehem apple trees planted by him and his daughters. His old age was peaceful. Much of his time was spent in writing of his experiences with the Indians in the wilderness. His principal works are *The History, Manners and Customs of the Indian Nations,* and his *Narrative.* The *Life of John Heckewelder* was written by Rev. Edward Rondthaler, and published in 1847.

The works of Heckewelder did much for science. They were the first to give any satisfactory account of the manners and customs of the Indians. He wrote what he himself observed. His writings have stood the test of time and also that of investigation in a later age. For some years it was fashionable to criticize his books. This criticism began with an article in the *North American Review* in 1826. A careful study of that article proves it to have been written by a person poorly informed, but who professed profound learning. Most criticism is written by such persons. Dr. Samuel Johnson found it so in his day.

C. W. Butterfield rejected some things written by Heckewelder, but so far as I have been able to discover there was no reason given for so doing. Many writers seem to believe it indicates scholarship to attack some standard and authentic work. There has never been any sufficient reason given for

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doubting the accuracy of Heckewelder. He has fallen into occasional minor errors, as has every person who ever wrote any historical account. The most serious of these is that of naming Tecumseh as the Prophet when it was so well known that the Prophet was the brother of Tecumseh. There existed no motive whatever for misrepresentation on the part of Heckewelder. He sought to serve no end save that of rendering a faithful and simple account of transactions long since passed. It is the verdict of the generations which followed him that his work was well done.

It has been the intention to embody in this edition of his *Narrative* as much of what he wrote aside from that work as could be done with propriety. In the *Narrative* he mentions two journeys made to the West. By permission of the publishers of the *Pennsylvania Magazine* we include here the Journals of those expeditions as edited by Mr. John W. Jordan, the Editor of the said magazine.

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NOTES OF TRAVEL OF WILLIAM HENRY, JOHN HECKEWELDER, JOHN ROTHROCK, AND CHRISTIAN CLEWELL, TO GNADENHUETTEN ON THE MUSKINGUM, IN THE EARLY SUMMER OF 1797.

EDITED BY JOHN W. JORDAN.

[Subsequent to the dispersion of the Moravian Indian Mission in Ohio, and the massacre of ninety-six of their converts at Gnadenhuetten, in March of 1782, the Moravian Church petitioned Congress for a reservation of the lands occupied by the mission, which had originally been granted to them by the Delawares in 1772. On the 20th May, 1785, Congress passed an Act,—"That the said towns (Gnadenhuetten, Schoenbrunn, and Salem), and so much of the adjoining land as in the judgment of the Geographer of the United States may be sufficient for them, together with the buildings, &c., shall be reserved for the sole use of the Christian Indians settled there." (Journal of Congress, Vol. IX, p. 174.) In consequence of the unsettled state of Indian affairs in the West, no steps were taken by the Church to avail themselves of its provisions. However, on the reorganization of the "Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Heathen," in 1787, it was determined to obtain further legislation, and by the Act which was approved June 1, 1796, three tracts of land of four thousand acres each, including the sites of the before-named towns, were granted to the Society in trust for the Christian Indians. Preparations were thereupon made to have the lands surveyed, and William Henry and John Heckewelder (with two assistants) were appointed to meet Rufus Putnam, United States Surveyor-General, at Marietta for that purpose.

William Henry was born at Lancaster, Pa., March 12, 1757. In 1778 he engaged in the manufacture of fire-arms in Northampton County, and in 1808 erected a forge, in which the first iron manufactured in the county was drawn there, March 9, 1809. In 1813 he built the Boulton Gun Works, on the Bushkill, which are still continued by his descendants of the name. Mr. Henry was commissioned January 14, 1788, a Justice of the Peace and Judge of the Courts of Common Pleas and Quarter Sessions for Northampton County. He resigned in 1814. In 1792 he was elected one of the Presidential Electors of the State, and cast his vote for Washington for President. He removed to Philadelphia in 1818, and died there April 21, 1821.

For a memoir of Rev. John Heckewelder consult "History, Manners, and Customs of the Indian Nations," etc., edited by Rev. W. C. Reichel, Vol. XII, p. 7, Pub. Hist. Soc. Penna. John Rothrock and Christian Clewell were attached to the Moravian congregation at Schoeneck, Pa.

The original MS. of this Journal, in German, is in the handwriting of Heckewelder, and was translated by Robert W. Henry, of Boulton.

To Isaac Craig, Esq., of Alleghany, William D. McGowan, Esq., of Ligonier, Pa., and H. A. Rattermann, Esq., of Cincinnati, the editor is indebted for valuable assistance in the preparation of his annotations.]

ON the afternoon of Easter Monday, April 17th, the several travelers met in Bethlehem. The next day snow fell, & as there were various matters to be attended to, we remained in Bethlehem. The following day, April 19th, we continued our journey to Lititz & Lancaster *via* Emmaus.[1] In Lititz,[2] where the Brethren expressed their heartfelt interest in our undertaking, we remained until the 22nd, on the morning

1 Emmaus, a Moravian settlement in Lehigh Co., was laid out in 1759, and received its name in 1761.

2 A Moravian settlement in Warwick township, Lancaster Co., laid out in 1756.

of which day, we resumed our journey, passing through Manheim and Elizabethtown to Middletown, the total distance being 26 miles.

Manheim is very pleasantly situated on the Chickes[1] & contains about 150, mostly small, houses. Glass works were formerly carried on here.[2]

Our intention was to proceed direct to Elizabethtown, but having missed the road, we passed near Bro. Beck's, in Mount Joy; consequently we were obliged to retrace our steps, & though unexpected to us, paid our respects to Bro. Beck. At Bro. John Frederick's, we met with a very hearty reception and found good accommodations.[3] From here we were obliged to pass a mountainous region [Conewago Hills] in order to reach Elizabethtown, where we came upon the wide Lancaster road (that part leading over the Conewago, is bad beyond all description,) and arrived at a seasonable hour in Middletown, where we remained over night. Middletown [Dauphin Co.] is an attractive village, having the Susquehanna on the West side, & on the East the Big Swatara Creek which flows into it about a mile below the village. The Square & the cross streets are in good condition, & the streets running North & South are mostly built up. The houses are built of limestone or brick,—the majority, however, are frame or log houses.

On the morning of the 24th, we made an early start, & notwithstanding the rain, had good roads to Chamber's Ferry, where we took breakfast & then crossed the Susquehanna.[4] A half hour is necessary to cross this beautiful river, and while doing so, we had a fine view of Harrisburg, situated on the river, about 2½ miles to the north of us. The country from Middletown to the ferry is very pleasing & exhibits some fine farms. From here we proceeded to Carothers,[5] 10 miles distant, where we fed our horses, & remained all night in Carlisle [Cumberland Co.], 8 miles farther on. We observed on our journey to day, that the Locust trees were everywhere left standing upon the fields, their growth not being at all impeded by the young shoots.

On the 24th, we took an early departure from Carlisle & breakfasted, after a ride of 7 miles, at Millers;[6] arrived at 12 o'clock in Shippensburg, & at Strasburg by 5 P.M. The country around Carlisle, a large and attractive town, is similar to that around Nazareth, the only difference being that the lime-stone

1 Shortened from *Chickisalunga*, which, Heckewelder states, was corrupted from *Chickiswalungo*, —*i. e.*, where the ground is full of holes bored by the crab or craw-fish.

2 These works had been erected by the eccentric and unfortunate "Baron" Henry W. Stiegel, but since 1780 had not been operated.

3 The Beck and Frederick families were connected with the Moravian congregation in Donegal. John Frederick's name appears in a list of the taxables of Rapho township as early as 1756.

4 Chamber's Ferry was located a short distance below the present town of Steelton, Dauphin Co., and was on the main route to Carlisle, being several miles nearer than *via* Harris' Ferry (Harrisburg).

5 Known as Carother's Spring, at the east side of Hogestown.

6 Evidently Mount Rock, where descendants of the name still reside.

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rocks everywhere protrude, until within a few miles of Shippensburg, where the gravel soil begins, on which is found a fine growth of trees, interspersed with Pines & Locusts. We also noticed along the road, that the Locust was looked upon as a very useful tree, & that it was planted along the fences where no natural growth presented itself.

The country from Miller's Tavern to Shippensburg has a very dry appearance, & we noticed, (as was also the case on the road to Carlisle,) wagons with barrels of water upon them, standing in front of the most thrifty looking farm houses.

Shippensburg [Cumberland Co.] presents an attractive appearance, & contains amongst its inhabitants many industrious mechanics. The town consists chiefly of one street, three-quarters of a mile in length & tolerably well built up, but its main street, as is generally the case with most towns & villages, is much too narrow. It contains probably 250 houses, but is wanting in a mill-stream. A beautiful spring, however, pursues its course through the western part of the town past Rippey's Tavern.[1]

Strasburg [Franklin Co.] is a new town, near the Blue Mountains, 11 miles from Shippensburg, & at the present time, consists of but one street. We observed here that this village, in proportion to its size, contained very few mechanics, but had many stores. The houses, like those of all new towns, are built of logs. The town has a good supply of water but no regular stream. As far as we observed, the small streams of this region flow towards the Conedogwinit. The Blue Mountains, which all along were varying in appearance, presented here, where we were very close to them, an interesting aspect. We had rain on the 25th, until half past 9 o'clock: We now ascended the Blue Mountains, which was easily accomplished, although they are of considerable height.

From here our course led us into a narrow valley, called Horse valley [Letterkenny township], up & down another small mountain called Middle Mountain, then over the Conocheague, which flows inward towards Fannettsburg, a new village in Path valley.[2]

1 The "Branch Hotel," where President Washington was quartered on his visit to the town, during the Whiskey Rebellion, was kept by William Rippey, who had served in Col. William Irvine's regiment, as captain, in 1776-77.

2 Path Valley (in early deeds called "Tuscarora Valley," through which the "Tuscarora Path" ran) is bounded on the west by the Tuscarora Mountains. The route of our travellers was through the present Metal township, over the west branch of the Conocheague Creek (corrupted from Guneuk-itschik, signifying "indeed a long way." *Heckewelder*), which flows in a southerly course through the Valley to Fannettsburg, laid out about 1792. The *Western Advertiser and Chambersburg Weekly* contains the following advertisement: "A NEW TOWN. Notice is hereby given that the subscriber living in Path Valley, Franklin County, proposes about one hundred lots of ground for sale, to be laid out in one street, along the State Road from Conococheague Creek to within a few perches of the cross road in said Valley. The first day of November next, at the house of William Brewster, Storekeeper, to the time and place appointed for the sale of the lots aforesaid."

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The soil is of a red sandy nature, contains also some lime-stone, & is overgrown with Pine, some White Oak & other similar timber. The trees were very backward & but few green leaves could be seen, in consequence of this being a colder region than that along the Susquehanna.

From Fannettsburg we crossed Tuscarora Mountain, which is of considerable height. The ascent leads up a well broken path, the descent, however, was rough & stony. As far as Fort Littleton or Capt. Burds,[1] we found a rough gravel soil, but at Burds, as was also the case in Horse Valley, limestone presented itself. For about 10 miles of the way between Capt. Burd's & Sideling Hill [Fulton Co.] we found an uneven tract, but free of stones. We arrived at this place by 7 o'clock in the evening, & remained over night with Mr. Wiles.

From here we ascended Sideling Hill — where a very extensive view is obtained, — the farms lie far apart & the many continuous mountain ranges run mostly North & South. From Sideling Hill you proceed several miles until you reach the junction of this mountain with Ray's Hill, [Brush Creek township] which here is ascended with little trouble. Upon the whole Sideling Hill, is also easy of ascent, yet stony & well worn by wagons, as many heavily laden teams pass along this road.

This is also, almost without exception, the case from the Blue Mountains onward. From Wile's to Raystown branch of the Juniata, the distance is 10 miles, & from Ray's Hill to the Juniata 4 miles.

The soil from this place on is of a red sandy & slaty nature. Here a German lives, by the name of Thiel, who keeps the Inn & attends to the ferry. Here we breakfasted & then proceeded over an uneven sandy & slaty road towards Hartley's Inn, & passed the first narrows of the Juniata. From the last named place to the present, we found but few & very poor looking settlements. At Hartley's Tavern,[2] & about ½ mile to the east of the road, the limestone again appeared. The region from Hartley's to within ½ mile of Bedford is called Morrison's Cove; it has as a general thing, good farming land; the principal wood is Oak & the soil lime-stone.

The road is very crooked & well worn with driving. After a journey of 14 miles we arrived at Bedford. [Bedford Co.] The town was full of people, as the Supreme Court was in session. It is a thriving little town, contains a Court-house & school-house, but we did not notice any church. We became acquainted with a Mr. Würtz, who showed great hospitality. He offered

1 Dublin township, Fulton Co. Near the site of the present town a fort was built in 1756. Capt. Benjamin Burd, 4th Penna. Regiment, at the close of the Revolution settled here, but subsequently removed to Bedford, where he died in 1824.

2 Marked on Reading Howell's Map of 1792, near the southern base of Tussey's Mountain.

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to open his house & render friendly services to all Moravians who would travel this way in future. Many who formerly lived in Bethlehem, also visited us & were very attentive. The town lies on the Juniata & was formerly called Raystown, and has very fine surroundings. From Bedford we proceeded two miles farther to the residence of Mons. Bonnet, at present occupied by Mr. Ferree,[1] where we remained over night. Here one of the roads turns off to the left through the Glades,— a level & rather thickly settled region, of from 15 to 20 miles in breadth & lying between the Alleghany and Laurel Hills. This road is said to be the best in summer during dry weather, when both mountains are also easy of ascent. There are some fine settlements to be found between Bedford and Mr. Ferree's; the soil is limestone, but the country is very hilly. The majority of the houses on this side of the Blue Mountains, are of good appearance & have nearly all been built since the war.

From Mr. Ferree's we came upon the old Pennsylvania road.[2] A mile from Ferree's we obtained a sight of the Alleghanys, a mountainous region, & but sparsely settled to Ryan's Tavern, a distance of 9 miles. From here it is 3 miles to the foot of the Alleghany, & from there two miles to the top. The ascent of the mountain has been very much facilitated by the labor which has been bestowed upon the road. From the summit to Stattler's & from here to Stoystown,[3] a distance of 10 miles, the road is very stony & marshy, especially along Stony Creek,[4] which has four branches, & is crossed by means of bridges. On the Alleghany there is a road turning off to the right which is called the "old road."— This road is said to be at present better than the new one, which was made at the expense of the town, & it is for this reason that the one road is used so much by heavy teams. Stoystown is quite a new village, consisting of some 10 or 12 houses, built as usual of logs. From here on, the road improves. About 3 miles farther we came to the Quemahoning,[5] a stream with high banks, 150 feet in width, & is crossed by a good bridge. From here we went the entire distance to Squire Wells,[6] 2 farther, where we barely succeeded in procuring some food for ourselves, & some oats for our horses, which had today, on account of the bad roads, become exceedingly stiff & hungry. We remained here over night. From here we had about 5 miles to the foot of Laurel Hill, which is very steep, stony & well worn by travel. We

1 Marked on Reading Howell's Map of 1792, where the road from Somerset joins the State Road.

2 The "Pennsylvania State Road," laid out between 1784 and 1785, was the main route, along which our travellers pursued their journey westward.

3 Quemahoning township, Somerset County, and as "Stoys," noted on Reading Howell's Map of 1792.

4 A branch of the Quemahoning. Its Indian name (Delaware) was Sinne-hánne.

5 Corrupted from Cuwéi-mahóni, signifying pine-tree lick (Heckewelder). A branch of the Conemaugh.

6 Marked on Reading Howell's Map of 1792.

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breakfasted & fed our horses at Freeman's in Ligonier valley, 7 miles from Wells.[1] Farther on we met with dryer & better roads. Near Fort Ligonier,[2] we had a interview with Gen. St. Clair, Governor of the Western territory. We handed him Bro. Ettwein's letter, & also the history of the mission among the Indians.[3] He expressed himself as feeling friendly disposed towards us, approved of the object of the Society in sending us hither, & was of the opinion that if the Indians wished to settle there, they could do so without any fear of being disturbed.

There was at present quite a different kind of people living in this region, & it would be unnecessary for them to concern themselves about hostile bands from Virginia. They had greatly changed & were generally in good circumstances. The Governor, on account of the gout, had been obliged to keep his bed for the last four months. Nevertheless, he hoped to meet us in the month of June on the Muskingum, & assured us he would do every thing in his power towards the accomplishment of our object. At half past 12 o'clock we left his house & by 6^{30} arrived at Dunlap's[4] Tavern, 7 miles from Greensburg.

As soon as we had crossed the Chestnut Ridge, the change in the aspect of the country became very striking. It consists of a beautiful forest of black & white Oak, Hickory, Walnut, and other kinds of fine high trees. The farms which follow in rapid succession, are well laid out, well cultivated, & have good dwelling houses & roomy barns. Meadows & fields were decked with a lovely garment of green.

The road is good & occasionally very picturesque; this becomes the more observable, as from Strasburg to Chestnut Ridge, a stretch of 130 miles of stony & marshy roads, one becomes very much fatigued by the continual ascent & descent of the uninterrupted heights. At Riets', a German, we refreshed ourselves with a good glass of beer, and then rode 4 miles farther to Dunlap's, a family from Ireland, where we took up quarters for the night. From here we rode on the morning of the 29th of April to Greensburg [Westmoreland Co.], 6 or 7 miles from Dunlap's, & from here, after having breakfasted, to —— a distance of 11 miles, passing the Long Run Meeting-house,[5] & then

1 From its intersection with the Pennsylvania Road, in Jenner township, Somerset Co., Heckewelder and party proceeded along the old Forbes Road to Freeman's Tavern, in Ligonier township, Westmoreland Co.

2 Fort Ligonier, built in 1758, by Col. Bouquet, and named in honor of his friend Sir John Ligonier, was located near the N. E. bank of the Loyalhanna Creek. Its site is now within the corporate limits of the borough of Ligonier, for many years called Ramseytown.

3 St. Clair was living at "The Hermitage," near Mill Creek, two miles N. W. from Ligonier. For copy of Bishop Ettwein's letter, see "The St. Clair Papers," Vol. II, p. 420. The work referred to in the text was Loskiel's "History of the Indian Mission," etc.

4 Taking an old road from St. Clair's to Fort Ligonier, our travellers took the Forbes Road again to its intersection with the Pennsylvania Road at Two Mile Run.

5 Now in North Huntingdon township, Westmoreland Co. A Presbyterian congregation was organized here about 1781, and at the date of this Journal was in charge of the Rev. William Swan.

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12 miles farther passed the Nine Mile run to White's[1] Tavern, where we staid all night. After having breakfasted on the 30th of April, we left, here, at 9 o'clock for Pittsburgh, where we arrived at noon. The country from Chestnut Ridge to this place, has very much of sameness about it, but is hilly during the first four miles.

The soil seems to be rich & is overgrown with fine black & white Oak, Hickory, Walnut, some Locust & other kinds of trees. There are some very fine farms along this whole stretch of country, the buildings, however, especially the first and last part, are very poor.

Pittsburgh has an uncommonly fine situation upon a promontory, between two rivers, which calmly flow past the town. Both banks of the river have a secure height, & back of the town the land abounds with many little hills, where is found a valuable sand-stone, which is used in nearly all, & especially in building the new houses of the town. A good quality of Grindstone is also found here. In Pittsburgh we met with Bro. Kamp from Graceham,[2] who had arrived in town with his family three weeks ago, & had in the mean time purchased a house & some land. He related to us, among other things, that two weeks previous, several Indians had been here, among whom were three who said they had belonged to the Brethren's Church. They had bear's meat and venison to sell. One of them was named John Moses, who said that three weeks before Easter, he had left the Brethren in Fairfield[3] in good health. In the fall, however, Bro. Senseman[4] had lain sick for some time with a fever. The Indian who intimated to Bro. Kamp that he had belonged to the Brethren's Church, furthermore related, that he had misbehaved himself & had therefore taken his departure. The Brethren told him, that if he did not change, he would be obliged to seek another abode. Consequently he left the church, but had a desire to return.

Bro. Kamp sent a letter by him to Bro. Senseman, telling him that several Brethren were on their way to the Muskingum for the purpose of surveying the land, & also mentioned the time of their leaving Bethlehem. On the 2nd of May, after various consultations among ourselves, & a talk with Bro. Kamp relative to our departure, we resolved to start from here, by horse, to Charlestown (also called Buffalo), there to provide ourselves with the necessary provisions, & also to hire a pair of packhorses & a guide, the latter to act also as

1 Nine miles from Pittsburgh, and not far distant from the Braddock battle-field.

2 A Moravian settlement in Frederick Co., Maryland, founded in 1758.

3 On the river Thames, Canada, founded by Zeisberger in May of 1792, and still the seat of a Moravian Indian Mission.

4 Gottlob Senseman, the missionary in charge and sometime Zeisberger's assistant in the Ohio Mission. His father Joachim escaped, but his mother was killed in the massacre at Gnadenhuetten, Pa., in November of 1755.

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driver. Bro. Henry was to go with the remaining Brethren direct to Muskingum, & from there Bro. Heckewelder was to set out & proceed to the Surveyor General at Marietta. We left Pittsburgh on the 4th of May, at 10 A. M., crossed the Monongahela & proceeded towards Burgettstown, which lies about 23 miles to the westward in Washington County, where we arrived towards evening. Burgettstown[1] is a new place, containing at the present time 12 houses, built of hewn logs. It has also a mill on Raccoon Creek, which flows close by the town. We took up our quarters with George Day,[2] whose wife treated us very hospitably, & placed before us as good a supper as she was able to provide. The country from Pittsburgh to this place consists of what is usually called broken land, yet not quite as disagreeable as that lying eastward from Fort Pitt. Everywhere can be seen fine forests, & occasionally limestone appears upon the hills & roads, also stone coal, which is very plentiful. Farms are to be met with all along the road, yet they are mostly new & quantities of dead timber can be seen standing in the fields. From here we started, early on the 5th for Charlestown, on the Ohio, & passing the mouth of Buffalo creek, arrived at our destination by 3 o'clock. We breakfasted with Mr. Patterson,[3] about 10 miles this side of Buffalo & obtained food here for our horses. About 12 o'clock we passed the western boundary of Pennsylvania, probably 6 miles east of Buffalo, on the Ohio. Buffalo[4] is a new town, but contains already from 90 to 100 houses, all of which are tenanted. An active trade is carried on, & a good quality of flour is produced here, which is sold to the settlers on the Ohio, and is also distributed among the poor. The observations of any note made upon our journey, to day, were similar to those of our previous travel, with the exception that the farms appeared older. There is only one steep hill upon this road, about 1 mile from Charlestown. Here we had the pleasure of meeting two Indians; one a son of White Eyes,[5] who is often mentioned in our Mission reports; the other Capt. Bull, a Munsey Indian. Both were willing to accompany us from here to the Muskingum, the

1 Burgettstown, in the present Smith township, was laid out in 1795, by Sebastian Burgett, a native of Germany, but last from Berks County. About 1785, he had erected a mill on Raccoon Creek.

2 George Day, in 1793, erected a tannery, and three years later was the proprietor of a tavern in the town.

3 Gen. Thomas Patterson, at Patterson's Mills, 4 miles N. W. of Middletown and 10 miles from Wellsburg. He was member of Congress 1817-1825. His wife was a daughter of Hon. William Findley, of Westmoreland Co. He died Nov. 17, 1841. His mill and farm are now owned by his nephew, William J. Patterson. The Hon. Samuel F. Patterson, of Pittsburgh, is a grandson, and many of his descendants reside in the neighborhood of his old place.

4 Wellsburg, Brooke County, West Virginia. It was laid out in 1789, by Charles Prather, for whom it was named Charlestown, but there being two other towns of the same name in the State, it was subsequently named after Alexander Wells, who built a large flour-warehouse in the town,—the first in the West. Heckewelder in this Journal calls the town Charlestown, and also Buffalo.

5 Joseph White Eyes, son of the celebrated Delaware chief of that name, who was baptized by Zeisberger after his return to Ohio.

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distance through the woods being about 75 miles. We rested on the 6th of May, & provided ourselves with bread, flour, some hams, & other necessaries, which were to be had here in great variety. During a visit of Bro. Heckewelder to the principal land owner of the town, the latter expressed himself in friendly terms, with regard to the Brethren & their object in visiting the Muskingum. He wished to be remembered to us, with the assurance that all Brethren travelling this way in future, could be accommodated here a great deal cheaper than at other points. He had a fine home, plenty of hay & feed, & lives somewhat off from the road. By noon on Sunday the 7th, we had all crossed the Ohio, *viz.* the Brethren Heckewelder, Henry, Kamp, Rothrock, & Clewell; & Mr. John Carr,[1] who was to act as our guide, the Indians Capt. Bull & Joseph White Eyes, who had a pair of pack horses with them, & our friend John Messimer, a Baptist [Dunker] who at present lives in Detroit. We now proceeded through the woods over a bridle-path which leads to Gnadenhütten, the distance being 70 miles.[2] We marched most of the time in the following order. Heckewelder on horseback, with a frying pan upon his shoulder; sometimes the Indian Capt. Bull led the party, with a rifle upon his shoulder; next Messimer carrying an axe, then Bro. Clewell with an axe, J. Rothrock carrying a rifle, with a pack horse ahead of him; then Joseph White Eyes & Mr. Carr with two pack horses, & then Bro. Henry carrying an axe. In this order we proceeded, one or the other always leading the way. We soon left the main road & came to another steep ascent. Upon the top of this hill we went six miles farther, by a circuitous route, until we reached a branch of Short Creek.[3]

From here our way led us 4 miles farther through a valley & then 5 miles again over rising ground, when we reached another branch of the before mentioned creek. Here we encamped for the night, & having hoppled most of our horses, allowed them to wander around in the bottoms in order to graze. Our friend Messimer acted as cook. We had for our supper, chocolate & dry bread. Both of the Indians endeavored to secure some meat for our meal, but with out success, although White Eyes had wounded a large bear, but as it became dark too quickly, it escaped.

At break of day, on the 8th, we began to cook our breakfast, & several went out to seek the horses. We did not again see White Eyes, who had gone on ahead in order to kill a pair of Turkeys, until we reached Muskingum.

1 See "Journal of John Matthews, 1786," Hildreth's Pioneer History, pp. 184-85.

2 The direct route from Charlestown to the Indian towns near the forks of the Muskingum, noted on all early maps.

3 Commonly called "Indian Short Creek," to distinguish it from Short Creek on the Virginia side of the Ohio. Both empty into the Ohio nearly opposite each other. Warren, Jefferson Co., Ohio, is situated just above the mouth of "Indian Short Creek."

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Our horses were no where to be seen. At last Capt. Bull also started out & came across Rothrock & Clewell who were on the track of the beasts, & who had followed them for 6 or 7 miles off the main road into the wildest part of the country. They returned at 1 o'clock, with but four out of the six horses. A new trouble now presented itself. The two missing horses had strayed off from the rest.

After Capt. Bull had eaten his meal, we persuaded him to again set out, which he consented to do, having been promised a dollar for his trouble. He returned towards evening but without success, as the horses had made a large circle & according to his statement, had returned down Short Creek towards the Ohio. We resolved to continue our journey on the 9th & request Mr. Carr to hunt up the horses on his return.

From Short Creek, where we had encamped for the night, we passed over high & hilly ground, the soil of which, as well as that of the forests appeared to be productive. Here & there we met with limestone, but mostly sandstone and coal, until we reached the Gegelemukpechunk Creek [Big Still Water]. We followed this stream, until towards evening, over marshy ground, & afterwards had a very poor road or path. We encamped near the creek for the night, and had for supper a turkey, which our friend Messimer had prepared for us, as also a very good soup made of dumplings. We had found a nest with eggs & had also become possessed of a hindquarter of venison, which Capt. Bull had killed for us. When we had encamped, Capt. Bull after bringing in the venison, & had again set out, now returned with the news that he had killed a large bear. On the morning of the 10th, Capt. Bull, with the Brethren Clewell & Rothrock started out for the bear skin, some of the meat & fat. The skin & fat were packed down & then, after having breakfasted, we started to ascend the Gegelemukpechunk. For the greater part of the distance, we had the worst road imaginable. It required a great deal of exertion on the part of the horses, in order to ford the numerous & winding streams, whose banks were steep & marshy, in consequence of which they often stuck fast with their riders; then again, they were obliged to leap across some very thick trees, which had fallen across the road. About 6 miles from the Muskingum, Capt. Bull had his canoe lying in the Gegelemukpechunk, and was kind enough to take our heaviest baggage in it. Bro. Henry also accompanied him to the head of the stream, while the rest of the company went by land. This stream according to the interpretation of the name (Gegelemukpechunk Tipoo,) is called the Still Waters. I had never before met with its like, for upon this journey of two days, we had not seen a single ripple upon its surface. The stream is deep & the banks are everywhere perpendicular & sometimes

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overhanging. It also, as the Indians informed us, contains many fish. We at last, towards evening struck the Muskingum, at the mouth of Gegelemukpechunk Creek. Here we encamped for the night, on the very spot where the Brethren Zeisberger & Jungmann had passed the first night after their captivity.[1] On the 11th, towards noon, we descended the Muskingum to Gnadenhütten. We had some trouble, however, before we left this stream, in coming to terms with our two Indians & White Eye's brother-in-law, with regard to transporting our baggage to Gnadenhütten by water. Finally Capt. Bull remedied this by bringing it two miles down the stream, to where the worst hills had been passed. Here we again packed it upon our horses and arrived towards evening in Gnadenhütten,[2] happy and thankful to that Higher Power which had safely guided us hither. We were well & in good spirits during the whole of our journey; our horses were all fresh & not much affected by the trip & our baggage remained in good condition. The beautiful text of the day seemed especially applicable to us: "They who have set forth upon the sea in ships & have beheld the works of the Lord & his wonders in the sea, they should give thanks unto the Lord, for all his mercies & for the benefits which he has heaped upon the children of men." May his Holy Presence ever protect us upon land & sea! Our Indian companions, Capt. Bull, Joseph White Eyes, & his brother-in-law who had joined us, lived here in camp on the Western bank of the Muskingum river. Bull has two children, twins, about 2 years old; White Eye's brother-in-law also has two children. The older boy was about 6 years of age, and appeared rather comical in his Indian dress. The mother, Capt. White Eye's daughter, also came with her husband (whose name was Herd) to visit us. Her Indian costume was quite stylish. Her head was bare, hair arranged without ornament; her dress was of black silk, & the cloak which reached to her knees of blue cloth & was trimmed with white. The leggins, or stockings, were also of blue cloth & she wore the usual mocasins or shoes. A dark ash colored blanket hung from her shoulders in a graceful manner.

On the 12th of May, we were busy in trying to render things comfortable for ourselves. Bro. Kamp started out with his rifle, and in the hills, met with a nest of young bears, three of which he killed, making quite an addition to our larder, for we had brought but little with us. At 1 o'clock Bro. Heckewelder & our friend Messimer started for Marietta, with the intention of calling on

1 See Life and Times of Zeisberger, p. 505, *et seq.*

2 There were five towns of the name founded by the Moravians,—the first located on the Mahoning Creek, in Carbon Co., Pa.; the second, now the site of Weissport, Pa.; the third, on the site of the second; the fourth in Clay township, Tuscarawas Co., Ohio; and the fifth in the same township as the fourth. With the exception of the third, all were settlements of the Moravian Indian Mission.

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Capt. George White Eyes, in order to make him acquainted with the object of our journey, & also to obtain through him a companion for friend Messimer. We took a look at the ruined village & were surprized at the fine situation which it had upon the banks of the stream. But yet alas! with what sorrow were we filled, when we looked back & remembered that this heretofore flourishing town — where the death of Christ was so faithfully preached to blind & ignorant heathen, & where a band of Christian Indians lived under the blessing of God,— should have been burned to the ground & everything destroyed, & even the greater part of the defenceless inhabitants murdered in cold blood by ruthless savages![1] The whole situation of the town could be easily traced from the ruined chimneys which were still visible. Everything, however, is overgrown with heavy grass, & as this becomes matted down during the winter, we soon perceived that this would serve as a good shelter for numberless snakes. Besides this, the ground was so thickly overgrown with plum trees, hazel-bushes, and black-berries, that there was no getting through them except by means of the paths made by the bears, deer & wolves. This wild mass we set on fire, & obtained thereby considerable more air. Then only did we obtain a correct view of the ruins of the village. Everywhere bones could be seen, & in the cellars of the houses, where some of the Brethren had been massacred & burnt, they were also to be found. The majority of our party spent the 12th, around this place. In the evening Mr. Carr, who had gone with Bro. Heckewelder to White Eye's town,[2] returned with the news that Bro. Heckewelder had made an arrangement with an Indian to join us next day, to hunt for us. Sunday morning, Bro. Clewell accompanied Mr. Carr on his return journey.

Through the latter, Bro. Henry sent a letter to Bro. Horsfield in Bethlehem, & one to Maj. Connell[3] in Charlestown, requesting him to engage for us, 150 lbs flour, 100 lbs bread, & 50 lbs bacon, which was to be forwarded by Mr. Carr; he also asked him to look after our two stray horses. Bro. Henry & Kamp, who had gone out in order to see the country, came across a large pond, ½ mile from town, on which they found wild Geese. Bro. Kamp shot two of them. This lake lies in the elevated part of the country, which is level to within a short distance of the former town. We were busy on the 15th, in trying to put our dwelling in better order, which consisted of a piece of canvas, 10 feet long and 8½ feet wide, well spanned by means of thin poles, with

1 See "Life and Times of David Zeisberger," p. 530, *et seq.*

2 Located in Oxford township, Coshocton County.

3 One of the party who landed at Cincinnati, Dec. 28, 1788, to found the settlement. Subsequently he returned to Wellsburg. "A Col. Connel, who is a farmer and a clerk of County courts of Brooke County, has a very large but unfinished house of hewn stone, near the court house in Charlestown."— *Cumming's Western Tour*, p. 93.

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an opening towards the fire place. This we had used in the woods on our way from Charlestown, & now we made an addition to it with bark in order to provide shelter for our baggage. This evening the Indian, Capt. White Eyes, accompanied by his wife & a white man named Schmidt, came from the western bank of the stream to visit us. White Eyes & the white man, crossed the river on horseback; the horses being obliged to swim but a short distance. They pitched their tent near ours & we presented them with some flour & White Eyes sent us half a bear. The rest of the time they conducted themselves in a quiet & orderly manner. Bro. Henry entered into conversation with White Eyes & discussed the object of our journey hither. He seemed to be already acquainted with the fact that his family was entitled to a share in the possession of this land, & named his Uncle, Mother, (whose second husband, Penmaholen by name, was an intimate friend of Bro. Heckewelder,) his brother Joseph, & his brother-in-law. Bro. Henry gave him an opportunity to decide whether he & his friends would take possession of certain parts; he was undecided, however, & promised to give all the aid & advice he could when it came to actual measurements, & also to come then to a decision. To day Bro. Kamp shot a Turkey. Early on the 16th, Capt. White Eyes with his squaw, proceeded farther. She is a Wyandot, & a strong, well built person. White Eyes seemed rather dubious as to whether some opposition would not be made to his claim, as he had fought against the States in the last Indian war. This fact we obtained from the white man who accompanied him.

This morning we cut down a cherry tree in order to make a canoe, & Bro. Kamp & Rothrock were engaged on it the whole day. Bro. Clewell was busy in the tent with washing & cooking, & Bro. Henry shot a turkey. After breakfast on the 17th, the Brethren Clewell & Rothrock went to work on the canoe. We had had, during the last few nights, hard frost & ice was frozen upon our dishes, consequently we could scarcely keep ourselves warm. Bro. Kamp attended to the horses & did the cooking. Bro. Henry discovered upon his journey to day (as he had done every day since our arrival) coal strata on the Muskingum, which appeared on the surface along the banks, 10 or 12 feet above the water, and which was two feet thick & thirty rods long. We had rainy weather on the 19th, & consequently could not leave our tent. In the evening Capt. White Eyes returned, & pitched his tent near ours. He had gone in search of & had brought back with him some stray horses. It is wonderful how expert these people are in finding a track upon the ground, and are able to follow it for many miles day after day. On the 20th Capt. White Eyes related to us in conversation, that several years ago his father's brother had been with an Indian nation on the western waters of Missouri; which tribe

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also spoke the Lenapi language. He was received in a very friendly manner, & he & the other refugees, were acknowledged by the Chiefs of the nation as members of their tribe. The Welsh Indians, who according to several statements lived upon the head waters of the Missouri, appeared to be mythical. He had often & also in this case inquired after them, but could discover no traces of the race.[1] At 9 o'clock Capt. White Eyes & his squaw descended the stream in all the rain. He lives about 10 miles from here, & belongs to the so-called Turtle tribe. Clewell & Rothrock were engaged upon the Canoe; Kamp & Henry stood guard over the horses, which were grazing in the meadows. This meadow land appeared to have been formerly in good condition & could again be put in the same state with but little trouble; and also could very easily be divided into lots. The former clearing consisted of about 10 acres; but a great deal more could be put into meadows. No stones are to be seen in the bottoms, as well as on the elevated land, & but little sand-stone is found upon the hills. Up to the present time no traces of Limestone have been found upon the land around Gnadenhütten. Mr. Smith who had been here with George White Eyes, said that limestone appeared on the surface around Goschachgüng.[2] The 21st being Sunday, the sacredness of the day was observed in a quiet manner. On the 22nd we measured the breadth of the river at this place & found it to be according to the triangle 247½ feet. The course of the road in the former town runs N 33 W & S 33 E. We also drew 2 lines, 100 rods long, direct north from the shore, to the old path probably leading to Schoenbrunn,[3] & 100 rods westward, & 103 rods back again to the stream. Towards evening Bro. Rothrock killed a turkey. On the 23rd, we had rain with heavy storms, yet we each separately took a sail in our Canoe & thus obtained a view of the opposite bottom lands. It is not very thickly overgrown with trees, & as the younger growth consists mostly of Cherry, some Honey Locust, Plum & Walnut trees, it could again very easily be put under cultivation. At 5 o'clock on the evening of the 23rd, Bro. Schmick,[4] very unexpectedly arrived from Nazareth. He came as far as Tus-

1 In 1796, several Welsh gentlemen, residents of London, corresponded with Heckewelder with regard to these so-called Welsh Indians. The report of his researches while at Vincennes in 1792 (a copy of which is in the possession of the editor), is in harmony with the information given by White Eyes' uncle.

2 A Delaware town, located on the left bank of the Muskingum near the junction of the Tuscarawas and Walhonding, in Coshocton County.

3 It was located on the east bank of the Turcarawas River, 2 miles S. E. from New Philadelphia, in Goshen township, Tuscarawas County.

4 Rev. John Jacob Schmick, a native of Prussia, came to America in 1751. He served in the Indian mission in Pennsylvania and Ohio; and while at Friedenshuetten on the Susquehanna, in 1767, began his contribution to Indian philology: "Miscellanea Linguæ Nationis Indicæ Mahikan dictæ, curâ suscepta à Joh. Jac. Schmick," the MS. of which is now in the possession of the American Philosophical Society.

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carawi,[1] with a guide, by way of [Fort] Mac Intosh on Beaver Creek,[2] & from Three Legs Creek,[3] he sailed on the Muskingum in a bark Canoe. On the 24th, we had good prospects of having fair weather, but rain again set in, as we were about to measure the stream. On the 25th & 26th, we proceeded with our measurement. On the 27th, we had another heavy thunder storm, which passed over, however, by evening. To day Bro. Henry made a draught of the Gnadenhuetten tract, which was 2½ miles wide from East to West & 3 miles from North to South. This tract contains about 4118 acres & 40 rods. If it could be differently divided, 114 acres & 75 rods could be gained by that which is lost by the numerous windings of the stream. Since Bro. Schmick's arrival, we had been able to keep on with our survey for several successive days. We could not leave our camp without a guard, as two strange Germans from Buffalo passed here. On the 5th the Indian, Herd, drove past with his family, and yesterday the two Gallantins[4] came here from White Eye's town. The 29th again found us in the woods in order to measure the stream. Bro. Kamp being sick, however, we did not accomplish much, also because Bro. Schmick was obliged to remain in Camp. On the 30th we again had heavy rains. On the 31st we ran a line two miles long, to Salem,[5] which was the greatest day's work we had done since our arrival here. We returned in the evening very much fatigued. It was the general opinion among us, that our present mode of living had debilitated us, & that with proper food at home we could have accomplished more. On the first of June, we had another slight fall of rain. Still the Brethren Henry & Rothrock started out to hunt up Capt. Bull, as we thought it probable he might be somewhere in our neighborhood. They found his Camp & when they returned he had already arrived with his wife & twin children. He presented us with a deer, for which we were very thankful, as our flour had given out & we had eaten our last meat for breakfast.

The programme for each day was arranged in the following manner: In the morning at day-break we were awakened by the cackling of the turkeys & the cawings of the crows. Rothrock generally took the horses to pasture; Clewell & Schmick brought the wood to Camp; Kamp prepared the dough for

1 At the crossing-place of the trail from Pittsburgh on the Tuscarawas River, on the line of Stark and Tuscarawas Counties.

2 At the mouth of Beaver Creek, in Beaver Co., Pa.

3 One Leg Creek, and not Three Legs Creek, as it is sometimes erroneously called, rises in Warren township, Tuscarawas County, flows through Fairfield and Sandy townships, and empties into the Tuscarawas River west of the town of Fairfield.

4 The Gallantin family were among the early settlers of West Virginia, and were natives of the Canton Berne, Switzerland.

5 On the west bank of the Tuscarawas River, one and a half miles S. W. Port Washington, in Salem township, Tuscarawas County.

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the bread; by this time the fire was in full blaze & then the bread was baked, & the chocolate or coffee prepared. Each one of the company had his own cup, spoon & knife. The chocolate or coffee was boiled in a brass kettle; each one filled his cup & sat down, upon the ground, to breakfast at about 8 o'clock. Instead of butter or lard, we very often substituted fried venison, turkey or bears fat, & sometimes also bacon. The pan was placed in the middle, & each one took his share & dipped his bread in the floating fat; the chocolate or coffee tasted very good without even milk. Then we continued our work in the woods; and as a general thing, we did not return until 5 or 6 o'clock. We had a very hard time of it in the woods, one could neither sit nor stand still for a minute, on account of the mosquitoes.

We were in considerable straits, yet not without hope as our Heavenly Father had not let us want in necessaries, & had kept us all in good health, with the exception of Bro. Kamp, who was obliged to remain indoors for two days. On the 2nd, while we were busy in the woods surveying, Mr. Richardson[1] arrived from Buffalo, with two pack horses bearing flour and some meat for us. We were glad & thankful for this relief which the Lord had sent us through Major Connell in Charlestown. The driver returned at noon to day & we sent by him two letters to be mailed to Nazareth & Bethlehem.

The heat was very sultry, & our drinking water which was obtained from the Muskingum, on account of its being so warm did not slack our thirst. In the evening we had some tea & bread prepared in the usual manner. While the meal was being prepared, some of us were engaged in taking the horses to graze & the rest in providing wood for the night, or else one of us went out after game. As soon as it became dark we laid ourselves to rest upon two bear skins, and huddled close together on account of the cold. We frequently could not sleep on account of our feet getting cold, as the fire generally went out by midnight. When it rained, our feet & covering became wet. We finally accustomed ourselves to cover up our faces with our hats & then lay quiet during all the rain.

On the 3rd, we were again engaged in surveying the road to Salem, & returned in the evening much fatigued. On the 4th, we quietly kept the observances of Whitsuntide & remained in Camp.

On the 5th Schmick, Clewell & Rothrock went out in search of Salem. Bro. Henry was indisposed & could not go along; they did not however, after a hard day's work arrive at the town, as the woods were so thick with undergrowth that the old path could not be found. On the 6th the above named three brethren, together with Bro. Henry, started out on horseback, on the

1 *Query.* Dr. Andrew Richardson, of Pittsburgh.

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same errand, & towards noon arrived at the site where Salem had formerly stood. They found, however, fewer relics or traces of the village than here in Gnadenhuetten. There is a large bleak flat east of the town which must be very cold, as there is nothing to be found growing upon it but a small species of oak, unknown in our region, but which according to Bro. Kamp's statement, is called Red Jack in Carolina. The leaf resembles that of the peach but is somewhat longer, & the bark as well as the wood, resembles that of the young black oak. On the 7th & 8th, we were engaged in providing ourselves with better shelter, as our present abode had, on account of the numerous rains, become so bad that we could not remain in it any longer. We also resolved on the evening of the 8th, to send our horses to Charlestown to pasture them there with a farmer, as the flies, & especially the gad flies, were so bad here that the horses ran around in the woods like mad & we were afraid that they would either stray off or die of hunger. On the morning of the 9th, the Brethren Rothrock & Kamp departed for Charlestown with the horses, and a letter of introduction to Major John Connell. Bro. Rothrock was to return with the driver who was expected back the following week. Bro. Kamp, however, was to follow his own & Clewell's stray horses a few days longer & then return to Camp.

At 10 o'clock on the 9th of June, our good friend Bro. Heckewelder arrived with Genl. Putnam, his son William, & company in two Canoes.[1] Bro. Heckewelder brought some flour & other necessaries with him. On the 10th, the surveyors went to work, soon after breakfast; & ran up the stream as far as the Gnadenhuetten tract was to extend. Sunday the 11th, we passed quietly in Camp & rejoiced over the fair prospects which we had for the accomplishment of our object. In the evening we were visited by the General, who had yesterday told us, that he had carefully read over the Indian Mission history, which we had handed him the day before, & that the part relating to the bloody fate of the town had brought tears to his eyes.[2] We were now glad that Bro. Heckewelder had forgotten to take the book along with him to Marietta, especially as our dear friend, who himself had already visited the place where these terrible scenes were enacted, was anxious to read the account & had time during the first few days to do so.

On the 12th, we again engaged in surveying the land & water, & a part of our company worked on our hut. On the 13th & 14th, the General & his son took the reckonings of the stream, & in the evening of the latter day, we

1 Refer Lanman's "Biographical Annals," p. 347. In 1792, Heckewelder, at the request of Secretary of War Knox, accompanied Gen. Putnam to Vincennes on the Wabash, to treat with the Indians for peace.

2 Loskiel's "History of the Indian Mission," etc.

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decided upon the boundary of the Gnadenhuetten land. On the 15th & 16th & part of the 17th, the surveyors were busy in running the prescribed line. Bro. Henry went with them to arrange about the land, & on the 17th, he brought about the division according to his draught. In the afternoon of the latter day, Bro. Rothrock returned from Buffalo, bringing with him two pack-horses laden with flour and other necessaries, and was also accompanied by two men, A. Richardson & Thomas Carr, who were to assist in laying out the land. We had upon the whole a busy week. Four gentlemen, Abraham and Henry Gallantin,[1] Jacob Ehrhardt & Daniel Malloy, had arrived from Buffalo, in order to inspect the land, & to rent several tracts, should they be suited. On Friday Capt. Martin,[2] one of the surveyors took up his quarters near Genl. Putnam. They consulted his compass & this morning passed here on their way to the Still Water, in order to hunt up the line of the seven Ranges, & then from this point to begin the division of the Military land. Our people here in Gnadenhütten, were busy until the 24th in running the line of division & finished the same. Bro. Henry had for his substitute a Mr. Whipple,[3] one of Genl. Putnam's people, instead of Adams. He understood the compass thoroughly & was very industrious. On the 20th & 21st the Brethren Henry & Heckewelder, were both in Salem, in order to decide with Genl. Putnam, upon the Salem line. He had gone hither with his men on Monday. We viewed the greater part of this tract & were well satisfied with the boundary line as proposed by the General. Salem, upon the whole, has a fine situation, & possesses a great deal of good farm land, as well as meadows.

The surveyors finished their survey of this place by the 23rd, & passed by here this morning at 11 o'clock. The General took up his quarters in his old Camp. On the 25th, one of our hired men, named Adams, was taken down with fever, & both A. Richardson & Thomas Carr returned to Buffalo. We had resolved to defer the survey of the Salem land, as we thought that we, & especially Bro. Henry, were not well enough acquainted with this large & beautiful tract, & therefore, concluded that we could lay it out to more advantage should we defer it until fall. Consequently we clearly saw that it was necessary, under the circumstances, to first see this place or section of land settled, (especially as the tenants lived together in the neighborhood,) before we proceeded to the division of the other tract.

To this end we made a draught of the Gnadenhuetten division & appropriated the principal line to the laying out of a regular village, which we hope

1 A Henry Gallantin was a member of the Ohio Legislature 1822-23.

2 *Query.* Simeon Martin, one of the pioneers under Gen. Rufus Putnam, who first landed at Marietta in 1788.

3 *Query.* The son of Commodore Abraham Whipple, of Marietta.

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to bring about this week. The four men — Abraham & Henry Gallantin, Daniel Malloy & Jacob Ehrhardt, remained with us during the week, & we agreed to allow them to build on the lower lots of the Gnadenhütten tract, subject, however, to the direction of the Society, on whom we promised to use our influence. On the 26th, the Brethren Henry, Heckewelder & Clewell, together with Genl. Putnam, went in his Canoe to Schoenbrunn & inspected to day & on the 27th, the greater part of the land, & especially that immediately around the town. After the surveyors had finished the measurement of the stream, we fixed the place of this tract.

It contained besides that lying immediately around both of the towns, a very valuable piece of meadow land extending southward along the stream. It was 2½ miles in breadth & 3 miles in length, running North & South. It is worthy of remark, that when one has passed the hilly road which lies north of the Gnadenhütten land, running from North East to South West, we meet, on both sides of the stream, with a very fine & broad piece of meadow land extending as far as the Still Water. Here the decrease of breadth becomes very apparent. About one mile above the Still Water, on the east side of Grindstone Hill, we met with remarkably fine layers of sand stone, which lie upon the surface & are from a few inches to 18 inches in thickness. From here on we again find meadows, the borders of which generally lie low & are subject to inundations. The stream has, as far as the Still Water, very small windings in its course from the Northeast. From Gegelemukpechunk, however, the course of the stream runs from the North West & many islands & sand banks are to be seen.

At 12 o'clock the Brethren Henry & Clewell returned by water to Gnadenhütten. Towards evening three canoes full of Indians came to visit us. The chief Penmaholen,[1] Capt. Freth & five other males, six females & five children formed the party. Bro. Heckewelder had remained with Genl. Putnam in order to accompany him to Tuscarawas, after the survey of the Schoenbrunn land and as Penmaholen had come with the sole object of visiting him, & amongst us none could be found that was able to speak the Indian language with him we were in a quandry. Among the Indians however was a woman who could speak some English, & who, according to her statement, was a niece of William Henry in Fairfield.[2] We presented them with some flour & as they sat down quietly beside us & smoked their Gilickinik, we regarded each other as silent guests. Penmaholen was dressed in a very respectable manner. He wore a hat, and an undershirt made of silk, over which he wore

1 This chief and his wife were baptized by Zeisberger at the new town of Goshen, in March of 1799, —the first of the renewed Indian Mission in Ohio.

2 Refer Pa. Mag., Vol. X. p. 117, under Killbuck.

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a shirt made of light satin, & otherwise appeared very cleanly. There were some friendly Indians among them. The majority of them were stoutly built & the men were of middle height, while the females were still smaller. These people differ from the Europeans in this respect, that they are very straight-backed. On the 30th, Rothrock & Gallantin returned by land from Schoenbrunn whither they had gone by water with Bro. Schmick on the 27th. Through them Bro. Henry received, from Genl. Putnam, the plan of the Shoenbrunn land, with the request that we remain here until next Tuesday or Wednesday, when he & Bro. Heckewelder expected to be with us. In the afternoon of the first of July, Bro. Schmick arrived from Schoenbrunn with Wm. R. Putnam & a part of the surveyors. They had been present at the survey yesterday evening. In the afternoon the Indians left us. To Penmaholen we presented some chocolate, sugar &c. He was very friendly, & with two families left for White Eye's town, while the others ascended the stream. On the 2nd, we remained in Camp as quietly as if it were Sunday. On the 3rd, we decided to wait for the return of Bro. Heckewelder, with Genl. Putnam & in the meantime, finished the preparations for our departure. Both arrived this evening quite unexpectedly. On the 1st they had come as far as Fort Laurens,[1] & on the 2nd rowed up as far as the fording and back, where they met with a number of Indians, who were very friendly. Of the surveyor Ludlow,[2] whom the General expected to meet here, they heard nothing. The General pointed out the trees which were to form the boundary line between the government & Indian possessions. This morning they again returned. Genl. Putnam & his people having rested with us on the 4th, loaded all their things in their Canoe, as also some of ours, such as the kettle, frying-pan, the flour which was left over & various articles which are to be left at Marietta for us. They departed at 8 o'clock with the Brethren Heckewelder & Rothrock. As there was no hope of seeing our Indian Brethren here, we decided to begin our return journey. We were very thankful to the Lord for his protection & assistance during our travels, & for having kept us all in tolerable good health, none of us having been sick, notwithstanding all the bad weather which we encountered, especially during the first four months. About 11

1 Built by General McIntosh in 1778, on the right bank of the Tuscarawas, a short distance below Sandy Creek, in Tuscarawas County.

2 Israel Ludlow, of New Jersey, who was appointed by Colonel Thos. Hutchins, Surveyor-General of the United States, to survey the tract of land sold by Act of Congress to the New Jersey Company in 1787. In 1789 he became associated with Matthias Denman and Robert Patterson in the proprietorship of the land on which Cincinnati was afterwards laid out. He owned a large farm five miles from the Ohio, on which a block-house was built, known as Ludlow's Station,—the first military post beyond Fort Washington. He was commissioned to run the boundary-line agreeably to the treaty made by Gen. Wayne with the Indians, in 1795, at Greenville. His wife was Charlotte, second daughter of Gen. James Chambers, of Franklin Co., Pa. See Memoir of Charlotte Chambers, by her grandson Lewis H. Garrard.

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o'clock we mounted our horses & started past the place where Gnadenhütten formerly stood.

Nun danket alle Gott! [Now all praise the Lord!] By evening we reached a hunter's lodge, about 30 miles from Gnadenhuetten, & here allowed our horses to roam in the woods. Before retiring to rest, we protected ourselves against snakes; for our Guide had met with a large rattlesnake soon after our arrival; the high grass, alone, prevented him from being bitten. On the 5th, we arose at the break of day, breakfasted & continued our journey. By pressing our horses pretty hard, we reached Charlestown in the evening, & stopped with Mr. Prather. We rested here on the 6th & Bro. Henry employed the time in settling our accounts with Major Connell & others, who had been appointed to meet us here. Many inquiries were made about the Muskingum land, by people of the neighborhood, who were anxious to lease it from the Society. From what we heard & according to all appearances, there were many farmers amongst them. Bro. Henry told them that his instructions would not give him the power to lease the land, but promised to forward their request to the Society & see that they would have an answer, through Major Connell, by the end of October.

In answer to the inquiries of these people as to the probable rent, (which could not be definitely fixed) we named on a valuation of from $16 to $20 *per* 100 acres & would give a 21 year lease. It seemed necessary in locating strangers, that a short lease should be first given, before they should settle permanently. The number of applicants amounted to fifty families.

No objection was made to the rent & instead of thinking it too much, every one appeared well satisfied with the price. We left Prather's, in Charlestown, on the afternoon of the 7th of July, & took a new road[1] leading to the town of Washington, & by evening arrived at Middletown, a new village about 12 miles from Buffalo.

We took up our quarters at the Inn of a Mr. Stewart, but passed a very restless night, as most of the inmates of the house were whiskey drinkers.[2] We left Middletown at 6 o'clock on the morning of the 8th & by noon arrived in Washington, [Washington Co.] where we lodged with a German baker by the name of Carl Valentine.[3] To this place, we caused to be transferred our

1 See advertisement Joseph Parkinson, foot-note, p. 55.

2 West Middletown, Hopewell township, Washington Co. It was first called Middletown by reason of its being equidistant between Washington and Wellsburg, and when application was made for a post-office, was given its present name, because there was another town of the name in the State,—Middletown, Dauphin Co. Galbraith Stewart, one of the earliest residents of the town, kept the first hostelry in 1795. He died in the winter of 1847-48.

3 Carl (Charles) Valentine's name appears on the Assessor's list of Washington as early as 1789, and between 1791 and 1805 as proprietor of the "White Goose Tavern." Query, the *White Swan?* The "Valentine House" of to-day perpetuates the name.

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things which had been left in Pittsburgh, & Bro. Henry also sent a messenger back to Charlestown for various other articles. This detained us until the afternoon, when every thing appeared to be in readiness. Washington is a fine village, with an elevated situation, has rather a broad stream, & good water in the wells, except where they are dug through the coal strata, in which case the water is not drinkable.

Most of the houses are of frame or logs. Yet there are many built of sandstone & also some of brick. Besides the Court house, it contains about 200 houses all of which are two stories high.

Early on the morning of the 11th, we left Washington, & by evening reached Col. Weygandts, who received us in a friendly manner. We took dinner with him. His brother in law, L. Stocker Esq.,[1] came with his wife to see us & both they & Weygandt rode with us as far as the Monongahela, where they took a friendly farewell, sending many messages to their friends in Nazareth.

The distance from Washington to Weygandt's is 17 miles, from there to Parkinsons Ferry 3½ miles, & to Sansom's Black Horse 5½ miles.[2]

At Sansoms we had tolerable good accommodations. We took an early start & arrived at the Yough,[3] which we forded, as we had done the Monongahela. The distance from Sansoms to Thos Greer's Tavern is 11 miles; 13 miles from there to Stockton's on the Chesnut Ridge; & 14 miles to Eberts on the east side of Laurel Hill or the beginning of the Glades. The country from Charlestown to Chesnut Ridge does not vary much.

It has a very productive soil, unusually large & fine timber, and finely situated plantations. Yet much dead timber is to be seen standing upon the fields. Many new houses are everywhere in course of erection. This country, however, has many deep valleys & the water gives out early in summer. Consequently one meets with many tread-mills, with which the farmers grind their own corn & with their own horses, paying as much toll as is usually taken by those mills which are run by water. Coal is also to be met with

1 Residents in what is now Carrol township, Washington Co. Descendants of both still reside in the township. Stockertown, Palmer township, Northampton County, perpetuates the name of that family.

2 Parkinson's Ferry came into notoriety during the Whiskey Rebellion. The following extracts are from the Washington (Pa.) Telegraphe of July 25, 1796: "A New Town called Williamsport is laid out by the subscriber on the banks of the Monongahela River, below the mouth of Pigeon Creek in Washington County, well known by the name of Parkinson's Ferry. . . . It is situated on the Main Road leading from Philadelphia to Washington, West Liberty, Wheeling and Charlestown on the Ohio River. . . . "JOSEPH PARKINSON."

The road from Williamsport eastward was and is still known as the Williamsport Turnpike. Sansom's was in the forks between the Monongahela and Youghiogeny, a little more than half-way between Williamsport and Robbstown, now West Newton.

3 The Youghiogeny River.

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everywhere in this section, & but few stones are to be seen. The majority of the inhabitants are English & have but recently emigrated. There are also, in certain sections, German farmers who keep to themselves. On the 13th we went from here through the Glades, a section of country between the Laurel Hills & Alleghanies which is thickly settled with Germans. It contains a great deal of fine meadow land; Oats are also raised here to a great extent. A great deal of level land, with many mountain ridges is also to be seen. Several miles farther on we breakfasted & fed our horses, at Mr. Snyder's in Somerset, (a new village) the principal town of the County of the same name. The town has an elevated & dry situation & it is but two years since it was first laid out. It contains now about 25 or 30 houses, most of which are two stories high. They have a small prison, but as yet no Court house. From here we rode 11 miles farther to the top of the Alleghany & fed our horses at Keller's Inn. We were here overtaken by a thunder storm, whieh caused some delay. We then descended the mountain & passed through a very rough & sparsely settled district, with a hard dry soil, reaching Wright's Tavern, 14 miles distant, where we remained over night. We started from here early on the 4th & by 10 o'clock reached Bonnets' former Tavern, & at the same time came into the old Pennsylvania road, which we have already partly described.

We passed through Bedford & called on Bro. Würtz, but did not find him at home. By evening we reached Mr. Enslys, 3 miles east of the Juniata ford.

By the evening of the 15th, we had safely crossed the mountains to Strasburg, where we passed the night with Mr. Ralston. We were thankful to the Lord for having suffered us to pass so quickly through such great heat over this rough country. We expected, now to reach home in a few days, at which we greatly rejoiced. On the 16th we rested somewhat longer than usual, breakfasted with Mr. Ralston, rode a distance of 31 miles, passing through Shippensburg, & by evening reached our German landlord in Carlisle, who treated us in a very hospitable manner. On the next day (17th), after we had our saddles & various other things repaired, we started from Carlisle at 11 o'clock, crossed the Susquehanna & reached Harrisburg, where we spent the night with Mr. Ott.[1] This town has many fine houses, and its situation is advantageous to trade, but is not very healthy on account of the marshy bottoms on Paxton Creek which flows near the town.[2] On the 18th we left Harrisburg at sunrise, arrived in good time at Hummelstown [Dauphin Co.] &

1 Nicholas Ott's name appears on Assessor's lists of the township about the date of this Journal.

2 Corrupted from *Peetstank*, signifying *where the waters stand* (Heckewelder). The name is written also *Peshtang* and *Pestank* in early official papers.

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breakfasted with Mr. Fox.[1] From here we passed through Palmstown[2] & Millerstown[3] to Lebanon [Lebanon Co.] & reported to the brethren Fritz in Hebron,[4] who rejoiced at our safe return, by evening we reached Womelsdorf,[5] passing through Myerstown.[6] From here we started early on the 19th passing Reading Kutztown [Berks Co.], & arrived in Nazareth[7] at 3 o'clock in the morning of the 20th, glad & thankful for the love & mercy of our Savior who had safely brought us home!

1 John Fox kept an inn on the Harrisburg, Ephrata and Dowingtown Road at this date.

2 The present town of Palmyra, on the Harrisburg and Reading turnpike, in Londonderry township, Lebanon Co. It was laid out by John Palm during the Revolution and called Palmstown.

3 Annville, on the Lebanon Valley Railroad. six miles from Lebanon, was laid out by Abraham Miller in 1762, and by him called Annville. It was, however, called Millerstown for almost a century.

4 About a mile east from the borough of Lebanon, where, between 1751 and 1848, the Moravians had a large stone church. In 1761, it was proposed to lay out a town to be called Hebron, and the land was surveyed,—but the town was never built. During the Revolution, the church was used at times to quarter Hessian prisoners in and for storage of munitions of war. See Penna. Mag., Vol. IX. p. 113.

5 On the Berks and Dauphin Turnpike, 14 miles west of Reading, was settled in 1723.

6 Founded by Isaac Myers in 1768, and from him took its name.

7 The second settlement made by the Moravians in Northampton Co., Penna.

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NARRATIVE OF JOHN HECKEWELDER'S JOURNEY TO THE WABASH IN 1792.

[In the collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania is a copy of a scarce work: "Johann Heckewälder's Reise von Bethlehem in Pensilvania bis zum Wabash Fluss im Nordwestlichen Gebiet der Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika. Mit Anmerkungen herausgegeben von M. C. Sprengel," printed at Halle, 1797, which we have had translated by Miss Clara Frueauff. The original manuscript journal is in the possession of his grandson, Mr. Henry B. Luckenbach, of Bethlehem. The annotations in brackets are by the ED. PENNA. MAG.]

THE government of the free states of America for some time endeavored to make known to the hostile savages, dwelling on the Northwest bank of the Ohio, that it in no wise desired to wage a bloody war with them, but on the contrary were ready and willing to make a peace which should in every respect be in accordance with the laws of justice and humanity. With this purpose in view messengers of peace were sent to them in four different ways, for the government confidently believed that the savages would consent to a treaty, and designate a place where the negotiations might be made. The commission was given to Gen. Putnam,[1] who was to travel there. He was authorized to conclude a treaty with those Indians and as many other Nations, as might be found willing to make peace. Needing an assistant I was chosen, and a special messenger from the Secretary of War brought me a written proposal, dated May 18th 1792.[2] I laid this paper before

1 [For a memoir of General Rufus Putnam, see Dr. Hildreth's "Early Pioneer Settlers of Ohio," etc.]

2 [(Private & Confidential.)

WAR DEPARTMENT

18 May 1792

SIR.

I have the honor to inform you that the United States have for some time past, been making pacific overtures to the hostile Indians north west of the Ohio. It is to be expected that these overtures will soon be brought to an issue under the direction of Brigadier General Putnam of Marietta, who is specially charged with this business.

He is now in this city, & will be in readiness to set out on Monday next; & being acquainted with you, he is extremely desirous that you should accompany him in the prosecution of this good work.

Being myself most cordially impressed with a respect for your character & love of the Indians, on the purest principles of justice and humanity, I have cheerfully acquiesced in the desire of General Putnam.

I hope sincerely it may be convenient for you to accompany, or to follow him soon, in order to execute a business which is not unpromising, & which if accomplished, will redound to the credit of the Individuals who perform it.

As to pecuniary considerations I shall arrange them satisfactorily with you.

With great respect

I am Sir,

Your most Obed Serv.

MR. JOHN HECKINGWELDER
Bethlehem.]

H. KNOX
Secy of War

the Elders of the congregation, and with their consent and best wishes,[1] I left Bethlehem May 26th.[2] On the 27th I lodged in Hebron[3] with Br. P[eter] visited with him some of the Brethren in Lebanon, also Mr Robert Hare who had just arrived from Philadelphia. In Carlisle on the 29th I visited Major Alexander, Mr Butler and some other friends, and spent the night in Shippen town. At the foot of the Blue Mountains, where four years ago there was but a single farm-house, I now found, to my great surprise, a pretty little town of about 30 well built, two-story houses, called Strasburg.[4] Here I was joined by a travelling companion whose appearance did not please me, and whom I secretly believed to be a sharper. However I was glad to meet him before night came on, for later we met two and farther on three deserters who carried large clubs. I had been frequently warned against such people, particularly in Carlisle, where they had wished to furnish me with pistols, which however, I would not accept. I spent the night of the 31st at the house of my good friend Bonnet,[5] 4 miles beyond Bedford. Thence I travelled to Pittsburgh in company with several gentlemen from Hagerstown & Greencastle, arriving there June 3d. A report had reached the people of Laurel Hill, even on to Pittsburgh, that about 100 Indians were on this side of the Alleghany river and we heard of naught else but of flight, many even feared that Carlisle was not safe from the enemy. Here in Pittsburgh the people were more courageous, especially as a scouting party, composed partly of regular troops and partly of Indians of the Seneca Nation commanded by Lieut. Jeffers,[6] had brought two Indian scalps and several prisoners. Gen. Putnam had arrived here the day before me. He at once read his instructions to me privately and acquainted me with everything concerning the peace to be concluded with the Indians. We agreed to give a free footing to the captive Indians who had been brought here and send them to the hostile Indians with proposals for a conference. These were sent to the peaceful Chief Monsey and Cornplanter[7] in order to be forwarded by them. We were much grieved to learn afterwards from the newspapers

1 ["This offer," he writes, "was quite unexpected to me; and when I called with the letter on the late Bishop Ettwein, and he had read it, he returned it to me with the words, 'Blessed are the peacemakers!' "]

2 Bethlehem, one of the chief seats of the Brethren's Church in North America, is situated on the North bank of the Lehigh river (also called Lecha by the inhabitants) 53 miles from Philadelphia, latitude 40° 37'. The town was begun in 1741 by Count Zinzendorf. There are about 600 inhabitants for the most part Germans, who are engaged in manufactures of various kinds. Schöpf in the first volume of his journey through the United States describes Bethlehem in detail, page 203, etc., says that here he found the first & best inn in North America.

3 [See PENNA. MAG., Vol. X. p. 157.] 4 [Ibid., p. 128.] 5 [Ibid., p. 131.]

6 [Lieutenant John Jeffers, of Connecticut, entered the army in 1789, and resigned in 1794.]

7 Names of this description are given to the chiefs of the Indians, either by their own people or by the inhabitants of North America. Farther on a Sachem will he mentioned who was called Hedgehog.

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that these messengers, of whom Capt. Snake was among the number, were murdered by the hostile Indians. I could visit only a few of my friends at this place, as I felt very much indisposed. The journey across the mountains in the great heat, together with my drinking water very frequently, were doubtless the cause of my being attacked by all the premonitory symptoms of a bilious fever. The remedies applied by the physician here proved very effectual, and in a few days I was restored, and we were able to start on our journey on the 8th. We proceeded over land through Washington County in Pennsylvania and Ohio County in Virginia to Buffalo Creek. Washington, the county town of the first-named county, consists of about 60 well-built houses, has a fine Court-House and Prison, both built of stone. At this place we passed the night. I called on a few acquaintances and was invited to supper at Mr van Sweringen's. The good man immediately spoke of the massacre of our Indians, and threw his hands together over his head saying: "That from the lips of the murderers themselves he had heard, that they had murdered them whilst they were praying, singing and kissing."[1] He expressed himself not surprised that our expeditions against the Indians proved a failure, as he thought there was a crime resting upon the land, which must be atoned for, etc. On the 9th we journeyed on, and in the evening reached the mouth of the Buffalo Creek in Virginia. A new town, consisting of about 20 well-built houses had been begun here, within the last four years. It is engaged in quite an extensive trade down the Ohio, and is called Charlestown. The building-lots, which are ¾ acre in size, vary in price, from 7 shillings 6 pence, to 10 shillings, from which yearly interest must be paid. Our land journey was now at an end and our horses were entrusted to a rich farmer of the neighborhood for forage. In company with three gentlemen from Marietta we continued our journey in a barge brought here for our use, by a detachment of soldiers.[2] At 10 o'clock in the morning we breakfasted in Wheeling, where a town has also been laid out and many lots sold. Mr Ebenezer Zane, owner of the land, sells the ground belonging to each lot, consisting of ¾ acre, from $25 to $50, but without ground rent. During our stay, Mr McMahon[3] (now Major of the Second Legion) returned from an excursion into the land of the savages. He gave me a very circumstantial description of our settlements along the Muskingum[4] and related how he had found the meeting-place of three warlike

1 [For an account of the massacre of Moravian Indians at Gnadenhütten, Ohio, in 1782, see "Life and Times of David Zeisberger," by Bishop E. de Schweinitz, pp. 537-57.]

2 [Hildreth states: "It was built in the spring, of about twenty-five tons burthen, rowed with twelve oars, . . . was constructed at 'Farmer's Castle,' by Capt. J. Devoll, of red cedar."]

3 [William McMahon, of Virginia, who was killed 30th June, 1794, in the repulse of the Indians at Fort Recovery.]

4 In the vicinity of this western river which rises in the southern part of Lake Erie, and finally empties into the Ohio, the Brethren's Church had begun as early as 1772 three Christian colonies, viz. the

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Nations, between Gnadenhütten & Schönbrunn, near the mouth of the Gekelemukpechunk Creek.[1] Three tall painted war-posts had been erected there, and there were three large distinct encampments. In the evening we reached Martin's station where thirteen large dogs were kept as protection against the Indians.[2] Early on the morning of the 11th we started off. During the afternoon we saw two hostile Indians on the banks of the river, who however soon ran away without molesting us. We reached Marietta in the evening, where the inhabitants fired a salute of six cannon shots in honor of the General's arrival. Only a week before, a man had been shot and scalped by the Indians near the Fort, and another who was with him was shot through the shoulder. A few shots were aimed at the Indian while performing the scalping operation, but he did not heed them, until he had completely removed the scalp. The minister here in his sermon on the 15th mentioned the Brethren's Missions among the heathen of this country, and remembered them in his prayers.[3] Having learned that we would make some stay here, I employed my time in visiting good friends, and examining the new improvements. I discovered that as the war had lasted since the founding of this place, the inhabitants had never been able to carry out their plans, and lived in three different fortifications,[4] situated on the points of land on both banks of the Muskingum and at Campus-Martius ¾ mile up the Muskingum. The population between these three places numbers between two and three hundred people. In addition a guard of soldiers of about sixty men commanded by a captain, several lieutenants and two scouts, is divided among the different places. The scouts receive five shillings per day from the government. Quite a number of dwellings have been built at the eastern point, and some of them display consider-

above-mentioned Gnadenhütten, together with Schönbrunn and Salem. The untiring efforts of the Brethren were instrumental in the conversion of many of the neighboring Indians, who were admitted into their communion. Their teachings were favorably received by many of the tribes and their labors exerted a visible influence over the Indians living near them. During the last American war, the English won over to them almost all the wild tribes living along the western boundaries of the Free States, in what was then Southern Canada. Only the new converts, in association with the Brethren, whose lands were greatly devastated by the incursions of the Indians, would not acknowledge the war with the North Americans. For this reason the Mission was looked upon with suspicion, as well by the hostile Indians as by the English commander at Detroit on Lake Erie, both believing the enterprise to be undertaken in a party spirit in favor of the new Free States. Owing to this state of feeling in 1781, the whole Indian community was attacked in their dwellings by the wild followers of the English, the teachers were conducted back to Detroit, and all the improvements were utterly destroyed. The community did however in part return to their destroyed habitations along the Muskingum, but only in order to meet with a sadder fate. They were soon after surprised by a band of North Americans, who in cold blood murdered 96 persons and razed the dwellings to the ground. Mr Loskiel has given the detailed account of this mission and its varied experiences in his History of the evangelical Brethren's Church in North America. Part I. page 590, 685, etc.

1 [See PENNA. MAG., Vol. X. p. 151.]

2 [Now New Martinsville, Wetzel Co., W. Va.]

3 [*Query.* Rev. Daniel Story.]

4 [Block-houses erected for the protection of the inhabitants.]

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able taste, however the ground on which they are built does not belong to the owners of the houses. They rent annually at from $50 to $70. There are nine store houses and three inns. Two mills belong to the place, the one is worked by oxen and the other is built on boats and stands in the water. There is also a large brandy distillery here, belonging to a gentleman from Rhode Island, and near it stands a small distillery of spirits and cordial. At Campus-Martius there is a fine well, lined with bricks, between 70 and 80 feet deep. Many thousand beautiful fruit trees and white mulberries are scattered through the country. Here and there a few vineyards and vegetable gardens have already been planted. Almost every inhabitant has bee hives, and the arable land, or as the inhabitants here call the "cleared land," amounts to between 600 and 700 acres. Notwithstanding all the disturbances of war they have cultivated a large amount of Indian corn, and have sold to the head of the commissary department alone, 10,000 bushels at 2 sh. 6d (per bushel. A great many pigs are raised, which yield more than 4000 ℔ of lard. Horses are scarcely seen, because the Indians steal them from the inhabitants who therefore perform all their labor by means of oxen. A number of fine farms are situated near this place, also a grain and saw-mill but no one ventures to occupy them, because of the Indians. Besides this settlement of Marietta there are a number of dwellings of New Englanders, 15 miles higher up the Muskingum. They too have a fine grist- and saw-mill, in which latter, boards 36 inches in thickness are sawed. The inhabitants here also live in fortifications. Another colony, lying 12 to 15 miles down the Ohio, and containing about 80 inhabitants is divided into three different fortifications and guarded by a small detachment of troops and two scouts. What is most opposed to the prosperity of these New England colonies, is, their false method of dividing the land. According to their laws, the man who cultivates the land has not the least privilege greater than that of the first buyer who remains in New England. The former has lived for five years in constant fear and danger of the Indians, many have even sacrificed their lives, and yet in spite of all this, not one has succeeded in having a piece of land measured to him and received a legal title for the same, although six years ago they paid for it in cash.

Added to this are the following unfortunate circumstances: 1, The cashier of the Ohio Company [Richard] Platt, failed in New York, causing the Company to lose thereby $80,000. 2, The fixed sum of money which was decided upon at the purchase of the land and which was to be paid in instalments on certain days, either to Congress or its treasurer, is far from being paid. Congress in its last Session has therefore resolved that the Ohio Company is not to receive the amount of land for which they made the con-

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tract, but only so much as the money which has been paid will cover, according to the price appointed. By this means all the honest and poor people who have paid their agents the whole sum for their share in the apportioned land will be the losers. The agents have speculated with part of the money, and used the rest for other purposes. The loss on every share, or in every 1500 acres, amounts to 350 acres. Gen. Tupper[1] who had died the day before, was buried on the 17th. In consideration of the four different offices which he held, firstly as General in the service of the United States in the late war; secondly as member of the Cincinnati order; thirdly as director of the Ohio Company; and fourthly as Master among the Freemasons, therefore because of these positions, great honors were shown his remains at the funeral. I will mention what was most remarkable to me. After a company of soldiers had arrived with drum and fife from Campus Martius, and all the Freemasons had gathered, the latter entered the house of the deceased where the remains lay. They stayed for about half an hour during which time a guard had been placed at the doors of the house. When they came out, they were furnished with tools according to their different degrees. They wore leather aprons, skilfully embroidered with red, blue or green ribbons around the edge, and bearing the design of a square and compass in the centre. A few wore only a clean white leather apron. Two men with drawn swords placed themselves on both sides of the door through which the body was to be taken, and when at last it was brought forward and placed in the Square, the Masons gathered around it, and those with swords stood between it and the people so that no one could draw too near. There was a lid with hinges at the head of the coffin which could be opened. On the coffin were laid: first, an open Bible with square and compass; second, a costly sword in a black sheath, lined with red velvet; third, four black boxes, about 10 inches square; fifth, green bushes or asparagus greens. On the 4 boxes, two at the head and two at the feet, his four written commissions were laid. On each side of the coffin stood a Mason holding a well turned column of walnut wood in his hand and at the foot another with a measuring lathe about 10 feet long. Others stood in different places holding wooden hammers. Some of the Masons wore red, others blue ribbons fastened at the breast. Two of them stood with long, round, beautifully carved wands in their hands, to which a blue ribbon was fastened at the top. Two others held finely carved candlesticks, two and a half feet long, containing white wax candles, at least two inches in diameter. All these arrangements having been completed, the clergyman, who was also a Mason, offered up a prayer, of which however I could understand but little as he spoke in a very low tone. A very

1 [For memoir of General Benjamin Tupper, see Hildreth's "Early Pioneer Settlers of Ohio," etc.]

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mournful dirge was then sung, and the order of the procession called out. Hereupon the coffin was closed and every Mason broke off a little branch of the greens which lay upon it, and stuck it in his coat. The Bible with the square and compass, the pocketbook, the four black boxes with the papers resting on them, and the sword, were now carefully lifted up, and carried by as many men, as were necessary, and also the coffin, which had been covered by a large white cloth. The soldiers who had stood in double rank from the gates during the whole of the ceremony with stacked bayonets were now in part stationed by their corporal where the procession passed. After the other part had performed various evolutions before their officer, the drums were muffled and covered with a black cloth, and at a given signal they marched off, while a funeral march was being played. The Masons who had not been occupied with the care of the remains marched behind them, hand in hand, two and two. These were followed by those carrying hammers, measuring lathes, the two round wands, columns etc., and finally came the clergyman, and behind him a man carrying the open Bible with both hands, and four men, each carrying a black box. The coffin now followed, the Master walking beside it, and the mourners behind him. As they neared the grave, the soldiers who stood in double file approached it, went through a military drill, and then retired. Hereupon the Masons drew near to the grave, and after a given signal knelt down around it. The clergyman then said: "Lord! now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace" etc. He pronounced several passages from the Scriptures applicable to the servants of God and closed with the words: "After labor sweet is rest." The Masons then arose and threw their green twigs on the coffin, and the grave was immediately filled up. The guards of the different stations were now relieved, and all returned in the former order, the Masons reassembling in the house, for the closing exercises.

On the 15th I went to Williamsburg in Virginia, a town situated directly opposite the Muskingum and beyond the Ohio. I there visited Mr [Isaac] Williams.

Two large armed boats with two canoes arrived on the evening of the 27th containing more than 100 men. They came from Fort Washington[1] and next morning proceeded on their journey to Pittsburgh. The passengers of these boats were Col. Hodgdon, former Quartermaster,[2] and Gen. [James] Wilkinson's wife with her three sons, who she was taking to Philadelphia to school.

The Freemasons celebrated the 24th (St. John's Day) according to their custom. They held several private meetings, and had a public dinner in an

1 [Cincinnati.]

2 [Samuel Hodgdon, of Pennsylvania, was appointed quartermaster of the army 4th March, 1791, and superseded 19th April, 1792.]

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arbor, to which I was invited with other guests. The Master explained the signification of the large burning wax candles on the table, to the guests in this manner; he said they were not placed there because we could not see without them but because of the Scripture injunction: "Let your light shine before men."

On the morning of the 26th of June, Gen. Putnam and I at last proceeded on our journey down the Ohio. In our vessel manned by nine men, there were several gentlemen, passengers to Gallipolis. We landed at Belleprée, visited friends and saw the beautiful new settlement. This colony consists, as was mentioned before, of three stations or fortifications, about a mile and a half distant from each other, situated on a bluff of the Ohio about sixty feet high. The upper one named Stone's Station[1] lies directly above the Little Kanawa River, where there is also a small settlement of Virginians. Here there is a beautiful island, four miles long.[2] The soil in this neighborhood is remarkably fertile, and inhabitants as well as cattle show plainly that they are living in a goodly land. We spent the night with Major [Nathan] Goodale at the lower station. Soon after we had started on the morning of the 27th and had passed by one of the dwellings destroyed by the Indians, we saw two hostile Indians. When they discovered us, they attempted to conceal themselves among the high weeds. At noon we rode by many neglected farms. In the evening at 9 o'clock we reached the Great Kanawa, formerly called New River. This is the spot where in 1774, Col. Lewis had a severe engagement with the Shawanese in which the latter were totally defeated. The Virginian government gave Col. Lewis, as acknowledgment of his services, a grant of 9000 acres of land on which he has for seven years been laying out a town, now consisting of 30 houses, named Point Pleasant. It is very beautifully situated on a high bank. The Kanawa, about as broad as the Lehigh at Bethlehem, flows past the lower part of the town, and then empties into the Ohio. Fifteen miles above this river, there is a spring which burns as soon as it comes in contact with fire. It was discovered by a Virginian hunter, who spent the night near it. At night he went with a lighted torch to get a drink, a spark from the brand fell into the water which immediately rose up in flames and frightened the hunter so dreadfully, that he left in haste. The spring is now visited by many gentlemen travelling down the Ohio, and they tell me, that when it has been set on fire, it usually burns for about three quarters of an hour. It does not however burn down to the ground, but only to the surface of the water. A man who had been scalped and tomahawked[3] by the Indians

1 [It was situated on the Ohio, two miles above Farmer's Castle.]

2 [Blennerhasset's Island.]

3 I presume that my readers are aware of the fact that, the savages of North America carry home

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was found here in the water a few days ago. We rode on this same evening to the French settlement of Gallipolis situated on the North bank of the Ohio between three and four miles from the Kanawa. Here we spent the whole of the following day in visiting the skilled workmen and the gardens laid out in European style. The most interesting shops of the workmen were those of the goldsmiths and watchmakers. They showed us work on watches, compasses and sun-dials, finer than any I had ever beheld. Next in interest were the sculptors and stonecutters. The latter had two finished mantles, most artistically carved. Gen. Putnam at once purchased one of them for 12 Guineas, the other was intended for a rich Dutch gentleman who has built a two-story house here, 50 ft. long. The upper part of a mantle was lying there, ordered by a Spanish gentleman in New Orleans,[1] which because of the fine workmanship upon it, was to cost 20 or 22 guineas. The worker in glass, seemed to be a born artist. He made us a thermometer, a barometer, a glass tobacco-pipe, a small bottle (which could contain about a thimble full) and a most diminutive stopper, and a number of works of art besides. He also manufactured precious medicine, nitric acid, etc. As we were on a journey and were in daily need of light and fire, he presented us with a glass full of dry stuff, which burns as soon as a match is applied. This stuff he told us was manufactured from bones. Concerning the fine gardens I must add the following, viz: that in them were to be found the most beautiful flowers, artichokes, and almond trees, and besides many fine vineyards, and some rice fields. At a distance of about 100 steps from the Ohio, there is a round hill which probably dates its origin, from the former inhabitants of this land as also the remarkable fortifications and buildings to be found in this country. This hill about 30 ft high, has been improved as a beautiful pleasure garden, with a pretty summer-house on the top. The town of Gallipolis consists of 150 dwellings. The inhabitants number between 3 and 400. A detachment of from 50 to 60 men of the regular army is stationed here for their protection. Besides a few Virginia spies or scouts, are kept and paid by the government. The militia are also willing to serve for remuneration. The Chikemage Creek flows back of the town, and below it empties into the Ohio. Fine boats are also manufactured in this town; our vessel is one of them. At noon we dined with the most prominent French gentlemen of the place, at the house of the

as a trophy of war, the front head skin, called scalp, of their defeated foes. Tomahawk means in their language an axe with which they cut down their foes or prisoners or those who are unable to proceed on their homeward march.

1 New Orleans is the capital of the Spanish province of Louisiana situated at the mouth of the Mississippi. This river forms the boundary line between the Free States and the Spanish province. The Ohio, on whose banks Gallipolis is situated, empties into the Mississippi, and is navigated by the inhabitants. There is therefore considerable trade carried on with the Spanish inhabitants of Kentucky and several settlements along the Ohio.

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judge and doctor, Mr Petit. Among the officers who were there as guests, there was one, by the name of Dimler, who told me, that he was a friend of the family E . . . . . and that to the best of his knowledge, he had friends in Bethlehem.

Early on the morning of the 29th a new bark canoe passed along the banks, a sign that Indians must be in the neighborhood, who had returned from the war beyond the Ohio. We started from here at 5 o'clock in the morning, and crossed the Gyandotte, a river which empties into the Ohio on the Virginia shore. Wild turkeys and deer were seen in great numbers on the banks of the Ohio. At half-past five in the afternoon, we crossed the Big Sandy, a very beautiful river emptying into the Ohio from the South, and forming the boundary line between Virginia and Kentucky. Here we found frequent traces of buffaloes along the river-bank. We left our boat float the whole night on the river, not without a guard, however, for now we were obliged to pass the most dangerous point, viz., the Sciota. For several years many passing Kentucky boats had been attacked and seized by the enemy; the Indians having provided themselves with boats in order to make their attack. It is said that within two years about 150 people have either lost their lives or been led into captivity from this place. We were fortunate enough to be enveloped in a dense fog during the whole night until 9 o'clock the next morning, so that when it had dispersed we found ourselves eight miles below the Sciota river.

The whole stretch of land on both sides of the Ohio, yesterday and today, was very pleasing to the eye. There were many round hills frequently covered by chestnut trees, and as they were now in blossom, they added greatly to the beauty of the landscape. At 3 o'clock in the afternoon, we discovered a Kentucky boat at a place from which we could conclude that it had been taken there by the Indians some time ago. Soon after we reached the three Sandy Islands (a passage of the Indians to Kentucky) where we met a few white scouts, who had gone out to reconnoitre. We arrived at Mercer's station at 4 o'clock (the latest maps call the place Massey's Town) on the north bank of the Ohio, where there are about 30 families in a fort. Here there is an island in the Ohio, two miles long, almost entirely covered with Indian corn. From this point we met Kentuckians both on the river and land, who had gone out either to hunt or fish, or for other occupations. When we reached Limestone,[1] at 6 o'clock in the evening, where we took our supper, we observed this class of people and their peculiar mode of life, with astonishment. This place is in a manner the entrance to Kentucky where most boats

1 [Maysville.]

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(or all boats going to the waterfalls of the Ohio) land, unload and continue overland on their journey to the more inhabited neighborhoods and places, like Washington, Lexington, etc. The inhabitants of this town live in idleness and poverty, and for support depend upon what they can lay hold of from the travellers to whom they occasionally lend assistance when in difficulty. I counted 56 large millstones lying around on the banks ready to be taken away by the owners. The town stands on a bluff 70 feet high on the south side of the Ohio. At 9 o'clock in the evening we started, and left the boat glide down with the current; a slight contrary wind blowing, and the current not being strong, we only made 12 miles through the night, to a station in Kentucky, where we breakfasted. The whole region, from Limestone down for twenty miles, is inhabited on the south side by Kentuckians. At 8 o'clock we arrived at the Ten-Mile Reach, so called, because the Ohio flows a straight distance of ten miles, with flat low banks on both sides, and it would appear, as if this were its mouth. In the evening at 5 we passed the town of Columbia, and took up our quarters with Major [Benjamin] Stites. This man who is from Jersey has purchased a tract of 20,000 acres from Judge Symmes[1] and has laid out a town upon it. The lots which are a half acre in size are sold at 7 sh. 6 d., and those situated outside of the town, belonging to it, 5 acres in size, amount to as much. The town is situated on the Little Miami and Ohio. On the former there is a ship-mill. There are many well built houses, and the town is finely situated. The present number of inhabitants exceeds 1100. They are provided with two Baptist preachers,[2] Smith and Clark. Judge Goforth whom we visited, also resides here. The only disadvantage of this place is, that part of the land is inundated by high water. Walnut and Locust trees cover a great portion of it. Two military posts have been erected several miles behind the town as protection to the neighborhood.

On the 2[d] of July, after breakfast, we left Columbia and reached the town of Cincinnati at 9 o'clock. Fort Washington is situated there, and Gen. Putnam was greeted upon his arrival by a salute of 9 cannon shots. Lodgings were assigned to me with Gen. Putnam in Fort Washington, but I declined and went to a landlord in the town, by the name of Martin, formerly from Sussex County, New Jersey. After having rested a little Gen. Putnam and I visited the 56 Indian women and children, prisoners in the stockade from the Eel River[3] and Wawiachtenos Nations, brought captive a year ago by Gen.

1 [John Cleves Symmes, who, in 1788, was appointed judge for the North West Territory.]

2 The doctrines of this religious party, so numerous in the American Free States, are contained in the 5th Vol. page 258 etc. of this selection.

3 The Eel river flows in an unexplored region of the Western Territory, 41° North Latitude. It, with other tributaries forms the Wabash. During the late war this part of the country became better known by scouting parties, who coming from Kentucky, destroyed the dwellings of the Indians.

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[Charles] Scott and [James] Wilkinson from Kentucky. Putnam told them that they would soon be released, and that in a few days he would rejoice their hearts, whereupon they expressed themselves very gratefully. About 1 o'clock in the afternoon, Gen. Wilkinson, the Commandant, arrived here; a week ago he had visited the forts as far as Jefferson,[1] with a company of Kentucky militia. He brought the sad intelligence that about 100 warriors, on the day before his arrival, had surprised a guard of 14 men, placed there to watch a band of workmen. The Indians had either killed them all, or taken them captive. If we consider that this unfortunate day was the one appointed by Gen. Putnam for his negotiations with the hostile Indians in Fort Jefferson, and that our messages had been delivered promptly and in good time, one can easily conclude, that this expedition had been directed against us, and that their intention was to give us an answer, by aiming a tomahawk at our heads. General Putnam's instructions were to travel on direct to Fort Jefferson, and tarry there until the return of the messengers of peace, in order to receive their answer and await the Mohican Indian, Capt. Hendricks. He concluded however to depart from these instructions, and remain until he could learn how the messengers of peace had fared.

On the 3^{d} Messrs. Vanderburgh, Vigo and Beard arrived here from Post-Vincennes. Five men and one woman came with them, from the Wawiachtenos Nation accompanied by a guard and their errand was, to seek and help to take away their captive friends. This fact was made known to the prisoners before night, the guard within the stockade was called away, and the gate opened, but for the safety of the prisoners, a guard was placed outside of it. It was touching to witness the loud outbursts of weeping when relatives met. The gentlemen from Vincennes mentioned above, brought the tidings that the Indians from their neighborhood had declared that the three messengers of peace, Trueman, Freeman and Hardin[2] had been murdered by hostile Indians, and that their papers and belts[3] had been seen in the villages of the savages. On July 4th, the anniversary of the independence of the United States, 15 can-

1 Jefferson is the present name for the most northern Fort in the northwestern territory of the Free States. It is situated on the west bank of the Miami. A line of forts extend from Fort Washington on the Ohio to Jefferson in order to protect the new settlers of this fruitful land against the savages. The situation of these forts is clearly given, on the map of the Western territory of North America which Imlay has added to his description of this region of country. This map also shows plainly Mr. Heckewelder's travelling route.

2 [They were released from captivity after the defeat of the Indians by General Wayne at Fallen Timbers.]

3 Upon the occasion of an agreement or treaty of peace it was customary for the messengers of peace, to begin their proposals by the presentation of several belts of Wampum. This Wampum is a girdle consisting of different strings upon which bright shells have been strung. It is composed of four, six or more strands of this kind, is three or four fingers wide, and several feet long. Important treaties are ratified by the presentation of this belt, as well among Europeans as among Indians.

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non shots were fired in the morning at six o'clock, and again at noon, while the assembled officers were dining; and in the evening as a close of the day. All salutes were fired from a six pounder. Judge Symmes had come to attend this festival from North Bend, 15 miles down the Ohio, where he owns an estate.

I spent my time on the 5th and 6th taking walks and viewing the town. The well known Col. Menzies,[1] Inspector of the troops in the service of the United States, and Lawyer Smith, visited me in turns. The town of Cincinnati was laid out by Judge Symmes. He was formerly judge in New Jersey, and at present fills the same office in the Western Territory, northwest of the Ohio river. A few years ago he purchased from Congress, the whole tract of land, lying between the Big and Little Miami, as far as the Ohio river, and about 30 miles north of the two named rivers. The ground upon which the town stands, is a plain along the Ohio about two miles long, and extending northward seven miles along the road. The town is in a manner divided into two parts, as one, or a second shore of the Ohio is 140 perches from the real banks of the Ohio. Each of these banks is 40 ft. high, and on account of its situation or straight line, very pleasant to the eye. What lies below this second bank, is called the lower town; the upper town is however connected with the lower one. At present there are 354 surveyed lots purchased and used for building purposes. Four acres outside of the town, belong to every lot within the town. The price of the lots was at first from four to eight dollars per lot, and twenty dollars an acre for the lots outside of the town. The rush is however so great at present, that lots are being sold at from $30 to $60 cash, from the second purchaser. More than 200 houses have been built, many of which are two stories high, well-built and painted red. They command a rent of from 50 to 60 dollars per year. In the centre of the upper town, there are two large squares, the one intended for a Court House, and the other for a Church. On the latter a fine Church is being built, and under roof. The streets of the town are everywhere four perches wide. All the lots which have been surveyed are enclosed with good posts and Indian corn, wheat, oats, barley, millet, potatoes and turnips are cultivated in them. There are eight open roads leading from East to West, and six from South to North, pleasant for walking, there being no obstacles in the way, on the one road for ¾ of a mile, and on the other for ½ a mile. At the east end of the town, and on the second height, lies Fort Washington, built similar to Campus Martius in Marietta, the roof and palisades on the front are painted red. Near the fort, there are some very fine, large gardens, in which vegetables and fine flowers are cul-

1 [Menzius.]

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tivated. Tasty summer-houses have been built in them, the most prominent of these belong to Gen. Wilkinson and Dr [Richard] Allison. Just below Fort Washington there are long low buildings forming a square, where the mechanics in the service of the United States army work; it is also a store-house for provisions. The inhabitants of this city number more than 900, not counting the garrison and its belongings. This does not contain any positive number, but at present consists of about 200 men. The city has its judges and holds regular courts. The military wish to govern, but the city insists upon its rights under the constitution, and in consequence frequent quarrels ensue. The city is overrun with merchants, and overstocked with goods. More than 30 magazines or warehouses can be counted, so that one injures the price of the other. It is a town teeming with idlers, and according to the report of respectable persons, they are a people resembling Sodom. Yet they hope that this place, as well as the others on the north bank of the Ohio, will perhaps in time, or soon, be purged of this wicked class, for experience teaches, that as soon as they are made subject to the law, they leave for Kentucky which lies just across the Ohio, and if they are stopped there, they push on to the extreme boundary along the Clinch or Cumberland river, or even down as far as New Orleans. Here I met the wellknown Weisser, who had last year fallen among the conscripts: he participated in the expedition of Nov. 4th and was wounded there. He was frightened when he heard that I was from Bethlehem, and acted as a penitent sinner; said, with many tears, that no sin he had committed, lay so heavily upon his conscience and pained him as much, as that one, that he had belied, and deceived the congregation of God. He remarked at the same time, that from that time on he had had no more success in the world, but was obliged to support himself in a troublesome way, with much uneasiness of heart. I merely said to him: "He who can look into the heart, whom no one can deceive, the same is God, a just judge." He answered: "That I must now most powerfully feel." He spoke to me upon another occasion again and begged me to take a letter asking for pardon, along to Bethlehem, but his behaviour was such, that I could not pay any more attention to him. Although, according to the description, this city consists principally of bad inhabitants yet a clergyman resides there. The present one belongs to the Presbyterian church.[1] I was really astonished to find so many, and partly attentive listeners in the Sunday services. What adds to the beauty of the city of Cincinnati, and contributes to its advantages, is the fact, that just opposite, on the south side of the Ohio, the beautiful Licking River (about ¾ as broad as the Lehigh) empties into it. A city has also been located and

1 [*Query*, Rev. James Kemper.]

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begun there, which is called New-Port. From the mouth of this river, which flows from a rich inhabited country, a main road leads to Lexington, the capital of Kentucky. They expect that in future a lively traffic from there to this place, and from here down the Mississippi may be carried on. At present two ferries are maintained here, one of them belongs to a German by the name of Pickel, a former inhabitant of the neighborhood of Bethel,[1] and who, as he says, diligently frequented the Brethren's meetings during the time of Till's, Reizenbach's, Huebner's and Schlegel's ministry. This Pickel told me, that he, when he moved down here and was with other Germans from Monongahela in a boat on their way to New Spain, was called a heretic by them, and they sought to take his life, but he escaped. From Pastor Man in Harrodsburg, Kentucky, 60 miles from here, I received almost daily tidings. He is highly spoken of here; he serves two congregations, composed chiefly of Germans, and preaches both English and German.

On the 7th at 9 o'clock, A.M. two men, a woman and a large boy, who had gone in a canoe to Columbia were attacked by the Indians about a mile and a half from here. One man was killed and scalped, the other shot through the shoulder, and the boy was carried away prisoner. The woman who from fear, fell into the water was carried down some distance by the stream, reached the land safely and brought the news here. The militia was immediately called to arms to march out, brought in the wounded man, and the body of the dead one. They at once cut out the ball from the former and the wound was declared not dangerous. However the head of the other was dreadfully mangled.

Sunday the 8th in the morning the resident minister preached, and in the afternoon a Baptist clergyman from Columbia. The rain which had fallen yesterday and day before, caused the Ohio to rise 11 feet on the 9th. The high water enabled several heavily laden Kentucky boats from Pittsburgh to arrive here. As they passed the Sciota, a number of Indians fired into them, they had already entered their canoes in order to take possession of their boats, but three others some distance behind, well armed, fired off their guns. Hereupon the Indians had to give up their intentions for this time. One of these boats had received 12 shots, but no one was hurt.

On the 12th William Wells arrived here from Louisville. This Wells was a boy 12 years old who on his way to school, 8 years ago, was taken prisoner by the Eel River Wawiachtenos and afterwards adopted into the family of their Sachem or leader, where he learned their language, became a good huntsman and useful man. He also took part in the engagement of Nov. 4th, and gives good, thorough and reliable accounts of all that has happened there,

1 [A Moravian congregation in Lancaster, now Lebanon Co., Pa.]

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he has made known where the cannons of the Indians lie buried. As his adopted father Gawiahaetle (that is Hedgehog) had given him his freedom this spring and besides allowed him to go wherever he pleased, also to visit his brother in Kentucky; he first went to Post-Vincennes where he found an opportunity to go to his brother in the neighborhood of Louisville. Gen. Putnam being obliged to have an interpreter, and there being no one here who could speak with the prisoners, he sent for Wells, and took him into the service of the United States. Here he found the rest of his adopted relations, his mother and sisters; when they met, they shed many tears.

Early on the 14th a special messenger arrived from Fort Jefferson with the news, that two soldiers, one of whom had served in Gen. Harmer's company and the other a prisoner captured by the savages on Nov. 4th, when a good distance from the fort, hoeing corn, agreed to desert and successfully carried out their purpose. However the soldiers were taken back on the 15th with an escort of light cavalry and were afterwards cross-examined by a judge in presence of Gen. Putnam and put under oath to speak nothing but the truth. They had both been taken prisoner by the Pottowattami tribe, and one of them, a German by the name of Schaefer, could speak the language quite well. According to their reports the Nations wished to hear of no propositions for peace until they saw that all forts and settlements on this side of the Ohio were abandoned and removed. Besides two peace messengers, Trueman and Freeman, had certainly been killed for the Indians had shown them their scalps, clothes, papers and belts, with the remark: "thus we will in future treat all peace messengers and deserters." Of Colonel Hardin they knew nothing further than that they had been told, that he and his companions had met with a similar fate. They gave further news of all the parties that had started out this summer, and said that Simon Girty has been personally present at the last attack upon Fort Jefferson, made by more than 100 Indians. Altogether the reports were found reliable and agreed with what we had already learned. News came to-day from Fort Jefferson that a party of Indians had last night, which had been particularly dark, driven away all the cattle, penned up in the palisades of the fort, and that Indians had been seen every day. From Columbia the news came to-night that about 30 Indians had been there and taken three men captive. A strong company of cavalry was sent in pursuit of them, they followed their trail for 40 miles, but the Indians had entered a swamp and the horses could proceed no farther.

On the 16th in the morning the Wawiachtenos Head-chief died suddenly. He was one of those mentioned as having lately come from Post Vincennes. At his funeral on the 17th, by order of Gen. Putnam and Wilkinson, every

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military honor was shown him and three salutes fired over his grave. The majority of Indians followed his remains, one of them carrying a white flag on a long pole, which he afterwards planted at the head of the grave. The procession marched in the best order, accompanied by the most prominent gentlemen of the place. The funeral march was beaten on the drum draped in mourning. They granted him a resting place in the cemetery believing that this might be of advantage to them, among the relatives as well as among the Nation in general. Malicious people dug up the body again at night, tore down the flag and post, threw them into a mud-hole and dragged the body down along the street and stood it up there. The generals had the body burried again immediately in the morning and a flag raised. Governor Winthorp's secretary issued a proclamation offering 100 dollars reward for the discovery of the perpetrators. On the following night however the flag and proclamation were torn down, but the body remained unmolested. For a second time a new flag was raised, a guard placed near by, and nothing further happened. On the 19th the chief of the Indians spoke to Gen. Putnam about the release of the prisoners. He wished Putnam to accompany them personally to the Wabash and believed that if he did this, he would find an opportunity to announce to those Indians the peaceful intentions of the United States. He added that if they were obliged to remain here any longer, they would surely all die, and if they must die, they preferred to die and be buried in their own land. Putnam thereupon answered them that he had postponed their journey for 30 days. On Sunday 22d on the parade ground, the verdict was read and executed on a soldier, who had attempted a revolt. He was obliged to run the gauntlet, have his head shaved, a collar put around his neck and in this manner be drummed out of the fort and city. He had formerly been tied to the Wheelbarrow in Philadelphia. At noon young Mr Stites arrrived at Columbia with the news that Indians had again been seen near that city and were followed by the militia.

On the 24th by invitation of a Kentucky gentleman I crossed the Ohio to visit him. Fort Washington and Cincinnati present a very pleasant view from this side. On the 28th Gen. Wilkinson, with an escort of light cavalry went to his favorite place, Fort Hamilton.

On the 29th the Presbyterian minister spoke with earnestness upon the importance of man's conversion. He used this expression among others: "that in this matter we could not speculate, the choice was free to all, without price and merit, to accept grace and thereby to become saved, or remain unsaved, and be eternally lost."

On the 4th and 5th of August the Ohio rose to such an extent, that on the latter evening it was 12 ft. high. Mr Clark, a Baptist clergyman, from

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Columbia preached twice in this church. He described the natural man in his sin and nakedness, showed how necessary it is to be converted and pointed out the path which he must then follow. He praised God's compassion, and directed all sinners to Jesus the crucified one. He also spoke of the fruits of conversion whereby a regenerate person could be recognized. He gave an account of his own conversion and how he had sought and found grace. The clergyman expressed himself very severely about those who regard this matter heedlessly or frivolously and depicted to them the fire of hell as very dreadful and hot. In regard to the Indian war he said among the rest: "God has placed us here in order to be punished for our sins. For this purpose he makes use even of the heathen and as long as we do not change our course and become converted, this chastisement will continue." He mentioned Nov. 4th as an example and related how already under the old dispensation God had made use of the heathen to punish his peculiar people when they had fallen into unbelief, disobedience and idolatry, etc. He also said "I certainly believe that we too are a scourge to the heathen because they do not ask after God." He hoped however that a time might come when all the heathen of this country would seek the only true God and a crucified Saviour and obey and serve Him. As we were coming out of the church, I heard several gentlemen saying to each other: "That man ought to have been torn down and thrown from the pulpit, he wants to declare everything to us as sinful, and yet he had Jesus Christ on his lips, who was nothing more than a carpenter! Had he spoken of God's omnipotence and perhaps given some good moral lessons besides, for example, how men should act towards each other, we would have listened to him, and allowed his sermon to pass, but his whole subject is nothing, he is only a disturber of the peace and a turmoiler etc."

On the 6th several people, who wished to go from Columbia to Dunlaps Station on horseback, were attacked by about 15 Indians. One of them was killed and another was wounded.

On the 10th a company of 60 men, under the leadership of Captain [William] Peters, who were to act as escort to the Indian prisoners on the journey to the Wabash arrived here.

On the 11th four large boats loaded with war supplies arrived from Pittsburgh.

On the 12th I went after preaching to dine at a gentleman's house in Kentucky.

On the 13th the Indians made attacks at three different places. At Fort St. Clair they shot a soldier through the hat. At Dunlaps Station they wounded three men, of whom one died. At Fort Hamilton they stole 17 horses, but

the owners who belong to the Kentucky militia and are in the service of the United States, followed them up, killed one of them, and brought their horses back again.

On the 14th Gen. Wilkinson returned from Fort Hamilton, where he is having a fine house built and will in future take up his residence there. According to all descriptions the country is very beautiful and surrounded by large meadows, on which 2000 tons of hay were cut this year. The Miami that flows by the Fort is said to be full of fish.

On the 16th all the Indians who had been prisoners here for more than a year and who, as the mustering officer informed me, had cost the United States $60,000 accompanied by four other boats and under an escort of 60 men, besides their interpreter Wells, started from here for Post Vincennes.

On the 18th Gen. Putnam and I followed in our barge. Capt. Collis and Dr [Samuel] Boyd accompanied us as far as Louisville as passengers. The former had gone in 1786 with brethren from Bethlehem to St. Croix, but has now settled in Kentucky, the latter has just come from Gen. Hand at Lancaster and has consented to accept an appointment in the army. In our company there was also one of the before mentioned Vanderburghs from Post Vincennes, who wishes again to return with us. Seven miles below Cincinnati, we passed a small settlement on the north side of the Ohio, called the South Bend, situated on the land belonging to Symmes. Eight miles farther on we passed North Bend, where there is a small town and larger settlement, belonging to this gentleman, who resides here. It is really surprising to see how the people have settled and cultivated this country, which five years ago was a wilderness. There are between 300 and 400 inhabitants in this neighborhood living partly in the town and partly on the farms. The most singular circumstance is, that for two years they have been troubled with no Indian raids. Judge Symmes, who is looked upon as a father among this people, has by his kind treatment of the Indians, who at first came here very frequently, gained their friendship, and this has proved a better protection than a regiment of soldiers. Symmes gave me an Indian interpretation of the coat of arms of the United States, namely the eagle, etc. Three years ago a considerable number of Shawanese and Delawares came here to trade. The judge took the chiefs to his house, entertained them hospitably, and gave them presents. During their visit many things were discussed, he showed them amongst the rest the coat of arms of the United States, which he carefully explained. "Well," said a Shawanese captain, "let me also give my explanation, perhaps it will come nearer to the truth than yours. You tell me that every power has its own coat of arms and that this is good and useful. You have told me much of the peace-

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ful intentions of the United States towards the Indians, and you show as a proof this picture. If the United States were such lovers of peace as you describe them to be, they would have chosen for their coat of arms something more appropriate and expressive of it. For example there are many good, innocent birds. There is the dove which would not do harm to the smallest creature. But what is the eagle? He is the largest of all birds and the enemy of all birds. He is proud, because he is conscious of his size and strength. On a tree, as well as in flight he shows his pride and looks down disparagingly upon all the birds. His head, his eyes, his beak and his long brown talons declare his strength and hostility. Now this bird, which is terrible enough in itself you have depicted as even more dreadful and horrible. You have not only put one of the implements of war, a bundle of arrows into one of his talons, and rods in the other, but have painted him in the most fearful manner, and in a position of attack upon his prey. Now tell me, have I not spoken the truth?" Symmes had to agree to his explanation, however, with the remark, that only enemies of the United States were frightened at this position of the eagle. Friends on the contrary, could look upon it as a sign of protection and this protection all the Indians who were friends of the States enjoyed, etc. It is remarkable how at this place, the beautiful Miami river, which six miles below empties into the Ohio, after wonderful windings of about 15 miles, at last here approaches within ¾ of a mile of the Ohio. The two Walkers, who two years ago murdered the peaceful Seneca Indians on the Pint creek, still live here. At 2 o'clock P.M. we passed through the great Miami, on the banks of which were wild turkeys and geese in great numbers. We continued two miles farther to Tanner's Station in Kentucky on the south side of the Ohio, where we bought butter and watermelons. We saw deer, bears and wild fowls grazing along the shores of the Ohio. During the night we left our boat drift with the current.

On Sunday the 19th at six different times we saw herds of buffaloes grazing on the shore. We put Capt. Collin ashore, who although he had hit one, was not able to follow him any farther, because of the fresh Indian tracks. However, as towards evening sixteen buffaloes, and three buffalo calves showed themselves, our hunter shot a very fat young cow weighing between four and five hundred pounds. Now we had a good supply of meat, and could look upon the rest of the game with indifferent eyes. During the night we again allowed ourselves to float with the current.

On the 20th in the early morning, buffaloes and deer were visible. Already at 10 o'clock we had reached the Twelve Mile island, and afterwards the Six Mile island, all thickly overgrown, with the so-called Carolina reed, which

covers many swamps of this region. Near the latter island the Kentucky shore is thickly settled. During the afternoon about 3 o'clock we passed Fort Steuben, on the north side of the Ohio, where the Indians had already arrived on the night before with their guard of 60 men. In honor of the general, on our arrival, nine cannonshots were fired and the commandant of this fort, Capt. [Thomas] Doyle, showed himself very kind towards me. He inquired about his relatives in Lancaster and Nazareth, namely the H——s and Jacob Kr——'s family. We all slept under tents, on the banks of the Ohio and were surrounded by sentinels.

On the 21st during the morning, Capt. Peters made the necessary preparations to take our four boats over the falls of the Ohio.[1] After all our baggage had been conveyed across the river and then 1½ miles by wagon to the lower fall. They now tried to pilot down the two Kentucky boats and the two barges. The pilot receives a guinea for each boat. As the water was very low and the channel narrow, it was exceedingly troublesome, and three of our boats ran aground, only one reached there to-day. Every effort was made to float the grounded boats. However to-day they did not succeed and the poor people who were on board, had to pass the night there, wet as they were. The greatest misfortune was, that one of these boats, forty feet long and sixteen feet broad, which had cost 40 Dollars sank during the night. There were two sick Indian women and two soldiers on it, but they saved themselves on the roof of the boat. The commandant of this place an honest good man, was busy already before daybreak, helping the sufferers. He sent a number of strong soldiers with a quantity of ropes to them, which at last towards noon accomplished their purpose and the two barges were safely brought below the falls. The four persons on the stranded boat were also landed with their effects. The poor Indians who had to see and experience all the difficulties and dangers and were at a place where Kentucky fury raged towards them, wept aloud together. As their interpreter had gone ashore to visit his brother, I consoled them as best I could and towards evening brought them back under cover of the cannons at the fort. Here they were out of danger and Capt. Doyle took the best care of them, until at last, they were taken next day to the headquarters of Gen. Putnam on the other side of the Ohio and below the falls, where they seemed to be quite contented. The commissary's three large boats loaded with provisions, intended for us and the troops at Post Vincennes, passed safely and quite unharmed over the waterfalls, so that matters could be arranged and we all had room. There being various matters to be

1 Imlay has given a correct picture of these waterfalls of the Ohio in his Topographical Description of the Western Territory, page 51. On the same may also be found the city of Louisville, Fort Steuben which is called Fenny there, and the city of Clarkville, consisting of a few houses.

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attended to here and Putnam's barge having lost a rudder, we were obliged to wait for several days. During this time, with Capt. Doyle and Lieut. Clark, I carefully examined the falls from all points. The change to this wild stream, appears very surprising, after passing through 750 miles of fine quiet water, namely from Pittsburgh to this place. The falls are indeed remarkable as they have three different channels, each of which distinguishes itself. The one channel on the south side, consists of many steps of smooth and pointed rocks, the middle one shoots down, more like a mill dam, while the one on the north side, is a very rapid, tearing stream, full of large stones. Troublesome and dangerous as it is, to pass over them in low water, when the water is high the passage is made very easily, and without the least danger. The falls themselves consist of a deposit or bed of smooth rocks, that are high and low in spots. In the falls, at low water large and dry rocky banks may be seen, upon which everything which lodges on them is caught and petrified. Walnuts, hickory-nuts, acorns and the shells of the same, branches, deer and buffalo horns, roots, fish skeletons, snails etc. are frequently seen lying on the flat stones, but if an attempt is made to lift them up, they are found to be immovable and petrified. Near the falls on both sides of the shore there are beautiful Lombardy poplars which they here call cottonwood trees. Below the falls, in deep water, large quantities of rockfish are caught. In the summer the falls feed thousands of wild geese, and also the pigs of the inhabitants, which always find dead fish and the like there. The surrounding country is beautiful and level. Although the shores rise to a height of from 60–70 ft they are not precipitous. On the north side, at the upper end of the falls is Fort Steuben in which 60 men, militia, are quartered. On the same side, at the lower end of the falls is Clarkville, a little town on Gen. Clark's land. He received for his former services against the Indians from the state of Virginia a tract of 150,000 acres of land. On the south side of the Ohio and nearly opposite to the falls, lies the city of Louisville on a fine high plateau, which extends many miles into the country, and is very thickly settled. In the city there are about 150 houses, all of them, with the exception of two, are built of rough wood. The ground on which the city stands, belongs to John Campbell, our former host in Pittsburgh, who also owns not far from there a fine country seat. A French gentleman by the name of Loekesang lives here, he has a handsome residence, a very fine garden, with a nursery of 10,000 young and nearly all grafted or inoculated trees. I was invited by this gentleman to dinner, he even offered me a room at his house as long as I remained, but I could not accept of his invitation. I found three former Muskingum merchants, one of whom, Henry Reed, lives in very comfortable circumstances, and has 5 stores at dif-

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ferent places in the country. He wished to insist upon my coming to his house, but I remained with my companions, all of whom were encamped in tents below the falls. I only visited friends and acquaintances as I felt disposed. The city of Louisville, with Lexington, is named as the future capital of the Kentucky government, and is to be viewed in three weeks for that purpose by a commission appointed to do so. There are two highways to the rest of the towns in Kentucky from here. The only disadvantage of this place is, that the thick fogs which rise in the autumn from the falls, and cover it, produce fever, and this is very much against the growth of the place. The raids which the hostile warriors made, during our stay here, carrying off negroes and horses, caused us much anxiety on account of the safety of our Indians. However everything passed off satisfactorily, so that on Sunday 26th we could continue our journey.

We were now 140 souls distributed in four Kentucky boats, three barges, and several canoes. The party in our barge consisted of Mr Henry Vanderburgh, a merchant and the judge of Post Vincennes. We had not proceeded a great distance when game of various kinds was visible. What strikes the traveller most pleasantly here are the majestic Lombardy poplars growing on the shores of the Ohio, and under whose shadows the buffaloes hide from the summer's heat.

On the 27th our hunters shot two bears and a deer, and on the 28th a fat buffalo cow, which weighed 436 ℔s.

On the 30th we saw almost continually, herds of buffaloes grazing on the shores. Interpreter Wells shot a cow and calf weighing 134 ℔s., the meat of which was found to be very juicy. We had now reached a country where no more hills are to be seen, but everything is flat and level, and the Carolina reed grows as thick as hemp.

Early on the 31st as we were passing on one side of a long narrow island in our barges and canoes, two herds of buffaloes, frightened by the boats passing on the other side, rushed directly before us into the water. We did not feel disposed to shoot, as we had enough to do, to keep out of their way, for when they are in flight, they do not see what is before them, but run down everything in their course. In the evening we passed Green River, at the mouth of which lies an island six miles long.

On Sept 1st, at 6 o'clock in the morning, we stopped at Red Bank in Kentucky, a settlement of 30 families. This place which lies 20 miles below Green river, is almost entirely settled by Jerseymen. A certain Michael Sprenkel, from near Yorktown, inquired about various Brethren of that place. Another, Friedrich Bettger, said that he had attended the Brethren's school there.

A Dane inquired about his countryman Just Jans in Bethlehem. On this spot, which lies very high and has a rich, sandy soil, I saw the largest and best grown sassafras trees. Some weather-boarded log huts were built entirely of this wood. The inhabitants of this place are all good huntsmen and last year shot great numbers of deer and caught many beavers. We sailed 8 miles farther today, and camped near a very beautiful island.

On Sunday Sept 2^{d}, we caught up with some people from Louisville; they had four buffaloes in their boats. The commissary who was with us, bought the meat for 2*d* per ℔ and we received our share of it. We passed the nine mile island and encamped at night under a high bank about a mile below the mouth of the Wabash.

On the 3^{d} quite early, we discovered through our spyglass some white people on the island, which lies at the mouth of the Wabash. We afterwards found that the troops sent by Major Hamtramck as our guards and support, from Post Vincent, had arrived. When we joined them the necessary preparations for our farther progress were begun. The Kentucky boats, which, because the journey ascends the Wabash, could not be used at all for the purpose, were destroyed and a fortification built on the point of land in which the provisions that had been brought along might be stored and guarded by 25 men, until they could be gradually removed. After this had been done, the six large *Peroges* which had been brought down by the French inhabitants from Vincent were loaded. Gen. Putnam, who was specially pleased with this neighborhood and particularly with the beautiful Wabash river, here hardly smaller than the Ohio, noticed how proudly it empties into the Ohio. In the mean time he had a sumptuous meal prepared and a table and benches of boards put up, where he, the three officers, Peters, Prior and Armstrong, the commissary Mr Poor, Mr Vanderburgh and I dined together. The meal was good and consisted of buffalo, bear, deer and pork, a turkey[1] two ducks, pike and turtlesoup, besides various vegetables. The noise of the many paroquets (a small kind of parrot) was dreadful and not attuned to my ears. I remembered at this place, that I was 1300 miles from Bethlehem and must go farther still. At last in the afternoon of the 4th we started up the Wabash. The Indians, who were now on their own land and soil, became quite cheerful. We had progressed about 8 miles this evening when we put up our quarters for the night. On the 5th all moved on smoothly, the water and country were

1 Our tame European turkeys are descended from this wild species, which in the latter part of the 16th century had become known in Germany. They are found in large numbers in the less inhabited regions, west of the middle free states. Schöpf saw them during his journey in great numbers running around in the woods, hiding in the bushes or sitting on the limbs of trees. They distinguish themselves from the tame ones, by their uniformity of colors, being black, brown, and muddy white spotted, they weigh 28-30 ℔s.

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pleasant, but on the 6th, I felt unwell, and thought, if I could land and were able to perspire I should feel better. After I had made a trial however for several hours, I could go no farther and was obliged to lie down on the shore, until a boat came and took me on board. I also had an attack of high fever this evening which the following four days prostrated me so completely, that during that time I knew little of myself. Lieut. Prior, who had studied medicine and was the doctor of the Ohio company, recognized my sickness as a bilious attack and gave me the necessary medicine. I improved so much that I could sit up a little during the day; yet there was still a lingering fever, and the heavy perspiration that I had at night, with unusually severe headaches exhausted me so much, that I merely existed but without strength or courage. I was in this condition when we arrived on the afternoon of the 12th at Post Vincennes.[1] Mr Vanderburgh took me out of the boat immediately to his house, where I was nursed in the best manner. But I did not however recover entirely until the following month, after having proceeded several days journey from this place. In the mean time the Indians, who had been invited hither for the treaty of peace, had in part arrived and when they saw their friends who had been prisoners, they fired off their guns for joy and sang various songs to these friends. These prisoners, after a speech by Gen. Putnam were turned over to their friends, at which they all rejoiced.

From now until the 22d Indians arrived almost daily in order to conclude a treaty of peace. On account of their continual drinking, Gen. Putnam found it necessary to issue a proclamation in which he forbade the citizens in the most peremptory manner to give or sell any liquor to the Indians during the negociations for the treaty of peace.

On the 19th, 110 head of cattle arrived. They were driven here from Kentucky for the use of the garrison, the inhabitants and the rest of the people at present here. Capt Doyle from Fort Steuben escorted them with 30 men.

On the 20th both on account of my health and in order to see the surrounding country, I rode out with several gentlemen.

Post Vincennes or Saint Vincent was started already in the year 1725, by a French Lieutenant of that name. The site on which this city is built deserves to have been in the hands of a more sensible architect. Two lots each containing about a third of an acre, form a separate square, so that the owner can look from his windows into three streets. He introduced some laws that are not less foolish, one of them is that the inhabitants must keep their cattle fenced in and that in a common field, the other fields outside of the

1 The author of this diary always calls this extreme western post of the Free States on the Wabash River, Vincennes, but as it is called St. Vincent in Schoepf's letters, on Imlay's map, and in other writings about the American republic, I have generally retained the latter name.

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same, shall lie open, which at the present day is still regarded as a law, although it vexes the majority of American inhabitants. The latter are working hard to have that law repealed, they have already sent a petition to Congress to that effect. The town has grown very much since 1743. It received most of its inhabitants from Canada, and in the year 1770, three hundred houses had already been built and they numbered more than 1500 inhabitants. But as they were principally engaged in the fur trade they paid little attention to agriculture and lived very much after the manner of Indians. They had a church and a priest, but they preferred the billiard table to his masses. Finally they no longer paid the priest a salary, for which reason he left, and moved to the Mississippi. Thither all those who still have some religious feeling, go annually or once in several years, in order to partake of the holy communion. Thus this priest draws the sinners so far from home. They consider it nothing at all to make a journey by water of 300 miles and back again, because on this journey they can procure fish and meat in abundance. Since the United States is in power here, which is since 1783, when Gen. Clark captured the place and took the Vice-Governor of Upper Canada and other officers prisoner, things have changed. However since the peace between England and the United States a large number has removed here from the Southern States and a still greater change has taken place. An Indian village of the Wawiachtenos Nation was near the French town and they together lived some fifty years in friendship and peace.

Now the troubles began, there being continual murders by one or the other party, and at last the Indians grew tired of it, broke up their settlement, and moved five miles distant. Their head chiefs were indefatigable in their endeavors to restore peace and goodwill, until a Kentucky scamp, by the name of Hardin clandestinely gathered about 150 men in Kentucky and unexpectedly fell upon and murdered all these peaceable Indians, who at that time lived within a mile of Post Vincennes. The commanding officer Major Hamtramck in due time received notice of the plans of these villains and immediately sent a messenger who represented their cruelty to them. He received as answer, that if he attempted the least movement, he would share the same fate. At the news of this occurrence many hundred Indian warriors assembled in the year 1791 and required the French inhabitants to surrender to them, all Virginians (thus they designated all who belonged to the United States) in order to avenge themselves. The French sought to pacify them and at last a compromise was made, they collected and gave them a present and the Indians desisted from their purpose. The embitterment however has not yet been quieted and the Indians declare, that where ever the Virginians go, they cause

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trouble in some way. Trade, which is, as was mentioned, the Frenchman's true occupation, was now completely destroyed. The Indians had lost all confidence and very seldom came to St. Vincent but went to the British or Spaniards.

The French were not accustomed to work and could not be taught how. When from necessity they had a desire to plant corn, there were few or none to continue with the care of it. The American government has been obliged to help their needs for two years with contributions. Men can grow so careless that in the midst of a fruitful country, abundant in provisions, they may yet be in a famishing condition. The Americans at this place numbering thirty families, live very well. Their fields are richly covered, their gardens are in the best of order and they dress in cotton and linen, both of which they raise. On the contrary there is hardly one among the French, who can dress himself decently, but whoever knows the Indian dress, knows theirs also. Their gardens are in the same condition, instead of vegetables, nothing but weeds and if they did not enclose them with fences on account of the fine large appletrees, one might ask, why they enclose them at all. The cattle is almost starving and all around lie fine meadows on which they could annually make hundreds of tons of hay. In short whoever starves here, cannot support himself anywhere and is a man who scarcely deserves to live. Before I cease to mention this place, I must add that of all that I have yet seen, it is the finest and most distinguished. The entire country is level, the soil is black sand, the Wabash as clear as the Monocasy, full of fish, and navigable for 600 miles from the mouth. About 1¼ mile from the city there are several round hills called Sugar-loaves. From them the city and fortress (Fort Knox) present a very pretty aspect. Near them is a little village, to the West, where the real farmers among the French live. The buildings of the French are all one story and instead of placing the smooth planks flat, they are put upright against the frames upon which they nail them. Of collar beams they know nothing, but instead put on massive rafters. Their chimneys are generally of wood and mortar. Stone buildings are very expensive, as not a single stone can be found on this land. Wages are high and every thing very dear. There is another little settlement five miles south from here, on a little river, called Desha, entirely made up of people from the United States. It may be said of the meadows of this country that some of them are several days journey in length, buffaloes in great herds graze upon them and they are hunted in the autumn by the Indians.

Sunday Sept. 23^{d} the Indians begged to begin the treaty negociations as they wished to start on their fall hunt. They were told that tomorrow a begin-

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ning would be made and that every day at 10 o'clock a cannon was to be fired off as a signal. Thus it came about that the peace meeting was opened by a speech from Gen. Putnam. He assured the assembled nations, namely: the Eel-Creek Wawiachtenos below on the Wabash; the Piankishaws between the Wabash and Illinois; the Potawattamos from Lake Michigan and St Joseph; the Kikapus from Kahokia; the Kaskaskias and Muquetons from Kaskaskias, that the United States desired to live at peace with all the Indians and to that end an opportunity was given them to discuss with the United States all that had happened, to clear away all difficulties and to begin a new treaty. The answer was postponed until the following day.

On the 25th by a unanimous vote the entire nations through a speaker, expressed their intentions and answer. A large pipe of peace was handed to Gen. Putnam with a fine broad belt of Wampum, accompanied by the desire that he would accept this as a sign of peace and present both to Gen. Washington, so that he too might smoke this pipe. Afterwards the chiefs of these nations rose and spoke in succession after offering their belts of wampum. The sum and substance of their discourse was, that the whites should not take away their land, but should remain on the other side of the Ohio and accept this river as the frontier line. However as there was some obscurity in their mode of expression they were earnestly begged on the 26th by Gen. Putnam to explain themselves more clearly which they did in the afternoon meeting. They expressed the wish that they and the whites might never live in too close proximity, because among both whites and Indians very bad people were to be found. They wished and begged to trade with us, and requested that Congress might not take away the land from the French who lived here, as their fathers had given it to them in former times.

On the 27th the articles of peace were read to the assembled nations and after they were signed by thirty-one chiefs, peace was declared by the general in a speech, and the seven necessary belts of wampum were handed to the most prominent chiefs. At the conclusion the cannon was fired eight times. The first time by the General himself and afterwards by the chiefs who had received the belts. They also received four large oxen, bread and brandy in order to hold a festival. This festival, before its conclusion cost two of them their lives, they were knocked down in their drunken brawls.

On the 28th Gen. Putnam, who for a week had not been feeling well, was obliged to take to his bed. He was taken with the same bilious fever that I had contracted on the way and on the following days he was so sick, that we doubted his rallying again. There were many sick with this fever, several of whom died.

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On the 29th all the Indians rejoicing in the treaty of peace which had just been concluded, held a dance in the City Hall. Each nation was differently painted and all vied with each other to appear as hideous as possible. They first passed through all the streets of the city with drums and singing and then marched into the City Hall where they sang and related of all their warlike achievements. The figures and motions made at this dance, the disfigured and dreadful faces, the war implements in their hands which they brandished, the dry deer claws that rattled around their legs, the green garlands around their necks, their bodies without clothes, except a few miserable rags, presented an aspect, which I am unable to describe. But everything was carried on quite properly according to their ideas.

On the 30th we began to divide the presents among them and continued doing so during the following days.

On October the 4th Gen. Putnam's sickness came to a crisis and we hoped that he would soon recover, as he had agreed to go to Philadelphia with several chiefs. He wished that they might set out on their journey and that I should accompany them to Marietta and remain there until his arrival. Another company of these illustrious savages was dispatched with addresses to the hostile Indians, they were to be accompanied by the interpreter Wells.

On the afternoon of the 5th the chiefs, sixteen in number, besides a squaw, started on their journey to Philadelphia. In their company was Lieut. Prior as leader, two Kentucky guides or scouts and two soldiers and myself, forming together a party of 23 souls. As we passed Fort Knox seven cannon shots were fired. The journey was overland to the falls of the Ohio. We encamped this evening 5 miles from the place.

On the 6th we travelled all day through a fine rich level country and the pleasant odor of quantities of ripe persimmons made the day very agreeable. Towards evening we crossed the beautiful White river, which is as wide as the Lehigh at Bethlehem. It is a branch of the Wabash and empties about 14 miles below Post Vincennes into the Wabash. Our Kentucky hunters had today shot five wild turkeys.

On the 7th we still traveled along the eastern branch of the White river at least 12 miles down, but then our way led us into the wilderness where we could with difficulty pass through the grape vines and bushes. Our guide had today shot a very large old buffalo estimated as weighing 800lb.

On the 8th we marched all day through a wilderness and over steep, disagreeable mountains. We encamped along a stream, but it was almost dried up.

On the 9th we reached the socalled Buffalo Salt Lick where it is said 500 buffaloes may sometimes be seen at one time, especially during the months of

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June, July and August. The salt spot, several acres in size, is so much trodden down and grubbed up, that not a blade of grass can grow and the entire woods are for miles around quite bare. Many heads and skeletons of these animals are to be found which were either shot from time to time, or had died there. From here a great many buffalo trails lead out, and we had the misfortune to take such an one instead of the right one, our guides not being with us, but when they came back again, they led us in to the right path and preceded, in order to hunt.

After we had now marched about five miles, a herd of buffaloes came directly towards us as if they intended running us down. We fired into them, killed one, wounded another and took the meat of the former. In the evening we came to a slough where we spent the night and where several Indians made such gluttons of themselves, that they were taken sick and the next day we were obliged to carry their bundles on our horses.

On the 11th suddenly in the night we were overtaken by a thunderstorm. We had neither huts nor covering and the night was pitch dark. The rain fell in torrents, we were drenched to the skin, and under us flowed streams. We were only 18 miles from Fort Steuben, but in a neighborhood through which the Miami warriors frequently pass on their way to Kentucky and are also frequently pursued by those from there. We had cause for anxiety, viz., that if the warriors had recently committed ravages in Kentucky and they were pursued, our Indians would have to pay the penalty. For this reason Mr. Prior spoke with them and the guides, and commanded a forced march. We had scarcely proceeded half a mile when a similar thundergust overtook us; it continued so long, that at 1 o'clock at night, when we arrived at Clarkville and I stepped down from my horse, the water oozed out at the tops of my boots, although I wore two great coats, one over the other and I tried to protect myself as well as possible. Here I saw the well known Indian murderers, David Oven and Robbin George, now Capt. George, who had once stolen some of our horses on the Muskingum. From here we were three miles from Fort Steuben, a distance we were obliged to travel in the pouring rain. As soon as we arrived there, the Indians said: Give us enough brandy or we will be sick. Their guide gave them more than enough for all became intoxicated and remained in this condition during the following day. This life was unendurable to me and as I knew Capt. Doyle's opinion on the subject I addressed Prior seriously and represented to him, how he would lose his Indians by death one after the other, if he continued to go to work in this way. At first he showed some displeasure at my reprimand and wanted to know, whether I had anything to say about his Indians and whether I had permission to lay down rules

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for him. I answered him: that these Indians had been called by Congress for their own good and the welfare of the land and since they had appointed him leader, it would not be more than right and proper that he should show himself a capable man, as he now had an opportunity to reap honor or disgrace to aid in the cause of usefulness or harm. He acknowledged this, but the next day he continued to act in a similar manner and so I had to address him more seriously. I told him positively that if he continued thus, I would not travel another step with him and would complain of him at the proper place. Now he was frightened, begged my pardon, with the promise that in every particular he would follow my advice. This promise he kept during the rest of the entire journey. I spent the remainder of my time with my good friend Capt. Doyle and visited the French gentleman Mr Lakesang at Louisville. In the garrison almost everybody was sick of the fever, which generally shows itself here in the fall.

On the 16th the canoes, on which we were to travel from here to Fort Washington, were brought up over the falls and repaired. In the mean time Kentucky gentlemen visited us. The venerable Mr Sebastian, a lawyer in Kentucky, who wished to go to Cincinnati with us, also appeared. At last, on the 17th, we continued on our journey. The cannon of the fort announced our departure and the Indians in a speech thanked Capt. Doyle for his kind demeanor towards them. In starting we had great trouble as there was not room enough in the canoes and no more were to be had. The Indian chiefs considered themselves as the great and wise of their nation and believed they had nothing more to do than to sit in their boats, eat, drink and smoke tobacco. The fifteen soldiers accompanying us, were to act as guards and row the boats. We moved along in this way for a few hours in continual danger of drowning, because the canoes drew water. Prior did not know what to do, the soldiers swore at the Indians and they spoke of returning. Now, I said to Prior, there shall be an end to the trouble, if you will obey me, and as he willingly promised me this, I advised as follows: He, I and the three interpreters should continue our journey on land and each carry a gun; the oarsmen were commanded not to near the shore. This was done and Mr Sebastian, who perceived what we were driving at, also landed with us. Hardly had we gone half a mile when a wild cat came within range, we shot at her but missed her, and in a bay farther up, we shot four turkeys and wounded a young bear. The Indians who saw this, requested them to steer the canoes to land, but as they perceived that this would not be done, seven jumped out of the canoes into the water and waded to land, took our guns and said, that hunting was their business and they would attend to it, we should only stay in the canoes. Our object was thus accomplished and we had a safe journey.

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On the 18th the Indians, who were on land, shot five bears and several turkeys. At the 18 mile island we met the Kentucky hunters; they had two large canoes with buffaloes, bears and venison. They advised us not to leave our Indians alone on shore, because just at present there were many Kentucky hunters in the woods who could harm them. It was resolved that in future one or two interpreters should march with them and they all agreed to do it.

On the 19th five fat bears and a deer were shot. Early on the 20th we crossed the Kentucky river. Today again two bears and some turkeys were shot. On Sunday 21st a herd of buffaloes were seen and one of them was shot. In the evening we camped at Big Bone Lick creek, where large bones and teeth are found.

Several times on the 22d we met people who were going to this Lick where a large salt manufactory has been built. Late at night we arrived at Tanner's station. This Tanner, a Baptist minister had fortified himself on his own beautiful, rich tract of land and has a non-commissioned officer stationed there in command as guard.

Early on the 22d we crossed the great Miami and rested today with Judge Symmes' at North Bend. We might have reached Cincinnati, but the inhabitants of this place had given the Indians so much brandy, that they could scarcely stand. In consequence we only arrived there on the 24th at 1 P.M. and the Indians were saluted by fifteen cannon shots from Fort Washington.

On the 26th Gen. Wilkinson arrived with four officers as prisoners, under a guard of more than 100 men of the Kentucky militia, from Fort Hamilton. In the evening the hanging of a murderer took place. He had with another man, in a fit of drunkenness, vowed to murder the first man they should meet. A few minutes afterwards they were caught in the act, imprisoned and at last tried; one of them was acquitted and the other condemned to death. The saddest part was, that this young man could in no manner be brought to reflection. Under the gallows however he ascribed his misfortune to the fact, that he had always associated with evil companions and warned the rest of his comrades.

On the 27th Col. Winthrop, secretary of the Western Territory gave the Indians a dinner to which he invited Gen. Wilkinson, other gentlemen and myself. He gave the Indians good advice and instructions as to how they were to conduct themselves on their entire journey and in Philadelphia and begged them for their own interests to stop drinking, etc.

. On the following Sunday 28th Gen. Wilkinson gave the same advice at the Fort. At this meal the healths of President Washington, Gen. Knox, Putnam, etc. and of each of the chiefs present was drank, and as each was named, a salute was fired. During the meal an Indian arose and in the name

of all present addressed Gen. Wilkinson about the preparations for war which he noticed here and especially about the many pack horses and soldiers that he had during these days continually seen taking the road to where their wives and children were. This had suggested the question to his mind, whether they would not suffer harm during their absence, etc.? Now Gen. Wilkinson arose and gave the assurance in a very pleasant speech, that the friends left behind in their absence, should suffer no harm. Nevertheless, he told them quite plainly that the United States still had many enemies, that he was a soldier and served the States and must obey them; that his first thought and actions were to follow up the enemies of the United States until they acknowledged their wrong and would agree to peace. He said further: "My coppercolored Brethren from the Wabash, see how we are seated at this large table, there is no difference between us and you! You have lately made peace with us and today already you sit among us and eat with us from one dish, etc." The Indians arose shook hands with Gen. Wilkinson, and all the officers and gentlemen present, (there were about 30 of them.) Each nation thanked separately for the fine explanation and for the dinner, they now remained perfectly quiet. I must only add, that Gen. Wilkinson had arranged the guests so, that they and the Indians sat mixed and the cordiality during the dinner was very great on both sides.

On the night of the 30th a Wawiachtenos prince died, he suffered from pleurisy ever since his arrival here. At his funeral on the 31st at which all the officers and gentlemen of the city were present, they fired three times over his grave and every time they were answered by a cannonshot from the fort. After the coffin had been lowered, the Indians present, according to their custom, all threw a handful of ground on the coffin, those standing around followed their example. They put into this coffin the gun of the deceased, his tomahawk, powderhorn and balls, tobacco and pipe, several pairs of shoes and leather wherewith to mend them, a tin flask, knives and such like provisions and a bottle of brandy to be used on the journey in a new country. A long pole, stripped of its bark was put up at the head of the grave and a white flag suspended from it.

On November 1st in the evening we started in a very large boat and two good sized canoes. Three cannonshots were fired and about 9 o'clock we arrived at Columbia. Prior, who had been advanced to the rank of captain, and I stayed at Major Stites's and were invited next day to Major Gunn's to breakfast.

On the 3d we met two canoes for Fort Washington, loaded with buffalo-, deer- and bear-meat. We made about 30 miles today and spent the night on

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the Kentucky side, near a settlement, where we were visited by various people until midnight. All day Sunday the 4th we passed new houses on the Kentucky side. The citizens of the new city of Charlestown were particularly friendly to us; but the inhabitants of the city of Limestone manifested a very unfriendly spirit. It seemed in truth as if the Indians, and perhaps we, their companions, would also here find our graves. Several hundred men had assembled on the riverbank, of whom one-third were on horseback uttered many threats. Just at this juncture 16 Kentucky boats passed. They had 400 soldiers on board, who cursed us vehemently. Fortunately for us, Major Rudolph,[1] commander of the light cavalry was on the shore and tried to pacify the people, and advised Prior, to proceed as soon as possible. This we did and pushed on until late at night. As we did not know what might happen and whether they would not pursue and attack us during the night, Prior chose a suitable position for encamping on the north side of the Ohio. He also sent out good pickets, giving them orders how to act in any emergency.

The Indians perceiving the state of affairs slept little, but everything passed off successfully, and we could on the 5th continue on our journey unhindered. We made good progress and by evening reached the settlement of the Virginian Colonel Graham. We were much pleased to meet so courageous and kind a gentleman, whose people, about 30 in number, all imitate their master's example. All were kind to us, and gave our Indians various presents. This gentleman with whom Prior and I took supper owns an unusually fine tract of land, six miles square.

On the 6th we again encamped on Kentucky soil. On the 7th at 11 o'clock in the morning we arrived at the Sciota where we landed and looked at the country. The tall Lombardy poplars on the shore present a beautiful aspect as if planted there. Our Indians could find no traces of hostile warriors in the neighborhood. We continued our journey until evening and encamped opposite Tiger creek. Here we soon discovered a raft hidden in the bushes. According to reports three or four warriors had gone with it, day before yesterday to the settlements in order to do harm there.

On the 9th at noon we crossed the Big Sandy, which forms the boundary between Kentucky and Virginia and spent the night below Guyandot. Early on the 17th we met hunters from Kanawa. At 1 P.M. we arrived in a drenching rain at Gallipolis. I felt great pity for the poor people there, on account of their unfortunate situation. The matter is stated in a few words as follows: A certain gentleman in New York (Duer) who with other gentlemen wished

1 [Michael Rudolph, a captain in the Maryland line in Revolution; Captain First Infantry, 1790; Major of Cavalry, 5th March, 1792; Adjutant and Inspector of the Army, February, 1793; Resigned 17th July, 1793.]

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to buy the land on the Sciota from Congress, sent an agent to France in order to see whether a number of people could be found disposed to settle there or to buy some of the land. For this purpose a pamphlet was published, in which the land was described, exceeding above its value. The pamphlet was distributed among the people and the land offered for sale. Settlers now came in swarms and bought the land for the price of 20 shillings per acre and gave notes for the balance which they still owed. Thus many hundreds came to settle on their purchased land. In the meantime Duer's contract was not signed and his agent disappeared with the money. Duer counted on the land which he had in the Ohio company and sent these people there. After they had settled, he, Duer failed and the Ohio company to whom he owed great sums, seized his interest in the land and thus the end of the matter was, that the people were swindled. The Ohio company had indeed told, or informed them, that if they would turn to them, they would perhaps under certain circumstances allow them to remain. They however are no longer willing to be led around by the nose by any company and will appeal direct to Congress.

On the evening of the 12th we reached Point Pleasant and spent the night with Col. Lewis who was very kind in his attentions. We at last left the Kanawa on the 13th and camped about 8 miles above this place on the Virginia shore.

On the 15th and 16th, we met many boats with families bound for Kentucky; Post Vincent, or New Madrid.

We reached Marietta on Sunday the 18th at noon, in a pouring rain. The Indians were lodged in an unoccupied dwelling and Prior and I were taken to MacIntosh's tavern.

The savages were invited to a dinner by the inhabitants of Campus-Martius on the 20th. Capt. Haskell and the Commander here accompanied them with the music of fifes and drums. As they entered the gates, they were welcomed by a salute of three cannon-shots, thereupon they were presented to Gen. Putnam's family and then conducted to a table. Here they found a well-prepared meal, which they enjoyed with some of the most prominent inhabitants of the place. The Indians were very profuse in their compliments to the minister who sat at the head of the table and asked a blessing. They begged him to entreat God to preserve them from the smallpox. They entertain great fear of this disease. At the close of the meal, the Indians thanked for what they had enjoyed, and expressed the wish that the table might always look as it had done on this day, in other words, that they might never know want. They said God gives man his food, or he would have nothing. They urged the brandy distiller to come to their country, promising him plenty of

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customers. At last they prepared for departure and returned to the promontory. I took leave of my traveling companions on the 21st; I should have preferred continuing with them, but, according to the agreement made with Gen. Putnam, I was obliged to remain here and wait for him. The party felt very kindly disposed towards me and was loath to understand why I could not proceed with them. They said they would weep for me for days, until I promised shortly to overtake them. Capt. Harscall gave them another meal before leaving. After having enjoyed it and expressed their gratitude for the same, they entered their boats. In pushing off they were saluted by two cannon-shots, to which they responded with their guns. They said before leaving: Now one shot more for our friend Wapanachky; by this name they designated me.

On the 26th the Ohio which had risen 15 ft began to fall and as many boats had waited for this, they continued their journey.

On the 28th we heard that Capt. Prior, with the Indians had been seen 40 miles from here, and on account of the high water was delayed for several days.

Sunday December 2d the flight of wild pigeons was indescribable, the low-lands were entirely covered with them. The inhabitants, with few exceptions forgot that it was Sunday and went out to shoot pigeons.

On the 3d we heard that Capt. Prior had arrived safely at Pittsburgh with his companions, and was kindly received.

On the 6th a canoe arrived from Fort Washington, but of Gen. Putnam the people knew nothing. This caused us great anxiety.

On the 8th the Ohio again rose and many boats passed. At last, on the 18th, Gen. Putnam arrived to our great joy. He had had a second attack of sickness on the Ohio, for which reason he was obliged to remain quiet at the falls.

On the 23d we learned from a newspaper that the hostile Indians had also at last decided to make peace. During the Christmas holidays there was no divine service here, and I must say that I felt quite angry at these lukewarm hickory Christians.

On the 1st of January, 1793, there was shooting in every nook and corner. Oh! how often I wished myself in Bethlehem at this time.

On the 6th various large boats came from Pittsburgh in order to load corn for Fort Washington, and on the 8th several others arrived. After they had their cargo, they all set out together for their destination. The ice which frequently drifted out of the Alleghany blockaded them about 40 miles below this

place and destroyed five boats in which there were 1500 bushels of corn. The loss to the owners was £75 for the boats and £362, 10 sh for corn, making a total £437, 10 sh.

On the 12th at last the long desired day of our departure came. There were two gentlemen in our company, Messrs. Rome and van der Benden, they were the deputies with a protest from the inhabitants of Gallipolis to Congress.

On the 16th we passed Wheeling and arrived at night at Charlestown. We sent for our horses which in spring had been left with a farmer in the neighborhood. Major Mac Mahon had just arrived on a visit to his family and because he had lately been in our ruined towns on the Muskingum, and well knew that I would like to hear something about them, he gave me the following account. He said that last fall he had eaten the largest and best apples in Gnadenhuetten, the peachtrees in the three places, had yielded most abundantly, but that the bears had attacked them, and had broken down most of the limbs. According to his account it was almost impossible to recognize Gnadenhuetten and its surroundings, as the whole town plot and cultivated land in the vicinity is thickly overgrown with tall Honey and Locusttrees. The fine large plains are also covered with high Oaks, that are thickly intertwined, a positive proof that these open plains are the result of forest fires. On his last scouting expedition he had found an encampment of four Indians near Goeckhoesing up the Wahlhanding. He attacked them, killed two of them, and one who looked specially fine and light colored he wounded. The Indian began to scream loudly threw himself with the other one of the four, who was not wounded, over the high bank into this river, the Wahlhanding, and swam across to the other shore.

On the 17th we spent the night at Charles Wells', a member of the Legislature of Virginia. The boundary line between Virginia and Pennsylvania passes this man's house.

On the 18th we slept near Canonsburgh, in Washington county, where there is an academy for young men, and on the evening of the 19th we arrived in Pittsburgh. Here on the following day, I visited several friends and acquaintances, among them Mr James Henry, son of the departed Brother William Henry, from Lancaster. The former works here at the watchmaking trade. Because he feels kindly disposed towards the Brethren; I had much pleasure in seeing him.

On the 21st we left Pittsburgh and spent the night at the Turtle, where a certain Capt. Mac Intin arrived. When he became acquainted with me he related much about the Brethren's Garden in the East Indies, where he had been in the year 1786. He seems to have become quite intimate with some

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of the Brethren there, had received various presents from them and given them some in return. He also knew that in the Nicobar island matter nothing had yet been done. He said that the Brethren's Garden had last year yielded revenue of more than 200 Guineas, etc.

On the 27th we reached Carlisle, where I again visited acquaintances and especially Mr Alexander who, if he has time, is to survey our land on the Muskingum.

On the 29th I bade farewell to Gen. Putnam and by way of Lititz proceeded on to Bethlehem, where I arrived on the 31st.

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THE
HECKEWELDER
NARRATIVE

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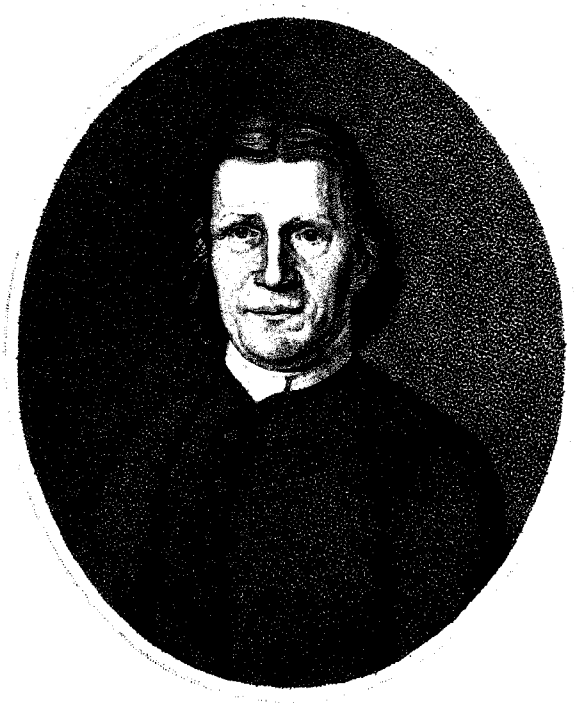

Rev. D. Leisbergeel

FROM A PORTRAIT PAINTED AT THE AGE OF FORTY

A

NARRATIVE

OF THE

MISSION OF THE UNITED BRETHREN

AMONG THE

DELAWARE AND MOHEGAN INDIANS,

FROM ITS COMMENCEMENT, IN THE YEAR 1740, TO THE CLOSE OF THE YEAR 1808.

COMPRISING

ALL THE REMARKABLE INCIDENTS WHICH TOOK PLACE AT THEIR MISSIONARY STATIONS DURING THAT PERIOD.

INTERSPERSED WITH

ANECDOTES, HISTORICAL FACTS, SPEECHES OF INDIANS, AND OTHER INTERESTING MATTER.

BY JOHN HECKEWELDER,

Who was many years in the service of that Mission.

PHILADELPHIA:

PUBLISHED BY M'CARTY & DAVIS.

1820.

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EASTERN DISTRICT OF PENNSYLVANIA, to wit:

BE it Remembered, That on the twenty-fourth day of July, * * * * * * * in the forty-fifth year of the Independence of the * L. S. * United States of America, A. D. 1820, M'Carty & * * * * * * * Davis, of the said district, have deposited in this office the title of a book, the right whereof they claim as proprietors, in the words following, to wit:

"A narrative of the mission of the United Brethren among "the Delaware and Mohegan Indians, from its commencement, "in the year 1740, to the close of the year 1808. Comprising "all the remarkable incidents which took place at their mis- "sionary stations, during that period. Interspersed with anec- "dotes, historical facts, speeches of Indians, and other interest- "ing matter. By John Heckewelder, who was many years in "the service of that mission".

In conformity to the act of the Congress of the United States, entitled, "An Act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts and books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned". And also to the act, entitled, "An Act supplementary to an act, entitled, 'An Act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts and books to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned,' and extending the benefits thereof to the arts of designing engraving, and etching historical and other prints."

D. CALDWELL,
Clerk of the Eastern District of Pennsylvania.

[iii] INTRODUCTION

THE frequent applications which have been made to me both verbally and by Letters, within the last 30 Years; for "a faithful relation of all the remarkable events which had taken place at the Missionary stations, of the United Brethren, since the first commencement of Missions among these northern Indians — bringing therein to view the principle difficulties which the Missionaries had laboured under — the obstacles thrown in their way, while engaged in the laudable work of instructing the Indians in the Christian doctrine — the *real,* or assigned causes of such acts, which had a tendency to discourage the measure; or proved to be a hindrance towards propogating the Gospel among those People; and the consequences resulting therefrom; together with the course the Christian Indians had pursued during persecutions, troubles and Warrs:" *&c* has induced me to comprise all remarkable external [iv] occurrences, and otherwise interesting matter connected with the subject, or appertaining thereto, in a Narrative of This Mission.

I have preferred this mode of giving the information requested; since the facts to be related, would thereby be properly connected, and better understood, than by combining subjects with it, of a different nature. Nevertheless the internal state of the Indian Congregations at the time, and at all periods, so far as this Narrative extends: is sufficiently exhibited.

Far from being deterred by the false reports and assertions, which have sometimes been made by Individuals, either from ignorance or Malice; yet apparently with intent to cast an Odium on the Character of the Christian Indians, whom these call "Moravian Indians": — I have written with the greater freedom, and related such incontrovertible facts, as to me appeared necessary for the impartial reader to know; assuring him that I will vouch for the truth of what I have written

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"Loskiels history of the Mission of the United Brethren among the North American Indians", (from which several late writers on Missions have copied into their works) contains a most faithful account of the *internal* state of this Mission, comprehending nearly the whole period of time, to which this Narrative extends; while it is to be regretted, that from a want of materials at the time he was writing, that part relating to Externals, is in some of its essential parts, found to be deficient. [v] The fact is: that some of the most interresting Diaries of the Missionaries, had been lost during troubles and Wars, so that the historian had it not always in his power to bring daily occurrences into proper connexion; nor to state a number of facts of great importance, well known to the writer of this work.

In the Narrative here presented which by the bye I believe will be found to correspond in its principal parts with "Loskiels history" — and from which I have in some instances copied passages — nothing is omitted which could tend to throw light on any subject of importance, so that the reader will not only have a clear view of the situation in which the Christian Indian Congregations were placed at all times — and more especially during the time of the revolutionary War; but will also be able to make up his mind, whether these "Moravian Indians", as they are called, were deserving of the charges laid against them, by ignorant, evil minded and designing Men; or had conducted themselves properly, and acted at all times prudently, and with the caution, which at *that* time was more particularly requisite.

The course which the Missionaries who dwelt with the Indians, had to pursue, was plainly marked out to them. They had not gone among these for the sake of earthly gain; neither to serve a party. Their sole Object was, that of bringing them the good tidings, that Christ had come into this World — suffered and died on the Cross for the Sins of Mankind — and for that of [vi] teaching them the way to Salvation. Under

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this Commission, they considered themselves as Messengers serving the God of Peace, who himself had pronounced a blessing on Peace makers;* and indeed as such *only,* they were permitted by the Nation, to dwell among them.

The Christian Indians under their care; obedient to the Commandment of God: "Thou shalt not kill" — and adhering to the precepts of the Gospel, as given to all Christians, both by our Lord and Master, and by his Apostles — (as also in conformity to the will of the Chiefs and great Council of the Nation, who as Rulers, had power over them; and under whose protection they lived:) strove to live in Peace with all Mankind, of whatever Nation or Colour they might be; nay they even sought to preserve lives from destruction, whenever they had it in their power, and acted thus purely from principle, and by dint of the Christian Spirit dwelling within them. They were however, as this Narrative will show, by the one side persecuted and distressed for doing what they considered to be, Christian duties: while from the other side, a great number of them; the one half Women and Children, were barbarously murdered, under a false pretense, that they were Enemies, and Warriors.

Christian reader! and all who wish the Gospel to be [vii] preached to the heathen Nations! Let me entreat You to keep in mind, that, while reading this Narrative, You are in a manner accompanying a People, who, having embraced Christianity, and were desirous of living in Peace by themselves, for the purpose of leading a godly life: had withdrawn themselves from their heathen friends and connexions. The particulars, respecting their Conversion and religious exercises — the troubles, persecutions and severe trials they as Christians had to endure — their patience, resignation and fortitude, under these trials, together with their steadfastness and faith, not only in the hour

*St. Matthew, Gospel. Chap. v. verse 9th.

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of death on a sick-bed, but also under the Mallet* Tomahawk and Scalping-Knife, you will find faithfully depicted, in "Loskiels history of the Mission of the United Brethren, among the North American Indians".

And let me assure all the honest and well meaning, who have suffered themselves to be deceived, in being led to believe, that the "Moravian Indians" have always been Your Enemies, and had killed Your People while they lived on the Muskingum; I say: let me assure You, that You have been imposed upon! Let me further inform You, that from early in the fall of the Year 1771, until late in the fall of the Year 1786, I was, with the exception of a few Months con-[viii]stantly with these so falsely accused Indians; and that; so far from these joining in the War, the whole of the time they lived on the Muskingum; they followed up their Agricultural pursuits; and whenever they had it in their power, to save a poor Prisoners life by petition and purchase, they did so, without looking for any recompense — Their daily Meetings both the Morning and Evening, for devotion, they attended regularly — kept the Sabbath day holy; and lived in Peace together, until their Settlements were broke up by a host of Indian Warriors from the side of the British — their property destroyed — their Ministers taken Prisoners; and with themselves forcibly carried, or driven off to the barren plains of Upper Sandusky; from whence again, they were subsequently driven, because they could not be brought to join in the War, and turn out to fight the American people.

Now, reader! permit me to ask the following Questions. *first*: Can it be possible to *believe,* that these "Moravian Indians", more than two thirds of whom were Women and Children, would have remained where they were; the *nearest* Neighbours to the white Settlers on the Ohio, and the only Indians then in the parts, if they had been "Enemies and Warriors"?

* a single Man, by his own confession, knocked down 14 of those innocents at Gnadenhutten, with a Coopers Mallet which he picked up at the place.

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Could they, as such, have considered themselves even for a day, safe where they were, against an attack from the American side? Has it not been for more than half a Century, a well known fact, that the first [ix] step Indian Warriors take — *previous* to their going out against an Enemy, — is to move off their families and effects, out of the reach of their Enemy? And was it not known at the time these "Moravian Indians" resided on the Muskingum, that all those Indians, who were engaged in the War, had moved back to the Sanduskey's; a greater distance from the "Moravian Towns", than these had to the Settlements of the White People, on the Ohio River.

Secondly. Would Christian Missionaries — (and that too with families and small Children) have chosen to stay — nay thought themselves *safe,* in remaining with these Indians; they having laid asside Christianity, and turned Warriors and Murderers? I am positive, that neither persuasion, nor any Consideration whatever, could have induced any one of us, to have remained an hour longer with such a People, than absolute necessity required. Do not therefore assertions which declare the Christian, or "Moravian" Indians while living on the Muskingum, to have been "Enemies and Murderers", tend to criminate their Ministers also? to brand these with infamy, in residing among a band of Murderers?

Thirdly. How do such accusations, and assertions agree with the fact: that the remnant of these so called "Enemies and Murderers" the "Moravian Indians", after upwards of Ninety of their number had been murdered by Williamsons party, did not turn [x] out to a Man, and take revenge on those *white Murderers*; but on the otherhand chose to follow their exiled Ministers beyond Lake Erie, where they again could hear the Gospel preached, and also live in Peace and quiet?

The reader of this Narrative, will in its proper place meet with a Note by which he will see, how compleetly one of this kind of Impostors had in 1789; in the presence of a Minister of the Gospel, been detected by the writer of this.

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I have yet to take notice of a class of People, generally known to us, by the name of "backwoods Men", many of whom acting up to a pretended belief, that "an Indian has no more Soul than a Buffalo"; and that to kill an Indian, or either, is the same thing: have from time to time by their conduct brought great troubles and bloodshed on the Country. Such then, I wish to caution, not to sport after that manner with the lives of Gods creatures. Have we not every reason to believe on Scripture authority, that God bestowed Souls on all Men without regard to colour or complexion? Think ye then *what* you are doing, by holding forth such wicked Language among yourselves, and before your Children, for the purpose of encouraging Murder! Believe that a time will come, when you must account for such vile Acts and deeds! When those who have fallen a sacrifice to your wickedness, may be called forth in Judgment against you! nay, [xi] when your own Children (or offspring) will testify against you! — will say: we were taught by our Parents to believe this! — were told, when we had killed an Indian, that we had done a *good* Act! — had killed a wild beast, &c.

There remains yet one subject to touch upon. I allude to the Question which often had been put to me — and which frequently has been discussed, tho perhaps never properly investigated. namely: "To what cause, or causes it is to be ascribed, "that hitherto so little progress has been made in civilizing the "Aborigines of this Country? and, whether it is owing to a dis- "inclination in them, to change the life of the hunter, to that of "the husbandman; or, whether it is by a neglect from our side, "in not lending a hand — or properly supporting the measure?"

Being both from shame — and horror prevented from expatiating on this subject; as this would lead to an exposure of the *whole* conduct of White People, towards such as *had* changed their mode of life, and *had* embraced Christianity: I leave the reader of this Narrative to draw his own conclusion thereon; and for the better effecting of this, I have impartially,

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and fully exhibited also the principle hindrances, thrown in the way by the Indians — and the objections *they* assign, as operating against effecting this end.

The Narrative is written in the plainest style, so that it may be understood by all; my wish being, that [xii] it might be read, by that Class of People above alluded to. So in relating Indian Speeches, I have given them as they were spoken, without changing, or modeling expressions, to suit our Language.

I have only yet to add, that the Narration here presented, commences with the beginning of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Northern Indians in 1740. and ends with the Year 1808. the Year in which the worthy senior Missionary, David Zeisberger, who had faithfully served the Lords cause among the Indians for 62 Years: departed this life; and of whom a striking likeness is prefixed as a frontispiece, to this work.

THE NARRATOR.

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A Narrative &c.

The ancient Episcopal Church, called Unitas Fratrum, after their restoration about the Year 1720, in gratitude to our Lord Jesus Christ, for the blessings conferred on them, believed it to be their duty, to use their best endeavours to propogate the Gospel among the Heathen.

In consequence of which, as early as the Year 1732, their first Missionaries were sent to the Danish West India Islands; and in the following Year a Mission was begun in Greenland.

Since that time Missions were established in Jamaica; Barbadoes; St. Christophers; Antigua; Terra Labrador among the ~~Hottentots~~ Esquimaux; at the Cape of good Hope among the Hottentots; in Berbice and Surinam in South America, & in some parts of North America, nearly all of which have, under the blessing of God, been continued to the present time.

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[1] For an account of the United Brethren, commonly called Moravians, see article on that subject in this work.

[2] The first settlement in Georgia was made by General James Edward Oglethorpe and one hundred and sixteen immigrants, who arrived at the site of Savannah, which city they founded, February 1, 1733. Georgia then included only the territory between the Savannah and Altamaha rivers. It was designed to be a country of refuge for the bankrupt, the unfortunate, and the persecuted. Religious liberty was allowed to all except Roman Catholics. This attracted Moravians, Lutherans, Methodists, and other religious bodies despised and persecuted in the old countries of Europe. The Wesleys came in 1736. In 1738 Rev. George Whitefield established Bethesda Home near Savannah.

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Indians;[1] but these, after having been at the Expence of making Improvements, were placed in [18] a very disagreeable situation, occasioned by the hostile disposition of their Neighbours the Spaniards, who were endeavouring to expel all the English from Georgia; the result of which, was a War with Great Britain and Spain, and the breaking up of the Settlement of the Brethren in 1739.

The Missionaries and Assistants, fled from thence to Pennsylvania; whence, under a mild and generous Government, they hoped to become instrumental towards the convertion of the Natives in those Parts.

Whilst those Emigrants, now out of employ, were contemplating their future destiny, the Rev[d]. M[r]. Whitefield,[2] in-

[1] The Creeks belong to the Muskhogean linguistic family of North American Indians. The tribe was large, occupying portions of Georgia, Florida, and Alabama; the Savannah River was their boundary on the northeast. They were early known to Europeans. The Creeks were fierce and warlike. De Soto was often in extreme danger from them. Early missionaries had little success with them. They remain a large tribe, and live now in the Indian Territory, where they are making rapid progress in civilization.

[2] George Whitefield was born December 27, 1714, at Gloucester, England, and died at Newburyport, Mass., September 30, 1770. He was a celebrated preacher and one of the founders of Methodism. In 1741 he separated from Wesley on account of doctrinal differences between them, Whitefield being a Calvinist and Wesley inclining toward Armenianism. He was often in America, and much of his work as a minister was in the colonies. His fame as a great preacher continues to this time. Benjamin Franklin relates the following incidents concerning him:

"Mr. Whitefield, on leaving us, went preaching all the way through the colonies to Georgia. The settlement of that province had been lately begun, but, instead of being made with hardy, industrious husbandmen, accustomed to labor, the only people fit for such an enterprise, it was with families of broken shop-keepers and other insolvent debtors; many of indolent and idle habits, taken out of jails, who, being set down in the woods, unqualified for clearing land, and unable to endure the hardships of a new settlement, perished in numbers, leaving many helpless children unprovided for. The sight of their miserable situation inspired the benevolent heart of Mr. Whitefield, with the idea

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vited them to settle on a tract of Land, between 60 and 70 Miles North of Philadelphia, which he had purchased, with the intention of establishing on it, a free School for Negro Children,

of building an Orphan House there, in which they might be supported and educated. Returning northward, he preached up this charity, and made large collections; for his eloquence had a wonderful power over the hearts and purses of his hearers, of which I myself was an instance.

"I did not disapprove of the design, but, as Georgia was then destitute of materials and workmen, and it was proposed to send them from Philadelphia at a great expense, I thought it would have been better to have built the house at Philadelphia, and brought the children to it. This I advised; but he was resolute in his first project, rejected my counsel, and I therefore refused to contribute. I happened soon after to attend one of his sermons, in the course of which I perceived he intended to finish with a collection, and I silently resolved he should get nothing from me. I had in my pocket a handful of copper money, three or four silver dollars, and five pistoles in gold. As he proceeded I began to soften, and concluded to give the copper. Another stroke of his oratory made me ashamed of that, and determined me to give the silver; and he finished so admirably, that I emptied my pocket wholly into the collector's dish, gold and all. At this sermon there was also one of our club, who, being of my sentiments respecting the building in Georgia, and suspecting a collection might be intended, had by precaution emptied his pockets before he came from home. Towards the conclusion of the discourse, however, he felt a strong inclination to give, and applied to a neighbour, who stood near him, to lend him some money for the purpose. The request was fortunately made to perhaps the only man in the company, who had the firmness not to be affected by the preacher. His answer was, 'At any other time, friend Hopkinson, I would lend to thee freely; but not now; for thee seems to be out of thy right senses'.

"He had a loud and clear voice, and articulated his words so perfectly, that he might be heard and understood at a great distance; especially as his auditors observed the most perfect silence. He preached one evening from the top of the Court-House steps, which are in the middle of Market Street, and on the west side of Second Street, which crosses it at right angles. Both streets were filled with his hearers to a considerable distance. Being among the hindmost in Market Street, I had the curiosity to learn how far he could be heard, by retiring backwards down the street towards the river; and I found his voice distinct till I came near it. Imagining then a semicircle, of which

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and where he had already laid the foundation for a large Stone house, which the Brethren were to erect for him, but which, after having employed much labour on it, they had to leave unfinished, and withdraw from the Land; partly because the Indians who were settled on the Tract could not reconcile themselves, to abandon such a favourite spot, which they considered as not fairly purchased of them, and had indeed manifested hostile intentions, in case these should not withdraw from the Land — and partly because M^r^. Whitefield became somewhat embarrased, so that he could not go on with the building. The Proprietor had already given to this place, the Name of Nazareth.[1]

my distance should be the radius, and that it was filled with auditors, to each of whom I allowed two square feet, I computed that he might well be heard by more than thirty thousand. This reconciled me to the newspaper accounts of his having preached to twenty-five thousand people in the fields, and to the history of generals haranguing whole armies, of which I had sometimes doubted.

"In the early part of his life, Mr. Whitefield was preaching in an open field, when a drummer happened to be present, who was determined to interrupt his pious business, and rudely beat his drum in a violent manner, in order to drown the preacher's voice. Mr. Whitefield spoke very loud, but was not as powerful as the instrument. He therefore called out to the drummer in these words, 'Friend, you and I serve the two greatest masters existing, but in different callings; you beat up for volunteers for King George, I for the Lord Jesus. In God's name, then, let us not interrupt each other; the world is wide enough for both; and we may get recruits in abundance'. This speech had such an effect on the drummer, that he went away in great good-humor, and left the preacher in full possession of the field."—*The Works of Benjamin Franklin*, Sparks (Chicago, 1882), i, pp. 137, 138, 139, 140.

[1] In what is now Northampton County, Pennsylvania. It appears that the Moravians met Whitefield first in Georgia. The engagement to erect this house upon a foundation already constructed was made in Georgia between Whitefield and three of the Brethren named Antes, Seifert, and Boehler, "good mechanics." The terms of the contract were finally settled between the parties after their arrival in Philadelphia. When the Brethren arrived at the place where they were to complete the "home" they found themselves near an Indian village, where, afterwards, "Old Nazareth" was built. This was in 1740.

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[19] Meanwhile a Gentleman of Philadelphia, offered to sell to the Brethren, a tract of Land in the forks of Delaware, [1]

The walls of the building up to the first story were completed, when cold weather came on, and the workmen built themselves log huts in which they spent the winter, apparently unable to continue work on the building. There is reason to believe that differences arose between Whitefield and the Brethren.

See *Transactions of The Moravian Historical Society*, vol. i, pp. 14, 15, for following quotation and additional details:

April 13th, 1740, the Moravian Brethren left Savannah, where they had gained many friends, of whom some .... afterwards followed them to Bethlehem. They traveled in Mr. Whitefield's company to Philadelphia, where they arrived on the 25th of April. It was a great disappointment to them to find here neither Spangenberg, who had left for Europe, nor Bishop Nitschman, whose arrival was daily expected. In their dilemme they went first to Christopher Wiegner in Skippack, then to Henry Antes, Oley, and, finally, back to Germantown, where those who had settled here in the year 1738, endeavored to persuade them to make their home. But Peter Boehler and Anton Seiffert, though, for the moment, at a loss what to do, preferred to await Bishop Nitschman's arrival. Meanwhile, Mr. Whitefield had bought 5000 acres of land in the forks of the Delaware, (now Northampton County,) from Mr. William Allen, for £2200 sterling, intending to erect there a school for negro children. May 5th, he came to Christopher Wiegner's plantation to see P. Boehler concerning the intended building, and, as some of the Brethren were carpenters, he proposed to them to do all the carpenter's work, for payment, and requested P. Boehler to take the general superintendence of the erection of the house. . . .

The next day P. Boehler and A. Seiffert, accompanied by H. Antes, set out to look for this tract in the Northern forest-wilds of Pennsylvania, and found, Saturday, May 7th, an extensive Indian village, where, at the present day, the Old Nazareth Farm buildings are standing. Having returned to Philadelphia and reported to Mr. Whitefield, he closed his contract with Mr. Allen, and called the tract Nazareth, once more renewing his proposition to the Brethren. After serious deliberations, and consulting the Lord, by lot they accepted Mr. Whitefield's proposal, glad to have found at least a temporary occupation until Bishop Nitschman should arrive. After a three day's march from Germantown, the company of seven brethren, two sisters, and two boys, are found (May 30th) seated under a large forest tree.

This tree stood in Nazareth. In a note to the above the names are given as follows: P. Boehler, A. Seiffert, Martin Mack, John Boehner, G. Zeisberger and Rosina, his wife, Matthew Seybold, Hannah Hummel, Benj. Summers, and ——— James.

[1] The Delaware River was discovered by Argall, August 27, 1610, while he was on a voyage seeking provisions for the English colony at Jamestown, and named Delaware for Lord De la Warre, then Governor of Virginia. Henry Hudson was in Delaware Bay in 1609 (last of August), but he seems to have paid little attention to the bay or river; he passed on to the Hudson, which he ascended one hundred and fifty miles. The Dutch claim to have built a fort on this river as early as 1598. They called it the South River of New Netherlands. Captain Thomas Young sailed up the river as far as the falls above Trenton in 1634, and named it Charles River, in honor of the king. On a map shown in *The Narrative and Critical History of America*, iii, p. 465, is the following: "This river the Lord Ployden hath a Patten of, and calls it New Albion, but the Swedes are planted in it and have a great trade of furrs".

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ten Miles nearer to that City, than M^r^. Whitefields tract, which being situate towards the Country inhabited by the Indians, they purchased — built houses on it, and called the place Bethlehem.[1]

To be enabled to support such Missionaries, as should be sent out from time to time among the Indians — to have a place of retirement for those worn down with fatigue; and to use it occasionally as an Asylum; was a principal object in making this purchase, which afterwards was found fully to answer the purpose.

After M^r^. Whitefields return from Georgia in 1743 (whither he had gone on the breaking up of his intended Naza-

The Swedes arrived in 1638, and bought the land on the west side of the river from near Bombay Hook to the Schuylkill from five Minquas (Mohawks) chiefs. When the country was purchased by Penn the name of the river was well fixed and has remained the same.

[1] This was a tract of five hundred acres, afterwards added to, on the Lehigh River, and was purchased early in the spring of 1741 from William Allen, who had previously sold the tract of five thousand acres to Whitefield, upon which the Brethren had spent the winter of 1740–41. An arrival from Germany had increased the number of the Brethren at Nazareth to a total of seventeen, the whole number then in Pennsylvania. The Lehigh was then called the Lecha, an abbreviated form of the Indian name of the stream. The settlement was first named Bethlechem—house on the Lecha—but upon the arrival of Count Zinzendorf in December Christmas services were held in a log hut, to one end of which a stable was attached; at the conclusion of these commemorative services the name of the settlement was changed to Bethlehem.

"Bethlehem was begun to be built in the spring of 1741 on a tract of 500 acres of land, situated at the confluence of the Menakasy Creek and the Lehigh or West Branch of Delaware, within the limits of what was then Bucks County. Its founder was Bishop David Nitschmann, a native of Zauchtenthal, Moravia, and the handful of men, who under him, felled the first trees and blocked up the first house, were some of the colonists whom the Church had settled in Georgia in 1735. In December of 1741, immediately upon his arrival in the country, Count Zinzendorf visited the place and gave it the name it bears to the present day."—*Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society*, i, p. 7, article, *Seminary for Young Ladies at Bethlehem.*

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reth Settlement) he offered the Manor of that place, together with the partly finished building, to the Brethren for sale; and all the disputes with the Indians about the Land, having previously been settled, partly by compromise*, and partly by Treaty with the five Nations; they purchased the Manor, and finshed the House.[1]

*see Heckewelders history of the Indian Nations Chap. XLIV. page 336.[2]

[1] The Indians claimed that they had been cheated out of much land in that locality by the fraudulent transaction known as the *long day's walk.*

"The 5,000 acres at Nazareth, which Whitefield sold to the Moravians in 1741, were first held by Laetitia Aubrey, to whom it had been granted by her father, William Penn, in 1682. The right of erecting this tract, or any portion thereof, into a manor, of holding court-baron thereon, and of holding views of frankpledge for the conservation of the peace, were special privileges accorded to the grantee by the grantor. It was one of the few of the original grants similiarly invested. The royalty, however, in all cases remained a dead letter."—Heckewelder's *History of the Indian Nations*, p. 336, note.

The consideration for investing this tract with the right of court baron was the payment to the grantor and his heirs, if demanded, a red rose in June of each year forever.

The house here mentioned is the same commenced by Whitefield and which the Brethren contracted to complete and upon which they worked prior to the founding of Bethlehem. It still stands, and is in an excellent state of preservation. It is known as the Whitefield House, and the Moravian Historical Society occupies the second floor. For a century it had but two houses near it, and these but log huts. This group, with the land apportioned to it, is called Ephrata, and may be regarded as the cradle of Moravianism in America.

[2] The author evidently refers to a paragraph in his former work of which the following is a part: "The Brethren declined purchasing any lands on which the Indian title had not been properly extinguished, wishing to live in peace with all the Indians around them. Count Zinzendorf happened at that time to arrive in the country; he found that the agents of the proprietors would not pay to the Indians the price which they asked for that tract of land; he paid them out of his private purse the whole of the demand which they made in the height of their ill temper, and moreover gave them permission to abide on the land, at their village, (where, by the by, they had a fine large peach orchard,) as long as they should think proper."

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In 1740, the first Missionary was sent to visit the Indians, then residing in the Provinces of New York and Connecticut. His instructions, were, "not in any wise to interfere with the labours of other Missionaries or Ministers, nor cause any disturbance among them; but silently to observe, whether any of the Heathen were, by the Grace of God, prepared [20] to receive and believe the Word of life — that if even only one was to be found desirous of hearing, to him the Gospel should be preached; for God must give the Heathen Ears to hear the Gospel, and hearts to receive it".[1]

With these instructions the Missionary Christian Henry Rauch, (a very amiable and pious Man,) sat out, otherwise knowing nothing of the People, to whom he was to preach the Gospel, nor even where to find them, being an utter Stranger in the land; but, being assured of his call, he placed full confidence in God, that he would assist him, and lead him to those Heathen, to whom he was sent.[2]

On his arrival at New York the 16th July 1740, he accidentally met with a Missionary, who had come directly from St. Thomas, and was by him introduced to some pious friends, of whom he expected to obtain some information respecting the Heathen to whom he was going; these however, far from encouraging him to proceed in his laudible undertaking, rather disuaded him from it, representing those Indians, as a set of

[1] These instructions were given by Count Zinzendorf and were in effect as set out in the text. They are given at greater length by Loskiel, but he gives only the substance of them. Heckewelder quoted from Loskiel.—Loskiel's *History of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Indians in North America*, Part II, p. 7.

[2] Twelve candidates were nominated for this mission. Rauch was selected, probably, by lot, as it was the custom in the days of Zinzendorf to determine matters by casting lots. Rauch was not sent from Bethlehem, which was not founded until the following spring, and he seems to have had no dependence upon the Church at that place in the beginning of his work. Loskiel says he was sent from Marienborn to New York in 1739, and gives the same date of arrival there as that in the text.

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debauched beings, among whom no European could dwell in safety; and it so happening, that during his stay at New York, an Embassy to Government arrived from the very People to whom he was going, he had an Opportunity of finding the saying of his pious friends verified; these Indians being from day to day, in a state of intoxication; yet, at length finding them soberminded and tractable, he formed an [21] acquaintance with them; and receiving an invitation to pay them a Visit at their Towns, he gladly accepted the offer, not in the least dispairing, that by preaching the Gospel to them, they might, thro the grace of God, be brought to the knowledge of Christ, and become new creatures.[1]

Being arrived at Shecomeka,[2] an Indian Village bordering on Connecticut, near the Stissik Mountain, he began his Missionary labours; and altho many objections were made by

[1] Loskiel calls these Indians "Mahikander Indians," and says they were "ferocious in appearance and manners, and much intoxicated." Rauch made the acquaintance of two of the band, Tschoop and Shabash. These gave their assent for him to live with them, and he "considered it a call from God, and promised immediately to accompany them on their return." They solemnly declared him their preacher. He set out for their towns some days before they were ready to return, agreeing to wait for them at the house of Martin Hoffman, on North River. As they did not appear for some time he went in search of them, and they passed while he was absent. He followed them and was kindly received.

They were a part of the broken New England tribes, Narragansetts, Pequots, Nipmucks, and Mohicans, this village being principally Mohicans. The Mohicans were called "Grandfather" by other tribes, as were the Delawares, and they were of the same linguistic family. Their most famous chief was Uncas. They do not exist as a separate tribe, but the Stockbridges are chiefly Mohicans.

[2] Heckewelder did not adhere strictly to any one form of writing this name, and the same may be said also of other names found in this work. We find this name written *Shecomeco* and in other ways. The Indians speak it as though written *Chicomico*. It is pronounced Chĭ′-cō-mĭ′-cō. The accent is the same as in many other Delaware words of four syllables: when the first is accented, the third has an equal accent; if the second is accented, the fourth has an equal accent. I have found this a rule in more than one Indian lan-

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the white Settlers to the cause in which he was engaged — and notwithstanding all the obstacles and machinations, which they threw in his way, he, with a manly perseverance, continued preaching the Gospel; and had the satisfaction to find, that before the end of the Year, it had moved the Hearts of some, and brought them to a sense of their depravity by nature; and believing in the word, that Christ came into the World to bring Sinners to repentance, that they might be saved; they were considered as Candidates for holy baptism — and being further instructed in the Christian Religion, the three first were baptised on the 22^{d} february 1742; and before the close of the Year, twenty six more were added to that number. [1]

guage. The accepted form of the name is *Shekomeko*, and the accent should be as above indicated.

Rauch arrived at this Mohican village August 16, 1740, just a month after he landed in New York. At that time the Brethren from Georgia were building the Whitefield House at Nazareth; Bethlehem was not founded until the following spring.

The village was about two miles south of the present village of Pine Plains, Dutchess County, New York, and on a farm formerly occupied by Edward Hunting. There is a rude drawing of the place in the Moravian Archives, made in 1745, and reproduced for publications later. See *A Memorial of the Dedication of Monuments erected by the Moravian Historical Society to Mark the Sites of Ancient Missionary Stations in New York and Connecticut.*

[1] "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. . . . He did not neglect in his leisure hours to make daily visits to the Indians in shekomeko, though attended with imminant 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 as slaves. Even Tschoop and Shabash were filled with mistrust, and became disaffected towards him. Some Indians being told, that,

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if they attended 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. Shabash 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. . . . 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'. . . . Tschoop was again the first who wiped away the tears from his eyes, by expressing his anxious concern and desire to experience the power of the blood of Jesus in his heart. . . . Tschoop having thus become obedient to the Gospel, Shabosh 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 Shabosh 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."—Loskiel's *History of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Indians in North America*, Part II, pp. 11, 12, 13, 15.

Three of the Indians went with Rauch to Oley, Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, to attend a Synod and were by him baptized there February 11, 1742, and given Christian names, as follows: Shabash, Abraham; Seim, Isaac; Kiop, Jacob. Rauch baptized Tschoop at Shekomeko April 16, following, giving him the name of John.

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CHAPTER II.

MEANWHILE Count Zinzendorf, a German Nobleman, who had been particularly instrumental in the restoration of the Church of Unitas-Fratrum, and by its Members had been appointed the principal Elder of that Society, had come over to this Country, with a view [22] to see, not only the Brethrens establishments in Pennsylvania, but also to be a witness of the fruits of their labours among the Heathen.[1] Rejoicing at their success; and finding that the harvest of the

[1] Zinzendorf and his daughter, Benigna, visited Shekomeko in August, 1742. The following account of the journey is taken from Zinzendorf's Diary:

"We began the journey on the 10th of August; the main party consisting of my dear brother Anton, Benigna, and myself. On the 11th, we crossed the Blue Mountains, with much labor for the horses, and continued on our way towards Sopus. [Now Kingston, Ulster County, New York.]

"In the evening we arrived on the shores of the Delaware, and were received into the house of a rich and influential man named Du Pui, under whose roof we spent several days.

"On the 13th we proceeded on our journey, and that night reached the house which stands in the midst of the great wilderness of the Minnisinks. Early next morning, we made our way on horseback through the rest of the forest, and came to Menbecos and Marmol, where we, with some trouble, succeeded in getting a lodging-place. The many examinations we had to undergo were very grievous, especially since they are conducted with evil intent.

"On the 14th, we came through Hurley to Sopus, and, having set out again about noon, we crossed the North River toward evening. By noon of next day we were at the house of Brother Jacob Maul, and then kept on our way through a fearful wilderness full of morasses, till 1 o'clock that night.

"On the 16th, we reached our dearly beloved Shekomeko, where Brother Rauch lodged me in his hut for the night. At an early hour, however, on the following day, we moved into a palace of bark which stood ready for us. This was the prettiest little house in which I ever lived. A table was immediately prepared, and I sat on the ground and had every convenience.

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Lord required more hands, the Missionary was supplied with Assistants — and having made the proper regulations among them, so necessary in a Christian Congregation, and for the better keeping of proper order; some of the baptised, were appointed to help them.

The light soon spread abroad; — and at an Indian Settlement on Kent River in Connecticut, (called by the Natives

"Here we spent eight days, which were not without trials from within; from without we had rain; from the side of the Indians, however, a fair sky, and every day new cause for rejoicing.

"These savages are of the Mohican nation, an inferior caste, so to speak; the Maquines (Mohawks) living about them are, on the contrary, the most important, although, at the same time, the most idle of the Six Nations.

"The Mohicans are a rich, but drunken, god-forsaken, tyrannical and quarrelsome people, and Brother Rauch, at first, stood in danger of his life among them; but after he had succeeded in gaining over the most notorious brawler and drunkard, the good work at once progressed.

"We found this same man, who is now called John, a great teacher among them; and the three brethren, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, whom we baptized at Oley, we were enabled to appoint, the one an elder, the other a sexton, and the third an exhorter. These four Indians, incomparable in spirit and disposition, are true men of God among the tribe, and constitute a conference whose meetings we have often attended with astonishment. O how deeply ashamed we feel before these brethren, who must help themselves in the Saviour's work with a language which is hardly better than a goose-cackle, while we, possessed of a language like that of the gods, can scarce express our hearts' emotions!

"Every day had its peculiar blessing, and we spent our time in visiting, putting in order the various matters of the congregation, and caring for the spiritual welfare of the brethren. In this manner eight days passed by.

"After having publicly taken an affectionate leave, we set out on our return, in the feeling of a reciprocated love, and we will probably not soon be lost from their memories."—*Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society*, i, pp. 81, 82, 83.

Six Indians were baptized by Rauch while Zinzendorf was at Shekomeko, and these, together with those previously baptized, were formed into a regular congregation, the first congregation of Moravian Indians in North America. It consisted of ten Indians. See Loskiel, Part II, pp. 29–30, for the articles adopted, and for the names of the Indians forming the congregation.

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Pachgatgoch,[1] and by the Whites, Scatticok) consisting chiefly of the Wampano Tribe; a number were converted; and supplied with Missionaries, the same as had taken place at Shecomeko; — and having at each of these places built themselves a place of worship, in which they daily met for divine service: they were happy.

Yet scarcely had three Years elapsed, since the first commencement of this Mission; when their white Neighbours began to trouble; and even to persecute them. In the beginning they had represented the Indians to the Missionaries, as a race of Savages, incapable of embracing the Christian Religion; and that it would be next to madness, to attempt to dwell among them — and *now,* that it is manifest that a number of them *have* embraced Christianity, and *do* lead a Christian life: they are not to be permitted to enjoy Christian priveledges; all manner of arts having been resorted to, to have these Missionaries [23] banished out of the Country. — The loss, in not having these Indians in their interest and under control as formerly, when they were accustomed to take unlawful liberties, and advantages of them — in defrauding them of their just due for labour, by imposing Liquor upon them — thereby encouraging intoxication for the sake of gain: was considered by them as a loss of consequence; added to this, the Indian Converts, would frequently detect & reprimand offenders, which these white Men could not relish. — and ascribing the cause of the change in

[1] Pachgatgoch (properly Pishgachtigok) is probably a Wampanoag word, and signifies "the confluence of two streams." This Indian village was situated where Macadonia Branch joins the Housatonic River, about two miles southwest of the town of Kent, Litchfield County, Conn. Rauch visited this village as early as 1742, and in January, 1743, Martin Mack and his wife were sent there to live permanently. Others stationed there were Froehlich, Bueninger and Senseman. It endured longer than the stations around it, and was not yet abandoned in 1764. The Indians there were principally Wampanoags, though there were Mohicans, Narragansetts and Pequots, remnants of tribes broken and dispersed after King Philip's War.

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the life and morals of these Indians, to the Missionaries: they sought for ways and means to get rid of them — and some even *did* offer Liquor to any Indian that would kill them.

The next step which they took, was to charge the Missionaries with being an evil minded, designing People, and dissaffected to the Government; in consequence of which, they were taken from one place to another, to be examined; sometimes by a Magistrate, at other times by Ministers. Two of them were kept for some time at New Milford; while the others were ordered to Peckipsi* (Poughkeepsie) and there maltreated; until at length being brought before the Governor of Connecticut, and by him examined, they were declared innocent, and discharged.

But here the matter did not rest. They were accused of being secret Papists, and Traitors; and in-[24]sulted, and persecuted as such. — It was said that they were allied to the French in Canada. — fomented the disturbances which then had taken place; and intended to furnish the Indians with Arms and Ammunition to fight the English. A Clergyman in Dover, had positively asserted in a Letter, that they were Papists, and of course could not be suffered to remain in the Country. — Another Person, publicly asserted, that the Brethren 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.

In consequence of these reports, the Missionaries, (who had already been dragged about the Country from one place to another for examination) were now, on the 15th day of December 1744. unexpectedly called on by the Sheriff, and three Justices of the Peace, who had come to Shekomeko for the purpose — in the name of the Governor and Council of New York, to prohibit all Meetings of the Brethren; at the same time, commanding the Missionaries, to appear at Poughkeepsie, on the 17th of that month.

*Peckipsi. the Indian name for the place.

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During these latter troubles — and a few weeks previous to the Sheriffs announcing the prohibition of all Meetings of the Brethren, the reverend Bishop Spangenberg, to whom the affairs of the Brethren in North America, had been committed by the Directors of the Society in Europe, arrived at New York; and hearing of the situation in which the Congregation at Shekomeko was placed, he immediately repaired [25] thither, much to the Joy and comfort of his persecuted Brethren, and the Indian Congregation.

Altho' the Missionaries, wherever they had been examined before Court or Magistrates, had not only always been honorably acquitted of the charges laid against them; but also such testimony given in their favour by Magistrates and others, of the good they were doing among the Indians — (and as the Justice of the Peace at Filkentown expressed himself — "that *he* must "acknowledge, the Mission in Shekomeko, to be a work of God, "because by the labour of the Brethren, the most Savage heathen, "had been so evidently changed, that he, and many other Chris- "tians, were put to shame, by their Godly walk and conversa- "tion") — yet the adversaries of the Brethren, would continue to accuse them; setting forth; that they were a dangerous People, and ought to be driven out of the Country.

That the Brethren were conscientiously scrupulous of taking an Oath, was, with their accusers a great crime; and they prevailed on the Governor of New York, to have them brought before him for examination. Being arrived, the attention of the whole Town was raised — They were considered as disturbers of the Peace, and deserving of either Imprisonment, Whipping, or banishment. — However a Justice of the Peace from Reinbeck, by whom these Brethren had sometime since been already examined: happening at this time to be in New York, publicly took their part, and affirm-[26]ed: "that the good done by them (these Brethren) among the Indians, was undeniable".

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On the 11th day of August, they at length were ordered before the Governor and Court, and separately examined. And on the following day, they were in like manner examined before the Council — At length, on the 21st, they were discharged by the Governor thro his Secretary — permitted to go home and "live according to their religious tenets, in such manner, that no suspicions might arise concerning them". And to secure them against a Mob, they were furnished with a Certificate of their acquitment, by the Governor.

Yet the senior Missionary Buttner, who previous to this, had been summoned to appear at Poughkeepsie, had to obey the Summons, tho suffering much in his health, which had been greatly impaired, by the troubles and hardships he had already endured — After waiting — and suffering with Cold for several Days, a friend, who pitied his situation, urged the Court to bring his case on; when the Court finding, that he already was possessed of a Certificate of dismission by the Governor, he was dismissed without further examination.

Altho the Governor of New York, had in August preceeding, permitted the Missionaries to return home, and "live according to their religious tenets": yet the Enemies of the Brethren, continued accusing them, as being a suspicious People, who ought not to be tolerated. That they would not swear, or make [27] Oath when required of them, was with many a sufficient cause to suspect them. Indeed at that time, the Laws of the Country required, that every inhabitant should make two Oaths, the one, "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. a Copy of which Oaths to be taken had been delivered to the Missionary.

Now altho these Oaths in substance, contained nothing but what was consonant with the principles of the Brethren; and to which they at any time would have subscribed; yet for conscience sake, they wished to be excused from *swearing*. They would not

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condemn those who took a lawful Oath; and would willingly submit to the punishment inflicted upon perjured Persons; if they were found acting contrary to the assaveration made by *Yes,* or *No.*

The Assembly however, at the repeated calls and demands of the Adversaries of the Brethren, passed at their meeting in October of that Year, *two* Acts; by the one of which "all suspicious Persons, were enjoined to take the Oaths of allegiance, and in case of refusal, to be compelled to leave the Province" — the other: "positively prohibiting the Brethren to instruct the Indians".

The Brethren, who now were like Strangers in the Land, since they durst no more meet with their Indian Congregation for divine service; nor even abide with them where they were; yet had to delay their departure [28] for a while, on account of the very bad state of health, the senior Missionary, Gottlieb Buttner was in; and who, on the 23 of february, (1745) departed this life, aged twentynine Years.[1]

Of this worthy Missionary, it can truly be said, that while he lived, he lived unto the Lord: to serve him, was his greatest

[1] Gottlob Buttner was born in Lower Silesia December 29, 1716, O. S. He was brought up to the trade of wool-weaver. Became acquainted with the Moravians at Marienborn and joined the church. In 1741 he, in company with the Brethren Pyrlaeus and Zander, left London for the missions; they arrived at Bethlehem in October. He preached at Bethlehem, and to the Lutherans at Tulpehocken. In January, 1742, Zinzendorf sent him to Shekomeko to invite Rauch to a Synod to be held at Oley, Montgomery County, Pa. On January 14, he preached his first sermon at Shekomeko. He was ordained a deacon by Nitschman and Zinzendorf at the Synod at Oley, February 11, 1742. He was appointed to labor at the Shekomeko mission, but seems not to have returned there immediately. He was married by Zinzendorf, September 14, 1742, to Margaretta, third daughter of John Bechtel, of Germantown. He and his wife soon afterwards set out on horseback for Shekomeko, where they were cordially received. Buttner was through all the persecutions of the Brethren in New York and Connecticut, during which his health failed rapidly. He died at Shekomeko, February 23, 1745. Was

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delight — for the things of this World, he cared nothing — Being of a delicate constitution, he could not long endure such hardships and troubles, as he had been compelled to undergo, occasioned by the accusations, and evil reports, which were spread throughout the Country by the Enemies of the Brethren against him: without sinking under the load.

When near his end; the National Assistants being assembled at his bed side; he exhorted them, with his dying lips, to abide faithful unto the Lord, to the end — then desiring them to sing some Verses, he expired while they were singing.

The Indian Converts, having taken the burial duties and Ceremony upon themselves, since the White Brethren, (their Teachers) durst no more officiate; they, to shew their regard, purchased linnens; and having dressed his Corps decently in

greatly beloved by the Indians to whom he had ministered, and they buried him at Shekomeko. A stone bearing the following was erected over his grave:

HIER RUHET
GOTTLOB BÜTTNER,
DER NACH DEM BEFEHL SEINES
GOTTES AM KREUZ,
DEN HEIDEN DIE BOTSCHAFT BRACHTE,
DAS IHRE SÜNDEN DURCH DAS
BLUT JESU VERSÖHNT SIND,
WELCHES SIE AUCH ANGENOMMEN
UND SICH IN DEN TOD DES
HERRN HABEN TAUFEN LASSEN.
SEIN LEZTES FLEHEN WAR,
DAS SIE ALLE MÖCHTEN BEHALTEN WERDEN,
BIS AUF DEN TAG JESU CHRISTI.
ER WAR GEBOREN DEN XXIX^sten
DECEMBER MDCCXVI, (v. s.)
UND ENTSCHLIEF, IM HERRN,
AM XXIII^sten FEBRUAR MDCCXLV. (v. s.)

October 6, 1859, the Moravian Historical Society erected a monument to Buttner at the old site of Shekomeko, upon the east side of which there is a translation of the above into English.

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white, interred his remains with Christian solemnity in the burying ground at Shekomeko, watering his Grave with their Tears.

Soon after the burial; the Christian Indians assembled, to consult on the measures to be taken; since now they were to be left by themselves; their surviving Teachers being compelled to leave them. [29] Some were for following their Teachers immediately to Bethlehem, while others wished first to consult the Brethren there, on the subject; which latter proposal being adopted, the Missionary Martin Mack, together with his Wife, and the Widow of the deceased, took a final farewell of their Congregation; which was very affecting on both sides: and then set out for Bethlehem.[1]

[1] The persecution of the Moravians in New York and Connecticut was inspired by the attitude maintained towards the Indians by a majority of the American people from the very first settlements. Rum was the principal article of commerce carried to the Indians, and it carried crime, demoralization and ruin to every tribe. No colony or state made any serious effort to prevent or modify the evil practice, since through it the Indians were the more easily robbed of their effects, and "commerce" has ever had great influence in determining the course and morals of a people. And the spirit of religious intolerance existing at that time can scarcely be realized now. The Moravians never at any time gave cause for complaint. Their course was inspired by the true spirit of Christianity, and it is to our dishonor as a country that some similar course was not adopted and adhered to from the beginning. The brutality and malice with which false accusations were urged against the Moravians by those engaged in these persecutions cannot be well understood now. In the province of New York some extended record was made of these proceedings, and they are inserted here to show to what straits the authorities were put to justify their course, also as containing the best account obtainable of the attitude of the authorities towards the Moravians:

At a Council held at the Council Chamber of the City
of New York the fifth day of July 1744.
PRESENT His Excellency the Governour

Mr Kennedy	Mr Horsmanden
Mr Chief Justice	Mr Murray

His Excellency Communicated to the Board a Copy of a letter or Order from his Excellency dated 8th June last to Coll Henry Beekman One of his Majesty's Justices of the peace for Dutchess County and Coll of the Regiment of Militia for that County acquainting him that his Excy was informed that several persons in that County called Moravians had Endeavoured to seduce the Indians from their Allegiance which in this Time of Warr would be of most dangerous Consequence and therefore requiring him with some more of the Justices of the peace of that County to Cause the said Moravians

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Arriving at Sopus, (or Esopus) they were detained by a Justice of the Peace, on account of a report, that they were Traitors. The Mob, had already assembled, and much mischief

& any other persons suspected to be disaffected to be brought before them and if they found just Cause of Suspicion to Commit them to the County Goal until they should be delivered by due Course of Law And in Case of meeting with opposition the Sherif had orders to raise the posse And the Regimt of Militia were to assist.

His Excellency also communicated to the Board his Orders to Coll Beekman as Coll of the Militia concerning the afd Moravians & other disaffected persons and to make Search for Arms & Ammunition in the Custody of any Suspected persons, and to Cause the said Indians to be dispersed.

His Excellency also communicated to the Board a Letter from Coll Beekman advising his Excellency of the Receipt of the foregoing, That there were four Moravian priests and many Indians at Schocomico And that he had made search & Enquiry for Arms & Ammunition but Could find none nor hear of any. But that before the Receipt of his Excellency's Orders to wit on the 18 The Sherif, Justice of ye peace & Eight other persons were at Schacomico where they found, All the Indians at Work on their plantations Who seemed in a Consternation at the approach of the Sherif and his Company but received them Civilly That they found no Ammunition And as few Arms as Could be Expected for 44 men the Justice upbraided the priests that they were Suspected to be disaffected to the Crown which they deny'd saying they were afraid of the French and their Indians and pretend that their Function or business is meerly to Gain Souls among the Heathens and that they had a Commission from the Archbishop of Canterbury and were ready to Shew their Credentials. That the Justice demanded of them to take the Oaths but they refused through a Scruple of Conscience against Swearing as they pretended, That the Justice then bound them over to Answer what Should be objected agt them.

On Reading of which several papers the Council did advise his Excellency to write to the Sherif of Dutchess to Order those Moravian Priests to New York to attend his Excellency.

At a Council held at the Council Chamber of the City
of New York the 26th of July 1744.
PRESENT
His Excellency the Honble GEORGE CLINTON Esqr

Mr Kennedy	Mr Horsmanden
Mr Chief Justice	Mr Murray.

His Excellency Communicated to the Council a Letter from Henry Filkin Esqr High Sherif of Dutchess in answer to his Excellency's of the fifth Instant acquainting his Excellency that he went on ye 17th to Shacomico a place in the remotest part of that County inhabited Chiefly by Indians where also live Gudlop Bydner, Hendrick Joachim Senseman and Joseph Shaw three Moravian priests with their Familyes in a Block House and Sixteen Indian Wigwams round about it, the two first were at home whereupon he acquainted them with his Excellency's Order And they promised to set out the 24th Instant and that he perceiv'd nothing disorderly there.

At a Council held at the Council Chamber in the City
of New York the first day of August 1744.
PRESENT
His Excellency the Governour

Mr Chief Justice	Mr Horsmanden
Mr Cortlandt	Mr Murray.

The Moravian priests sent for from Dutchess County attending according to order Joseph Shaw was Called in and Examined and said That he was born in little Ryder Street near St James's that his Father was a Carpenter, and that he was brought up and Communicated with the Church of England and was twenty five years old when he came over That he had been in America two years that he came over in Capn Gladman's Ship and went first to Bethlehem in pensylvania and thence to this place.

That he was design'd for a Clergyman of the Church of England but was prevented by sickness and then learnt to Survey and measure Houses.

That his Father is an Englishman and of the Church of England and Consented to his coming over.

That he came over to Instruct the Indians in the Gospel of Christ and teach school among them and is now by Profession a Schoolmaster.

was dreaded, when, providentially Colonel Livingston arriving, he reprimanded the Justice severely for his conduct, and set them at liberty. However the Mob, altho prevented from committing

That he does not know that he has seperated from the Church or changed his Sentiments for that he holds the 39 articles still.

Being asked how he was Supported here Says that they work as much as they Can and the Church supports them in what Else they want.

That they are Settled on a Small Tract of Land which they plant with Corn and that he has taught some of the Indians to read English. That he has been in Dutchess County Ever since last May was 12 mo Except that he was a little while in pensilvania and once at New England whither he went by the desire of some people (and particularly the Revd Mr Mott who is a Minister of the Moravian Church) to see the Indians there.

Being asked how many Moravian Teachers there were among the Indians in Dutchess County and their Names.

Says there were three vizt the three sent for before the Council. Joachim Hendrick Sinseman Godlope Budner and himself, but lately one Christian Rouk came from Albany County who had been teaching the Indians there but was gone.

That he understands but Little of ye Indian Language but an Indian whose Name is John & another called Isaac interpret for him.

Being asked how they dared come into this Country and reside among the Indians without acquainting the Government with their design and having permission to stay

Says that he thought this Country gave Liberty of Conscience to all and that they might Exercise their Religion freely But does not know that they have made any application here.

That the Revd Mr Spaningberg a preacher at the meeting House in Fetter Lane where Doctor Bradbury formerly preached is Expected over to preach here.

That they have no Settled Salary from the Moravian Church but when they want any thing they write to the Church that is to ye Congregation at Bethlehem or to peter Boehler and they supply their wants.

That Budner is Chief preacher at Schacomico and Sinseman as his assistant. that he preaches according to the Articles of the Church of England as they Stand Excepting as to Election & Reprobation.

That the Disturbances which lately happened at Sharon were Occasioned by a Woman who heard two Indians from the Woods & thought they had kill'd her Husband.

That he Constantly prays for King George but will not take the Oaths of Allegiance &c it being against his Conscience to Swear and none of the Moravians will take an Oath

Then the Oaths appointed to be taken were tendred to him but he refused to take them. & was Ordered to withdraw

Hendrick Joachim Senseman was called in and being Examined sayd

That he was born in Hesse Cassel is 36 years old and has been a little more than two Years in those parts That he Came from London to New London thence to Philadelphia & this place that he was brought up a Baker but now preaches the Gospel of Christ to the Indians by means of an Interpreter one Johannes an Indian. That the Moravian Church gave him authority so to do but his Commission is in Bethlehem.

That he and his Brethren work for their Livelihood and plant Indian Corn and Wheat (which they Enjoy in Common) on some Land whereon the Indians remain & that they built themselves a House wherein they all three Live.

That he has a Wife which he brought from Germany and Shaw was married in Philadelphia by Peter Boehler but being asked said one Frederick Post had married an Indian Woman.

That he has been a Minister almost two years and was Ordained by David Nichman a Bishop of the Moravian Church at Bethlehem but now gone to Germany.

That they have had some things from their Brethren in England but when they want they are supply'd from Bethlehem.

Being asked what Call he had to the Ministry.

Says it was the Saviours pleasure he should be a Minister has no other Learning but the Bible in High Dutch.

That Boehler was at Schocamico about a year And Count Zentzendorf had been up there before he Came.

Being asked how they being Strangers and Forrigners dared to come into this Country and reside among the Indians without acquainting the Government with their Design and having their permission to Stay

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outrages, yet took the liberty of insulting them as they passed on the Street, loading them with curses &c.

Two Brethren from Bethlehem; David Zeisberger, and Christian Frederick Post — having at that time been sent by the Directors of the Society, to the Iroquoise Country (the Country

Says his Church sent him and bid him Go and he obeyed his Brethren

That he prays as St Paul hath written for all in Authority and for King George by name

He then was required to take the Oaths but refused Saying it was against his Conscience to swear.

Gudlop Buydner being called in and Examined said.

That he was born in lower Silesia and is about 29 years old and has been almost three years in this province That he came with Capt. Lyng from London That he was brought up a Wool-weaver (or Clothier) but is now a preacher of the Gospell to the Indians That he was ordained by Ludawick Count Zenzendorff and Bishop David Nichman, is a priest of the Moravian Church, and had those orders in ffebruary last was two Years at Oly a Town 60 Miles from Philadelphia.

That when he first came over, he spent his own Money, since when he has worked for his Support & been supplyed from the Congregation as his other Brethren before Examined.

That Compassion in his Heart for the Ignorance & Condition of the Indians moved him to come & preach to them, and for that purpose he was sent, that he was not bred a Scholar and knows little or nothing of Lattin, That he preached before he was ordained it being permitted by their Church if the persons are found sound in their Doctrine, but they are not permitted to administer the Sacraments of Baptism and the Lords Supper.

That he understands very little of the Indian Language, but makes use of an Indian Interpreter who was baptized by Christian Row.

That he thought that every one might teach the Indians and that every protestant had that Liberty.

That the late Archbishop of Canterbury acknowledged their Church to be Apostolical & Episcopal and they acknowledge King George for their Soveraign

Being required to take the Oaths, he said he had considered them and thinks the Oaths not Sinful but lawful, but it is against the Conscience to take them, because he will not offend the weaker Brethren & therefore refused them.

The second Examination of Joseph Shaw and Gudlop Bydner two Moravian preachers.

Joseph Shaw was again called in & asked

Whether he looked upon it lawful or Sinful to seperate from that Communion with which he held it lawful to communicate?

Says that he does not look upon it to be Sinful but lawful to join with all those who profess Christianity and that he calls himself an united Brother for that they are united with all protestants, That it is lawful for him to communicate with the Church of England, for it is a Church established by Law, It is also lawful to seperate from that Church if his Conscience says so, That there is a Difference betwixt the Moravian Church and the Church of England that he preferrs the former because it has the Stricter discipline But the Moravians never denyed him the Liberty of going to the Church of England.

Being further Examined he Sayd That he preached here in Town last May was 12 Mo That he had a Commission to Teach and Instruct people in the Doctrine of Christ not from the Church of England But from Bishop David Nichman then in York by bidding him keep meeting if he thought fit That he lodged at Mr Nobles and preached at Montagnies.

Being told they might be ordered to remove from the Indians he Sayd

That he Believes were they to Remove the Indians would follow and the Mohawks might take it ill

Being again required to take the Oaths he Refused and Sayd he Continued of the Same mind.

Gudlop Bydner. being called in was told he had Sayd he came to teach the Indians and asked how he came to know they wanted teachers to which he answered

That he knew not whether they wanted teachers or not but he knew that all the Earth was to be Subject to the Lord.

Says that at Schacomico there are above 16 ffamilys their hearers but there are others that come 12 or 20 miles to hear them and that there are about 30 Indian men at Schacomico

The Oaths were again tendred him but he Refused to take them but offered to take an affirmation.

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of the five Nations) with intent that the former should improve himself in the Language; were, by means of Enemies to Missions among Indians — who accused these of having treacherous views: arrested at Albany; and after much abuse, taken back to New York, and confined in Prison; where, after being detained

August 11th 1744.

His Excellency also required the Opinion of the Council what further should be done in relation to the Moravian priests against whom Complaint was made & who were Examined by his Excellency in Council the first Instant.

As to the Moravian Priests, The General Assembly of this Province having Ordered in a Bill for Securing this his Majesty's Government The Council were of opinion to advise his Excellency to Order the Moravian priests back to their Homes and required them to live there peaceably and await the further orders of his Excellency.

At a Council held at the Council Chamber in the City of New York on the 27th day of November 1744

PRESENT His Excellency the Honble GEORGE CLINTON Esqr

Mr Kennedy — Mr Courtlandt

Mr Ch : Justice — Mr Horsmanden

Mr Murray.

His Excellency directed the Deputy Clerk of the Council to read the act of Assembly for Supporting his Majesty's Government in New York which having been Read

It is Ordered by His Excellency with the Advice of the Board That the Deputy Clerk of the Council do write to the several Sherifs of the Countys of Albany Ulster & Dutchess Inclosing Copys of the 5, & 6 Clauses of the Act for securing of his Majesty's Government of New York and acquainting them that his Excellency by and with the Advice of his Majesty's Council has thought fit to direct them to give notice to the several Moravian & vagrant Teachers among the Indians in their respective Countys of those Clauses and the Act aforesaid and requiring them forthwith to desist from further teaching or preaching and to depart this province or that the said Act will be immediately put into Execution.

Ordered that the Deputy Clerk of the Council do write to the several Justices of the peace of the Countys aforesaid informing them of the Order to the Sherifs & directing them to see that the several Moravian & vagrant Teachers among the Indians Do forthwith depart And on Refusal that they do immediately put the Act in Execution against them And also directing them to Cause the said act to be publickly read every Quarter Sessions during the Continuance thereof.

It is further Ordered that the Deputy Clerk of the Council do also write to the Justices of the several Countyes within this province requiring them to put the aforesaid Act in Execution.

COUNT ZINZENDORFF TO THE BOARD OF TRADE.

MY LORDS,

Some years since (by an almost evident instigation of the Calvinist clergy and a mean sort of people who thro' their ignoble disposition easily take occasion thereto) there has in the American Colonies arisen an evil custom of disturbing and burdening honest Men of all Sorts, who have settled themselves in those colonies hoping to enjoy an unrestrained Freedom of Religion & in civil matters such an honourable liberty as is in no way prejudicial to the honour of the Crown I do not think it needfull to mention here the great multitude of Instances of injurious treatment wch are personally known to me, since my present Intention is not to accuse any body but only to lay before Your Excellencies the Lords at the head of the British world in the West Indies the intrinsick State of matters, as your Lordships are able with one stroke of the pen to prevent so many thousand future Inconveniencies, that an honest and benevolent Man on that account willingly forgets the smarts of a multitude of Injuries already endured.

I petition for two Declarations or orders;

The one to keep honest people as well [as] strangers in, as inhabitants of, America from being chicaned with and plagued without the least reason & as it were only *de gayeté de Cœur.*

The second that in the aforesaid Colonies no body but least of all the Indians shall be hindred from joyning with any Protestant Church whatsoever wch in his ideas is the most solid, according to the measures taken for incourageing Foreigners to settle in the British Colonies of America

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seven Weeks — during which time they underwent frequent examinations; [30] they at length were declared innocent and dismissed, after which they again returned to Bethlehem.

Your Lordships have so much wisdom that I think it not proper previously to trouble you with arguments: But if for other people's sake (whose understanding & inclination is not in so good a Disposition as your Lordships') you shd desire that those points about wch I have petitioned shd be confirmed by some Proofs, I wait your Lordships' order & am

My Lords
Your Lordships' most humble
& obedient Servant
ZINZENDORFF.

Maienborr
31 Dec. 44.

BOARD OF TRADE TO GOVR CLINTON June 28th, 1745.

S

Since our letter to you dated the 5th of April last (a Duplicate is herewith inclosed) we have received a letter from Monsr de Gersdoff in behalf of himself and the Moravian Brethren in the Province of New York, complaining of an Act passed there in September last, entitled "An Act for securing his Majesty's Government of New York" by which as he says these Brethren there will be very much oppressed. We have likewise had some discourse with him and two of their Ministers that have attended us on that subject and having at their request promised to write to you for further Information in the said affair, we do accordingly desire you would inform us in your next what the behaviour of these Moravians has been in yr province and whether any ill-practices on their part gave occasion to there being inserted by name in the said Act.

We must here observe to you that we have recd the above Act with 24 others transmitted to us by the Secretary of the Province without any letter from him or any observations upon the said Acts from you wch by yr Instructions you are directed to send us with them. So we bid you heartily farewell & are

Your very loving Friends
and humble Servants

Monson	R. Plumer	B. Leveson Gower
M. Bladen	J. Pitt	Ja. Brudenell

REASONS FOR PASSING THE LAW AGAINST THE MORAVIANS RESIDING AMONG THE INDIANS.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

In Pursuance of your Excellency's Order in Council of the 25th day of April last, referring to us (amongst other things) the Consideration of a letter from the Lords of Trade to your Excellency bearing date the 28th day of June last, we beg leave to Report our Sentiments upon the Subject matter of that part thereof communicated to us as followeth,

What in our opinions gave Occasion to the Passing the Law affecting the Moravians, Entitled "An Act for securing of his Majesty's Government of New York," was,

That as this and Several other Colonys on the Continent had for some years before been infested with Suspicious, Vagrant, Stroling Preachers, who under the Specious pretence of Greater Godliness than their Neighbours, had debauched the Minds of the people with Enthusiastical Notions, at least, and Created Great Scisms & Divisions in the protestant Congregations, & so far infatuated their Votaries as to ingross their whole time to the utter neglect & Ruin of many Familys. And Information haveing some time before been given to this Government by General Oglethorpe (at the Time of the detection of the Negro plot here) of some Intelligence Received at Georgia from a Spanish prisoner, "That popish Emissarys were Dispers'd Amongst his Majesty's Colonies upon this Continent, under Several Disguises, Such as School-masters, Dancing Masters, Physicians and Such Like, That they might under Such colourable appearances gain familiar admittance into Private familys, & have an opportunity of debauching & Distracting the minds of the people, in order to carry on their wicked purposes, of Creating Disturbances & Occasioning Revolts among his Majesties Subjects;" and there was great Reason to apprehend, that the late Conspiracy here, was Caused by such Vilanous Practices of disguised Papists who had Stolen in Amongst us.

After Whitfield had made an Itinerary or Two through his Majesty's Colonys on this Continent, from Georgia to Boston, & back again, under the like Pretence (but with what real Design he best knew) and had purchased some thousand Acres of Land at the Forks of the River Delawarre in Pennsilvania Government, not many Miles from the Limitts of this, and there laid the foundation of a large

On *this* occasion, the Brethren were willing to ascribe, as a leading cause of their being arrested; the then political conduct of the five confederated Nations; — the Indians they were going

house for a Seminary, where (as given out) Such Youth & Negroes as People would be Fools, or Mad Enough to Entrust to his Managemt were to be Educated in his New-fangled principles or Tenents whatever they were; Thus Reformation and the True Work of the Lord (as he and his Votaries would have had it supposed) was to go on at a high Rate; & this Scheme was Carryed on by Whitfield 'til he had gull'd a Sufficient Sum out of the deluded people, under Colour of Charity for the Orphan house at Georgia, & this Negro-Academy, but (as most rational to suppose) with real Design under both pretexts to fill his own Pockets; & when he had Carried on the Farce so far as he Could well Expect to Profit by he sells this Estate at Delewarre to Count Zinzendorf a Bishop (as he has been called) or head of a Sect of Germans, called the Moravian Brethren, outwardly professing themselves Protestants, who likewise were Stroling up and down these Colonies, to Vent their Unintelligible Doctrines, & to make proselytes also by Carrying on the same kind of Delusion.

This Count, & his Moravian Brethren, have by many Prudent People been lookt upon with a Jealous Eye, ever Since his Arrival in these Parts; he is called a German Count & as Many of his Countrymen have for several years Successively been imported into, and Settled in Pensilvania, Roman Catholicks as well as Protestants, Without Destinction, Where it Seems by the Indulgence of the Crown, their Constitution Granted by Charter, all Perswasions Roman Catholicks as well as others are tollerated the free Exercise of their Religion; the Increase of these People in that Colony has been so Great, that they are Computed to be Already much an Overbalance to the English Subjects there; And from the Priviledge given them of Setling in Bodys by themselves, they are like ever to Remain a Distinct People: and this seems to be their Aim, for they are fond of keeping up the Language by Retaining Clergy, Schoolmasters, & even Printers of their own Country; & Language, nor as is credibly reported, will they Suffer any of their People to Intermary with the English, so that by these means, & the Priviledges the Government of Pensilvania Admits them to upon Importation, in Common with the English Subjects, they may in Short Time bear the Chief Say, in the Government of that Colony; which from the aforegoing observations, may Probably be attended with Dangerous Consequences, not only to Pensilvania, But his Majesty's other Colonies in North America.

These Moravians have Compassed Sea & Land to make Proselytes, & have so far Succeeded, as to Gain in Pensylvania, this, and other Colonys, And the house at the Forks before mentioned, is the principal place of Rendezvous & Quarter of the Chiefs of them: 'tis kept according to Whitefields Scheme as a Seminary for Converts, & house of Support to their deluded Votaries; & many have Resorted thither; from thence they dispatch their Itenerant Emissarys Teachers or Preachers, Simple, illiterate persons, who were wont to be Content to busy themselves in their Native Country in the Ordinary & humble Occupations they were bred to Vizt Bricklayers Carpenters Woolcombers Taylors and Such like Mechanical or handy-Craft Trades, 'till they were infatuated with a certain degree of Enthusiasm or Folly Sufficient for Qualifying them for the plantation of the Gospel in foreign Parts; of whose Delusions, It seems, the Count has laid hold, & thought them proper Tools to be Employed in his Service, perhaps with views unknown to these Creatures themselves, though at the same Time they are forwarding his Schemes.

After some of the principal heads of these Moravians had Travelled up & down these Countrys, & made many Converts amongst the Christians, at Length the next Step was, the more difficult part to be Entered upon, the Conversion of the Heathen, by Interspersing Several of the Brethren amongst the Indians in this province, to Reside with them though unqualified as to the knowledge of their Indian Language or any other but their own Mother Tongue; three of them were posted at a Place called Shacomicco in this Province who resided there Some Time and at length intermarryed with the Savages, to give them the last Proof of their Affection and Good Intentions towards them; this Gave Great Jealousie to the Inhabitants of that County, who made Representations to the Judges at the Circuit Court, & Afterwards to Your Excellency, concerning them, In Order to get them Removed, lest they should Seduce the Indians there from their Fidelity to his Majesty; they were accordingly, by Order in Council Sent for down, & Examined in Council & their behavior & Account of themselves will appear by the Minutes of Council of the day of 174 It did not appear that they were (nor did they pretend to be) naturalized Subjects of her Majesty, they Came into the Province without your Excellencys Knowledge or Permission; they absolutely refused to take the Oaths to the Government; And when ordered thereupon to Leave the Province and forbid to Reside any more amongst the Indians, one of them impudently, replyed, with a Seeming threatning, that perhaps if they left the province, the Indians would follow them and so Artfully were these Emissarys, preachers or Teachers, Stationed through this and some neighbouring Colonies, at Convenient Distances, that thereby a Line of Communication seemed to be formed for the Readier Correspond-

to; who, at the time — tho then unknown to the Brethren, were suspected of having an intention, to join the French, in a War against the English Nation.

During the imprisonment of these Brethren Mr. Thomas Noble, a respectable Merchant in New York, frequently visited them, besides furnishing them during the whole time of their imprisonment with provisions and other necessaries. He also dispatched his chief Clerk, Mr. Henry Van Vleck to Bethlehem, to inform the Society there, of the calamities which had befallen their Brethren at that place.

Among the many visits these Brethren received while in Prison, one in particular, from a New England Gentlemen, deserves to be noticed. This Gentleman, after looking at them with great earnestness for a while: broke out in these Words: "Though you are unknown to me, yet I am fully convinced that "the accusations brought against you, are false; and *I* believe, "that You suffer for Christs sake. I am amazed at Your resig- "nation; but indeed, it cannot but be a blessed situation, to be

ence and Dispatch of Intelligence through the heart of several of these Plantations from one to the other, & so to the Fountain head, the house of the Moravian Brethren at the Forks of Delewarre before mentioned: And, according to Information, messengers were frequently Dispatcht backwards & forwards, which 'twas thought high time to put an Effectual Checque to.

This strange surprizing & audacious Conduct of those people and the foregoing or such like observations and Reflections, 'Twas thought, gave sufficient umbrage for Jealousie Especially in the Time of War; therefore to Guard against the Subtile Devices of Crafty men, Strangers & aliens, & to frustrate all wicked Practices of Designing Persons & Papists in Disguise under any Colour or Appearances whatsoever Calculated to delude the ignorant Savages, vailed under the Specious Shew of Care for their souls, were, as The Comee conceive, Inducements to the Passing the act referred to in their Lordships Letter & of the mentioning the Moravians in it, by name.

The Restraints laid by this act upon the Moravian Brethren and such like are conformable to what his Majesty has been pleased to Enjoin your Excellency, by his Royal Instructions, to Observe, within this Province, with Regard to Ministers and Schoolmasters.

1st Tis Provided by this act, That Persons residing within this Province shall upon Summons of the Judges & Magistrates give that Pledge of Fidelity to his Majesty & his Government (which 'tis in the Power of Every man to do) vizt to take the State Oaths under a pecuniary Penalty, or Six Months Imprisonment in Default.

2dly That no Place of Religious Worship shall be allowed without it be Certified & Recorded at the Quarter Sessions.

3dly That no Person shall reside amongst the Indians under the pretence of bringing them over to the Christian ffaith without your Excellency's Lycence with Consent of his Majesty's Councill.

And though this act was Calculated to Continue of fforce for one year only, & is Expired by its own Limitation, yet it is Conceived to have been a necessary & salutary Law & is Proper to be received, & Continued.

All which is humbly submitted

May 1746. DANL HORSMANDEN Chairman.

Documentary History of New York, iii, pp. 1012-1027.

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pretence that they had once conquered* and subdued the Delawares; asserted that the whole Country had thereby become theirs, & therefore assumed the power of dictating who, and

*See Heckewelders History of the Indian Nations, Chap. I.[1]

[1] The Delawares were one of the principal tribes of the Algonquian family, and were divided into three sub-tribes: the Minsi, Monseys, Munsees, or Minisinks; the Unami, or Wonameys; and the Unalachtigos. The Minsi lived on the head waters of the Delaware River, their territory extending down to the mouth of the Lehigh. The country of the Unami was the valley of the Delaware from the mouth of the Lehigh southward. The Unalachtigo country was about the mouth of the Delaware River, and extending southward. The Delawares did not extend west of the valley of the Delaware until after contact with Europeans. The valley of the Susquehanna was occupied by the Susquehannocks, Iroquoians, and the Delawares were forced into it by pressure of English settlements. The Minsi had no part in the treaty with William Penn.

The upper valley of the Delaware, however, was pre-eminently the home of the Minsies, (the historic Minisinks,) where they built their towns, planted their corn and kindled their council fires, and whence they set out on the hunt or on the war-path. The *Minsies*, *Monsies*, or *Muncys*, were the most warlike of their people, and proverbially impatient of the white man's presence in the Indian country. The murder of one Wright at John Burt's house in Snaketown, in Sept. of 1727, was the act of *Minsies*, and subjects we are told of Kindassowa, who resided "at the Forks of the Susquehanna above Mechayomy." The following notice of the physical peculiarities and traits of these mountaineers, is copied from a paper, in the hand-writing of Mr. Heckewelder. "According to my observation and judgment of Indian tribes, the Minsies have a peculiarity which signalises them from other nations or tribes; and I have seldom failed in pointing them out among a crowd, where they, Delawares and Mohicans were together. The principal distinguishing marks with me, are—robust or strong-boned, broad faces, somewhat surley countenances, greater head of hair and this growing low down on their foreheads, short, round-like nose, thick lips seldom closed, or rather having their mouths generally somewhat open, which, as I am inclined to believe, may be owing in some measure to an awkward custom of this people, who, instead of pointing to a thing or object with their hands or fingers, as other Indians do, generally draw out their mouths or lips in the desired direction. They are averse to manners, prone to mischief and friends of war. Their natural complexion is dark, more so than any Indians I have yet seen, but being within these twenty years much mixed by intermarriages with other tribes, their color has become lighter or fairer."—*Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society*, i, pp. 255-256, note.

The matter which the author refers to in his *History of The Indian Nations*, and to which attention is called in his note, is that transaction in the history of the Delawares and the Six Nations whereby the latter induced the former to become *women* in order to the better conserve the peace among the Indian tribes. In the work above referred to the author treats the subject at great length, and has received the disparagement of critics who know nothing but fault-finding. Both the evidence and the probability are in favor of the account given by Heckewelder. And the matter does not rest solely upon the Hecke-

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CHAPTER III.

WE have next to take a view of the Missionary labours of the Brethren in Pennsylvania and the Western Country; together with the situation of the Christian Indian Congregations at all stages; and in all stations; — But while we at one time may rejoice at their succcess and prosperity — admiring their steadiness and perseverance, even under a succession of troubles; we will finally [32] find sufficient reason to lament the many disasters which had befel them.

To illustrate the succeeding pages, it is necessary to remark: that the Brethren, for sundry reasons, had to take a different course, for to obtain *permission* to reside among the Indians, and to preach the Gospel unto them, than they had done, when they went to preach to the Mohicans and Wampano Tribes in New England and the Province of New York. These latter, were settled on Lands among the White People, where no Indian Nation could disturb them, nor force them against their will to abandon their Settlements; the only difficulty they laboured under, was, that the White People wanted the Lands they lived on, for themselves — while here, the Six Nations,[1] under a

[1] The Iroquois. They were so called by the French. A confederacy of five kindred tribes, the Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, and Seneca, originally occupying the greater portion of what is now the State of New York. In 1715 the Tuscaroras were expelled from North Carolina; they applied to the confederacy for admission as the sixth tribe and were admitted. The English called them the Five Nations, and after the incorporation of the Tuscaroras, the Six Nations. They were faithful friends of the English, and almost constantly at war with the French. They possessed a superior political system. They were distinguished for their wars upon Indian tribes and for conquest. They destroyed many kindred nations and seized their countries, and were usually at war with tribes bearing no relation to them. They exercised a control more or less recognized by other tribes from the Carolinas to the country beyond the Great Lakes, and from the St. Lawrence to the Mississippi. General references, *The Jesuit Relations*, *League of the Iroquois* (Morgan), and Parkman's writings.

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"imprisoned for Christs sake; for all who love the Lord Jesus, "must expect to be hated, and persecuted."

[31] It had always been a consolation to the Brethren, to meet with friends — and the more so, when troubles befel them — and they never were without such, whose worth and services they highly valued, praying to the Lord to reward them. The conduct of their Adversaries, they considered as flowing partly from Ignorance, and partly from self interest and malice

From the time the Brethren left Shecomeko, until all the Indians left the place, they frequently received visits from Bethlehem; but now the case was reversed; for instead of these preaching to the Indians, they attended the Meetings of the latter, with great satisfaction. During the last two Years, that the Brethren had laboured among the Indians at this place, Sixtytwo Persons were baptised.

Pachgatgoch and Wachquatnoch, in the Province of Connecticut, were continued yet for a number of Years; and supplied with Missionaries from Bethlehem.

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who not, should be permitted to dwell thereon. Be this as it may, it is certain, (and was well known at the time:) that these Nations leagued together, (and backed by the English Nation) — in consequence of the Authority, which they exercised over the Delawares and other Nations and Tribes, were generally considered, as the head of the whole: wherefore Count Zinzendorf, while in this Country, had, with the assistance of Conrad Weisser Esqr. (a Man in the esteem of the 6 Nations, & Interpreter for Government) [33] formed an acquaintance with a numerous Embassy of the Chiefs of these Nations; and after

welder account. In the edition of his *History of the Indian Nations* published in 1881, edited by the Rev. William C. Reichel, who was himself an authority on the history of the Delawares and other tribes, may be found the following note (pp. 59-60):

The following is the passage from Loskiel, which that historian copied from David Zeisberger's "Collection of Notes on the Indians," compiled by the missionary during his residence in the valley of the Tuscarawas, about 1778. "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 at war with each other, for this will at length be the ruin of the whole Indian race. We have therefore considered 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 immediately 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 endeavor 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 you beat each other? We are almost afraid. Consider that your wives and children must perish, unless you desist. Do you mean to destroy yourselves 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 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 medicine 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 a plant of Indian corn and a how.' Each of these points was confirmed by delivering a belt of wampum, and these belts have been carefully laid up, and their meaning frequently repeated.

"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 to 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 Delaware, the rest of the Indian nations holding one end and the Europeans the other."

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signifying his wish to them of preaching the Gospel to the Indian Nations: received from them the following Answer:

"Brother! You have made a long Journey over the Seas, "to preach the Gospel to the White People, and to the Indians! "— You 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 among "us; and take this fathom of Wampum in confirmation of the "truth of our Words! [1]

This meeting at once laid the foundation, to a good understanding, between the Brethren and the Six Nations; and also opened the Door for preaching the Gospel to the Delawares, then nearest Neighbours to the Brethren, and to the white Settlers generally. And when afterwards the Indians at Shekomeko, had been deprived of their Teachers, and at length themselves compelled to leave that place: application was made to the great Council at Onondago, for a place of refuge to these Emigrants; and Bishop Span[g]enberg himself, accompanied by two of his Brethren, and the Government Interpreter, Conrad Weisser Esq[r]., [2] having undertaken the Commission, and for

[1] This was a chance meeting. Zinzendorf was on his way to Tulpehocken, a German settlement on a branch of the Schuylkill in Berks County, of the same name. The settlement was made in 1723, and it was a preaching station for the Moravians. On his way the party of Iroquois was met by accident, and a good impression made and friendly relations established. See Loskiel's *History of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Indians in North America*, Part II, p. 27.

[2] Conrad Weiser was born in Wurtemburg Nov. 2, 1696, and died in Berks County, Pa., July 13, 1760. His father, John Conrad Weiser, came in 1710 to New York, as the leader of a company of Palatines, and lived four years on the Livingston manor, moving thence to Schoharie in 1714. Here the son was much with the Mohawks, and was by them adopted as a member of the tribe; he mastered their language, also the languages of other tribes. He gained complete knowledge of the customs, habits, conditions, political complications and contentions of all the tribes with which the colonies had to deal. In 1723 his relatives moved to Tulpehocken Creek, a branch of the Schuyl-

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the purpose repaired to that place: the Covenant formerly made with Count Zinzendorf being with great Solemnity renewed: these three Brethren, were adopted as their Countrymen, each receiving a [34] peculiar name* — and their proposal of removing the Congregation of believing Indians from the Province of New York to their Country, was well received.

The intention then was, of settling those Emigrants at Wyoming, but these could not consent to dwell at so remote a place from the Settlement of the Brethren. They also objected on the grounds, that this place lay right in the Road of the Warriors, going to, and coming from the *Catawbas**; and also otherwise abounded with Indians whom they mistrusted — Besides this, a

*Bishop Spangenberg was called "Tgirhitontie". which signifieth: *a row of Trees.* and David Zeisberger they named "Anausseracheri", signifying: *on the Pumpkin.*

*a southern Nation of Indians.[1]

[1] The Catawbas lived in the Carolinas. They are of the Siouan family, and were always at war with the Iroquois. Their warriors were much dreaded by the other tribes. See *An Account of the Remarkable Occurrences in the Life and Travels of Col. James Smith*, (Cincinnati, 1870,) p. 22. In the qualities requisite for bold and daring warriors they were not surpassed by any tribe. Frequent mention is made in the old chronicles of their incursions into the country of the Iroquois and country north of the Ohio River.

kill, in Lancaster (now Berks) County, Pa., and formed a settlement, on Indian land, called Tulpehocken, their action causing the Indians to make complaint to the Pennsylvania Government. Conrad Weiser followed his people to Pennsylvania in 1729, built a residence about a mile east of the present Womelsdorf; at that time he had a wife and five children. In 1731 he was employed as an interpreter, and for more than thirty years he was the chief character in the adjustment of Indian matters by the colonies. He was sent on numberless journeys and expeditions to the different tribes, and was uniformly successful in his dealings and negotiations with them. In 1748 was despatched to the Ohio to forward the English interests with the numerous tribes gathered along the upper course of that river. He held councils with the Indians and brought them to the English cause for the time. His journal of this expedition is published, and is a most valuable historical document. See *Pennsylvania Colonial Records*, v, pp. 348-358. In 1755 he was made a lieutenant-colonel

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War had also broke out between the English and French Nations, and they were already suspected of inclining to side with the latter: which rumor had spread such terror; particularly at Reinbeck, that the Inhabitants had demanded a Warrant of the Justice, for to go and kill all the Indians at Shekomeko. Now altho the Warrant was not granted, yet these poor Indians saw the necessity, of their leaving that Country and their possessions to the White People, and that without any recompence whatever.

The Directors of the Society, seeing the imminent danger these Christian Indians were in, represented their case to his Excellency George Thomas Esqr. then Governor of Pennsylvania; who, thereupon ordered: "that all Indians, who took "refuge in Pennsylvania: should be pro-[35]tected, in the quiet "practice of their religious professions" — which being made known to these, the first Emigration, consisting of Ten families; in all Forty-four Persons, took place in April 1748. These arriving at Bethlehem, were received with tenderness and Compassion; and having for the present built Cottages in the vicinity of the Brethrens Settlements, their Morning and Evening prayers, were regulated; and the service performed in the Mohigan Language. They also again partook of the holy Sacrament, which had not been administered to them, for a long time; since the Brethren had been forbidden at their former place, to instruct them in matters of Religion.

This small temporal Settlement, they called "Friedenshutten" — (Tents of Peace) but as the Emigration continued, it was doubted, whether an Indian Town or Settlement, could support itself so near Bethlehem; wherefore the Brethren purchased a tract of Land beyond the blue Mountain, at the junction of Mahony* Creek with the Leheigh, on which they were settled

*"Mahony" signifieth a Deers Lick. a place where Salty, or brackish Water issues out of the Earth. [This was in 1746.]

by Pennsylvania and given charge of the frontier fortifications. He was the most influential German in the colonies in his day, and his death was regarded as a public calamity.

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— built a regular Town and a Chapel; and called the place Gnadenhutten. [1]

Thus a fine Indian Congregation was established — and other Indians arriving from Shekomeko and Pachgatgoch — all delighted with the place; which also encreased beyond expectation, and became the blessed means of engaging the attention of the Delawares (the [36] Natives of this part of the Country) towards the Gospel, which was daily preached there: so that many of these were converted, and added to Christs flock.

Next to the regulations made with respect to the Preaching

[1] "Freidenshutten, 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 [Lehigh], 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 Gnadenhutten, 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 Gnadenhutten, and that the men should remain in either place, as circumstances required; that thus the clearing of ground and building at Gnadenhutten might speedily advance."—Loskiel, *History of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Indians in North America*, Part II, p. 84.

"The converted Indians were now dispersed in different places, at a considerable distance from each other, *viz.* in Gnadenhutten, Bethlehem, Pachgatgoch, Wechquatnach, and Shekomeko. . . . . Gnadenhutten 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."—*Ibid*, pp. 87, 88.

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of the Gospel, and administering the Sacraments — the instruction to be given to the Assistants, in order to instill scriptural principles into their minds — the education of the Youth of both Sexes; and the instructing of them in the Gospel truths, (for which purpose several parts of Scripture, had already been translated into the Mohigan Language:) — Rules and Orders were also made and agreed to: and Persons nominated to watch over their due performance.

For the convenience of this Indian Congregation at Gnadenhutten, the Brethren had laid out a Farm, — built Mills and placed a Blacksmith, together with several other Mechanics, on a spot of Land on the opposite side of the River, at the distance of about half a Mile from the Indian Settlement; which place bore the Indian name of Mahony. (in English: "Dear lick") and the Inhabitants of this place had their daily Meetings, the same as is customary in all the Brethrens Congregations.

At the particular request of a respectable Chief of the Six Nations, named Shikalimus, who resided at Shamokin, [1] in the capacity of an Agent, to transact the business between them and the Government of Pennsylvania, and by whom the Brethren were held in high estimation: some Brethren, one of whom was a blacksmith, settled at that place in June 1747. Yet previ-[37] ous to their settleing there, the Brethren had informed the Gov-

[1] Shamokin was an Indian village on the site of Sunbury, Northumberland County, Pa. Heckewelder, in his list of Delaware names of places and streams, says it was first called Schahamoki, *the place of eels*. Later a Delaware gunsmith, Nutamees, established himself there, when the place was called Schachhenamendi, *the place where gun barrels are straightened.* White people visited the place as early as 1728. It was the residence of Shickalamy or Shikellimus, a chief of the Six Nations, acting as correspondent or agent for Pennsylvania in its dealings with the Iroquois. Conrad Weiser built a house there in 1744. The Moravians, Joseph Powell and John Hagen, built a smithy there in July, 1747, and blacksmiths Kieffer, Wesa and Schmid worked in it. In 1756 Fort Augusta was built at Shamokin, but the settlement was destroyed and abandoned the same year.

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ernor of Pennsylvania of the invitation and its Object, who readily granted them permission on condition; that the Blacksmith should stay no longer with them, than they preserved their faith and friendship with the English Nation. The other Brethren were engaged in visiting the Indians, residing both on the North, and the West branch of the Susquehanna; and in learning their Languages.

In the Year 1747, the Brethren by invitation, visited the Delaware Indians at their Village, called Meniolagameka* which lay at the foot of the blue Mountain, on the North Side, at the distance of about 20 Miles from Behlethem, and about 15 Miles from Gnadenhutten — These Indians had frequently visited at the latter place, where they heard the Gospel preached; and now requested, that the same might be preached to them also; to which the Brethren readily consented, and many of them were afterwards converted, and enjoyed the benefit of a Teacher and Schoolmaster, until the Year 1751. when the Land they occupied being sold, they joined the Congregation at Gnadenhutten.

In July of this Year, deputies from the Six Nations having arrived at Philadelphia, for the purpose of establishing a firm alliance with the Pennsylvania Government, the Brethren thought it a favourable Oppor-[38]tunity, for renewing the Covenant, into which they had entered with them, some Years before; accordingly they met them for the purpose — were kindly received — and invited to visit them in their Country.

About this time the Brethren also paid a Visit to the Rev[d]. David Brainerd,[1] Missionary to the Indians in New Jersey:

*the Word implies: a spot of rich Land amidst that which is bad, or barren.

[1] David Brainerd was born at Haddam, Conn., April 20, 1718, and died at Northampton, Mass., Oct. 9, 1747. He was a noted missionary among the Indians; began his labors at an Indian village called Kanaurneek, near New Lebanon, Columbia County, N. Y., in 1743. He was there a year when he was given a territory embracing the north part of New Jersey and a part of

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and rejoiced at the success with which this faithful servant of God had been blessed in preaching the Gospel to the Indians; and some time after this, this worthy Man, accompanied by some of his Converts, visited the Brethren both at Bethlehem and Gnadenhutten, much to his satisfaction.

In September 1749, the foundation for a new Church was laid at Gnadenhutten, the one erected in 1746 being too small, the Indian Congregation consisting now of 500 Souls in number, & Schools for the Children of both Sexes, were put under proper regulations.

The prospect of bringing Souls to Christ by the preaching of the Gospel of Salvation, brightening more and more; the Brethren were indefatigable in their labours; each striving to do his utmost for Christs sake. Journeying, at that time, thro Wildernesses and Swamps, — suffering often from hunger, as well as from heat and cold — and above all when thoroughly wet, from a want of change of linen and other Clothes — (as such Journeys were chiefly made on foot with scarcely any baggage) bore hard on weakly constitutions, and caused frequent sickness, sometimes ending in death. This last had been the case with a most [39] worthy divine. the Rev[d]. Bishop Cammerhof, [1]

Northeastern Pennsylvania. It was intended that his chief station should be at the forks of the Delaware, and he preached there at times. In 1745 he established a station at Crosweeksung, now Crosswicks, New Jersey, and in February, 1746, a school for Indian children was established there, and the missionary's greatest success was at that point. He often visited the Susquehannah, and a journey to that region so exhausted him that he was compelled to retire to Northampton, Mass., where he died of consumption. Jonathan Edwards published an account of Brainerd's life, and his journals, in 1749; they produced a deep impression and did much to forward the missionary movement at that time.

[1] "John C. Frederick Cammerhoff was born July 28, 1721, in Hillersleben, near Magdeburg. Having completed his preparatory studies at the cloister in Bergen, young Cammerhoff repaired to Jena in 1738, to qualify himself for the church. Here his sympathies were so strongly enlisted in the Brethren's movement, that in May of 1743, despite the dissuasion of his

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a Man of extraordinary talents, and great piety, who, had been sent into this Country by the Directors of the Society in Europe, for the general superintendance of the internal concerns of the Society here — who, on seeing the prospect of the conversion of the Heathen: had devoted much of his time, in visiting in the scattered Indian Villages, on the branches of the Susquehanna [1] and elsewhere, preaching the Gospel with great fre[e]dom

friends, he went to Marienborn, entered the Brethren's Divinity School, and was thereupon admitted into their communion. Zinzendorf attached him to his corps of assistants, in the capacity of an amanuensis, in July of 1745. In May of 1746 he was ordained at Zeyst, near Utrecht, and set apart for the service of his adopted Church in North America. In order to qualify him to stand by the side of Spangenberg, who, since November of 1744, had been superintending that important field, he was, in Sept. of 1746, ordained a Bishop. Sailed from London Sept. 27th, landed at Lewes, Dec. 28th of that year, and arrived at Bethlehem January 10th, 1747. For upwards of four years Cammerhoff labored with great energy and devotion in the interests of the work entrusted to his care, in the Church, in her schools, and her mission; making the circuit of the scattered rural congregations, in Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Maryland,—visiting the Indians on the Susquehanna, and the missions among this people in New York and Connecticut;—treating with the Six Nations at Onondaga and in Philadelphia;—and besides discharging the functions of his office, by ordaining, baptizing, and by dedicating churches,—he maintained a correspondence with Count Zinzendorf, in which he reported statedly, in detail, upon the progress of the Brethren's work in North America, in the West Indies, and in Surinam. Bishop Cammerhoff died in Bethlehem, April 28, 1751, in the 30th year of his age."—*Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society*, i, p. 322, note.

[1] The Susquehanna River received its name from the tribe of Indians known as the Andastes and as the Susquehannocks. They were of the Iroquoian stock, and lived in the valley of the Lower Susquehanna. About the year 1650 they were at war with the Mohawks, over whom they gained an advantage. The other tribes of the Confederacy took up the quarrel. The Andastes made a heroic stand for their existence, but about 1675 they were completely overthrown by the Senecas. A remnant of the tribe, known as Conestogas, lived under the direction of the Iroquois until the year 1763, when they were butchered by the Paxton Boys.

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wherever he came. During the four Years he resided in this Country, he baptised Eightynine Indians. His death was a great loss to the Society generally. Two other Missionaries, the one John Hagen, and the other, David Bruce,[1] had also departed this life, within the last two Years, at their Posts; the former at Shamokin on Susquehanna; and the latter at Pachgatgoch in New England.

Bishop Johannes de Watteville,[2] a much respected Character among the Brethren, who had come from Europe to America in 1748, to hold a visitation at Bethlehem, and the other Settlements of the Brethren in this Country, was much rejoiced, at finding the Indian Congregation at Gnadenhutten, in such a prosperous state. He frequently visited not only this Congregation, but also those Indians, who lived on the Susquehanna, preaching the Gospel where ever he went; and in October 1749, he returned again to Europe.

[1] David Bruce was born in Edinburg, Scotland, but in what year is not known. He came to America with Zinzendorf, but there is no information as to how or when he became interested in the Moravians. He married the daughter of Stephen Benzet of Philadelphia. He was one of the most active and zealous of the early missionaries. He died at the Wechquadnach station (in Dutchess County, N. Y.) July 9, 1749.

[2] He married Benigna, daughter of Count Zinzendorf. He directed the affairs of the Church for a time after the death of Zinzendorf in 1760; in 1764, was elected to the Directory, and in 1769, to the Unity's Elder's Conference; visited America the second time between 1784 and 1787. He died at Gnadenfrey, Prussia, in October, 1788.

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CHAPTER IV.

UNTIL the Year 1754, this Indian Congregation had enjoyed Peace, and flourished beyond expectation; [40] previous to which time the Brethren had also continued their Visits among those Indians residing on both branches of the Susquehanna; and in the Country of the Six Nations, hoping that these also would e'er long, embrace Christianity; but while they cherished these hopes, the Mission at Gnadenhutten, [1] received a severe check. An Embassy of Indians, consisting of Shawanos and Nanticoks, had come to invite all the Christian Indians, to leave their present abode, and settle at Wyoming, where in many respects, they would find a more convenient place of abode, than near the Settlements of the White People; and yet have the same advantage of being instructed in Christianity by the Brethren, since these would be permitted to visit them at pleasure. At first the Christian Indians did not pay much attention to their Speech: nor had they any inclination to exchange their fine Settlement for a Wilderness; but the Six Nations, [2] who had formed

[1] In 1754 the settlement of Gnadenhutten was moved to the north or east side of the River Lecha (Lehigh). Loskiel gives as a cause for this, "the land on the Mahony being too much impoverished, and other circumstances requiring a change of situation." The buildings were removed to the new site, except the chapel, and in this work the Indians of the other Congregations assisted. By the fourth of June, twenty houses were ready for occupancy, and the new chapel was begun on the 11th. The dwellings were arranged in a way that placed the Delawares in a quarter apart from the Mohicans; their houses seem to have been separated by a street. The removal of this settlement perhaps saved the inhabitants from destruction in the Indian troubles which followed.

[2] The author was in error in believing the Iroquois to be in the French interest. The Senecas being in contact with the "far Indians," over whom the French always exerted a powerful influence, may have favored the French or have been indifferent toward the English. The trouble principally was with the Shawnees, Delawares, Nanticoks, and other Algonquians who had been

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the Scheme, and had only employed those Tribes to transact the business for them, that *they* might not be suspected, (being at the time favourably disposed towards the French, altho they wished to keep this a secret) on learning, that the Christian Indians were not inclined to obey: now spoke themselves, declar-

pushed out of their ancient seats and forced into the country belonging to Iroquoian tribes. They felt that they were aliens, that they were without homes, that they had lost the lands of their fathers, that their country had been seized by the whites without any real consideration, and that fraud had been practiced upon them in the purchases made, tracts bought being surveyed to embrace many times more than the Indians supposed they had sold. This feeling was general in the tribes mentioned, and the French seized upon the circumstance to make them their allies in the French and Indian War, then just beginning. The actions of the English were magnified by the French, and actions of individuals put forward as justifications for outrages upon the colonies. "*Teedyuscung* declares, that, by this young Man [Charles Broadhead, of Northampton County], he was surprised into the War before he had Time to think; that, after the first incursion made on the *English* by the western *Delawares* and other *Indians* from *Ohio*, that Man came to *Wyoming*, and (tho' he had no Authority) as if commissioned so to do, charged him and his People with beginning Hostilities, threatened them in a very high Strain, and told them the *English* were preparing to take a severe Revenge. The *Indians*, alarmed at this, immediately desired the same *Broadhead* to carry a Message from them to the Governor of *Pennsylvania*, to assure him of their Friendship, and to bring them an Answer. This he neglected to do, so that when the *Indians* had waited the Time appointed for an Answer, and found none sent, they were persuaded that all was true that *Broadhead* had told, and thereupon prepared to defend themselves, and, being instigated thereto by the *French*, chose, rather to attack than be attacked."—*Causes of the Alienation of the Delaware and Shawanese Indians from the British Interest*, p. 83. From the same work we quote the reasons assigned by Teedyuscung for discontent, at a council in Philadelphia: "In answer to this, *Teedyuscung* assigned three Causes; first, the imprudent Conduct of *Charles Broadhead*, which has been already mentioned. Secondly, the Instigation of the *French*. And, lastly, (which made the Blow fall the harder) the Grievances he and his People suffered from this Government and the *Jerseys*.

"The Governor calling upon him to explain what these Grievances were,

"I have not, says he, far to go for an Instance; this Ground that is under me, (stamping with his Foot) is mine, and has been taken from me by Fraud

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ing, that if they did not hear what was said to them, they would come themselves, and run a red hot poker into their Ears, to *make* them hear — (meaning thereby to say: that they would compel them to obey, and move to Wyoming). This harsh Language struck [41] some with fear, so, that they went thither; while the main body remained where they were, determining not to leave their fine Settlement, except they should be compelled thereto by force. [1]

The Brethren, unwilling that these poor frightened People should be left without a Teacher, occasionally sent a Missionary

and Forgery." The Governor asked him what he meant by Fraud and Forgery. To which he replied, "When one Man had formerly Liberty to purchase Lands, and he took a Deed from the *Indians* for it, and then dies, if, after his Death, his Children forge a Deed like the true One, with the same *Indians* Names to it, and thereby take Lands from the *Indians* which they never sold: This is Fraud. Also when one King has Lands beyond the River, and another has Lands on this Side, both bounded by Rivers, Creeks and Springs, which cannot be moved, and the Proprietaries, greedy to purchase Lands, buy of one King what belongs to the other: This likewise is Fraud."

"Have you, said the Governor, been served so? Yes, replied *Teedyuscung*, I have been served so in this Province. All the Land extending from *Tobiccon* over the great Mountain as far as *Wyomen* is mine, of which some has been taken from me by Fraud. For when I agreed to sell the Land to the old Proprietary by the Course of the River, the young Proprietaries came and got it run by a straight Course by the Compass, and by that Means took in double the Quantity intended to be sold."—Ibid, p. 101.

That the occurrences recorded by the author actually transpired there is no doubt; the manner of opening the ears of the indifferent Indians proposed by the Iroquois is expressed in their message in characteristic language.

[1] "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 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

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thither to exhort them; but even to obtain this priviledge, they had first to travel into the Country of the Six Nations, and apply to their Chiefs for permission.

It might appear strange to some, that the Brethren could travel about in the Indian Country without discovering the hostile disposition of the nations, towards the English Nation; yet such was the case at the time; they kept their designs a profound secret; and it was not until those Indians who had entered into the French service, made a sally, and murdered fourteen White People within five Miles of Shamokin, where the Brethren had a small Mission: that they were aware of danger. But now the scene had began; barbarous Murders were committed, by the hostile Indians in other Quarters, and it became evident, that a cruel Indian War, would be the result of the influence the French had acquired among the Indians, and especially among those of the Six Nations, who long since, had on all occasions, and particularly in War concerns, assumed an Authority, over many other Nations, so that they only had to dictate, and others to obey. All surrounding Nations — not only those inhabiting Penn-[42]sylvania, but also those dwelling withing the limits of other Provinces, and the adjacent Country, together with the Western and Lake Indians, were called upon by the Six Nations: to join in the conflict; and such among these, as were averse to War, were threatened with destruction, in case they did not join with them.

Previous to any hostilities being committed, unfavourable reports had been spread, by White People from different Quarters, against the Brethren; and various were the accusations, laid to their charge. By some they were hated on account of their Religion, which was supposed to be tinctured with Catholicism — by others they were censured, for endeavouring to civilize the

themselves laid some claim."—Loskiel, *History of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Indians in North America*, Part II, page 159.

Wajomick was the name of that part of the Valley of the Susquehanna Valley claimed by Connecticut, and spoken of as *Wyomen*, *Wiaming*, and finally *Wyoming*. It is now Wilkesbarre, Pa.

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Savages — a race of beings, which, (in their opinion) had no claim to Christianity, and whom to destroy both root and branch, would not only be doing God a service, but also be the means of averting the wrath of God, which they otherwise might incur, by suffering them to live, they being the same as the Cananites of old — an accursed race, who by Gods command, were to be destroyed.

The enmity of some, was so inveterate, that they sought nothing short of the total destruction of the Brethren; and indeed the present time, when the Indians had joined the French, in their Warr against the English Nation: seemed to favour their design; the more so, since the Brethren were known to labour among the Indians. They were first accused of being in the secret — next of being in league with the French — [43] of supplying the Indians with Arms and Amunition, to carry on their Wars with the English. In New England, a Letter of a treasonable nature had been published — said to be a Copy of one intercepted on the way from Quebeck to Bethlehem: which Letter stated; "that by means of the Brethren having taken their part, they would soon conquer the English"* — In Virginia a wicked Man declared at a County Court before upwards of 500 Persons: "that when he was in Canada, every two Weeks, regular intelligence, had been sent from Bethlehem" — In the Jerseys, public declaration was made by beat of Drum: "that Bethlehem should be destroyed, and that a carnage should be made, such as had never been heard of in North America &c"*

Such reports as these, were sufficient to rouse an ignorant multitude, to acts of Violence, without reflecting on the consequences, especially as some had already suffered in various ways by the hostile Indians; and could not endure to see the Brethren — who in their opinion were accessory to their misfortunes, dwell unmolested — Mobs were spoken of; and in some places consultations were held on the steps to be taken for destroying the Brethrens Settlements — Bishop Span[g]enberg being at the

*see Loskiels history Chap. XII.

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time on a Journey, while entering a public house, was insulted, and threatened with having his Brains knocked out. — At length a party of about one hundred Men having united for the [44] purpose of raising a sufficient Mob, to carry their designs into execution, came to Bethlehem, but the civil treatment they met with there, changed their resolution for this time.

While affairs wore the appearance, as though the Inhabitants of Bethlehem, and also the Christian Indians at Gnadenhutten, would e'er long be murdered, and their Towns be laid in Ashes, (as threatened by assembling Mobs:) the Settlement of the Brethren, on Mahony Creek; about half a Mile distant from Gnadenhutten; and separated from that place by the River Lehigh, and a ridge of high Land, which runs between the two places; was, — while the white Brethren were assembled at Supper (on the 24 November 1755) suddenly attacked by the Indians in the French interest, and Eleven Persons, namely Seven Men, Three Women and one Child of fifteen Months old, murdered. Only two Men; one Woman and a Boy, were able to affect their escape, performed in a manner, almost miraculous.

The scene was horrid! At the barking of the Dogs, the Door being opened — the Indians fired into the House, killing one Man, and wounding several. Retiring to the Garret, after first having well secured and barricaded the Doors, the Indians set fire to the House, keeping a watch at the front Doors and Windows. Meanwhile a Man and his Wife, and a boy leaped out of a Window in the back part of the House, or rather from the burning Roof; all being in flames, and they [45] escaped; but as a fourth was making the attempt: he was seized yet alive, tomahawked, and Scalped. Another Man confined by sickness in an outhouse, found means to get out at a back Window, and make his escape — Houses, Stables and the Barn, well stacked with Grain and Hay — all was soon in flames, and the Cattle bellowing in the Stables, contributed to encrease the terror.

A dreadful account of this melancholy event, was brought to Bethlehem sometime after Midnight, at which place the light

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of the burning buildings, altho' nearly Thirty Miles distant, and with the ridge of the blue Mountains between: was plainly seen. And now those desperadoes, who had come on to destroy Bethlehem, (a number of whom were yet in the Neighbourhood,) were wanted as an escort to those Brethren and friends, who were willing to repair to the fatal spot for the pupose of burying the dead, or their bones &c: but their courage failed them, and [they] could not be prevailed on to subject themselves to such danger. [1]

Melancholy as the event was to the Brethren; setting aside all losses in property; yet it eventually was the means of saving Bethlehem, and the Indian Congregation from utter destruction. The very same People; who but a few days since, had declared the Brethren as "Snakes in the Grass, and in the French interest"; now saw their error. Among the hundreds of People, who from various parts of the Country, had purposely come to learn the particulars — and many to [46] survey the desolated spot, — seeing the mangled bodies and bones, they shed Tears; and smiting upon their breasts exclaimed: "Ah! what guilt would we have brought on our heads, had we followed our designs of destroying the Brethren, on the bare supposition that they were our Enemies".

At the time the Settlement on Mahony was destroyed, only

[1] The names of those killed are as follows:
Gottlieb Andreas, his wife, and child about one year old.
Martin Nitchman and his wife.
Catherine Senseman, the wife of Joachim Senseman.
Christian Fabricus.
Geo. Sweigart.
Leonard Katermyeer.
Martin Presser.
Fredrick Lesley.

These are the names given in *Pennsylvania Archives* (Old Series), ii, pp. 522, 523, where a long account of the affair may be found, in a letter written by Timothy Horsfield to Governor Morris; dated, Bethlehem, Nov. 26, 1755. Loskiel has a good account.

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who had murdered some of their families, and burnt down their Houses, — these, just escaping with their lives, and without covering; the Brethren humanely gave them the use of their Waggons, and brought them safe to Bethlehem. Even hundreds of distressed Men, Women and Children, who had fled from the Savages, sought shelter at the Settlements of the Brethren, and as long as a place could be found for them, they were protected and fed.

[48] Many People at the time wondered how the Brethren — especially after the losses they had sustained, could feed and maintain such a number of Souls. (for tho their loss was great in Grain at the Gnadenhutten Mills and Barn; they besides lost upwards of a thousand Bushels of Wheat in another place[)] — added to this, Crops of Grain had the Year following been but small, on account of the long drought. However, thro' a bounteous Providence, they were often relieved, when they least expected it; and what gave them particular satisfaction, was; their being enabled to give protection and sustenance to many, who but recently, thro ignorance had calumniated them, nay threatened them with destruction.

Indeed it was now generally believed, and acknowledged: that were it not for the Brethrens Settlements; the whole Country; from the ridge of blue Mountains to Philadelphia, would be laid waste. The Murders committed, following in such quick succession — and often where least expected; struck the Inhabitants with such terror; that they knew not where to fly for safety. The determination of the Brethren, to stand their ground; and relying on the help of God to guard against the worst, by encompassing the most open places with Stockades; erecting watch houses, and placing Centinels where it was thought necessary; was to them salutary news, and many also offered their services.

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a few of the Indian Brethren were at home, the greater part being dispersed in the Woods, for the sake of hunting; it being the Season for that occupation. — These Brethren were now sent for, and the whole body of Christian Indians, were removed from Gnadenhutten to Bethlehem; while Troops stationed at their forsaken Village, and who built a Fort, were to protect the scattered Settlers, and guard the Brethrens Mills, which were filled with Grain, and the property of the Indians from being destroyed.

These Troops however, unacquainted with Indian manoeuvres, had the misfortune to lose a number of their Men, before they had been long stationed there; for on the New Years day following, the Savages had recourse to Strat[a]gem, in which they so well succeeded, that a number of Men were cut off from the protection of the Fort, and murdered.

These Soldiers had been amusing themselves with skating on the Ice — the River being frozen over; when they at some distance higher up, where the River made a bend; espied two Indians, apparently amusing themselves in the same manner. Believing these al-[47]ready in their power, they pursued them, when on a sudden, a party that lay in Ambush, ready to fall upon them, rushed forth from their hiding place, and put them to death; the few remaining, thinking themselves unable to defend themselves in the Fort; took flight; whereupon the Savages, after seizing upon as much property as they could carry off: set fire to the Fort, to the Houses of the Indians; and to the Brethrens Mills; all which together, was a Considerable loss to the Society, and to the Christian Indians.

Much of the Grain, with which the Mills were stored, might have been taken away, had the Brethren preferred saving *their* property, to the lives of their fellow Creatures; the distressed white Inhabitants of that part of the Country, who were anxious to be out of the reach of the Enemy. Thus at one time, three Waggons, that were sent to fetch Grain from the Mills, meeting with numbers of distressed People, fleeing from a cruel Enemy,

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CHAPTER V.

IT has been already noticed above, that the first outrages committed by the Indian Warriors,* were on Settlers about five Miles from Shamokin, at which place three Brethren, two in the capacity of Missionaries, and one of them, a Smith, resided at the time. Of these three, the two former had immediately, on the report of this Murder, fled to Bethlehem; but the Smith, determined not to desert, or leave his Post without orders from the Directors of the Society: remained there, altho' his situation was exceedingly dangerous. The Shawano Chief Paxinos, at Wyoming, learning his situation by a Message sent him from Bishop Spangenberg, immediately dispatched his two Sons to conduct him safe to Gnadenhutten, where he arrived previous to the destruction of that place, and from thence came to Bethlehem. [1]

Pennsylvania, had within the space of a few Months, been subjected to disasters hitherto not known, its whole frontier having been laid waste by the Savages, and the People were compelled, to fly in various directcions for safety. [2]

*These Warriors were of the 6 Nations, and who began the War in Pennsylvania. (see Heckewelders history of Indian Nations: Chap. XX. page 168. Also Loskiels history Chap. XII. [)]

[1] An account of this massacre is given by Loskiel. The smith's name was Kiefer. The chief sent his two sons to rescue him and bring him; they met Kiefer on the road to Wajomick and conducted him to Gnadenhutten. See *History of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Indians in North America*, Part II, p. 164.

[2] The best accounts of the condition of the frontier at that time are to be found in the *Pennsylvania Colonial Records* and *Pennsylvania Archives* for the years 1754-55-56. Parkman's *Montcalm and Wolfe* contains the best narration yet written of these border ravages. The various local histories of counties and cities of Pennsylvania and adjoining sections of New York should be consulted.

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The Indians, having early in the Year 1756, began to commit hostilities, the Governor of Pennsylvania thought proper by Proclamation, to declare War against all Indian Nations, who should persist in so doing; offering One hundred and fifty Dollars, for every hostile [50] Delaware Indian taken alive; and One hundred and thirty Dollars for every Scalp: inviting at the same time, all those who would lay down the Hatchet, to meet at a Treaty of Peace. An exception in said Proclamation was however made, in favour of the Indians residing at Bethlehem; and besides this, the Governor thought proper, to warn these by Letter, not to stray far from home; which advice was strictly attended to [1]

The Nations, However, were not yet disposed for Peace; neither would the Iroquois suffer the Delawares to treat for themselves. The writer of this Narrative, was, a few Years after the Peace had been concluded, shown the spot on the Path leading from Menessink to Wyoming, where, (as he was then told by some of the Delaware Indians) the Government Messenger, Thomas Hill, was met by a party of the Six Nations, and murdered, since these would not permit the Message to be taken to the Delawares on Susquehanna. Murders were continued, and the People were seen flying in various directions, seeking for places of safety.

Meanwhile the Christian Indians were of essential service to the Brethren, in guarding them while working in the fields, and harvesting their Crops of Grain; and indeed the whole Neighbourhood derived more or less benefit from their being here, since the inimical Indians, dreaded coming to[o] far into the Settlements, lest they should be discovered by the vigilence of those Indians. They were also otherwise of service [51] to Government, in conveying Peace Messages to the hostile Indians, where no other Person would undertake so dangerous a task. They had, since their flight from Gnadenhutten, principally

[1] This proclamation is printed in full. See *Pennsylvania Colonial Records*, vii, p. 88. There were other exceptions than that noted by the author.

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established themselves at Bethlehem; yet, for the safety of the Brethrens Settlements at Nazareth, Gnadenthal, and Christian Spring: some were kept at these places, where, when their services in the fields as Guards was not wanted, the Men would join in manual labour; and the Women would make Baskets and Brooms. Wherever these were stationed, their Missionaries were with them; and they attended divine service regularly, and daily. That Indians could withdraw themselves from their Nation — could abandon their wild and wandering friends and relatives, and become so docile and civilized, as to live content among the White People; was a matter of astonishment to many to whom this report had reached; and who, to satisfy themselves as to the fact, had purposely come to Bethlehem, to be eye witnesses thereof.

At length, thro the vigilence of the Governor of Pennsylvania Col: (afterwards Sir William) Johnson, and George Croghan Esqr. (deputy Agent of Sir Willm.) the Indians consented to attend a Treaty, to be holden with them, but at no other place, than at Bethlehem. This Treaty place, was also approved of by the Officers of Government; both parties placing great confidence in the influence the Brethren would have in bringing about a Peace, on account of their integrity; — and it was [52] only by repeated remonstrances made by the Bishop Spangenberg, that they desisted from their resolution. The Treaty therefore was held at Easton, on the way to which place, the Captain that had headed the party which the Year preceeding murdered the Brethren and Sisters on Mahony, was himself murdered by the Delaware Chief Tadeuskund, with whom he had picked a quarrel, or provoked by his high toned and insulting Language. [1]

[1] This conference began at Easton, Wednesday, July 28, 1756. Governor Morris and the Pennsylvania Council were present. Conrad Weiser is noted as interpreter for the Six Nations in the published proceedings. "Teedeuscung, the Delaware Chief, & 14 other Chiefs" are noted as being present. The conference adjourned July 31st. Nothing material was accomplished.

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of the preceeding Year; and tho the heads of the hostile Indians, showed a disposition towards a Peace; yet the Nation was not of the same mind, considering their grievances not adjusted to their wish. A Council being held with them at Lancaster in Aprill of this Year: they complained, that the People at Bethlehem, kept their Relations and friends, Prisoners;§ begging that these might be at liberty to remove to Wyoming; which being made known to them, (the Christian Indians) they, so far from thinking of complying with their desire: joined in Petitioning the Governor, to continue his protection of them; [1] which being readily granted, they, by the advice of the Brethren, began to build themselves a new Town, within two Miles of Bethlehem, which place was called Nain.

The French, finding that the Delawares in conse-[54]quence of the frequent overtures for Peace made to them by the Governor of Pennsylvania, began to slacken in the War, now advised them to leave this Country, and withdraw to the Ohio, [2] where

§they wished their Relatives and Countrymen, *out* of the Settlements of the White People, as their being where they now were, was a check upon them, in carrying on the War vigorously.

[1] The complaint seems to have been sent by Teedyuscung; George Croghan delivered the message in his report at the treaty of Lancaster, which was begun on Wednesday, the 11th day of May, 1757. The remonstrance of the Brethren has not been found of record. The complaint is as follows:

There is one thing that gives us a great deal of concern, wch is, Our Flesh and Blood that live among you at Bethlehem and in the Jerseys being kept as if they were Prisoners. We formerly applied to the Minister at Bethlehem to let our people come back at Times and hunt, which is the Chief Industry we follow to maintain our Families, but that Minister has not listened to what we have said to him, and it is very hard that our People have not the Liberty of coming back to the Woods, where Game is plenty, and to see their Friends. They have complained to us that they cannot hunt where they are, and if they go into the Woods and cut down a Tree, they are abused for it, Notwithstanding that very Land we look upon to be Our own; and we hope, Brothers, that you will consider this Matter, and let our People come into the Woods and visit their Friends, and pass and repass, as Brothers ought to do.—*Pennsylvania Colonial Records*, vii, p. 516.

[2] Ohio is derived from the Iroquois. The original is variously spoken in the different dialects. In Wyandot it is Ō-hē'-zhū; in Mohawk and Cayuga it is Ō-hē'-yō; in Onondaga and Tuscarora it is Ō-hē'-yē; in Oneida it is Ō-hē'; in Seneca it is very nearly the same as in Wyandot. Darlington, in his *Christopher Gist's Journals*, p. 94, and Morgan in his *League of the Iroquois*, say this word means "fair," "beautiful," and that the Iroquois called the Ohio the

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Nevertheless after the Treaty was concluded, a great number of these Indians visited Bethlehem, and being lodged on the opposite side of the River, the Justice of the Peace of the place, Timothy Horsfield Esq[r]. [1] for safety's sake, examined every one strictly, as to his motives of coming here, and his intended stay — and also maintained order. Of course these Indians were well treated and fed by the Brethren, and [it] was hoped that the Treaty would have the good effect, to unite them to a lasting Peace. but scarcely had they returned from this Treaty, when new scenes of Murder* were committed, on the South side of the blue Mountains, even to a great distance; and as a further proof that they were not sattis-[53]fied, but intended to continue the War: they abandoned their habitations at Wyoming, and retired to Tioga; a considerable distance higher up the Susquehanna River.

In November of the same Year (1756) the Governor of Pennsylvania honored Bethlehem with a Visit; and also visited the Christian Indians in their dwellings much to his sattisfaction.

The Year 1757, commenced with similar troubles to those

*The writer of this Narrative, has been assured by creditable Indians ot the Delaware Nation: that these Murders had not been committed by any of their Nation, but by some Individuals ot the 5 Nations; for the purpose of destroying the Object of the Treaty, and preventing an union taking place, between them (the Delawares, and the English Nation[)], which they feared would finally be accomplished.

Teedeuscung tried to impress the Governor that he represented ten tribes, but nothing appeared to confirm his claim. He and Captain Newcastle were appointed agents of Pennsylvania, Teedeuscung for the Delawares and Newcastle for the Six Nations, of whom he was one. See *Pennsylvania Colonial Records*, vii, pp. 207-220.

[1] The State Papers of the time contain many letters and reports from Timothy Horsfield, printed in *Pennsylvania Colonial Records* and *Pennsylvania Archives*. He investigated the outrages by the Indians and examined people coming in from the Indian country; he was able to furnish the authorities much valuable information.

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they might join those of their Nation which were there already, against the English with better success.

The Government of Pennsylvania, both encouraged and supported by the Friends, (otherwise called Quakers) were unwearied in their exertions to bring about a Peace; but having in vain sought for a proper and trusty Person to carry Peace Messages to the hostile Indians on Ohio, Christian Frederick Post[1] of Bethlehem, a Man of undaunted Courage and enter-

Beautiful River. The French so called it (La Belle Riviere), but there is no evidence that they secured the name from any Indian original.

The word does not mean "fair," neither does it mean "beautiful." It means *great*. The Iroquois, therefore, called the Ohio the Great River. The Wyandots call it Ō-hē'-zhū Yän'-dä-wä'-yĕ—Great River. And in the various dialects of the Iroquois it is so called without exception. They give the stream that name from its source to the Gulf of Mexico; with them it is the main stream and has but one name. When I became acquainted with the Wyandots they told me of hunting trips to the "Sunken Lands" on the Ohio. "But," I replied, "there are no sunken lands on the Ohio." "Yes," they said, "plenty on Ohio; plenty by New Madrid." "But New Madrid is on the Mississippi," I insisted. "We call him Ohio—all along, Ohio; not call him Mississippi any place." The Iroquois must have had at some time a name for the Mississippi above the mouth of the Ohio, but those I have met do not remember it.

The Ohio was discovered by La Salle in the winter of 1669-70. Major-General Abrahame Wood descended the Kanawha the following year; he reached a point eighty miles from the Ohio. Neither the English nor French made any effort to occupy the Ohio Valley upon its discovery. It assumed importance about 1750.

[1] Christian Frederick Post was born at Conitz, Polish Prussia, in 1710; died at Germantown, Pa., April 29, 1785. He was by trade a joiner. He arrived in America in June, 1742, and was sent as a missionary to the Moravian Indians in New York and Connecticut, where he labored from 1743 to 1749. In 1745 he went on a journey to the Iroquois, was arrested in Albany on the false charge of inciting the Indians against the English, and imprisoned in New York for seven weeks. In 1743 he married a converted Wampanoag woman named Rachel, who died at Bethlehem in 1747. In this year he was sent to Shamokin to aid the Moravian smith stationed there in clearing and planting more land. In 1749 he married at Bethlehem a converted Delaware

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prising Spirit — and besides well acquainted with the manners and Customs of the Indians, was proposed for, and actually did engage in this service, making two Journies to the hostile Savages, in the first of which, he was accompanied by two Delaware Indians, who had been under the protection of Government for some time since.

woman named Agnes, who died two years later. In 1751 he returned to Europe and engaged in the attempt made by the Moravians to establish a mission among the Esquimaux, sailing for Labrador in 1752. This effort failed, and Post returned to Bethlehem. In 1754 he was sent to Wajomick (Wyoming), where he preached and labored until November, 1755. At that time he was widely known as a man familiar with Indian character, and for his hardihood of body and mind. In the effort to regain for the English the Ohio country, lost by Braddock's defeat, it became necessary to send some such man to treat with the Indians there and endeavor to detach them from the French interest. The undertaking was a desperate one, for the French were in full possession of the country into which he was to go and the Indian tribes in full sympathy with them and hostile to the English. Post was selected for this hazardous enterprise and boldly set forth in July of 1758. The embassy was entirely successful, and he returned in September. His escapes from death were many and narrow, but he never shrank nor wavered from his task, and moved as though unconscious of the danger that beset him. It was necessary for him to return the same year to again confer with the Indians, and he went out in October, 1758, accompanied by Captain Bull and Lieutenant Hays. Post's influence with the savages did much toward rendering the position of the French so precarious that Fort Du Quesne was destroyed and the country abandoned to the English. In September, 1761, he made an effort to begin a mission among the Delawares on the Muskingum, and built a house on the Tuscarawas near the present site of Bolivar, Starke County, Ohio. In the spring of 1762 he was joined by John Heckewelder, the author of this Narrative. The mission was made impossible of success by Pontiac's war, which came on in 1763. Heckewelder left the mission in time to escape from the country without great danger, but Post was compelled to save himself by fleeing to the forests. This restless missionary next sailed for the Mosquito Coast (January, 1764), where he labored two years in establishing there a Moravian mission. He returned to Bethlehem in 1767, but did not remain long, visiting again the Mosquito Coast in the interest of the mission he was trying to establish. But the mission was a failure, and he came again to Pennsylvania,

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Journeys of that kind, and under existing circumstances, were by many considered as rash and imprudent undertakings. Post however was not dismayed. Considering the errand he was going on, a good one. — Moved by Charity with a desire of being instrumental in putting a stop to cruel murders, and the effusion of human blood — And considering himself under the protection of the Almighty — of Him, who in his Sermon on the Mount had pronounced a blessing on all [55] "Peace makers";* he consulted not with flesh and blood; neither had entreaties, tending to dissuade him from the undertaking any effect on him. Cheerful and undaunted — after taking a farewell of his Brethren at Bethlehem; whose best wishes both as to himself and the laudible cause he had engaged in: he had been assured of; he sat out with his two Indian guides, to a Country, in which neither he, nor any of the Brethren had ever been in before — and to a Savage People, who had united with the French for the destruction of the English in this Country; and after having faithfully performed the business entrusted to him by Government, and in which he even succeeded beyond expectation; he returned with thanks and praises to the Lord, who, (as he expresses himself in his Journal) "had preserved him thro all the Dangers and difficulties that he had been under &c" —

To enumerate all the hardships, difficulties and Dangers,

*Matthew Chap. 5. verse 9.

visiting Bethlehem for the last time in 1784. At that time he was living in Germantown with his third wife, a member of the Episcopal Church. His death occurred the following year. Post was the most adventurous of the Moravian missionaries and one of the hardiest and bravest pioneers that ever threaded the wildernesses of North America. He left a journal of each of his journeys into the Ohio country in 1758. The first was published in the pamphlet of Charles Thomson, *An Enquiry into the Causes of the Alienation of the Delaware and Shawanese Indians from the British Interest* (London, 1759; reprinted in Philadelphia in 1867). It has been reprinted in various histories of Pennsylvania, and may be found in *Pennsylvania Archives* (Old Series), iii, pp. 520-544. The second journal is printed in *Pennsylvania Archives* (Old Series), iii, pp. 560-563.

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Frederick Post had been subjected to on these Journies; especially on the first in the Summer of the Year 1758. is at this time both impossible and needless. Suffice it to say: that what *he* intended the public for to know, was published the Year after, in England, under the title of "Christian Frederick Posts Journal from Philadelphia to the Ohio &c &c". His *original* Manuscript Journal, however, which had for some time been placed in the hands of the writer [56] of this: was far more interesting; and evinced: that not many Men would be found, able to undergo the fatigues of a Journey, bearing so hard on the Constitution — neither a Mind to endure such trials of adversity — at least not with that calmness with which M^r. Post endured it.

The English Governement having at length so far succeeded towards establishing a Peace with the hostile Nations; and the French seeing themselves in a manner deserted by them, evacuated Fort Du Quesne, after destroying much of the Works: when the English took posession; and having built a new Fort, called it Fort Pitt.

From this time, the troubles, and murderous incursions, which had for Years together continued to desolate the Country, and to distress numbers, ceased in Pennsylvania, and the Neighbouring Provinces, the War shifting to a different Quarter, until a Peace between the two European Powers was concluded.

With the prospect of a Peace being near, the Christian Indians had already in 1757 begun their new Settlement, called Nain; and now in 1758, they completed all the necessary buildings, both for themselves, and their Missionary: together with a Chapel, which was consecrated October 18th. of the same Year. Those Indians, who had been stationed at Nazareth, and other places for the protection of the Brethrens Settlements, now joined their Congregation again at Nain, which place however encreased so, that it was found [57] necessary to begin another establishment, for which purpose 1400 Acres of Land were purchased by the Brethren, beyond the blue Mountain;

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a new Settlement begun with Thirty baptised Indians of the Delaware Nation, and the place called Wechquetank. [1]

Both these Congregations being supplied with Missionaries and Schoolmasters, flourished so, that they became the admiration of Visitors, some of whom thought it next to a miracle, that by the light of the Gospel, a Savage race should be brought to live together in Peace and Harmony, and above all devote themselves to Religion. The People living in the Neighborhood of these places, were also intimate with these Indians; and both were servicable to each other; one instance of which is here inserted. In February of the Year 1761, a White Man who had lost a Child, came to Nain weeping, and begging that the Indian Brethren would assist him and his Wife to search for the Child which had been missing since the day before — Several of the Indian Brethren immediately, going to the house of the Parents, discovered the footsteps of the Child, and tracing the same for the distance of two Miles, found the Child in the Woods, wrapped up in its Petticoat, and shivering with Cold. The joy of the Parents was so great, that they reported the circumstance wherever they came. To some of the white Neighbours, who had been in dread of this near Settlement of Indians, this incident was the means of making [58] their minds easy, and causing them to rejoice, in having such good Neighbours.

[1] Heckewelder in his list of Delaware names of places in Pennsylvania, says this name is derived from "*Wekquitank*, the Delaware names of a species of willow, growing in the neighborhood of the Indian town of that name, once on Head's Creek, (*Hoeth's* Creek) in Monroe County." In a note to the above, Reichel says, "The seat of a Moravian Mission, between April of 1760, and October of 1763, part of the Christian Indians at Bethlehem, last from Gnadenhutten, having been transferred thither, at the first named date."— *Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society*, i, p. 270. On the map in Loskiel's *History of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Indians in North America*, Wechquetank, is located east of Sunbury, on the head waters of the Schuylkill.

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CHAPTER VI.

IN August of the Year 1761 another Treaty was held by the Government of Pennsylvania, at Easton, with deputies from many Indian Tribes;[1] after which Tadeuskund, the head Chief of the Delawares, with a retinue of more than one hundred Indians, came to Bethlehem* on a Visit; and now the War being over, the Indians who had been engaged in it, freely confessed to their friends and relations, and to some white People they had heretofore been acquainted with: "that the Brethrens "Settlements had been a stumbling block to them — that had "it not been for these, they would most assuredly have laid "waste the whole Country, from the Mountains to Philadelphia "— that many a plan had been laid for destroying these — that "they several times had drawn near these places for the pur-"pose: but that the watchfulness of the Brethren and their "friends and relations (the Christian Indians) had always frust-"rated their designs — that had they succeeded in persuading "the Christian Indians, to withdraw from the Brethrens Settle-"ments; no doubt but they would have carried their plans into "execution, but whilst these resided among the White People, "they durst not venture to make the attempt, partly from a fear "that their own friends and relations might finally be brought "to join the White People [59] against them; or, that the latter "enraged, might massacree these, their relations, not being able "to come at them".

*By an account kept, 652 Indians had visited Bethlehem, in this Year.

[1] This treaty was with the Onondagas, Cayugas, Oneidas, Nanticoks, Mohicans, Delawares, Tuteloes, and Conoys, "Men, Women & Children, about Four hundred in number." It began on Friday, August 7, and was closed Wednesday, the 12th, of the year 1761. The minutes of the conference and treaty are set out at length in *Pennsylvania Colonial Records*, viii, pp. 637-654.

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A few Months had scarcely elapsed after the conclusion of Peace, when a fresh Murder was committed by a White Man on an Indian of good Character, in the Jerseys; in consequence of which, many white Settlers fled from their dwellings, fearing that this Murder might instigate the Indians, to renew hostilities; however, thro the vigilence of Government, they were again pacified: and the Peace was preserved.

In the Spring of the Year 1762, the Missionary Zeisberger, visited at particular request, those Indians at Wyoming, who previous to the commencement of the War, had thro fear, and the threats of the Six Nations, suffered themselves to be drawn off from Gnadenhutten — These now wished to return again; but in the Fall of the Year, the Flux broke out among them: and sending again for Zeisberger, he had the satisfaction, to attend a number of these in their dying moments, and saw them depart with cheerfulness, in reliance upon the Death and Merits of a crucified Saviour.

Frederick Post, who the preceeding Year had visited the Western Indians, living on the Muskingum; being in great hopes, that he would be able to introduce Christianity among them:[1] the writer of this Narrative, by and with the consent of the Directors of the Society, went with him as an Assistant — principally however to teach [60] their Children to read and write. They set out together early in March, travelling thro a settled Country of about One hundred and forty Miles, without

[1] "The first Moravian missionary in Ohio, Mr. Frederick Post, settled in 1761 in what is now Bethlehem township, on the north side of the Muskingum, at the junction of its two forks, the Sandy and Tuscarawas. The locality called Tuscararatown is on the south side of the river, just above Fort Laurens, and immediately contiguous to Bolivar. Just there was the Indian ford, on the line of the great Indian trail running west. The site of Post's dwelling, or missionary station, is indicated by a pile of stones, which had probably formed the back wall of the chimney. The site of the garden differs from the woods around it in the total want of heavy timber. The ruins of a trader's house, on the opposite side of the river, have been mistaken for those of the

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seeing much of waste that had been made by the Indians in the late War; but scarcely had they passed Shippensburg, when the scene changed. the ravages committed by the Indians in that War, were now visible almost in every direction as they passed on. Farms, laying waste, with stacks of Chimneys standing in the midst of a heap of Ashes, where the Houses had been burnt down: presented a very gloomy appearance; and caused serious reflections on the fate of many of those unfortunate Inhabitants, whose lot it had been, to fall under the War hatchet and Scalping Knife — Being after a tedious and fatiguing Journey arrived at Fort Pitt, they were kindly received, and lodged with Mess[rs]. Davenport and M[c]Kinney, the only two Gentlemen, who at that time had a Trading house, at the Fort in the Point.

The Commandant of the Fort, Colonel Bouquet, [1] together

missionary station. The dwelling built by Post must have been the first house erected in Ohio by whites, excepting such as may have been built by traders or French Jesuits. The Indian and Moravian village of Schoenbrun was not commenced until 1772, eleven years later."—*Historical Collections of Ohio*, Henry Howe (Cincinnati, 1847), p. 466.

Howe also publishes a statement in connection with the above concerning the mission designed by Post somewhat at variance from the other accounts examined, and says the statement was abridged from papers in the Barr MSS.

[1] Henry Bouquet was born at Rolle, Switzerland, in 1719; died at Pensacola, Florida, in the autumn of 1765. Was educated for a soldier and served in the wars of his time on the Continent. In 1754 Bouquet and Haldiman were offered commissions by the English in a corps to be known as the "Royal Americans," afterwards the 60th Rifles, and containing many provincials of both English and German descent. In 1763 Bouquet led an expedition through Pennsylvania into the Ohio country and treated with the Indians, whom he decisively defeated at Bushy Run. Fort Pitt was relieved by his victory, and he reached that post on the 17th of September. By the second of October his arrangements were made to proceed to the Muskingum. The march through a country swarming with hostile Indians was without incident, and the Muskingum reached on the thirteenth of October. On the seventeenth the conference with the Indians began, there being present, Senecas, Delawares and Shawanese. They agreed to surrender their prisoners that they

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with Captn. Hutchins; as also the British Officers generally, admiring and approving of the undertaking: were no less active in rendering us such assistance, as lay in their power, and when arriving at the Mouth of big Beaver, [1] where the Indian War Chief Koquethagaechton*, (by the White People called [61] "White Eyes") [2] resided: he also furnished us with Meat, and

*the same Man whose Name in Posts Journal, is written "Cochquacaukehlton".

might be restored to their relatives and friends in the colonies from whom they had been taken. The number of prisoners restored was two hundred and six. The success of this expedition demoralized the Indian confederacy under Pontiac and it gradually dissolved. Bouquet returned to Philadelphia in January, and soon thereafter was given charge of affairs in the Southern colonies, in which he continued until his death.

[1] Heckewelder says the Beaver River was named from the Delaware words, *Amochkwi-sipu*, meaning the beaver river, from *a-mochk*, a beaver; or, from *Amochk-hanne*, beaver stream. He says the Delawares called it the *Kaskaskie-sipu*, from the town of Kaskaskie on its banks. King Beaver, of the Delawares, had his town at the mouth of this stream, and it is probable that the river took its name from this circumstance. The town was known as King Beaver's Town, also as Shingas's Old Town, for Shingas or Shingask, a brother to King Beaver. They were both chiefs and lived in this town.

[2] White Eyes was a famous Delaware chief. He was an emigrant into the Ohio country, having been born in the eastern home of the Delawares and going with his people as they were pushed deeper and deeper into the wilderness. His town was at the mouth of the Big Beaver. Post calls this town Sawcunk. Heckewelder met him here for the first time. Later he moved to the Muskingum and lived in the limits of the present Oxford township, Coshocton County, Ohio. At the death of Netawatwes, White Eyes became Head Chief of the Delawares. He was strongly in favor of having his people remain neutral in the wars of his time, and when this became impossible he espoused the cause of the Americans. His principal opponent in this policy was Captain Pipe, chief of the Minsi or Wolf tribe of the Delawares. When Pipe heard of the death of White Eyes he could not conceal his pleasure. White Eyes believed that his people could survive only by becoming civilized and tilling the soil. The Monseys were wholly averse to this policy and were always for war. Events demonstrated that the policy of Pipe was wrong, for

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presented us with a few Fowls. Post had already the preceeding Year, built a house on the bank of the River Muskingum, at the distance of about a Mile from the Indian Village, which lay to the South across this River; and at which Village at that time the greatest Chiefs of the Nation both civil and Military resided, with Tamaque, (or King Beaver[1] as he was called by the White People:) at their head; all which, now came to see, and welcome us.[2]

it brought ruin on the Delawares. White Eyes was the firm friend of the Moravians, as the subsequent pages of this work will show. He joined General McIntosh in the expedition to the Tuscarawas to build Fort Laurens, but did not live to reach that place; he died on the way, of smallpox, August 10, 1778. His death was an irreparable loss to his nation. And had he lived, the course of Indian affairs might have been changed in the country north of the Ohio.

[1] Not much is known of King Beaver. He attended a conference with Hugh Mercer at Fort Pitt, Feb. 25-28, 1759. He was at that time living at Sacunk (at the mouth of Beaver), but was under the impression that the English desired him to live at Kuskusky; he was told to live where it best suited him. Presents were given him, and he professed friendship for the English, agreeing to visit the Indians to the northwest in their interest. In August, 1762, he went from his town in company with Post to attend a council at Lancaster. There he professed friendship for the English and released all rights his people might have to lands in the valley of the Delaware.

[2] At this time the Delawares were living principally in the present bounds of the state of Ohio. They were in that country by the consent of the Wyandots, who had in 1650 been given these lands and the country about the west end of Lake Erie by the Iroquois. See Map of Lewis Evans, 1755. The Shawnees had been given permission to settle on the Scioto by the Wyandots. In ceding the lands in this part of the territory north of the Ohio the Wyandots, Delawares and Shawnees usually made a joint cession to the United States. The Wyandots complained in 1843 that the Delawares required of them a large sum for a small home in Kansas, while all the land they owned there was bought indirectly with land given them in Ohio by the Wyandots. In 1683 William Penn estimated that the Delawares numbered six thousand, all living in the valley of the Delaware and about the bay of that name. In less than eighty years we find their seat of government on the Muskingum.

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Post, who had calculated on raising on the Ground, as much Provision as should be wanted for our use: set the hired Man he had engaged for the purpose at Pittsburg, to the cutting down of Trees, where he intended to make his Cornfield, while he himself marked out Three Acres of Ground for this purpose. The Indians alarmed at this, sent word to him, to appear before them at the Council house on the next day, and meanwhile desist from doing any further Work on the Premises. Appearing accordingly before them on the day following: the Speaker, in the Name of the Council, delivered the following Address:

"Brother! Last Year You asked our leave to come and live "with us, for the purpose of instructing us and our Children, "to which we consented; and now being come on, we are glad "to see You!

"Brother! It appears to us, that You must since have "changed Your mind, for instead of instructing us or our Child- "ren, You are cutting Trees down on our [62] Land! You have "marked out a large spot of ground for a Plantation, as the

They began to settle on the waters of the Ohio about 1724. By 1748 one-fourth of the tribe was living there. The French and Indian War drew the greater part of those yet living on the Delaware and Susquehanna to the Ohio and its tributaries. The only chief of consequence remaining on the Susquehanna was Teedyuscund or Tadeuskund, who met an accidental death in that country and never joined the Western Delawares. From the Muskingum they were forced to White River, where they lived in a country given them by the Miamis. During the war of the Revolution they began to visit the country west of the Mississippi in quest of a place where they could live without being destroyed by the "two fires." By the year 1830 they were all living west of the Missouri. Much of their land brought them little of value. In a message of the Shawnees to Governor Gordon, dated "June ye 7th, 1732, or thereabouts," the cause of the removal of the Delawares and Shawnees to the Ohio country is given at some length, ending as follows:

"The Delaware Indians Some time agoe bid us Departt for they was Dry, and wanted to Drink ye land away, whereupon wee told them Since Some of you are Gone to Ohioh, wee will go there also, we hope you will not Drink that away too."—*Pennsylvania Archives* (Old Series), i, p. 330.

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"the French Priests also have, and of which the White People "are all fond.

"Brother! As You are in the same Station, and employ "with those Preachers we allude to; — and as we never saw "any one of those, cut down Trees, and till the ground, for to "get a livelihood: we are inclined to think — and especially as "these without labouring hard, yet look well — that they have "to look to another source, than that of hard labour for their "mantainance. And we think, that if as You say: the great "Spirit wants You to preach to the Indians: he will cause the "same to be done for You, as he causes to be done for those "Priests we have seen at Detroit. We are agreed to give You a "Garden spot, even a larger spot of Ground than those have at "Detroit. It shall measure 50 steps (paces) each way; which "if it suits You, You are at liberty to [64] plant thereon what "you please!" — which Post agreeing to, the lot was on the following day stepped off by Captain Pipe[1] — Stakes drove in at

[1] The Indian name of Captain Pipe was Hopocan, which in the Delaware language signifies the tobacco pipe. About the year 1763 he assumed or was given the name Kogieschquanohel, which means, Maker of Day-Light; but he was always known to the whites as Captain Pipe. He was chief of the Minsi or Wolf tribe of the Delawares, and was a restless and ambitious man of considerable ability. He was in no way distinguished before the war of the Revolution. He was detained at Fort Pitt as a spy by Colonel Bouquet, but released when that officer returned from the Muskingum. It was perhaps impossible for him to avoid being drawn into the Revolutionary conflict, for his band was turbulent and uneasy. His inclination was to side with the English and take with him as many of the Delawares as possible. White Eyes was opposed to this policy, and in favor of observing a neutral position as advised by Congress; but when it became necessary for him to take sides he espoused the American cause. There is no evidence that there was personal ill will between these two leaders of the different factions. But Pipe aspired to be the greatest chief of the tribe, and in this hope he was easily led into war by Girty, McKee and Elliot. He established his followers in a town near the Wyandots at Upper Sandusky and received his orders from Detroit. He and the Half-King went with Elliot to carry the Moravian Indians and their mis-

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"White People do every where; and by and bye another, and "another may come and do the same; and next thing will be, "that a Fort will be built for the protection of these Intruders; "and thus our Country will be claimed by the White People, "and we driven further back, as has been the case ever since "the White People, first came into this Country! say! do we "not speak the truth?" — In answer to which address, Post delivered himself thus:

"Brothers! It is true that what You say I told You, with "regard to my coming to live with You; namely for the purpose "of instructing You; But it is likewise true, that an Instructer "must have something to live upon, otherwise he cannot do his "duty. Now, not wishing to be a burden to You, so as to ask "of You Provision for me to live upon — knowing that You "have already families to provide for: I thought of raising my "own Bread, and believed, that 3 Acres of Ground was little "enough for that! — You will recollect, that I said to You last "Year, that I was a Messenger from God, and prompted by him, "to Preach, and make known his Will to the Indians (Heathen) "that they also by faith might be saved, and become inheritants "of his heavenly Kingdom! Of Your Land, I do not want one "foot — neither will my raising a sufficiency of Corn and Veg-"etables, off of *Your* Land, for me and my brother to subsist on, "give me, or any other Person a claim to the Land!"

[63] Post having retired for the purpose of giving the Chiefs and Council time to form an Answer: — this done, they again met, when the Speaker thus addressed him (Post)

"Brother! Now as You have spoken more distinctly, we "may perhaps be able to give You some advice. You say: "that "You are come at the instigation of the great Spirit to teach and "to Preach to us!" ["]So also say the Priests at Detroit, "whom our Father the French has sent among his Indian Child-"ren! Well! this being the case, You, as a Preacher, want no "more land than one of those do, who are content with a Gar-"den Lot, for to plant Vegetables and pretty flowers in, such as

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the corners — & Post told, that now he might go on with his work again;[1]

sionaries to Sandusky. He was also directed to bring the missionaries to Detroit to answer charges preferred against them by himself. The missionaries went on without him, and when he arrived later he was unable to openly charge what he had privately told the commandant, and the missionaries were acquitted and allowed to return to their congregation. Most that is known of Captain Pipe is related by Heckewelder in the following pages, and it is unnecessary to anticipate here what he says. While there is much in his life to his discredit, there is also very much to be said in his favor. He came to realize that he was used by the English "much in the same manner as a hunter sets his dog on the game," and that he might see the English "shaking hands with the Long Knives." And he did live to see those things come to pass. He says that he was not so cruel as the commandant desired him to be; "I did not do all that I might have done. No I did not. My heart failed within me. I felt compassion for your enemy. Innocence had no part in your quarrels; therefore I distinguished—I spared," he declared to that officer. Pipe did not go to the White River to live, but remained in Ohio. He signed the first treaty ever made with the United States by an Indian tribe, that concluded at Fort Pitt, Sept. 7, 1778; he also signed the treaty of Fort Harmer, in 1789. He had a son named Captain Pipe, who married a Wyandot woman and lived with the Wyandots; his descendants in the Wyandot nation are numerous at this time. The Pipes, Mudeaters, Bettons, and other prominent families in Wyandotte County, Kansas, the State of Washington, and the Wyandot country in the Indian Territory are descended from the grim old chief that burned Colonel Crawford at the stake on the Sandusky plains in the war of the Revolution. At a council of chiefs a few days before the battle of Fallen Timbers Captain Pipe advocated peace with the Americans. His counsel was not agreed to by the chiefs. Pipe died a day or two before the battle. He was carried to his town and buried. His grave is in the old Indian burying ground at Little Sandusky, Wyandot County, Ohio.

[1] The Muskingum was called Elk's Eye Creek by the early English explorers and traders. This was the English rendering of the Indian name, which was Mooskingung, a Delaware word having reference to the great number of elk found along that stream, it being said that they were plentiful and so tame that they would allow a hunter to approach near enough to see into their eyes. The Delawares had but one name for the stream and its different branches at first; later they gave the upper branches different names. The

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An Indian Treaty being appointed to be held at Lancaster in the latter part of the Summer: M[r]. Post was again applied to by the Governor of Pennsylvania, to use his endeavours in bring[ing] in to this Treaty many of the Western Delawares, but above all King Beaver, and the great War Chief *Shingask**, generally called by the White People "King Shingas"§ the for-

*"Shingask". was his proper Name, which interpreted is a *bog Meadow*. This Man was the greatest *Delaware* Warrior of that time. Were his War exploits on record: they would form an interesting document, tho a shocking one. Conecogeague felt his strong Arm sufficiently to be convinced of that. His person was small, but in point of courage and activity, he was said never to have been exceeded by any one.

§This War Chief well knew the high price that had been set on his Scalp by the Governor of Pennsylvania. [1]

Wyandots had a large town about a mile up the Tuscarawas from the present limits of Coshocton. It was visited by Gist in 1750, and contained at that time about one hundred families. On Mitchell's Map, 1755, this town is marked "Owendot's Town;" on Hutchins' Map, 1764, showing route of Bouquet's march, it is marked "Old Wyandot Town," as it was then deserted, having been abandoned by the Wyandots probably upon the fall of Fort Du Quesne. In 1762 the Delawares had their seat of government on the Muskingum, and the greater part of that nation lived then on that stream and its branches. The Moravians established themselves on the Tuscarawas in 1772 and brought with them the Christian Indians. This was ten years after Captain Pipe solemnly stepped off the garden lot for Post and gave him leave to go on with his work of clearing it of trees.

[1] Shingask was a brother to King Beaver (Tamaque). He was one of the chiefs who commanded the Indians at Braddock's defeat, and he is said to have been the principal instigator of the horrible massacres of white settlers on the frontiers of Pennsylvania, a Captain Jacobs being also engaged in these descents upon the settlements. Governor Denny of Pennsylvania set a price upon the heads of Shingask and Jacobs, the amount offered for the scalp of Shingask being £200. Jacobs was killed at Kittanning by the force of Colonel John Armstrong in September, 1756, and the town or Indian village destroyed. Shingask befriended Post when he went to the Ohio in the interest of Pennsylvania to quiet the Indian tribes and detach them from the French interest. He desired to know if the English would hang him if he should return to them.

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mer of which together with other heads of the Nation, accordingly went on with M[r] Post, but the latter preremptorily declared, that he should not go, believing that the English only wanted to murder him; for the damage he had done them during the late War.

Scarcely had 6 Weeks elapsed from the time of the departure of those who had gone on to the Treaty, when it became known, that the French had succeeded in persuading the Indian Nations, once more to try their strength against the English. — and it was fur-[65]thur added: "that a Treaty at this Time would be of no effect; and that Post even would not be permitted to return to this place again".

The situation in which the writer of this was placed at the time, became very precarious. he however found means of sending a Letter to M[r]. Post at Lancaster, and receiving an answer — and King Beaver, shortly after arriving from the Treaty, learning what had been done in his absence: and that a War seemed to be unavoidable, he likewise, the same as Post had done by his Letter: advised me to leave the Country, while it yet was time, lest I should fall a sacrifice; which however on account of bad health at the time was impossible for me to do. added to which, my Horse had been Stolen, or lost.

Previous to the return of the Indians from the Treaty at Lancaster, the Wife of Capt[n]. Shingask had died; and being considered a Woman of Note, the funeral procession* was per-

*see for funeral procession, Heckewelders history of Indian Nations, Chap. XXXVII.

He said he did not seek revenge because of the price put upon his head, and said he desired a peace, though he doubted the sincerity of the English. When Washington was on the Ohio in 1753 Shingask lived in the fork of the Alleghany and Monongahela rivers. Washington visited him, and Shingask went with him to visit the Half-King (not the Wyandot) at Loggstown. Chapter XXXVII of Heckewelder's *History of the Indian Nations* is almost wholly devoted to a description of the funeral ceremonies of the Delawares at the burial of the wife of Shingask. Heckewelder makes reference to the chapter in a note further on in this chapter.

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formed accordingly. Altho her complaint appeared to be no other than a Fever, yet Indian Doctors made it out to be, that She had been bewitched; when of course the Conjurer took the place of the Physician for to cure her; and under whose hands she also died.

After being once more advised by King Beaver, (whom I considered my true friend) to retire while it was yet safe; I sat out with some Traders in October, for [66] Pittsburg: and meeting on the way with the Indian Agent, Captain Allexander McKee, and M^{r}. Post: apprised them of the times — and the War which was expected. The former was going out, to receive, and provide for the Prisoners, promised to be given up at the Treaty; and the latter conside[r]ed himself safe under the protection of the former; but both were disappointed, in their views, McKee returning without Prisoners, and Post only saving himself by flight thro the Woods: and before the Winter had passed over, murders had been committed on a number of Traders, in the Woods.[1]

In the Month of Aprill if the Year 1763 a melancholy event took place at Wyoming on Susquehanna, when the principle Chief of the Delawares, East of the Mountains, named Tadeuskund, was burnt to death in his own House. Various were the

[1] This was the beginning of that Indian uprising known in history as the conspiracy of Pontiac. The frontiers were again deluged with blood. The back settlements of every colony yielded victims to the ruthless warfare waged by the tribes of the wilderness. The settlers became desperate and made efforts to exterminate the Indians within their reach without regard to whether they were friends or foes. The Paxton Boys murdered the Conestogas, and the Moravian Indians were saved only with great difficulty; they were then, as at a later period, threatened with destruction from the white people on the one side and by the pagan Indians on the other. The Governor of Pennsylvania preserved them by placing them in barracks and guarding them with the military. It was more than ten years from the time Post fled through the woods to save his life before the Moravians again sought the Muskingum with their persecuted followers, many of whom were to meet a tragic death that left a stain on the American settler.

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conjectures as to the cause of his house taking fire; but the general belief was, that it had been a premeditated act, done with the knowledge, or consent of some of the Men of the Village. It appeared probable, that, to carry the resolution into effect, Liquor had been brought into the Village, it being known that this Chief was fond of it, who after having drank to excess, had retired to his house to sleep; but no sooner was this known, than the House was discovered in flames; and to prevent a disclosure, of the Persons, who had committed the Act, every house in the Village was fired and burnt down to the ground, to make it appear, as if a general [67] conflagration had by accident taken place. Tadeuskund* had been a useful Man in his place, and to the Nation he belonged; but in the opinion of the 6 Nations, he assumed more authority, than belonged to him as a Delaware

*See Sketch of Tadeuskunds life, in Heckewelders Account of Indian Nations. Chap. XL.[1]

[1] Tadeuskund (or Tadeuskung or Teedyuscung) was born at Trenton, N. J., about the year 1705. At that time the Delawares were drifting to the westward as a result of the pressure of the white settlements. By the time Tadeuskund was fifty years old the principal part of his people had gone to the Ohio country and had carried with them the tribal chiefs. Remnants of them remained in the Jerseys and in the valleys of the Delaware and the Susquehanna. They were without any head and finally selected Tadeuskund to be their chief in 1754. Prior to 1750 he had been known as Honest-John and at his solicitation had been baptized by Bishop Cammerhoff at the Gnadenhutten mission in March of that year. His baptismal name was Gideon. He proved an unsatisfactory convert. His people were under the influence of the Iroquois, and he accompanied Paxnous when that chief invited the Moravian Indians to remove to Wajomick. Tadeuskund during the troubles on the frontiers was constantly holding conferences with both the French and the English. It was difficult to discover which he really favored; perhaps he did not know. He may be entitled to have his conduct charitably dealt with, for his people were unstable and were subject to pressure from the Iroquois and French, who constantly solicited them to act with them. Tadeuskund may have found it necessary at times to go with the views forced upon his followers and humor their conflicting inclinations. Heckewelder writes a long sketch of his life (see *History of the Indian Nations*, p. 302) and finds reason to deal

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Chief — and fearing that he might not fall into *their* measures, of joining in a new War against the English: they perhaps concerted the plan of destroying him.

kindly with him. Tadeuskund was the last Delaware chief east of the Alleghanies. At his death the Delaware scepter departed from the ancestral home of the Minsi, the Unami and the Chikelaki to be restored no more forever.

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CHAPTER VII.

AS yet the troubles, which early in the Year had begun in the western Country, had not reached the Eastern. The Susquehanna Indians travelled as usual thro the Settlements of the White People without fear — The Peace which had been enjoyed for several Years together, had in a manner done away animosities, formerly existing against the Indians; and the Christian Indians, both at Nain and Wequetank, were in a prosperous state at the time, having built for themselves and their Missionaries convenient dwelling houses — enlarged the Chapel at the former place, and enjoyed the fruits of their Agricultural labours. But in the fall of this Year (1763) the scene suddenly changed. The intelligence received of hostilities committed on the Lakes of Canada and Ohio River, caused many to entertain fears, that a repetition of the dreadful scenes of 1755 and the Years following, would take place.

[68] Such accounts were eagerly caught at by fanatics, to serve the doctrine they heretofore had held, viz: that the Indians were the Cananites, who by Gods Commandment were to be destroyed:[1] and that this not having been done by them at

[1] The belief that the North American Indians were descendants of the ten lost tribes of Israel was common in the early days of the settlement of the United States. This belief was based upon habits and customs found among the Indians that bore some similarity to those of the Israelites. Many books of the early explorers and travelers affirmed this common origin of the Indians and Jews. The Book of Mormon is the result of this erroneous belief. The Indians are Mongolians and not Semites. The idea that the Indians were the Canaanites originated in the struggle to dispossess them of the country in which they were found, and is founded on the similarity of conditions forced upon the inhabitants of ancient Canaan and the Indians by the conquest of their countries by a stronger race. Some people may have believed the ten lost tribes

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that time: the present War might be considered as a just punishment from God, for their disobedience*.

The threats of these fanatics having reached the Ears of the Christian Indians at Nain and Wequetank; they joined in an humble address to the Governor of Pennsylvania, testifying their abhorrence of the cruelties committed by their Countrymen, and begging his Excellencys protection; to which the Governor replied in a most satisfactory manner.

Soldiers being raised for the defence of the Country, it became necessary, that the Christian Indians generally, should wear a mark to distinguish them from the Enemy, lest some of them, while out on business, might be taken for Enemies, and be molested.

Yet the object of Governement in raising these Troops, was not, that real danger already existed; but for the purpose of making the minds of the People easy, who seemed much alarmed at the reports of Murders committed by Indians, tho even it had happened at the distance of some hundred Miles — to be indeed prepared in case of an emergency: yet also for to protect and guard all Indians passing and repassing on their law-[69]ful business, either for the purpose of exchanging their Peltries for other necessaries, or otherwise coming on business with the Governor of Pennsylvania: for with all the noise of real danger, the Brethren saw *as yet* none, the Indians coming to them for

*see Loskiels history.[1]

found here the descendants of the ancient Canaanites and that the old wars between them were renewed here. However absurd these beliefs were, they had their influence in their day; it has always been an easy matter to justify wrong policy and even crime by alleging religious necessity.

[1] "The fanatics revived their doctrines, published everywhere, 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."—Loskiel's *History of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Indians in North America*, Part II, p. 207.

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to trade, conducting themselves in a peaceable and becoming manner: not giving the least cause of alarm; nay even the Missionary Zeisberger, remained undisturbed, and without the least knowledge of Indian hostilities, at his Post at Wyalusing on Susquehanna, preaching the Gospel with great freedom and success to numbers, some of whom came from a great distance to hear him. The Brethren however, thought propper to apprise him of the current reports, and the danger he might subject himself to by remaining there: at the same time inviting him to return to Bethlehem.

As it sometimes happens, that from a want of authority; energy or inclination of the Officer entrusted with Troops, Acts are committed, not only dishonorable to such Officer, but also highly injurious to the inhabitants of a district — nay often to the community at large: so also here in the *outset*, an unjust and highly criminal Act — an Act of Murder was committed on harmless, inoffensive Indians, by the new levies; and that, under the very Eye of their Commander. The Indians who in *this* instance had fallen a Sacrifice, were Zachary[1] with his Wife and young Child, and another Woman related to him; who all had come to a Store, for the purpose of exchanging their

[1] "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. . . . On their return, they stayed 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 surprised 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 at 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."—Loskiel's *History of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Indians in North America*, Part II, p. 208.

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Peltry [70] for wearing Apparel, not knowing at the time that the Soldiers, who were in the house were drinking: (the Storekeeper also trading in Liquors) These Soldiers however, together with their Officers, being in a high state of intoxication, fell upon these defenceless Indians, and murdered* the whole of them.

*see Heckewelders history of Indian Nations, Chap. XLIV. page 332.[1]

1 In the summer of the year 1763, some friendly Indians from a distant place, came to Bethlehem to dispose of their peltry for manufactured goods and necessary implements of husbandry. Returning home well satisfied, they put up the first night at a tavern, eight miles from this place. [Bethlehem. Note.—This relation is authentic. I have received it from the mouth of the chief of the injured party, and his statement was confirmed by communications made at the time by two respectable magistrates of the county.] The landlord not being at home, his wife took the liberty of encouraging the people who frequented her house for the sake of drinking to abuse those Indians, adding, "That she would freely give a gallon of rum to any one of them that should kill one of these black d——ls." Other white people from the neighbourhood came in during the night, who also drank freely, made a great deal of noise, and increased the fears of those poor Indians, who, for the greatest part, understanding English, could not but suspect that something bad was intended against their persons. They were not, however, otherwise disturbed: but in the morning, when, after a restless night, they were preparing to set off, they found themselves robbed of some of the most valuable articles they had purchased, and on mentioning this to a man who appeared to be the bar-keeper, they were ordered to leave the house. Not being willing to lose so much property, they retired to some distance into the woods, where, some of them remaining with what was left them, the others returned to Bethlehem and lodged their complaint with a justice of the peace. The magistrate gave them a letter to the landlord, pressing him without delay to restore to the Indians the goods that had been taken from them. But behold! when they delivered that letter to the people at the inn, they were told in answer: "that if they set any value on their lives, they must make off with themselves immediately". They well understood that they had no other alternative, and prudently departed without having received back any of their goods. [Note.—This outrage was committed at the public house of John Stenton, which stood on the road leading from Bethlehem to Fort Allen, a short mile north of the present Howertown, Allen township, Northampton County. Stenton belonged to the Scotch-Irish, who settled in that region as early as 1728.] Arrived at Nescopeck [Note.—Nescopeck was an Indian settlement on the highway of Indian travel between Fort Allen and Wyoming Valley.] on the Susquehanna, they fell in with some other Delawares, who had been treated much in the same manner, one of them having had his rifle stolen from him. Here the two parties agreed to take revenge in their own way, for those insults and robberies for which they could obtain no redress; and that they determined to do as soon as war should be again declared by their nation against the English.

Scarcely had these Indians retired, when in another place, about fourteen miles distant from the former, one man, two women and a child, all quiet Indians, were murdered in a most wicked and barbarous manner, by drunken militia officers and their men, for the purpose of getting their horse and the goods that they had just purchased. [Note.—Justice Geiger's letter to Justice Horsefield proves this fact.] One of the women, falling on her knees, begged in vain for the life of herself and her child, while the other woman, seeing what was doing, made her escape to the barn, where she endeavored to hide herself on the top of the grain. She however was discovered, and inhumanly thrown down on the threshing floor with such force that her brains flew out.

Here, then, were insults, robberies and murders, all committed within the short space of three months, unatoned for and unrevenged. There was no prospect of obtaining redress; the survivors were therefore obliged to seek some other means to obtain revenge. They did so; the Indians, already exasperated against the English in consequence of repeated outrages, and considering the nation as responsible for the injuries which it did neither prevent nor punish, and for which it did not even offer to make any kind of reparation, at last declared war, and then the injured parties were at liberty to redress themselves for the wrongs they had suffered. They immediately started against the objects of their hatred, and finding their way, unseen and undiscovered, to the inn which had been the scene of the first outrage, they attacked it at daybreak, fired into it on the people within, who were lying in their beds. Strange to relate! the murderers of the man, two women, and child, were among them. They were mortally wounded, and died of their wounds shortly afterwards. The Indians, after leaving this house, murdered by accident an innocent family, having mistaken the house that they meant

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The Soldiers, now fearing that Zachary's four brothers, who were living at Wequetank, might revenge his death, went to that place, forbidding any of those Indians to hunt, and threatening, to kill every Indian they should meet with in the Woods: however by the repeated remonstrances of the Missionary of this place: Captain Wetterhold was at length prevailed on to desist from the measure.

Now, altho the party had nothing to dread from the Christian Indians: yet the Act he had committed — (or suffered to be committed,) on these harmless, peaceable Indians; was of such a nature, that the *Nation*, as might but natu[r]ally be expected, would sooner or later take revenge. Well would it have been, if the matter could have been adjusted, as thereby lives would have been saved: but as one licentious Act left unpunished, generally leads to another, so here a number of People embodied themselves, and as an armed Mob, threatened, that they would kill every Indian both at Wequetank and Nain; and that, without even consulting the Government thereon.

[71] Situated as the Christian Indians were, they relied more on God for their preservation, than on Man; yet every precaution was taken for their safety; and when they had to go out on their lawful pursuits: they were supplied with Passports — yet with all this, it was considered next to a Miracle, when they returned to their homes again.

After having passed nearly two Months in this situation, and frequently disturbed by false alarms; the Brethren were in the forenoon of the 8th of October apprised, that at the break of day on that morning, the house of a Mr. John Stinton*, about

*see Heckewelders history of Indians, Chap. XLIV.

to attack, after which they returned to their homes. [Note.—In this paragraph, Mr. Heckewelder briefly alludes to the *last foray* made by the Indians into old Northampton County, south of the Blue Mountain. It occurred on the 8th day of October, 1763. An account of the affair at Stenton's, on the morning of that day, in which Stenton was shot dead, and Captain Jacob Wetterholt and several of his men seriously or mortally wounded, was published in Franklin's *Pennsylvania Gazette*, of October 18th, 1763. Leaving Stenton's, after the loss of one of their number, the Indians crossed the Lehigh, and on their way to a store and tavern on the Copley creek, (where they had also been wronged by the whites,) they murdered several families residing within the limits of the present Whitehall town-

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8 Miles distant from Bethlehem, had been attacked by the Savages; and himself, together with Captain Wetterhold — his Lieutenant and several of the Soldiers with them, either killed, or mortally wounded — these being lodged in that house for the Night.[1]

Dreadful did this intelligence sound in the Ears of every one that heard it; but to the Brethren it was the more so, as no other Indians then lived in the parts, but the Christian Indians, at the two above mentioned places — Continually thro the day, were the People on the alert, seeking for further information on the subject, and making report of what they had heard; at the same time proclaiming the number of hostile Indians to be very great; some saying hundreds, while others would have their numbers considered by thou-[72]sands; and at length it was maliciously reported, and spread throughout the Neighbourhood, that the Christian Indians had been accomplices in the Act — that one Man in particular had been recognized by the Woman of the house as such; and to which She also had made Oath.

The wounded, among which were the Captain and also his

ship, Lehigh County. Laden with plunder, they then struck for the wilderness north of the Blue Mountain. Upwards of twenty settlers were killed or captured on that memorable day, and the buildings on several farms were laid in ashes.]—Heckewelder's *History of the Indian Nations* (1881), pp. 332, 333, 334, 335.

[1] See note next preceding this. At a council in Philadelphia, October 22, 1763, Governor Hamilton, in answering John "Papounan and the Wighalousin Indians," called attention of the Indians to these murders, saying: "Since we so firmly concluded and made a Peace with the Indians, Our Innocent Inhabitants, thinking no danger, and depending on your good Faith, so solemnly pledged to us, have been seized in their houses, barbarously murdered, & their little innocent Children's Brains dashed out before them. This has been frequently perpetrated, and our Brother, John Curtis, can tell you, that within these ten days, some of these Barbarous Indians have been down & killed upwards of twenty of our People near Bethlehem. These actions have enraged & provoked my People greatly; and in revenge, some of them have gone into the Indian Country to take their Satisfaction, and I do not know where they are gone."—*Pennsylvania Colonial Records*, ix, p. 68.

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Lieutenant — (both of which however died* of their Wounds) were as speedy as possible, removed to Bethlehem, where every attention was paid them, by the Surgeon and Physician of the place.

Frequent enquiries were made of the Brethren in all their Settlements in these parts; as to the steps they should take for their safety, as whereby the whole Neigbourhood were disposed to regulate themselves; and finding that these would not quit the ground; they were also encouraged to stay.

However Insults and threats were renewed against the Indians under the care of the Brethren, in consequence of the Oath the Woman (as aforesaid) had made. The Mob presenting themselves before their Village at Wequetank and threatening to murder them, if they did not soon leave the place; and the Missionary finding that no intreaties made an effect on them, it became necessary, that without loss of [73] time, this Congregation should break up, and retire to Nazareth for safety. The white settlers in the neighbourhood, not being of the Mob party, regretted their departure, believing, that while the Christian Indians continued to be their Neighbours, they had nothing to dread from the side of the Enemy; but when removed: they would be exposed to their attacks: — (a very just observation) but the Waggons had arrived, and on the eleventh day of October, the whole Congregation set out, leaving their Harvest, and many of their Cattle behind.

The Governor being informed of this sudden flight, requested that their Missionary, the Rev[d] Bernhard Grube, come to Philadelphia, so that he might learn from him the particulars — and being convinced of the falacity of the evil reports spread against the Christian Indians, he delivered himself in a very respectful manner, on the subject of the Brethrens Missions, among the Indians.

*It will be recollected, that it was Captain Wetterholds party, that murdered the harmless Indians. the same Party happening to be at this house, while the attack is made, fall victims.

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While the party that threatened, and persecuted the Christian Indians in this Quarter, were fabricating additional falsehoods, against them, with the view of thereby facilitating their destruction: the Savages were pouring in from the Northward, and laying waste the Settlements of the New England people* at Wyoming; all which was laid hold of by the above party, and alledged as another reason, why every Indian living, ought to be [74] cut off from the face of the Earth: and the Inhabitants of Nain, little more than a Mile distant from Bethlehem, who for sometime past, no more durst venture to go to that place, on their lawful business; were not only obliged to keep a watch both by day and by Night in their Town, but had even to place guards at their Chapel Doors, during divine service, from fear of being surprised, and murdered while there assembled.[1]

In this trying situation, they had patiently to hold out four Weeks, tho suffering much by the Cold at Nights. Every morning their joy was renewed, at seeing each other again, after the fears of the Night. Their hopes were; that Government would commiserate their situation, and grant them Protection.

*These People were at that time considered by the Indians, as Intruders on their Land.

[1] These New England people were from Connecticut, and claimed that the land about Wyoming belonged to Connecticut. All the old charters granted lands "from sea to sea," and it would seem that in the beginning of the English settlements it was expected that the Pacific Ocean or "the South Sea" would be found washing the western base of the Blue Ridge mountains. The Pennsylvania people called the settlers from Connecticut the "Connecticut Trespassers," and against these Governor Hamilton issued a proclamation, June 2, 1763, warning them of the danger they incurred from Indians and urging them to depart from that place, and on the 2nd of July, appointed James Burd and Thomas McKee, of Lancaster County, to "immediately take a Journey to Wyoming, with such assistance as you shall judge proper to take along with you, and use your best endeavours to persuade or drive away all the White People that you shall find settled or about to settle there."—*Pennsylvania Colonial Records*, ix, pp. 27, 28, 29.

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But alas! on the 19th day of October, one of their number, (Renatus,) an harmless Indian, and Son of aged and venerable Parents, was unexpectedly seized, as the one sworn to have been of the murdering party, and forthwith taken to Philadelphia, and imprisoned.

The Government of Pennsylvania, however sensible of the innocence of these Indians, and the falacity of the reports, purposely propogated to enrage the People against them; ordered, all the baptised Indians from both places, to be brought to Philadelphia for protection, of which the Indian Congregation being informed, they could not refrain from Weeping, considering that they were now to part, from their dearest friends, and Brethren at Bethlehem; yet resigned to [75] the will of the Lord, and in the hope, that they would be permitted the benefit of their Teachers: their Minds became easy. The Sheriff of the County, John Jennings Esqr. a Gentleman of affability and high in the esteem of those Indians, arriving by appointment, to take charge of, and safely conduct them to Philadelphia; they delivered to him, their Arms with great composure, and on the 8th of November — after attending a farewell Sermon, preached in the Church at Bethlehem by the Bishop Peter Boehler, from Psalm 5th. verse 8. "Make thy way straight before my face," taking a final leave of the Inhabitants of the place: they set out in Waggons, accompanied by several of their Missionaries and other Brethren, exclusive of those Officers of Government, who had been appointed to protect them on the way to that place; where, after having suffered much on the Journey, both by the inclemency of the weather, and from the insults and threats, thrown out against them in some places; where hanging and burning, it was said, ought to be their doom: they arrived on the 11th. instant.

Altho by order from the Governor, they were here to be lodged in the barracks: yet the Soldiers quartred therein, refused them admittance. Thus from 10 °Clock in the forenoon, to 3 in the afternoon, they were detained in the Street.

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Meanwhile a great Mob had assembled, arround them, deriding, reviling, and charging them, with all the out-[76] rages committed by the Enemy: at the same time threatening to kill them on the spot; to all which, they were silent, not uttering one word, but relying wholely on the Providence of God, to whom alone they afterwards ascribed their preservation.

The Magistrates finding that the Soldiers persisted in refusing to admit them into the barracks: ordered that they should proceed, — and while passing thro the City, not knowing where they were going, nor what would become of them: thousands were following in a tumultuous manner, until at length they arrived at Province Island, about 6 Miles below the City, where they settled themselves as well as circumstances would admit, in which the Missionaries assisted them, and held them their daily meetings.[1]

[1] "Their faithful teachers did not forsake them; the missionaries Grube and Scmick 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, [1763] 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 consid-

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Several Gentlemen in Philadelphia, especially those of the Friends (by some called Quakers) humanely endevoured to render their Situation more agreeable. Indeed this worthy class of Citizens, did from first to last exert themselves in their behalf, both in protecting them against an infuriated Mob, as also in relieving their wants. Oftentimes since, these Indians have been heard to say: that during their troubles, which lasted between one and two Years: even "the sight of a Quaker made them feel happy."

The Village of the Christian Indians at Wequetank, had been fired and burnt down to the ground, before its Inhabitants had reached Philadelphia; while at the [77] same time some incendiary in the Night, set fire to the Oil Mill in Bethlehem, which was likewise burnt down; and but for the vigilance of the inhabitants of the place, the costly Water-works, which already were in flames, would, together with other buildings, have been also destroyed.

Towards the end of this Month (Nov.) John Papunhank,[1]

ering 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."—Loskiel's *History of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Indians in North America*, Part II, pp. 215, 216.

[1] Papunhank was a Minsi Delaware. His name occurs frequently in the history of Pennsylvania between 1762 and 1765. He had a village at Wyalusing, and was a sort of Indian teacher, having invented a system of Indian morality which he preached with some success. In July, 1759, while on a

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an Indian deservedly high in the esteem of Government on account of his peaceable and friendly disposition to the English; arrived with twentyone Indians — all of the Delaware Nation and averse to the War — at Bethlehem, from Wyalusing on Susquehanna. They were conducted to Philadelphia, and there lodged with the Christian Indians.

Whilst the Brethren viewed with Gratitude the benevolence of a humane Governor, exerting himself to protect a persecuted Congregation of Indians, together with such of the Nation, who had fled from their Savage Neighbours to avoid being compelled to take up the Hatchet against their Brethren the English: a party of Fifty seven White People, bearing the Name of Christians, sat out from Paxton, for to attack and destroy a small Settlement of peaceable and inoffensive Indians in Canestoga near Lancaster — a People who had resided there for more than a Century, and whose Ancestors had been among those who had welcomed William Penn, on his first arrival in this Country; presenting him at the time with Venison &c. — these, not happening to be all at home at the time, some being scattered among [78] their white Neighbors: they murdered those they met with, to the number of fourteen Persons, Men, Women and Children; the rest learning what had befallen their friends and relations, fled, by the advice of their friendly Neighbours to Lancaster for Protection, and were there placed in the Goal for safety, where however this Mob party — now under the Name of Paxton boys: soon arrived; and having broken

visit to Nain he heard the Moravians preach and was impressed with what they said. Post preached in his village on the 20th day of May, 1760, and from that time Papunhank desired to become a Moravian. In the early summer of 1763 Zeisberger and Anthony, a converted Delaware, were sent to Wyalusing to preach, and on the 26th of June of that year Papunhank was baptized with the name of John. From that time he was called John Papunhank, and sometimes, Minsi John. At his solicitation the Moravians established a settlement at Wyalusing in 1765. He went with the missionaries to the Ohio and died on the Tuscarawas in May, 1775.

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open the Door, entered, and most cruelly murdered every one of them;[1] altho they begged on their knees, that their lives might be spared; they being *real* friends of the English. The Mob were so intoxicated with their success, that after they had finished their inhuman butchery on those truly innocent Indians: they threw their mangled bodies into the Street*, and with a

*So the public papers stated. but it ought to be *Prison Yard.*

[1] The facts concerning the "Paxton Boys" and their actions are set out in official documents published principally in volume ix, *Pennsylvania Colonial Records*, and volume iv, *Pennsylvania Archives* (Old Series). Paxton was a village on the Susquehanna a short distance above Conestoga, inhabited by Scotch-Irish settlers. It had been burned by the Indians in 1755, and many of the people killed; those who made their escape were left destitute and suffered many hardships. The settlers living there in 1763 were in many instances the relatives of those murdered in 1755. They believed, as did many other frontiersmen, that no security could be enjoyed on the borders while an Indian lived, and they were generally in favor of killing all Indians. Matthew Smith was the leader in these massacres. The first was on December 14, and the second, December 27, 1763. February 13, 1764, Matthew Smith and James Gibson submitted a list of grievances to Governor Penn, in the name of "the Inhabitants of the Frontier Counties of Lancaster, York, Cumberland, Berks, and Northampton," in which they seek to justify their acts by accusations brought against the Indians:

During the late and present Indian War, the Frontiers of this Province have been repeatedly attacked and ravaged by Skulking parties of the Indians, who have with the most Savage Cruelty murdered Men, Women and Children, without distinction, and have reduced near a thousand Families to the most extreme distress. It grieves us to the very heart to see such of our Frontier Inhabitants as have escaped Savage Fury with the loss of their parents, their Children, their Wives or Relatives, left destitute by the public, and exposed to the most cruel Poverty and Wretchedness while upwards of an Hundred and twenty of these Savages, who are with great reason suspected of being guilty of these horrid Barrbarities, under the Mask of Friendship, have procured themselves to be taken under the protection of the Government, with a view to elude the Fury of the brave Relatives of the murdered, and are now maintained at the public Expence. Some of these Indians now in the Barracks of Philadelphia, are confessedly a part of the Wyalousing Indians, which Tribe is now at War with us, and the others are the Moravian Indians, who, living with us under the Cloak of Friendship, carried on a Correspondence with our known Enemies on the Great Island. . . . . We killed three Indians going from Bethlehem to the Great Island with Blankets, Amunition, & Provision, which is an undeniable Proof that the Moravian Indians were in confederacy with our open Enemies. . . . . We humbly conceive that it is contrary to the maxims of good Policy, and extremely dangerous to our Frontiers, to suffer any Indians, of what tribe soever, to live within the Inhabited parts of this Province, while we are engaged in Indian War, as Experience has taught us that they are all perfidious, & their Claim to Freedom & Independency, puts it in their power to act as Spies, to entertain and give intelligence to our Enemies, and to furnish them with Provisions and Warlike Stores. To this fatal intercourse, between our pretended Friends and open Enemies, we must ascribe the greatest of the Ravages and Murders that have been committed in the course of this and the last Indian War.—*Pennsylvania Colonial Records*, ix, pp. 139, 140, 141.

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dreadful shout — as if they had gained a great Victory, threatened, that the Indians on Province Island (the Christian Indians, together with Papunhams peaceable party) should soon share the same fate.*

The Governor issued a Proclamation against these outrages; forbidding under the severest penalties any one to molest the Indians on Province Island; and offering a reward of Two

**Note.* That there appeared to be something unaccountable in this affair: will be seen from the following extract of a Letter, addressed to the writer of this Narrative, by a respectable and intelligent Gentleman* of Philadelphia. "There are," (says he) "few, if any, Murders to be compared with the cruel "Murder committed on the Canestoga Indians in the Jail of Lan-[79]caster "in 1763; by the Paxton boys, (as they were then called) From 15 to 20 "Indians—as report stated—were placed there for Protection. a Regiment "of Highlanders being at the time quartered at the Barracks in the Town; and "yet these Murderers were permitted to break open the Doors of the City "Jail, and commit the horrid deed. The first notice I had of this affair, was, "that while at my Fathers Store near the Courthouse; I saw a number of Peo-"ple running down Street towards the Jail, which enticed me and other lad's "to follow them. At about 60 or 80 Yards from the Jail, we met from 25 "to 30 Men well mounted on Horses, and with Rifles, Tomohocks, and Scalp-"ing Knives, equipped for Murder. I ran into the Prison Yard: and there— "O what a horrid sight presented itself to my view!!—Near the back Door of "the Prison, lay an old Indian and his Squaw" (Wife) "particularly well "known and esteemed by the People of the Town, on account of his placid "and friendly conduct. His name was Will Sock. Across him and his Squaw "lay two Children of about the Age of three Years, whose Heads were split "with the Tamahawk; and their Scalps all taken off. Towards the middle of "the goal Yard, along the West side of the Wall, lay a stout Indian, whom I "particularly noticed to have been Shot in the Breast, his Legs were chopped "with a Tomohock—his hands cut off; and finally a Rifle ball discharged in "his Mouth so that his Head was blown to attoms; and the Brains were "splashed against, and yet hanging to the Wall for 3 [80] or 4 feet around: "This Mans hands and feet had also been chopped off with a Tomahawk. "In this manner lay the whole of them, Men, Women and Children spread "about the Prison Yard. Shot—Scalped—hack'd—and cut to pieces."

*William Henry, Esqr. then an Inhabitant of Lancaster.

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hundred Pounds, [1] to any one, who should bring the two Ringleaders of the above party to justice; but it soon became evident, that their number was daily increasing, and that even in Philadelphia many were in secret connection with the ringleaders; and who paid so little regard to Governmental orders at that time that they not only publicly walked the Streets, but even presented themselves in front of the Governors house, deridingly bidding him defiance.

Every day fresh reports were raised, or brought into the City, of the intentions of the riotors; and it was evident that they became daily more daring. When therefore on the 29th. day of December, intelligence was brought to Philadelphia, that a large party of the Paxton boys were on their march, to fall on and murder the Christian Indians, the Governor seeing no other way of protecting them: sent them some large Boats, in which they were to embark and take flight [2] — and they having embarked, and proceeded to Leech Island, they were there overtaken by a Messenger, sent to them by the Governor, to inform them, that it having [81] proved to be a false alarm: they might return; yet withal advising them, to have their Boats always in

[1] The proclamation issued by Governor Penn December 22, 1763, contained the injunction against molesting the Moravian Indians on Province Island, but offered no reward for the apprehension of the Paxton Boys or others. See *Pennsylvania Colonial Records*, ix, pp. 95, 96. The proclamation issued January 2, 1764, offered a reward of two hundred pounds for the arrest of the murderers of the Conestoga Indians, but says nothing about the Moravians. See *ibid.*, p. 107.

[2] The rioters threatened to go to Province Island and kill the Moravian Indians while at Conestoga killing the Indians there. Edward Shippen closed his letter to Governor Penn as follows: "Some people say they heard them declare they would proceed to the Province Island, and destroy the Indians there." This letter was dated December 27, 1763. Governor Penn laid it before the Council on the 29th, and it was ordered that "Three Flatts & 3 small boats should be sent without delay to the Province Island for the use of the Indians, that they might, on any intelligence of the approach of the Rioters, make their escape, till more effectual measures should be fallen on for their protection."—*Pennsylvania Colonial Records*, ix, p. 100.

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Highlanders falling in, the Mob dispersed. Commissary Fox and M^r^. Logan, went with them as far as Trenton, where the latter addressed them in the name of the Governor, respecting the Murders committed on the innocent Canestoga Indians: signifying the Governors abhorrence of these Acts; at the same time delivering two Belts of Wampum, which by them, were to be forwarded to the Iroquois (the 6 Nations). With the one Belt these were exhorted, to lay down the Hatchet, and conclude a Peace; they having began the War, without a cause — and with the other, the graves of their murdered relations (the Canestoga Indians[)], were to be covered; and the Tears wiped from their Eyes.

The Speech being delivered, and the aforesaid Gentlemen about to return: the Christian Indians, desired that their humble thanks be presented to the Governor, for the many favours they had recieved during these troubles; and the Commissary M^r^. Epty, now took charge of them, and provided every thing needful for their convenience on the road.

In passing thro New Jersey, they were frequently insulted by Mob parties; however they reached Amboy in safety, where two Sloops lay in readiness, to carry them to New York; but at the moment they were to embark, an Express arrived from the Governor of that place, strictly forbidding any Indian, [83] from setting foot on New York territory; Captn. Robertson being at the same time ordered by General Gage, to prevent them from proceeding — nay even the ferrymen, were by a severe penalty, prohibited to cross the River with them. [1]

As M^r^. Epty, who had immediately dispatched an Express, with an account of these proceedings to the Governor of Pennsylvania, had to wait for further orders, the Indians were lodged in the barracks at Amboy, where they held their Meetings in

[1] The letter of Governor Colden to Governor Penn, refusing, by direction of the New York Council, to allow the Moravian Indians to enter that Province, is dated January 10, 1764.—See *Pennsylvania Colonial Records*, ix, p. 120.

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readiness — and that he further would furnish them with a guard. [1]

But as the Government at the commencement of the Year 1764 had received more certain intelligence, concerning the murderous intentions of the riotors, resolved to conduct the persecuted Congregation to a place of more safety, by sending them under an escort, by way of New York to the English Army, particularly recommended to Sir William Johnson, Indian Agent for the Crown of Great Brittain. [2]

These Indians were accordingly advised to hold themselves in readiness, to set out at a moments warning; when on the 4th. January at Midnight they left Province Island — were met below the City by two Gentlemen, (Lewis and Jacob Weiss) and by them conducted almost unobserved thro the City to the Brethrens Chapel; where a number of Brethren and friends, had met to receive them, having also provided a breakfast for them in the Chapel. Here they were visited by the Commissary Mr. Fox, who was so struck at the sight of these poor emigrants, that he immediately ordered a number of Blankets to be distributed among them; and Waggons being provided to carry the Aged, the Blind, the sick and the Children, together with their baggage, they set out accompanied by their Missionaries, by which time however a crowd of People had assembled, so that they could scarcely [82] proceed, and by whom they were cursed and reviled in a dreadful manner, yet without receiving personal injury; however, Captain Robertson [3] with the escort of 70

[1] The Council ordered a company of fifty men to be raised to guard the Indians on Province Island; this action was taken December 31.—*Pennsylvania Colonial Records*, ix, p. 101.

[2] See *Pennsylvania Colonial Records*, ix, pp. 109, 110, 111, 112. They were to be sent to New York, and from there they were to be allowed to find their way to the head waters of the Susquehanna. See Governor Penn's letter to Governor Colden, of New York, on page 112, cited above.

[3] Captain Robinson was passing through Philadelphia with a detachment of Montgomery's Highlanders, and was induced to guard these Indians on their way to New York.

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the usual order; and at which frequently a greater or less number of the White People attended — much admiring their devotion: and so delighted with their singing, that they concieved a more favourable opinion of them: nay one of the Soldiers exclaimed: "would to God all the White People were as good Christians, as these Indians!" —

Having received orders from the Governor to return to Philadelphia: they set out with cheerfulness; their guard of Highlanders being here releived by 170 Men from Gen[l]. Gage's Army, commanded by Captain Schlosser.* one party lead the Van, and the other brought up the rear.

On their arrival at Philadelphia, Jan[y]. 24th, they were lodged in the Barracks, where they were guarded by day and Night. nevertheless they met daily for divine service. It was however not long, before the [84] Mob disturbed them so much, that it was found necessary, to double the guard; especially as the ringleaders, of the above mentioned Murderers, were attempting by force, to put their wicked designs into execution, pretending that having been highly offended, by the Proclamation lately issued by the Governor: they now would not rest until all these Indians were delivered up to them.

Matters seemed now to be drawing to a crisis — certain information was received that large Mobs were marching towards Philadelphia, where already, numbers were ready to join them on their arrival.[1] The Magistrates were called on to do their duty; and there appeared no other alternative, but that of repelling force by force. Eight pieces of heavy Ordnance, were drawn up to the barracks, and a rampart thrown up in the

*an Officer deservedly esteemed by all good Men for his humanity, and manly conduct, in protecting these persecuted Indians

[1] On the 28th January, 1764, Benjamin Kendall made affidavit that on the 26th, at a tavern called the Hat, or near it, he met one Robert Fulton, who told him that in ten days fifteen hundred men would march to Philadelphia to kill the Christian Indians; that if fifteen hundred men were not enough, five thousand would assemble.—*Pennsylvania Colonial Records*, ix, pp. 126, 127.

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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, in haste had already been removed from the lower, into the upper part of the building, where, at Midnight the Governor himself, visited them, bidding them to be of good cheer: and soothing their fears, by his condescending behaviour. Several persons of distinction, likewise came, and showed their friendly disposition towards these Indians — even some remained in the barracks, supposing they would be no where more safe. [1]

Intelligence having been received on the 4th. of [85] February of the approach of the riotors: every preparation was made to receive them. The whole Town was in an uproar as The report of their Guns was already heard — The Soldiers became alarmed — the Eighteen pounders were discharged which terrified the poor Indians, they never before having heard the report to such great Guns — The rebels however, did not venture to approach — and the Citizens again returned to their homes — But in the Night between the 5th. and 6th. a report prevailing, that the rioters were again advancing: the whole Town was in motion. The Church Bells were rung — the Streets illuminated — and the Inhabitants being awakened from their sleep: were ordered to attend at the Town house, where Arms and Amunition were distributed among them — Two Companies of armed Citizens, repaired to the Barracks, and in addition four more Cannon were mounted. Thus, the following day was spent in terror and hourly expectation of the rebels — The Indians, who were sensible, that these thirsted after their blood, considered themselves as devoted to slaughter; and tho they were very thankful for the spirited exertions of Government made in their behalf, and for their defence; yet their

[1] See *Pennsylvania Archives* (Old Series), iv, pp. 160, 161, for instructions of Governor Penn to Captain Schlosser. The paper is dated February 4. The Captain was directed to repel force with force, and there is no doubt but the rioters would have received battle had they appeared.

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strongest hope was placed in the Lord — they saying: "God can help us!"

At length certain information was received, that the rioters, in consequence of the preparations made to receive them, had resolved to proceed no further. Some Gentlemen were deputed by Government, to ask [86] them, what they had to complain of, when, after much insolent behavior, they asserted, that there were several murderers among these Indians, and demanded, that these should be given up. To convince them of their error, one of their ringleaders was invited to come into the barracks, and point such out; but not finding any one, whom he could charge with any crime, the party gave out, that the Quakers had privately taken Six of the Christian Indians out of the barracks, and hid them. This being investigated, and also proving false, the riotors — (as they themselves declared,) relinquished their design; and marched off.

Altho at first it was believed, that the only object of the rioters was the destruction of all the Indians, under the idea, that these were descendants of the Cananites, who by Gods Commandment were to be cut off from the face of the Earth — it soon became evident, that they aimed at nothing short of overturning the whole form of Government — their design appearing now to be: first to cause a general consternation, thereby spreading devastation and misery over the Country: and then, to take the reins of Government, into their own hands.

The Christian Indians, however saw themselves delivered from their Enemies and therefore offered up praises and thanksgiving to God, that he had so graciously defeated their designs; and now, People of all ranks came to see these Indians, who were literally become a spectacle to thousands. The public wor-[87]ship of the Congregation, especially on Sundays was attended by crouds of attentive hearers, among whom were also some of the Soldiers, who were glad to hear the Gospel preached again, having been deprived of this benefit for several Years together. Four single Indian Women, who had lived in

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the single Sisters house at Bethlehem for several Years, but now no more were safe in that place were conducted to the Barracks; and their serene, modest appearance caused them to be respected by all who saw them, even by the Soldiery. In general the latter deserve this good testimony, that they always treated the Christian Indians with kindness; and the friendly and wise conduct of their Officers, who kept strict order among the Men, cannot be sufficiently praised.

Altho Government provided in the best manner they could for these persecuted Indians: yet their situation was a hard trial, and very afflicting to some of them; nay, considered little short of imprisonment. The high seasoned Victuals, did not agree with their Stomachs — They could have no bodily exercise — the Men were deprived of the occupation, they had been brought up to; namely that of hunting — Their living so close together seemed to them insupportable — these, and other privations which they had to endure, caused some of them to become low spirited; and they wished to be set at liberty.

To pave the way for a Peace; they, with the consent of Government, sent John Papunhank with one of [88] their Brethren, as Messengers of Peace, to the hostile Indians, to inform these, that they were all alive; and to desire them to lay down the Hatchet.

Encouraged by the reply to their Message, they addressed Government, to escort them safely to the frontiers, from whence they would find their way to Sir William Johnson; but as the War still continued, Government would not grant the request. This refusal encreased their uneasiness— Nor was this all, for as the Summer advanced, fevers and the small Pox broke out amongst them, which occasioned much dread and horror, so that many meditated their escape, yet, by the advice and perseverence of the Missionaries, who were unwearied in visiting and comforting them, their uneasiness was changed into a perfect resignation to the will of the Lord. To the sick relief was afforded by that benevolent and humane friend Jacob Weiss, whom the Lord

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alone can reward, for his great attention and labour of love.

Fiftysix of these patients were released from all misery, pain and distress, by a most happy translation into everlasting life — Most edifying was it to all who had visited them, to see with what resignation they bore their sufferings; and their cheerfulness, in the hope of soon seeing their Savior face to face. Their bodies were interred in a burrying ground, called Potters field. Poor Renatus in Prison, on hearing of the Death of his beloved father: his Wife and his Child, wept most bitterly.

[89] The time however had arrived, when this afflicted Man was to be delivered from his bonds. During his eight Months imprisonment, he spent most of his time in reading in an hymnbook. He had been frequently visited by the Missionary who had a particular regard for him. He now was taken from his Cell, and sent to Easton under a guard, there to stand a trial for the Murder of M^{r}. Stinton in the Irish Settlement, which had been sworn against him by the Wife of said Man. The Missionaries of the place where he lived at that time, together with other Brethren were summoned to attend at the trial. There were not wanting Enemies to the Brethren, who wished to have the poor innocent Indian hung — every effort was made to have him condemned. The rabble became impatient to learn the Verdict, that they might afterwards witness the Execution of a "Moravian" Indian; however the Jury brought in their verdict of n o t g u i l t y, upon which the prisoner was immediately relieved from confinement, yet on account of the Mob, who were enraged at his liberation, he had to be kept hidden untill Night, when a M^{r}. John Jones, a respectable Neighbour to Bethlehem, took him to his house, and from thence had him safely conducted to Philadelphia. It appeared that the object of the adversaries had been, to cast a general odium on Indians, said to have become *Christians*; and to render the Brethrens Missions among these People, suspected.

On the 4th. day of July (1764) the Christian Indians [90] in the barracks, had the joy to see and embrace their beloved

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Renatus; for whose deliverance they could not sufficiently express their thankfulness to God; while he, speaking out of the abundance of his heart, gave glory to the Lord his Redeemer.

In Autumn the Indians in the barracks, made another effort to procure their enlargement, and Government granted Passports to some, to go to the Susquehanna; but the proper time had not yet arrived for all to go, as it was yet doubtful whether a Peace would take place; Negociations for the purpose were however continued, and the Iroquois (the 6 Nations) being at length reconciled, they caused the other Nations also to lay down the Hatchet.

On the 4th. of Dec. 1764. the same day on which an account of a Peace having been concluded with the hostile Nations, was brought to Philadelphia: a Proclamation was published by Government, that forthwith all hostilities should cease. — The joy the Christian Indians manifested on the occasion, exceeded all description.

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CHAPTER VIII.

ALL troubles being at an end, the Indians were at liberty to leave the barracks, but where to go to, was now the great question. The Directors of the Society, feared to advise them, to reoccupy their former places, which lay within the Settlements of the Whites; and they themselves having witnessed the trouble and ill will brought on the Brethren, in consequence of their residing near them: determined to settle in their own [91] Country; and Governement being informed of their resolution, afforded them every assistance in their power to make their future situation agreeable, and themselves happy — M^{r}. Fox even procured an order, by which they were to be supplied with flower, until their harvest of Corn should be gathered and housed.

On the 18th. day of March these Indians delivered the following address* to the Governor of Pennsylvania:

"We the Christian Indians, now residing in the barracks; "and intending to return with our Wifes and Children unto our "own Country, approach unto You, to take our leave, and to "return unto You, our most sincere thanks. We acknowledge "with unfeigned gratitude, the great kindness and friendship "you have shewn 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 flower, "untill 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

*see Loskiels history. Part II. Chap. XVI.

"God. They have shewn 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 [92] Teachers, "Schmick and Zeisberger go with us into the Indian Country, "that they may continue to instruct us in this 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 English — We also "beg permission to request of You, to give us Powder and Shot, "that we may provide food on our Journey — Finally, we pray, "that God may bless You! — We the underwritten do this in "the name of all our People, remaining Your faithful friends.

"John Papunhank — Joshua —
"Anthony; — Shem Evans" [1]

This address was graciously received; and the Missionaries added their grateful thanks, both to the Governor, and to M[r]. Fox, who as Commissary for Government, had provided for these Indians during their troubles, with unwearied attention;

[1] Loskiel says this address was delivered to the Governor on the 18th of March. The address which he gives is but a condensation of the address presented to the Governor by the Christian Indians. Heckewelder copied from Loskiel. The address is fully set out in *Pennsylvania Archives* (Old Series), iv, pp. 170, 171. The signatures are as follows:

JOHN PEPUNHANG his X mark

JOSHUA his X mark

ANTON his X mark

SAMY EVANS his X mark

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to which the latter replied: "I have willingly done what I could, knowing their innocence" — The friends — otherwise called Quakers, were not forgotten by the Christian Indians, for their kindness towards them — They shewed their gratitude to all their benefactors — Their departure from the City was peaceful, forgetting all past injuries.

Arriving at Bethlehem they were well received, and rested for some time at Nain, their former place of [93] abode, where, every thing being arranged for the Journey, a farewell Sermon was preached them by their old and much respected Missionary Grube, at which a number of the Bethlehem Congregation were present; when on the 3^{d} of Aprill they broke up, and in passing thro Bethlehem, took an affectionate leave of all the Inhabitants of the place; who were assembled for that purpose — The conductors appointed by Government, to escort them part of the way; were M^{r}. Moore, a Justice of the Peace; M^{r}. Kuchline, high Sheriff; Lieutenant Huntsecker; and M^{r}. Epty, Gentlemen, whose Names are here inserted with gratitude, for their attention and kindness to those Indians. Some Brethren from Bethlehem likewise accompanied them until they had passed the frontier Settlements, the distance, to which the Waggons, with the Sick, infirm, and the heavy baggage, had been ordered to proceed.

Their route went thro Nazareth, crossing the blue and broad Mountains, and the great Pine and Beech Swamps, direct to Wyoming, from whence the principal part of them, went by Water to Wyalusing, accompanied by two Missionaries Schmick and Zeisberger. During this Journey, which was very fatiguing, several departed this life, otherwise they were of good cheer; cut out a path as they travelled along — met every evening round a fire for divine service, and reached the place of their destination, after 5 Weeks travel.

[94] They pitched next upon a convenient spot for a Town situate on the banks of the Susquehanna, about one Mile below Wyalusing Creek, where they for the present, erected temporary

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hutts for themselves, but for their Missionaries they built a tolerably good log house, and another for a Meeting house, and the place was called Friedenshutten [1] (tents of Peace). It was

[1] In Bradford County, Pa. The Cayugas called the place Skehandowa, and it was called by the Delawares, M'chwihilusing (written in various ways), meaning, as Heckewelder says, the *place of the hoary veteran.* It seems to have been known to the Indians as "the old Man's Farm," probably a variation of the meaning given by Heckewelder. It was at the mouth of Wyalusing Creek, which flows into the Susquehanna from the Northeast. The site is a creek bottom extending to the river and containing about two thousand acres of land of great fertility. The great war-path from the land of the Iroquois to the countries of the Catawbas and Cherokees passed through this strip of creek-bottom, which had, no doubt, been the scene of bloody conflicts between the warriors of those nations. The Iroquois informed the Moravians that the place was not suitable for a settlement, for the land there had been stained with blood. The missionaries Zeisberger and Cammerhoff passed through the valley in 1750 when on their way to Onondaga. The first settlement known to have been at that point was made by a band of Monseys under Papunhank, who was their leader and teacher. Post and Hay visited the place in May, 1760, on their way to a council with the Western Indians. Papunhank and his people had then built some twenty cabins in their town and they were new, showing that settlement had been recent. Papunhank visited Nain and became much interested in the Moravians, and desired a missionary to live in his town, and Zeisberger was sent in 1763. He had Papunhank for his first convert and remained there until forced to retire by the troubles incident to the conspiracy of Pontiac. Papunhank led his people to Bethlehem, accepted the protection of the Government of Pennsylvania, and was sent to Province Island, where he became incorporated with the Moravian or Christian Indians. When the war was ended the Christian Indians were without a home. Papunhank desired that they settle at Wyalusing, agreeing to secure the permission of the Iroquois for them to do so, which permission he did obtain. In April (the 3rd) the Christian Indians set out for the place; they were on the way five weeks. They were led by Zeisberger and Schmick; there were eighty adults and more than ninety children. In June, 1776, the settlement was named Friedenshutten by the Provincial Synod at Bethlehem. It remained a missionary settlement until 1772, when it was abandoned, having at that time fifty-two dwellings,—thirty-nine log cabins and thirteen huts of bark and poles. These remained vacant, silent, lonely for some years, but by 1779 every ves-

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delightful to see with what cheerfulness they set to work, at clearing and fencing in ground for to plant on — Provisions being very scarce, they had in a great measure, to look for a supply from the Woods, and in addition to what the hunter would procure in the Meat way: the Women and Children would dig wild Potatoes, and various other roots and plants, to serve as substitutes, both for bread and sauce.

The welfare of the Congregation, so much depending on its internal regulations, was not less attended to. Morning and Evening Meetings were daily held, weather permitting, and the Sundays, were entirely devoted to solemn reflection, and divine service. The Sacraments were also administered at proper seasons, and every regulation necessary for the keeping of peace and good order, made and agreed to.

Thus situated they were content and happy; and their numbers encreasing, brightened their prospect as to the future. For safetys sake, they had soon after their arrival sent a Message with a string of Wampum to the Chief of the Cayugas, (who as plenipotentiary of the Six Nations claimed the lordship, or right [95] over all the Lands on the Susquehanna:) to inform him, of their having settled on this spot, with the approbation of the Governor of Pennsylvania &c believing that this could not but meet their full approbation; but by the answer returned this was not found to be the case. The Council of Onondago had indeed welcomed them on their arrival in this Country, but objected to their living where they at present were, saying, that the land they had pitched upon, had been stained with blood,* they therefore would advise them, to come and settle at the head of the Cayuga Lake; which answer not being pleasing to the Christian

*"stained with blood." meaning the blood spilt in destroying the New England Settlement at Wyoming

tige of human habitation had disappeared, some of the houses having been destroyed by whites and some by the Indians. See *Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society*, i, pp. 181-211.

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Indians, these, in return replied after the oriental style, leaving them to guess what they meant to do. They, in fact knew the Six Nations too well, to trust to *their* word, and were not willing to be tools in their hands. However they afterward, thought proper to send a deputation of Christian Indians, accompanied by their Missionary Zeisberger, to explain matters to the great Council, and by which their objections were removed — and they permitted to stay where they were, together with their Teachers.

The Missionary Zeisberger, who many Years since, had been adopted as a Son in the family of a principle Chief of the Onondagoes, having more influence in their Councils, than the Delawares themselves, was [96] always the first Character sought for, to effect a settlement, when matters of an unfavourable nature, had taken place between the two Nations. In what *he* said, they placed full confidence; and when, at Treaties held with the White People, they missed him, they could not easily be reconciled, believing that his presence served as a check upon the Interpreters, who, (as the Indians were apt to say) would suffer themselves to be bribed — especially when purchases of Land were about being made from them.

Towards the end of the second Year of this new Settlement the Liquor traders, both Whites and Indians, came on with this article to Trade with the Christian Indians, for their Peltry: who however, determined not to suffer the Article to be sold in the town: these Traders were ordered to depart, and never hereafter attempt to impose their Liquor upon any of their People, for that, if they did, their Kegs would be stoved to pieces. The Indians indeed went off peaceably, saying: that they never hereafter would come here with that article; while the White Traders from Paxton: — (the very People — who were of the party, that were going to Murder these Indians, while they were in the barracks at Philadelphia) refused to take their Liquor away, saying: that they had a right to sell Liquor *where* — and to whom they pleased; but the Indian brethren, to whom the police of the

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place was committed, remaining firm by their resolution: they at length went off.

In other respects the Settlement enjoyed perfect [97] tranquility, during the whole time of their residing there; and increased so fast, that already in 1767 their Meeting house was much to[o] small to contain their number, wherefore they built a large and spacious Church of squared white Pine timbers, shingle roofed with a neat Cupola and bell on the top. And as they had hoped to be permitted to remain in this place for a great number of Years: they did all their work in the best possible manner, both in building and fencing, so that already at this time, there were 40 well built houses of squared timbers, and shingle roofed, in the Village; and the Gardens back of these all put into good Clapboard fence.

The Indians, who from time to time visited this place, were of various Tribes and Nations: vizt: Mohawks, Mahicans, Wampanos, Cayugas, Senecas, Onondagoes, Tutelas, Tuscororas, Delawares and Nanticoks. Famine at their respective homes, together with the general report, that the Christian Indians were an hospitable people, and at all times had plenty of provisions they being an industrious and agricultural people: may be considered as one cause of these frequent Visits; however as most of them had heard the Gospel preached while here, it was supposed that at least some of these might have also reaped a blessing. Exclusive of Visitors, travellers often passed thro their Town, some [of] whom would make a halt for a few days. Thus at one time Seventy-five Tuscorora Indians emigrating from North Carolina, to join [98] their people in the Country of the 6 Nations: made a halt, and were well provided for during their stay; while at another time fifty-seven Nanticoks, emigrating from the Seashore of Maryland; remained three Weeks with them.

In the fall of this Year (1767) the Missionary Zeisberger,

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learning that some Indians living on the Allegheny River,[1] were desirous of having the gospel preached to them; went thither, taking the National Assistant, Anthony with him — And having spent some time with them, preaching the Gospel with great freedom, he returned again on the 5th. of November. These peace Messengers had suffered much on the Journey, in travelling thro such an extensive Wilderness, interspersed with Rivers and Creeks; Mountains and Swamps; yet they thought themselves well rewarded, in having met with open Ears to hear the Gospel.[2]

In the Month of February of the Year 1768, the Christian Indians at Friedenshutten, were not a little disturbed, by the intelligence brought to their Village, that a White Man had murdered 10 Indians near Shamokin: namely: four Men, four Women and two Children.[3] They feared, that this unprovoked act of cruelty, might rouse their Nation to take revenge, in which

[1] The Allegheny River is said by Heckewelder to have received its name from the Alligewi, a people anciently living on its waters. They gave their name also to the mountain system in the eastern portion of the United States. This origin of the name is disputed by Brinton in *The Lenape and their Legends*, 229-231. He says the name may be pure Algonquin. But he has nothing certain to offer as the original of the name. He makes but a negative argument and leaves the matter in confusion. It seems established that the Alligewi were the ancient Cherokees, and that the Cherokees lived at one time on the head waters of the Alleghany and other Ohio streams there is no longer any question. The probability is that Heckewelder is right. That he is so is becoming more and more the conclusion of scholars.

[2] For a detailed account of this journey to the Ohio country see Loskiel's *History of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Indians in North America*, Part III, pp. 20-25.

[3] On the 10th and 11th of January, 1768, Frederick Stump and his servant, John Ironcutter, murdered at Middle Creek the White Mingo, a Seneca; Cornelius, a Mohican; John Campbell, a Mohican; Jonas Griffy, either a Stockbridge or Jersey Indian; the White Mingo's wife; two other women, supposed to have been the wives of Cornelius and John Campbell; two girls and a child.—*Pennsylvania Colonial Records*, ix, p. 470.

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case another War would be brought on between the two Nations. They were also greatly concerned for the safety of their Teachers, fearing that the relations of the Slain might in their rage for revenge; [99] fall upon these, as in such cases, any person having a fair skin being within their reach, is apt to fall a Sacrifice. They therefore kept a strict watch about the persons of these, never leaving them exposed.

This dreadful event being made known to the Governor of Pennsylvania, and to Sir William Johnson, the former immediately issued his Proclamation, offering a reward of Two hundred Pounds, for apprehending the murderer of the 10 Indians, promising to punish him with death; and this declaration; with two strings of Wampum, he sent to be made known to all the Indians living on Susquehanna, requesting these at the time, not to break the peace in consequence of the Murder. A Message to the same effect, was also sent by the Governor, to the Christian Indians, with a request, that these should make it known in public Assembly; and soon after a special Message was sent to the Christian Indians from Sir William Johnson, desiring if *they* knew any of the relations of those persons murdered near Shamokin, to send them to him, that he might wipe the Tears from their Eyes; comfort their afflicted hearts, and sattisfy them on account of their grievances. Sir William also invited the Chiefs of the 6 Nations, and other Tribes, of Indians living on Susquehanna, and on the Ohio, to an amicable convention. And the Christian Indians, who also had been called on to send Delegates; but having no inclination to interfere with political affairs: gave the Cayuga Chief full commission to appear and treat [100] with the rest in their Name, which act however offended their Indian adversaries, and they took occasion to perplex the Christian Indians, pretending, that Sir William Johnson, and the whole assembly of Chiefs, would consider them as Enemies, for having refused to send Deputies from among themselves, and that the consequence would be, that they would be destroyed, and their Settlement broke up. However the fears

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entertained on the occasion, were afterwards removed, on learning from good authority, that Sir William, so far from censuring them on account of their not attending these Councils, applauded their conduct, expressing the wish, that many such Indian Towns as Friedenshutten, might be established in the Country. [1]

[1] Loskiel's *History of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Indians in North America*, Part III, p. 26.

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CHAPTER IX.

PEACE & friendship being again re-established between the English and Indians, thro the exertions of Sir William Johnson [1] — and the long existing disputes between the Cherokees and the Six Nations, having at the same time been amicably settled: all fears of an Indian War vanished, and the minds of the people were set at ease. The so called King of the Cherokees, was conducted by the Oneida Chief with great pomp thro the Country of the Iroquois (6 Nations) and also to Friedenshutten; where the latter, in behalf of himself and the great Council of Onondago, applauded the inhabitants of the place, for having

[1] Sir William Johnson was born at Warrentown, County Down, Ireland, in 1715: died near Johnstown, N. Y., July 4, 1774. He was the nephew of Sir Peter Warren, who distinguished himself as a naval commander at the siege of Louisburg in 1745. Sir Peter's wife was a sister of Chief Justice De Lancy of New York, and through De Lancy he was induced to buy a large tract of land on the Mohawk. About 1734 he sent his nephew to America to look after this land. Johnson lived first at the mouth of the Schoharie, then in the town of Amsterdam. He engaged in the Indian trade and amassed a fortune; he acquired a greater influence over the Indians than did ever any other white man. In 1744 he was appointed Colonel of the Six Nations by Governor Clinton; and in April, 1755, General Braddock appointed him Superintendent of the Six Nations with the local rank of Major General. He commanded the troops at Lake George in 1757, and gained the first victory for the English in the French and Indian War. For this he was given £5000 sterling by the House of Commons; and the King conferred upon him the title of Baronet and made him Superintendent of Indian Affairs. In 1759 he captured Fort Niagara, and in 1760 he led to Oswego an army of one thousand Indians. By Lady Johnson he had one son and two daughters. By Molly Brant, sister of the chief, Joseph Brant, he had a number of children. His son, Sir John Johnson, was a noted tory in the war of the Revolution, and was the scourge of the Mohawk Valley.

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invited Teachers to come among them, for the purpose of instructing them in the knowledge of God their Creator. [1]

The joy felt by the Christian Indians at the res-[101]toration of Peace, was however somewhat lessened, by an unexpected account received some time after, that the 6 Nations had sold a large tract of Country to the English in which their fine Town and Settlement Friedenshutten was included. They justly apprehended, that this would cause them new troubles — nor were they mistaken, as will be seen in the sequel.

The Missionary Zeisberger; and Senseman [2] as an assistant

[1] The Cherokees were living when first known to Europeans about the head waters of the Tennessee and in the hill country of Virginia, the Carolinas, Tennessee, Georgia, and Alabama. The territory they claimed extended from the Ohio River to the lowlands of South Carolina. The Cherokees are supposed to belong to the Iroquoian linguistic family, though some bands or clans are probably remnants of tribes of other families conquered and incorporated in the Cherokee proper. They have traditions (in common with other Indians) that they once lived in the country between the Great Lakes and the Ohio River. The Wyandots have a tradition that they and the Delawares drove them from that country and forced them up the valley of the Kanawha. Like other tribes, the Cherokees were often at war with the colonies. And they were sometimes in the service of Virginia against other tribes. It is believed that De Soto went through their country. During the Revolution bands of Cherokees were wandering through the country along the Ohio in company with Wyandots, Shawnees, Mingoes, and Delawares. They were the hereditary enemies of the Iroquois. They were removed to the West, and are now living in the Indian Territory, where they are making much progress in civilization. They are yet a large tribe. Sequoya, a Cherokee of half-blood, invented the Cherokee alphabet, a wonderful achievement, and is numbered among the great men of the world.

[2] Gottlob Senseman was born October 9, 1745: died at Fairfield, Canada, January 4, 1800. His father, Joachim Senseman, was a native of Hesse Cassel, and was a baker; was a member of "The First Sea Congregation," which embarked in the "Catherine," Thomas Gladden, Commander, at London, March 15, and arrived at Philadelphia, June 7, 1742; leader of the colony, Geo. Piesch; was a missionary among the Indians from 1743 to 1755; ordained a Deacon in 1749; died in Jamaica in 1772; his wife, Anne Catherine, was killed

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to the Mission, together with three faithful families from Friedenshutten, had in the Spring of this Year (1768) gone to the Allegheny River, & there established a new Mission settlement.[1] They had in going there, taken every advantage of water Navigation, but at Tiaoga they were met by an Embassy of 20 Captains from the 6 Nations, who, by a belt of Wampum bid them return, it not being agreeable to them, that they should proceed. They were to be made sensible of the error they had committed, by neglecting first and foremost, to inform the Chiefs of the 6 Nations, of their intentions. Of this duty they were now reminded. The Missionary promising them, that nothing

at Mahoning in the surprise, November 24, 1755. It will thus be seen that Gottlob Senseman was inured to wilderness life from his birth. He was many times the assistant and companion of Zeisberger in journeys to the wilderness of Western New York and the upper Susquehanna; was with him in 1768 at Goschgoschunk; in 1780 went to the Muskingum and was stationed at Schonbrun; was carried away by the Half-King to Sandusky; returned to Bethlehem from the Station north of Detroit; November 9, 1790, he arrived at New Salem, Ohio; and in 1793 was sent on a business mission to Niagara. He was often the teacher of the mission schools.

[1] "During this period a resolution had been taken in Bethlehem, that Brother Zeisberger should go again to Goschgoscheunk, take Brother Gottlob Senseman from Bethlehem, and some Indian families from Freidenshutten with him, stay there sometime and endeavor to establish a regular mission. He and Brother Senseman left Bethlehem in April, 1768. . . . May 9th, they proceeded with the three Indian Brethren, Anthony, Abraham, and Peter, with their families, partly by water down the rivers Susquehanna, Tiaogu, and Ohio, and partly by land across the country. . . . 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 by 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."—Loskiel's *History of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Indians in North America*, Part III, pp. 28, 29.

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should be wanting in yet doing what, by their usages, had been omitted: they were at length permitted to proceed; but this not being such an easy matter to get over with, the 6 Nations, who would be apt to consider the act as degrading *them*, or as having lost somewhat of their superiority over the Delawares; they felt mortifyed for the moment. They however were at length pacifyed.

Zeisberger on his arrival at the Allegheny, preached [102] every day to the Indians, and it became evident, that his words had a good effect on many. They built themselves a comfortable log house, on a convenient spot, at a small distance from the Indian Village, to which all, who felt a desire to hear the Gospel, resorted.[1] Learning among other things from the Missionary, that stealing was a crime and a Sin, one Man approached him very seriously, saying: that he never in his life, had been guilty of theft, except in two instances, where he had stolen two Sheep and a Hen, the property of a white Man.* Many unfavourable reports were soon spread against the conduct of the White People towards the Indians, since these had come into the Country, & predictions were afloat, what these would yet do [to] them, if they should get a footing in this their Country. Even the Seneca Chief of Zoneshio, became enraged at the Brethrens settling here, suspecting that soon other White People would follow; build a Fort, and take possession of their Country. By some,

**Note* It was a common saying with those Indians, of the Monsey Tribe, that stealing from White People was no crime, for that these had been Thieves upon them, ever since they first came into their Country.

[1] Goschgoschuenk was on the east bank of the Allegheny River a short distance above the mouth of Canawagy Creek.

Schweinitz, in his *Life and Times of David Zeisberger*, says it was "a Monsey Indian Town on the east bank of the Alleghany, not far from the mouth of Tionesta Creek, in Venango County, Pennsylvania." As the mouth of Tionesta Creek is in Forest County, Goschgoschuenk must have been about eight miles below that point to have been in what is now Venango County. It is probable that the Monseys led in the westward migration of the Delawares.

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fears were entertained, of their being made Slaves of, should they tolerate a Preacher from among the White People, and suffer themselves to be instructed by him. Even the old Women went about, publicly complaining of the failure of many necessaries of life, & saying: that the Indian Corn was devouring by Worms — the Game began to flee the Country — that [103] neither Chessnuts nor bilberries ripened anymore; all which they ascribed to the Indians having changed their ancient way of living, in consequence of what the White Men had told them, and now this White Preacher (Zeisberger) was saying to them; when the Conjuror in turn advised, that they, the Indians make Sacrifices, to appease the wrath of the great Spirit, who was offended by the presence of these White Teachers, and at the doctrine these preached. Secret Messages were sent by the 6 Nations, to these Indians, to rid themselves in the best possible manner of this white Preacher (Zeisberger) either by banishing or killing him — a distant heathen Preacher sent a Belt to the Monsey Chief *Allemewi*, (who was a friend and warm defender of the Gospel) — declaring that if they adhered to the doctrine preached by this White Man, the Sun would burn up all the Indian Corn in the land. — Another Indian coming forward, declared: that several of his Nation, having been on a Visit to the King of England, he had cautioned the Indians, "not to listen to the doctrine of the Brethren, as thereby they would be led straightway to Hell".

Many other reports, tending to withdraw the attention of the Indians from the Gospel truths, were resorted to; among others were that of Wangomend, hitherto a silent hearer, but now a Preacher, who pretended to have had a view of the heavens, and its inhabitants — and who would persuade the Indians to believe: that, in the state they were in by Nature, they [104] were most acceptable to God. — that in the heaven of the Indians, there was a plenty of every thing — while in that of the White People, there was a scarcity. And as a last resort, the Liquor Traders were permitted to traffick in that Article; it being ex-

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pected: that what the Indians would not venture to do when Sober, migh easily be effected, when in a state of intoxication.

During all these threats and troubles, many remained faithful; and lest while in a state of intoxication, the Missionary should be murdered, these endeavoured to prevent Liquor being brought into the parts.

As the Iroquois were continually instigating the Monsys to persevere in their scheme of murdering the Missionaries — Zeisberger with the assistance of two Deputies, sent by the Monsey Chief Allemewi, made a second Journey to the principal Chief at Zoneshio*, but this Chief being from home at the time, the Council could not determine on any thing; however the opinion they gave, was favourable.

The Indian Preacher Wangomend, who now took the lead of the adverse party; continuing to urge the Indians to withdraw themselves from Zeisberger, and the doctrine he preached, and become *his* hearers: hung on in feeding them with pretended sights and Visions he had seen, whereby it had been manifested [105] to him; that the Indian doctrine in making atonement for sins, by purging the body, and having feasts and sacrifices; was the only doctrine pleasing, and acceptable to God. At one time he stated, that even some White People § who had heard the Indian Preachers with conviction, had confessed: that the Indian had the true doctrine — and that [they] themselves had resolved to adopt this their doctrine in the Spring.

While this Impostor, was harrassing the Missionary, and troubling those Indians who were desirous of hearing him: three Seneca Chiefs arrived; and having learnt that Zeisberger intended to move off with his converts and hearers, to a more convenient and quiet place: they forbade him by a black string of Wampum presented at the time, to leave the place untill further orders from the Council of Onondago — and by another String, he laid an injunction upon all the Inhabitants, for to refrain from

*by the White People called *Chinosee*.

§Traders.

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going any more to hear Zeisbergers Sermons — but this Missionary — not so easily to be frightened, stept boldly forward, and in the presence of these Chiefs, and that of the Assembly, bore a powerful testimony of the love of God revealed to Man in Christ Jesus our Lord; after which the Monsey Chief Alimi, returned an answer to the Speech of the Senneca Chiefs informing them, that they positively should leave this place, with the Missionary, and move to a more suitable and quiet place, beyond the Allegheny River. This they also carried into effect in the Spring of [106] 1769 by moving from *Goschgoshing*, (in English: *place of Hogs*) to *Lawunakhannek*. (in English: *middle branch*, or Stream) which place lay about 15 Miles to the Southwest of the former place. [1]

During a residence of not quite a Year at the first mentioned place, they had suffered so much abuse by means of Wangomends enmity, that it was astonishing they held out so long — Nor had this been all; many plots had been laid for murdering Zeisberger, if they could not otherwise get him away — yet he, with undaunted courage remained at his post and stood the shock, firmly relying for protection on him, whom he was serving.

In the Spring of the same Year (1769) a new Mission establishment was begun at Sheshequon, an Indian Settlement on Susquehanna, about 30 Miles distant from Friedenshutten, where the Brethren had long since been invited to settle for the purpose of preaching the Gospel to them; and to which place, numbers of the Delawares from the Country above, came to hear the word of Salvation, many of whom were converted and added to Christs flock.

[1] Dr. Schweinitz locates Lawunakhannek "three miles above Goschgoschunk, on the eastern bank of the river." Loskiel does not locate it in the text of his work, but on his map it is located on the north or west bank of the Allegheny River, nearly opposite the town of Goschgoschunk. The location given by Heckewelder, fifteen miles to the southwest of Goschgoschunk, is probably correct. His location would leave it on the east side of the Allegheny River.

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At Friedenshutten* the glorious work of God flourished throughout the whole Year, and many of the Visitors were awakened from the sleep of Sin, several of whom had formerly been noted transgressors. — They had also received several Visits from the Chiefs of different Nations, which had the good effect, of keeping up a good understanding between them; and [107] from some of whom, they learnt with certainty, that the 6 Nations, at the last Treaty held at Sir William Johnsons, had actually sold the very land they lived on, to the English, altho' they had in the Year 1765, formally granted and confirmed, this *same* district and spot of land to the Christian Indians.

On this occasion these Christian Indians sent deputies to the Governor of Pennsylvania, to consult him on the subject, and if possible to obtain a confirmation of the above grant from him. His Excellency having received the deputies very kindly, returned by them his answer in writing, by which he promised, that as a peaceable and quiet People, they should not be disturbed in their possessions; and that he had given orders to the Surveyor General, not to suffer any lines to be run, within 5 Miles of their Town. He also sent a favourable Message to the same purport, respecting the Land on which the Christian Indian Village, Sheshequon was built.

However the confusion and troubles which the Missionaries apprehended would accrue in consequence of the sale being made: soon became evident, by one or another Speculator coming on, and laying claim by authority — or a pretended authority, to the very land these Indians lived on, setting at the same time Surveyors they had brought on for the purpose, to run lines thro the tract, agreeable to their direction.

The 6 Nations in turn — after having treated these Indians so treacherously, in selling their land — next at-[108]tempted to unite with other Savage tribes on Susquehanna, for the purpose of drawing them by degrees, nearer, to themselves, so that they might have them entirely under their control. In this view they

* *Wyalusing*, is the proper Indian Name, of this place.

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sent a Message in 1770 to the Christian Indians, advising them to settle at or near Assinink, (in English: *the big Rock*) which however was rejected with disdain, while at the same time they were told: that the proposal they had made, was both void of honesty and common sense. Shortly after, these, (the 6 Nations) sent another Message with 2 Spanish Dollars, which their Messengers were to deliver to the Christian Indians, as *their* share of the Money for the land sold by them to the English*. but these returned the 2 Dollars with this short answer: "As we have sold no land, we can have no claim to this Money. keep it to Yourselves!"

At Goshgoshink, the Indian Preacher Wangomend, had gained a great ascendancy over his hearers, since the Christian Indians had left that place — yet it sometimes happened, that in the midst of his Joy, he had the mortification to see some of his People leave him, and join the Christian Indians.

Among the numerous visitors which had come to see the new Christian Indian Congregation at Lawunakhannek, was a most distinguished Character, [109] named Glickhican [1] (in Eng.

*by sending the 2 Dollars to the Christian Indians, the 6 Nations meant to say: that thus they had been cheated by the English, in the purchase made —that for every 5 Miles square, they received 2 Dollars.

[1] Glikhikan, Glikhickan, or Glickhican was a Delaware warrior and captain of the Wolf tribe. In his nation he was renowned for wisdom and oratory, and was chief adviser of Pakanke, his chief. He lived at Kaskaskunk. He made the journey to the missionary to confound him, but was convinced and converted. Was baptized by Zeisberger at Friedenstadt in December, 1770. He became an active and enthusiastic member of the congregation and was made a national assistant. His chief was angry at his desertion of the ancient Delaware faith, and when he met the convert delivered the following sarcastic address: "And even you have gone over from this council to them. I suppose you mean 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 wampum lying before us? Now you pretend to despise all this, and think to have found something better. Some time or other you will find your-

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the *stud* or *foremost sight on a Gun barrel*) This extraordinary Man, was, by all who knew him, both admired and dreaded, on account of his superior courage as a Warrior, — his talents in Council; and his u[n]equalled manner of delivering himself as a National Orator, or Speaker; he at that time being first Councellor, to the Chief of the Wolf Tribe, *Pakanke*,[1] at Cascaski, (Cusheushke) on the big Beaver. — This Man, with the approbation of his Chief and the Council, had undertaken to go purposely to Lawanakhanek, there to dispute with, and confound the Missionary Zeisberger, on the doctrine he was preaching to the Indians. Altho he had thought himself armed at all points, sufficiently to withstand any white preachers doctrine: he had the good sense not to begin the contest, but suffer the Missionary to preach as usual, until he should be able to detect doctrinal errors. Having attended the preachings of Zeisberger for that purpose; he was so struck with conviction of the truth of what he heard, and feeling the power of the precious Word; that he, where ever he came — and on his return to Cushkushke: reported favourable of the Missionary and his Converts, which was the reason that in the Year following, these were invited to come and settle in that Country.

The declaration of this so much admired Man, effected also

self deceived." At the time of his baptism he was named Isaac. Much will appear in the text concerning him. He was one of the Moravian Indians murdered at Gnadenhutten by Williamson's party. Heckewelder relates an interesting incident of his killing the child of a white woman captured by his band on a foray into the white settlements. He repented of the act as long as he lived and never forgave himself for what he called the cowardly act. See Heckewelder's *History of the Indian Nations*, pp. 341, 342.

[1] Pakanke was a powerful chief of the Wolf tribe of the Delawares, and his town was Kaskaskunk or Cusheushke on the Big Beaver. His chief captain and adviser was Glickhican, who became a Moravian much to the disgust of Pakanke, who made an angry speech when he met his former counselor. He was first friendly to the missionaries, but became indifferent and then hostile. However, he at length accepted them and advised his children to hear and believe the Gospel. His son was baptized in 1775.

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a change in the minds and conduct of the Chief and Council of Goschgoshink, who now, instead of forbidding their People, to go to hear the Missionary [110] preach: encouraged them to go; the consequence of which was: that many went — heard and believed, and joined the Congregation at Lawunakhannek, while Wangomend the Indian Preacher, finding himself deserted by those who had hitherto supported him: now sought to gain the good will of those he had hitherto persecuted.

The favourable change which had taken place since Glickhican had been here, encouraged the Congregation at Lawunakhannek to build a new Meeting house, sufficiently large to contain a great number of hearers; and the hopes in a permanent Peace, added to their happiness; yet as to the latter, they soon found themselves mistaken, for the Seneccas their Neighbours — and withal the most reastless Tribe of the 6 Nations, had sought to pick quarrels both with the English and the Cherokee Nation. Their complaint against the former was, that of having been cheated out of so much of their Land, and here they declared: that to revenge the injustice done them, they could never do the English sufficient injury. That by the Treaty concluded between the 6 Nations and (the Cherokees,) ample satisfaction had not been made them; and that therefore, they would take it upon themselves to obtain this. Having afterwards sent their Warriors out against the Cherokees, two of these fell into the hands of the latter, who, after upbraiding them for the faithlessness of their Nation, in not abiding by the conditions agreed [111] upon at the last Treaty — where both Nations — they and the 6 Nations, were to hold the peace belt fast with *both* their hands: — they cut the fingers of both the Prisoners hands off, sending them home to their Chiefs with this message: namely: "We had "concluded a peace with each other, by which we both were to "hold the Chain of friendship fast with *both* our hands. *We* have "done so, but as You did not, we conclude that you have no use "for fingers, and therefore have cut them off, to rid You of useless "Members."

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CHAPTER X.

HOSTILITIES having commenced between these 2 Nations [Cherokees and Senecas] [1] — and the Christian Indians, wishing to withdraw from their hostile Neighbours: they accepted the friendly offer so repeatedly made to them, by the Chiefs of Cushkushke, of coming and settling on big Beaver River. And having in consequence informed the Chiefs at Goschgoshink of their intention, these had no objection to their going, only wishing that the Missionary, might forgive and forget past injuries committed by them, which being readily granted, they parted as friends, and being ready, they on the 17th day of Aprill 1770. set out in 16 Canoes, passing down the Allegheny River to Pittsburg — thence down the Ohio to

[1] In the confederacy of the Iroquoian tribes known to the English as the Six Nations the Senecas were one of the principal tribes or chief nations. The league was known to the Indians forming it as the "Long House," and the Senecas being on the western limits were appointed as "Keepers of the Western Door." This was an important trust, for the confederacy extended its sovereignty to the Mississippi and maintained an oversight of all the tribes living between them and that stream. The Illinois confederacy lived along the Wabash and to the west and north of that river by permission of the Six Nations. The Wyandots were in a way annexed to the confederacy and were given the land about the Detroit River and south to the Ohio and up that stream to its head waters on the north and west bank. The Delawares, Shawnees, Nantikoks, Conoys, and other fragmentary tribes who were pushed westward by the whites settled in the Wyandot country by direction of the Six Nations and with the permission of the Wyandots. As the country was taken by the white settlers the power of the Indians decreased, and circumstances enabled different tribes to become in a manner independent of the Iroquois, though the confederacy exercised much power over all the tribes until the treaty of Greenville. It was more at the direction of the Iroquois than of their own inclination that the tribes made the long struggle to have the Ohio River made the line between the United States and the British possessions.

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big Beaver; thence up the said River for about 20 Miles from the Mouth, where they halted, and commenced making a Settlement calling the place Langundowi-Oteney.[1] (in English: *Peace Village,* by which Name I shall call this place in the sequel.) They had met with no other difficulty on the Voyage, except [112] a delay of 2 days, where, at the falls of Beaver, they had to drag their Canoes, and carry their baggage a Mile over Land, but were here met by *Glickhican,* with hands to help them.

On the arrival of these Christian Indians, the neighbouring Indians were astonished to see People of their Nation differing so much in their manners and behavior from themselves; and to hear a doctrine preached, they never before had heard. The Chief came from Kushkushke to welcome them, but the scene soon changed, when he saw, that his first Councellor, Glickhican left him, and joined the Christian Indians. Indeed the loss of this Man, was considered a partial loss to the whole Nation.

While Pakanko, the Chief, and Glickhican, were contending together on the propriety of such conduct,[2] a Black belt of Wampum, which had been brought on from the great Council at Gekelemukpechink[3] (in Eng: *still Water*) was laid before the Chief, containing the following notice & advice: namely,

[1] Loskiel writes this Indian name "Languntoutenuenk," and is followed by Dr. Schweinitz. It was on the east bank of Beaver River in the south part of what is now Lawrence County, Pennsylvania, perhaps near the town of Wampum. Dr. Schweinitz locates it "between the Shenango River and Slippery Rock Creek," which is very indefinite. Kushkushke, or Kaskaskunk, was farther up the river, probably on the site of the present town of New Castle. An older town of the same name was at the junction of the Shenango and Mahoning. On Loskiel's map all these points are erroneously located.

[2] See speech of Pakanke to Glickhican in note containing sketch of the latter, ante.

[3] Gekelemukpechunk was the principal Delaware town at that time, and was the seat of government of the Delawares, the great council house being there. It was near the present town of Bolivar, Stark County, Ohio.

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"that in consideration of an epidemical disease, which had raged "among them for some time, carrying off great numbers of Dela- "wares; — and believed to have been brought on them by the "power of Witchcraft; some of the Councellors were of the "Opinion, that by embracing Christianity, the contagion would "cease. That therefore they were unanimous, that this remedy "should be resorted to; and that they hereby declared: that the "Word of God should be received by them — and further, that "who-[113]ever should oppose the measure, ought to be consid- "ered an Enemy to the Nation.["]

This resolute and sincere Message, so favourable to the cause of the Brethren, silenced their Adversaries, and was in a great measure, the cause of the prosperity of the Brethrens Mission from this time forward. A misunderstanding, from a belief, that the Christian Indians were averse to contribute to the support of the affairs of the Nation, being also removed, by their declaring: "that tho they never intended to interfere "with State affairs, nor with Wars; yet they would always be "willing to bear their share of the public burden for peace "measures; and in fact towards all measures resorted to, and "adopted for the welfare of the Nation, provided such measures "had no tendency to molest either the White People, or any of "the Indian Nations"; they openly declared: "that the Brethren "should not only be tolerated throughout the Nation, and be "at liberty to preach the Gospel wherever they pleased: but "should likewise be considered as adopted into their family". —

Encouraged by this declaration, the new comers set about building for themselves comfortable dwelling houses, and a spacious Chapel of squared timbers; and the inhabitants increasing in numbers, the Missionary Youngman [1] and Wife, who

[1] John George Jungman (Heckewelder uniformly writes it Youngman) was born April 19, 1720, in the Palatinate: died at Bethlehem, Pa., July 17, 1808, aged 88 years. He was by trade both a cooper and a miller. He came to America with his parents in 1741; settled at Oley, Berks County, Pa., where he became a Moravian against the wishes of his family. In 1744 he went to

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many Years since had been in the service of the brethrens Mission, both in Connecticut, and Pennsylvania, being sent [114] for at their post on Susquehanna: arrived at this place (Peace Village) in Oct. of the Year 1770.

The invitation given by the great Council at Gekelemukpechink, extended not only to Zeisberger and the Congregation settled on Beaver Creek; but a deputation was also sent in the Year 1771, to the Christian Indian Congregation at Wyalusing and Sheshequon on the Susquehanna, inviting these to come on with their Teachers, and settle on the Muskingum, (in Eng: *Elks Eyes*) where they would be received as friends, and have the choice of Land, on which they might live in peace and safety — and as a proof, that by sending this Message, no evil was intended, they requested Zeisberger, to certify their sincerity by a Letter in his own handwriting, which [he] having done, Wangomend immediately set out with the dispatches — and having delivered the same to the Christian Indians at Friedenshutten (Wyalusing) and Sheshequon: he received the short answer; "that they thanked the Chiefs on Muskingum for their "kind interposition in their behalf* but that at present they "were too heavy§ to rise — that when they should have lightened

*alluding to their being distressed, by the 6 Nations who had sold their Land to the English.

§"too heavy." meaning they had their whole harvest of Corn and Vegetables on hand—it being the fall Season.

live in Bethlehem; married Margaret, widow of Gottlob Buttner, in 1745. He served the Church in the work among the Indians for a long period; was Zeisberger's assistant on the Beaver in 1770; in 1772 was sent to Schonbrun, where he remained for five years, returning to Bethlehem in 1777 on account of his wife. In 1781 he and his wife came out to the Muskingum with Zeisberger, who had just been married and was bringing his wife with him to the mission. He was carried away by the warriors to Sandusky with the missionaries and congregations and went through all the vicissitudes incident to that captivity. He was retired at the age of sixty-five and spent the remaining days of his life in Bethlehem.

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"themselves, they would inform the Chiefs, and give them a "decisive Answer".

Sometimes after the Chief Netawatwes[1] repeated the [115] invitation in a more pressing manner, in which the Wyondots, (whom the Delawares call their Uncles,) joined; assuring the Christian Indians: that they would give them sufficient Land; and never sell the ground under their feet to the White People, as the 6 Nations had done to them.

The Brethren at Bethlehem, being disposed to consult with

[1] Netawatwees was chief of the Turtle tribe of the Delawares and head chief of the Delaware nation. It was under his rule that the Delawares migrated from the Delaware to the Ohio. He settled, by advice of the Wyandots, on the Cayahaga (Cuyahoga) River, leaving the Big Beaver and the Muskingum for those of his people who should come into the country later. King Beaver settled the Turkey tribe at the mouth of the Tuscarawas. Netawatwees is said to have been one of the ablest men that ever had direction of the affairs of the Delawares. His rule was mild but firm and dignified. He placed matters of importance before the council and did not express his views until they had been discussed, when he would make known his own views. He was one of the signers of the Conestoga treaty in 1718. He was in the French and Indian War against the English, and was afraid to meet Colonel Bouquet in 1763, making an effort to escape in a canoe down the Muskingum, but was captured by Bouquet's Indian scouts and carried before the Colonel, who deposed him from his office. As soon as the army was out of the country the council reinstated him, and he held the chieftainship until his death. The Moravians sent messengers to him at Gekelemukpechunk, the seat of the Delaware government, in 1773, to inform him of the arrival of another missionary and crave the protection which he had promised. He was not well pleased that another missionary had come into his country, and remarked "they have teachers enough already, for a new one can teach nothing but the same doctrine." But he was induced to give his consent. Afterwards he became a convert to the Moravians. In a speech to Pakanke he said: "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 testimony to our children and posterity, that we have received the word of God. Let this be our last will and testament." He died near Fort Pitt near the close of 1776, and is said to have been at his death almost ninety-nine years old.

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the Christian Indians on the Subject, the Bishop Nathanael Seidel, together with 2 Directors of the Society from Europe, who at that time happened to be here, undertook the Journey to Friedenshutten (Wyalusing) and having had a consultation with them on the subject, the final decision was postponed to a future day; meanwhile however some families, who had signified a wish to agree to the proposal of the Chiefs, were gladly permitted to set out for thither, this fall.

The 2 Brethren from Europe — Gregor and Loretz, who had never before seen a Congregation of North American Indians, were uncommonly delighted — and having passed some days with them, during which time they neglected no Opportunity of seeing them in their various occupations — their Meetings, and conversing with them on their inward experience — also administering holy baptism to several, who were desirous for it, and had given proof of their sincerity; stood astonished, thanking the Lord for his mercies and goodness — and praising his Name for what he had done to these heathenPeople.

[116] The Missionary Zeisberger, having in the Summer of the same Year 1771. come on a visit to Bethlehem, now went himself, accompanied by the writer of this Narrative: to Friedenshutten; and having with the Indians there deliberated on the expediency of their continuing where they were, or removing to some other place, were unanimous in the opinion: that as there Lands were sold, and the White People becoming troublesome — often imposing Liquor on them, there was no prospect of their living in undisturbed Peace: that they therefore would accept the offer of the Chiefs on the Muskingum, and the next Spring move thither in a body.

In September the above mentioned Missionary (Zeisberger) returned to his post on Beaver Creek, accompanied by the writer of this, who was to be an assistant to him. During his 4 Months absence, some new Members had joined the Congregation; while on the other hand new Enemies had sprung up, among whom was a new Preacher, who had already propogated

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such lies among the Indians, as he imagined would sufficiently serve the purpose, of having the Missionaries banished out of the Country, Of Zeisberger he said, that "it was well known among the White People, that he was a seducer of Indians, for the purpose of having them transported as Slaves, where they would be harnessed to the Plough, and whipped to work &c". Added to this, there were among the Indians rumors of a War soon taking place, [117] in consequence of several heinous Murders which had lately been committed by White People on harmless inoffensive Indians: which seemed to hold out sufficient provocation for this step. Indeed scattered Indians, living near to the Ohio River, were already fleeing to the respective inland Villages; some threatening to take revenge on the Missionaries, they being of the same colour as the Murderers. At length Liquor being procured for the executing of their diabolical design while in a state of intoxication, the Brethren kept a strong guard over their Missionaries; the Ind^{n}. Sisters having already fled to the Woods for safety.

The Storm however blew over; and altho some could not be reconciled to the Brethrens being tolerated in the Country: others respected them, and encouraged one another, to go and attend their meetings. Even the Chief Pakanke, advised his own Children, to go and hear the Gospel preached, and also to believe what they should hear.

The Chiefs of Gekelemukpechink (distant about 90 Miles) having early in the Year 1772, with great earnestness renewed the request, that the Brethren might come to their quarter of the Country: Zeisberger with 5 Indian families, in all 20 Persons, set out on the 14th of Aprill for that place; and arriving on May the 3^{d}. at the spot, which to them appeared to be most convenient and advantageous for a Missionary Settlement: they built temporary Cabins; cleared Lands, and planted it, giving the [118] place the name of Shoenbrun, [1] (in Eng. *fine Spring*)

[1] It was about two miles southwest of the present town of New Philadelphia, and on the west side of the Tuscarawas. It was built on the site of an

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and in the Indian language [()"Weelhick Thuppek".) and here, as in their other Missionary establishments: they had daily Meetings.

abandoned Indian town, perhaps a Wyandot village which had been abandoned when the white people began to come into the Ohio Valley. "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 Friedenstadt. 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 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." —Loskiel's *History of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Indians in North America*, Part III, pp. 73, 74.

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CHAPTER XI.

MEANWHILE the two Congregations on Susquehanna had been preparing for their emigration; and the 6 Nations now seeing they were in earnest to leave the Country, became much displeased at this. They first attempted to discourage the Christian Indians from going there, by insinuating, that all the Land in that Country, was stained with blood — that even the Rivers were of the colour of blood*. — Next they attempted by fair words and promises, to remove from the minds of these Indians, their former treachery towards them — they offered so to unite with them, that they would be as tho they were but one body — they hoped the little Bird they had heard singing, had sung§ to [119] no effect. When however, after all their address, they found these resolved to go: they requested a continuance of the friendship & good will of the Christian Indians; who in return asked the same favour of them.

Friedenshutten (Wyalusing) now about to be forsaken, was a favourite spot of the Christian Indians, having both natural advantages, and artificial charms. The Town had been regularly laid out, and built for the greatest part of squared

*figurative expression, when speaking of a Country in which bloody Wars had been carryed on.

§the "singing of a bird" (as the Indian phrase is,) applys to all such accounts, sayings or even Messages which do not appear to bear the stamp of authenticity. Now altho the Message sent to the Christian Indians, from the Chief and great Council of the Delawares on the Muskingum, for these to come into their Country &c was to its fullest extent authentic: yet the 6 Nations who would still be considered as the great head of the whole, not being first consulted thereon: strove to turn the whole proceedings of the Delawares into ridicule, as tho, the great Council of their Nation, were no more than so many birds—and their resolutions and Messages, to be considered as the song of birds which had passed by.

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white Pine Timbers. Their Chapel was an ornament to the place. Most of their Garden lots were put under good palings — their fields in fine order and cultivation; and a number of Fruit Trees planted out in proper places. This improvement, on which 7 Years labour had been expended, was now taken off their hands, without making them the smallest recompense. The Friends (Quakers) however, according to their generous custom, sent them One hundred Dollars, as a mark of their friendship to them, which they received with gratitude. Being in readiness to set out on the Journey. and the rev[d]. John Ettwein [1] of Bethlehem, whom they had solicited to accompany them to the place of their destination, having arrived; they met for the last time in their Chapel, to offer up thanks and praises to the Lord, for the many favours, and blessings received from him in this place; and further to supplicate his peace and protection, not only during the Journey, but at all times, and in all situations. And lastly: the Indians [120] having taken an affectionate leave of their much beloved Teachers — the Missionary Schmick and Wife, they set out, their number amounting to 241 Persons, including the Missionary Rothe, [2] his Wife and Child, who were to remain with them wherever they went.

[1] John Ettwein was born in Freudenstadt, Wirtemberg, June 29, 1721: died at Bethlehem, January 2, 1802. One of the ablest of the Moravian missionaries. He had the direction of affairs during the Revolution, and his greatest achievement was the preservation of the Church in that trying period. He united with the Moravians in 1740, but did not come to America until 1754, reaching Bethlehem in April of that year. His first work was in the schools of his Church. In 1758 he was sent to Wachovia, one of the stations of the Moravians in North Carolina. In 1762 he visited the German settlements in South Catolina, and in 1765 he went to Ebenezer, Georgia. He returned to Bethlehem in 1766. He was ordained a Bishop in 1784, and in 1789 he went to Europe to attend a General Synod at Herrnhut.

[2] John Rothe was born of Catholic parents in Brandenburg, February 3, 1726: died at York, Pa., July 22, 1791. He was by trade a locksmith. He united with the Moravians in 1748, and in June, 1756, he arrived at Bethlehem. February 4, 1769, he was sent to Sheshequin, on the right bank of the

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The Journey was long, teadious and fatigueing, and proved a practical School of patience to the Missionaries with them. Some had set out by land with the Cattle, having exclusive of horses for carrying the Sick and the baggage Seventy head of horn Cattle to take care of — while others took advantage, of Navigable Rivers and streams as far as was practicable to proceed; and such had the charge of all bulky and heavy Articles, such as Plough Irons, harrow teeth, pick axes — all kinds of farming Utensils and Tools; Iron Potts and large brass Kettles for the boiling of Maple Sugar &c — as also of the Provisions. The land travellers, however, had the most difficult part to perform. for they often had to penetrate with their Cattle thro incredible thickets and Swamps; wading thro Rivers and brooks — crossing hills and Mountains — enduring most tremendous thunder Storms, being exposed to the bite of the rattle Snake, which in some particular places were very numerous, and by which some Horses were bitten, and died — and above all, suffering by the bite of that most tormenting insect, the sand fly, which in some places are so abundant, that they almost resemble a fog in the Air. Such in particular was one place, to which the Indians many Years since had given the [121] Name of "Ponks Uteney["]* which signifieth: the habitation of the Sand fly, (or Gnat) Not a moments rest was to be expected at this place otherwise than by kindling fires, throughout the Camp

*The Indian Tradition, as related at the time (1772) runs thus: that about 30 Years ago an Indian Hermit had dwelt here on a Rock, who being a Magician, would appear to travellers and hunters in different garbs, frightening some, and murdering others—that at length a Valiant Chief surprised and killed him. Thus far, the Indians all say that the Story is true. but fabulous reports add: that the heroic Chief having burnt the Hermits bones to Ashes, he threw the same into the Air for to be blown off, but instead of this, the Ashes turned into "Ponksak." *Sand flies.*

Susquehanna, about twenty-four miles north of Wyalusing. He remained there until May 5, 1772, when he went with the Indians to the Western missions on the Ohio. He seems to have been a faithful laborer among the heathen, but did not make the reputation others did.

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and sitting in the smoke. Added to this the travellers had unfortunately taken the Measles on the Journey, of which many became sick, especially of the Children, several of whom died, among the rest a poor Cripple, 10 or 11 Years old, who had thus far been carried in a basket by his Mother, on her back. Otherwise they were well supplied with Meat provision from the Woods, the hunters having killed upwards of one hundred Deer in the Eight Weeks, they had been on the Journey.

On the 5th. of August the first division, under the directions of the Revd. John Ettwein, arrived at Peace Village on big Beaver; and some days after, the other division with their Missionary Rothe and family, also arrived, when thanks and praises were offered up to the throne of Grace; for the protection granted, them in innumerable cases, and the dangers to which they had been exposed — as also, for having granted them, that mind and heart, to continue in love and Peace together. During the whole of the Journey, the meet-[122]ings were daily held by the light of fires, weather permitting.[1]

1 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 to 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 discernable in some places, so that it appears almost impossible to conceive how any one 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. In one part of the country they were obliged to wade thirty-six times through the windings of the river Munsy. . . . The party which went by water were every night obliged to seek a lodging on shore, and suffered much from cold. Soon after their departure from Friedenshutten 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 Susquehanna occasioned immense trouble and frequent delays. However by the mercy of God they passed safe by Shamokin, 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 altogether 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. The venomous creatures destroyed several of the horses by their bite, but the oxen were favored by being driven in the rear. . . . 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 danger-

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Soon after the arrival of these Emigrants, the revd: John Ettwein, David Zeisberger (who had a few days before, purposely come on to Peace Village to meet the Emigrants) and the writer of this Narrative, together with the greater part of the Indian B^{rn} and Sisters that had come from Wyalusing and Sheshequon: set out for Shonbrun on Muskingum; and arriving there on the 23^{d} of the Month (Aug.) were all highly pleased at seeing this new Mission Establishment; but as it now became necessary, that the Brethren and Christian Indians, should inform the Chiefs officially at Gekelemukpechink, of the arrival of their friends and relatives from Susquehanna, &^{c} they appointed a delegation for the purpose, chusing John Papunhank for their Speaker. These were well received by the Chiefs and National Council, & the Compliments usual on such occasions, having been exchanged, they returned again.

During the stay of the rev^{d}. John Ettwein, the rules of the Congregation, as agreed to, and approved of by the national Assistants: were read and accepted of by the whole Congregation. These are as follows:

1. We will know of no other God, nor worship any other, but him who has created us, and redeemed us with his most precious blood.

2. We will rest from all labour on Sundays, and attend the usual Meetings on that day (it: divine service)

[123] 3. We will honor Father and Mother, and support them in Age and distress.

4. No one shall be permitted to dwell with us, without the consent of our Teachers.

5. No Thieves, Murderers, Drunkards, Adulterers, and Whoremongers, shall be suffered among us.

ously entangled in the stirrup. Another time she fell into a deep morass. . . . July 29th, they left the mountains and arrived on the banks of the Ohio, where they immediately built canoes, to send the aged and infirm with the heavy baggage down the river. Two days after that were met by Brother Heckenwaelder and some Indian Brethren with horses from Friedenstadt, by whose assistance they arrived there on the 5th of August. . . . August 19th, the Brethren Ettwein, Zeisberger, and Heckenwaelder went to Schoenbrunn, where they arrived on the 23rd.—Loskiel's *History of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Indians in North America*, Part III, pp. 77, 78, 79, 80, 81.

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6. No one that attendeth Dances, Sacrifices, or heathenish festivals, can live among us.

7. No one using *Trehappich*, (or Witchcraft) in hunting shall be suffered among us.

8. We will renounce all juggles, Lies, and deciets of Satan.

9. We will be obedient to our Teachers, and to the Helpers (National Assistants[)], who are appointed, to see that good order be kept, both in and out of the Town.

10. We will not be idle and Lazy — not tell lies on one another — not strike each other — We will live peaceably together.

11. Whosoever does any harm to anothers Cattle, Goods or Effects &c shall pay the damage.

12. A Man shall have only one Wife — love her, & provide for her and the Children. Likewise a Woman shall have but one Husband, and be obedient unto her [him]. She shall also take care of the Children, and be cleanly in all things.

13. We will not permit any Rum, or spiritous Liquor, to be brought into our Towns. If Strangers or Traders happen to bring any the Helpers (National Assistants.) are to take it into their posession and care, and [124] not to deliver it to them until they set off again.

14. None of the Inhabitants shall run in debt, with Traders, nor receive Goods on Commission for Traders, without the consent of the National Assistants.

15. No one is to go on a Journey or long hunt, without informing the Minister or Stewards of it

16. Young People are not to marry without the consent of their Parents —and taking their advice.

17. If the Stewards or helpers apply to the Inhabitants for assistance in doing work for the benefit of the place, such as building Meeting and School houses, clearing and fencing Lands &c. they are to be obedient.

18. All necessary contributions for the Public, ought cheerfully to be attended to.

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The above rules were made, agreed to, and addopted at a time when there was a profound Peace; when however, 6 Years afterwards during the revolutionary War, Individuals of the Delaware Nation took up the hatchet to join in the conflict: the National Assistants proposed, and insisted on having the following additional rules added: namely,

19. No Man inclining to go to War — which is the shedding of blood — can remain among us.

20. Whosoever puchases Goods or Articles of Warriours— *knowing* at the time that such have been stolen or plundered: must leave us. We look upon this as giving encouragement to Murder and theft.

According to custom, these rules were at the commencement of every Year, read in public meeting — and no new Member, or applicant, could be permitted [125] to live in the Congregation, without making a solemn promise, that he or she would strictly conform to them. And in case any Person residing in the Congregation gave open offence, or caused disturbance, it was, the duty of the National Assistants, first to admonish such Person or Persons in a friendly manner; but where such admonition proved ineffectual, then to consult together for the purpose of publicly putting him, her or them out of the Society, &, dismissing such altogether from the place. Next to these Rules, other necessary and proper regulations were made, and adopted, as for instance, respecting the daily Meetings, and the duty of church Wardens — Schools; attending to Visitors, and attention to be paid to the poor, Sick and needy, or distressed — and also with regard to contributions to be made from time to time for the benefit of the Congregation at large, as also individuals in the same, unable to support themselves, or furnish the necessary attire for the deceased, so that the poorest person in the community, was dressed as a Corpse, as decent as the wealthy &c.

The revd. John Ettwein having again returned to Bethlehem, with the most sanguine hopes, and pleasing prospect of the

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future success of the Mission; the new arrived Emigrants, went to work with great cheerfulness, in erecting houses, and preparing grounds for planting the next Season. And that part of the Congregation of the Mohican Tribe, which in order to procure Provision for the Winter had made [126] a halt on Beaver Creek, having now also come on: they were advised to settle 10 Miles lower down the River, where they built a Town, which they called Gnadenhutten.[1]

The Missionary Zeisberger accompanied by two Indian Brethren also paid a visit to the Shawanos at Waketameki,[2] about 50 Miles down the River, where he was well received, and preached the Gospel to a number of attentive hearers.

The neighbouring Indians, having within the last Year become very troublesome to the Christian Indians residing on big Beaver; and when drunk having come on purpose to murder the Missionary Rothe; it became the wish of the Inhabitants of the place to leave this Settlement entirely, and join their Congregations on the Muskingum; accordingly on the 13th. of Apr. 1773, this otherwise handsome Village was evacuated; one part of the Congregation, travelling across the Country by Land, and the other division, accompanied by the writer of this Narrative, in 22 Canoes, loaded with the baggage, Indian Corn &c by water, first down the big Beaver to the Ohio; thence down this River to the Mouth of the Muskingum; thence up this River, according to the Course of the River, near 200 Miles to Shonbrun, the place of destination.

[1] Gnadenhutten is eleven miles south of New Philadelphia, and is on the east side of the Tuscarawas River. The old town first settled by the Moravians and Indians was just east of the present town.

[2] There was a town with this name on the Miami River, just below the present town of Zanesfield, in Logan County, Ohio. It was written in many ways: Wapatomica, Wappatomica, Waukataumikee, Wagetomica, Wapatomika, Wakatomika, Wachatomakak, Waccotomica, Wakitamiki, Waughcotomoco. It was sometimes called "the upper Shawanese village" because there were no Shawnee villages above it on any of the branches of the Miami. There was another town of this name on the Muskingum below what is now Coshocton.

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The Delawares Nation taught by sad experience, to mistrust the Acts of the 6 Nations, thought they [128] could plainly see into the policy of this Act, which (said they) was that of involving those Tribes, who actually did claim these Lands, in a War with the English, whereby the former would be weakened, while their, (the 6 Nations) power or authority over all the other Indian Nations, would be substantiated.

Reports were also at this time in circulation, that Quarrels had arrisen between several Indian Nations; and that in some instances Acts of hostility had been committed — Likewise, that the Cherokees had declared War against the Wawiachtenos (by some called *Weeas*).[1] In which latter case, the Delawares

John Sargent, Governor Thomas Pownall and others formed a company in London. It was the purpose of this company to buy from the British Crown a portion of the lands ceded by the Six Nations at the said treaty of Fort Stanwix lying south of the Ohio River and west of the Great Kanawha, and of this land to form a colony. By agreement with Wharton and his associates their grant was included in the Walpole Grant. It was bounded on the west by a line running south from the mouth of the Scioto River. The colony was to be called Vandalia. There was opposition to the scheme and it moved slowly. It was just ready for the approval of the King when the troubles which led to the War of the Revolution arose, and the matter was left over as unfinished business and nothing more was ever done about it. See article "Walpole Grant" in *Journals of Christopher Gist*, edited by Darlington; also "Settlement on the Ohio River," Sparks's *Works of Benjamin Franklin*, iv, pp. 302-386.

[1] The Weas belong to the Algonquian stock. Their country was immediately west of that of the Miamis, and, like the territory of other tribes, was ill-defined. It was principally in what is now Indiana. They were called Waweoughtannes, also Ouiatonon, which seems to be an Iroquoian term. They were removed by the Government to the territory west of Missouri and associated with other small bands or remnants of tribes, the Miamis, Peorias, Piankishaws, and a few Delawares who had lived with them before the removal. Their agency was at a point called Peoria, now Paola, Miami County, Kansas. The principal man among these people while at that place was Baptiste Peoria. These Indians were all removed to the Quapaw Agency, in the Northeastern part of the Indian Territory, where they now live.

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Almost daily visiters were arriving from Gekelemuckpechink, (the set of Government) and other Villages, to take a view of the Christian Indians Settlement, and witness their industry, especially their [127] buildings, and plowing their grounds. Added to this as a curiosity, they were astonished to see such a number of their Nation living so happily together, and putting their hands to manual labour. To all who came to them, the Gospel was preached, which had the effect, that many joined the Congregation, and became faithful Members, amongst whom was a celebrated Chief, named Echpalawahund whose exemplary life, from the day of his convertion, unto his death, became a happy example for the imitation of others. A Cheroke Indian, who in the late War between his Nation and the Six Nations had fallen a Prisoner to the latter, but being afterwards liberated: also joined the Congregation sometime since was in this Year together with his Wife, baptised.

Yet while the prospect bid fair towards the convertion of the Delaware Nation: occurrences had taken place in different Quarters, which, to appearance threatened not only to check this prospect, but also involve the Nation in a War. Report stated, that the 6 Nations had sold a large tract of Country lying south of the River Ohio, and below the Mouth of the Canhawa River to the English. a Country, (as the saying among the Western Nations at that time went:) to which these had no possible claim, the Land belonging to other Nations — and further: that the White People were already taking possession of it.[1]

[1] Heckewelder here refers to the Walpole Grant. At the treaty held by the English with the Six Nations in October, 1768, at Fort Stanwix, now Rome, N. Y., the Indians made a large cession to Baynton, Wharton and Morgan to compensate them for goods plundered from them at the beginning of the Pontiac War amounting to more than £85000. This tract was bounded by the Ohio and Little Kanawha rivers and embraced about one-fourth of the present State of West Virginia. The proprietors proposed to erect this grant into a colony to be called Indiana. In 1769 Thomas Walpole, a London banker and brother to Lord Walpole, Samuel Wharton, Benjamin Franklin,

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being Grandfather to the 2 contending Nations, were applied to as peacemakers between them. The Delaware Council, not being at the time posessed of the quantity of Wampum beeds requisite on the occasion: applied to the Christian Indians for a contribution of this Article; who freely threw in 12 fathom, when, as soon as the Belts were prepared, an Embassy of 12 Men was sent to the Cherokee Nation, with proposals of Peace, which were accepted.

Meanwhile the Christian Indians at both places, Shonbrun and Gnadenhutten, encouraged by their encreasing in numbers: resolved to build at each of these places, a new Chapel, both of which were finished before the Winter sat in. That at Shonbrun was 40 feet by 36, and that at Gnadenhutten, somewhat smaller. Both were built of squared timbers, and Shingle roofed, with a Cupola and Bell. The [129] Towns being regularly laid out — the Street wide and kept clean — and the Cattle kept out of the Towns, by means of fences gave the whole a neat appearance, and excited the astonishment of many.

The Gnadenhutten Congregation not having had as yet a resident Minister, tho frequently visited by a Missionary from Shonbrun, now sent several Indian Brethren to Bethlehem, to bring on their beloved former Teacher, *Schmick*[1] and his Wife, for whom they already had built a convenient house, and who arrived on the 18th. of Augst. in that Year (1773).

But as the making of new Settlements, in a Wilderness, is not only laborious to the undertakers, on account of so much necessary Work crowding on their hands, but is also subjected

[1] John Jacob Schmick was born at Koenigsberg, Prussia, October 9, 1713: died at Litiz, Lancaster County, Pa., January 23, 1778. He was educated for the ministry of the Lutheran Church, and was in charge of a congregation at Livonia, where he became acquainted with the Moravians and united with them. He came to Bethlehem in September of 1751. He labored among the Indians there and at Nain, and mastered the Mohican language. He went with the Indians to Philadelphia and Province Island and remained with them until they were released, when he went with them to Wyalusing.

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to many inconveniences and exposures, which with som[e] affect the constitution, which was the case in this instance; many became sick and some died, among the latter of whom, was that venerable and distinguished National Assistant: Anthony. This Man, aged 77 Years, had from the day of his baptism in 1749. unto his death in 1773. lived as a true follower of Christ[.] Being well versed in Scripture, he was of great use, and a blessing to his Nation, having been instrumental towards the conversion of many. For many Years he had served as a Chapel interpreter of the Missionaries, when divine service was performed. On his death bed, he exhorted all who visited him, to abide in faith, cheerfully saying, that he would soon be with Jesus, his [130] Redeemer. His memory will remain precious with all who knew him.

Before the end of this Year, the Missionary Zeisberger, paid a second visit to the Shawanese at Wakatameki, where he was well received; and hoped he would live to see this Nation also embrace the Gospel to the salvation of their Souls.

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who maintained, that to kill an Indian, was the same as killing a Bear or a Buffaloe, and would fire on Indians that came across them by the way — nay more — would decoy such as lived across the River to come over, for the [131] purpose of joining them in hilarity; and when these had complied: they fell on them and murdered them; when unfortunately some of the murdered, were of the family of Logan,* a noted Man among the Indians.[1]

*see Appendix to Mr. Jeffersons Notes on Virginia for particulars of this Man and the murders.

[1] This is known as Dunmore's War. Lord Dunmore was then Governor of Virginia. It is sometimes spoken of in the old accounts as Cresap's war. It was but another outbreak of the strained relations existing between the English settlers and the Indians. White people came into the Ohio country in ever increasing numbers. The English claim to the country was based on the ownership of the Six Nations of the vast extent they claimed to have won by conquest. The Virginians began to grant the lands on the Ohio as early as 1749, when the Ohio Company was allowed a large tract. The schemes of Indiana and Vandalia were pending in 1774. The Shawnees and other Western Indians believed they should have been consulted by the Six Nations before the lands ceded at Fort Stanwix were conveyed to the English. The Shawnees claimed to own the country south of the Ohio River, and said that it was their old home. They caused other tribes to see the matter in their light. There had been no war on the Ohio after the treaty made by Bouquet in 1764, but there were murders and minor outrages all the time. Heckewelder is right in saying that many of the frontiersmen were irresponsible and of the rabble; and it is equally true that many of the Indians were beyond the control of their chiefs. Many of the backwoodsmen were actuated by a bitter hatred towards the Indians, and they killed them at every opportunity. And one cannot entirely condemn them; they saw husbands dragged away and tortured at the stake, wives plunged into lives worse than death, children tomahawked and scalped, homes given to the torch, and farms turned to ruin; they were not philosophers nor were they much given to reasoning out theories. They were governed by conditions as they found them. Another factor tending to the disquiet of the border was the dispute between Pennsylvania and Virginia as to which owned the country around Fort Pitt. Lord Dunmore saw an advantage for his land speculations in his control of that post; and he was not averse to

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CHAPTER XII.

THE Year 1774 was a Year of trial to the Indian Congregations, on account of a War which broke out between the People of Virginia, and the Sennecas and Shawanos Tribes of Indians; in which as it became well known, the White People were the Aggressors — Of these latter, a number were settled on choice spots of Land, on the South side of the River Ohio, while the Indians dwelt on the North side; then their Territory. The sale of the Lands, below the Canhawa River,[1] had opened a wide field for Speculation — Upon the whole the Country on the Ohio River, had already drawn the attention of many from the neighbouring Provinces to the spot, who generally forming themselves into parties, would rove thro the Country, in search of Land, either for to settle on, or for the sake of Speculation; and some, careless of watching over their conduct; or destitute of both honour and humanity, would join a rabble (a class of people generally met with on the frontiers)

[1] The Kanawha River received its name from the Conoy or Piscatawa Indians. They are supposed to have lived upon its waters. The tribe was conquered by the Six Nations, who claimed their land at the treaty of Lancaster in 1744. One of the Iroquois chiefs said there "All the world knows we conquered the several nations living on Susquehannah, Cohongownton (Potomac), and on the back of the great mountains in Virginia. The Conoy-uch-rooch (people), the Coh-no-was-ronaw, feel the effects of our conquests being now a part of our nations and their lands at our disposal." For an extended sketch of the Conoy tribe (or a part of it) see *Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society*, i, pp. 246, 247. On the 13th of September, 1671, Major-General Abrahame Wood, of Virginia, discovered the waters of the Greenbrier River. This was the English discovery of the Ohio Valley. This party under Wood discovered the Kanawha on the 16th of the month, and took possession of the country in the name of the English king. It was long known as Wood's River. Its upper course is still called New River, so named because it was the first river discovered by the English flowing to the West.

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It is indiscribable, how enraged the relations of the murdered became, on seeing such abominable Acts committed without cause, and even by some white Men, who had always pretended to be their friends. The cries of the relations of the sufferers, soon reached the Ears of the respective Nations to whom they belonged, and who quickly resolved to take revenge on the long Knives*. for, (said they) "they are a barbarous People". Some however fearing, that these might not so easily be come at: proposed killing every White Man then in their Country, and untill they should believe themselves amply revenged, for the valuable lives lost by the long Knife Men (Virginians.) [1] Nothing could equal the rage of the Seneccas in particular; and it was impossible to foresee, where the matter would end. Parties after Parties came on — The Missionaries

*so they call the People of Virginia

an Indian war to distract the attention of the colonists from the burdens cast upon them by the Crown, whose agent he was. He sent Dr. Connolly to take possession of Fort Pitt, and this action was resisted by Pennsylvania. Connolly perhaps thought to turn attention from this action by making it appear that there was danger of an Indian uprising, so issued a letter saying that the Shawnees were not to be trusted, well knowing that such intelligence would arouse the settlers to action. The result was the death of several Indians in a manner that does the settlers no credit. Among these Indians slain by the white people were the relatives of the Mingo chief, Logan. He immediately went on the war-path and committed many depredations, and the war was started beyond recall.

[1] There has been much speculation as to the origin of the name Long Knives or Big Knives for the Virginians. Nothing satisfactory has been discovered. The Indian word for this term is different in the different tribes. Conrad Weiser gives it as Assaraquoa. Thwaites, in a note to Weiser's statement, says the word is Ash-a-le-co-a. Weiser was familiar with the Mohawk tongue. I am familiar with the Wyandot language and traditions; they speak of Virginians as Wĭ-nĕh′-shrä′-tsēh, the meaning of which is Long Knives. Their word for the American people is Tsä-rĕh′-yōō-mĕh′, which means Many Swords. When they speak of Europeans and Americans collectively they use the word Kyōō-hĕhst′-rō′-nō,—People without color.

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had to keep within their Houses — The enraged Indians insisted, that every able Man should do his utmost to take revenge. They kept on the look out for Traders to kill them, but these had generally already fled the Country, while some were [132] taken under protection by friendly Shawanese Indians, who afterwards conducted them safely to Pittsburg. These good People however — oh! shameful to relate! were on their return waylaid by some of those white Vagabonds — fired upon, and one Man,§ shot in the breast, in which situation, he with his wound bleeding, fortunately reached Shonbrun, where his wound was dressed, and all possible attention paid him.

A M^r. John Jones who followed trading, and was at the time coming with his two hands in a Canoe up the Muskingum — being ignorant of what had happened, was happily apprised of his danger, and the risk he was running, by an Indian

§see Heckewelders history of Indian Nations page 223.[1]

[1] There are two references in the *History of the Indian Nations* to this incident. In the edition of 1881 the first will be found on page 184, and the second will be found on page 278. The first is as follows: "Firing upon and severely wounding a noted Shawano in the year 1774, while on his return from Pittsburgh, to which place he had, out of friendship and humanity, conducted several white traders and protected them against an enraged body of Indians, on whose relations the white people had committed most horrid murders." The second is here given: "When in the spring of the year 1774, a war broke out between the Virginians and the Shawanese and Mingoes, on account of murders committed by the former on the latter people, and the exasperated friends of those who had suffered had determined to kill every white man in their country, the Shawano chief *Silverheels*, taking another Indian with him, undertook out of friendship to escort several white traders from thence to Albany, (Pittsburg), a distance of near two hundred miles; well knowing at the time he was running the risk of his own life, from exasperated Indians and vagabond whites, if he should meet with such on the road, as he did in fact on his return. I have already said how he was rewarded for this noble act of friendship and self-devotion."

Descendants of this chief formerly lived in Wyandotte County, Kansas, and they now live in the Cherokee country, Indian Territory.—ED.

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Woman, who discovering him, advised him without a moments delay, to leave the Canoe, and take the Woods direct for Newcomerstown, where he would be safe. On the second day of their travelling in this manner, having accidentally hit upon the path leading to the Shawanese towns at Waketameki, one of Jones's Men, feeling himself so fatigued by travelling in the Woods, declared, that he would not leave the Path again, and was in no way to be persuaded from his resolution. Scarcely had these 2 Men got onto the ridge, when they heard the Scalp Yell in the direction they supposed the Man to be. The fact was: a large party of Seneccas — relations of those who had been murdered on the Ohio, and now on their way to Waketameki meeting this Man, [133] murdered him, & in their rage cut up the body, and stuck the pieces up on the bushes, marching off in triumph. Captn. White Eyes, who lived some distance from the path, hearing the Yell, ran instantly in that direction where he found the mangled body, which he collected and burried. The party however, on returning the next day and finding what had been done, tore up the Grave, and scattered the pieces at a greater distance. White Eyes now on the watch, discovering what they were doing, repaired to the spot a second time, and succeeding in finding every part of the mangled body, carefully dug a grave in a more secure place, and interred the whole.

Next a M^{r}. Duncan, well known to almost every Indian in the parts, was sent out from Pittsburg to endeavour to procure of the Enemy a cessation of hostilities, until Government could hold a conference with them. But before he reached Waketameki, having Captain White Eyes for his conductor, he was fired upon*, and had a very narrow escape. The Enemy now renewed their threats against the Delawares, declaring, that if they did not join in the contest they should pay for it.[1]

*See Heckewelders history of the Ind^{n}. Nations Chap. XXXVIII.

[1] The Delawares did not take part in the war as a nation, but it is prob-

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A report being in circulation, that the Governor§ of Virginia was marching Troops against the Enemys Towns on Sciota and Muskingum — and the inimical [134] Indians having for the purpose of fighting these, all moved Westward of the Christian Indian Towns, it was thought a proper time, to conduct the Missionary Rothe, with his Wife and Child to a place of more safety — while the other Missionaries were determined, to hold out to the last. Accordingly the former were taken to Pittsburg, from whence they proceeded to Bethlehem;

§Lord Dunmore.

able that many Delawares joined the Shawnees and Mingoes. The Shawnees made several efforts to force the Delawares to join them openly. Loskiel tells of these as follows: "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, *Shawonnaks*, 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 *Shawonnaks*, and that if they were thus shamefully reviled, on account of the white teachers who lived in Schoenbrunn and Gnadenhutten, 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

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while those remaining, together with the Christian Indians, were holding themselves in readiness to be off and proceed up the River to Cayahaga, should the Virginian Troops be beaten; which however was not the case; for after the battle at or near

by it, that they came in great troops to Gnadenhutten 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 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 rumors of war and peace varied daily for many months together, keeping our people in distressing suspense. Numerous troops of warriors marched through Schoenbrunn and Gnadenhutten, some upon murdering parties, others returning with scalps and prisoners, uttering frequent threats, that both places should soon be surprised 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, Gnadenhutten, 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. . . . 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 sieze stragglers."—Loskiel's *History of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Indians in North America*, Part III, pp. 95, 96.

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the great Conhawa, the Enemy sued for Peace, promising to deliver all the Prisoners in their possession. — In the course of the Expedition, the Shawanos Towns at Waketameki [1] had been destroyed by the white troops; while the orders given by their Commanders, were, not to pass thro' any of the Christian Indian Towns, nor in any manner to disturb these Indians.

On the joyful news of a Peace being concluded between the contending parties, the Christian Indians set apart the 6th day of November, as a day of thanksgiving and prayer, which was celebrated with solemnity; offering up thanks and praises to the Lord for his gracious protection.

A War having now ended, which altho short of duration, yet was dreadful in its nature for the time it lasted; the general wish of the Christian Indians was, that a durable Peace might follow.[2]

[1] Doddridge says in his "Notes" that this expedition was in June, 1774; Roosevelt says it was "in the end of July." It was commanded by Col. Angus McDonald. There were about four hundred men, one company being commanded by Captain Michael Cresap. For this campaign the men gathered at Wheeling, from which point they descended the Ohio in boats to the mouth of Captina Creek, one hundred and twenty miles below Pittsburg. There they left the Ohio and went through the forest to the Shawnee towns, about ninety miles away. These towns were on the Muskingum, some sixteen miles below the point where Coshocton was afterwards built, and one of them was named Wakatomaca or Wapatomaca. The Shawnees were dispersed with some loss, but were not defeated. Two towns were destroyed, as well as seventy acres of growing corn. These towns were not rebuilt by the Shawnees, who, after this war did not live on the Muskingum, but moved to the Scioto and Miami rivers. The uppermost town of the Shawnees on the Miami was named Wakatomaca (and written in a variety of ways). Whether it was built before the destruction of the town of the same name on the Muskingum is uncertain. See Howe's *Historical Collections of Ohio* (edition of 1847), article "Muskingum County," for details of the campaign by one who served in it; also Doddridge's "Notes," article "Wappatomica Campaign."

[2] Dunmore's War was ended by a campaign against the Indians in which one wing of the army was commanded by General Andrew Lewis and the other by Dunmore himself. Lewis descended the Kanawha and Dunmore

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[135] In other respects this Year (1774) had been remarkable to the Christian Indians. first: The Chiefs of the Nation, both here on the Muskingum and at Cuschcuschke, had unitedly agreed and declared, that the Brethren should have full liberty to preach the Gospel to the Nation, wheresoever they chose, and this resolution they also made publicly known. And secondly: These seeing that their friends and relations pursued Agriculture, and kept much Cattle, they enlarged the tract of land first set apart for them, by moving their People off to a greater distance. And consulting their Uncles the Wyondots on the subject — (they being the Nation from whom the Delawares had originally received the land.) these set apart; granted and confirmed, all that Country lying between Tuscorawas, old Town, and the great bend below Newcomers town, a distance of upwards of 30 Miles, on the River, and including the same; to the Christian Indians. Two large Belts of Wampum were on this occasion delivered by the Wyondots and the Chiefs of the Delaware Nation to the Christian Indians, who in return thanked these for the Gift also by Belts and Strings of Wampum.

The Peace and rest enjoyed by the Indian Congregation

marched to Fort Pitt. Lewis camped on the point between the Ohio and the Kanawha, and here he was attacked by the combined force of the Indians on the morning of the 10th of October. The battle continued through most of the day, and ended in the repulse of the Indians, who retreated across the Ohio during the night. Dunmore descended the Ohio to the mouth of the Hockhocking, where he built a small fort. From there he marched overland to the borders of the Pickaway plains and camped. Lewis was marching to his assistance, but was ordered to return to the Ohio. He did not wish to do this, but was prevailed upon to do so, though his soldiers were angry at the Governor's action. Dunmore concluded a treaty with the Indians and ended the war. At this treaty was delivered the famous speech of Logan, Chief of the Mingoes. Logan would not attend the treaty; he sent his speech by a messenger. The authorities on this campaign are letters of participants in *American Archives*, other documents published later, Doddridge, DeHass, Butterfield's *History of the Girtys*, and Roosevelt's *The Winning of the West*.

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throughout the Year 1775, was favourable to visitors, who came in numbers to hear the Gospel preached, so that the Chapel at Shonbrun, tho large, was too small, to contain them.

The heathen Preacher, Wangomend, had also in this Year come on [136] from Goschgoshink, to see if he should be able to succeed in propogating his foolish doctrines; but the Indian Brethren bid him go to their Children, and learn of them.

Towards the fall of this Year, two valuable, worthy, and exemplary National Assistants departed this life: the one John Papunhank a Delaware: and the other Joshua of the Mohican Tribe. Both were at their respective places, Wardens of the Congregation, the former at Shonbrun, and the latter at Gnadenhutten. Joshua was one of the first Indians baptised by the Brethren in 1742.*

*for sketches of the lives of these truly Christian Indians, see Loskiels history of the Mission Part III. pages 108-109. Eng. Edition—and German Edition, pages 633 and 634.

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CHAPTER XIII.

DISPUTES having arrisen between Great Britain and her North-American Colonies, and a Congress being appointed by the latter; these again appointed Commissioners, to convene the Northern & Western Nations to a Meeting at Pittsburg, for the purpose of explaining the nature of the dispute to them, — and giving them their advice. As none of the Missionaries were present at the Meetings, which were held in Oct. and November: the following, as the report given by the Chiefs on their return, may be considered as conclusive. These stated: that the Commissioners, after first having informed them, that disputes had arrisen between the King of England and the People of this Country — and that their quarreling with each other could not [137] affect them in any wise, provided they did not interfere, and take a part in it: next proceeded to state the cause from whence the dispute had originated, calling the same a family dispute — a quarrel between a Parent and his Child — much after this manner (said they) "Suppose a father "has a little Son whom he loves and indulges while Young, but "growing up to be a Youth, begins to think of having some "help from him — and makeing up a small pack, he bids him "carry this for him. The boy cheerfully takes this pack up, "following his father with it. The father finding the boy wil-"ling, and obedient, continues in this way — and as the boy "grows stronger, so that father makes the pack in proportion "larger, yet, as long as the boy is able to carry the pack, he does "so without grumbling. At length however the boy having now "arrived at Manhood — while the father is making up the pack "for him to carry, in comes a Person of an evil disposition, and "learning, for whom to carry[,] the pack is making, advises the "father to make the pack heavier, for surely the Son is able

"to carry a heavy pack — The father, listening rather to the bad "adviser, than consulting his own judgment — and the feelings "of a tender father: follows the advice of the hard hearted ad- "viser, and makes up a heavy load for his Son to carry. The "son, now grown up, examining the weight of the load he is to "carry: addresses the parent in the words: "Dear father, this "pack is too heavy for me to carry: do pray lighten it: I am "willing to do what I can, but am [138] unable to carry *this* "load". The fathers heart having by this time become hard- "ened — and the bad adviser calling to him: whip him if he "disobeys, and refuses to carry the pack, now in a peremptory "tone orders his Son to take up the pack and carry it off, or he "will whip him; and already takes up a stick to beat him. " "So!["] says the Son, "am I to be served thus, for not doing "what I am unable to do! Well — if entreaties avail nothing "with You, Father! and it is to be decided by blows, whether "or not I am able to carry a pack so heavy; then I have no other "choice left me, but that of resisting Your unreasonable demand, "by my strength; and thus by striking each other learn who is "the strongest". Such, (Indian reports stated) was the parable given them, for the purpose of explaining the nature of the dispute.

These further reported: that the Commissioners, had told them, that as the dispute did not concern them, it would be highly wrong in them, (the American People) were they to ask the aid of their Indian Brethren, in bringing the dispute between them and the Parent to a close. for by so doing they would be made parties to the quarrel, which might involve them in difficulties and dangers, particularly as it could not be foreseen, in whose favour the quarrel would terminate. that were they to ask the assistance of their Brethren the Indians — and they together should fail in gaining what they sought for: they would have to suffer with their white Brethren; and [139] so vice versa the case would be, were they to join the other side. That therefore they would advise them, to sit still, untill the

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contest should be over — be friends to both sides — not take up the Hatchet against either side — for, by taking the hatchet up to strike either Side, they must infallibly create to themselves an Enemy, who, should it so happen, that *he* became the Conqueror, would punish them — take their Land from them &c — "And further: "that as in the course of the War it might happen, that their Brethren the Americans would not have it in their power to supply them with all they might want: they: not having taken up arms against the British, would consequently be supplied from that side, with such Articles as they stood in need of["] — Finally, that their American Brethren sought their welfare, and having land enough of their own, did not wish to deprive them of theirs, but sought to secure their constant friendship as brothers, who had sprung up together from one and the same Soil — that they wished to make them a great People, and that they would do so to every Nation and People, that should take the advice herewith given them. Yet that they must tell them, that whatever Nation shall take up the Hatchet and strike them, such Nation must abide the consequence, should they, the American people become conquerors — lastly, (the reporters added) that in consequence of the good advice given them by their American Brethren: the Chiefs of the Delawares present at this Treaty, had for [140] themselves, and in the Name of the whole Nation declared to the Commissioners: "that they would remain neutral, during the contest between the Parent and the Son — and not lift up the Hatchet against either side."

About this time, while a number of the Seneccas* were at Pittsburg (perhaps more for the purpose of learning the disposition of the Western Nations, but more paticularly that of the Delawares, with regard to the side they should take during the contest) they had an Opportunity of hearing Captain White Eyes, deliver his sentiments; openly declaring in favour of the American People, and their cause, which so chagrined them,

*the Senecca Tribe of the 6 Nations is the most warlike Tribe of them.

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that they thought proper to offer a check to his proceedings, by giving him in a haughty tone a hint, intended to remind him, who the Delaware Nation were, in the Eyes of the 6 Nations (meaning that these had no will of their own, but were subordinate to the 6 Nations.) when Capt[n]. White Eyes, long since tired of this language; with his usual spirit, and an air of disdain, rose, and replied: that he knew well, that they, the 6 Nations, considered his Nation as a conquered People — and their inferiours — "You say["] (said he) "that You had conquered "me* — that You had cut off my Leg's — had put a Petticoat "on [141] me, giving me a Hoe and Corn pounder in my hands, "saying: now Woman! Your business henceforward shall be, "to plant — hoe Corn, and pound the same for Bread for us "Men and Warriours!" — "Look!["] (continued White Eyes) "["]at my Legs! if, as You say You had cut them off, they "have grown again to their proper size! — the Petticoat, I have "thrown away, and have put on my proper dress! — The Corn "hoe and pounder I have exchanged for these fire Arms, and I "declare, that I am a Man!["] — then waving his hand in the "direction of the Allegheny River, he exclaimed — "and all the "Country on the other side of that River is *mine*".§

Perhaps never so bold or daring an address was ever made heretofore, to any Council of Indians, by an individual Chief. But it ought to be noticed, that White Eyes had here spoken on the strength of what the Commissioners had said and promised at the Treaty — In what these had said, he placed full confidence. He took it for granted, that the Seneccas would join the English against the American People, and therefore loose the Land they had so artfully wrested from the Delawares, and in the firm belief, that his Nation would keep the Peace, he had a

*see Loskiels history of the Missions of the United Brethren among the North American Indians Chap. X. & Heckewelders history of the Indian Nations Chap. I.

§It must be remarked, that the Indian Orators always speak in the singular Number, tho meaning the Nation.

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right to lay a claim to it. Moreover his expectation went to this: that should the 6 Nations in consequence of the Language he had made use of to them, take up Arms against his Nation — these being friends of the American People and at peace [142] with them, they would assist them, in fighting for their just rights.

The report of Capt. White Eyes's declaration to the Senecas, having become known to his Nation; some feared the consequence of such daring language, to so proud and powerful a body as the 6 Nations, combined were, in comparison to them; while others were satisfied at his proceedings, having long wish[ed] to resume their antient station and Character, among the Indian Nations, so clandestinely wrested from them, by the Ancestors of these very People. The circumstance was however the cause of a division taking place among them, in which the Monceys took the lead. these pretended to shew fears, that the 6 Nations would resent the liberty White Eyes had taken, and made this a pretence, of withdrawing themselves from the Councils of the Turtle tribe, and joining themselves to the Wolf Tribe. Nor did the Monsey Chief *Newalike*, rest, untill he had succeeded, in detaching a number of their Tribe from the Christian Indians at Shonbrun, who had taken it for granted, that their Chief was in some secret, which would befall the Delaware Nation, and therefore wished to remove them from danger. These, (the Monceys) retiring nearer to Lake Erie, took care to have the 6 Nations informed: that they did not approve of what Captain White Eyes had said. and Capt. Pipe[*] at the head of his Tribe, was glad to see a [143] breach made, of which White Eyes was to bear the blame. Pipe was an artful cunning Man. Ambitious and fond of power, wherefore he would endeavour to create a mistrust in the Minds of individuals of the Nation, persuading these to believe, that their Chief, (White Eyes) had entered into secret engagements, with the American People, for the purpose of having their young People enslaved,

*This is the same Capt: Pipe, whom Col: Bouquet in 1764 kept as a hostage at Fort Pitt.

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while they, (the Chiefs) were to reap the benefit thereof, and be Lords over them. Pipes place of residence was on Walhanding about 15 Miles from Goshochking (forks of the Muskingum) Hitherto he had pretty regularly attended the Councils at the latter place, but now he began to withdraw, probably from a conviction, that his intrigues were known, and might one day be held up to him by the Chiefs, and he have to render an account of his conduct. The Peace Chiefs however, pursued their usual course, their sole Object being the welfare of the Nation.

In Aprill 1776. a third Mission Settlement was began with Eight families, in all 35 Persons, under their faithful leader David Zeisberger, and the writer of this Narrative, as his Assistant. They laid off a Town within 2 Miles of Goshochking, and called it Lichtenau.[1] This place in particular, had been selected for them by the Chiefs themselves, that they, as well as their Children might have an Opportunity of hearing the Gospel preached — a wish, which the [144] old and principle Chief Netawatwees, had repeatedly informed them of, both by public and private Message.

The Christian Indians, had since their first arrival in the Country; greatly encreased; and altho a considerable Number had within that time departed this life, yet at the close of the last Year, their number amounted to 414 Persons, and here at Lichtenau, they were soon joined by new Members, viz. the above mentioned Chiefs Son and family, and one of his Nephews. The Chief from Achsinink (in Eng. *solid Rock*) on Hockhock-

[1] Lichtenau was about two and a half miles below the junction of the Tuscarawas and the Walhonding, on the east bank of the Muskingum, in Coshocton County. Zeisberger and Heckewelder, with eight Indian families, went from Schonbrun to found this mission. The Indians were anxious to have the Moravians establish a station at that point, and they came in numbers to assist in putting up the buildings. It was abandoned, as will appear later, because of the troubles with the pagan Indians.

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ing (place of *bottle shaped Gourds*) called Welapachtschiechen* — (otherwise named by the White people: Captn. Johny) a Man much esteemed by all who knew him, whether Indians or Whites, likewise came on with his family, and joined the Congregation, declining to act in the capacity of a Chief in future. Nothing deterred those who believed they had an inward call, from joining the Congregation. Nor had the troubles of the times, hitherto caused any inconvenience, with regard to their internal course. The Schools for the Children were also at the three Settlements kept up regularly, in which a new Spelling book, the composition of the Missionary Zeisberger, had been introduced.

*the Word signifieth; *erect posture*—(no ways leaning.)

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CHAPTER XIV.

VARIOUS, were the Messages and reports brought from time to time to the great Council of the Delaware Nation. One Message, said to be sent from the king [145] of England purported: that it was his Majestys wish and desire "that all the Indian Nations might strictly adhere to the articles of Peace, and remain quiet during the contest between the Colonies and the Mother Country"— Next a Message was received from the Congress in Philadelphia, informing the Nations, that they had appointed an Agent with whom the Nations should correspond on affairs regarding the keeping of the Peace, and not joining either side. Again report stated, that the 6 Nations would join the English against the American People; and that the Wyondots, and a part of the Shawanose, instigated by the former, would do the same; but that the Delaware Nation, were not to be informed of their intentions, untill it should be to[o] late for them (as peacemakers*) to interfere, and prevent the scheme.

Nevertheless the Chief Netawatwes, together with the Chiefs White Eyes, Gelelemend (alias *Killbuck*) [1] Machingwi

*see Loskiels history of the Mission Part I. Chap. X. also Heckewelders historical Account of Indian Nations Chap. I.

[1] Gelelemend was the grandson of Netawatwees. His name signifies leader, or a leader. His father was a chief of the Turtle tribe of the Delawares and was succeeded by his son, who became known as Killbuck, junior. Heckewelder sometimes writes the name, Killbock. He became one of the most renowned of the Delaware chiefs. He was born near the Lehigh Water Gap, Carbon County, Pa., in 1737, and came to the Ohio country with his people. He joined his people in the wars against the colonies in 1755. His village was known as Killbuck's town; it was on the Muskingum, and the middle prong of that river is still called Killbuck's Creek. He was a firm friend of the Americans during the Revolution, and from this cause his life was often in danger from his own people. It finally became necessary for him and other chiefs friendly to the Americans to leave their country and seek protection at

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Pushiis[1] (alias the *big Cat*) and others, did every thing in their power to preserve the Peace among the Nations, by sending embassies, and exhorting them not to take up the Hatchet for to join either side; to which however the Sandusky Wyon-

Fort Pitt. He, White Eyes and Pipe executed the first Indian treaty ever concluded by a tribe with the United States. It was made at Fort Pitt, September 17, 1778. Killbuck signed it "John Kill Buck, his X mark." A party of whites, upon their return from an expedition, made an attempt to murder these friendly Delawares. They were living on an island just below the junction of the Allegheny and Monongahela under the protection of the commandant of the post. Killbuck escaped only by swimming across the river to the fort. All his property fell into their hands, including the wampum speeches and written documents given the Delawares by William Penn in the many years he had dealt with them. Even this treatment did not shake his friendship for the Americans. He united with the Moravians, at Salem, on the Petquotting, in the summer of 1788. In baptism he was given the name William Henry. William Henry Gelelemend was a great man; he died at Goshen early in the summer of 1811. John J. Jacob in his *Life of Captain Michael Cresap*, relates the following incident in the life of Killbuck: "Once more, while the Indians were carrying on the desolating war already noticed upon the head waters of the Potomac, and other frontier settlements, they one day made an attack upon Colonel Cresap's fort, at his own house, near Old Town. They killed a Mr. Wilder, who happened to be some distance from the fort; but the attack was feeble, easily repelled, and the Indian was killed who killed Mr. Wilder. But a certain old Indian named Kill-buck contrived to get under a bridge over a mill race, about one hundred and fifty yards from the fort, where he lay quietly and patiently, two or three days and nights, with the sole view of killing old Cresap, whom he never saw during the whole time; and to add to his mortification, one day, while lying under the bridge, an old woman coming on the bridge, stopped directly over him, and let her water upon him. . . . For this story we are indebted to Kill-buck himself, or it would have remained a secret forever."

[1] This chief narrowly escaped slaughter at the island in the Ohio at the hands of the party upon the occasion mentioned in the sketch of Gelelemend. At the treaty of Fort McIntosh, January 12, 1785, a separate article stipulated "that the Delaware chiefs Kalelamand or Colonel Henry, Hengue-pushees, or the Big Cat; Wicocalind, or Captain White Eyes; who took up the hatchet for the United States, and their families, shall be received into the Delaware Na-

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dots insolently replied: "that they advised their Cousins (the "Delawares) to keep good Shoes in readiness for to join the "Warriours." This Message being returned to them by the Delaware Council, with the admoni-[146]tion, "to sit down and "reflect on the misery they had brought upon themselves by tak-"ing an active part in the *late* War between the English and "the French": they thought proper to send a Message to the same purport, also to the Chiefs of that Nation (the Wyondots) living in the Vicinity of Detroit, advising, that one of these Messengers, so to be sent with the Message, be selected from among their body. Being accordingly arrived at the Huron Village below Detroit, they were here told: that no Message from them, (the Delaware Council) durst be laid before them except in the presence of the Governor. Conscious as to the powers enjoined on them at the time they were by the 5 Nations made and declared Mediators and Peace makers between the Nations; they could not even have a doubt as to the legality of the Message; yet scarcely had these Deputies produced their Peace Belts, when the Governor laying hold of them, cut them into pieces and throwing these pieces at the feet of the Deputies, commanded them to leave the place within half an hour, or abide the consequences, and Captain White Eyes, who had been the principle bearer of the Message, was, after first being insulted, told: "that if he sat any value on his head, he must be gone instantly".*

*see Loskiels history Part III. Chap. VI.

Note It not being the design of the writer of this Narrative here to discuss on the propriety or impropriety of the conduct of the Governor to these Messengers he refers the reader to Heckewelders history of Indian Nations Chap. XXI. headed "Peace Messengers."

tion, in the same situation and rank as before the war, and enjoy their due portions of the lands to the Wyandot and Delaware nations in this treaty, as fully as if they had not taken part with America." Machingwi Puschiis was a chief of the Turtle tribe of the Delawares, and he was an able counselor. He died in the State of Indiana, on the White River, where the Delawares had a reservation.

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[147] In consequence of this insult to the Nation, (for the Chiefs & Council considered it in no other light) they went to Pittsburg to lay the case before their Agent for the information of Congress, who advised them, together with all peaceable disposed Indians, to come under their protection; but as sad experience had taught them, by the Murder of the Canestoga Indians in the very Town of Lancaster — and the narrow escape of the Christian Indians in the City of Philadelphia, from being murdered by the Paxton boys: no Chief would venture to make this proposal known to his People. As to the safety of the Missionaries, Government had advised these thro their Agent to take refuge at Pittsburg; but they would rather suffer whatever might befal them, than desert a People committed to their care, and especially when these were most in want of advice and consolation.

Altho by accounts all without the circle of the peaceable Delawares, was bustle and confusion, on account of these being so much divided: yet no[t] one Warrior had made his appearance within the precincts of their people. All Traders of respectability had quitted the Country, partly from fear, or by the advice of Government; the more surprising it was, to the Christian Indians at Lichtenau, to see on the 12th. of Nov Matthew Elliot, a Man known for many Years as a Trader, now enter their Town, with a number of horse loads of Merchandise — his female Indian companion and hired hand — then on his way to the [148] Shawanese[1] Towns on the Sciota. Nothing was

[1] The Shawnees belong to the Algonquian linguistic stock of Indians. They have been the greatest wanderers among the North American tribes. They were fierce and ready always for war, and were driven from place to place by those tribes with which they warred. They have lived in most of the country east of the Mississippi, first in one locality and then in another. They were pushed westward about 1727 to 1730 with the Delawares. In the Ohio Valley in historic times their chief seat was in what is now the southern part of Ohio. They lived on the Lower Muskingum at the time the Wyandots had their towns on the upper waters of that stream. The last of their Mus-

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more unexpected than an attempt of the kind at this present time; and nothing could be more unpleasant and disagreeable to the Missionaries and Christian Indians, than to be placed in the situation they now were, by Elliots making a halt with them, as they might reasonably suppose, that, should any of the Sandusky Warriors find out that he was here, they might come, seize on his property, and perhaps murder him in the Town, all which had been frequently represented to him (Elliot) without effect. At length, tired of such remonstrances, he resolved to leave us on the next day, observing however, that "in case our fears had been realized, it would have been the duty of the Christian Indians to have protected him". He now moved on to the old Waketameki Towns — a place long since deserted by the Shawanese — from whence he intended to proceed to the Sciota. The very next morning after his leaving the place, 6 Sandusky Warriors were observed in the Street, eagerly looking about to discover the house the Trader might be lodged at; for, that white People had come out from Pittsburg, and must be somewhere in the neighborhood, they had discovered by the tracks of shodden Horses they had come across, while crossing the path to go to the Ohio. Being told by the Inhabitants, that the People they sought for were not here, they, to convince them-

kingum towns were destroyed by the campaign of Col. Angus McDonald, in Dunmore's war. They went to the Scioto. They were called younger brothers by the Delawares, and between the two tribes there was always a strong attachment. They moved westward before the advancing whites, and began to cross the Mississippi at the close of Pontiac's war. They lived in Missouri, and about 1828 were located on the south bank of the Kansas River from its mouth to a point beyond Shawnee County, in a country unsurpassed for fertility and beauty. They live now among the Cherokees and Senecas in the Indian Territory. Some of the greatest Indian captains, orators, and statesmen were Shawnees, among whom were Cornstalk, Paxnous, Blue Jacket, and Tecumseh. The Shawnees were ever plundering and murdering on the back settlements of the colonies. The Kentuckians suffered more from them than from all other tribes. There are among them now families founded by captive men and women from the best families in Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania.

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selves of this, searched every house in the Village, when, discovering by the tracks of Elliots [149] horses, the way they were gone, they followed them. It being evident, that as Elliot could no more effect an escape — and probable, that when taken, both he and his Man might be put to death: the National Assistants, from pure motives of humanity, dispatched two active Men with a Speech and String of Wampum after them, praying that they might spare their lives. The speed the Warriors had made in the pursuit was such, that when the 2 Christian Indians came up with them, both Elliot and his Man, Michael Herbert were already bound; and they dividing the Spoil among themselves. The Brethren, having delivered the Message entrusted to them: were in reply told by the Warriors, "that they "ought not to interfere in their business, no more than they "(the Warriors,) did with theirs! that *they* followed the pro-"fession of War, when Wars existed, whereas they had adopted "the religion of the White People, and given themselves up to "praying! — that they were sorry they had put themselves to so "much trouble on account of a Man who did not belong to them! "yet, since they appeared so much interested for him and his "safety: they could assure them, that neither he, nor his fellow "Prisoner should be hurt; and for the trouble they had put "themselves to on his account, they would satisfy them out of "the Goods they had taken with him["]; which however these declined to receive, saying: "that they would not participate "in a robbery["].[1]

[1] Matthew Elliott was born in Ireland. He settled in Pennsylvania, at some point not a great distance from Chambersburg, and began trading with the Indians. His headquarters in this business were at Fort Pitt. He traded with the Shawnees, and Dunmore's war found him with this tribe. The Shawnees sent him to Dunmore to sue for peace; after the peace was concluded he again went to trading with this tribe, in which business he remained until the occurrence narrated in the text. From this point he went either as captive or volunteer to Detroit, where he was arrested as a spy and sent to Quebec. It was believed that his arrest was an arrangement between the post

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[150] Col. George Morgan* of Princeton, New Jersey, who in the preceeding Year had been appointed by Congress Agent for the Western Indians, having occasion to come out to their Country on business with the Chiefs and Council, visited the three Christian Indian Settlements, and expressed himself, as both astonished and delighted, in observing such order, regularity and industry at these places, wishing that all the Indians might be brought to follow the example of these — William Edwards,[1] having come from Bethlehem as an assistant to the Mission, the writer of this Narrative, returned to Shonbrun to attend to the Schools at that place.

With the Year 1777 the troubles had encreased. A part of the Shawanese resolved to join the English in the War, altho their Chief still advised them to remain at Peace. The heinous Murder committed by the Whites at Canhawa, on their so much beloved and respected Chief, the *Cornstalk*,[2] while he was

*To this Gentleman the Delawares had given the Name of Tamanend, the highest honor they could confer. see Heckewelders Account of Indian Nations Chap. XL. p. 298.

commander and Elliott. At Quebec he was paroled, after which he returned to Fort Pitt only to desert with Girty and McKee. From that time he was active in the British service. He was unscrupulous and treacherous, and bent on making money out of the misfortunes of others, many of these misfortunes being of his own contriving. Much will appear about him in the text. He was hated next to Girty, and occupies about that place at this time. It is perhaps saying none too much to attribute the disasters of the Moravians largely to Elliott.

[1] William Edwards was born in Wiltshire, England, April 24, 1724: died at Goshen, Ohio, October 8, 1801. He was almost twenty-five years of age when converted to the Moravian faith, and in 1749 he arrived at Bethlehem. In November, 1776, he arrived at Lichtenau and remained with the Western Indian mission through all the troubles of the Revolutionary period. In 1798 he and Heckewelder brought a portion of the Fairfield congregation back to the Muskingum. He lived the remainder of his life at Goshen.

[2] Cornstalk was one of the greatest of the Shawnee chiefs. It is not known when or where he was born. He was early a leader of the Shawnee

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there on important business, could not so easily be forgotten. The Indians in this instance, were at a loss in judging on whom the blame was to be laid, whether on the perpetrators of the Act, or on their superiors for not using their Authority in preventing it. Their accusations against the White People of the place, were the more severe, as these had known the friendly dis-[151]position of their Chief towards them; and the important errand he had been on at the time.

Accounts were also received at the Seat of the Delaware Government, that the Sandusky and Lake Indians were preparing to go to War in the Spring; and that these threatened to kill every White Man residing among the Indians, who should not side with their Father the English; and next every Indian

forays into the back settlements of Virginia. He and his followers murdered a number of settlers on Carr's Creek, Rockbridge County, October 10, 1759. In 1763 he led a large band against the settlements in the Greenbrier region, murdering settlers at Carr's Creek, Keeny's Knob, and Jackson's River. He carried away to the Shawnee towns on the Scioto Mrs. Clendenning and her children. He was one of the hostages retained by Bouquet, escaped and returned to his people. In 1774 he was the leader of the combined Indian force in the attack upon the camp of General Lewis at Point Pleasant. He made peace with Dunmore, and ever after that was in favor of peace with the Americans. In September, 1777, he visited the officers at Fort Randolph, which had been erected at the mouth of the Kanawha after the battle of Point Pleasant. He informed Captain Arbuckle that he feared the Shawnees would be drawn into the British service against all he could do to prevent it. The Captain believed it his duty to detain Cornstalk in view of the intelligence which he had imparted. He was imprisoned in the fort. His son, Ellinipsico, hearing nothing from his father and knowing not what had become of him, went to the fort in search of him. While here the militia stationed at the fort became enraged at the murder of a comrade by the Indians. They rushed into the fort and slew Cornstalk, his son, Red-Hawk, and another Indian. Cornstalk is said to have been far above the average of his people in intelligence. As an orator he is said to have exceeded even Patrick Henry. An oration in the Shawnee language is certainly pleasing to the ear. I have heard many Indian languages spoken, and that of the Shawnees is the most musical and beautiful of them all.

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that would not join in the War; which threats were well understood to be levelled against the Missionaries & the Christian Indians, as also against all those who were inclined to Peace — yet, during all these commotions the Chiefs of the Delawares remained firm, and resolved not to interfere in the War between England and the Colonies.

The line of conduct the Christian Indians and their Missionaries were to follow during the contest, was plainly marked out to them. vizt: They were subjected to the resolutions and decrees of those who had invited them to come into their Country, with the promise of protection from their side; these alone had power over them — and these had formally declared, that they would keep the peace at all hazards. Add to this, an impression had already for many Years rested on the minds of the National Assistants, that for Indian Converts to join in Wars, would, infallibly bring them back into heathenism — That God having given the Commandment to his People "Thou shalt not kill!" it must be a great Sin with such unto whom this [152] Commandment was known, to murder Man! Such were the arguments — & impression on the Minds of the National Assistants and others; and these were determined to put out of their fellowship any and every Person who should join in Wars, and not permit such to make a home with them.

The Delaware Chiefs, having at this time in their possession, Documents and Vouchers — both in writing and Strings and Belts of Wampum of all transactions that had passed between their Ancestors and the Government of Pennsylvania, from the time of William Penns first arrival in the country, down to the present time: had hitherto been in the habit, of meeting at least once in every Year, for the purpose of refreshing their Memorys on the Subject by hearing the contents; as also that of instructing one or more promising Young Men to learn by heart such valuable documents, that these might not be lost to future generations. In assembling for this purpose they chose to be by themselves in the Woods at a convenient spot

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where no person could interrupt them; and when any written Documents were produced, they would request one or the other of the Missionaries to attend & read and interpret them; which service the Missionaries always considered as their duty, and due as an acknowledgement for their indulgence in favouring the cause of the Mission. Now when with the times a change had taken place in the appointment of Officers, with whom of course the Chiefs would have intercourse — these not being ac-[153] quainted with the Hieroglyphical manner the Indians made use of in expressing themselves, could not without assistance understand the Contents of Speeches, wherefore a Missionary was called upon, and requested to explain in writing the meaning of these dark, yet withal by no means unmeaning expressions, for to send on to such Officers or Agent with the figurative Speech. The Enemies of Peace being informed of those services, believed they had cause to charge the Missionaries as being accessary in keeping the Delaware Nation from joining in the War against the American People — or in other words: that they were acting contrary to the British Interest; altho it was doing no more, than what any person in their situation would consider his duty to do — nay doing even a thing which they could not avoid doing.

The principal Delaware Chief Netawatwees, who had died at Pittsburg about the close of the last Year, having on his death bed declared as his last Will, that the Gospel be preached by the Brethren to his Nation; Captain White Eyes on the occasion took a Bible, and some of the newly published School books, compiled by Zeisberger, in his hands, and addressing himself in a very affecting manner to the Council, concluded in these Words "You have heard the last Will and Testament of our "beloved departed Chief! We will pray to the Lord, to have "mercy on us, and reveal his Will — as herein written — to all "now living, and to our Childrens Children yet unborn!"

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[154] CHAPTER XV.

THE Wyondots[1] having early in the Spring of this Year [1777] began to commit ravages and Murders on the frontier settlers: the Delaware Council became alarmed, and concerned for the safety of the Missionaries at Gnadenhutten and Shonbrun, tho these at present were not under any apprehension of danger. The Wyondots being questioned by the Delaware Chiefs, what cause they had for taking up Arms against their American Brethren, pleaded in excuse: that they had been compelled thereto by their Father the British; and that

[1] The Wyandots are descendants of the Hurons and their allied and kindred tribe, the Tionnontates, known also as the Tobacco Nation. The history of the Hurons may be found in the Jesuit Relations, and cannot be reviewed here. The Hurons were in a sort of loose confederacy with the Tionnontates and other kindred tribes. They were all related by blood to the Five Nations, but that did not prevent their warring against one another. The Hurons and their neighbors were conquered by the Five Nations and fled along the upper lakes to escape extermination. They wandered for a century in the country about Lake Superior, and during this time they became a homogeneous people on the plan of government and social institutions belonging to the Tionnontates, more of whom escaped the general ruin wrought by the Iroquois than of the other tribes. They called themselves Wen-duts or Wen-doots, many variations of which may be found. They gathered in greatest number about the French post of Detroit, and were almost uniformly friends of the French. The Iroquois admitted them to their confederacy and gave them the country about the west end of Lake Erie and the Ohio Valley between the Miami and the forks, where Fort Pitt was afterwards built. The Delawares and Shawnees settled in this district by permission of the Wyandots. The valley of the Alleghany was reserved for the Senecas. The fact that the Wyandots were the proprietors of the land upon which the Delawares and Shawnees settled gave them prestige and a right to be heard in all the deliberations affecting the country. They were also a brave people of good mental ability. These things made them the head of the tribes in the Ohio Valley, and the Indian policy

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the Iroquois (6 Nations) [1] together with all the Northern and Western Nations had united to fight the American People; adding, that as all these had united for this purpose, they thought it time for them (the Delawares) also, to join their party, or at least to declare what side they favoured. These promptly declaring that they would remain neutral, and keep the Peace, it struck them so, that on their return they told the Governor of Detroit, that if he continued in this way, urging the Indians to go to War, while he himself remained quiet at home, they would

was shaped at Sandusky and Brownstown subject to approval at Detroit. When the English secured Detroit they secured at the same time the allegiance and friendship of the Wyandots, who were never friends of the Americans until after their power was broken by Wayne. In 1843 they, having disposed of their lands in Ohio, moved to the forks of the Missouri and Kansas rivers, settling on thirty-nine sections of land which they bought from the Delawares for a little more than $48,000. They complained at being charged this sum, saying that when the Delawares came to them homeless from the Delaware they gave them most of the State of Ohio for nothing, and "that now the Delawares charge us a great sum for a small piece of land for us to sit down upon." In 1855 they accepted this land in severalty and dissolved their tribal relations. Later a portion of the nation resumed their tribal relations and bought a tract of land from the Cowskin Senecas, where they now live, in Northeastern Indian Territory, numbering about three hundred souls. They are civilized, and they are farmers and stock-raisers. The city of Kansas City, Kansas, the largest in the State of Kansas, is built on the site of the old Wyandot town at the mouth of the Kansas River. About one hundred Wyandots yet live there. There is not so much as a quarter-blood among the Wyandots, most of them being not more than one-sixteenth Indian. The first mission ever established by the Methodist Episcopal Church was among the Wyandots at Upper Sandusky. They carried the church organization to Kansas with them, where it was always maintained, and is now the Washington Avenue M. E. Church, Kansas City, Kansas. They also brought the first written code of laws to what is now the State of Kansas, as well as the first Masonic Lodge. The first legal execution of a person in what is now Kansas was by the Wyandots under their laws.

[1] The Oneidas and Tuscaroras did not go with the other tribes to war against the Americans during the Revolution.

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throw down the War belt at his feet, which he had given them, and would go and renew their friendship with the Delawares, and also enter into a Covenant with the Americans, who had from the begin[n]ing advised the Nations to sit still and take no part in the War, and who, at this present time, still held forth the same language to them.

The Governor, and Chief of the Hurons, not being [155] able to comprehend, what could induce the Delaware Nation, to be so firm in maintaining Peace — it was ascribed to the influence the Missionaries had in the Council of the Nation; and it soon after appeared, that scheemes were laid for the purpose of seizing the Missionaries, and bringing them to Detroit.

The Northern Warriors being continually on the watch for such White People who might venture out to the Delaware Towns, it was dangerous for any one to attempt such a thing. yet it so happened, that a M[r]. James O'Harra,* who had come out to Shonbrun on business, was found out by some of these Warriors, Eleven of which were coming on to seize him, but halting on their way at an Indian Cabin 9 Miles distant, where the Man and his Sons, were equally friends to the Americans, the old Man discovering their intentions, privately sent off in the dark Night one of his Sons to the writer of this Narrative with the following verbal Message: ["]My friend! See that "our white friend now at Your Village, be taken from thence "this Night, and conducted to a place of safety in the Settlement "of the White People; and do not neglect to act up to my Mes- "sage. Hear my Son farther on the Subject!" — The Son giving the best assurance, that at break of day the party would be here for the purpose of taking and perhaps murdering M[r]. O'Harra; he was informed of it, and forthwith [156] conducted by Anthony§ a Smart and trusty Indian, thro the Woods to the Ohio River, and there taken across by White People living on

*since Gen[l]. O Harra, now living at Pittsburg.

§This Anthony is the same Man, noticed in Heckewelders Account of Indian Nations. Chap. XX. bearing then the Name of Luke Holland.

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the opposite shore. The young Man, who had agreeable to his Fathers instructions, imediately returned home after delivering the Message to me, seeing them sometime after Midnight preparing to set off, for the purpose of executing their design: questioned them as to their intentions, and finding, that the supposition had been correct: he replied: "Your errand will fail, for the White Man you are after, is no more there, but has returned to Pittsburg["]. On being assured of this they bent their course another way.

Within a fortnight after the above had taken place, reports in succession were brought to Shonbrun, that large parties were on their way to murder the Missionaries, and the fear of many of the Christian Indians at this place was so great, that they could not content themselves, unless they had placed these out of all Danger. The Missionaries altho unwilling to go, and not believing the danger so great, as represented, yet had to submit, and were in the dark of the Night taken to Gnadenhutten, from whence however the writer of this again returned in the morning, and there finding the Monsey Chief *Newalike* from Sandusky pressing those of his Tribe to leave the place, and save themselves, since "all living here would soon be [157] murdered, if they remained in the parts": he thought it his duty to inform the senior Missionary Zeisberger at Lichtenau, 30 Miles distant, of the mischief that was intended here by the Monsey Chief and others from Sandusky. The Missionary without delay having come on, and finding matters worse than he had expected, made known in a public Meeting, that the place would be evacuated; inviting at the same time, all such as had a desire to cleave to the Lord, and rely on *his* help, to get ready to follow their Teachers; a last discourse was delivered, and concluded by a fervent prayer. Next the Chapel was pulled down, that it might not be made use of for heathenish purposes, and the Congregation left the place the same day. [1]

1 But there confusion reigned. Ever since the preceding autumn the Monsey faction on the Walhonding had been secretly inveigling their countrymen among the converts into a plot both against the Delaware Council and the Mission. They won over Augustin Newallike, who, apostate-

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Shoenbrun had been the largest and most handsome Town the Christian Indians had hitherto built, containing upwards of Sixty dwelling houses, most of which were of squared Timbers. The Street from East to west was long and of a proper width; from the Centre, where the Chapel stood, another Street run off to the North. The Inhabitants, had for the greatest part become husbandmen. They had large fields under good rail fences — well pailed Gardens, and fine fruit Trees; besides herds of Cattle, Horses, Horn Cattle and Hogs.[1]

The troubles rapidly encreasing, and the Nation which had

like, immediately lent all his influence to seduce the rest, so that, by the end of the year, there existed a rebellious party which defied the authority of Jungman, and was fast relapsing into heathenism. In February, Newallike openly renounced the Church and betook himself to the Walhonding. The disaffected, soon after, held a secret conclave, at midnight, with one of his emissaries, at which they agreed to disown Christianity, forsake Schonbrunn, and join the Wyandots. But when their faction grew in numbers as rapidly as the influence of the missionaries waned, they became bolder, and concocted a rising of all their adherents, the seizure of the teachers, their forcible removal to Pittsburg, and the return of the converts to the faith and practice of their fathers.

It was a base conspiracy, unparalleled in the history of the Indian Mission. The machinations of the Monseys, however, did not alone give it strength; the missionaries themselves unintentionally fostered it by the differences of opinion which prevailed in their councils. Zeisberger artlessly says: "Schonbrunn was neglected. There was a want of harmony among the missionaries; they were jealous one of the other, and the Indians were left as sheep without a shepherd. Not slow to use this opportunity, Satan sowed tares among the wheat, and the tares grew so rapidly that the wheat was almost choked."

Of all these troubles he had hitherto been kept in ignorance; but now his measures were prompt and authoritative. Supported by his colleagues, who cheerfully united to lend their aid, he announced that the Mission must forthwith be removed to Lichtenau. The faithful part of the membership agreed to go; of the apostates a number refused obedience, and declared that they no longer acknowledged him as their teacher, but others repented and withdrew from this faction. Before the settlement could be broken up, however, and after Zeisberger had returned to Lichtenau, a false report was spread by the perverts that Mingoes were on their way to murder the missionaries. Jungmann and his wife, accompanied by the Conner family, fled to Lichtenau; Heckewelder to Gnadenhutten. Thereupon the conspirators took possession of Schonbrunn, the majority of the converts retiring at their approach. As soon as Heckewelder discovered the stratagem, he hastened back to the town, but heathenism was already rampant, and the few Christians that remained seemed powerless. He sent for Zeisberger, who came at once, and, to some extent, restored order.

Meanwhile everything had been prepared for the emigration. Early in the morning of the nineteenth of April, a short religious service was held, at the close of which Zeisberger fell on his knees and offered up a fervent prayer, committing the converts to the protection of God, and interceding, with strong cries and tears, for the apostate Monseys. As soon as the benediction had been pronounced, the chapel was razed to the ground. The next day, turning their backs upon the pleasant town, and the beautiful spring, and the fair fields, the converts took their sorrowful road to Gnadenhutten, and thence to Lichtenau. Schonbrunn was left in the hands of the Monseys.—*Life and Times of David Zeisberger*, pp. 449, 450, 451, 452.

[1] Zeisberger, Jungmann and his wife, and Edwards were now stationed at Lichtenau. Heckewelder returned to Bethlehem. Jungmann and his wife started on their return to Bethlehem August 6th, and a few days later Schmick and his wife and Schabosch "fled from Gnadenhutten to Litiz," where Schmick died the next year (January 28, 1778).

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invited the Brethren (their Teachers) into the Country being now much concerned for their safety, lest they should be molested, and the blame laid upon [158] them, thought proper to consult their Agent *Tamenend*,[1] (Col. Geo: Morgan) at Pittsburg, on the subject, and take his advice, which was: ["]that they should keep and protect these Teachers from being molested, they being sent by God to them. &c["] they therefore once more would make known to the Nations, that they intended to preserve their neutrality — had received the Word of God, and taken their white Teachers under their protection. This Message being sent in April (1777) to the Wyondots at Sandusky by deputies selected from among the Chiefs themselves, accompanied by two Indian Brethren from Lichtenau; and having been well received, was also forwarded to the Governor at Detroit for his approbation; when in June following the answer returned, was in the following words: "that they, (the "Delawares) should consider the Missionaries, as an invaluable "treasure, on account of the good they did among the Indians, "being the promoters of both their temporal & spiritual welfare "— they therefore should deem themselves fortunate in protec- "ting these Missionaries: and by no means part with them!"

In the Summer the American People renewed their attempts, to incline the Nations to Peace, by holding Conferences with them; and they had also appointed a Treaty to be held at Goschoshking, where the surrounding Nations were to assemble: but the Wyondots, under the influence of the British, used their endeavours, to defeat their object, and a great body of [159] these set out at the very time, for the purpose of murdering the People on the frontiers.

Towards the end of July a Treaty was proposed to be held

[1] See Heckewelder's *History, Manners and Customs of the Indian Nations* (edition of 1881), pp. 300, 301, for an account of this Delaware chief. It is stated in a note there that the first record of him is in his signature by mark to a deed dated April 23, 1683, to William Penn for land in Bucks County, Pa. See also Drake's *Aboriginal Races of North America*, pp. 512, 513.

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at Pittsburg with the Sennecas, but this Treaty was also frustrated by occasion of a party of Americans having fired on a body of Sennecas, that were coming on to the Treaty, who thereby became enraged at the White People, considering them as Traitors, and threatening them with revenge.

Shortly after this an Embassy of 20 Wyondots arrived at Goschachking, offering the War Belt to the Delawares three times successively, and demanding of them, that they should join in the War against the American People, all other Nations having united to fight them; but the Delawares stood firm — refused to accept the Belt & resolved to be at Peace both with the Americans and the English; and in Answer sent a Message to the half King of the Wyondots, to remind him "that at the "Treaty of Peace, concluded at the close of the last War, they "had come to an agreement, and faithfully promised, not to "make War any more upon the White People, as long as the "Sun should shine, and the Rivers flow with Water. — that "they, the Delawares, had engaged, to hold the Chain of friend-"ship with *both* their hands, and therefore had no spare hand to "take hold of a War belt" — As the Wyondot Ambassadors returned home much dissatisfied with this Answer: it appeared very probable, that the Nations might soon become outrageous, and commit [160] Acts of hostility on the Delaware Nation generally — and the danger visibly encreasing from day to day, it was concieved advisable, while it was still practicable, to remove those Missionaries who had families, to a place of safety. Accordingly the Missionaries Schmick and Youngman with their Wifes were safely conducted to Pittsburg, from whence they proceeded to Bethlehem.

On the next day intelligence was received that 200 Wyondot Warriors, headed by the half King,[1] in person, were on

[1] The Half-King was the principal Indian figure in the West during the Revolution. He was the head of the league of Western Indians in the interest of the English and against the Americans. Those having best opportunity to know think he was born in Canada, in a village just across the river from

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their way to Lichtenau. This intelligence was alarming to all, but as a means of temporising with those Savages on their arrival, it was resolved, to give them a kind reception, and feed them well, which was supposed might answer the good purpose of saving the lives of the White Teachers among them. The party

Detroit; they believe also that he died there while on a journey from Sandusky to Detroit to attend a council with the British commandant of that post. The date of his birth is not known and is only conjectured by his relatives now living in the Indian Territory. They believe he was born about 1715, and not later than 1720. There is nothing to support these dates. It is claimed by some Wyandots that he was born at the village afterwards called Brownstown, Michigan, but I regard that as improbable; Governor William Walker, a very intelligent Wyandot who died in Kansas City in 1873, wrote much on the history of his people, and inclined to the belief that the Half-King was born at or near Brownstown. The Half-King was of the Deer Clan of the Wyandot tribe. To this clan belonged the family in which was inherent the sachemship of the Wyandots, and the Half-King was of this family and inherited the office of Principal Chief. Like other Indian chiefs, he had a number of names given him at different periods of his life. These were conferred from time to time as he advanced in rank. One of them was Dā-ōōn$^{ng'}$-quŏt, written in a variety of forms, often Dunquod. This was a Porcupine Clan name and also a title of some office as well, and was conferred upon the Half-King for some act deemed worthy of reward by the council of his tribe. The clan name of the Half-King was Tōō-dä'-rē-zhōō', which means the Great Deer, or the Leader of the Deer, or the Deer which goes Before. It is the Wyandot term for the full-grown male deer. The Delawares conferred upon him the name Pē'-mō-ā'-căn, a Sweat House, in complimentary allusion to the potency of his "medicine" in the councils of the Western Indians. By errors in printing Heckewelder's Narrative this name was made Pomoacan, a Sweet House, an absurdity, for there is no such word in the Delaware language. But this error has gone into all Indian literature having allusion to the Half-King. The Half-King got his English appellation from the superior position to which he attained in the councils of the Western tribes. He was the protector of the king's interests, the king's representative, not alone in his own tribe, but in all the tribes against the Americans and of which his tribe had the direction and oversight. He could not, as the Indians believed, aspire to the title of his English father and be called a king, but it was believed that he could properly be given half that title, which was conferred by the council of his own and of

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arrived on the 8th. day of August at Goshachking the seat of Government, which was 2 Miles distant from Lichtenau; from which latter place the Christian Indians took provisions for them; and addressing them in a very friendly Speech — not omitting flattery and making use of several Strings of Wam-

other tribes, and he was then the Half-King. This idea prevailed in other tribes, and there were others called Half-King. The Wyandot council also "raised him up" to the highest office known to their system of government, that of Sär'-stär-rā'-tsē. This gave him absolute power over the lives and property of his tribe, and it was only because it was believed that he would use it for the good of his people that it was possible for him to receive it. By several writers this title has been confounded with the names of the chiefs upon whom it was conferred. Peter the Rat is said by Drake to have been so named (see also Parkman). He was the greatest man perhaps who ever held that position. Peter D. Clarke takes this title for the name of the individual bearing it (see *Traditional History of the Wyandotts*), as does Governor William Walker (see *Walker Correspondence in Draper Manuscript Collection*, library Wisconsin Historical Society). This great office was rarely given any chief. It expired with the death of the chief holding it, and could be revived only by the national council. It is said to have been bestowed upon the Half-King because of a very successful campaign against the Sacs and Foxes, from time immemorial the enemies of the Wyandots; he carried home a great many scalps and lost not a single warrior. The Half-King died at Detroit, July, 1788 (Zeisberger, *Diary*, Robert Clarke Company, i, p. 421). His relatives say that he died at the house of a relative just across the river from Detroit, in the village where he was born. There has been some discussion as to whether he was ever married. (See Walker Correspondence above referred to.) But there is no doubt of his marriage and none at all that he had a number of children. It is not known that he has any descendants living; none are known in the Wyandot tribe at this time. Two of his sons were killed, as Heckewelder says, *post*. Is now known that they were killed in the fight with the Poes, Adam and Andrew, on the Ohio River, but neither one was known as Big Foot, which appellation seems to have been the invention of some border chronicler. He had a third son named Scotosh or Scotash. It has been denied that this was the son of the Half-King, and pointed out that he belonged to the Porcupine Clan. This fact, rather than disproving him the son of Half-King, goes far to establish that he was. By the Wyandot system of consanguinity every man was obliged to marry outside his own clan, for the reason

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pum; the half King replied: "that the Words spoken to him by his Cousins, had penetrated into his heart; and that he would consult his War Captains on the Subject", which being done, he delivered himself favourably in behalf of the Christian Indians and their Teachers; admonishing the former: "to listen to the latter, and obey them — to attend to their wor-[161]ship, and not meddle with affairs which do not concern them; and they need not be afraid that any harm would be done them".

The Christian Indians however, not trusting to the fair Speeches of this Chief, (his intrigues being well known to

that every woman of his clan was his sister, or supposed to be such, consequently the marriage would have been incestous. The Wyandot woman was the head of the family, and the children were always of the clan to which the mother belonged, never of the father's clan. It is very probable that the Half-King married a woman of the Porcupine Clan. His having the name Dā-ōōn^{ng}'-quŏt, a clan name of the Porcupines, would indicate a marriage into that clan. Hō-rōn'-yū claimed to be a son of the Half-King, but he could have been nothing more than an adopted son, for he was a full-blood Cherokee who had been captured and adopted. He became a chief, and was known as the Cherokee Boy. Half-King's relatives say that he lost most of his children and became a melancholy and irritable man, very difficult to please. He was a man of fair ability, but not so great as Cornstalk, Pontiac, or Tecumseh. But he was a brave warrior and was successful in that intrigue which constituted Indian diplomacy and statesmanship. The Moravians accuse him of treachery and deceit in his dealings with them, but in those matters which affected them most he was but the agent for the execution of orders sent him. For those orders he was no more responsible than other chiefs. Heckewelder relates an incident in which an appeal to his pride saved the life of a young American who was tied to the stake for the torture. He had been sent a captive to the wife of Half-King for adoption in the place of sons lost in war. She refused to accept him, and by Indian custom his rejection was a sentence to death at the stake. (See *History, Manners, and Customs of the Indian Nations*, edition of 1881, p. 173.) This man was David Edgerton. See *History of the Girtys*. After the death of the Half-King the office or rank of Sär'-stär-rā'-tsē was not conferred upon any one until March 22, 1898, when William E. Connelley, the writer hereof, was adopted into the family of the Half-King, given the clan name formerly belonging to him, and invested with the

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them,) had appointed a runner, who was to place himself at the Door of the Council house, ready to set off the moment he discovered ill intentions against the Inhabitants of the place; when the whole Congregation would embark in their Canows, which were kept in readiness for to take flight down the River Muskingum. However, all ending well, the half King with his chief Captains and 82 of his Warriors came to Lichtenau, and meeting with the Missionaries Zeisberger and Edwards, he shook hands with them, addressing them *"Father"*, to which these made a proper reply. Next this half King sent Messengers to Detroit and to the Chiefs of the Wyondots near that place, to inform these of the Covenant made by him with the Christian Indians; and that he, and his Warriors, had acknowledged the White Brethren (the Missionaries) to be their Fathers; and henceforth would consider them as such.

The two Congregations Lichtenau and Gnadenhutten, about 27 Miles assunder, had now each only one Missionary left, and the prospect before them was that of a succession of external troubles. These two Brethren had however made a Covenant, to re-[162]main with their People, and to prefer suffering death, to that of deserting their Posts.

From the time that the half King had declared the Brethren as a useful People among his Cousins the Delawares; and

office of Sär'-stär-rā'-tsē of the Wyandots, on Sycamore Creek, on the Reservation of the tribe, in the Indian Territory. There are a number of families in the tribe belonging to the family of the Half-King. The laws of kinship in the tribe made it impossible for his sons to belong to his family; as they belonged to another clan they were counted as not his relatives but sons of the clan of their mother. The sons of the Half-King's sisters were counted as his sons and their daughters were counted his daughters. Mrs. Catherine Johnson is the oldest representative of that ancient family of the Deer Clan whose sons were of right the sachems of the Wyandot tribe. It was into her family that I was adopted. When I was "raised up" to fill the place of her great relative I became her great-grandfather, called by her, grandfather. Smith Nichols, a Quaker preacher living near her, is the hereditary sachem of the Wyandots; he officiated at my adoption.

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had assured them of his protection: he had kept a watchful eye over them; and altho himself and his Nation were intent on fighting against the American People; yet they avoided as much as possible coming near the Settlements of the Christian Indians — he frequently enquiring of these, how his People conducted themselves, when passing that way.

The providing so many Warriors at times with Victuals, was a very disagreeable business for the Inhabitants of Lichtenau; yet it could not be avoided, especially with the more Northern Indians, who were both noisy and mischievous, if not served with the Article. Upon the whole the quickest way to get rid of all Warriors, is to give them a Meals Victuals, which is all they want, and to refuse them this would be folly, as then they would shoot Cattle, and destroy the Corn in the fields.

The Missionaries and Christian Indians were not without fears, that ill disposed Persons on the American side, might construe such acts, unavoidable as they were, as furnishing the Warriors with Provision for carrying on their War expeditions against them; nor were they mistaken in the supposition, since by some, the Christian Indians had been branded with the name of Enemies to American People, on that very ac-[163]count. the here subjoined facts however, will, it is hoped, exhonerate the Christian Indians of charges of this kind.

First, It is a settled point with Indian *Warriors*, that where begging or asking for any thing in the provision way, is not complied with, or refused them, they make free to take. and where they must take, they destroy purposely, because the Person applied to for to give them the provision Article, appears in *their* Eyes devoid of hospitality*, and consequently devoid of feelings — and an *inhuman* being

Secondly. No Indian Warrior encumbers himself with Provisions on going out against the Enemy — or to War; a few Quarts of parched Corn finely pounded, with a little Sugar mixed therewith, will serve an Indian for many days, and this

*see Heckewelders history

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is always prepared for them at home, previous to their setting out: and knowing, that wherever they are they can get Meat with their Guns, they take but little along with them.

Thirdly Warriors are not always permitted to eat their fill, nor even to eat any kind of food. they have to regulate themselves by a perscription given them by their Captain, who has either received it from an old Veteran, or from a Conjuror — even sometimes fasting is recommended, and much (they say) depends on their success, in living up to the directions prescribed them

[164] *Fourthly.* It is always supposed by them, that being arrived in the Settlements of the White People, they will find Provision in one place or other, so as to sattisfy their wants.

Now what is the demand of the Warrior on arriving at an Indian Town on his way? Nothing but a Meals Victuals, if so be that he makes a halt, which however is seldom the case, and never, except they have some particular business, or a Speech to deliver to the Inhabitants of the place they have arrived at. A few Ears of Indian Corn — a Pumpkin or a few Squashes given them, not only prevents their doing mischief, as shooting down Cattle and the like, but what is of greater consequence, is, that it gives You the liberty of feeding their half starved Prisoners, when on the return — nay more: Your hospitality to them is in the Eye of the Warrior of such consequence, that at the supplication of the Women, Prisoners, have not only been protected against insults and blows, but have sometimes even been liberated, and again restored to their connections

In the Autum of this Year (1777) a report was circulated throughout the Indian Country, that an American General, hostile to all Indians, had taken the Command at Pittsburg, and was already on his march to Goshachking. On this report Pipes party were on the alert, he having declared that he would join the Wyondots in expelling them. Consternation and fear had such an effect on many, that they fled [165] accross the River into the Woods; while others tho disbelieving the report, had

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to go with the rest to avoid suspicion. Thus were the Towns of Goschachking and Lichtenau, evacuated for one Night, when in the morning they returned to their respective homes again, on the report being found to have been false. A similar report had nearly put them to flight a second time, when fortunately an Indian Messenger arrived with friendly Speeches, both from the Commandant and Indian Agent, Col: Geo: Morgan at Pittsburg, assuring the Delawares, that they had nothing to fear from their side.

However in the beginning of October, a party of freebooters from the Ohio Settlements, in defiance of the Commandants endeavours to restrain them from it, crossed the Ohio with intention to destroy the peaceable Delaware Settlements on the Muskingum; when however, being timely discovered by a party of Wyondots, headed by the half King, they were attacked and totally defeated.*

This affair having taken place so shortly after peace Messages had been received from Pittsburg, caused some consternation, among many of the Delawares, and it was scarcely possible for the peaceable Chiefs, to set the minds of their People at ease, and to convince them, that there was no real danger. Indeed those of Pipes party declared: that they would hold [166] themselves in readiness to meet any White People, who should be found coming out to murder their Women and Children. [1]

Zeisberger having the welfare of the Nation, and the safety of the Christian Indians, much at heart, now sent a serious re-

*see Loskiel Part III. Chap. VII.

[1] "In the beginning of October, an engagement took place between a party of Hurons and a troop of American freebooters, who went contrary to the express orders 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."—*History of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Indians in North America*, Part III, p. 129.

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monstrance to the Council of the Delawares, positively declaring, that the Christian Indians would forsake the Country, as soon as the Nation should go to War, which declaration had the effect, that the Chiefs from all places assembled to a general Council, when on the 31st. of October, the firm resolution was taken, to preserve the Peace and neutrality without exception, and at all hazards.

Notwithstanding the external troubles, of which the Christian Indians had to endure a great share throughout this Year: internally they were in the full enjoyment of the blessings and comforts, so abundantly flowing to those who fear the Lord, and walk in his ways — and the daily Meetings, were kept in their usual order, being attended more or less by the neighbouring Delawares; of whom some felt the power of the Gospel on their hearts, and were at their request admitted as Members of the Congregation.

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CHAPTER XVI.

EARLY in the Spring of 1778 the Wyondots and Mingoes (Iroquois) began to commit hostilities against the American People, attacking, plundering and murdering them on their Plantations, and returning: would sometimes purposely pass with their Prisoners and Scalps, thro the peaceable Delaware Indian Set-[167]tlements, in order to iritate or disturb the inhabitants, or if possible to draw the Enemy while in pursuit of them, on these, taking such to be the aggressors — Yet on all occasions where they made a halt with their Prissoners, the Women of the Village would take Provision to the Prissoners, and stand by them, until these had satisfied their hunger.

At one time in this Spring a party of Shawanos were discovered resting with their Prisoners an old Man and two Youths, at a Spring about 2 Miles distant from Lichtenau. Immediately the Women from the Town, collected Provision — went and fed the poor half starved Creatures, and being particularly moved with compassion for the old Man, they made an attempt to ransom him, but in this instance did not succeed, being told that his destination had already been fixed on. However Providence had deemed otherwise, for after some time when they were on Sciota, deliberating on the time and manner of putting him to death, a prisoner Girl, who had overheard them, took a bridle to him, bidding him to hasten to a certain spot in the Woods, where he would meet with Horses, one of which he should mount and ride off. The Man did so, and altho found out and pursued, he escaped, and was accidentally found by two Boys in the Woods 8 Miles from Lichtenau, Ten days after he had first started. The Boys who found him, reported the Man no more able to walk, and his horse quite worn down. Of course this Man was brought in by the hospitable [168] and Sympathizing Christian Indians — well taken care

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of, and after having gained sufficient strength taken to Pittsburg. On his first being brought to the Missionaries house, he fell on his knees exclaiming: "Merciful God! be praised that "thou hast brought me wretched creature, to a Christian People! "If it be thy will, that I shall die in this place, be it so, I am "happy and contented!"

While this poor Man was on his flight and quite lost in the Woods, he accidentally had fell in with a Delaware Indian, who while out hunting, having caught a large Fish which he had just roasted for himself, he immediately gave to this half starved White Man to eat, and besides, took him some Miles distance thro the Woods, to put him on the path, the Man being lost.

The Chiefs and Council of Goshachking, as the Protectors of the Christian Indians; would frequently consult the Missionaries on matters necessary for the preservation of Peace. — they had repeatedly declared, that nothing should withdraw their confidence from their American Brethren, who, together with them had sprung up from the same Soil. that these their Brethren had told them at the Treaty at Pittsburg, "*not* to join "either side with a hostile intention — not to go to War against "the English, no more than against them; and which Language "these their American brethren, still held forth to them, while "on the other hand the English, who called themselves their "fathers, were con-[169]tinually teazing them, to take up the "Hatchet, and kill the Americans, their Brethren" — They (the Chiefs and Council) called now again on the Christian Indians, to go hand in hand with them towards peace measures, and in saving lives; not in destroying them, adding: "You Christians are in possession of the great Book", (the Bible) "do therefore in all matters as that Book tells You!"

Untill of late the Missionaries would not give credit to any reports, (and many there were from time to time,) which stated, "that the Governor of Detroit was determined, to compel "all the Indians, be they who they might, the Christian Indians "not excepted: to turn out and fight the American People, (or

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"Rebels as he termed them) and that he would even punish all "such as did not obey his Orders:" but sorry were they to see, by a Letter which bore the signature of the Governor, that not only what they had heard on the subject proved to be true, but that, if the threats contained in this Letter were carried into execution, all Missions amongst these Indians would at once be at an end. This Letter was of such a nature, that the Missionary Zeisberger after perusal, thought proper to commit [it] at once to the flames; and fervently to pray to Almighty God, to avert such disasters falling on his People. One hope however remained, and which was, that the Letter, tho having the signature of the Governor, yet perhaps might be a forged one, and [170] written by one of the Agents or Subalterns in the Indian Country. [1]

[1] "One day a Wyandot entered the Mission House and handed him [Zeisberger] a letter with an official seal. It purported to be from Governor Hamilton, and commanded the Moravian missionaries to arm their Indians, put themselves at their head, and march against the 'rebels' beyond the Ohio, whom they were indiscriminately to attack on their farms and in their settlements, slaying without mercy and bringing the scalps to Detroit. Terrible threats were added if they refused to obey this order.

"Zeisberger was horror-stricken. To an ordained minister of Christ, preaching peace, having for years devoted his strength of body and mind to civilize the savages, using every effort, at this time, to stop the massacres and alleviate the misery of the border war, the idea that a Christian man and British officer should require missionaries to incite their converts to deeds of blood seemed iniquitous beyond expression. Hurrying to the fire-place, he threw the sheet into the flames. But he could not forget its contents. It plunged him into a state of mental depression which he vainly endeavored to shake off. Unburdening his heart, several weeks later, to Heckewelder, he said: 'Oh, what sorrow that letter has caused me! I cannot think of it without dying a sort of death—it was too horrible a production!' "—*Life and Times of David Zeisberger*, pp. 460, 461.

The above is based on Heckewelder's MS. Biographical Sketch of Zeisberger, and not on the text to which this is a note. Thus we have two accounts of the matter by Heckewelder; they do not conflict. Heckewelder certainly wrote down what Zeisberger told him about the letter. If there was

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Added to the above, an occurrence had taken place, which of itself was enough to break the heart of the Missionaries, and especially that of the faithful and Pious servant of God, David Zeisberger. It was that of the unexpected arrival at Goschachking, of a number of disaffected Persons from Pittsburg, led on by Alexander M^c^Kee,[1] Matthew Elliott, and Simon Girty —

exaggeration it was not by Heckewelder. Zeisberger is the only man who read the letter after its delivery; Heckewelder makes no pretension of having seen it. Yet, my former good friend, C. W. Butterfield, who died a few years since in South Omaha, in his *History of the Girtys*, charges Heckewelder with exaggeration in his account, most unjustly, as I believe. The following is his account of the matter:

That a letter was sent by Hamilton, at Detroit, to one of the Moravian missionaries upon the Tuscarawas (in the present state of Ohio), naturally awakens a curiosity to know its contents. It was dispatched January 11, 1778. The writer of the missive afterwards gives the purport of it in a letter to his superior:

"Four days since, a young man [Edward Hazle] set out from this place [Detroit] to the Delaware towns, where a Moravian minister resides, with the design of engaging him to disperse some papers signed by several of the prisoners taken and brought in by the Indians—the purport of them to show that persons well affected to government may be assured of a safe conduct to this place, if they will agree upon a place of rendezvous, and that an officer (of the Indian Department), with an interpreter, shall be sent to escort them through the Indian villages."—Hamilton to General Carleton [January 15, 1778], in Michigan Pioneer Collections, Vol. IX, p. 432. It is certain, however, that it contained, in addition, a request for the missionaries to arm their Indians and march against the "rebels." But that he actually wrote the Moravian teachers to attack them indiscriminately on their farms and in their settlements, slaying without mercy, and to bring their scalps to Detroit, as the exaggeration of Heckewelder has it, can not be believed. Hamilton would not have so written, however much the language would have been in accord with his wishes. Schweinitz, in his Life of Zeisberger (pp. 460, 461), not dreaming that it can be possible for Heckewelder to "stretch the truth," is in great doubt as to the genuineness of Hamilton's letter, notwithstanding it had "an official seal" affixed.—*History of the Girtys*, pp. 66, 67.

Dr. Schweinitz is in no more doubt as to the genuineness of the letter than is Heckewelder in the text to which this is a note. If there were any doubts as to Hamilton's course there might be grounds for doubting that he wrote this letter. The letter urged the missionaries to have the Christian Indians do what the pagan Indians were doing by his direction. It must be remembered that this letter came from "the hair buyer."

[1] Alexander McKee was born in the settlements of Pennsylvania east of the mountains. His home was at one time in Path Valley, where he was the leader of a Tory band. Elliott was his neighbor and associate at the time, and they were compelled to leave that part of the State. They both engaged in the Indian trade, and McKee was for a time Indian Agent for the Crown. He accumulated considerable means. From 1768 to 1772 he was associated with Alexander Ross in trading with the Indians. Was a justice of the peace in Bedford County, Pa., in 1771, also in Westmoreland County in 1773. Was

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all three very suspicious and dangerous Characters; the first of whom had been an Indian Agent of the British Government, but permitted by the United States to go at large, on parole — the second named, was the same Person, who as noticed above came into Lichtenau in 1776 with a cargo of Goods — was taken Prisoner at Waketameki and afterwards brought to Detroit, and had afterwards been heard to boast of the clandestine manner in which he had procured his liberation from the British, tho at the same time having a British Captains Commission in his pocket. — The third, was Simon Girty,[1] a depraved wretch,

required, April 9, 1776, by Virginia to give his parole not to trade with the Indians on behalf of the Crown. In 1777 he was living on a farm in the vicinity of Fort Pitt, and about the last of August of that year General Hand brought him to the fort and confined him a prisoner, partly for his safety and partly that he was under suspicion of being in communication with the British. He was in danger from the people, they believing him a conspirator with others to murder the patriots of the West and take possession of the country for the British in accordance with a proclamation issued by Hamilton. December 29, 1777, he was requested to report to Continental Board of War at York Town, Pa., but made excuses that postponed his compliance. February 7, 1778, the order was repeated. By pretending that he was sick he contrived to remain in the country about Fort Pitt, all the time making preparation to escape to Detroit. On March 28, 1778, he and his cousin, Robert Surphit, Elliott, Girty, a man named Higgins, and two negro slaves belonging to McKee, crossed the Ohio into the Indian country on their way to Detroit. There McKee was given his former position. He found many opportunities to distress the American settlers until after Wayne's treaty. Much of his career will come to light in the following pages of the text. He married an Indian woman and raised a family of half-breeds. Died at his home on the Thames, Canada, January 15, 1799, and was buried at the farm of his son Thomas, with much pomp, at Petitte Cote, January 17. To Americans his memory is that of a traitor and conspirator who scourged the denfenseless settlements to gratify his malice toward his own people whom he deserted and betrayed.

[1] Simon Girty's father was named Simon Girty; he emigrated from Ireland and settled on the Susquehanna in Pennsylvania about 1730. There he was a pack-horse driver for Indian traders. He finally became a trader himself. He married Mary Newton, an English girl, about 1737. The first

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who formerly had been employed as an Indian Interpreter. These Men, well known to the Indian Nations, had, wherever they passed thro Indian Villages, but particularly at Goshachking, propogated abominable falsehoods respecting the War, and the situation the People were in beyond the Mountains, (or in the Atlantic States) adding, "that it was the determination of

child, Thomas, was born in 1739. The second was named Simon; born in 1741. The third, James, was born in 1743. George, the fourth son, was born in 1745. There were no other children. Girty lived at Chamber's Mill, on the east side of the Susquehanna, just above the present city of Harrisburg, then in Lancaster, now in Dauphin County. He was a wild and reckless man, and given to drunkenness. He was killed at his home in a drunken carousal by an Indian known as "The Fish," about 1751. There was living with Girty at the time a man named John Turner, and he immediately killed "The Fish." Turner married Mrs. Girty in 1753. Of this union there was born a son, called John. Turner moved with his family into Sherman's Valley. During an Indian raid into that country in 1756 the people took refuge in Fort Granville. It was believed impossible to defend the fort, and upon promise of fair treatment John Turner surrendered it to the party of French and Indians having it invested; this was July 30, 1756. He and his family were carried to the Delaware village called Kittanning, on the site of the present town of that name, county seat of Armstrong County, Pa. There John Turner was burned at the stake by the Indians in the presence of his family. Thomas Girty was rescued by Col. Armstrong, who destroyed the town September 8, 1756. Mrs. Turner and her youngest child were taken by the Delawares to Fort Du Quesne and from thence into the wilderness. Simon was claimed by the Senecas, James by the Shawnees, and George by the Delawares, each being carried to the country of the tribe into the custody of which he had been given. Simon was at that time fifteen years of age. After the capture of Fort Du Quesne by General Forbes the Indians were called to council, and during the negotiations they surrendered their English prisoners, among them Mrs. Turner, her son John, and the three Girty boys. Each of the Girtys had mastered the language of the tribe with whom he had lived; and they lived in the vicinity of Fort Pitt aiding traders with the Indians and doing other frontier work until Dunmore's war. Simon was often employed by the authorities as official interpreter, for which service he was paid one dollar a day. In Dunmore's war he was a scout and messenger, associated with Simon Kenton, then known as Simon Butler. There is little doubt that Simon Girty is the person to whom

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"the American People, to kill and destroy the [171] whole In-
"dian race — be they friends or foes, and posess themselves of
"their Country; and that at this present time — while they were
"embodying themselves for the purpose, they were preparing
"fine sounding Speeches to deceive them, that they might with
"the more safety fall upon and murder them. That now was
"the time and the only time, for all Nations to rise, and turn

Logan delivered his famous speech to be transmitted to the council of chiefs and officers negotiating a treaty of peace. Kenton delivered it to Colonel Gibson, who wrote it down and read it to the assembly. In that war he met the Wyandots, and as he spoke a language learned in a kindred tribe he could readily converse with them, and soon mastered their language. In the controversy between Virginia and Pennsylvania about the ownership of the country around Fort Pitt Girty sided with Virginia and became a supporter of Dunmore's agent, Dr. Connolly. He was indicted by the Westmoreland (Pa.) County Court in 1773, for connection with this controversy. Girty remained at Fort Pitt, sometimes in the service of the crown and going out against the Indians, until he deserted at the solicitation of McKee. After that he became the most despised character connected with our history. His career from that time is well known and will not be reviewed here. He was a renegade, a traitor, and delighted in the cruelty practiced by the Indians towards the American settlers and the captives who fell into their hands. Much that he did will develop in this work. He married a Miss Catherine Malott, who had been captured by the Indians, and they settled on a farm near Amherstburg, Canada, where he died February 18, 1818. He was buried on the farm. He left a widow and three children. His children were James, George, and Ann. George married a Delaware woman and left several children; was a drunkard and worthless. James married a Shawnee woman named Betsey. Ann married Peter Govereau. Girty was about five feet nine inches in height; had black hair; black eyes; short thick neck, and round full frame; was strong and active; he lost his sight and died a blind man. O. M. Spencer, a captive, saw him once and thus describes him: "His dark, shaggy hair; his low forehead; his brows contracted, and meeting above his short, flat nose; his gray, sunken eyes, averting the ingenious gaze; his lips thin and compressed; and the dark and sinister expression of his countenance;—to me seemed the very picture of a villain." The best authority on Girty's life is C. W. Butterfield's *History of the Girtys*, Cincinnati, Robert Clarke & Co., 1890, from which this sketch is compiled.

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"out to a Man against these intruders — not even to suffer them "to cross the Ohio, but fall upon them where they should "find them; which if not done without delay, their Country "would be lost to them forever!"

The consternation caused among the Delawares on hearing these reports, was, as might be expected, very great, altho Captⁿ. White Eyes and other Chiefs, could not give credit to reports of this kind, especially when coming from such Characters as they did; but as the Nation thro these had been roused to commence War immediately against the People of the United States, and he, (White Eyes) well knew that his conduct in this affair would be closely watched by his rival, Captain Pipe on the Walhonding, he called a general Council of the Nation, in which he proposed a delay of committing hostilities against the American People, for Ten days, during which time they might obtain more certain information, as to the truth of the assertions of these Men; either, (as he hoped) from Tamenend (Col. Morgan) or Col. Gibson,[1] or some other friend of theirs, who

[1] John Gibson was born at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, May 23, 1740: died at Braddock's Field, Allegheny County, April 10, 1822. He received a classical education. Entered the service at the age of eighteen. His first campaign was with General Forbes in 1758, and was at the capture of Fort Du Quesne—afterwards Fort Pitt. Settled at Fort Pitt, and there he engaged in the Indian trade. In 1763 he and two companions were descending the Ohio in a canoe when they were captured by Indians at the mouth of Beaver, now Beaver County, Pa. One of his companions was at once tortured at the stake; the other suffered a similar fate at the mouth of the Kanawha. Gibson escaped death by his adoption by a squaw in place of a son killed in battle. He remained a captive until the prisoners were surrendered to Bouquet, when he returned to Pittsburg and again became an Indian trader. He was one of the principal actors of the Dunmore War, and it is probable that he wrote the famous speech of Logan, the Mingoe, from the recital of Simon Girty, by whom the great chief sent it to the council of treaty. In 1775 he made a tour of the Western tribes in the interest of the Continental Congress. Upon his return he enlisted as a soldier in the Revolution, and was advanced in rank until he became Colonel of the Thirteenth Virginia Regiment in 1778, at Fort

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would give them notice. Pipe, [172] considering this a proper time of placing White Eyes in the back ground, construed this wise and prudent advice of his, as tho he was in the secret; and now proposed to his own Council, "to declare every Man "an Enemy to the Nation, that should throw an obstacle in the "way that might tend to prevent the taking up Arms immedi- "ately against the American People". White Eyes, seeing the blow aimed against himself, once more assembled his Men, and told them: "that if they meant in earnest to go out, (as he ob- "served some of them were preparing to do,) they should not "go without *him*. *He* had taken peace measures in order to "save the Nation from utter destruction. But if they believed "that he was in the wrong, and gave more credit to vagabond "fugitives, whom he knew to be such, than to himself who was "best acquainted with the real state of things; — if they had "determined to follow their advice, and go out against the "Americans, he would go out with them; yet not after the man- "ner of a Man on the Bear chase — setting the Dogs on the "Animal for *him* to beat them about with his paws while he "himself keeps at a proper distance;* no! *he* would himself "lead them on, place himself in the front, and be the *first* who "should fall. They only had to determine on what they meant "to do; for his own Mind was fully made up not to survive his "Nation, and he would not spend the remainder of a miserable "life, in bewailing [173] the total destruction of a brave people, "who deserved a better fate".§

*here the blow aimed by Capt. Pipe at Captn. White Eyes, reverts back on Pipe.

§In Heckewelders history of Indian Nations, Chap. XV. page 139-40. the remarkable part of White Eye's address, where he quotes a Bear Chase, was accidentally omitted; this Narrative not being in his hands at the time.

Pitt, at which post he remained until the close of the war. He was Secretary of the Territory of Indiana until it became a state, and by virtue of his office was at one time Acting-Governor. Was a Judge in Allegheny County, Pa., and at the time of his death was a pensioner for services in the War of the Revolution.

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This spirited address of White Eyes had the desired effect — all declared that they would wait untill the 10 days were expired: and many added: that they never would go to war against the American People, unless they had him, (White Eyes) for their leader.

It so happened, that the Brethren in Bethlehem towards the latter end of February of this Year, (1778) feeling an uncommon anxiety for the fate of the Missionaries and Christian Indians on Muskingum, they not having received a single Letter, or obtained any account of them for the last 6 Months, they applied to the writer of this Narrative, who in the last Summer had come to Bethlehem on a Visit, to proceed to Pittsburg for the purpose; and if when there it was believed to be practicable and safe, even to repair, to his post at Lichtenau: to which he readily agreeing, brother John Shabosh, who had been prevented from returning to his family at Gnadenhutten ever since August last, would cheerfully accompany him.

Some circumstances at that time, making it necessary for us to be furnished with a passport from the highest authority, we waited on the President of Congress, Henry Laurens Esq[r].[1] as also on the Secretary [174] of War, Horatio Gates,[2] who

[1] Henry Laurens was born at Charleston, S. C., in 1724, and died there in 1792. He was a Delegate to Congress in 1776, and was President of that body in 1777 and 1778. Was one of the Commissioners to conclude peace at Paris in 1782.

[2] Horatio Gates was born at Maldon, England, in 1728: died in New York, April 10, 1806. Was a Captain in the Braddock campaign. At the conclusion of the French and Indian War he settled in Berkeley County, Va. In 1775 he was made adjutant in the American army. Was given command in the North in 1777, succeeding General Schuyler; defeated Burgoyne in the battle of Stillwater, October 7, 1777; Burgoyne surrendered to him at Saratoga, October 17. In November of that year he was made President of the Board of War and Ordnance; was in the "Conway Cabal," an intrigue to supplant General Washington in the command of the American armies. Was appointed to the command of the South in June, 1780, and on August 16, of that year, was defeated at Camden by Cornwallis, and soon thereafter succeeded by General Greene.

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at that time were sitting at Yorktown Pennsylvania; both which Gentlemen spoke very hig[h]ly of the laudable undertaking the Brethren were engaged in, of propogating the Gospel among the Indians, for the purpose of bring[ing] these to embrace Christianity, and become a civilized People; assuring us, that nothing shall be wanting on their part, in lending a hand, whenever in their power towards such a good work, and in granting us protection when required; adding, "that it had been the wish of "Congress from the beginning of the War between Great Britain "and the Colonies: that the Indian Nations could be brought to "see it their interest, to remain neutral during the Contest, and "not join either side, as the only way for them to escape being "censured and hurt by either; but finally become a happy People, "and united with the White C[h]ristians".

Being supplied with a passport to Pittsburg, we pursued our Journey, meeting with no further difficulties by the way to that place, except the sight of so many deserted houses along the Glades, on the Doors of which was written either with Chalk or Coal: "Good People, avoid this Road, for the Indians are out a murdering us!" and again, as we drew nearer to Pittsburg, the unfavourable account, of the elopement of M°Kee[,] Elliot, Girty and others from the latter place, to the Indian Country, for the purpose of instigating the Indians to murder them; as was generally expected. Indeed the gloomy countenances of all Men, [175] Women and Children, that we passed, bespoke fear, nay some families even spoke of leaving their farms and moving off.

Far greater was the consternation of the People at Pittsburg, and especially that of the Commandant of the place, Col. Edward Hand[1] and Col. John Gibson; on whom all Eyes were

[1] Edward Hand was born at Clyduff, Kings County, Ireland, December 31, 1744: died at Rockford, Lancaster County, Pa., September 3, 1802. He came to America as surgeon's mate in the Eighteenth Royal Irish Regulars, but resigned and settled in Pennsylvania to practice his profession. In 1775 he was Lieutenant-Colonel in Thompson's Regiment; promoted to Colonel March 1, 1776; in the battles of Long Island and Trenton; advanced to the

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fixed with regard to future safety. Of those Men who had eloped but a few days since, the worst might but reasonably be expected — their disaffection to the United States — their disposition to act hostile — the influence they would have over the minds at least of many of the poor Indians in decieving them — and the means they would have at command for the purpose of enforcing their evil designs, might be calculated on with certainty. In vain had the Commandant sought for a trusty runner, to carry out pacific Speeches to the peaceable Delawares; the risk of going out at a time when it was known that the War parties were out, and probably every path beset by them, being thought too great. Even the above named Gentlemen with many others of the place, however anxious they were that something might be done to prevent the Delawares from being decieved: yet would not venture to advise us to go out at this present time, declaring that if we should go, and escape, it must be considered a Miracle.

However, the matter appearing to us of the greatest importance, we had given it a due consideration during the Night, the result of which was: that in our [176] view it appeared clear, that the preservation of the Delaware Nation; and the existence of our Mission, solely depended on the Nation being at Peace; and that a contrary course, would tend to the total ruin of the whole — That were we at this time to neglect, or withdraw ourselves from performing a service — nay a duty, in that of exposing the vile intentions of a depraved set of beings, whose evil designs were but too well known; we must become accountable to our God. That therefore, we would in reliance on the strong hand of Providence go out at the hazard of our lives, or at least make the attempt.

Accordingly on the morning we made this our resolution known to Colonels Hand and Gibson, whose best wishes for our

rank of Brigadier-General April 1, 1777; commanded at Fort Pitt from June 1, 1777, to August, 1778; succeeded General Stark at Albany October, 1778; in 1780 commanded brigade of light infantry; was Adjutant-General at the close of the Revolution.

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success, we were assured of — and leaving our baggage behind, and turning a deaf Ear to all entreaties of well meaning friends, who considered us lost if we went: we crossed the Allegheny River, and on the third day at Eleven o Clock at Night, reached Gnadenhutten, after having at several times narrowly escaped falling in with War parties; and indeed in one instance, while encamped on the big Beaver near the Mouth, where a party of Warriors in that very Night, were murdering People on Racoon Creek, not many Miles distant from where we were, tho at that time not known to us. We had travelled day and Night, only leaving our Horses time to feed — crossed the big Beaver which overflowed its banks, on a [177] Raft we had made of Poles, other large Creeks on the way we swam with our Horses, and never attempted to kindle a fire, for fear of being discovered by Warriors, thro their smelling fire by the smoke.

When arrived within a few Miles of Gnadenhutten, we distinctly heard the beat of a Drum, and on drawing nigher, the War Song, sung to the beat of this Drum, all which being in the direction the Town lay, we naturally concluded, that the Christian Indians must have moved off, wherefore we proceeded with caution, lest we should fall into the Warriors hands. However, the People being yet there, informed us: that those Warriors we had heard, were Wyondots from Sandusky, arrived but that Evening, and were encamped on the Bluff 2 Miles below the Town, on the opposite side of the River — and who probably would the next Morning, travel along the path we had just come.

Fatigued as we were after such a Journey and that without one hour of sound sleep: I was now hard pressed by the Inhabitants of the place, Men and Women, not to delay any time, but to proceed on to Goshachking (near 30 Miles distant[)], where all was bustle and confusion, and many preparing to go off to War against the American People, in consequence of the advice given them by those deserters above named, who had told them, that the American People were embodying themselves at this present time, for the purpose of killing every Indian they should

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meet with, be such friend or foe &c — further we were told: that [178] Captain White Eyes had been threatened to be killed, if he persisted in vindicating the Character of the American People; many believing the stories told them by M^c^Kee and associates, and had in consequence already shaved their heads ready to lay the plume* on, and turn out to war, so soon as the Ten days, which White Eyes had desired them to wait, should be expired — and tomorrow being already the ninth day, and no Message having yet arrived from their friends at Pittsburg: they now would be preparing to go — and further, that this place, Gnadenhutten was now breaking up, for its inhabitants to join the Congregation at Lichtenau, those deserters having assured them, that they were not a day safe from an attack by the Americans, while they remained here.

Finding the matter so *very* pressing, and even not admitting of a days delay: I consented, that after a few hours rest and sleep, and furnished with a trusty companion and fresh Horse, I would proceed on; when between 3 and 4 o Clock in the morning, the National Assistant John Martin, having called on me for the purpose, we set out, swimming our Horses across the Muskingum River, and taking a circuit thro the Woods, in order to avoid the encampment [179] of the War party which was close to our path. Arriving by 10 o Clock in the forenoon within sight of the Town, a few Yells were given by a Person who had discovered us, intended to notify the Inhabitants, that a White Man was coming, and which immediately drew the whole body of Indians into the Street; but altho I saluted these in passing them, not a single Person returned the Compliment, which, as my Conductor observed was no good omen. Even Captn. White Eyes, and the other Chiefs, who always had befriended me, now

*This plume distinguishes the Warrior; & is only laid on when he is going off to War. *that* tuft of hair on their heads termed the Scalp, being daubed over with Tallow, the *White* plume from the head of the Eagle, is stuck on. they say: that this conveys the courage of that Bird on them. *Long* Feathers are only made use of as an Ornament[.]

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stepped back when I reached out my hand to them, which strange conduct however did not dismay me, since I observed among the croud some Men, well known to me as Spies of Captⁿ. Pipes, now watching the actions of these Peace Chiefs, wherefore I was satisfied that the Act of refusing me the hand, had been done from policy, and not from any ill will towards my Person. Indeed in looking around, I thought I could read in the countenances of many of them, Joy in se[e]ing me among them, at so critical a juncture, when they, but a few days since had been told by those deserters, that nothing short of their total destruction, had been resolved upon by the "long Knifes" (the Virginians, or *now*, American People). Yet as no one would reach out his hand to me, I enquired into the cause, when Captⁿ. White Eyes boldly stepping forward, replied: "that by what had been told "them by those Men (Mᶜ Kee and party) they no more had a "single friend among the Ameri-[180]can People, if therefore "this be so, they must consider *every* White Man, who came to "them from that side, as an Enemy, who only came to them to "decieve them, and put them off their guard for the purpose of "giving that Enemy an Opportunity of taking them by sur-"prise"! I replied, that the imputation was unfounded; and that, were I not their friend, they never would have seen me here. "Then["], (continued Captain White Eyes) "you will tell us the truth with regard to what I state to You!" — assuring him of this, he in an authorotive tone asked me: "Are the American "Armies all cut to pieces by the English troops? Is General "Washington killed? Is there no more a Congress, and have "the English hung some of these, and taken the remainder to "England to hang them there? Is the whole Country beyond "the Mountains in the posession of the English; and are the few "thousand Americans who have escaped them, now embodying "themselves on this side of the Mountains for the purpose of "killing all the Indians in this Country, even our Women and "Children? Now do not decieve us, but speak the truth" (added he) "Is this all true what I have said to You?" I declared

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before the whole assembly, that not one word of the whole what he had just now told me, was true: and holding out to him, as I had done before, the friendly Speeches sent by me for them, which he however as yet refused to accept, I thought by the countenances of most of the bystanders, that I could read that the moment bid fair [181] for their listening at least to the contents of those Speeches, and accidentally catching the Eye of the Drummer, I called to him by Name to beat the Drum for the Assembly to meet for the purpose of hearing what their American Brethren had to say to them! A general smile having taken place, White Eyes thought the favourable moment arrived for to put the Question — and having addressed the Assembly in the Words: "Shall we, my friends and relatives listen once more to those who call us their Brethren"? which question being loudly and as with one Voice answered in the Affirmative; the Drum was beat; and the whole body quickly repairing to the spacious Council house, the Speeches, all of which were of the most pacific nature were read and interpreted to them; when Capt[n]. White Eyes rose, and by an elaborate address to the Assembly, took particular notice of the good disposition of the American People towards the Indians; observing, that these had never as yet, called on them to fight the English, knowing that Wars are destructive to Nations. that these had from the beginning of the War, to the present time always advised them (the Ind[s]) to remain quiet, and not take up the Hatchet against either side. A Newspaper, containing the Capitulation of General Burgoynes Army, being found enclosed in the packet, Capt[n]. White Eyes once more rose up, and holding this paper unfoulded with both his hands, so that all could have a view of it: said: ["]See my friends and relatives: this document contain-[182] eth great events; not the song of a Bird, but the truth"! — then stepping up to me, he gave me his hand, saying: "You are welcome with us Brother!" when every one present followed his example; after which I proceeded with my Conductor John Martin to Lichtenau, where, to the inexpressible joy of the

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venerable Missionary Zeisberger, and his Congregation, we related what had taken place — while these on the otherhand assured us, that nothing could have at this present time come more seasonable to save the Nation and with this the Mission, from utter destruction, than our arrival.[1]

1 Heckewelder now hastened to cheer Zeisberger with the glad tidings. Entering the Mission House at Lichtenau with all the pleasurable excitement of one about to surprise a friend, he was startled to see him sitting by the fire, pale, emaciated, the image of despair. "Ah, my dear John!" exclaimed Zeisberger as he rose to welcome him, are you here? You have come into the midst of the fire! If God does not work a miracle the Mission is at an end! The Indians of Gnadenhutten are on the point of fleeing hither for safety. But there is no safety here! Satan rules! One evil follows another! All Goschachgunk is preparing for war! What will be the issue of these things? What will become of the Mission? If the Delawares really go to war, we are lost! I care not for myself—but oh, my poor Indians!" Thus burst forth the pent-up emotions of his breast until tears choked his utterance. In all the dark days that boded ruin to his work, he had no friend to whom to open his heart, and now that this faithful coadjutor unexpectedly stood before him, he sought relief in these wails of agony. Heckewelder seated himself at his side and recounted the events of the morning. Then his drooping faith renewed its youth like the eagle's.—*Life and Times of David Zeisberger*, pp. 465, 466.

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CHAPTER XVII.

CAPT^{N}. White Eyes, altho now relieved from all anxiety respecting his Nation, could not overlook the imposition served upon them by McKee and associates: he therefore on the next day dispatched runners to the Shawanese Towns on the Sciota, where these Impostors were gone to, with the following Message: to wit: "Grand Children! ye Shawanese! Some days ago a flock of Birds, that had come on from the East, lit at Goschachking, imposing a Song of theirs upon us— which song had nigh proved our ruin! — Should these Birds, which on leaving us, took their flight towards Sciota endeavour to impose a Song on You likewise, do not listen to them, for they lie!"

The chagrin however which Captn. Pipe felt in being again so badly disappointed, was such as might be expected from so ambitious a Man. His Spies, which during this critical time, he had kept at Gosch-[183]achking for the purpose of watching every Act of the peaceable Chiefs, had brought him the doleful News, that all what White Eyes had predicted, had been verifyed.

The Inhabitants of Gnadenhutten, now also having joined the Congregation at Lichtenau, the same as the Congregation of Shonbrun had done the preceeding Year — and many of the young People of the Monsey tribe whom the Monsey Chief had last Spring persuaded to go off with him to a place of safety: having also since returned; the Town grew to a considerable size, and the Chapel was also enlarged. And as one Tribe of the Shawanos on Sciota, continued to be averse to the War, these, at the invitation of the Chiefs of Goshachking, also came on and settled near them, from whence their Chief, an amiable Young Man, frequently visited the Missionaries at Lichtenau.

How happy would those peaceable disposed Indians have been, (which together amounted to some hundreds of Souls, ex-

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clusive of the Christian Indians) had they been let alone, and not so continually harrassed and troubled by the other side to join in murdering fellow creatures. Even many of the Warriors saw and acknowledged the advantages those Indians had over them, that were by not engaging in the War, but living by hunting and tilling the ground — which gave them a plenty of all they stood in need of, besides enjoying the caresses of their Children and friends. It was not an uncommon thing to hear Warriours pass severe [184] censure on their employers, and place to their account the many valuable lives lost thro their indiscreet advice.

During the whole Summer (1778) reports succeeded each other of the determination of the Governor of Detroit, to remove the Missionaries from among the Indians by one way or another; these having been represented to him as the great obstacle in the way of uniting all Nations against the American People.

Unwilling as the Missionaries were, to give credit to reports of such a nature, and especially when it was added, that he had declared: if he could not have them brought to him alive, he would have their Scalps — yet the Chiefs of the Nation, considering themselves responsible for the safety of Missionaries as they had invited them to come into their Country for the purpose of instructing them in Christianity, they now most strenuously enjoined the duty of protecting them, on the Christian Indians; who accordingly most faithfully guarded them, both by day and night, especially, when suspicious Characters were discovered lurking in the Neighborhood.

That the Governor, who in the preceeding Year had advised the Delaware Nation "to consider the Missionaries as an invaluable Treasure on account of the good they did among them, being the promoters of both their temporal and spiritual welfare &c" — should since have changed his opinion respecting them; was not to be wondered at. At that time Elliot, could scarcely have [185] been known to the Governor, he then being a prisoner of the Indians; but now being liberated, he found means to insin-

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uate himself, so that he led the Governor to believe (as the tenour of his Letter plainly shewed) that the Missionaries among the Delawares, had been placed in the Indian Country by the American Congress, for the purpose of preventing the Indian Nations from joining the British against their "revolted Subjects" — And it did indeed appear, from the subsequent Acts of this Man (Elliot) that already at that time, the breaking up of the Christian Indians Settlements on the Muskingum, had been contemplated, and that McKee, Girty and others, were only wanted as associates, to stir up the Indian Tribes and Nations, against the Christian Indians, and their Teachers.

When small War parties passed by, they always caused more disturbance than large bodies, the former being insolent, and bent on Mischief, if not immediately served with a dish of Victuals, would cut down Corn as they passed the fields, and shoot Hogs by the way. Large bodies on the otherhand, would conduct themselves in a becoming manner, and keep good order, never making a halt in a Village, but would stop at some distance, sending one of their number in to inform the Inhabitants, that such a number of their friends, going to War (or returning as the case was) had stopped at such a place to refresh themselves, hoping that perhaps these might find it convenient to spare them a Meals Victuals — that [186] they need not be afraid, that even a Chicken of theirs should [not] be hurt &^{c} — Such a body (for instance) of 96 in number, all chosen Warriors from the Wyondot Towns in the vicinity of Detroit, and headed by the greatest War Chief of the Nation, being on the way to make "a stroke" on the American People, on the south side of the Ohio River, having made a halt within a quarter of a Mile of Lichtenau, he sent one of his Captains into the Village with the following Message:

"Cousin! I am on my way to War, with a great body of Men, "but you need not be uneasy, as you have nothing to fear from "us! My motive for coming this way, is to shake hands with "You and Your Teachers, and to say something to You! for this

"purpose we have made a halt some distance from your Village, "while we wish to learn if it will be agreeable to You, for some "of us to go into Your Village for the purpose above stated — "and if You have a meals Victuals to spare, my Men will be "thankful for it!"

Glikhican, (by baptism named Isaac — the same Person of whom frequent mention is made in this Narrative) being an old and particular friend of this great War Captain; immediately ordered Victuals to be prepared and taken to the Camp; while he himself went out to conduct the Veteran Chief into the Town. He soon returned with him and fifteen of his Captains, whom, according to their desire, he brought to the Missionaries dwelling. The scene, in se[e]ing these Heroes advance [187] was indeed awful but not dreadful as might be supposed. with a grave and regular pace they moved on as tho they were going to enter a Chapel; all following the example of their Chief they shook hands with each of the Missionaries while pronouncing the words "Father! I thank the great Spirit that he has preserved our lives for a happy meeting on this day!" — Being next taken by the National Assistants to the Schoolhouse, where they were served with Victuals, the head Chief addressed himself to the following effect:

"Cousins! Altho untill now, I have never come to see You, I "am no Stranger to You. I knew that You had invited Teachers "to come among You, for the purpose of instructing You in good "things, of all which I hig[h]ly approve!"

"Cousins! I love Your Teachers, the same as You do. It is "happy for us, that such good Men as Your Teachers and our "Teachers* have come among us, to instruct us in that which is "good! Both Your Teachers and our Teacher posess the large "Book, in which the will and Commandments of God are writ- "ten. We also have a House in which we meet to prayers."

"Cousins! You may perhaps be astonished at hearing such

*These Wyondots are instructed by a Roman Catholic Priest, live together and have a Chapel in their Village.

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"Words proceed from my lips, while at the same time You can-
"not but observe, that I am [188] going on a warlike errand!
"but listen to me what I say! Unpleasant as it is to me, to ap-
"proach You in the manner You see me; yet it is for Your good
"and safety! You! Cousins! and Your Teachers, have many
"Enemies! Frequent Councils have been held tending to Your
"destruction. — I have often thought of You — often wished that
"I could see You! I have this time purposely taken my course
"this way, for to shew my Warriors where You dwelt, that not
"only they may not be led into a mistake respecting You, but also
"warn others from disturbing, or molesting my good Cousins
"the Christian Indians, and their Teachers!

"Cousins! continue always in the same way You now are,
"and You will fare well! Do not join in any disputes nor in
"Wars, and the great Spirit above will protect You, against all
"the plots of Your adversaries!"

The War Chief having finished his address, Isaac Glickhican rose, and in behalf of the Christian Indians, returned the following Answer.

"*Uncle*! You are welcome with us! — Your Words pro-
"ceed not from the lips only, but from the heart; therefore they
"are precious! —

"*Uncle*! You applaud our living together for the purpose
"of being instructed in that which is good; and in laying aside
"that which is bad — in not having any thing to do with the
"disputes of others, nor with Wars!

"*Uncle*! You love us, and since this is the case, the great
"Spirit has directed your course this way, that You might see
"*Us*, and we *You*!

[189] "*Uncle*! You say You have a Teacher, the same as
"we have — and that he likewise tells You what is good, and what
"is bad — and who, the like our Teachers, is in posession of the
"large Book, wherein the Commandments of God are written!
"— I doubt, Uncle whether it be the *same* book from which our
"Teachers instruct *us*! — In the Book which these have, God

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"commands in one place: "*Thou shalt not kill*" — and in another "place he says: "*Love Your Enemies*" — nay even "*pray for* "*them*"! — "Can it then be supposed, that God who created Man, "should not be offended, when these destroy each other?

"*Uncle*! at that time, when we were accomplices together,* "each of us strove to outdo the other, in murdering human be- "ings; but then we knew no better! — No body then told us that "it was a Sin to kill — and that to kill Man was forbidden by "the Creator of Man!

"*Uncle*! You and I were friends, when we both were young, "and have remained such to this day, when we both are old! "Let us do alike, and put away from us, what is bad, and forbid- "den by God! — I mean the killing of Gods creatures!" (Man).

The War Chief having retired to his Camp for nearly an hour, now again returned, having but a single young Man with him; and requesting an audience, of a few of the National Assistants, of which Isaac [190] Glickhican was to be one, he addressed himself to them thus:

"*My Cousin*!§ I have given Your Words a due considera- "tion, and now will open my heart to You!

"Cousin! You have spoken the truth in saying: that God, "who created Man, cannot be pleased when these kill one an- "other! So the Teacher who instructs me, likewise says!

"*Cousin*! I myself am averse to War — to the killing of "Mankind, and had declined receiving the Hatchet hitherto, "altho my Father, (as he calls himself) threatened me, that if I "did not receive the Hatchet of him, for to kill the American "People who were his Enemies; he would withhold from me, "every necessary Article both in the cloathing way, and for "supporting myself and family with Meat and Provision! He "said, that he would cause me to suffer for my obstinacy!

"*Cousin*! place yourself in my situation, living at the very

*alluding to the Wars between the English and French.

§Speeches are always addressed in the singular number.

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"Door* of my Fathers house! When however I found that my "father would compel me to receive the hatchet — when he told "me to kill *all* the "*long Knifes*" (Americans) I should meet "with: I said to him: "*Father! only Men in Arms — not Women "and Children*"! to which however he replied: "*All! All! kill "all*"!

"*Cousin*! Think not that I am now on my way to do [191] "what my father bid me do! no indeed not! I will tell You "how I will act! I will march my Men within half a days Jour- "ney of the Ohio River, and from thence send a select party off "to take *one* Prisoner, which Prisoner shall be taken to my "Father with the charge that he be not hurt, and with this I will "return him his Hatchet again, which he had forced upon me.

"Cousin! Not a life shall be lost by my Party, and in *Ten* "Days you shall see me here again, if the great Spirit spares my "life so long.

"Cousin! Were I to follow my own inclination, I should "forthwith return home from here, without even going any furth- "er, but on Your account, I must proceed and do something, lest "you be charged by my father with having disuaded me from do- "ing that which he bid me to do, and he become enraged against "you. No! no! You shall not suffer on my account. I act for "myself! —

"*Cousin*! I place the Words I have spoken unto You deep under Ground;* and on my return shall say more to You!["]

After taking a farewell, this Chief with his young Man returned to the Camp, which was broke up & they proceeded on their expedition without a shout or the least noise, and returning in Ten Days precisely with a Prisoner, encamped for about an hour on the former spot, where they all, and at his request also his [192] Prisoner was fed, meanwhile the Chief with his young

*meaning: so near to him, that I am dependant on him, he observing all my Acts.

*under Ground: the meaning is to keep what he had said a profound secret—not divulge it.

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Man visited the Missionaries for a few moments, and afterwards had a conversation with his old friend Isaac Glickhican, mentioning a time whe[n] he would be here again to see him, but never any more, would he approach the place, with implements of War in his hands.

Captain White Eyes, who had hitherto been so indefatigible in preserving the Nation at Peace, had soon after the disturbance caused by McKee and party, retired to Pittsburg for the purpose of being nearer to the Indian Agent, and take his advice as circumstances might require, that the Nation might if possible, be prevented from being dragged into the War. This Chief had a strong desire, that his Nation might become a civilized People.[1] A retrospect of the change, that had already long since taken place in the Christian Indians, who employed themselves principally in Agricultural pursuits, and some even being Mechanics; gave him the best hopes of the practicability of the measure; a lively correspondence therefore, had for a long time been kept up between this Indian Agent and the Delaware Chiefs and Council on the Subject, when nothing appeared to him wanting for to carry the measure into effect, but a Peace; the War then, being the obstacle from seeing his Nation happy, he became the more anxious to preserve his Nation quiet, until a general Peace should take place; he however did not live to see that day, for while accompanying General McIntosh's[2] [193] Army to

[1] White Eyes was a statesman. He dreamed of an Indian State at the head of which should be the Delawares; and he did more than dream; he laid the foundation for such a state. In the treaty concluded between the United States and the Delawares at Fort Pitt, September 17, 1778, it was stipulated in the sixth article, that "Should it for the future be found conducive for the mutual interest of both parties, to invite any other tribes who have been friends to the interest of the United States, to join the present confederation, and to form a State, whereof the Delaware nation shall be the head, and have a representation in Congress."

Had White Eyes lived his dream might have been realized.

[2] Lachlan McIntosh was born near Inverness, Scotland, March 17, 1727: died at Savannah, Georgia, February 20, 1806. He came with his family to

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Tuscorawas, where a Fort* was to be built for the protection of the peaceable Indians, and frontier Settlers,[1] he took the Small Pox and died.

*The Fort was built & called Fort Laurens.

America in 1736, and settled in Georgia. At the age of seventeen he was thrown upon his own resources, and became a counting-house clerk in Charleston, South Carolina. He became a land surveyor there. After his marriage he returned to Georgia, and spent his spare time in the study of civil engineering and military tactics. At the beginning of the Revolution he was made Colonel-Commander of the Georgia troops. He was promoted to Brigadier-General by Congress September 16, 1776. In 1778 he headed an expedition against the Indian tribes of the Ohio, and built Fort McIntosh at the mouth of Big Beaver, now Beaver, Pennsylvania. He was directed to march against Sandusky, but at the Tuscarawas stopped long enough to build Fort Laurens, when it was too late in the season to march further into the wilderness. In 1779 he and General Lincoln were unsuccessful in their campaign in Georgia, and the Americans retreated to Charleston, South Carolina, were besieged and compelled to surrender. The war was almost over before he was released. He was made Major-General by brevet September 30, 1783; was a member of Congress in 1784. The war destroyed the value of his lands, and his last years were spent in quiet and comparative poverty.

[1] Fort Laurens was built on the west bank of the Tuscarawas, about half a mile below the present town of Bolivar, Tuscarawas County, Ohio. It enclosed about an acre of ground, and was named for Henry Laurens, then President of Congress.

Fort Laurens was erected in the fall of the year 1778, by a detachment of 1000 men from Fort Pitt, under the command of General M'Intosh. After its completion, a garrison of 150 men was placed in it, and left in charge of Col. John Gibson, while the rest of the army returned to Fort Pitt. It was established at this early day in the country of the Indians, seventy miles west of Fort M'Intosh, with an expectation that it would act as a salutary check on their incursions into the white settlements south of the Ohio river. The usual approach to it from Fort M'Intosh, the nearest military station, was from the mouth of Yellow Creek, and down the Sandy, which latter stream heads with the former, and puts off into the Tuscarawas just above the fort. So unexpected and rapid were the movements of General M'Intosh, that the Indians were not aware of his presence in their country, until the fort was completed. Early in January, 1779, the Indians mustered their warriors with such secrecy, that the fort was invested before the garrison had notice of their approach. From the manuscript notes of Henry Jolly, Esq., who was an actor in this, as well as many other scenes on the frontier, I have copied the following historical facts.

"When the main army left the fort to return to Fort Pitt, Captain Clark remained behind with a small detachment of United States troops, for the purpose of marching in the invalids and artificers who had tarried to finish the fort, or were too unwell to march with the main army. He endeavored to take the advantage of very cold weather, and had marched three or four miles, (for I travelled over the ground three or four times soon after,) when he was fired upon by a small party of Indians very close at hand, I think twenty or thirty paces. This discharge wounded two of his men slightly. Knowing as he did that his men were unfit to fight Indians in their own fashion, he ordered them to reserve

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The death of this great and useful Man, was severely lamented by, and a great loss *to* the Nation; and altho his ambitious and political oponent, Captain Pipe, with an air of prophesy, uttered: "that the great Spirit had probably put him out of the "way that the Nation might be saved": it was not so considered by the faithful part. His death was according to Indian custom, made known to all the surrounding Nations, even at some hundred Miles distance, who all in due time condoled the Nation on the loss. The person on whom by lineal de[s]cent, the station of the head Chief* of the Nation devolved, being yet young in Years, the surviving Chiefs, *Gelelemend*, (alias: *Killbock*) *Machingwe-Pushis* (allias: *large Cat*) and *Tetepachksi.* officiated in his stead, the two former of which kept up a lively correspondence with Colonel Broadhead[1] the then Commandant, and their

*this young Chief fell a victim under Williamson at the time the peacable Indians near Pittsburg, were in their Camp attacked by his party. (1781)

their fire, and to charge bayonet, which being promptly executed, put the Indians to flight, and after pursuing a short distance, he called off his men and retreated to the fort, bringing in the wounded." In other accounts I have read of this affair, it is stated that ten of Captain Clark's men were killed. "During the cold weather, while the Indians were lying about the fort, although none had been seen for a few days, a party of seventeen men went out for the purpose of carrying in firewood, which the army had cut before they left the place, about forty or fifty rods from the fort. Near the bank of the river was an ancient mound, behind which lay a quantity of wood. A party had been out for several preceding mornings and brought in wood, supposing the Indians would not be watching the fort in such very cold weather. But on that fatal morning, the Indians had concealed themselves behind the mound, and as the soldiers passed around on one side of the mound, a part of the Indians came round on the other, and enclosed the wood party, so that not one escaped. I was personally acquainted with some of the men who were killed."

The published statements of this affair say that the Indians enticed the men out in search of horses, by taking off their bells and tinkling them; but it is certain that no horses were left at the fort, as they must either starve or be stolen by the Indians; so that Mr. Jolly's version of the incident must be correct. During the siege, which continued until the last of February, the garrison were very short of provisions. The Indians suspected this to be the fact, but were also nearly starving themselves. In this predicament, they proposed to the garrison that if they would give them a barrel of flour and some meat, they would raise the siege, concluding if they had not this quantity they must surrender at discretion soon, and if they had they would not part with it. In this, however, they missed their object. The brave Colonel Gibson turned out the flour and meat promptly, and told them he could spare it very well, as he had plenty more. The Indians soon after raised the siege. A runner was sent to Fort M'Intosh with a statement of their distress, and requesting reinforcements and provisions immediately. The inhabitants south of the Ohio volunteered their aid, and General M'Intosh headed the escort of provisions, which reached the fort in safety, but was near being all lost from the dispersion of the pack-horses in the woods near the fort, from a fright occasioned by a *feu de joie* fired by the garrison, at the relief. The fort was finally evacuated in August, 1779, it being found untenable at such a distance from the frontiers; and Henry Jolly was one of the last men who left it, holding at that time in the continental service the commission of ensign.—Howe's *Historical Collections of Ohio*, Cincinnati, 1847, pp. 487, 488.

[1] Daniel Broadhead was born at Marbletown, Ulster County, New York, in 1736: died at Milford, Pike County, Pennsylvania, November 15, 1809.

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Captain Pipe, with an air of prophecy, uttered: "that the great Spirit had probably put him "out of the way that the Nation might be sa-"ved": it was not so considered by the faith-ful part. His death was according to Indian custom, made known to all the surrounding Nations, even at some hundred Miles distance, who all in due time condoled the Nation on the loss. The person on whom by lineal de-cent, the station of head Chief* of the Nation de-volved, being yet young in Years, the surviving Chiefs, Gelelemend, (alliar: Killbock) Machingwe-Puskis (alliar: large Cat) and Tetepachksi. offici-ated in his stead, the two former of which kept up a lively correspondence with Colonel Broad-head the then Commandant, and their Agent Col. George Morgan, on measures tending to preserve the Peace; and notwithstanding Captn. Pipes intrigues to decieve them, and his threats and persecutions to bring them over to his political creed, they withstood him with firmness.

The Winter Season being during Indian Wars, the only quiet and agreeable time in their Country, ~~since~~ as the Warriors, from a fear of be-ing traced by their Enemies; when Snow is on the ground, prefer remaining at home; the Christian Indian Congregation, enjoyed perfect rest, being in no manner incomodated by

* this young Chief fell a victim under Williamson at the time the peaceable Indians near Pittsburg, were in their Camp attacked by his party. (1781)

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His great-grandfather, Daniel Broadhead, was a soldier, and assisted in the capture of the New Netherlands. When Daniel Broadhead was an infant his father (also Daniel) moved to Broadhead's Creek, near Stroudsburg, Monroe County, Pennsylvania. In 1771 Daniel became a resident of Reading. At the beginning of the Revolution he was made Lieutenant-Colonel. Promoted to the rank of Colonel March 12, 1777, and later given command of the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment. Was in a number of battles, among them that of Long Island. In 1778 was sent to Fort Pitt with his regiment, and in 1779 was given command of that post; retained command until September, 1781. He made two successful invasions of the Indian country northwest of the Ohio. January 17, 1781, he was given command of the First Pennsylvania Regiment. Was Surveyor General of Pennsylvania eleven years from November 3, 1789.

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[194] CHAPTER XVIII.

THE Winter Season being during Indian Wars, the only quiet and agreeable time in their Country, as the Warriors, from a fear of being traced by their Enemies; when Snow is on the ground, prefer remaining at home; the Christian Indian Congregation, enjoyed perfect rest, being in no manner incomodated by them, nor even seeing any of them. The Meetings therefore, could be attended without disturbance, or interruption; and the Schools being put under proper regulations, added to the happiness of the Parents; and it was delightful to hear the Voices of so many classes of old and young, raised in praises to the Lord, when assembled for that purpose.

It had however during this Winter 1778-79 been taken into consideration, whether this large Congregation could with propriety be advised to remain together at this place,[1] for another Year — And, whether it would be proper at this present time, to advise, or even suffer such, as wished to return to their former Settlements, so to do. With regard to the first point it was evident, that the Inhabitants were too much crouded and confined, and possessing a large stock in Horses, Horn-Cattle and Hogs, they could not find sufficient pasture, without going at a great distance, in consequence of which, many were lost — and with regard to the other suggestion, it was observed, that the Warriors from Sandusky, having within the last twelve Months, made their principle War path, pass through all the Delaware Towns, commencing at *Gok-*[195]*hosing* (the *habitation of Owls*) and ending with Lichtenau (the whole a distance of between 30 and 40 Miles) it might be expected that at one time or the other the Americans, being in pursuit of Warriors, who had committed

[1] Lichtenau. The other settlements had been abandoned and the congregations assembled at Lichtenau because of the troubles incident to the war.

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murders on the south side of the Ohio, might, by following the traces of these along the path, be led straightway into Lichtenau, and fall upon the Christian Indians, believeing these to have been the Aggressors. — Upon the whole it was believed best, not to detain any one who wished to return to his former place of abode, moreover as it was believed, that very few, if any, Warriors passed any more by these forsaken Towns, especially that of Gnadenhutten, since every house, hut and Stable; and all the fencing and Pailings, were in the same situation as at the time the place was evacuated last Year. Finally, it was agreed: that the former Inhabitants of Gnadenhutten, should return to that place — and that, so many of the former of the Inhabitants of Shonbrun, as might chuse to return thither to build a new Town on a convenient spot, (the old Town being entirely destroyed) were at liberty so to do.

Accordingly, in Apr. 1779. the Missionary Zeisberger set out with a number of families, for the last mentioned place;[1] while the Missionary Edwards, returned with his Congregation to Gnadenhutten, all in good Spirits, travelling both by land and by Water to their favourite spots, believeing themselves already relieved from many inconveniences and troubles, caused by the Warriors.

[196] It fell to the lot of the writer of this Narrative, to remain at Lichtenau, with the remainder of the Congregation a while longer, or as long as it might be advisable to hold out without running any serious risk. Thus there were once more

[1] The division was made on the sixth of April. After the death of White Eyes Zeisberger had little influence in the Delaware council, and the necessity for remaining near it was past. Telepachkschus and Big Cat were the ruling chiefs, and they were secretly the enemies of the Moravians. Zeisberger and his congregation built New Schonbrunn, the old town having been completely destroyed. The new town was built nearly opposite the Big Spring, on the west bank of the Tuscarawas. It was about one and one-fourth miles south of the present town of New Philadelphia, in Goshen Township, and on the farm owned by John Gray in 1863.

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3 Missionary Establishments on the River Muskingum, the nearest of which was about 30, and the farthermost, (Shonbrun) about 40 Miles from Lichtenau.

During the whole of the first 2 Years, there was not a single instance of Warriors passing thro the above two places, or their otherwise being incomodated by that class of People. They lived as peaceably and contentedly together, as if they were the only People in the Country; building Houses, clearing and improving their Lands; and meeting daily for divine service. Yet on one account, the Inhabitants of Gnadenhutten were sufferers, and became somewhat alarmed. namely: The frontier People of Virginia, living on the Ohio below Wheeling, had long since — and indeed ever since the Christian Indians first settled at that place: been in the habit of stealing the Indians Horses from the licks* within a few Miles of the place, and now, these learning; that the Christian Indians were again returned to their Settlement they renewed this practice. Yet this was borne by the sufferers with patience, in hopes, that after a general [197] peace should take place, these Horses might be, thro the influence of their Agent, or by the civil Authority, recovered, in which hopes however, they were sadly mistaken, as the sequel will shew.

At Lichtenau, the Inhabitants were, with the commencement of the Spring Season of 1779, incommoded, by the Northern Warriors, frequently passing and repassing by, or sometimes thro their Village. — nay they became more insolent and mischievous. Knowing that Captain Pipe was opposed to the Goschachking Chiefs and their measures, they considered him as of their party; and although he had not publicly joined them, they believed he soon would do so. They also knew, that to offend these Chiefs, and such as adhered to them, or their peace measures, was pleasing to him, for which reason many would purposely pass this way, who otherwise would not have done so.

*to these Licks, (as they are called) which contain Water of a Saltish or brackish nature, both Horses and Horn Cattle resort during the Summer Months.

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However the Christian Indians kept strict order, and no Warrior durst make a stay in the Town, and it was amusing, to hear them at times, while passing by to War, sing their farewel song§ which being more the humble addresses and supplications to the great Spirit, than that of a proud high toned Language: is not so disgusting as might be supposed.

As the Tribes and Nations connected and in league with the Delaware Nation had already done, by condoling [198] these on the death of their late Chief Netawatwees*. ("*Nettowhatways*")§ so now the Cherokee Nation, had also by deputation come on, for the purpose of condoling the Nation, on the Death of their Chief, *Coquethagechton,* (alias Captn. White Eyes) The deputa-

§See Heckewelders Account of the Indian Nations, Chap. XXVI. page 204.[1]

*who died in the Year 1776.

§The writer of Col[l]. Bouquets Expedition against the Ohio Indians in 1764. Printed in Philadelphia. and reprinted in London in 1766. was sadly mistaken, when he asserts at page 23 "that the Col. had deposed *Nettowhatways*, the Chief of the Turtle Tribe"—and that he had "caused that Tribe to chuse another Chief in his stead." This very "deposed" Chief, held his high Station, after being "deposed," as before, until his death in the fall of the Year 1776. during which period of time, the writer of this Narrative knew him personally, to be the same Person here spoken of. See also Loskiels History of the Mission. Part 1. p. 132-137. and throughout the work to p. 117 in Chap. III.

[1] The song referred to is as follows:

O poor me!
Whom am going out to fight the enemy,
And know not whether I shall return again,
To enjoy the embraces of my children
And my wife.
O poor creature!
Whose life is not in his own hands,
Who has no power over his own body,
But tries to do his duty
For the welfare of his nation.
O! thou Great Spirit above!
Take pity on my children
And on my wife!
Prevent their mourning on my account!
Grant that I may be successful in this attempt—
That I may slay my enemy,
And bring home the trophies of war

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tion, consisting of fourteen Men, of whom two were principle Chiefs, were accompanied from their Country to Goshachking, by a Nephew of the late Capt[n]. White Eyes's, who, soon after the commencement of the American Revolution, had been by the Delaware Chiefs dispatched thither for the purpose of using his endeavours, in keeping that Nation at Peace. When this deputation had arrived within 3 Miles of Goshachking, and within one Mile of Lichtenau, they made a halt for the purpose of having the customary ceremony performed on them, which being done by one of the Councellors from the Village, who by an address and with a string of Wampum, drew the Thorns and briars from out of their [199] Legs and feet — healed the sores and bruises they had received by hitting against Logs, — wiped the dust and sweat from off their bodies; and cleansed their Eyes and Ears, so that they both might see and hear well, and finally they anointed† all their joints, that their limbs might again become supple. They were served with Victuals brought from Lichtenau to them, and where they remained for that day.

On the next morning two of the Councellors from Goshachking, deputed for the purpose, informed the Missionary and National Assistants at Lichtenau, that by order of their Chiefs they were to conduct the Cherokee deputation into their Village, from whence they expected that we would join in the procession to Goshachking; and there attend the condoling Ceremonies; all which being agreed to, these soon brought them on, one leading them on in front, and the other bringing up the rear.[1]

†all which ceremonies are performed figuratively

To my dear family and friends,
That we may rejoice together.
O! take pity on me!
Give me strength and courage to meet my enemy,
Suffer me to return again to my children,
To my wife
And to my relations!
Take pity on me and preserve my life
And I will make to thee a sacrifice.

[1] Perhaps no other people surpassed the North American Indians in the observance of ceremonies. There were ceremonies for every occasion of importance in life. The ritual was often long and intricate. It was preserved

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Arriving within about 200 Yards of the Town, and in sight of it — (all marching Indian file,) they fired off their pieces, which compliment was instantly returned by the Young Men of the Town drawn up for the purpose. then raising a melancholy Song, they continued singing, untill they reached the long house, purposely built for their reception; yet not without first having lodged their Arms against some Trees they had passed, at a small distance from the Town. Being seated on benches prepared for the [200] purpose — (the deputies on the opposite side) a dead silence prevailed for about half an hour; all present with their Eyes cast on the Ground, when at length one of their Chiefs, named the Crow, rose, and with an air of sorrow — and in a low Voice, with his Eyes cast up to Heaven, spoke to the following effect: vizt:

"One morning after I had arisen from my Sleep, and ac-
"cording to my custom stepped out at the Door to see what weath-
"er we had, I observed at one place in the Horizon a dark Cloud
"projecting above the Trees; and looking steadfastly for its
"movement or disappearance, found myself mistaken, since it

principally by the memory, although certain characters painted on bark, skins, sticks, or stones were often resorted to in aid of the memory. The Indian character was grave, serious, stern, and ceremonies were of necessity of the same nature. It was required that these ceremonies be performed exactly as the ritual prescribed that no calamity might result from omissions or additions. For this reason two men or more were required for their enactment, one of whom watched narrowly every movement of the performer and observed his language even to the pitch, tone and accent; it was his business to detect errors and have them corrected. I have had repeated to me the Wyandot ritual for the ceremonies for the trial of villages. If the population of a village decreased or remained stationary the medicine man was called in to determine the cause. He performed many ceremonies to be enabled to see far into the earth beneath the village. He could see there the causes of the trouble, often a lake filled with serpents or a river flowing deep down below the surface in which monsters lived. If the trouble could be overcome, ceremonies were performed for that purpose. If they were too powerful for this medicine, he performed other ceremonies to determine the point to which the village should be removed.

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"neither disappeared, nor moved from the spot, as other Clouds "do. Seeing the same Cloud successively every morning; and "that always in the same place, I began to think what might be "the cause of this singular Phenomenon; and it having struck "me, that as the Cloud was lying in the direction that my Grand-"father dwelt, something might be the matter with him, which "caused him Grief. Anxious to satisfy myself, I resolved to "go myself to my Grandfathers, and see if anything was the "matter with him! I accordingly went, steering a course in the "direction I had observed the Cloud to be! — I arrived at my "Grandfathers, whom I found quite disconsolate, hanging his "head and the Tears running down his Cheeks! — Casting my "Eyes around, in the hopes of discovering the cause of his Grief, "I observed yonder a dwelling closed up, and from [201] which "no Smoke* appeared to ascend! — looking in another direction, "I discovered an elevated spot of fresh Earth§, on which nothing "was seen growing; and here I found the cause of my Grand-"fathers Grief! — No wonder he is so grieved! — No wonder "he is weeping and sobbing with his Eyes cast towards the "ground! — Even myself cannot help weeping with my Grand-"father, seeing in what a situation he is! — I cannot proceed for "Grief!"

Here, after having seated himself for about 20 Minutes, and as tho deeply afflicted: he again rose, and receiving from the principle Chief who was seated by his side: a large String of Wampum, said: "Grandfather! Lift up Your head and hear "what Your grand Children have to say to You! — These having

*meaning no Person occupying the house.

§the Grave.

The gravest consequences might follow the omission of a syllable, the change of an accent, the curtailment of the time required even by a minute. A village abandoned for that cause was avoided, and the site was never inhabited again. The Creeks had this custom, also. It is said their name for such abandoned town was tallahassee, and that Tallahassee, Florida, was built on a site abandoned by the Creeks.

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"discovered the cause of Your grief, it shall be done away! — "See, Grandfather! I level the ground on yonder spot of yellow "Earth§ — and put leaves and brush thereon to make it invisible! "— I also sow seeds on that spot, so that both Grass and Trees "may grow thereon"! (here handing the String to the Delaware Chief[s] in succession) and taking up another, he continued: "Grandfather! the Seed which I had sown has already taken root, "nay the Grass has already covered the Ground — and the Trees "are growing!" (handing this String likewise to the Delaware Chief,) and taking up a third String of Wampum, he added: "Now my [202] Grandfather! the cause of Your grief being "removed: let me dry up Your Tears! I wipe them from Your "Eyes! — I place your body, which by the weight of grief and a "heavy heart is leaning to one side[,] in its proper posture! "Your Eyes shall be henceforth clear; and Your Ears open as "formerly! The work is now finished"! (handing this String likewise to the Delaware Chief[)], he now stepped forward to where the Chief and his Councellors were seated, and having first shaken hands with these, he next shook hands with all present, the whole Embassy following his Example. This being done, and all again seated as before, the Delaware Chief Gelelemend, (alias Killbock) replied:

"Grand Children! You did not come here in vain! — You "have performed a good work, in which the great Spirit assisted "You! Your Grandfather* makes You welcome with him!"

The Meeting§ then broke up for the day, and as they intended paying a visit to the Commandant at Pittsburg, they produced the Certificates and Passport they had been furnished with, by Officers stationed near them; to learn, whether these would be sufficient to recommend them, as being at Peace with the United States; all which being confirmed their Minds were put at ease.

On the day following, the Chiefs of both these Nations,

§the Grave.

*The Indian Speeches are delivered in the singular number.

§The whole Ceremony took up nearly 3 hours.

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[203] entered on business relating to their National concerns; & finally made a covenant, not to join in the War, but to ma[i]ntain the Peace; while others of the Cherokee party together with the two Women who had accompanied them to this place, exchanged sundry Articles they had manufactured in their Country, as neat & curiously made Tobacco Pipe bowls, small baskets made of Cane &c. for Articles of equal Value made by their Grandfather the Delawares.

It was pleasing to see so much respect paid to the memory of the departed Chief of the Nation — Indeed, all the surrounding Nations, appeared to have been sensible of his worth — While living he often encouraged his People, to fall into the way of living by Agriculture, and finally become civilized. His ideas were, that unless the Indians changed their mode of liveing, they would in time dwindle away to nothing; and to encourage them towards such a change, he told them to take the example of the Christian Indians, who, thro their industry, had every thing they could wish for, and never suffered from want.[1]

[1] The condolence ceremonies were performed at Detroit for the Half-King.—See Stone's *Life of Joseph Brant*, ii, p. 276.

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CHAPTER XIX.

THE news brought to Goschachking, that the Governor of Detroit, who some time since had gone with Troops to Post Vincennes, was there, together with his Officers taken Prisoner by an American Army under General Clarke,[1] and by him taken to Virginia; had caused the peaceable Indians, and the Missionaries to hope, that the threats, so repeatedly circulated thro the Country, & attributed to this [204] Governor, would forthwith be at an end. They however found themselves mistaken, as it now became more evident, that much had been laid to the charge of this Gentleman, of which he probably had no knowledge, but which had been the work of M°Kee, Elliot and Girty. These three Men, whose hostility to the United States, appeared to be unbounded, were continually plotting the destruction of the Christian Indians Settlements, as the only means of drawing the Delaware Nation, and with these the Christian Indians, into the War. The Missionaries in particular were as a Thorn in their Eyes, being not only considered as the cause that the Delaware Nation would not join in the War; but they also mistrusted these of informing the American Government, the part *they* were acting in the Indian Country —

At the very time that the Governor was a Prisoner of Gen[l]. Clark, a plot was laid at Sandusky, to take off the Missionary Zeisberger: — or to bring in his Scalp; and Simon Girty had engaged to lead the party on for the purpose. Fortunately there lived at the time at Upper Sandusky, a Trader, by the name of Alexander M°Cormick, well known to the Missionaries for many Years past, as a friend and admirer of Missions among the In-

[1] The articles of capitulation were signed by Hamilton, February 24, 1779, and the Americans took charge of Fort Sackville on the following day. —See *Conquest of the Country Northwest of the River Ohio*, William H. English, i, pp. 348, 349.

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dians; who, on learning the intention of this party, found means of informing the writer of this, who lived at Lichtenau, of the Plot, and at which place, as it had happened, this very Missionary at the time had come on a Visit from Shonbrun, which [205] the Spies of the hostile party discovering, they, to make sure, waylayed the path on which Zeisberger must return. Two spirited Indian Brethren, of whom Isaac Glickhican was one, were selected to conduct the Missionary home by way of Gnadenhutten; however with directions of strengthening the guard at that place, should it be thought necessary; they left Lichtenau, when, scarcely having proceeded 9 Miles on the Journey, all of a sudden, the hostile party, consisting of Eight Mingoes (of the 6 Nations) and Simon Girty, the Person who was to point out to them the Object they were come for, appeared before them on the path. At this critical moment — and while Girty was uttering to the Captain of the gang the Words: "this is the very Man we are come for; now Act agreeable to the promise You have made!" two young Delawares, on their return from a hunt, accidentally, and very fortunately, struck, from out of the Woods, exactly on the Path, where these were standing; and concluding from the Words spoken by Girty, as also by the appearance of the party, that something bad was intended against the Missionary: they boldly stepped forward with their Arms in readiness, to defend him, at the risque of their own lives; which the Captain observing, and justly concluding, that the two other Delawares who had come on with the Missionary, would join these against them, were they to make the attempt, he, by a signal given, prudently declined laying hands on him. The two [206] young Delawares, seeing all safe, reported on their arrival at Goschachking, what had transpired, adding: that altho they were none of the believing (Christian) Indians, yet they felt themselves interested in saving the life of such a good Man as this Teacher was; & even if they themselves should perish in the Conflict.[1]

[1] Butterfield seems to believe that Heckewelder drew on his imagination

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The political division among the Delawares, caused by Capt[n]. Pipe, increased in such a manner, that the Peace Chiefs of Goshachking could plainly see, that all their endeavours to preserve the Nation at peace, would in the end fail. These scarcely durst venture to make a Message from the American Government known, from apprehension that Pipe on hearing it, should place a false construction thereon. He however had not as yet publicly declared, that his object was to take a part in the War, tho he frequently had advised his party, to hold themselves always in readiness, for turning out at a moments warning, in defending the Nation, should circumstances require it. He was inimical to the Objects of those Chiefs who were wishing to see the Nation become a civilized and agricultural

for many of the details of this incident. He admits that Girty met Zeisberger, but says that Girty was on his return from a trip to a house near Fort Pitt whither he had gone to secure some letters he knew to be concealed there. He secured the letters and took a prisoner, which he had with him at the time. There were with Girty eight warriors, Mingoes, or probably Mingoes and Wyandots. Butterfield believes that Girty might have desired to kill or carry away the missionaries, but that he did not dare do so. Heckewelder says that Alexander McCormick, a trader at Sandusky, notified him of the intention of Girty to kill or capture Zeisberger. To disbelieve Heckewelder here would discredit him entirely as a writer of history. McCormick might have been mistaken in the intentions of Girty, but he certainly notified Heckewelder. That Girty transacted other business on the trip and in doing so had to visit other places proves nothing. Butterfield thinks it preposterous that four Delawares should prevent Girty and eight Mingoes from executing their designs. He refers to a brief account of the affair given by Heckewelder in his *History, Manners and Customs of the Indian Nations*, edition of 1881, p. 279, to show discrepancies in the statements of the author. But these discrepancies are only apparent, not real, being such as would appear in two accounts, one in detail and the other condensed to a paragraph to illustrate a point. In the Life of Zeisberger may be seen another account drawn from material furnished by Heckewelder, with additional details, which is taken as additional evidence that Heckewelder embellished the incident for effect. There is nothing improbable in the matter as set out by Heckewelder, and as he had nothing to gain by being untruthful, it is difficult to understand why he should have been so.

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People; and, as it were, caught at every straw that would serve his purpose in putting down the measures taken by these for that purpose. Thus, when a young Man of his Tribe, who had received an education in Virginia under the influence of Doct. Walker, on his return into the Indian Country in 1779. spread unfavourable reports of the Virginian People; stating [207] them to exceed the Indians in vicious Acts — their beating the Negroes so unmercifully &c &c. Pipe would mockingly enumerate such vicious & *cruel* Acts, as the benefits of civilization. Again, he could at the time with good grace, set forth the poverty of the United States, in not having even a blanket or Shirt or other Article of Indian Cloathing to give to these in exchange for their Peltry; whereas, (said he) was it not for the English, we would have to suffer, & perhaps many of us perish for want.

Thus, by Pipes holding forth such Language, many — even averse to War, were deceived; believing, that in going over to him, they would be on the safe side. However his inviting

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Without any motive for exaggeration the well-known character of Heckewelder should count in favor of the truthfulness of his statements. Loskiel gives us the incident in a brief way, and he had his information from Zeisberger. The account of Dr. Schweinitz, taken from the manuscript biography of Zeisberger, is as follows:

Zeisberger passed much of his time in visiting the other stations, especially at Communion-seasons. In the early part of July, he spent such a season at Lichtenau, and was about to return to Schonbrunn, when Alexander McCormick, a trader and friend of the Mission, arrived with evil tidings. McKee, Elliott, and Girty, he said, were still plotting Zeisberger's ruin; a party of Indians, led by Girty himself, was on his trail, with orders either to bring him alive to Detroit, or to shoot him down and take his scalp. It was a most timely warning, to which, however, he listened unmoved, and mounted his horse to go. "My life," he said to Heckewelder, who would have detained him, "is in the hands of God. How often has not Satan desired to murder me? But he dare not! I shall ride to Schonbrunn." Seeing that he was not to be kept back, Heckewelder persuaded him to take along a guard of Indians. To this he consented, but as their horses could not immediately be found, he proceeded alone, calling back: "I will slowly push on; send the Brethren after me; farewell!" A short distance from Lichtenau, the trail forked, one branch leading to a salt-lick about two miles distant. Down this branch he turned, lost in meditation, and did not perceive his mistake until he had advanced a considerable distance. Retracing his steps, he got to the fork just as his escort came up. If he had not missed the road they would not have overtaken him, and he would have been at the mercy of his enemies. For, suddenly, at the foot of a little hill, Simon Girty and his band stood before them. "That's the man!" cried Girty to the Indian captain, pointing out Zeisberger. "Now do what you have been told to do!" But in that instant there burst through the bushes two athletic young hunters of Goschachgunk. Divining at a glance the posture of affairs, they placed themselves in front of Zeisberger, drew their tomahawks, and began deliberately to load their rifles. As soon as the Wyandot captain saw this, and moreover recognized among Zeisberger's escort the great Glikkikan, he shook his head, motioned to his men, and disappeared with them in the forest. Girty followed him, gnashing his teeth in impotent rage.—*Life and Times of David Zeisberger*, pp. 473, 474, 475.

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Language, had also caused a number of the Monseys at Sandusky to join his party, from whose passion for War, it was evident, that unless he submitted to their wishes, he would not be able to keep up his popularity much longer; — and indeed, before he was aware of it, he became convinced of this, as will be seen by the following occurrence: vizt. the Comisary from Fort Laurence, (a M^{r}. Sample) who had come on with some Men from the Garrison, for the purpose of purchasing Grain, and other Articles of the Delawares at the forks of Muskingum, having pitched his Tent opposite to the Vilage, leaving one of his Men to take care of the Camp & Horses, had scarcely crossed the Muskingum River, which lay between his Camp and the Town, when the Scalp yell was heard in the direction of his Camp. The Town People [208] running to the bank, just saw the murderers go off in Triumph with the Scalp of the Man[,] and the Horses; and the morning following, as another of his Men was returning from Lichtenau, he was also fired at from out of the Corn field adjoining the path — had his Arm broken, & was pursued almost to the Town before the Town People were aware of what had passed and could relieve him. The Delaware Chiefs indeed, had exerted themselves in securing the Horses and plunder: but the perpetrators of the deeds were not detected, they having precipitately fled on discouvering the pursuers[.]

Such Acts committed close to the place of the great Council fire of the Nation, caused general consternation among the Inhabitants, and spread a gloom on all countenances. Pipe, being questioned as to the Acts which had taken place, vindicated himself by saying, "that it had been done without his knowledge — and that he was sorry for it!" but this was not sufficient to ease the minds of the Chiefs on so serious a matter; and not only these, but the Christian Indians with them, foresaw, that by a repetition of similar Acts, the Council fire at this place (Goshachking) would be poluted, if not altogether extinguished.

That Tribe of the Shawanos, which had within the last two

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Years joined themselves to the peaceable Delawares, observing these proceedings, now broke up and returned again to Sciota — And the Christian Indians also began to think of leaving their fine Settle-[209]ment. (Lichtenau) especially as they had learnt, that the Sandusky Warriors, now began to make a halt at Pipes Settlements — and which place actually did sometime after, become the general Rendezvoux of the Warriors.

Every preparation having been made during the Winter towards leaving the place early in the Spring, the Congregation met on the 3^{d} day of March (1780) in the morning. once more to unite in thanks and praises to the Lord, for all the blessings received from him, during the five Years this place had been occupied by them, (the Christian Indians) after which, the Chapel being pulled down, that it might not be applied to heathenish purposes: they set out both by Land and by Water; and having proceeded upwards of 20 Miles up the River, & to within 6 Miles of Gnadenhutten, they built a Town which they called Salem;[1] and the Brethren of the two Towns above, (namely Gnadenhutten and Shonbrun) offering their services, in helping to build the Chapel, these worked together, with uncommon cheerfulness, and industry, so that already on the 22^{d} of May the same was consecrated by the worthy senior Missionary Zeisberger; and the next day the communicants partook of the holy Sacrament, for the first time at this place. Baptism was also administered on the 28th., and it appeared as if new life had been bestowed on the three Congregations generally —

The building was 40 feet by 36, handsomely put up of hewed, or squared Timbers, with a [210] Cupola and Bell; and all the dwelling houses were raised & completed by December. The

[1] Salem was one and one-half miles southwest of the present town of Port Washington, Salem Township, Tuscarawas County, on a farm owned in 1863 by Henry Stocker, between the railroad track and the Tuscarawas River. It was necessary to abandon Lichtenau because of the increasing unfriendliness of the Indians engaged in the war and those Delawares who soon afterwards went also to war.

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peaceable Indians from Goshachking & its Neighborhood, who had frequented the Meetings at Lichtenau, would occasionally come now from thence hither, to hear the Gospel preached, tho the distance was 20 Miles and more.

During all the troubles which had befallen the Christian Indians, since the first commencement of the War: many from among the Heathen had joined them; and the labourers being found to be too few sufficiently to attend to all the calls and cases resting in them — especially in that of teaching the Children; it was thought proper at this present time, to encourage some assistants to repair to the Mission; when accordingly the venerable Minister Grube[1] from Lititz in Pennsylvania, (who formerly had also been a Missionary to the Delaware Indians,) willingly accompanied these, to the place of their destination. As there were also two Sisters for the service of the Mission in Company, some of the National Assistants with their Wifes, went to meet them at Pittsburg, for the purpose of assisting them on the way out, as also to guard them against any unfriendly Indians they might meet with; when, shameful to relate, while they had met with a civil treatment by all Indians they had seen, they were on the otherhand pursued by some White People, and who fired into their Camp, early on the second morning of their Journey, yet fortunately without any one [211] receiving harm, altho one of the Balls had pierced thro the Shirt of the National Assistant Jones, who at the time was sitting close to the Minister Grube. The Villains, after having fired into the Camp immediately ran off; and it now appeared more necessary to guard against attacks of White People*, than from any Indian Warriors.

*It is a fact, well known to many that had lived among the Indians, that sometimes frontier White People have dressed & blackened themselves as tho they were Indians, and have attacked travellers, or frightened them from their Camps, for the purpose of taking their effects, these resting sattisfied, that all will be placed to account of the Indians.

[1] Bernard Adam Grube was born in Germany (near Erfurt) in 1715: died

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The Rev^d^. Grube, after an agreeable stay of seven Weeks, during which time he had made himself thoroughly acquainted with both the internal and external state of the three Indian Congregations; returned Aug^st^. 5th. with a heart filled with joy and gratitude to our blessed Lord, for the abundant mercies bestowed by him on this Indian flock. The advantage this worthy man had in understanding the Delaware Language, gave him an Opportunity of conversing with them freely on all matters, but particularly respecting their religious exercises. Brother Shabosh, who had accompanied him on his Journey home, returned in November following, with Brother Michael Young,[1] who had been sent from Bethlehem, as another Assistant to the Mission.

at Bethlehem in 1808. He officiated at the marriages of both Heckewelder and Zeisberger. Was a faithful man and minister.

[1] Michael Jung (written uniformly *Young* by Heckewelder) was born January 5, 1743, at Engoldsheim, Alsace, Germany; came with his parents to America in 1751, and settled in Broadbay, Maine, where he became acquainted with the Moravians and united with them. He went to Bethlehem in 1767, where he was an inmate of the Brethren's House until 1780, when he was sent to the Muskingum. He remained with the mission until it was established at New Gnadenhutten, in Michigan, when he returned to Bethlehem, where he remained four years. He then went again to the Western mission, rejoining it when it was on its way to Pettquotting. He died at Litiz, Pa., December 13, 1826.

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CHAPTER XX.

HAVING in the preceeding pages of this Narrative, exhibited the precarious situation in which the Chris-[212]tian Indians were placed by the then existing War, together with the course they had taken, both for their own preservation, and also for that of the Delaware Nation, unto whom they were to look for protection: I have next to follow up the subject, by relating the occurrences which happened from time to time; ending in the dissolution of the established Council of the Nation in the Country — the destruction of the Christian Indians Settlements on the Muskingum — the Murder of upwards of Ninety Christian Indians — the removal of the Missionaries from Sandusky to Detroit, and the dispersion of the remainder of the Indian Converts — trials, the most afflicting — and scenes unprecedented.

It appeared soon after the Christian Indians had moved away from Lichtenau, that Capt[n]. Pipe, for the purpose of destroying the whole system pursued by the Chiefs of Goshachking for the preservation of Peace; had taken measures to defeat every Act and design of these, to that purpose — and that the Chiefs in consequence, had for their own safety, been obliged to withdraw themselves, and take refuge at Pittsburg. That he, (Pipe) fearing the consequences of this removal, had also withdrawn with his party, and settled at Upper Sandusky near the residence of that of the half King of the Wyondots. and — that he had leagued with this Chief for the purpose of carrying on the War against the United States with vigour. [1]

[1] Captain Pipe moved with his band of Monseys from his village on the Walhonding, some fifteen miles from Goschachgunk, to the Sandusky in the winter of 1780-81. His town was built on both sides of Tymochtee Creek, the largest tributary of the Sandusky on the west. It was in the present Crawford Township, Wyandot County, one and one-half miles northeast of Craw-

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The Christian Indians, knowing nothing [of] what was [213] going on at this time, without their Circle — not a single Warrior having passed thro their Towns, since they had been settled where they now were — neither having heard any evil reports respecting themselves, or their Teachers — nor even apprehending that during this calm they were enjoying, a Storm would be gathering: were following their agricultural pursuits with alacrity; and living in all respects up to their Christian profession — Yet, a Storm *had* been gathering all this while, which will be taken notice of in its proper place.[1]

In March of the Year 1781 one of the Brethren from Salem who had returned from hunting, made report, that within 4 or 5 Miles of the place, he had discovered a small body of Warriors in Camp, who had a Prisoner, & that among the Horses he had seen tied to the Trees, was the Horse of their Teacher, which, together with other Horses belonging to the Christian Indians, had last Year been stolen by White People from the Ohio Settlements. Moved with compassion for the unfortunate Prisoner, the Inhabitants of Salem, made a collection of Wampum & other Articles, for the redemption of the Prisoner; in which they succeeded to their wishes. and taking afterwards this Prisoner to Pittsburg, he was again restored to his friends. They had also ransomed the Missionarys Horse from those Warriors, but being told on their arrival at Sandusky, that every Article taken from an Enemy was a just prize, they returned, and reclaimed the Horse.

[214] Shortly after this had taken place, the Missionary at Salem (the writer of this) received by an Indian express, a few lines written by Colonel Broadhead, stating: that he was

fordsville. It was about eleven miles from the Upper Sandusky of that day, and about eight miles from the present Upper Sandusky. See Butterfield's *Historical Account of the Expedition against Sandusky*, p. 167.

[1] The withdrawal of Captain Pipe to the Sandusky and the band of friendly Delawares under Gelelemend to Fort Pitt cleared the Tuscarawas Valley of all Indian settlements except those of the Moravians.

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encamped with a body of Troops (regular and Militia) on the opposite side of the River, a few Miles below Salem; requesting some Articles of Provisions from the Christian Indians, and a visit by me at his Camp. The Indians of the two nearest Towns, complying forthwith with his request, I repaired to the Camp, where, he informed me, that being on an expedition against a band of hostile Indians, at, or near the forks of the River; he was anxious to know, before he proceeded any further on, whether any of the Christian Indians were out a hunting or on business in the direction he was going: when being answered in the Negative, he declared: "that nothing could give him "greater pain, than to hear that any one of the Moravian Indians "had been molested by his troops, since these Indians had con-"ducted themselves, ever since the commencement of the War, "in a manner that did them honour. That neither the English, "nor the Americans, could with justice reproach them with im-"proper conduct in their situation; they having always acted on "the principles of humanity, and sought the good and welfare "of that Nation which had opened their Arms to receive "Teachers among them for good purposes &c." [1]

[1] This expedition crossed the Ohio River at Wheeling April 10, 1781. It numbered one hundred and fifty regulars and about the same number of militia, who joined it at Wheeling. It was commanded by Colonel Broadhead, and had for its object the punishment of the Indian warriors then at Goschachgunk and Lichtenau, or Indaochaie, as it had been named by the Delawares after its abandonment by the Moravians. These towns were attacked on the 19th of April; fifteen warriors were killed and twenty prisononers captured, among them five Moravians, who were released. Simon Girty was not at the towns, but he sent a report of the attack by Colonel Broadhead to the commandant at Detroit. It was dated the twentieth. See Butterfield's *History of the Girtys*, p. 128. Broadhead proceeded up the Tuscarawas to Gekelemuckpechunk, where the Delawares remaining friendly to the Americans were living under their chief Gelelemend. Broadhead desired the Moravians to move with him to Fort Pitt, but they declined to do so. Gelelemend and his followers went with Colonel Broadhead to Fort Pitt, the last band to leave the valley of the Tuscarawas, except the Christian Indians.

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However, while the Col. was assuring me, that our Indians had nothing to fear, an Officer, coming with [215] great speed from one quarter of the Camp, reported: that *such* a division of the Militia, "was preparing to break off, for the purpose "of destroying the Moravian Settlements up the River, and "that he feared they could not be restrained from so doing." The Col. however, immediately took such measures as prevented them from carrying their wicked designs into execution: and I take pleasure in mentioning the name of a Col. Shepherd of Wheeling, who, having the command of another division of the Militia, would have supported Col[l]. Broadhead in the measure he intended to resort to, should these have attempted to carry their murderous designs into execution.

Shortly after the return of these Troops to Pittsburg, as two Indian Brethren from Gnadenhutten were looking for strayed Horses of theirs, they were met about 12 Miles below Salem by Eighty Indian Warriors, who without ceremony took them prisoners, saying: "We do not intend to hurt You, but the errand we are on requiring the greatest secrecy, we cannot set You at liberty, untill we have done what we intend to do." Then taking a course thro the Woods, untill they had come within a short distance of Gnadenhutten: they rested untill nearly break of day, guarding these Brethren well, that they might not run off and give information of them. The day approaching, they moved on, and having surrounded the Town completely: hailed the Inhabitants, to deliver into their hands the Chief, Gelele-[216]mend,* (alias Kilbock) and all the other Chiefs and Councellors; whom they must have either alive or dead. The party being informed, that not one of those they were in search of,

*their object was, to take these off to a place where they would have them under *their* control, [and] prevent them from governing the Nation while the War lasted; it being a custom with the Indian Nations, that so soon as the Peace Chief has given his consent to War measures, his office ceases, & the power is vested in the head Captains of the Nation, untill his services, in making Peace, are again wanted.

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was here at the time, but had all gone to Pittsburg some time since: they, to make sure, searched every House, Stable and Cellar; when, finally being sattisfyed, that they had been told the truth: they demanded; that deputies, consisting of the principle Men of the three Towns, be called together, to hear what they had to say to them; and the National Assistants being sent for from Shonbrun and Salem, Pachgantschihilas the head War Chief of the Delaware Nation, addressed them in the following manner:

"Friends and Relatives! Listen to what I say to You! You "see a great and powerful Nation divided! You see the Father "fighting against the Son; and the Son a fighting against the "Father! — The Father has called on his Indian Children, to "assist him in punishing his Children, the Americans, who had "become refractory! — I took time to consider what I should do "— whether or not I would receive the Hatchet of my father, "to assist him! — At first I looked upon it, as a family quarrel, "in which I was not interested! — However, at [217] length it "appeared to me, that the Father was in the right; and that his "Children deserved to be punished a little! — That this must be "the case, I concluded from the many cruel Acts his Offspring "had committed from time to time, on his Indian Children; — "in encroaching on their Lands — Stealing their property — "Shooting at, and murdering without cause, Men, Women and "Children! — Yes! even murdering such, who at all times had "been friendly to them; and had been placed for protection un- "der the Roof of their Fathers house* — the Father himself "standing Centry§ at the Door of the same.

"Friends and Relatives! Often has the Father been obliged "to settle, and make amends for the wrongs and mischief done us,

*alluding to the Canestoga Indians, who were placed for protection in a *public* building—(the Jail) a Mansion erected by Authority. (by the Fathers orders)

§meaning the keeper of the Jail, who is here considered as an Officer placed by the Father (the Government) for to guard and protect those within.

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"by those his refractory Children! † — yet these do not grow bet-
"ter! — No! — they remain the same, and will continue to do so,
"as long as we have any land left us! — Look back at the Mur-
"ders committed by the long Knives (Virginians) on many of
"our Relations, who lived peaceable Neighbours to them on the
"Ohio! — Did they not kill these without the least provocation?
"— Are they, think [218] You, now better than they then were?
"— No, indeed not! — And it is not many days, since You had a
"number of these very Men near Your Doors; who panted to kill
"You, but fortunately were prevented from so doing by the *great*
"Sun ‡, who, at that time. had by the great Spirit been ordained
"to protect You! —

"Friends and Relatives! You love that which is good; and
"wish to live in Peace with all Mankind, and that too, at a place
"where You may not be disturbed while praying! — You are
"very right in this; and I do not reproach You in having
"made the choice! — But, my friends and relatives! Does
"the place You at present are settled at, answer this purpose! —
"Is it not so, that You live in the very Road the contending parties
"pass on when they go to fight each other! — Have You not dis-
"covered the footsteps of the long Knifes, almost within sight of
"Your Towns, and seen the Smoke* arrising from their Camps!
"— Should not this be sufficient warning to You — and lead You
"to consult Your own safety! — We have long since turned our
"faces towards Your habitations, in the expectation of seeing You
"coming away from where You now are, and to us, where You
"would be out of danger; but you were so engaged in praying,§
"that You did not discover our anxiety for Your sakes!"

"Friends and Relatives! — Now listen to me and [219] hear
"what I have to say to You! — I am myself come to bid You to

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†meaning the American People.

‡the "great Sun," is the name the Indians had given to Col. Daniel Broadhead.

*meaning the Militia Camps, when Col. Broadhead was out.

§in devotion.

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"arise and go with me to a secure place! — Do not — my friends "— covet the Land you now hold under cultivation! — I will "conduct You to a Country † equally as good as this, where Your "fields shall yield to You abundant Crops; and where Your "Cattle shall find sufficient pasture! — where there is plenty of "Game! — where Your Women and Children, together with "Yourselves, shall live in Peace and safety! — where no long "Knife shall ever molest you! — Nay! I will live between You "and these, and not even suffer them to frighten You! — There "You can worship Your God without fear! — Here where You "are, You cannot do this! — Think on what I have now said to "You, and believe, that were you to stay where You now are; "that one day or the other, the long Knives, would in their usual "way, speak fine Words to You, and at the same time murder "You!" ‡

To the above Speech the Christian Indians in the course of an hour replied: "That they thanked their friends and rela- "tives, for the affectionate, and well meaning address, delivered "to them this day. — That they however were sorry to learn, that "their friends had such a bad opinion of their white Brethren "the Americans, who had sprung from the same Soil they had — "That hitherto, they had found no cause to mis-[220]trust the "sincerity of their American Brethren! and that, as they, (the "Christian Indians) had never committed one single hostile Act "against these: they saw no cause of fearing any injury from "them! — That if their friends and relatives really loved them "as much as they pretended to do; they ought to avoid their "peaceable Settlements altogether, when going out for the pur- "pose of committing hostilities: — or returning from having "done so! — That nothing would sooner draw an Enemy upon "them than *their* making their War paths thro' their Settlements, "as had been done when they lived at Lichtenau! — That they "lived very happy where they at present were; besides which,

†the Miami Country.

‡see Heckewelders historical Account of the Indian Nations Chap. III.

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"they at present were much to[o] heavy* to think of rising and "going with them!"

Pachgantschihilas, after having held a consultation with his Captains, next addressed the Christian Indians in the words following: to wit.

"My friends, ye believing" (Christian) ["]Indians! I have "paid attention to what You have said! — Your Words proceed "from a good heart — a heart, which cannot think bad of any "one body! — Altho I am satisfied with what I have heard from "You, yet I differ from you in opinion! — I still believe, that the "long Knife People will allways remain the same, until they "have got all our Land from us, and we be left to perish, or "driven by them into the great Salt water Lake! (the Sea) — "[221] With once more giving you the warning, not to suffer "yourselves to be deceived by their fair words and fine Speeches, "I wa[i]ve my first proposal, and propose another!

"My friends &c — When I spoke to You at first, I did not "intend to *compel* You, forthwith to leave Your Settlements! — "No! I had no such intention! — I meant to apprise You of "the danger You were in by living here, and to *advise* You for "the best; and, in case You should follow this advice, then to "help You along! — but, as the attachment for the place You now "are living at, keeps Your Eyes closed against seeing the Danger "that is so near You; I will wa[i]ve my first proposal, and intro- "duce another, which I ask You to agree to! — I say then: "Friends and relatives! — Let every one among you have his "*free will*, either to go or to stay! — Do *not* hinder such as labour "under the impulse of fear, from retiring to a safe place: and I "am satisfied!" — Which proposal being agreed to at once, the Council broke up, and the National Assistants returned to their respective homes.

The Inhabitants of Salem, having the morning following received notice by a runner from Gnadenhutten, that the whole

*"to[o] heavy," meant too much property, Provision &c. on hand. immoveable property.

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body of Warriors would be at this place in the forenoon, where they expected also to meet with a kind reception: Isaac Glickhican went out to meet them — while the Women of the place would prepare victuals for them. Contrary to the custom of Warriors when publicly ap-[222]proaching a Town, neither a yell nor a shout was heard. Arriving at the Centre of the Village, and opposite to the Chapel and Missionarys dwelling, Pachgantschihilas, the head Captain, ordered a halt, and having drawn up his Men for the purpose, addressed them thus:

"Friends my Warriors! You who on this day enter with me "this Town of believing" (Christian) "Indians: hearken to what "I say unto You! Warriors! ye young Men, and ye aged! Your "behaviour, while we were at Gnadenhutten, merits my appro- "bation! — You conducted Yourselves there as good and brave "Men ought to do, in not insulting or disturbing a People who "wish to be at peace with all Mankind; and who have devoted "themselves to serve their God! — Look around You my War- "riors, and you will discover in these your friends and relatives, "the same inoffencive and hospitable People! — their devotion" (Religion) "requires, that they should be so! — The great "Book", (Bible) "from which they are taught, contains nothing "but good things!—Look at that house" (pointing to the Chapel) "there our friends meet to pray! — See! *there* lives their Teach- "er! — We know each other this many Years, and I shall pay him "a visit! — You my Warriors, will now proceed to yonder grove "of Sugar Trees, where You will be served with Victuals by our "friends of this place, after which You can visit in the Town! — "But my young Warriors! do not carry your Arms with You "when You come for the purpose of [223] visiting, lest the Wo- "men and Children who are not accustomed to visits of that kind, "be frightened! — Guard the Camp in turn, lest the Hogs and "Cattle that are running about, destroy something! — You see "what a stock of Cows and Hogs our friends have! — You will "be served by our friends both with Milch and Pork! — Destroy "nothing that belongeth to our friends: no, not even one of their

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"Chickens!" — Then turning his face the other way he said: "Unto You, my friends the believing Indians, I shall say some-"thing afterwards!"

On entering the Missionarys house, he, by way of introduction passed a compliment on me, referring to our having been acquainted with each other at Tuscarawas, now 19 Years since; (which compliment was to be considered in this instance, as conveying a wish, to form an acquaintance between his War Captains and me, two of whom were Shawanos, and the other two Delawares) — The National Assistants of the place, being also present, a very interesting conversation took place between the parties, during which this head Captain made the following remarks: to wit. That "the Christian Indians were a happy Peo-"ple; and that *he* should never trouble them on account of their "not joining in the War, — That they could not with propriety "join in Wars, without first renouncing praying" (meaning Christianity.) — "That every Indian, or body of Indians, had a "right to chuse for themselves, whom they would serve! — That "he had hired himself out to his Father, the King of England, "[224] for the purpose of fighting against his refractory Child-"ren the long Knives; while on the otherhand his friends and "relatives, the Christian Indians, had hired themselves out to the "great Spirit, solely for the purpose of performing prayers"! (meaning, attending to Religion) — ["]That both were right "in their way, tho both employments could not be connected "together! — That but yesterday they were told while at Gnad-"enhutten, that God had instructed all Christian People to *love* "their Enemies — and even to pray for them! — That these very "Words were written in the large Book which contained the "Word and Commandments of God! — Now how would it look, "were we to go to compel our friends who *do* love — and *do* pray "for their Enemies, to fight against them! — compel them to act "contrary to what they believe to be right! — force them to do "that by which they would incur the displeasure of the great "Spirit, and bring his wrath upon them! — That it would be as

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"wrong in him to compel the Christian Indians to quit praying "and turn out to fight and kill people, as it would be in these "to compel him to lay fighting aside, and turn to praying only! "— That he had often heard it said, that the believing Indians "became Slaves to their Teachers — that what these would have "them do, they *must* do; whether they like it or not! — Now," (said he) "how can this be true, when every Indian is a free "Man, and can go where pleases! — Can the Teacher stop him "from going away? — No! he cannot! — Well! how can [225] "he then be made a Slave by the Teacher! — When we come here "among our friends, we see how much they love their Teach- "ers! — This looks well! — Continue my friends" (said he to the National Assistants) "in loving Your Teachers, and in doing all "good things; and when Your friends and Relations come to see "You, satisfy their hunger, the same as you have done to us this "day!"

Having taken leave of all who were in the house he proceeded to the middle of the Street, from whence he addressed, and thanked the Inhabitants of the place for their hospitality, assuring these of his regard and good wishes for them adding: that "if at any time they should hear it said, that Pachgantschihi- "las was an Enemy to the believing" (Christian) "Indians: they "should consider such Words, as lies!"

One family of old People (Joseph Pepee and his Wife) formerly belonging to the Rev[d]. Missionary Brainards Congregation in New Jersey, with two aged Women their relations, accepted the offer of being taken by these to a place of more safety, they hoping that the whole Congregation would soon follow them. The former, altho a friend to the white People generally, had during a long life, witnessed so many heinous Murders, committed by these on harmless Indians, that he could not but give some credit to what this great Chief had predicted, would one day befal the Christian Indians, were they to remain where they [226] now were.* — All being ready the whole body of Warriors moved off towards their respective homes.

*the sequel will show, that the predictions of this War Chief were correct.

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From this time forward, it became evident, that some underhanded work was carrying on among the hostile Indians, to the prejudice of the Christian Indians on the Muskingum. Of Pachgantsc[h]ihilas, and his party, nothing was to be feared. Neither was it at this time supposed, that the half King of the Wyondots — after the fair promises he had made sometime since, would so expose himself, as to shew hostile intentions against these Indians. Pipe, and the Monseys, were those who were most dreaded, and with whom M[c]Kee, Elliot and Girty had great influence. Frequently the attempts to murder the Missionaries, at each of the three Settlements had failed. At Shonbrun, the Missionary Senseman, who had gone into the field for some greens, was providentially saved, by two Brethren, coming up at the instant he was about being seized by an Indian Enemy. — At Gnadenhutten the Missionaries Edwards and Young, were nigh being shot down by a White Man, while they were planting Potatoes in the field; and their lives were only saved by the Captain of the War party, whom this White Man had joined.* — The writer of this Narrative was at two different times way laid, while returning from Gnadenhutten to Salem; the one time by an Indian laying behind a log§ by the way side, & who already had levelled [227] his piece at him, and the other time from the same Indian who lay concealed in a Tree Top near the path he was to pass on. Both times it was owing to Christian Indians providentially coming on to his relief. Even an attempt was made by the same Indian, to break into his house and murder him, but timely discovered by the people without, to prevent him from carrying his designs into execution. This Indian was the same Person of whom already notice has been taken as having received an education in Virginia — and was also the same Person from whom the Christian Indians in March

*see Heckewelders historical Account of the Indian Nations Chap. XLIV. page 339.

§ [Ditto] Chap. XXXVIII. page 275.

[The number of the page is wrong; it should be 280.]

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last, had purchased the Prisoner whom they set at liberty. On being closely questioned by the Nation[al] Assistants respecting his attempts to take the life of their Teacher, he replied: "that on "his arrival at Sandusky at the time *without* the Prisoner he had "taken, he had been upbraided — called the Salem white Mans "Slave, whom *he* must obey the same, as he had so often told "them, that the Negroes in Virginia must obey *their* white Mas- "ters — and that by and bye this Salem White Man, would also "whip him, if he did not obey his commands. That the demand "made on him for the Prisoner, had been by the orders given of "this white Teacher at Salem; and that therefore if he wished "not to be considered by them as a Slave of that Man, he must "go back and take him, or his Scalp, in place of the Prisoner, he "had lost thro him &c." The Christian Indians seeing now deeper into this matter than they at first had done, thought proper to state the case, [228] as it was, to him, by means of a Speech to which a string of Wampum as a Voucher was anexed, which with some presents in addition served to prove, that the purchasing of his prisoner by them, had been *their* own voluntary Act, and done without the assistance or interference of their Teacher — At another time a dark looking Monsey, who was on the point of shooting me, but luckily prevented by another Indian springing in between us, being questioned as to his designs against me: replied: that they the Monseys had lost their fine Country* by fraud§ committed on them by People whose Skin had been of the colour of mine, and that he therefore was an avowed Enemy of all who had a white Skin.

Early in the Spring of this Year, and before any of the aforesaid circumstances and troubles had taken place, the Missionary Zeisberger set out for Bethlehem, for the purpose of having an interview, with the Bishop John Frederick Reichel, one of the general Directors of the Brethrens Society from Europe. This Brother, having been deputed by the board of Directors there,

*the Minisink, together with their Settlements in the forks.

§alluding to the long Walk in the Year 1737.

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for to hold a visitation in all the Brethrens Congregations in North America, — and of making himself acquainted with the state of the Brethrens Missions among the Indians of that Country: had for that purpose invited this Missionary, to meet him at Bethlehem in Pennsylvania — when, after having confer-[229] red together — and made the necessary arrangements for the better supplying each of the three Indian Congregations with Missionaries and Assistants: the said Missionary and Wife, accompanied by the Missionary Youngman and Wife: returned again to his Post at Shonbrun, where they arrived towards the end of July of the same Year.

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CHAPTER XXI.

AS the severe trials, and great Calamities, which this Indian Congregation had yet to endure, came on them like a torrent, and without their having the least knowledge of what was passing among the Warring Indians — and the plot that had been laid for their destruction: this may perhaps be the proper place to review the causes assigned by those who had devised the measure, which led to those barbarous and unprecedented Acts — and the means that were taken to ensure them success, in the execution of their designs.

From sources the most authentic, it became known, that the new appointed Commandant at Detroit;[1] (successor to the late Governor Hamilton now a Prisoner to the Americans:) had as well as his predecessor been imposed upon, in being led to believe, that the Missionaries among the Delawares, were sent by Congress as spies among the Indians, & for the purpose of carrying on a correspondence with these, prejudicial to the British interest &c — and to give their reports a greater weight, these Men, (known to be enemies to the Mission) persuaded both Captain Pipe of the Delawares and the half King of the Wyondot Na-[230]tion to join them in lodging complaints with the Commandant against these Missionaries.

These Men, M^c^Kee, Elliot and Simon Girty had long tried to instigate the Indians, to rid themselves of these Missionaries in one way or the other; and even if it were, by murdering them. and we have already seen in a preceeding page, how Girty, had conducted a murdering party to the Muskingum, for the purpose of taking Zeisberger, or his Scalp. Finding however after all their efforts, that they would not succeed in this way, they applyed to the War Council of the 6 Nations, to do the business,

[1] DePeyster.

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and for this purpose, the Indian Agent,* (M^c^Kee,) personally went to the general Council at Niagara. The 6 Nations, altho being at the time for the greater part in the British interest, — yet, for political reasons, not chusing themselves to commit the Act imposed upon them, sent a Message to the Chippuwas and Ottawas, to this purport: "We herewith make You a present of the Christian Indians on the Muskingum, to make broth§ of!" — which words in the War phrase, signifies: *we give you the command, to put those People to Death!* These two Nations however, being a branch of the Delaware family, and ranking as grand Children to these, declined the summons, saying: that "their Grandfather had done them no injury!" — The same Message was next sent to the half King of the Hurons (Wyondots) who are nearly connected with [the] 6 [231] Nations; but these neither, would accept the Message, in the form it was sent, and with its true meaning; they still wishing to be considered by their Cousins (the Delawares) as Guardians and protectors of the *Christian Indians* — a title they themselves had chosen to be named by, on account of their considering themselves also *Christians*, a number of their Tribe having in a manner joined themselves to the Catholics, or at least attend Mass, and wear beads &^c^ — Yet the half King finally suffered himself to be persuaded by Elliot, Captain Pipe and others, to take the lead in an Expedition against these, under the promise, that the latter would be at his side, with all his Men, and act in concert with him. Thus far agreed, invitations were sent to the Warriors residing in different parts of the Country, and near Detroit, to meet at a certain time at Sandusky, to a great War feast; when, the time being come, they were furnished by the instigators of the diabolical plot with a large Ox*, which being roasted entire, they feasted on it; *eating, Dancing* and *Singing,* each in his turn, their War exploits; the British flag being hoisted near them as

*see Loskiels history of the Mission &^c^. Part III^d^. Chap. IX.

§see same Chapter.

*see Loskiels history of the Mission &^c^ Part 3^d^. Chap. IX.

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proof, that the Expedition they were going on, was sanctioned by their Father the British§. Next, being served by Elliot with Amunition & other Articles, they formed themselves into Companies, beginning their march; but where to — and for what purpose, none, except those that were in the secret knew.

[232] So secret had this intended Expedition against the Christian Indians been kept, that they knew nothing of what was passing, until the Warriors were at their very Doors. for, in the afternoon on the 10th. of August, all of a sudden the half King with One hundred and forty armed Men appeared before the Town of Salem, with British Colours flying — and having formed for themselves a large Camp, the Colours were set up in the Centre, where Captain Elliot with the half King, and Mr. McCormick, (the flag bearer,) had their Tents fixed. [1]

While the National Assistant, Isaac Glickhican, had repaired to their Camp, to learn what all this meant, Captn. Elliot had come to the house of the Missionaries (the writer of this Narrative) "to see how we all did". (as he expressed himself) Enquiring of him, what these Warriors were after: he replied: that "the half King had something to say to the Chris-"tian Indians; but what it was he could not tell! that both he "and McCormick, had been compelled by this Chief to go with "him, and attend at the Meeting, and hear what he would say!"

§so related by Warriors of note, who were present.

[1] "In the afternoon of the tenth (of August) at four o'clock, the first party reached Salem with a painful attempt at martial array. Most of them were mounted, and rode in the following order: the Half King and his men, from Upper Sandusky; Abrahem Coon and Wyandots, from Lower Sandusky; Wyandots from Detroit; Mingoes; two Shawanese captains, John and Thomas Snake; Captain Pipe and Captain Wenginund, with Monseys and Delawares; Matthew Elliott, in his capacity of British captain, attended by Alexander McCormick, as ensign, bearing a British flag, as also by Michael Herbert and five other Englishmen and Frenchmen; stragglers from various tribes bringing up the rear. The whole troop numbered one hundred and forty men. They encamped on the plain between Salem and the river."—*Life and Times of David Zeisberger*, pp. 490, 491.

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On observing to him that the Men being armed and having Colours with them, I must suspect them to be on a hostile Expedition: he replied: "that the Indians never went from home without taking their Arms with them!" Asking him, if he and Mr. McCormick could make it convenient to take a cup of Tea with us this evening he replied: "that that would entirely de-"pend on the pleasure of [233] the half King, without whose "permission neither of them durst leave the Camp; that how-"ever he believed *he* might for himself obtain this permission, "but as McCormick had charge of the Colours, he would have "to be at his post, untill relieved by him, after which he also "might be permitted to call and see me!"

Isaac Glickhican, having by this time returned from the Camp, reported, that the half King requested an audience at my house, having something to say to the chief Men of the place in my presence; which being admitted, he, after first having passed the usual Salutation, addressed himself to me: "Father"! — and turning to the National Assistants: continued: "and You my Cousins! — I am come to see You, and to *say* "something to You; and, as what I have to say interests all "my Cousins at the *three* Towns, I wish You to appoint a place "where You can all conveniently come to hear me! — Fear no "harm my Cousins! I regard You!" — The answer being immediately given, that as Gnadenhutten lay in the Centre, it would be the most proper place for the purpose: he again returned to his Quarters. Elliot, having gone off with the Chief, McCormick obtained permission to go to see me for a few minutes. This good Man, who had been compelled against his Will to join the party, did not leave me in suspence, as to the object of the Expedition. and having disclosed to me their designs: he exclaimed: "O Mr. Heckewelder! *but* for 2 or 3 "wicked Men, You might remain where You are and live "happy. All the Indians regard You, and admire your excel-"lent regulations! — All unite that You are a good, peaceable, "and hospitable People! Neither would the Commandant at

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"Detroit disturb You, but for ———— and the Villian, that "ran up to see You, under the mask of friendship: is at the head "of the plot; and nothing will serve *him* but Your destruction. "Mark what I say!" On retiring, I enquired, whether what he had now divulged to me, I was permitted to inform the senior Missionary Zeisberger of by Letter: he replied: "Yes! but between You two, it must be kept a secret, for should it be divulged, they would shoot me!" —

Elliot having in the evening come to sup with us, acted the complete Hypocrite; speaking of old acquaintance — of services rendered him at different times, both in health and sickness, prior to the War — admiring the order and industry of the Christian Indians, and saying: "that he believed, had the Peace continued, we would have brought over nearly the whole of the Delaware Nation to our manner of living &c." — and to complete his Hypocricy, he presented our Child with sundry articles of Merchandize for cloathing.

It now became my duty to apprize the Missionary Zeisberger at Shonbrun, (distant 15 Miles) of what had passed in the course of this afternoon; and that in consequence of this, I could not meet him on the morrow to a conference, as had previously been agreed upon by us. The reply which I received from this faithful Servant of Christ, was in these Words: to [235]witt: "It then has the appearance as if Satan is again "about to make himself merry by troubling and persecuting "us! No wonder he grows angry when he sees how many of "his Subjects he looses, by our preaching the Gospel! his roar-"ing however must not frighten us! We have a heavenly "Father, without whose will he does not touch us! Let us rely "on him, who so often has delivered us from his Machina-"tions!" —

The Warriors, who were well supplied with Provisions at their Camp, had caused us not the least disturbance during the Night; and having broke up Camp at 10 o Clock in the Morning, they passed thro the Town in two divisions for Gnaden-

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hutten, the first division consisting of footmen, and the other mounted on Horseback; Elliot and the half King being in the Centre with the British Colours flying as they passed on.

On the same day, other 40 Men, of the Monsey Tribe arrived, who, likewise being served with Victuals, continued on to the same place, where, within four Days upwards of three hundred Warriors had assembled, and which were of the following Tribes & Nations. vizt: The Wyondots from Upper Sandusky, commanded by the half King* — Others of the same Nation, from Detroit and lower Sandusky, commanded by Kuhn, a head War Chief of the latter place — Capt^ns^. Pipe and Wingemund, Delaware War Chiefs, [236] with their Men from Upper Sandusky — the Monsey War Chief with about 40 Men from the same place — The 2 Shawanese Captains, by the Traders named John, and Thomas Snake, with a few of their Men from Sciota — Several stragling Indians of the Mohegan and Ottawas Tribes, and Elliot, with his attendant Michael Herbert. M^c^-Cormick the bearer of the flag, and lastly, a small train of invalid Wyondots, Men and Women with Horses, who had come to assist in carrying off the booty.

For a whole Week these Warriors passed their time in eating and drinking, and sleeping, except their head Men, who daily sat in Council, deliberating on the best manner of carrying their designs into execution; when on the 20th. of the Month, (Aug.) the half King made known, that on the morrow, he wished to see the principle Men of the Three Towns, here assembled to hear what he had to say to them; when, on proper notification given, these had arrived, he addressed them to the following purports vizt: "That he for a long time, had been much "concerned on account of his Cousins, the believing Indians, as "they lived in a very dangerous place! — that they were sit-"ting between two powerful angry Gods§, who, with their

*the Delawares call this half King by the name of "*Pemoacan*" [Pē-mō-ā'-căn] which in English is *a sweat house.*

§meaning the English & American Armies, fighting against each other.

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"Mouths wide open, were most ferociously looking at each "other! that this being the case, they were in danger of being "attacked and devoured; nay even [237] ground to powder by "the teeth of one or the other of these or perhaps by both at the "same time! — that it therefore was not advisable that they re- "main longer where they now were! And that he now called "on them, to reflect on their situation, and the means to save "their lives, and that of their Women and Children, who all "must perish if they remain here longer! — That he now took "his Cousins by the hand to lead them to a place of safety — that "they should not stand gazing at their Crops in the fields, "their houses, and other property; but should arise, taking their "Teachers with them, and he would lead them to a place, where "they might worship their God, as they were accustomed to do! "— That they would find plenty of Provisions, where he should "take them to; and that, besides this their Father* at Detroit "would also provide for them! — That he had purposely come "here to deliver this Message to his Cousins for their consid- "eration!" — (here handing a string of Wampum to them.)

To this Speech, the Christian Indians replied: "that they "had listened with attention to what their Uncle had said to "them, but that they could not see the danger they were said "to be in, by remaining where they now were! — That being "at Peace with all Mankind; and having nothing to do with the "War, they saw no cause of any body, hurting them! — that they "saw nothing dark§, all being light around them! — [238] that "they wished to remain where they were, and enjoy Peace, which "they could not have, were they to live near them! — that they "also were at present to[o] heavy† to arise and go with them, "but would consider on what he had said to them, and return "him an answer between this time and Spring!"

With this Answer, not only the half King, but the greater

*meaning the British.—

§no Danger.

†meaning, they had much immovable property.

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part of the Warriors, appeared to be perfectly satisfied, declaring: ["]that it would be wrong to compel their Cousins — & "their friends and relations, to remove from a favourite spot, "where they had every thing they could wish for, in abundance, "and where they lived so content and happy! — that besides "this, they considered it inconsistent with true policy, to distress "a People, who had treated them with so much kindness and "hospitality, since they had been here!["] — And to shew further their disapprobation of the project, and in some measure retaliate on the Person* who devised it, they drew up with their Arms, to where the British Colours were flying, discharging their pieces at it, & which they would have shot to rags, had they not been prevented; all which now gave M^r^. M^c^Cormick an Opportunity of returning home, taking the Colours with him. [1]

Mortifying as this was to Captn. Elliot, he continued to urge Captn. Pipe and the half King, not to [239] give up, but to have recourse to other, and more severe measures; which advice, caused another Weeks consultation. In the interim, it had by some means or other been discovered, that two of the Christian Indian Brethren were missing; and it being supposed by the Captains, that these were gone either to Pittsburg, or some other Fortification on the Ohio River, to draw a body of Troops out, for the relief of the Christian Indians, every path, leading to such places, were beset by some of their Men; when of course the two Brethren missing, fell into their hands on their way home from Pittsburg. Having stripped these of their Cloaths to search for Letters even examining the barrels of their Guns and their Powder horns for the same purpose, yet without discovering any thing in writing upon them they took them along as Prisoners, yet did not suffer them to be together, to

*Captn. Elliot.

[1] "Elliott's camp displayed the English flag, which at last the Wyandots took possession of, and it was thrown into the fire."—*Dairy of David Zeisberger*, Cincinnati, 1885, i, 7, 8.

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keep them from forming a plan, which might defeat their object. Being separately examined at Gnadenhutten in Council by the half King, and nothing found on them prejudicial to the War party: they were again dismissed.

The fact was, that these Brethren had gone for no other purpose to Pittsburg, than to inform the Commandant of the place of the situation they were in, that also thro him the Brethren at Bethlehem might be apprised of the danger they were in, and be prepared to hear the worst. The Message they delivered, was verbal, and in the Words: "We are beset by upwards of Three hundred Warriors of differ-[240]ent Nations, who are determined on having us away from our Settlements on the Muskingum; and declare, that if this cannot be effected by fair means, they will murder us, and carry our Scalps off. — We are resigned to our fate." — The two Colonels, Broadhead and Gibson, enquiring of the Messengers, if we expected an armed force to come out to our relief were answered in the Negative; and both these Officers very properly saw, that such a measure would not be advisable, but rather tend to our destruction.

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CHAPTER XXII.

IN the second attempt made by the half King on the 25th of August, to persuade the Christian Indians, to leave their Settlements, and go with him, he held forth a somewhat frightening Language, saying: "that it was impossible for us to escape the danger which awaited us, in remaining here! that the 6 Nations would not suffer us to stay! That the Chippuwas and Ottawas would fall upon us, and destroy us all! — that even were these Nations to let us alone, still the long Knifes (Virginians) would not, — but certainly one day fall upon us and kill us; for that in these, there was no sincerity &c"

To this Speech the Christian Indians again remonstrated, "that they bore to[o] hard upon them, for, to go at this present time, would reduce them to misery! that they had a large harvest out — some thousand bushels of Corn besides Vegetables of various kinds, which all would be lost to them! — that to them it appeared ungenerous, to seek to deprive their Women and Children [241] with themselves of the necessaries of life, when *they* saw no occasion for it!" — (to which the half King listened in silence)

It was at this time believed, that, had both the half King and Captain Pipe been at liberty to act according to their own inclination: that they would have withdrawn their Men; themselves seeing, that they were in the wrong. The latter also well knew, that many of his Men had pronounced against such proceedings, and even declared, that they would not be idle Spectators, if they saw any of their friends, or even the Teachers of their friends, whom they equally looked upon as *their* friends, molested. Captain Elliot however, kept them at it; and to cause a beginning to be made, pretended to be under an apprehension, of an armed force of Virginians coming upon them, before they were aware of it; when, the rabble among them,

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taking the hint, now, for the first time, began to commit outrages by shooting Fowls; Hogs; and even horn Cattle, that were passing by, or feeding within their reach. — The Chiefs on the other hand, had fallen on the scheme, of trying how it would work, upon the whole, were they to effect a division among the Christian Indians. Accordingly the most artful of their party were set to work among the timid, and weaker class of these, and having first impressed the minds of such with the fear, that if they remained here longer, they would assuredly be murdered: they next gave them such an enchanting description of the Country [242] they wanted to take them to, that they brought them over, to wish themselves there already — and with these, nothing seemed to be in the way of going with them at once, but the assurance, that their Teachers would go with them; while others, more unguardedly would say: "We look to our Teachers, what *they* do, we likewise will do!" — which thoughtless expressions — altho these had meant no harm to their Teachers, were quickly laid hold of, as the *real* cause that the Christian Indians would not go with them, and from this time, the whole blame was laid on the Missionaries, who now became the main object of the hatred and resentment of the Savages.

The situation therefore, in which the Missionaries now were, was not only precarious, but dangerous. The timid part of the Congregation, which were at most a tenth part of the whole, looked to these, to consent to go with the Savages, while all the others declared, that they would rather die on the spot, than plunge themselves with their familys, in such misery. Nor would these even stand to listen to the inducements these wished to hold forth to them for the purpose of bringing them over to their views — nay, they even continued in their daily labour, of building and repairing houses, setting fences &c. And altho the Enemy ascribed all this to the influence of the Missionaries over their relatives (the Christian Indians:) yet these durst not venture to decide in behalf of all, for fear of offending the one

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or the other side, [243] but thought it most prudent, to await the issue, and not go with the Savages, but by compulsion; *that,* should the Congregation be brought to distress and misery, *they* might not be liable to blame and reproach on that account.

By this time the heads of the Savages had held several consultations on the best and surest mode of proceeding, to attain their object. One proposal was that of killing the Missionaries at once — Another, that of killing at the same time the principle, or leading Men of the Christian Indians. A Sorcerer being consulted, on each of these proposals, he so terrified them by his threats, that they gave up the designs; but what troubled these most, was, their frequently being told by some of their own party: that the Christian Indians loving their Teachers so much, would never suffer violent hands to be laid on them, but would defend them even at the risque of their own lives.

Elliot, supposing the War Chiefs a wavering; and likely to abandon the design altogether, now thought of another, and last experiment, namely: he told these, that they had already made the American People to [be] their Enemies, by fighting against them, of course of these they never hereafter could expect any favours; and now, by *not* obeying their Fathers commands, who always so abundantly had supplied their wants: they would create themselves *another* Enemy. thus, between two powerful Enemies, they, with their Wifes and Children, must eventually perish. that he [244] now asked them for the last time, whether or not they would do for their father, what he wanted them to do! that if they would not, he would immediately mount his Horse, and proceed on to their Father at Detroit, when at once all connection between him and them, would cease, he considering them as his Enemies! he even pretended to set out immediately for Detroit, when they, seeing this, desired him to stay only a few days longer, and they would do what he wanted.

Accordingly they now for the last time, called on the National Assistants of the three Towns, to come with their Teachers once more to hear what they had to say. While mounting my

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Horse at Salem to go to Gnadenhutten for the purpose, Elliots attendant, who at the time was here, came up to me, whispering in my Ear, that he "wished we could contrive our escape to the Settlements, since nothing was surer, than, if we went to Gnadenhutten, we would all be taken Prisoners, or killed, before tomorrow Night!" After replying: that what he wished us to do, was out of our power: I asked him, whether the Goods Captn. Elliot had brought with him, were intended for rewarding the Warriors, when these should have done the business he wanted them to do? to which he replied: "While we were packing up the Goods (2 horse loads) I heard him say: "that "with these Goods he expected to make the greatest *spec* he "ever had made. that the Moravian Indians had at each of "their Towns, great stocks of horn Cattle, which, when once "dis-[245]tressed by the Warriors, he could purchase of them "for a song; a few Dollars per head, while he would get forty "Dollars a head at Detroit!"

On our arrival at Gnadenhutten, Sep^{tr}. 2^{d}. we plainly saw the change that had taken place since our last Meeting; a great part of the Warriors appearing surly, and some impudent as if ready for Mischief. The stench in the Town, occasioned from Cattle they had shot down, was almost intolerable. Some of the Savages, would, in passing by the Missionarys House, wave their Spears, and other Weapons, as if they wished to frighten us, or perhaps to show us, that they were ready for the job. At length the National Assistants were called to appear before the Council, when the half King demanded of these, a prompt answer in the affirmative, or negative, whether they would go with him; to which these replying, that they should abide by the answer given him, at the last Meeting: these Brethren were immediately dismissed.

The Savages now went into secret Council, sitting close during the greater part of the Night, when again the proposal of murdering us, and destroying the Towns, was suggested, as the only means of detaching their friends and relatives, (the

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Christian Indians) from the spot, and the Improvements on it, they had become so attached to; yet this proposition was also rejected, — principally on the ground, that these, when driven to it, might use their Arms [246] against them, and a general slaughter ensue, which could answer no purpose, but that of destroying themselves.

The Missionaries, having early on the Morning of the 3^{d} of September, learnt by one of the National Assistants, (whose information came direct from a trusty Person, who had been admitted to the secret Council of the last Night:) what had been concluded upon: plainly saw what awaited them, and would be their fates, in the course of the day. Nevertheless the Congregation as usual, met also on this morning at Eight o.Clock for divine Service, to which, exclusive of the members of the Congregation, a great number of the Savages also attending, the Chapel Doors had to be thrown open, for the benefit of those without. After the singing part was performed, in which the whole Congregation as with one Voice had joined: the Missionary Zeisberger,[1] who had taken his Text from the 54th.

[1] David Zeisberger was the greatest of the Moravian missionaries. He was born at Zauchtenthal, Moravia, April 11, 1721, (Good Friday): died at Goshen, Tuscarawas County, Ohio, November 17, 1808. His parents were David and Rosina Zeisberger. They left Moravia and went to Saxony when their son was five years old to enjoy religious freedom; there they lived in Herrnhut, that village upon the estate of Count Zinzendorf so famous in the annals of the Moravians. In the year 1736 they emigrated with other Moravians to Georgia, but left their son at the Moravian colony near Utrecht, Holland. The managers there seem to have been cruel and unmercifully severe with him. He was often beaten, and was finally unjustly accused of theft of money given him by a gentleman whom he had shown about the establishment. He ran away from the place and went to London, from whence Oglethorpe sent him to Georgia. The Georgia settlement of Moravians was broken up by the requirement of the colony that they bear arms in the war with Spain. In 1740 Zeisberger and ten others formed a settlement at the "Forks of the Delaware," Northampton County, Pa. The next year he assisted in the founding of Bethlehem, from that time the center of Moravian

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Chapter of Isaiah, and 8th. Verse, delivered a most emphatic discourse on the great love of God towards Man, and the pains he takes to bring Sinners to repentance, and make them a happy People. He had taken a general retrospect of the ways of the Lord with his People from the beginning. — ["]his delivering "the Children of Israel from bondage; and the means he had "made use of to make them a great and happy People; setting "forth their happy state, while they continued to be obedient "to his Commandments; and the unhappy, and wretched condi- "tion they at times brought [247] upon themselves by their dis- "obedience — by becoming distrustful and Jealous — murmur- "ing and showing a rebellious Spirit; — by their inclination to "heathenism, and attempts to introduce idolatrous practices; "making Images to worship, instead of looking up to, and wor-

influence in America. In 1745 he went with Christian Frederick Post to the country of the Mohawks in order that he might perfect himself in their language, but they were taken for French spies and imprisoned two months at Albany, returning to Bethlehem the sixteenth day of April. May 24, he and Schebosh set out for Onondaga, where they arrived June 17. After a sojourn of twelve days they returned. On this occasion Zeisberger was adopted into the Onondaga tribe and given the name Ganousseracheri, On the Pumpkin. In 1750 he visited Herrnhut, and was appointed by Count Zinzendorf perpetual missionary to the Indians. He returned in September to Bethlehem. In July he again visited the Iroquois and took up his residence among them. The French and Indian war made it necessary for him to leave the country of the Iroquois. He was at Mahony at the massacre of November 24, 1755, and came near losing his life there. He was with the Indians at Province Island and Philadelphia. When they were released he led them to Wyalusing. In 1767 he visited the Delawares on the Alleghany River, and the next year he and Senseman went to live permanently in that country. In 1771 he visited the Delaware seat of government in the West, Gekelemukpechunk, on the Tuscarawas. In 1772 he and Heckewelder founded Schonbrunn (Thuppekunk). As the events of his life from that time are recorded at length in this work it is unnecessary to review them here. He married Miss Susan Lecron, of Litiz, Pa., June 4, 1781, (cermony performed at Litiz by Adam Grube). Zeisberger rendered science priceless service in preserving Indian languages. A list of his works can be found in the *Life and Times of David Zeisberger*, by

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"shiping that good and gracious God, who so miraculously had "delivered them from Slavery; — was leading them to a Country "far exceeding any they had seen before; — supplying their "wants abundantly from day to day, and granting them strength "and support, all which benefits they despised, depending on "their own Strength; and listening to false Prophets; — Shew- "ing ungratefulness, mistrust and even Enmity against their "faithful leader Moses, whom God himself had appointed, and "who constantly had their welfare at heart; and had, by his "supplications and Tears, appeased the Lord, when in his wrath "he had declared that he would destroy them &c." — Then turn- ing his discourse to the present times — ["]to the work of God "among the many heathen Nations, as in Greenland, Labrador; "the Cape of Good hope; in the West Indies Islands — in South "America, and where we are; from which together, thousands "were already assembled before the throne of the Lord, glori- "fying his Name; while thousands were at present yet beneath, "under his guidance, in the hopes of enjoying the same happi- "ness hereafter; and to which number we here, thro his grace "also belonged! — And shall *we*["] (continued the faithful Mis- sionary) ["]we, who have also been [248] brought out of dark- "ness to the light — who have experienced the goodness of the "Lord, and in so many instances, been witnesses of his protecting

Schweinitz. His Diary from August 20, 1781, to May 27, 1798, was edited by Mr. Eugene F. Bliss, and published in two volumes by Robert Clarke & Co., 1885. The following is copied from the stone set over his grave:

DAVID ZEISBERGER,
who was born 11 April, 1721,
in Moravia, and departed
this Life 17 Nov. 1808,
aged 87 Years, 7 M. and 6 Days.
This faithful Servant of the
Lord laboured among the
American Indians as a Mis-
sionary, during the last
60 Years of his Life.

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"hand over us, his People — *we,* who have manfully braved so "many Storms, and the threatenings of the Children of darkness; "never yet being disappointed in our hope! Shall we forget "all this? — Did we not frequently, hear the same threats? — "Were we not told time after time, what would be done to us, "if we did not leave the habitations where we were, and go and "live among the heathen; and did we obey them? — and were "we ever molested by them on that account? — No! — and why "not? because we were united to put our trust in the Lord, and "depend on *his* protection! — And why not continue in the *same* "faith! — why not place the same trust in him — believe — "that he is both able and willing to protect us at all times! — "Have we grown weaker in faith instead of stronger? — Shall "we give the heathen cause to mock and laugh at us, saying: "these *pretend* to believe, what they believe not!["] — No! my "brethren and Sisters! We will not only abide in that faith "which we thro grace have received; but we will endeavour, to "grow stronger therein! — even death itself shall not rob us of "this treasure. And tho in times of old, the Lord did sometimes "hide his face" as it were, from his People — did even permit "the heathen to chastise them a little, when they had become "indifferent, and disobedient towards him, or departed from "his ways: yet, when they repented, [249] he, in his mercy "turned to them again. So be it unto us also, but particularly "to those among us, who at this present time, have suffered "themselves to be led astray — or so become overwhelmed by "timidity and fear, that they rather chuse to submit to the dic- "tates of the heathen for their preservation, than to rely on "*him,* who hath all power, both on Earth and in Heaven: on "*him,* who is able to withstand Satan with his whole host &c.["]

The Missionary then concluded in saying: ["]We are now, "my Brethren and Sisters, placed in a situation, hitherto unpar- "allelled! Surrounded by a body of Heathen! — some Enemies "to the Gospel, who threaten us, with taking our lives, if we "do not go with them, and make them our Neighbours! Not

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was, as if written on their Countenances, so that it required but little provocation, to cause a blaze.

After service, several of the Savages who had been present at the Meeting, came and shook hands with the Missionaries, signifying both friendship and commiseration for them; while others, principally Wyondots and Monseys, would enter the house for the purpose of examining the contents therein.

About 11 o Clock in the forenoon, the Town was alarmed by the shrieks and Yells of the Savages, who were all running full speed towards the River, so that we were led to believe that some outrage had already been committed. However, the alarm had been occasioned by Captain Elliots hostler, who in watering a Horse, had fallen in deep Water, so that the Horse would have had to swim, had not the Man in the fright, (occasioned principally by the Yells of the Savages, where he forgot himself) drawn the reins so tight, that the Horse could not swim, but sank with the rider; when however two Ottawa Indians, quicker than other bystanders, plunging into the River, and swimming to the spot, extricated the Man, who was hanging to the Horses Neck, and brought both Man and Horse to shore, though much exhausted.

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"being at liberty to act for ourselves, we must submit to our "fate, and trust, that the Lord will still hold his hand over us, "and not forsake us! — We will remain quiet, and abide the "consequences, it not becoming Children of God to put them- "selves on a level with the Heathen, in making use of Weapons "for our defence! Neither will we hate our Enemies, on this "account, who know not what they are doing! We, as Chris- "tians will pray for these, that the Lord may open their Eyes, "and turn their hearts from all evil ways — Perhaps we may yet "have the pleasure, of seeing some of those, who are now our "Enemies, repent, and join themselves to our flock."]

The universal attention, during the delivery of this very remarkable discourse, was truly striking. The [250] worthy Missionary, tho' with a grieved heart, spoke with great freedom and force, as though none were present but his own Congregation. The Chapel Interpreter, Joachim, being well versed in Scripture, and catching with correctness, both the Words and substance of what was spoken: delivered himself, in such an astonishing and affecting manner, that the whole Congregation, and with these many of the Savages of the Delaware Nation present: were in Tears.

Note. It is but proper to remark: that the lenient manner in which the Missionaries, were upon the whole treated (as will be seen in the sequel) when compared with the treatment other Prisoners meet with by Warriors: may in a great measure, if not wholely, be ascribed to the charge given to the Congregation, at the latter part of the discourse, whereby these were satisfied, that they had nothing to dread, from the Christian Indians, as they so often had been told, would be the case. And the soothing call of the Missionary, to his Congregation, even to pray for their Enemies, did eventually sattisfy them; and put their Minds at ease;—while to the Congregation the same came equally seasonable, since many of the Brethren were ready to risque their own lives in defending their Teachers, considering it their duty to protect these at all hazards. Now, had these been left to act as they intended; what may be supposed, would have been the consequence? Even the firing of a Gun or two, at such as had laid hands on their Teachers, would [251] have brought on a Massacre on both sides, by which every Missionary present must have fallen, exclusive of Christian Indians.—The murdering Spirit of many of the Savages,

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CHAPTER XXIII.

SOON after we had dined, Zeisberger, Senseman and myself, walked behind the Garden towards the [252] burrying Ground, where, after standing a few minutes, with our faces towards the Town, the head Captain of the Monseys, came in great haste up to us, and accosted Zeisberger in the Words: "Wilt thou devote thyself solely to the service of the Monseys, as their Teacher?"—to which a quick reply being made by a bystander: [1] that we being as one family, could not seperate: he stepped a few paces back, as a signal given, for three Wyondots, who lay concealed close behind the fence, and who in an instant rushed upon us, each taking his Man prisoner, and forthwith making off with us towards the Camp, which was about 100 Yards distant, on the way to which an ugly looking Wyondot, who had run up for the purpose, aimed several times a blow with his Tomahawk at the head of Senseman, who however by means of his agility, escaped unhurt. [2] We were straightway taken to Captain Elliots Camp in the Centre, as tho we had been taken Prisoners for him.

Whether from political motives they had done this; — as meaning thereby to shew, that they had acted under his (Elliots) orders, & solely *for* him; — (and that he of course must reward them for it) — or; whether they thereby meant to proclaim to the Christian Indians and us, that *they* were not to blame for what

1 Word had been brought to Zeisberger, by one of his converts, from a Monsey captain, that he should assert his rights as a naturalized citizen of their nation, promising him full protection if he did so. But his fellow-missionaries not being included in the offer, he did not deem it worthy of his notice. In the afternoon, about one o'clock, as he was walking with Senseman and Heckewelder back of the Mission garden, this captain himself hurried up and renewed the suggestion, telling him that he must make the claim at once, or it would be too late. While in the act of declining, a guard of three Wyandots, sent by Pomoacan, rushed upon the three missionaries, took them prisoners, and, with loud scalp-yells, dragged them to the Delaware camp.—*Life and Times of David Zeisberger*, Schweinitz, pp. 504, 505.

2 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.—Loskiel's *History of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Indians in North America*, Part III, p. 155.

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they had done, but the Man under whose orders they had acted: was best known to themselves. One thing however appeared as certain. vizt. that the Act of bringing the Prisoners *direct* to him, strengthened the belief of us all that this [253] was the case; moreover as it threw him into confusion, or confounded him so, that he had not the command of Words, to make a suitable apology, so as to hide his hipocracy. All he could do, was by saying: "that such things were not intended — that the Com- "mandant at Detroit had not ordered it so — that things were "going the wrong way — that it had not been expected that they "would treat us so roughly — that their orders had been to bring "us off; — but that Indians would do things their own way &c["] — telling these Men in the Shawanese Language, to take us away to *their* Camp.[1]

We being then taken to the line on the Centre which divided the Wyondot & Delaware Camps from each other, the Scalp Yell was sounded the same as was done the instant we arrived at Elliots Tent, each of the Men who had taken us, sounding a Yell for his Man. Our being turned off by Elliot, upon the hands of the Warriors, put us now entirely into their power: — those Men who had taken, and brought us in, left us standing, and went their way; but the Yells they had given, — signifying as much as, that they had done their part: roused the whole body, who in an instant were up with their Arms in readiness, to fire upon us, so soon as orders should be given for that purpose. Yet withal, they, or many of them appeared to be panic struck. Still it was expected that the Christian Indians would rise, and endeavour to risque their Teachers — After we had been standing a few minutes [254] in the manner they had placed us: several Wyondots came up, and stripped us of our best Cloaths, Watches, buckles, sleeve-buttons &c. Next came up a dark looking Mon-

[1] Zeisberger says that when they were taken to Elliott's camp they heard for the first time (from Elliott) that their arrest was by order of the commandant at Detroit. He states, also, that no such orders had been sent from Detroit. See *Diary of David Zeisberger*, i, p. 12.

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sey, and taking us, one after the other, by the hair of the head, Shaking us with all his might, said (while in the act of shaking:) "Quawangomel Nimat!" which is: *I salute thee, my brother!* then turning to me, he began to strip me of my Shirt, saying: "Friend! I am much in want of a Shirt, and must have yours!" but before he had effected his purpose, a Delaware of note belonging to the party, seeing what he was about, ran up, and pushing him from me with force, said: "Coward! be gone! What harm have these People done You? You are always present when there is no danger!" [1]

We three Prisoners were now in a manner seperated. David Zeisberger and myself were taken into custody by Kuhn,* the Wyondot War Chief from lower Sandusky, and Senseman taken by the notorious War Captain of the same Nation, named *Snip,* from Upper Sandusky, who immediately set about making a pair of Stocks, for keeping him from running away. however, by persuasion that he would not, he laid this work again aside.

The hutts we were placed in, were nothing more than a Roof of Bark placed on poles, for to keep the Rain off from above, otherwise the sides and ends were open, in each of which Hut however, [255] about 25 Men could lay down to sleep, tho on the bare ground. We were near enough to speak to each other, but durst not venture for fear the Warriors might suspect us of consulting on the manner of effecting an escape. Being near half an hour in confinement; during which time great commotion appeared to be among the Savages: we all of a sudden heard the Word given, to start, when in an instant, about 30 armed Wyondots, commanded by the War Chief Kuhn, [2] under a

*see of this Chief, Heckewelders history of Indian Nations Chap. XVIII. page 163.

[1] Zeisberger says that by Elliott's direction the missionaries were given by the Indians some old clothes, an old night-gown which had belonged to Sister Senseman falling to his lot. See *Diary of David Zeisberger*, i, p. 12.

[2] In the reference given above by the author to his history of the Indian nations some error was made, for nothing appears there concerning Kuhn.

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volley of shrieks and Yells, set off for Salem. For me, this was a most afflicting scene, knowing that their object must be, the taking of my Wife and Child, together with brother Young — and that of robbing the House. The anxiety I felt on this account, is indiscribable.

Near an hour had elapsed, before we knew what had be-

Schweinitz, in his *Life and Times of David Zeisberger*, p. 491, says, "Abraham Coon was a white man, captured by the Indians in the first French War, adopted by the Wyandots, and now a captain among them. He was the interpreter of the expedition." Governor William Walker furnished such information about Kuhn as he could secure in his day, saying:

The subject of this sketch was captured by a war party of Wyandots about the year 1770 from Western Penn'a. Of his age when captured I can learn nothing. To what tribe or clan he was adopted into no one of the present generation can tell. He bore the reputation of a man of abilities and strong natural endowments, and a hard man to grapple with. It does not appear that he was a chief, tho' often consulted by the Council of the nation. I cannot learn that he ever gained the reputation of a *Brave* or a warrior. He was not, as far as I can learn, in the action in which St. Clair's Army was defeated, but he was in Wayne's battle on the Maumee river in '94.

He and Tarhe or Crane exerted a powerful influence in bringing about the treaty of peace known as Wayne's treaty in the succeeding year. I have heard my father and Uncle James Rankin speak of him as a man of fine personal appearance and the unmistakable stamp of Teutonic origin.

He died at Lower Sandusky Ohio sometime in 1808 or '9: [probably an error as to date] his wife and one daughter only surviving him. This daughter became the wife of a Wyandott named "Two feathers." She died in early life leaving three children, viz: George, Margaret, and Aron Kuhn, discarding their father's name and assuming that of their Grand father on their mother's side. Of the Grand children I can only say Margaret died in early life leaving one son. George the eldest was of but little force, but Aaron was a man of abilities and was the chief of his tribe or clan. I am the guardian of his Grandson, Geo. A. Kuhn.

In another communication he adds:

Abraham Kuhn did not belong to the Turtle tribe, but his wife did; & hence John Coon belonged to the Turtle tribe—a brother-in-law of Rotendy's. John Coon died about 1835, had long been a widower—left two sons and two daughters—all dead. Coon opposed Christianity nothing remarkable about him—a wild uncultivated Indian—was out with Harrison. Coon and Dunquod at an early day—after Wayne's treaty—& after Ohio became a state—in revenge for some Indian friend who had been killed in Chillicothe met a lone young man near Lake Erie, where they were hunting, son of a prominent Kentuckian, & quietly killed him and kept it a secret for many years.—See *Walker Correspondence, Draper Manuscript Collection, Library Wisconsin Historical Society.*

There is reference in the communication last above quoted from, to the Pennsylvania Packet, November 8, 1786. A descendant of Abraham Kuhn was the first person legally executed in what is now the State of Kansas. He was John Coon, shot by order of the Wyandot Council after trial and conviction of the crime of murder, in the limits of the present Kansas City, Kansas, on the bank of the Missouri River just above the mouth of Jersey Creek. His confession and Death Warrant are in the possession of the Editor and belong to his Collection. For the trial and execution of John Coon, see *Provisional Government of Nebraska Territory and Journals of William Walker*, by the Editor, Lincoln, Neb., 1899, pp. 368, 369, 371.

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come of our fellow labourer Edwards, whom we had left in the house at the time we walked at the back of the Garden, from whence we had been taken Prisoners. He now came quite by himself, walking thro the Warriors encampment, in search of us; and seeing his fellow laborer Senseman by himself, he chose to stay with him. It appeared that the Savages did not intend making a Prisoner of this brother, as his Age and appearance sattisfied them, that he would not attempt an escape. Edwards reported, that shortly after we had left the house, a number of Warriors had entered, and beginning to plunder, one of these in a friendly manner, had taken him by the hand, and led [256] him into the Street, saying: that he must not return to the house again, for that all which was within it, was theirs.

The evening drawing nigh, we knew not how we should fare thro the Night, having neither Cloaths on our backs, nor a single Blanket to wrap ourselves up in. Added to this, the weather, which had been mild and clear in the forenoon, had since changed to a sky overcast with Clouds, and at intervals a little Rain. However the good Indian Sisters, had not forgotten us, but brought us both Victuals, and Blankets to cover ourselves at Night, which they, in the mornings, when they brought us our Breakfast, would take back again; lest they should be taken from us during the day, by some ill disposed Persons. They would also stand by us, during our Meals, for fear of these, on their turning their backs taking away, what they had brought us.

As both Gnadenhutten, and Salem Towns were situate on the bank of the Muskingum River, we sometimes in calm weather, could hear the Bells ringing, at both places, for Church, and even at Night, the barking of the Dogs, especially at Gnadenhutten, which lay on a very high bluff. This being a very close, and still Night as to the Weather, we, at our Camps distinctly heard the Scalp Yell, sounded at Salem, at the time the party, which were gone to that place for the purpose, had effected their object tho the distance was between 5 and 6 Miles; and every time these, while returning in triumph, from this expedition, re-

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newed the Scalp whoop, those who had taken us at this place, [257] sounded theirs in reply, so that both parties, tho distant from each other, were in a manner conveying intelligence, and congratulating each other on their Victories. The nearer those coming on from Salem, approached; the more terrible their Yells sounded to *my* Ears. That three Persons had fallen into their hands at Salem, the three Yells they gave at each time, confirmed; but whether these were still alive, or had been murdered by them, could not be known until their arrival; for, what *we* call the Scalp Yell, they call the Yell signifying merely the number of Persons which had fell into their hands, not conveying intelligence of those either being yet alive, or that they had been killed*. At length, near Midnight, the party arrived with Michael Young, whom they placed asside of us. This brother, on finding us also Prisoners, addressed us thus: "Good evening my brethren! our earthly career appears to be near at its end, and we on the borders of Eternity! Well, if they put us to death, we die in a good cause!" — then turning to me he added: ["]Your "Wife and Child are safe; the Indian Sisters having begged the "Warriors, to place them under their care for the Night, they "consented under a promise, that they would bring them to "Gnadenhutten on the next day.["]

On Michael Youngs seeing the Savages coming on, and making towards the house with a quick pace, he secured the Door, within [258] which, were besides himself, my family. Finding the Door bolted, they loudly demanded entrance, which not being complied with, they broke it open, with their War hatchets; and on entering, one Man aimed a blow with his Tomahawk, at brother Youngs head, which stroke however, was happily prevented by Kuhn the Chief, who, at the instant, ran his Arm under the shaft of the Hatchet, pushing it out of the direction in which it was aimed. They then took this brother, together with my Wife and Child Prisoners, and placing them in the Street, set guard over them, while they were plundering the

*see Heckewelders history of the Indian Nations. Chap. XXVII.

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House; and here, as they had done at Gnadenhutten, they emptied the feathers out of the Beds, and the Coffee they found in a bag, all into the Street, in order to get the tickens and Bag for other uses.

While, during a long and dreadful Night, we were lying upon the bare sod, with our Eyes steadfastly fixed on the East, that we might catch the first glimpse of the Morning light to revive our drooping Spirits, the sound of the Scalp Yell to the North, in the direction of Shonbrun, tho yet at a great distance, not only checked our prospects, but brought the whole body of Savages into motion. That something had taken place at Shoenbrun, was our first conclusion. There it was, that the Wives of Zeisberger and Senseman, (now Prisoners) were left, togther with the Missionary Youngman and his Wife. The nearer the war party drew, the greater was the commotion throughout the Warriors encampment; the Scalp Yell being [259] sounded, it resounded from both sides, and seemed to indicate, that when we once should be brought together, the scene would end in the massacree of the whole. That many of the Savages expected this, we were not ignorant of. Yet under all these circumstances, and trials, we were wholly resigned to the will of the Lord.

At length, after repeated Yells, from the two points, namely from those coming on, and those here, the party arrived by Water, with the Missionary Youngman and Wife, Sisters Zeisberger and Senseman, the latter with her young babe, of scarcely four days old, when, as a welcome the Scalp Yell was now given Ten times, as intended for all those Brethren and Sisters in the service of this Mission, together with the two Children, which made that number, now Prisoners with them. Yet, at the particular request of the Indian Women of the place, these latter were permitted, to lodge at the house of brother Shabosh, though not without first having made a promise, that they would be accountable, for their not running away.

Those brethren and Sisters from Shonbrun, related: that late in the Evening of yesterday, when they were already in bed, a call was made upon them from the outside, to open the Door,

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for to hear something that would interest them. They, knowing nothing of what had passed at Gnadenhutten on that day: complied, when one* of the party addressed them thus: "Your "friends [260] the Teachers, are all Prisoners, with the War- "riors; and in a short time, a large body of these will be here to "take You also, and to rob You of Your property!—We therefore "have thought fit, to apprise You of the danger you are in, at the "same time making You the offer, that if you will submit your- "selves to our protection, and deliver your effects up to us, we "will not suffer any one Person to molest you, nor touch your "property".

Considering them as good Messengers, and especially as they had a Woman with them, who appeared much concerned for their safety: they complied, and even helped to pack up their effects, when seeing but too late that they were carrying their effects off, to a large Canoe they had in readiness — and also would have them to go immediately with them, whether they were willing or not. Pleading the case of the Missionary Sensemans Wifes being delivered of a young Child but three days since, they said: that did not make any thing, for go she must with the rest, and that she must be up immediately, as they must have the bedding. Then, having emptied the feathers out into the Street; and making an attempt likewise of robbing the Church of the Bell, Candlesticks &c — from doing which they however were prevented by the Indian Brethren: they now hurried these, as their Prisoners, to the River for to embark. Thus in a dark Night, with intervals of Rain, they were taken down the River to the mouth of Still-Water Creek, the [261] half of the way to Gnadenhutten, where they put up for the Night, the Prisoners having nothing but the ground to lie upon, and scarcely any thing to cover themselves.

The Indian Sisters arriving about 10 o Clock with my Wife and Child from Salem, as they had promised to do, the preceed-

*this Man was a noted Villian of the Wyondot Nation—and was hated as being such a Character, yet in *this* instance, he was serving the party.

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ing day: another Oppertunity was afforded the Warriors, of sounding their Yells. The flood of Tears shed by the former, on seeing the condition we were in, caused such a sensation on both sides, that we were at a loss, what to say to each other. The good Indian Sisters, by their supplications, procured also permission for my Wife and Child, to join the other Sisters, at Shaboshes house.

The plunder brought from Salem in the last Night, being divided among the whole belonging to our Camps, so that those who had in the mean while kept guard over us, also received a share: a young Wyondot, to whom a new Castor hat, a pair of Stockings and a cravat was given, came with these Articles straightway to me, and delivered them up. I had frequently observed this young Man, casting looks of commiseration on us, and now recognized him to be the same, who had accompanied the great Wyondot Chief* from Detroit, who paid us at Lichtenau, such interesting Visits, as has already been noticed in this Narrative.

The Christian Indians representing our condition to Captain Pipe, in having no Cloaths on our backs, [262] with the request that he would cause some of the plundered Articles to be restored to us, he immediately called on his People for the purpose, when it was found, that the Delawares had not participated in plundering us, and that the Wyondots had been the active body in distressing and plundering us. An old Coat, altho already by them cut off at the waist, which was returned to me, was yet very acceptable.

Captain Elliot, of whom we were made sure, that he had for a trifle bought up every pair of new Shoes belonging to us; could not be prevailed on, to return these, or any part thereof to us: declaring, that he knew not what had become of our Shoes. This loss, was a hard case for such among us, who labored under Rheumatic pains, and had to guard against the damp and wet. A

*see for this Wyondot Chief, Heckewelders history of the American Indians Chap. XVIII. and XLIV. page 337.

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party of the Wyondots, who had gone to Salem in the forenoon, now returned with plenty of Honey, some of which they set before us. They had gone there for the purpose of searching my house once more for Plunder, and of destroying my Beehives, and cutting up the Cabbage heads, Beets &c. in the Garden.

About four o Clock in the Afternoon of the second day of our Captivity. (Sep. 4th) the attention of the Savages, was again directed to a quarter, from whence the Scalp Yell was sounded; and which turned out to be a party of those Warriors, who had sometime since been sent to the Ohio River, for the purpose of watching the motions of the Americans — and now on their return with a Prisoner. This White [263] Prisoner being brought within two or three Yards of us, for to undergo an examination, we could distinctly hear all what he reported, as also the answers given by him to the Questions put to him by Captn. Pipe and others; when, the whole of his statement went to criminate the Christian Indians, and their Ministers, as being friendly disposed to the people of the United States, and Enemies to those Indians, who warred against these; and that they were the cause, that they; (the Warriors) so often failed in their attempts, since these Moravian Indians, informed the People living on the Ohio River, of every party of Warriors that were coming against them! That now they had sent word into the Settlement, that a large body of Warriors were at their Towns &c &c all which we distinctly heard him say, and were looking him full in the face while he spoke. Even Captain Pipe signified to him, that the People he was accusing, were now in his Custody as Prisoners, upon hearing which, he now and then cast a glance arround, and also upon us.

While this Man was yet standing on the same spot, Captain Pipe called aloud to his Men to arrise and hear; when in an instant the whole body of Warriors, were on their legs, loading their pieces, as tho they expected the Word "Fire" to be given. Pipe, then pointing to this Man, and relating with some vehemence, what he had accused the "Moravian" (Chris-

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tian) Indians, and their Teachers of, concluded by saying: "but my Warriors! we have no orders to destroy them! we are only to [264] take them away from this place! — and whatever their teachers have been guilty of — our father at Detroit, will best know in what manner to punish them!" — The prisoner was then taken off without being in the least insulted; — his dress was the same as other prisoners in a similar situation, just sufficient Cloaths to cover their nakedness.

Note. In the Spring of the Year 1789. while I, (the writer of this) by invitation was at the House of M^r^. Barr, (a Minister of the Gospel at Pittsburg) the subject of conversation turning on Civilizing of the Indians—and the Example of the Moravian (Christian) Indians introduced as satisfactory proof, that the measure was practicable &^c^—a Man* from the Country, well clad, stepped into the Room where we were sitting, who, on being informed by the Minister, (who knew him) that we were speaking of the Moravian Indians, instantly took the thread, and in a most violent manner, set forth these "Moravian Indians," as *he* called them, as having been the most dangerous Enemy, the United States had had in that quarter, during the revolutionary War; adding: that the killing of so many of them at the Moravian Towns, in the Spring of the Year 1782. was a very good act, and it was to be regretted, that their whole body together with the white men who lived with them, had not shared the same fate with the others. He added, that white [265] people, who would live with such murderers, as these "Moravian Indians" were, deserved no better treatment, let them be called Ministers or otherwise. He then said, that the Moravian Indians had taken himself Prisoner in the War, and brought him to their Town, where, having stripped him stark naked, they abused him, and made him run the gauntlet, beating him most unmercifully &^c^ &^c^.

The Man, having gone to that length in reporting manifest falsehoods, I could not suffer the imposition to pass by in silence; and therefore stepping forward, to where he was sitting, asked him several Questions, regarding what he had said; to learn whether I had understood him right; when, being sattisfied on that head, I put the Question to him, in what Year & Month, he had been taken; and to which of the Moravian Towns, he had been brought in a Prisoner!—replying that on the 4th. day of September in the Year 1781, he had been brought to the middle Moravian Town, and there, by the "Moravian Indians," treated in the manner he had said: I became sure that I could not

*the same Person alluded to above, who had been brought in Prisoner on the 2^d^ day of our Captivity.

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be mistaken in the Man whom I had at first sight recognized as such, and therefore, in the presence of the Minister, charged him with being an Impostor, at the same time making myself known to him, who I was, and that I had been one of those Ministers, who were, as he himself had seen, at that time Prisoners, and lay close to him, when he underwent an examination by Captain Pipe, respecting the "Moravian" Indians and [266] their Teachers; where he accused these of being "*friends to the American People*, and Enemies to those Indians, who warred against these—that they (the "Moravian Indians") gave warning to the People on the Ohio, whenever a war party was going against them." Observing to him, that he must have known at the time he was brought in, that the "Moravian Indians" were also Prisoners to the great body of Warriors he saw there—that the questions put to him by Captain Pipe, respecting the "Moravian Indians," affoarded him sufficient Opportunity to know this, and that his Answers to those Questions, proved, that he *did* know it—and that he himself had witnessed the scene which seemed near taking place, in consequence of *his* testimony; namely, when the whole body of Warriors flew to their Arms to *shoot* us!

The Man was, as if Thunderstruck, when he was told that I was on the spot at the time. In fact, the Story of his being stripped naked &c &c. was also a palpable falsehood. He was by them rather treated as a Man, favouring *their* cause, and as such, taken immediately off.

The Minister being called out while I was yet speaking, he, made an attempt to apologize—but turning myself from him, I declared, that I shunned the Company of such Men as he appeared to be one. After he was off, the Minister observed to me, that he many times already had heard the "Moravian Indians" charged, with having been, while they lived on the Muskingum Enemies [267] to the American People—I leave it to the reader of this Narration, to decide on this important matter.

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CHAPTER XXIV.

HOPING that the troubles of the day were now over, our Minds became easy, and we calculated on enjoying some sleep, not having closed an Eye during the last Night; when however a circumstance, which occurred in the course of the day, (yet of which we had not the least knowledge,) gave rise to another restless Night. vizt. According to the custom of the Savages, these had daily sent some of their young Men out into the Woods, where their Horses were at pasture, to examine whether these were all there yet, or any missing. This time they missed Captain Pipes famous riding Horse, the fleetest among the whole, and the discovery by tracking, led to the conclusion, that this Horse was taken off by a *Woman,* who was gone to Pittsburg. After much consultation; who that person could be, it was supposed to have been one of the Wives of the Missionaries, who had gone to Pittsburg for the purpose of urging Troops to come out to their relief. and no sooner was this idea suggested, than the report was in circulation, that the Missionaries Wives were no more all here[.] On this report I was in the Night awaked by the War Chief Kuhn, who demanded of me to tell him what had become of some of our Women, for one or more of these, had certainly gone off! Assuring him, that this could not be the case, he demanded that I should rise and go immediately with him, to where I supposed them to be, or he would not be-[268]lieve me, adding: "You will find that at least one of them is gone off." and calling on another Warrior, to accompany him, that no trick be played off, we went to the house where they lodged. The Men modestly stopping at the Door of the house, to which I had taken them, I called, to awaken the Missionaries Wives for a moment, desiring the Men to step into the house to satisfy themselves, that I had told them the truth! Kuhn replying, "that he from

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where he stood saw them all four, and had heard the different voices he must believe me!" They taking me again to my Quarters, he returned to the Council, which was sitting, to make report of what he had seen and heard, perfectly satisfied that *we* were all safe.

The Council however, still suspecting, that the Missionaries had sent Letters by some Person soliciting relief from Pittsburg, became so enraged, that they again spoke of murdering us, when one of the Christian Indian Women, hearing this, told her husband, that yesterday in the forenoon, when she was getting fire Wood out of the Woods, She had observed *such* a young Woman, sitting on a log weeping aloud — that stepping up, to learn what occasioned her weeping, she replied: that "the hard treatment those good White People had met with by the Warriors, had so overwhelmed her with grief, that she could not sleep last Night; and that She never would be able to forget it!" [1] — This being for good reasons, immediately made known to Capt[n]. Pipe, he had the Woman examined, and finding [269] that this was the whole of what this Woman knew of the other, and that she at the time did not suspect that the other had any thing in view: (as many of our Indian Women, had on the occasion discovered the same feelings) they now sent Spies to Salem, to learn thro secret means, whether the Woman alluded to, was at her Mothers, and if not — when She had been there last. And being informed, that She had left her Mothers house immediately on learning what had been done to the Teachers of the Christian Indians — even not intimating, where She was going to: suspicion fell on Issac Glickhican* Oncle of the Woman, §

*The same Man of whom frequent mention is made in this Narrative; as also in Heckewelders historical Account of Indian Nations.

§This young Woman did not belong to the Society, but had come here on a Visit to her Mother & other Relatives.

1 An Indian woman, who had come with the warriors, and had nothing further to do with us, had seen with the others how we fared, and said to an Indian sister she could not forget how we had been handled; she could not sleep the whole night on this account, and this gave her much to think about. She took Capt. Pipe's horse, the best in the whole company, and hurried away to Pittsburg. This

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that he had sent her privately off. And glad, were they, to get a hold of this Man, whom they both hated and dreaded. hating him, on account of his conversion; and dreading him as a Man, who prior to his joining the Christian Indians, had been both in Council and in the field, superior to many of their ablest Characters.

Sixteen of the keenest Delawares, being ordered on the Expedition, to take this (single) Man — if possible alive — if otherwise, to bring his Scalp — these, with shrieks and Yells — all mounted on Horsback, galloped off for Salem; and in a few hours brought him, with his hands tied on his back, to the half King — [270] when, after a strict examination being made, and his innocence fully proved, he was acquitted, altho loaded with reproaches by his Enemies, and the rabble.

On the arrival of the party, at Salem, they surrounded the house at such distance, as they thought would prevent his escaping them, still fearing to enter, they watched for his coming out. Isaac seeing this from the inside, stepped out, addressing them thus: "Friends! by Your manouvers, I conclude You "are come for me! if so, why do You hesitate! Obey your "orders! I am ready to submit! You appear to dread *Glick-* "*hican,* as formerly known to You! Yes! there *was* a time, when "I would have scorned to have been assailed in the manner You "come upon me; but I am no more Glickhican† I am *Isaac* "now, a believer in the true and living God; and for whose sake "I am willing to suffer any thing — even death!" — then stepping up to them with his hands placed on his back, he said: ["]you want to tie me, and take me along! *do* so!" — With trembling hands they tied him, and took him off. — In passing with

†"*Glickhican,*" was his *original* Indian Name. the Word signifies the stud, or sight on a Gun barrel.

was straightway made known, and she was followed and overtaken, but she got away again and brought news of our captivity to the Fort.—*Diary of David Zeisberger*, i, p. 14.

A young woman of Salem, a repentant prostitute, possessed herself of Pipe's horse and rode off toward Pittsburg for assistance, moved by the tribulations which her teachers, to whom she owed so much, were enduring. She was followed, in hot haste, by a whole party of warriors, who caught sight of and galloped after her for many miles, but being better mounted, she succeeded in effecting her escape.—*Life and Times of David Zeisberger*, p. 510.

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him by our Camp at Gnadenhutten, while they were taking him to the half King, he addressed us: "a good Morning my brethren!" — to which we replied: "Good Morning fellow Prisoner; be of good cheer!" — "Yes! Yes!["] (said he in reply) "I am so!" —

[271] *Note.* A gracious Providence may be considered as having overruled the good disposition, and first intention of the Commandant at Pittsburg, who, on the representation made to him by the Woman, had at first resolved, to send a strong force out to our relief; but was afterwards led to abandon the design, on the supposition that it would be too late; or might fail in obtaining the desired object, which, no doubt at this time, would have been the case, it not being an easy matter, to come on such a body of Indians by surprise, who have their Spies out, watching the movements of their Enemy.

The Indian Brethren, who, to prevent suspicion, had hitherto very properly avoided visiting us while under confinement: being not the less anxious to learn our situation from day to day; would send the Sisters to the Camp, with Victuals, Tobacco &c. Philipina, who had taken the lead in this service was never at a loss for assistants, in carrying out our breakfast Coffee, and other Meals Victuals; and Blankets for the Night, with which, we were abundantly supplied. We had also, by the intercession of these Sisters, obtained permission, to visit once a day our families for a quarter of an hour; yet with the promise, that we would not run off with these; and for which the Indian Sisters, who were our conductors, had become responsible.

Our masters — (I mean those who had us under their Custody) had by this time become some what sociable, [272] and showing some compassion for us. It indeed appeared, as if they were sorry for what they had done; and no doubt *some* felt so. — What incommoded us most, was, their custom of repeating the Scalp yell so often for each of their Prisoners, and that as much so, by Nights as in the day time; but this is a general custom with them, and is continued, untill the Prisoner is liberated, or off of their hands.[1] Another very incommoding

[1] Chapter XXVII, *History, Manners and Customs of the Indian Nations*, by

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custom they have, is that of performing their War dances and Songs, during the Night, near their Prisoners; all which we had to endure, exclusive of thereby being prevented from enjoying Sleep. Otherwise the addresses paid us by a jovial, and probably harmless Ottawa Indian, who, having obtained of the Wyondott Warriors, sufficient of our Cloaths, to dress himself like a White Man; and placing a white Night Cap on his head, being mounted on a Horse, would ride thro the Camps, nodding to us every time he passed: caused much amusement thro the Camps, and in some measure to us also.

The National Assistants of the place, had hitherto waited with anxiety for the moment, when they might with some prospect of success, by supplication procure us our liberty. Marcus, especially, of the Mohegan Tribe, being gifted with a soft and engaging address, gained so much influence with the Delaware Chiefs Pipe and Wingenund: that they promised him, that if, we should give them satisfactory answers to a few questions they had to ask, we should be set at [273] liberty. And being after a while brought before the Chiefs for the purpose, (Elliot being present) the Questions were put to us; namely: "Whether we "were willing to go with them to Sandusky! Whether we would "also encourage our Indians to go with us; and lastly: whether "we would promise, that we would not run away from them!" — all which being answered to their satisfaction, they declared us free to go and stay with our families in the Town. Asking their leave for me to go to Salem on the morning, there to provide for the reception of the body of Christian Indians, who would follow in a day or two: Pipe replied: "*go*! — and tell "Your People there, that they must leave off working, and must "get provision for the Journey! for, when You come there, "You will find them building new Houses, as though nothing "was the matter!" Kuhn and Snip, under whose custody we

Heckewelder, explains fully all the scalp-yells, death-yells, whoops, scalping and the reasons therefor, and the status of persons made captive by the Indians.

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were, being officially notified of our liberation, we took lodging in the houses of our Indian Brethren, who all, together with the Sisters and Children, came to welcome us, with Tears in their Eyes.

On the next morning, (the 7th) Captn. Elliot called on me to ride with him to Salem, as we had agreed on the preceeding day. On our way thither, he took much pains to remove from my Mind, any unfavourable impression I might have of him, owing to his having had share in the misfortunes, and treatment we had met with. Not chusing to open my Mind to him on the subject at this time, I barely observed: [274] that I could not see into the heart of Man, but that there was a just God who could do this.

On our arrival at Salem, every Soul belonging to the Village, ran up to bid me welcome, many weeping; and the little Children clung to me as tho they would not let me go again. Elliot, on seeing this, whether from conviction or shame, turned aside, saying: "this is what I never would have expected to witness!" — The Sisters soon brought Victuals, Tea; Coffee &c. each striving to excel the other, in acts of kindness. — It was a hard task for me to make known to the Congregation, that we had all to go with the Warriors to Sandusky, and that it was only on our promising, that we would do so, that we had obtained our Liberty. The National Assistant, Samuel Moore, had only this day finished Shingling his new spacious dwelling House, built of squared Timbers. My House and Garden, made a very gloomy appearance, the Warriors having destroyed every thing they could lay their hands on, both in the house and in the Garden.

On the next day (Sepr. 8th) not only all the Missionaries, with their families: but also a number of the Christian Indians from Gnadenhutten and Shonbrun, arrived here, some coming by Land with the Cattle, and others by Water with baggage and Provisions; and on the day following, the remainder of the

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brethren and Sisters, from both those places, came on in like manner.

Our Indians had already, from the day we were [275] made Prisoners, prepared for the event, which now took place. they had buried all their heavy Articles, such as Plough Irons, harrow teeth; Grubing hoes; Cross cut, and Whip Saws; Pewter and kitchen Articles &c &c. in the Woods, all which labour they had to do in the Night time, for fear of being discovered — yet, as this is a general custom with all Indians, when they emigrate — so now, the Savages supposed this to have been the case with the Christian Indians at the three places likewise. The half King therefore, with upwards of one hundred of his Men, suffered the Christian Indians to go on without him, leaving them in the charge of Captn. Pipe and his Men, whilst he searched the Woods at both places, for burried or hidden Articles, of which they found much, by tracing up the footsteps to the places, where such Articles were hidden, or burried.

The three Congregations, being now all assembled at Salem, the Gospel was again preached publicly; a catechumen baptised; and the holy Sacrement administered to the Communicants; during which, a most extraordinary sensation of the presence of the Lord, comforted the hearts. All were exhorted to stand firm, and shew their faithfulness in the hours of trial and temptation.

The Delawares, of the party under Captain Pipes command, who were our guard, conducted themselves here in a becoming manner, both to us and our Indians, many of whom had also attended divine Service, [276] daily, since we came here, but on the 10th. the half King with his host of plunderers arrived, who behaved like Madmen, yelling and shrieking through the Village — throwing all the fences of the Cornfields down, and turning their Horses in, as they had done in both the other places — next killing Hogs and Poultry &c. In short: they did every thing, which they thought would injure the Inhabitants. Seeing it impossible for us, to continue here

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longer, we signified to Captn. Pipe our desire of going on; and all being in readiness, we left the place the next day, being the 11th day of the Month.

Never did the Christian Indians, leave a Country, with more regret. Three beautiful Settlements, Gnadenhutten; Shonbrun; and Salem, they had now to forsake, together with many of their young Cattle, which were far out in the Woods — some hundred head of Hogs — at least Three hundred Acres of Corn, and [it] ripe for harvesting, exclusive of a great Quantity of old Corn, Potatoes, Turnips, Cabbages &^c^. all in abundance, were now lost to them. next to this, was a loss in Books, which were burnt, many of which were for the instruction of the Youth. Here indeed was patience needed; and a hope that the Lord would be with them, and grant them further Strength and fortitude, to overcome all difficulties and dangers.

We continued travelling on, some by Land with the Cattle, and others by Water, the Indians having upwards of twenty Canoes loaded with Provision and [277] sundries with them. Arriving at Gnadenhutten — forks of the Muskingum on the third day, a halt was ordered for the purpose of hunting a tamed Buffeloe Cow, that belonged to one of the party and which was supposed to be in the Woods feeding with other tame horn Cattle; when, scarcely had the hunters been out a quarter of an hour, this Buffeloe, which had come to the opposite side of the River to drink, was shot, and the Meat divided among the whole, we also receiving a share.

Elliot, who had travelled with us thus far, now took off with his attendant for Sciota, where his friend and Companion in Mischief Captn. M^c^Kee, was waiting to learn of him the particulars of the Expedition. It had often been remarked by the Christian Indians, that during the whole stay of the former, (Elliot) among them, which had been full four Weeks, he never was once seen outside of his Tent, without having a drawn dagger in his hand. and which these ascribed to his *bad* Heart. They had also learnt so much of their heathen relations, that he

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was the principal instigator of their sufferings; having continually hung on Captain Pipe and the half King, to lodge complaints with the Commandant at Detroit against them, and their Teachers, and insist on a removal, or the destruction of us (the Christ[n]. Indians) We thanked God, that we now saw no more of him.

Our course was now up the Walhanding River (otherwise called the White Womans Creek) but the [278] River being at this Season low, and in some narrow places obstructed by driftwood, the Watermen had first to cut a passage thro, before they could pass on, which caused us all to move on but slowly, as those who travelled by Land, had also their Provision in the Canows, and therefore had frequently to wait an hour and longer for these to come up, which caused us to make but short journeys, each day.

In the Night of the 19th. a most tremendous Storm, with dreadful peals of Thunder and flashes of lightning, so, as if the whole Horizon was in a blaze, came on us with such rapidity, that we scarcely could secure ourselves from Trees blowing down upon us. Never was perhaps Man on Land in a more dangerous situation, occasioned by thunder Storms, than we were at this time, to which the situation of the ground, marked out for us by the Savages for to encamp on, added greatly. This Storm, which lasted some time, and during which the Rain fell in torrents, caused the Water to run in streams over the ground, on which we were, so that we all; even the Women with babes in their Arms, had to stand in the Water, untill it had flowed off. Every fire in the Camp, was either put out by the Rain, or washed away by the current. However, as soon as the Water had ran off, new fires were kindled for us, by the Indians. Dismal was the prospect in the Morning, to see so many large Trees torn up by their Roots, while others broken off at or near their tops, [279] were carried by the Wind to some distance, some even being lodged very near us. Two of our best Canoes, the one remarkably large, and heavy loaded partly with valuable

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Articles belonging to the Indians, and partly with our stock of Provisions had, by large Trees being blown down upon them, been smashed to pieces, and every Article lost. This loss was felt by many, yet we were thankful, that no lives had been lost.

The half King, who the day before had come up with his Men, from Salem, where he had remained for the purpose of searching for hidden, and buried property; gave in the morning orders, to lay by for the day, for the purpose of drying Cloaths, and baggage; and altho we had not much to dry, yet we were glad for a little rest. — In the forenoon of this day, he also sent off a party of his Men, among which were his two Sons, [1] to make a stroke on the white Settlers on the Ohio River. While these were so proudly walking through our Camp, they were not aware of what would befal them. They were defeated with the loss of some of the party, among which were his (the half Kings) two Sons.

A singular occurrence took place, in the course of the day, which, it was feared by some of us, would be followed by serious consequences, which however was not the case. vizt: Two of our young Brethren, Jacob and Peter, who, having taken a peep into the Wyondot Camps, which was in the bottom lands above [280] us, had there seen a Horse belonging to one of the Missionaries tied to a Tree, close by a hut, with the Saddle and bridle hanging on a Pole. Feeling for the proper owner of the Horse, who had to travel on foot on that account, and enraged at seeing the wearing apparel of their Teachers, and that of the Wives and Children of these, placed all over on the bushes to dry: they took the resolution, to take the Horse, Saddle and bridle off without Ceremony, all which they effected, by their laying claim to the property; and from a fear, that the Horse might be again taken, were these to see him in possession of the Missionary who owned him; the Brethren kept him under their care

[1] Butterfield says that there were three sons of the Half-King in this expedition, and that there were four other Wyandots—seven in all. See *History of the Girtys*, p. 133.

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for the rest of the Journey, furnishing the Missionary with one of their Horses to ride on.

Continuing our Journey for a number of days after the manner we had done, we arrived at *Gookhosing* (*habitation of Owls*) where we left the River, travelling altogether by Land across the Country for Upper Sandusky; and suffering much by the way; owing to the ill will of the Wyondots, who by this time had become impatient to get home, and for the purpose would in a manner drive us before them, whipping the Horses of the riders, so that Sister Zeisberger was twice thrown from the Horse She rode; and Michael Young, who was on foot, and lame at the time, received a blow, by one of them, while calling out to us "How! How"! which is: *along*! *along*! We were all very much fatigued this day, and as none of [281] our Indian Brethren and Sisters, were able to keep up with us, these having very heavy packs to carry along, besides their Cattle to take care of: we felt uneasy, that we had to pass the Night in the midst of a body of Savages, of whom we had no good opinion. We were left to conjecture at that time, what had given rise to the treatment, they had served us with; when we afterwards learnt, that the news, which had been the day before received of the defeat of the War party, in which the two Sons of the half King were slain, most probably was the cause.[1]

[1] "While these savages were on their way back to Sandusky, seven of the Wyandots, of whom three were sons of the Half King, left the main party and again marched for the border, raiding into a small settlement on Harman's creek, in Washington county, taking one prisoner—a man about sixty years of age. The savages immediately started on their return, but were soon pursued by a number of settlers, to the Ohio river, where they were overtaken and all killed except one, and he, their leader, Scotosh by name, one of the three brothers before alluded to, escaped wounded. The white prisoner was released. Andrew Poe, one of the pursuers, his gun missing fire, boldly sprang upon and grappled two of the Indians—sons of the Half King. During a most violent struggle, which was continued first on shore and then in the river, Andrew killed one of the Indians, but was himself badly wounded. Adam Poe, a brother, coming to his relief, shot the other savage. Meanwhile, Andrew then

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in the water, by mistake, received a second wound from one of his own men. The settlers lost one of their number. Neither of the Indians killed by the Poes was named Big Foot, nor was either of them of unusual size, as has been so long and persistently claimed by Western writers."—*History of the Girtys*, pp. 133, 134. Rev. James B. Finley, in his *History of the Wyandot Mission*, p. 106, records a story that Rohn-yen-ness, a Wyandot warrior, was selected by his tribe many years after the killing of the sons of the Half-King to go to the settlements and take revenge for them by killing Poe, who then lived on the west side of the Ohio, at the mouth of Little Yellow Creek. The warrior went as directed and was kindly received by the unsuspicious Poe. This kindness caused remorse in the breast of the Wyandot, but he nerved himself to do the deed which had been determined upon by his people. He crept to the bed where Poe was sleeping and was about to murder him and his family when he was overcome by a remembrance of the kind treatment he had received at their hands. He crept back to his bed and slept till morning, when he departed with his mission unaccomplished. William Walker, a Wyandot, in the *Walker Correspondence*, *Draper Manuscript Collection*, *Library Wisconsin Historical Society*, disputes this story, arguing that such action could not have been taken because of the difference in the clans of the tribe to which all the parties belonged. But Walker seems not to have been aware that it was the sons of the Half-King who were slain by the Poes and were probably of the same clan with Rohn-yen-ness. There is at least no improbability in the story. Walker was hostile to Finley, as his papers in the Collection of the Editor show. The story was also published in Howe's *Historical Collections of Ohio* (1847), p. 554, under head of Wyandot County. The recollection of this journey of Rohn-yen-ness for revenge remains in the Wyandot tribe to this time, and Finley certainly had it from them.

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CHAPTER XXV.

ARRIVING at length on the 11th day of October, at the old Upper Sandusky Town place, which is on the East branch of the River of that Name, we were left there by the half King and party, to shift for ourselves in the best manner we could: while they, together with their Horses, all which were well loaded with Plunder &c. moved 9 or 10 Miles farther on to their homes. [1]

The prospect of this dreary and barren Country, which had been described as a Paradise, made such of our People ashamed, who had listened to the favourable report, the Savages had given of it, while they were coaxing these to leave their Settlements on the Muskingum, and go with *them* thither. With upwards of one hundred head of horn Cattle, principally Milch Cows, nearly a hundred head of Horses, we were at a loss to see, how these could support themselves, during a long Winter, which had already set in — Having no time to loose, we set about [282] building of Hutts of Logs for the Winter, and the daily Meetings, were for the present continued after the same manner as we had done on the Journey, namely: seating

[1] The Upper Sandusky Old Town was a deserted village of the Wyandots, and was three miles up the Sandusky River from the present town of Upper Sandusky. The Old Town was in Antrim Township, Wyandot County, Ohio. The Upper Sandusky of that day was five miles below the present town of Upper Sandusky. It was situated immediately upon the west bank of the Sandusky, in what is now Crane Township, Wyandot County, on section three (3), township two (2), south, range fourteen (14), east, Government survey. The Moravians were, then, about eight miles from the Upper Sandusky of that time. Some of the writers make the distance ten miles, but all distances at that time were merely estimated and not measured accurately. See *An Historical Account of the Expedition against Sandusky*, by Butterfield, pp. 162, 163, 180, 181.

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ourselves; (weather permitting) every Evening round a fire in the open Air, when a discourse, or short exhortation was delivered, by one or the other of their Ministers. At times, some of the strolling Savages would also attend, but not all for the purpose of hearing the Gospel preached: but to scoff and laugh at us.

Every day now, brought us new troubles. the Cattle finding no good pasture, were continually attempting to go back again, and therefore had to be watched. The Milch Cows failed for want of proper feed; and owing to this, many families, and especially such who had small Children, suffered. Provisions of all kinds were wanting, and when the Women went out into the Woods, or on the River banks, to look for, and dig Roots as a substitute, they either could not find what they were in search of, or the ground was too hard frozen to get at them. Corn was very scarce throughout the Country, and such as had that Article, would ask a Dollar for 3 or 4 Quarts. Even the timber for building was far off, for all the Country, to a great distance, was a barren Prairie, with the exception of here and there a few scattered Trees. The pinching Cold was severe upon all such who were in want of Cloaths and bedding, and this was particularly the case with us.

[283] Under the load of sufferings, we were mocked and laughed at — "Look!" (was the Monsey Chief overheard while saying to a Wyondot) "Look at these *praying*" (Christian) "Indians! who but the other day were living in affluence, how they now creep about in the bushes, looking for Roots and berries to keep themselves from starving! Well! they are served right; for why should some live better than others! We have now brought them on a level with us!["] Yet such saying was not the worst, but both Captn. Pipe and the half King boasted, "that they now had it in their power to *compel* the Christian Indians to go to War with them, whenever they would have it."

On the 23^{d} day of this Month (October) we learnt by some of our Brethren, who had returned from Pipes town with a small

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quantity of Corn: that Captain Elliot was now there; and, as they had been told: engaged with the Chiefs on some private business. — *We* suspected him. and indeed already early on the next day, two Delaware Chiefs arrived with a Message, said to have been sent from the Commandant at Detroit, to the Delawares and Hurons (Wyondot) and which they were to lay before us. This Message* then, as delivered to us, was in the following Words: vizt "Children! Your Father on the other "side of Lake Erie, is glad to hear that You have brought the "believing In-[284]dians and their Teachers to Sandusky, for "now all Nations may be united, and all hindrances removed; "and the little Birds in the Woods, 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 derive great "advantages. I leave it to Your discretion, to find a dwelling "place for the believing Indians, wherever You please. In a "few days a Vessel will arrive from Detroit in the Miami with "Goods, where Your Father will reward You well for Your "services. But he requests that Captain Pipe would conduct the "Teachers" (Missionaries) ["]and some of the Chiefs of the "believing Indians to him, as he wishes to see and speak to "them himself. He says: I know better how to speak with them "than You, for I know them, and can better provide for them, "having a plenty of every thing."

Now by the orders sent us from Capt[n]. Pipe, we White Brethren, were all to go to Detroit, leaving our families behind. this we could not think of doing; neither that the Missionaries should all go. The result was, that the brethren Zeisberger; Senseman; Edwards and the writer of this Narrative would go, but that the Brethren Youngman and Young should remain at home, to attend to the concerns of the Congregation, and assist in providing for our families in our absence; And Wingenund,

*see this Message in Loskiels history of the Mission of the United Brethren among the North American Indians Part III. Chap. IX. page 164. London Edition.

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the bearer of Captⁿ. Pipes order to us, was requested both to inform, and to explain unto him, what we had [285] resolved upon, assuring him, that we would be responsible for acting thus, and no blame should be laid on him by the Commandant at Detroit for not bringing us all on — and further, that we would meet him on the morrow at his Town.

Accordingly on the morning of the 25th, we four above named, together with several of our Indian Brethren, among whom was the National Assistant William Chelloway (who spoke good English) after taking leave of our families, and the whole Congregation, without knowing, whether ever we should see each other again, set out for Detroit. Arriving at Pipes town, 10 Miles distant, we were told, that he had already gone on to the Miami River, to which place we should follow him, when, reaching that place on the 27 we found him so excessively intoxicated, and such a great number of drunken Indians about him, that it was not advisable to approach him; we therefore encamped some distance off.

The intolerable noise of the drunken Indians, during the Night — the danger we hourly were in of them — and the uncertainty when this drinking would cease: caused us serious reflections regarding ourselves, considering the situation we were in. We had also by this time learnt from good authority, that within a few days, between 4 and 500 Indians would arrive in addition to those who were here already, and that the quantity of Liquor ready for them was great. Learning where Elliot was en-[286] camped, and that he was waiting for the arrival of the Vessel from Detroit with the Goods for those Indians, I went to him with one of our Indians to see if we could not be permitted to pursue our Journey without Captⁿ. Pipe, as it was not likely that he would quit drinking for some time. when he replying: that we "durst *not* proceed without him, he, (Pipe) being expressly named by the Commandant, as the Person who was to bring us on, and before him!" Asking his permission, to put a few Questions to him on the Subject, I asked him *first,* if he expected

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we should *live* to see the Commandant at Detroit, if we must wait for Pipes becoming sober, so as to go with us? and *secondly,* whether he believed, that if the Commandant could see the situation we were placed in here, as *he* saw it now; he would be indifferent, with regard to our safety? — he was much puzzled how to reply, but at length, bethinking himself: he *believed* we might go on without Pipe as we had some Indians with us, who could protect us from Insults by Warriors of other Nations. I thanked him for the permission given, and returned to our Camp, where we got in readiness to go off immediately.

At the moment we were mounting our Horses for the purpose, an Indian Express from Pipes town, came riding full speed, sounding the *"alarm Yell"** when every Indian present, yet able to walk, moved on to hear [287] the News, and which turned out to be a report brought on by a runner to Sandusky, "that our brother Shebosh, who with some of the Indian Brethren, had some days since gone to Shonbrun to fetch corn, for their suffering families, had with these been taken by a body of Americans, and killed. and that a large body of Americans, were at this present time, on their march to Sandusky for the purpose of surprising the Settlements at that place". — [1]

It appeared then, as these reports caused a great commotion among those Indians here assembled, some of whom became very enraged: the very nick of time, for us to be off from *this* place; yet, it was with a heavy heart that we were proceeding, in an opposite direction from where we had left our families; and had no other alternative left us, but to go to Detroit. The

*"alarm yell." see Heckewelders history of the Indian Nations Chap. XXVII. page 210.

[1] This proved a false rumor. The American militia captured these Indians and carried them to Fort Pitt, where they were set at liberty by General Irvine; they returned to the Sandusky, except Schebosh, who went on to Bethlehem. He gave there the first intelligence of the carrying away of the missionaries and Christian Indians to the Sandusky.

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Vessel with the Goods for the Indians, we saw sailing up the Bay.

We found the Roads round the head of the Lake (Erie) [1] most intolerable for travelling, in many places. such indeed, as we had never before seen. Mires, and large Swamps, not sufficiently frozen over so as to bear our Horses, which were continually breaking thro', and some times sinking belly deep into the Mire, so that we frequently had to cut strong poles to prize them out again. Deep Creeks, (here called Rivers) was another obstruction in travelling, we having to swim our Horses across, and where we could not meet with a Canoe for ourselves to get across, we had to cross on [288] Rafts made, or put together of Poles. — bleak Prairies in some places for Miles together, where the Cold West, or Northwest Wind was blowing over us, and in our faces, that we scarcely could stand against it, and having but few Cloaths on our backs, to keep us from perishing with Cold, we would walk, driving the Horses before us. The only comfortable hours we had during this whole Journey, were, with the exception of the last, the Nights, where we would get into the Woods, and make large Fires. At Brownstown, (a Huron Village,) we stopped for to rest a little; and being enformed, that we might yet reach Detroit that day, we continued our Journey. But what a disappointment! when we were within 4 Miles of the Town which we had in full view, we came to a de[e]p River, called Rush, (properly Rouge) which, from where we had hit upon it, we had no means of cross-

[1] The *Jesuit Relations* show that Lake Erie had taken its present name prior to the year 1641. It was so called from the Indian tribe called by the French the Cat Nation (*Nation du Chat*); they called themselves Eries. There has been much conjecture as to the family to which this tribe belonged. Its territory extended west as far as the Cuyahoga River. The Eries were destroyed by the Iroquois. A fragment of this people was spared by the Iroquois and incorporated and absorbed by the conquerors. Parkman says there is some reason to believe the Eries were identical with the Shawnees, but the probability is that they belonged to the Iroquoian family.

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ing, nor could we discover in any place on this Ri[ver] either a Craft for crossing, nor a House. Here were we now on a bleak point, at the junction of this River with the Detroit River, where not a stick of Wood was to be found; and where the cold Northwest Wind, blowing over an extensive Prairie, which lay at the back of us, came upon us with all its force, so that, we had to tripple about about the whole Night, to keep ourselves alive. O how we longed to see the light of the morning! and how rejoiced were we, when soon after this had appeared, we saw two large Boats coming down the Detroit River, and making for the River we were on — and which good People took us [289] across. Now — having survived a dreadful Night, we were approaching a fine Town, in which we hoped to be so fortunate, as to meet with some one hospitable Person, who would furnish us with an early and warm breakfast which we so much stood in need of; however, we finally found that we had failed in our calculation, on this point; for, being arrived at the West Gate of the Town, the Centry would not suffer us to pass on; here we had to stand on the drawbridge for a long time, untill the pleasure of the Commandant, who resided at the East end of the Town was known; — and we permitted to proceed; the cold Wind blowing all this time, with violence upon us.

It being by this time known in the Town, that the "Moravian Missionaries" were come on as Prisoners: curiosity had drawn the Inhabitants of the place into the Street, to see what kind of People these were. The few Cloaths we had on our backs, and these tattered and torn, might have caused them, to cast looks of contempt upon us, but we did not find this to be the case. We observed, that we were viewed with commiseration. After standing some time in the Street, opposite the dwelling of the Commandants; we were brought in before him, where we on an empty Stomach — shivering with Cold — worn down by the Journey, and not free from Rheumatic pains; again had to stand, untill we had undergone a kind of examination. — At length, being for this time dismissed, M[r]. Bawbee, took us to [290] the

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House of a private french family M^r^. Tybout both elderly People, and having no Children. We were told by M^r^. Bawbee, who acted as an Agent for the Indian department, that we should make ourselves easy for the present — and were not forbidden to walk about. We soon found ourselves in a good birth, for not only our Landlord and his Wife, were obliging and kind to us, but we found many here who befriended us — even among the Officers themselves. In other circumstances than we at this time were in, we might have felt ourselves contented and happy; but knowing that our families, were not only suffering from hunger and Cold, but were also kept continually on our account, between hope and fear — being so repeatedly told by the Savages, "that we never would be permitted to return to them again" — added to which, the report we had heard while at the Rapids of the Ohio, was still kept alive, by the Indians who were daily coming in. Happy were we therefore, when the day had come, that our conduct, while among the Indians was to be examined into, in a public place, and before a Councill, where the Accuser and the accused were to meet, face to face. These were Captn. Pipe, and two of his principle Councellors, for whom the Commandant had been waiting so long, being now arrived.

Accordingly, on the 9th. day of November, we were conducted to the Council house, where already we found the [291] Commandant with M^r^. Bawbee by his Side, as also other Gentlemen: a great number of Indians: and the Indian Interpreters, seated, or standing in their proper places — The Indians, of the different Tribes were separately seated — some to the right of the Commandant; and the Delawares right before him, with Captn. Pipe and his Councellors in front. We four Missionaries were placed by ourselves, on a bench to the left. A war Chief, of each of the two divisions of the Indians, was holding a stick, of 3 or 4 feet long with Scalps on it, which they had taken in their last excursions against the People of the United States.

The Council being opened, by signifying to Captn. Pipe, that he might make his report: he rose from his seat, holding a

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stick with 2 Scalps on it in his left hand, and addressed* the Commandant in a very remarkable and spirited manner, with respect to the present War; and that of their Fathers (the British) having drawn their Children (the Indians) into it. &c. — handing him at the close of his Speech, the Scalps. And having seated himself again, a War Chief of the other party rose in like manner with his Scalps; and after concluding his Address, also handed it to the Commandant, who, as before, gave it to the Interpreter standing behind him, to put aside. This business being finished; the Commandant addressed Captn. [292] Pipe to the following effect: vizt. "Captn. Pipe! "You had for a "long time lodged complaints with me, against certain White "People among Your Nation, whom You call Teachers to the "believing Indians, which as You say, were friends to the Amer- "icans, and kept up a continual correspondence with these, to "the prejudice of Your Fathers* interest! You having so re- "peatedly accused these Teachers of this, desiring that I might "remove them from among You: I at length commanded You, "to take these Teachers, together with the believing Indians, "away from the Muskingum, and bring them into *Your* Country; "and being since informed, that this had been done, I ordered "You to bring those Teachers, together with some of their princi- "ple Men before me, that I might see and speak with them; when "since, these Men now sitting before You, have come in, and "surrendered themselves up to me, without Your being with "them! I now ask You Captain Pipe, if *these* Men are those "of whom You so much complained; and which I ordered You "to bring before me?["] Pipe replying in the affirmative, the Commandant continued: "Well! both the accuser and the ac- "cused being present, it is but fair, that the accused hear by the "accuser, the complaints he has against him; and I therefore de- "sire You, to repeat what You had told me of these Teachers, "and accused them of!" Pipe, standing at the time, now turned

*for this Address, see Heckewelders Account of Indian Nations, Chap. XII.
*the British.

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to his Councellors, telling them to be upon [293] their legs and speak; but finding them panic struck, appeared to be at a loss how to act — Once more turning to them, he endeavoured to make them sensible, that this was the time to speak — and that the opportunity now granted them, for that purpose, would be lost to them forever, if they spake not! — finally, se[e]ing them hanging their heads, while they remained mute, he boldly stood up, and defended the Teachers against the accusations brought against them saying: that they were *good* Men; and that he wished his Father (vizt. the Commandant) to speak good words§ to them, for that they were his‡ friends; and that he should be sorry to see them treated ill and hard!" — The Commandant still persisting in having the call he had made on Captain Pipe, of *repeating* what he had told him of those Teachers now present: became greatly embarrassed — and casting another glance at his frightened, and dejected Councellors, who still were hanging their heads: he did report — yet adding: "Father! The Teachers "cannot be blamed for this; for living in our Country, where "they had to do what we would have them do: they were com- "pelled to act as they did! They did not write Letters (meaning "Speeches) for themselves, but for *Us*! *I** am to blame! [294] "*I* caused them to do what they did! We urged them to it, "when they refused, telling us, that they were not here for the "purpose of meddling with our affairs, but for the spiritual good "of the Indians!" The Commandant then asking him, what *he* wished him to do with us, whether he should send us out of the Country, or permit us to return again to our families and Congregation: he, contrary to what was expected, advised the Commandant, to suffer us to return to our homes.

Being now questioned by this general Officer, with regard to our Ordination and Vocation — but particularly with regard

§meaning to treat them civily & kindly.

‡"his friends." Meaning thereby to say: that they were by the Nation generally considered, as well disposed to them—& sought their best.

*meaning the Nation.

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to our connection with the American Congress — and whether we were dependant on that body? we answered: "that the So-"ciety to which we belonged, had for upwards of thirty Years "laboured among the North American Indians, for the purpose "of bringing them over to Christianity — That since the first "beginning of our Missions, continually Missionaries had been "among them, who were sent by the Bishops and Directors of "our Church! — That Congress indeed knew of our labouring "among the Indians, for the purpose already stated; but that they "never had, either directly, or indirectly, interfered with our "Missionary concerns — nor set us rules to act by. That all we "knew of the American Congress, was: that they wished all the "Indians to be at peace — not taking part in the War on either "side: but taking example of their Country Men, the Christian "Indians, & join [295] these in becoming an Agricultural, and a "Christian People &c" — The Commandant next stepping up to us, declared us acquitted of the charges laid against us — assuring us, "that he felt great sattisfaction and pleasure, in seeing our endeavours to civilize, and Christianize the Indians; and cheerfully would permit us to return again, to our Congregation!" — All which being interpreted to Captn. Pipe and party, he next turned to the National Assistants, expressing his sattisfaction also in seeing them; admonishing these to continue to obey their Teachers, and not meddle with Wars, and taking these by the hand, promised that they should be furnished with some Cloathing. Finally having intimated that we should be furnished with Cloaths and other necessary Articles — and offering his services whenever we should stand in need of it — or his advice and assistance; he concluded by saying: that henceforth we should have free access* to him at his House, whenever we were desirous of seeing him.

*Previous to the Meeting on this day, we were not permitted to state our grievances to the Commandant, either verbally or by Petition. Mr. Bawbee having signified to us, that we must patiently await the arrival of Captn. Pipe, as on which all depended.

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CHAPTER XXVI.

ON having retired from the Council house, we were congratulated by many respectable Inhabitants of the place on our happy acquittal; so that now we might return again to our families. Even Captain Pipe[296]himself, after asking our Indians, how they were sattisfied with what he had said: observed: that he knew that he had spoken the truth: & adding: ["]I never wished Your Teachers any harm, knowing that they "love the Indians; but I had all along been imposed on to do "what I did, by those who do *not* love them; and now, that these "were to speak, they hung their heads, leaving me to extricate "myself, after telling our Father things they had dictated — "and persuaded me to tell him!"

Whilst the Taylors were making Cloaths for us, we were invited by our friends in Town to Visits. One Merchant, had soon after our arrival at this place, returned some new Cloaths belonging to one of us; which he had purchased of one of the Indian Warriors who took us. Another Trader who had purchased of those Warriors four Silver Watches belonging to us, had to deliver these to the Commandant, who, satisfying him, gave them to us again. This generous Officer, also sent a barrel of Pork, with some Flower, out to Sandusky [1] for us.

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[1] Sandusky, as a name for towns, bay, and river, is derived from the Wyandot tongue, but from what particular word or phrase, and the precise meaning, cannot now be determined. The Wyandot word for water is tsän-dōōs′-tĕ; that for rain is nōōn-dōōs′, diminished from nōōn-dōōs′-tĕ; that for rain-storm is yän-dōōs′, diminished from yän-dōōs′-tĕ; that for river is yän′-dä-wä′-yĕ, an older form being tsän′-dä-wä′-yĕ. Sandusky Bay was called by them Ōō′-tsändes′-kā, but the term included all the marsh country around it. It would seem that this is the most probable original for the present name, and that it signifies a marsh country in which are streams, pools, lakes, and bays lying on or

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We were upon the whole thankful, that, since God had permitted the Savages, to lay hands on us, he also had so directed the ways — that we did not fall a sacrifice to their Vengance; and that the designs of those, who thought they were sure of seeing us banished out of the Country, — (and with us the

near a larger body of water. John H. James says that William Walker, for an account of whom see *The Provisional Government of Nebraska Territory*, a publication of the Nebraska Historical Society, told him in 1835-6, that the word meant "at the cold water," and should be pronounced San-doos-tee, and "carried with it the force of a preposition." John Johnston, long agent for the Ohio tribes, gives the word as Sa-un-dus-tee, and says it means "water within water pools." See Howe's *Historical Collections of Ohio* (1847), p. 445. The name begins to appear on the maps about 1750 as the name of the bay, and not that of the river, which on two maps of 1755 (those of Dr. Mitchell and D'Anville), is given as Blanc, indicating that it may have been known by some Indian name signifying white or shining water or river. The French built a fort on the west side of the Sandusky River, at its mouth, in 1750, which was named "Sandousche," as one of a chain of posts to establish and maintain communication with Fort Du Quesne and the valley of the Upper Ohio. It was abandoned in 1759. The English built a fort at the mouth of Mills Creek, on Sandusky Bay, in 1761, but it was destroyed by the Indians in Pontiac's War. It would seem that the name as applied to the river is of comparatively recent date, and that it came into use in that relation from the name already applied to the bay. There is a possibility that the name is of very great antiquity. See Howe's *Historical Collections of Ohio* (1847), p. 446, from which the following is taken:

> The remains of extensive works of defence are now to be seen near Lower Sandusky. The Wyandotts have given me this account of them. At a period of two centuries and a half since, or more, all the Indians west of this point were at war with all the Indians east. Two walled towns were built near each other, and each was inhabited by those of Wyandott origin. They assumed a neutral character, and the Indians at war recognized that character. They might be called two neutral cities. All of the west might enter the western city, and all of the east the eastern. The inhabitants of one city might inform those of the other, that war parties were there or had been there; but who they were, or whence they came, or any thing more, must not be mentioned. The war parties might remain there in security, taking their own time for departure. At the western town they suffered the warriors to burn their prisoners near it; but the eastern would not. (An old Wyandott informed me, that he recollected seeing, when a boy, the remains of a cedar post or stake, at which they used to burn prisoners.) The French historians tell us that these neutral cities were inhabited, and their neutral character respected, when they first came here. At length a quarrel arose between the two cities, and one destroyed the inhabitants of the other. This put an end to all neutrality.

The Neutral Nation lived on the north side of Lake Erie, and at the western end of the lake their territory may have extended to the south side. The Eries lived on the south side of this lake. They, together with the Neu-

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preaching of the Gospel also:) — were defeated from the very source they had calculated on, that their wish would be effect-[297]ed. The Commandant, had in our oppinion done nothing in this affair, but what his duty required. With prudence, Justice and humanity for a guide — a wise Providence seemed to support him. On a nearer acquaintance, with this general Officer, we found him an admirer and wellwisher to religious undertakings. He sympathized with us for our sufferings, (which were contrary to his orders,) & declared that we were engaged in a good cause. The Passport given us by him at our departure, purported, that we were "permitted to perform the functions of our Office among the Christian Indians without molestation."

Being now well supplied with warm Cloaths, and Blankets both for ourselves, and fellow labourers at home, we took leave of our benefactor, Arent Schyler De Peyster,[1] Major of the Kings 8th Regiment and Commandant of Detroit and its dependencies &c &c. Intending to set off early the next morning, we

trals, were destroyed by the Five Nations within historic times. The Hurons were also destroyed; but they had no villages at that time south of Lake Erie. The Wyandots are descended from the broken fragments of these destroyed nations (and others), and it is possible that bands of the Neutral Nation formed a sufficient part of the new tribe to preserve in it the remembrance that their ancestors lived in these two neutral cities. The Neutrals, the Eries, the Hurons and other tribes involved in the general ruin spoke dialects of a common tongue, and the word or words from which the term Sandusky comes may have been the ancient name of this marsh country about the mouth of the Sandusky River.

[1] Arent Schuyler De Peyster was the grandson of Abraham De Peyster, a merchant at New Amsterdam (New York). He was born at New York, June 27, 1736: died at Dumfries, Scotland, November, 1832. In the Revolutionary War he was a Royalist, and an officer of ability. During that period he commanded, among others, the posts of Mackinaw and Detroit. At the latter post he directed the Indian policy of the British in the war, and to his tact in this capacity was due the success of the long effort to detach the Northwestern tribes from the American interest. His treatment of the Moravian missionaries was humane, and no complaint is registered by Heckewelder.

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had the mortification to find the four Horses we had rode from Sandusky to this place, were missing, tho, but the evening before they were seen, together with the Horses our Indians had rode on. The supposition was, that some Person or Persons, inimical to Missions among the Indians, had put our horses out of the way, to prevent our returning to the Indian Country again, as, the Indians Horses had not been taken off. Be this as it may, the lost Horses were never recovered; the Commandant however, obligingly furnished us with Horses to travel home with.

[298] On the 14th of November we left Detroit, [1] the weather Cold, and the ground hard frozen. — Meeting Indians from Sandusky by the way; these still told us, that those of our People, who had gone to Shonbrun to fetch Corn, had all been murdered by the Virginians; which however had not been the Case, for,

[1] Detroit (French, strait) is the county seat of Wayne County and the chief city of Michigan. The site of this city was first seen by white men in 1610, when a party of French passed it in a wilderness journey. Its strategic importance was recognized, and ineffectual attempts were made to establish a post there. In 1701 La Mothe-Cadillac settled a military colony there and founded Detroit. It soon became one of the important outposts of France in the New World. The Wyandots lived in a village on the opposite shore, the Ottawas lived just above them on the same shore, and the Pottawatomies lived just below the city and on the west side. It was ceded to England at the close of the French and Indian War (1763). Pontiac besieged it in 1763-64, but failed to reduce it. During the Revolution it was the center of British influence in the Northwest, and the post from which affairs with the Indians were conducted. Goods suited to the Indian trade, liquors, food, arms and ammunition were distributed to the swarming warriors with a lavish hand. War parties of plumed and painted savages were constantly arriving with prisoners and scalps from the helpless settlements and departing with stores of powder and ball, gaudy cloth, knives, hatchets, and glittering trinkets. Hamilton made it the market for human hair and made for himself a name always to be detested by Americans. At the close of the Revolution it was ceded to the United States, but it was not relinquished until 1796, after the disastrous defeat of the Northwestern tribes by Wayne in the battle of Fallen Timbers and the power of the Indians forever destroyed. In 1812 General Hull surrendered it to the English, but it was recovered by the Americans in 1813.

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Captain Biggs, the generous and humane Officer, commanding the party, on finding that they were not of the Enemy, but Christian Indians, did not suffer one of them to be molested; but took them to Pittsburg, [1] where they were kindly treated, and left to return to their homes when they pleased.

When within one days Journey of Sandusky, a very deep Snow fell, so that we had difficult travelling. we however arrived there on the 22[d] in the Evening. The joy on both sides was great. daily had reports been brought here during our absence, that the Commandant at Detroit, had sent us on a Vessel down the Lake (Erie) never to return again.

Not being much troubled by the Savages for some time, we built a temporary Meeting House of long poles placed upon each other between Posts, the crevices being filled up with Moss gethered from Trees, instead of Mortar; but in what manner to

[1] The establishment of a fort at the Forks of the Ohio was the result of the efforts of the Ohio Company to take possession of its grant on the waters of the Ohio. The colonies of Pennsylvania and Virginia each claimed the territory, including the site. By consent of Pennsylvania, Governor Dinwiddie sent a company under Captain Trent to build a fort at the Forks of the Ohio. It was commenced by Ensign Ward early in 1754. The French, under command of Captain Contrecoeur, descended the Alleghany, and on the 17th of April, 1754, Ward surrendered his unfinished fort to them. It was completed by the French and called Fort Du Quesne. The expedition under Braddock for its recovery, in 1755, was unsuccessful, and Braddock defeated by the French under Captain Beaujeu; the English army was put to rout. In October, 1758, General Grant was defeated before the fort by the French and Indians, but in the following month General Forbes arrived with his army and found the fort deserted and in flames. It was destroyed, and the English built upon its site a small fort, which was commanded by Colonel Mercer. In 1759-60 a larger fort was built and named Fort Pitt in honor of the elder Pitt. In 1763 it was commanded by Captain Ecuyer, and was invested by Indians as the result of Pontiac's conspiracy. It was commanded by General Broadhead during the first years of the Revolution, and towards the close, by General Irvine. During this period it was the principal post of the Americans in the West, being to them what Detroit was to the British. Pittsburg was settled it 1764.

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get a supply of Provisions, which all stood in need of, caused many anxious reflections. Our good friend, Mac Cormick, had indeed entered into a Contract with a M^r^. Robbins, a Trader at lower Sandusky, for all the Corn he could purchase, but even there, (which was about [299] 40 Miles distant) this Article was scarce; yet, the supply we received thro these good Men, served to keep us from starving. The Chrismas holydays, notwithstanding all our poverty, were yet celebrated with cheerfulness and a blessing; and the Year concluded with thanks and praises to him, who is ever the Guardian and Saviour of his People.

Little did the Congregation imagine, when entering the Year 1782, that this would be the most trying Year for them. for, altho put to so great straits for Provision, they trusted in the Lord, that he in due time would relieve them. That they had a place of Worship, and could daily hear the Gospel preached, was to them a great consolation, in these days of trial; and seeing some, who but lately had joined the Congregation, call upon the Lord for Mercy — and baptised in his Name: enlivened their hopes, that the Lord would continue to be gracious and merciful to them.

Hitherto these Christian Indians, had suffered most from a want of Provision; but now, in the dead of the Winter, they also suffered severely from the Cold, since, towards the end of January, the cold Nights became almost insupportable; the more so, on account of the smallness of the huts, these having not the convenience of having large fires made within them; and even Wood being scarce where they were. And having no flooring in our Houses, whenever a thaw came on, the Water forced passages thro the Earth, and came on in such quantitys, that we scarcely could keep o[u]r feet [300] dry. The Cattle, finding no pasture in these dreary regions — and we not being able to procure any for them; now began to perish for hunger; and as provisions for so many People, could not be had even for Money, famine took place, and the calamity became general. Many

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had now no other choice, than to live on the carcasses of the starved Cattle, and in a few instances, suckling babes perished for want of nourishment from the breast. The Missionaries, had at this time reduced their daily allowance of Provision for Bread, to a pint of Indian Corn, per Man, a day. Now and then M^r. McCormick sent them a leg of Venison purchased of the Hunters.

Yet in this wretched situation, the hungry Wyondots would be often among us, poking their heads in our huts, to see if there was any Victuals a cooking, or ready cooked. At one time, just as my Wife had set down what was intended for our Dinner; the half King, Simon Girty, and another Wyondot, entered my Cabbin and seeing the Victuals ready, without ceremony began eating, when one of the Indian Brethren coming in and seeing this, reprimanded them for their impudence, saying: "You who "have treated my Teachers so bad, now dare to come here to live "upon them! — You that told us at Gnadenhutten, what a great "plenty of Provision You had at Sandusky, and that we would "find every thing we could wish for when we came there, now "come to us, to eat up the last morsel *we* have! Have You *no* "[301] shame! If hunger pinches You, go out into the Street, "where You will find dead Cattle, of which You may eat as much "as You please; but keep away from our Teachers; for you have "sufficiently shewn by your behaviour to them, that You do not "love them!" —

At another time on a similar occasion, one of our Indians said to the half King: "When You came to Gnadenhutten with "Your Men, we gave You not only enough to eat of such Pro- "visions, which the Indians generally make use of; but we sup- "plied You with any thing You wished for that we had; Bread "Pork; Butter, Milch, Sugar; Tea; Chocolate &^c — You told "us to "arrise and go with You; and not to stand looking at our "Cornfields, for we should find with You enough to live upon!" "— Now You have brought us hither, and never once offered us "a *single* Ear of Corn! See! if any one catches a Bird, or any

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"other Creature, which he wishes to keep *alive*, his first care is to "get food for such Creature! — to feed it, that it may not starve! "Your conduct towards us, bears the stamp as if You had brought "us here for the purpose of starving us!" — The fact was: that they themselves had scarcely any thing at home to live upon.

The famine daily encreasing — and Children crying for Victuals, was more than the Parents could endure longer. These could not affoard to pay at the rate of a Dollar for 2 or 3 Quarts of Corn, which was the price now asked by those who had any. Therefore, consulting with one another on measures to be taken, [302] for their relief: their deliberations closed with a resolution, to look to no other Quarter for Corn, but to their forsaken Towns — and the plan being agreed upon, how they meant to attain the object, without running into danger: they informed the half King of their intention, leaving it to his option, whether or not, he chose to send a guard with them, to keep them *from "running away"* — which however he declined doing. They next made their plan known to the Missionaries, namely: that they would leave their families some distance back from the Towns, to whom they would bring the corn from the fields, and who were to bury it in holes* made in the ground for the purpose; and from which places they would fetch it as it would be wanted. This plan being approved of, they were desired to abide thereby, since it was but natural to suppose that the People from the American side, would now and then take a look at the old Towns, to see if any Warriors harboured there. Having taken an affectionate leave, they set out in several divisions, and about One hundred and fifty in Number, Men, Women and Children; each division intending to work upon the Corn which they had raised.

The Missionaries were in hopes, that as the Commandant at Detroit, had favoured us with his Passport for our return: that

*these holes are made round, about 3 feet deep. narrower at the top than at the bottom—after the hole is dug, it is burnt out—set with bark, and well covered after the Corn is in.

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this would lead the hostile Indians to reflection, & that they would conduct themselves [303] better in future. We also now considered ourselves, under the protection of the English Government — but still an evil existed — Every day it became more evident, that the design of the Enemies of the Brethren, and of their preaching the Gospel to the Indians, remained the same, and nothing short of our being banished out of the Country, would satisfy them. They would say, that they wanted no prayer houses in their Country &c. Indeed their Jealousy of us and the Christian Indians, seemed daily to increase. They were sensible of what they had done, and how much they had injured us; but having nothing of the Christian Spirit, they could not think, that we could forgive them, but, supposed that we meditated revenge, and would one day, draw out an Army of Virginians, for the purpose of destroying them. Already had the half King ascribed the death of his two Sons in the last fall, to the secret intrigues of the People he had so distressed; and he lived in continual apprehension that, the Christian Indians would revenge the injuries they had suffered *through* him, upon his own Person.

Girty, (or Captn. Girty as he called himself) — an outcast among Mankind — dwelling among the Wyondots; and frequently going with them to War against the People of the United States; would instigate the former to do us all the mischief they could, and was a principal in raising their suspicion against us. This Man (as we were informed from good authority) came one day (about that time) to Mr [304] McCormick & requested him to write a Letter for the half King, the purport of which was: "that the Missionaries at Sandusky, kept up a continual "correspondence with the Americans, and received regularly, "every Ten days, Letters from Pittsburg, and that they were en- "deavouring to persuade the Virginians to destroy the Wyondot "Nation &c" — that Gentleman, enquiring of him as to the truth of what he wanted written: being answered, "that it made no difference to him, whether it was true or not:" preremptorily

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declined writing falsehoods for any body: however, report stated, that he had got the Letter written by some other Person — A Letter was, shortly after this written for the half King to the Commandant* stating — "that he, (the half King) would be "uneasy in his Mind, as long as the Teachers lived at Sandusky, "he apprehending some misfortune, and therefore requested the "Commandant to take them away as soon as possible: but that if "he refused, he knew what to do!" —

This last Letter had the desired effect. The Commandant fully understanding, what was intended to be done to us, in case we were not removed: he sent an answer to the half King to that purpose. We however, were entirely ignorant, of what was intended untill on the first day of March, a Messenger, sent by the half King and Simon Girty arrived, who by their order cited all the Teachers, "to appear before them to morrow morning at "the house of M°Cormick, there to hear a Letter read, [305] "written by the Commandant at Detroit to the half King and "Captain Girty respecting us."

We considering it unnecessary for all of us to go so great a distance, for the purpose of hearing the contents of a Letter: David Zeisberger and the writer of this, concluded to go by themselves, and accordingly set off on foot early on the next Morning, and having waded the Eight Miles through the Snow, found the half King and Simon Girty already there, waiting for us. The latter seeing but two, of us arrive, impudently insulted us, as having disobeyed their Orders, to all which we calmly, and in a civil manner replyed. Next, he, (Girty) having mounted himself on a kind of Stage, about 6 feet in heighth, he took an open Letter in one hand and a string of black Wampum beeds in the other hand, addressing us with airs of Contempt in these Words: "Gentlemen! At length You have brought upon "Yourselves, what You so long have deserved, by means of "Your attachment to the Rebels! Your deeds are no more hid- "den! — they are known to the Commandant at Detroit! — hear

*see Loskiels history. Part 3d. Chap. X.

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"this Letter read, which is sent to the half King! I will read it "to You! *No*! take it and read it Yourselves — and look at "this["] (holding up the String of Wampum) ["]look *well*! "Do you see that it is *black*?* The *cause* of its being a black "String instead of a [306] white one, You already know, so that "I need not tell You! Mind! it is sent *with* the Letter![”]

The contents of the Letter alluded to, were to this effect: "that in consequence of his (the half Kings request) he (the "Commandant) had determined to remove the Teachers from "among them — and that he herewith did appoint Captn. Girty "to bring them to Detroit. that in case he (Girty) should already "be otherwise engaged, he should appoint another fit person to "bring the Teachers on. That should Girty, or any other Person "bringing them in, want assistance he, (the half King) should "help him!"

On those Words, where the half King was called on to *help* him if he wanted help, he, (Girty) laid a particular stress — meaning thereby to threaten us, if we refused to go, and saying (with a loud laugh) "Gentlemen! take notice! the half King is to *help* me!"

We saw nothing in this message that tended to frighten us. That the Wampum beeds sent with the Speech of the Commandant, were of the black kind, did not surprise us in the least — nor was any thing bad meant against us, by asking the assistance of the half Kings in bringing us to Detroit, if so be that he (Girty) stood in need of it; for the Commandant had closed his Letter, or Speech to them, with a special charge, "not to plunder us, nor otherwise to abuse us; neither to suffer us to be plundered or abused by any Person whatsoever." —

Note. This Narrative will affoard to the reader a fair [307] Opportunity in judging of the causes, *why* the introduction of Christianity, among the Indians: (which I consider the forerunner towards Civilisation) has hitherto not succeeded to what it might have been expected. Among the Impediments,

*see Heckewelders history of the Indian Nations, with regard to the kind, of Wampum beeds made use of. Chap. VII.

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thrown in the way of those Ministers, and pious Characters, who had devoted themselves to this Service: is the influence which a set of White People, who from choice—they wishing to be out of the reach of the civil Law—have settled among them; (and who, in times of War, are improperly employed, as Agents; Emisaries, or subalterns, to advise the Indians, to desist for a while from their ordinary occupations—denounce a certain Nation, or class of People; and assume a hostile Character against them:) not the least.—We are apt to pronounce against a possibility of Civilizing the Indians; and it has frequently been asserted; "that a White Man will sooner become an Indian, than an Indian a White Man!" That there are many White People, to whom this is applicable, we are sure of; and the example before us, as also others of the same nature, as set forth in this Narrative, prove, that even there are White People, who by far exceed the Indians, in Vilanious and cruel Acts, advising, and trying to persuade those Indians who have embraced Christianity, to desert the cause, "as not belonging to *their* sphere"—and of instigating the Savages, to banish Teachers of Religion out of their Country—nay to destroy them. Such People, considering themselves authorised to do [308] any thing, which may tend to favour the cause of their employers:—or, acting as though their powers were unlimited, strive to their utmost to destroy all the good which had been done among them in time of Peace, whether it had tended to imbibe religious principles in them, or to draw them gradually on towards becoming a civilized People. And such *were* those, who at the time of the American revolution—and throughout the whole of it: instigated the Indian Tribes, to arm against the Christian Indians, and their Teachers; who otherwise never would have acted the part they did, on a People, who they hitherto had both befriended, and respected, and whose mode of life, they so much approved of.—

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CHAPTER XXVII.

THE consternation which was occasioned among our People, on learning that now their Teachers were to be taken from them, was great; and nothing but lamentations were heard throughout the Village; and during the short stay we had to make with them; our Grief was not less. Indeed it was the most painful occurrence which had befallen them — so much so, that both they and we lost appetite and Sleep. Stephen, being immediately dispatched to the Towns, where our Brethren and Sisters were gathering Corn, we were in expectation of seeing these before our departure; but alas! the day drawing nigh on which we must depart, and none of these arriving, we were much troubled.

On the morning of the 13th of March, a Frenchman [309] named Francis Levallie [1] from lower Sandusky, gave us notice, that Girty, who was to have taken us to Detroit, having gone with a party of Wyondots to War, against the Americans on the Ohio: [2] had appointed him to take his place in taking

[1] Butterfield gives this name as Le Villier. *History of the Girtys*, p. 140.

[2] Girty left Upper Sandusky on the seventeenth of March. He was directed to see certain parties on the border who were supposed to be unfriendly to the Americans. Scotosh, son of the Half King, and eight other Wyandots went with him. A day or two out from Sandusky they were joined by Abraham Kuhn and nineteen Wyandot warriors. Scouts were sent ahead to ascertain the conditions along the frontier, and these returned and reported that the border was well covered with scouts. This information led Girty to believe that he could not accomplish the main object of the expedition. He determined, however, to make an effort to inflict what damage he could upon the Americans. He divided his party, sending Kuhn and fourteen warriors to Fort McIntosh, while he led the others of his party across the Ohio. The crossing was made at Mingo Bottom, just below the present town of Steubenville. On the south side of the Ohio the party again divided, ten warriors

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us there; and that on the next day after tomorrow (the 15) he would be here again, to set out with us — A little conversation with this Man, satisfied us, that we had fallen into better hands. He told us: "that Girty had ordered him, to drive us before "him to Detroit, the same as if we were Cattle, and never make "a halt for the purpose of the Women giving suck to their "Children. That he should take us round the head of the Lake "(Erie) and make us foot every step of the way".[1] — that *he* however, should not do this, but would take us to lower Sandusky, and from that place send a runner with a Letter to the Commandant at Detroit, representing our situation, and taking further orders from him, respecting us.

While we were preparing for the Journey, on the next day — and still in hopes, that at least some of our Brethren from Muskingum would arrive; the *alarm Yell** was sounded in the direction the path they were to pass on, lay; and drawing nigher, this Yell was performed in such quick succession, that no doubt was left us, but that we would hear bad news, and which

*see Heckewelders history of Indian Nations Chap. XXVII.

under Scotosh going up the river, and the remainder under Girty striking inland. On the first of April Scotosh and his party captured Thomas Edgerton near the mouth of Harman's Creek, and immediately returned and recrossed the Ohio. Girty and his party attacked the house of Zachariah Spriggs, near the present West Liberty, where they captured John Stevenson and a negro slave belonging to Spriggs, but the latter escaped. They killed and scalped another person, and returned to the Indian country. Kuhn and his party ambushed five soldiers at Fort McIntosh. They came out to get wood, and put down their guns while loading their wagon. None escaped; some were killed, the others captured. The different parties united and reached Upper Sandusky on the eighth of April. See Butterfield's *History of the Girtys*, pp. 140, 141, 142.

[1] Butterfield doubts the veracity of this Frenchman at this point. But it is more than probable that he reported the exact orders he had received from Girty, and that Heckewelder has recorded the words of the renegade. There is no reason whatever for doubting either Heckewelder or the Frenchman. See Butterfield's *History of the Girtys*, p. 144.

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proved to be so. for on the arrival of this runner, [310] who was a Sandusky Warrior, returning from a War expedition against the People on the Ohio, we learnt, that while our Indians were gathering their Corn, a party of Virginians had come upon them — taken them all Prisoners; and afterwards killed some of them. that they had taken those which they had not killed, to Pittsburg.

This was bad news indeed — such as we did not expect to hear, and yet we did at this time, not hear the worst, as it afterwards turned out to be; but for us it was as much as we could bear. That we were to part from our beloved Indian Congregation — perhaps never to meet again was alone a load almost too great for us to bear, especially as we saw our People in every direction weeping for grief on the occasion.

With the morning of the 15th, the day appointed for our departure, our Conductor, Mr Levallie, arrived. Once more however, we assembled together in the Chapel, where our worthy brother Zeisberger, as a tender Father, exhorted the Brethren and Sisters, to cleave close to the Lord, as now they were to be seperated from their Teachers. He kneeled down with the Congregation, giving thanks to the Lord, for all the spiritual blessings received at his hand — praying fervently for them, and that they might be preserved in faith, and in the pure and saving doctrine of Jesus Christ, and his atonement, till we should see each other again, either here below, or before the throne of the Lamb. After this we parted.

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CHAPTER XXVIII.

AS the bloody Catastrophe, took place on the Mus-[311] kingum during the time we were waiting for our Brethren and Sisters to come from thence; I will break off from the account of the Journey we were entering on, and first relate the particulars of this horrid transaction; at the same time bringing into view; every material circumstance therewith connected.

It has already been stated above, that these Indians, pinched with hunger, had gone to their forsaken Towns,[1] to gather,

[1] They started from their camps in the Sandusky country on the 16th of January, 1782; some of them left as late as the 19th. One party left as late as February 9. On authority of a letter written by Dorsey Pentecost to President Moore, from Pittsburg, May 8, 1782, Butterfield asserts that ten warriors, "doubtless Wyandots," went with the Moravian Indians. The evidence is insufficient. Pentecost says, "the Indians Confessed themselves that when they set out from St. Duskie Ten warriors came with them who had went into the settlements, and that four of them were then in the Towns who had returned." See *Pennsylvania Archives* (Old Series), ix, p. 540. Pentecost evidently had this information from the rumors he himself doubts, or, at least, does not wholly credit. And being a politician and averse to a public investigation of the affair, he was making the best showing possible in aid of his desires, and in his own interest; the word of a politician was no better in that day than it is in this. There is no evidence anywhere that four warriors were "then in the Towns" when the Williamson party arrived there, none that they were discovered or even heard of while the party remained. Their names are not on the roll of those slain. If they had been found there their presence would not have justified the murder of men known to be innocent; even if the borderers had regarded all the men as guilty, there was no justification for the murder of the women; and nothing which could be conceived would justify the murder of the children. And Butterfield gives credit to a newspaper story that forty warriors raided into the settlements. The foundation for the newspaper statement was mere conjecture. Forty Indian tracks were discovered in the

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and secure a quantity of Corn, so that they might fetch the same from time to time, as they wanted it: and that their intention had been, not to encamp at, or near their old Towns, but to leave their families back in the Woods, at a proper distance &c — being however met on the way by some of those Brethren, who had in the fall been taken off from Shonbrun to Pittsburg; and by these encouraged to go *direct* to the Towns, and work on their Corn at their leisure — there being not the least danger, that any White People from the American side would molest them: they, encouraged by so favourable a report — and conscious that they in no one instance had done the American People an injury — considering these always as their friends — they were easily persuaded, to follow the advice given them by their Brethren; and they had already been several Weeks there, without the least thought of danger, working both by day and by Night in gathering and husking Corn, and securing it in the Woods.

While of good cheer, and at the point [312] of their departure, four Sandusky Warriors who on their return from the Ohio Settlements, had encamped on a Run some distance from Gnadenhutten, gave them notice of where they had been; and what they had done and of their having taken a Woman and

snow. Now, forty Indian tracks can be made by one Indian. If it is meant that the "sign" or trail left in the snow by the Indian party would justify the settlers in estimating that there were forty Indians in the party, the statement is still left upon conjecture. This is the only evidence that forty Indians, thirty of them Moravians, raided into the settlements. The forty warriors are arrived at so far as number goes, by adding thirty to the ten who came out from Sandusky—a mental process. The editor of the distant newspaper had no means of knowing whether or not his statement was correct, and we have none. Moravian Indians may have gone into the settlements. We do not know whether they did go or did not go. In the absence of knowledge we cannot accept conjecture of guilty parties in justification of murder. For Butterfield's attitude, see generally his *History of the Girtys*, the *Washington-Irvine Correspondence*. Both works are very valuable contributions to American history, and they are very conscientiously written.

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Child Prisoners, whom they killed and empailed on this side of the Ohio River — And supposing; that the White People in consequence of what *they* had done, might make up a party and pursue them: they advised these, to be on their guard, and make off with themselves as soon as possible. [1]

This account becoming known among all our Indians; and they wishing to take the opinion of the principle Men at the three Towns thereon: the National Assistant Samuel, came from Shonbrun to Salem, where also those from Gnadenhutten met them, when, a general opinion prevailing, that there could be no danger, if even White People should come on in pursuit of those who had committed the Murder, for that these immediately would dis[c]over them not to be the hostile, but the Christian Indians; of whom they knew, that these did not go to War from principle, considering the killing of Man a great Sin: they concluded themselves safe; yet, as they had secured already as much Corn as they thought would serve them for the Season, they would make it publicly known that all should get in readiness to go off on a certain day; and Samuel, on his return to Shonbrun from this Meeting, reported that he had rejoiced at finding such love and harmony prevail among the Brethren and Sisters at those two places.

[313] On the day our Indians, were bundling up their packs, intending to set off on the next morning; a party of between one and Two hundred White People from the Ohio Settlements, made their appearance at Gnadenhutten. [2] They

[1] The account of this maraud has not been found. It cannot refer to the raid in which Mrs. Wallace lost her life, for she and her child were murdered on the east side of the Ohio; and they were not impaled.

[2] The claim has been made that these men were militia from Washington County, Pa., regularly called out for service, the only evidence being a phrase in a letter written by Gen. Irvine, who was absent from his command at the time of the raid. See *Washington-Irvine Correspondence*, p. 239. The probability is that the men were not the militia and that they had not been ordered out by the military authority of the county. See *Ohio Arch. and Hist. Society Publications*, iii, pp. 279, 280, 281. Doddridge says the men were hastily col-

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had already, when within a Mile of the place, met with Joseph Shabosh, Son of our brother Shabosh,[1] (while he was catching his Horses) & murdered him in a most cruel manner, notwithstanding his telling them who he was, and that he was a White Mans Son, & begging them to spare his life. Jacob, brother in Law to young Shabosh, whilst tieing up his Corn Sacks on the bank at the Sweat house, and about 150 Yards from the Town, and thirty from the River; was the first person who saw the party coming on, between himself and the River, and, so near him, that, (as he expressed himself) he might have seen the black in their Eyes, had they looked in the direction where he was standing. He even knew some of the Men of the party, to be the same, who had taken the Christian Indians from Shonbrun in the last Fall, among whom both he and Young Shabosh were, and believing the good Captain Biggs to be again with them, he was about hailing them, when to his astonishment they, at that instant, shot at one of the Brethren, who was just crossing the River in a Canoe to go to the Cornfield, & who dropping down at the Shot, Jacob supposed him to be killed. Seeing this act of theirs, he fled precipitately, & before they had turned their faces the [314] way he was, he was out of sight. Jacob

lected. About one hundred and sixty assembled at the Lower Mingo Bottom. The weather was stormy and cold, and the Ohio was very high. This caused about sixty to turn back, which would not have been permitted had they been under military orders. The remainder swam their horses across the Ohio. The severity of the weather and the chill of the cold water caused some of the horses to perish. The party was commanded by David Williamson. It was Monday, the fourth day of March, 1782, that the river was crossed to the Mingo Bottom. On Tuesday, the fifth, they set out for the Moravian towns, going by the Moravian Trail, up Cross Creek. On Wednesday evening, the sixth, they camped within one mile of Gnadenhutten, and carefully concealed their presence from the Indians. On Thursday, the seventh, they captured the Indians at Gnadenhutten, and sent a party to bring in those at Salem. On Friday, the eighth, the Indians were massacred.

[1] This was a white man, John Bull, who had married an Indian woman. The Indians had named him Schebosh—*running water*.

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might have been the means of saving many lives, especially at Salem, where his old Father was; but not having the presence of mind, he ran several Miles the contrary way, and hid himself for a day and a Night.

The murdering party, seeing most of the Indians scattered over the Cornfield at work, (or preparing for the Journey) hailed them, as their "friends and brothers, who had purposely come out to relieve them, from the distress brought on them by the Enemy, on account of their being friends to the American People." The Christian Indians, not in the least doubting their sincerity, walked up to them, and thanked them, for being so kind to them, while the Whites again assured them, that they would meet with good treatment from them. Th[e]se then advised them to discontinue their work, and cross over to the Town in order to make the necessary arrangements for the Journey, as they intended taking them out of the reach of their Enemys, and where they would be supplied abundantly, with all they stood in need of: all which, was pleasing to them to hear.

During these transactions at Gnadenhutten, the National Assistant John Martin with his Son, were not yet returned from the Woods, from which they were taking Corn to some distance. but on their return that day to the field, they were not a little surprised, at seeing so many tracks of shodden Horses, and not a single Person to be seen any more in the field, where [315] he had left them the day before busily employed. Not knowing what to make of this, he repaired to an eminence from which he had a full view of the Town on the opposite side of the River; and there, seeing the Indians and White People together, apparently very sociable, some walking about, and others as if engaged in friendly conversation, he sent his Son across to them, while he went to Salem, to inform the Brethren and Sisters there, of what had taken place at Gnadenhutten, giving it as his opinion, that perhaps God had ordained it so, that they should not perish in the barrens of Sandusky, and that these People were

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sent to relieve them. And having held a consultation with the Brethren at that place, they united with him in opinion, and sent the two Brethren Adam and Henry with him to Gnadenhutten for the purpose of learning, the true cause of these White People coming out, which, if it turned out as they expected and wished, they would also join them. These finding every thing as they wished, were not only satisfied with what the White People had told them, but also urged by the Brethren at this place, to join them in going into the Settlements of the White People, where the Brethren in Bethle[hem] on a proper representation, would cheerfully supply them with Teachers. The Whites, encouraging them in these hopes, now appointed a body out of their number, to go with these Messengers to Salem to assist in bringing those people with their effects, to this place (Gnadenhutten.[)]

[316] The language of those White People who for that purpose had come to Salem, being here the same as at the former place: the Brethren and Sisters were easily persuaded to go with them; and the more so, as many of them professed to be *very* religious, admiring here their fine and spacious place of Worship; and keeping up a constant discourse on religion, both here and on the way to Gnadenhutten: frequently saying to the Indians: "You are indeed good Christians!" and making use of the same language to one another in the hearing of these. That some of them, had on leaving Salem, set fire to the Houses and Church, was not approved of by our Indians; they however pretended, that they meant no harm in this, and had merely done it to deprive the Enemy of a harbouring place.

Arriving at the River bank opposite Gnadenhutten, their Eyes began to open; but now it was too late. They discovered a spot in the Sand where to appearance, a wounded Indian had been weltering in his blood, and near this, marks of blood on the Canoe. Poor creatures! disarmed they were already, as also those at Gnadenhutten, having freely given up their Guns, Axes, Knives to those who had faithfully promised them, that on their

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arrival at Pittsburg, all should be returned to them again. And had they even been in posession of their Arms, they could not, and probably would not have attempted to resort to these in their defence. — Being taken over to the Town — O how their prospect was changed! The language now held forth to them, was the reverse of what it had been at [317] Salem, and on the road hither — the Gnadenhutten Brethren, Sisters and Children, already confined for the purpose of being put to death; these now *no more* being called Christians as before, but Warriors! — the same language is also here held forth to the Salem Indians — all are declared Enemies and Warriors, and all these said in their defence availed nothing. They were further told: "that "the Horses found with them, had been taken from White Peo- "ple, they being branded with Letters, of which Indians knew "not any thing. that the Axes found upon them, had the Names "of White People stamped upon them. Pewter Basons and "Spoons were stolen property, the Indians making use of Wood- "en bowls and Spoons. Tea Kettles, Potts, Cups and Saucers, "was also declared Stolen property. In short, every thing they "posessed was said to have been taken from the White People "while waring against them; and to this they could swear." [1]

How must these poor creatures have felt, being sensible of their innocence! — could have given an account of every Article found upon them — where — and from what Trader or Mechanic they had purchased such — and as for branding Irons, it was common among them, to get these made by the Smiths, with the initials of their Names, so that they might know the Horses and Colts belonging to them. But many of these accusers knew well, that the Christian Indians, were becoming an Agricultural People — were making use of the Plow; [318] raised large Crops; and lived chiefly by the produce of the field; and the

[1] Dorsey Pentecost says, in the letter before referred to, that "it is said here, and I believe with truth, that sundry articles were found amongst the Indians that were taken from the inhabitants of Washington county." It was necessary to have some excuse to plead.

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Meat *they* raised. that more or less of them, could set a desent Table to a Stranger, furnished with Bread, Meat, Butter, Cheese, Milch, Tea, Coffee or Chocolate, whatever he chose, besides many other Articles which the Season affoarded at the time. Besides all this, the Christian Indians were well known by their dress, which was plain and decent, no sign of paint to be seen on their skin or Cloaths — no Feathers about their heads, nor these shaved and trimmed, as every Indian Warrior does; but, wearing their hair as we do. These, with other marks on them, was alone sufficient to prove that they were not Warriors. but such a Number of Horses and other property of theirs, was an Object with these Murderers[1] — and then — "when we have killed the Indians, the Country will be ours;[2] and the sooner this is done, the better!"* —And now these poor Creatures are told that they *must* die.

Finding that all entreaties to save their lives was to no purpose — and that some, more blood thirsty than their Comrades, were anxious to begin upon them:[3] they united in begging a

*the language of backwoods Men.

[1] Some eighty horses were secured by the party, almost a horse to each man in the company. And the plunder obtained furnished lading for these horses and those owned by the party. It would seem that the property belonging to the Indians was taken into consideration in determining the course to be pursued by these men. When they returned to the Mingo Bottom they held a sale of the spoil taken in the ravage of the towns and the murder of the inhabitants.

[2] There was at that very time a "new State scheme" being agitated in Western Pennsylvania. The intention was to cross the Ohio and settle in the valley of the Muskingum. The consent of General Irvine to the Crawford expedition was conditioned that those going out should return to Pennsylvania and not settle beyond the Ohio as citizens of this "new state scheme." See *Washington-Irvine Correspondence*, p. 113.

[3] It has been recently written (by Butterfield) that it was originally the intention to take the Indians to Fort Pitt as prisoners, just as Williamson and his party at first assured them would be done. But when the settlers found in the possession of the Indians the dress of Mrs. Wallace all bloody, and other

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short delay, so that they might prepare themselves for death — which request at length was granted them. Then asking each others pardon, whenever they had offended or grieved one another: they kneeled [319] down, offering fervent prayers, to God their Saviour — and kissing one another, under a flood of Tears, fully resigned to his Will, they sang praises unto him, in the joyful hope, that they would soon be relieved from all pains, and be with him, their Redeemer.

During the time of their devotion, the Murderers were consulting on the manner,[1] in which they would put them to death. Some were for setting fire to the houses they were in, and burning them alive. Others wanted to take their Scalps home with them, as a signal of Victory; while again others remonstrated against either of these plans, declaring, that they never would be guilty of murdering a People whose innocence

property which had been taken from the settlers, the wrath of the men rose to such a pitch that it was impossible to save the lives of the prisoners, and that then, for the first time, was it determined to kill them. This is of the same quality as the other stories told in justification of the murder of the Moravian Indians. Almost all the old accounts assigned as the causes for this expedition the capture of Carpenter, the murder of John Fink, and the capture of Mrs. Wallace and her children. It is now known that Carpenter returned home more than two months prior to the capture of Mrs. Wallace. He is the man who it was said saw in the Moravian towns during his captivity the bloody dress of Mrs. Wallace, which of course is absurd. Wallace believed his wife alive and a captive as much as eight months after the massacre. So the position that it was the original intention to take the Christian Indians to Fort Pitt is not tenable. See *Ohio Arch. and Hist. Society Publications*, iii, pp. 288, 289.

[1] It is generally admitted that a vote was taken to determine the attitude of the individuals of the party towards the prisoners, and that not to exceed eighteen persons voted to spare their lives. Doubtless some of the men had come to realize the enormity of the action they had come to perform and repented of their part in the matter. They wished it known that they did not consent to the murder of the Indians, and this vote is perhaps due to their efforts, that being the most public and emphatic manner in which to declare against the contemplated course. They washed their hands of innocent blood.

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was so satisfactory evinced; and these proposed to set them at liberty, or if that would not do, at least to take them as Prisoners along, and deliver them up to the proper Authority; but finding that they could not prevail on these monsters to spare their lives: they wrung their hands — and calling God to Witness, that they were innocent of the blood of these harmless Christian Indians, they withdrew to some distance off.

The Murderers, impatient to make a beginning, came again up to them, while they were singing; and enquiring, whether they were now ready for dying: they were answered in the affirmative; they adding: "that they had commended their immortal Souls to God, who had given them the assurance in their hearts, [320] that they should come to him:" — One of the party, now taking up a Coopers Mallet, which lay at the house (the owner of this House being a Cooper) saying: "how exactly this will answer for the business", began with Abraham, and continued knocking down one after the other untill he had counted *fourteen,* that he had killed with his own hand, now handed this instrument, to one of his fellow Murderers, saying: "My Arm fails me! go on in the *same* way! I think I have done pretty well!"* In another house, where mostly Women and Children were confined, Judith, a remarkable pious aged Widdow was the first victim. After they had finished the horrid deed, they retreated to a small distance from the slaughter houses, but after a while returning again to view the dead bodies, and finding one of these (Abel) altho' scalped and mangled: attempting to raise himself from the floor, they so renewed their blows upon him, that he never arose again; then having set fire to the Houses, they went off, shouting and yelling on having been so victorious. [1]

*So related by the lad who escaped out of this house, and who understood English well—and confirmed by several of the party.

[1] From Heckewelder's account it would appear that the Indians were killed in the two houses in which they were held as prisoners. But it is probable that they were confined in the chapel, from whence they were dragged

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The number of Christian Indians murdered by these miscreants, exceeded Ninety, all of whom except four, were killed in the Slaughter Houses. The four, were, young Shabosh who was killed before the murderers reached the Town; the one Jacob had seen shot down in the Canoe; and two young [321] brethren, Paul and Anthony, who, perceiving the murderers intentions, were shot down under the bank of the River, whilst attempting to escape.

Of the above number, Sixty two were grown Persons, of whome Upwards [of] one third were Women; the remaining thirty four, were Children. Five of the slain, were respectable National Assistants. vizt. Samuel Moore, Tobias, Jonas, Isaac and John Martin. The two former, had been Members of the pious Missionary Brainards Congregation in New Jersey, and after his death had joined themselves to the Christian Indians living on the Susquehanna. the first, (Samuel) was a very

with ropes about their necks to the two houses selected as slaughter houses. They were killed in these slaughter houses with the cooper's mallet, with clubs, knives, and other weapons, few, if any, being shot. The noose at the end of the rope was thrown into the crowd and settled about the neck of a victim who was then dragged roughly out, taken to the slaughter house, slain, and scalped. "In the morning the militia chose two houses, which they called the slaughter houses, and then fetched the Indians, two or three at a time, with ropes about their necks, and dragged them into the slaughter houses, where they knocked them down; then they set these two houses on fire, as likewise all the other houses." See statement of Frederick Leinbach, *Washington-Irvine Correspondence*, p. 237.

A gentleman born in 1796 said that he was present at Burgettstown, Pennsylvania, in August, 1812, upon the day when volunteers were raised to march to Detroit.... It was a day of great excitement, and called together a large crowd of people from the surrounding country. That among other sights that drew the attention of a boy of sixteen years, he came across a crowd being entertained by an old man much the worse for liquor, who was singing maudlin songs, when some person said, "Now, Uncle Sol, show us how they killed the Indians." That at once the old fellow's whole manner changed from the gay to the grave, and he began crying and cursing the cowards who killed women and children. Presently he ran forward, making motions as if throwing a rope over the heads of those in front of him, and then running backwards as if dragging an object after him, seized the large stick held in his hands, and began beating an imaginary object, all the time howling and cursing like a demon, when somebody pulled him away, saying it was a shame. That having but imperfectly comprehended what he saw, my informant made inquiry, and learned that Uncle Sol had been at the Moravian Massacre, and when in his cups, as he had seen him, would show how they killed the Indians, but when sober could not be induced to open his mouth upon the subject.—*Ohio Arch. and Hist. Society Publications*, iii, p. 296.

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useful Member of the Church; he had received his education, from or under M^r^. Brainard, could read well, and understood the English language so well, that, he was for many Years, and until his death an Interpreter of the Sermons preached. He was perhaps never seen without being at some occupation. Of reading he was very fond, especially in his Bible or hymn book. Tobias's appearance alone commanded respect. He also led the life of a true Christian. The same may be said of Jonas. Of Isaac Glickhican, the reader of this Narrative has already been informed how useful a Member of the Congregation he was — how prudently he acted on all occasions, and how steady and fearless he was in time of danger — how faithful to his Teachers, and doubtless he would have risqued his life for them, if occasion had required it. John Martin, one of the Chapel Interpreters at Gnadenhutten, was an exemplary and [322] worthy man. Three of these five Brethren were above Sixty, and the other two about fifty Years of Age. Many of the Brethren & Sisters who were murdered, were born of Christian Parents in the Society; and were part of those, who in the Years 1763 & 64 had been taken under the protection of the Pennsylvania Government, while the Paxton boys (as they called themselves) daringly threatened to murder them. Here they were now murdered! — together with the Children! — the loving Children! — who so harmoniously raised their Voices in the Chapel — at their Schools, and in their Parents Houses, in singing praises to the Lord! — those! — whose tender Years — innocent countenances, and Tears, made no impression on these pretended White Christians: were all butchered with the rest. [1]

[1] A monument has been erected in memory of the Christian Indians massacred by Williamson's men. It was dedicated Wednesday, June 5, 1872. The ceremonies were interesting, and were witnessed by a large concourse of people. The oration was delivered by Rev. Edmund de Schweinitz. A great-grandson of Joseph Schebosh, the first victim of the massacre, was present. The monument stands thirty feet east of the old Mission House and fifteen feet west of the Church. It is seventy feet west of the cooper shop, one of

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Two Youths, each of them about 14 or 15 Years of Age, who were shut up with the rest in the Houses where the Murders were committed, most miraculously escaped. The one, (Thomas,) thrown in the house where most of the Men were, had been knocked down and Scalped with the rest; but after a while recovering, and looking around, he saw Abel, also Scalped and with the blood running down his face, supporting himself with his hands against the floor in order to rise. With great presence of mind he, (the lad) quickly laid himself flat down again as if he was dead, thinking, that perhaps some of the murderers might return again, to examine, if all were really dead; when scarcely had he lain a minute or two, [323] several Men did come, who, seeing Abel in this situation, they chopped his head with their hatchets, so that he might not rise again, and having done this, they went off to inform their Comrades of the circumstance. (as the lad thought) Believing this the proper time for him to attempt an escape, he crept over the dead bodies to the Door, still keeping himself in a posture to be able to deceive them a second time, should they come again, when seeing and hearing no body coming, and it beginning to be dark, he quickly got out at the Door and to the back side of the house, where he hid himself untill it was quite dark, when he made off with himself, taking a course thro the Woods for the path leading to Sandusky. The other lad, in the house where the Women were, had found means of raising a plank, which served as a trap Door to the Cellar which was under the floor, where he and another lad who had followed him, lay concealed and quiet in the Cellar, during the time the butchery above continued — the blood from above running in streams through the crevices upon them, the plank being but loosely laid, and not groved.

the slaughter-houses. The monument is thirty-seven feet in height, and stands in the center of the street of the original town. It is of Indiana marble, and the main shaft is twenty-five feet in height. The bones of the victims are in a cellar two hundred feet south of the monument; and over the cellar is a mound eighteen feet in diameter and five feet high.

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Here wa[i]ting for the dusk of the Evening to come on, that they might effect an escape, they next attempted to get out thro a small hole, cut out for a Window, and which this boy, tho with difficulty effected; but his Cellar Comrade being bulkier then himself, could not force himself thro, but stuck fast, and as this boy supposed, was burnt alive, since he observed both the slaughter [324] houses on fire, soon after he left the house. These boys, fortunate in escaping here, were equally so, in meeting together in the Woods, and afterwards falling in with the Shonbrun Indians on their flight, Jacob also joining them, before they reached Sandusky. One little boy of 8 Years old (named Benjamin) had been happily saved by an humane White Man of the party, who privately took him off to his home where he raised him up to a Man, from whence he afterwards returned to the Indian Country.[1]

The providential escape of the Christian Indians at Shonbrun 10 Miles higher up the River, was remarkable. Stephen, the Indian, whom we on the third of March, had dispatched from Sandusky to give the Brethren and Sisters notice, that we were to be removed from them; being outdone on his arrival at Shonbrun on the 6th. — other two Brethren were sent on with the Message to Gnadenhutten and Salem. While these Brethren were, as they travelled along the path in conversation on the melancholy event which was to take place. vizt: (that of their Teachers to be taken from them) they at once, to their surprise, discovered the tracks of shodden Horses, both on and beside the path, and within one and two Miles of the first mentioned place (Gnadenhutten) when, to sattisfy themselves of the design of those, who had rode these Horses out, by cautiously following those tracks, they had not proceeded far, before they espied the dead and mangled body of young Shabosh, with his Scalp taken off. Al-[325]though shocked with the sight of this,

[1] This has been questioned, and Butterfield, in commenting upon a statement to the same effect in Roosevelt's *The Winning of the West*, says it has long since been proven erroneous.—*History of the Girtys*, p. 155.

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yet they buried the body, or the mangled parts of the same; and returning to Shonbrun, reported what they had discovered by the Way, giving it as their opinion, that their People at Gnadenhutten, probably had met with the same treatment. It being supposed, that these same murderers would also come upon them: every preparation was made to be off as quick as possible, and although Shonbrun lay on the opposite side of the River of which those Murderers now were, of course, as it would appear, rather more out of their way to come here, yet an opinion prevailing, that to take flight to the East side — then crossing the River again above the Mouth of Sugar Creek (5 or 6 Miles higher up the River) would form a barrier between them: they, in the evening all crossed to this side, and in the dark proceeding about 2½ Miles, made a halt, untill the light of the morning should favour their travelling on again. Such had been their hurry to get off, and out of the reach of the murdering party, that they forgot to take the Canoe off, at the time, and work it up the River to the place where they meant to cross, as without which they had no means of crossing the River with their families, the Waters being high. Very early therefore, on the morning, before it was light, several of their Men returned for the purpose, who scarcely having worked the Canoe 300 Yards from the Town, and in sight of it, they heard the trampling of horses down the River, [326] when looking back, they, (it being by this time day light:) saw the Town surrounded with Horsmen, looking about for Indians and plunder. Having secured themselves with their Canoe, they watched the movements of the party; particularly to see if they would attempt crossing, the River, which however they could not do, without swimming, the Water being very deep where they were. They had scampered the Woods round the Town, to discover the way the Indians had gone, but not discovering what had become of them, they returned the same way they had come, taking with them such Articles, as the Indians had left behind.

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The Christian Indians were particularly thankful to a kind Providence, who had ordained it so, that they did not fall into the hands of those Murderers. Their Eyes seemed to have been closed, since they did not discover the Men in the Canoe, though full in sight of them — And had they but crossed the River, they would immediately have fell in their Tracks, and come up with them all in a body, on an extensive Prairie, and no more than 2½ Miles from where they were looking for them. On their Journey to Sandusky these Indians, endured many hardships; and having ran off empty handed, and even without a sufficiency of Provision for the Journey, they suffered also from hunger, and one infant babe perished for want of nourishment from the breast, before they r[e]ached the place they were going to.

The Murderers, returning home in high Spirits, as though they had gained a signal Victory; now straight-[327]way proceeded on to Pittsburg, where, on the opposite side of the Ohio River, they attacked the Camps of the Peaceable Delaware Chiefs,[1] with a number of friendly families — all under the protection of the American Government — killed a number, and among these the promising young Chief — and went off — fortunately however the Chief Gelelemend, (other wise called Kilbock) and others, saved their lives by taking to the River, and reaching the Town.*

*The foregoing account of this dreadful event, has been collected partly from what the Murderers on their return and since have related to People in the Country from whence they had gone out—partly by Jacob and the two Youths who had escaped (who all understood English) as also from the reports made by Samuel and others of Shonbrun—and of Anthony and others, which had been of those, that made their escape at the time the Delaware Camps were attacked at Pittsburg—all of whom agreed exactly as to the principle parts of their respective evidence. And see Loskiels History &c Part III. page 182.

[1] These Indians were camped on Smoky or Killbuck's Island, which long since disappeared. This statement was doubtless made upon what was long believed by the settlers. General Irvine makes the same statement in a letter to General Washington, from Fort Pitt, April 20, 1782. See *Washington-*

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"It afterwards appeared from the New York News "paper," (at that time published by the British,) 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 account as it stood in the Pennsylvania Gazette of Aprill 17th 1782. after giving an account of the incursions of the Indians, adds: "That the People being greatly alarmed, and "having received intelligence, that the Indian Towns on the "Muskingum, [328] had not moved as they had been told — a "number of Men, properly provided, collected and rendevoused "on the Ohio, opposite the Mingo Bottom, with a design to "surprise the above Towns.— one hundred Men swam the River, "and proceeded to the Towns on the Muskingum, where the "Indians had collected a large quantity of Provisions to supply "their War parties. They arrived at the Town in the Night "undiscovered, attacked the Indians in their Cabbins, and so "compleatly surprised them, that they killed and scalped up-"wards of Ninety, [1] but a few making their escape, about forty "of which were Warriors the rest old Women and Children. [2]

§Loskiels History &c. Part III. Page 183.

Irvine Correspondence, p. 99. Also pp. 102, 103, same work, where it is shown that it was a different party that murdered the Indians on Killbuck's Island.

[1] See *Life and Times of David Zeisberger*, pp. 551, 552, and *Ohio Arch. and Hist. Society Publications*, iii, pp. 298, 299, 300, for the names of the Indians murdered. There were twenty-eight men, twenty-nine women, and thirty-three children, a total of ninety persons, belonging to the Missions at Salem and Gnadenhutten; also six belonging to the Mission at Schonbrun; in all, ninety-six.

[2] The destruction of the Moravians was planned in the fall of 1781 in Vance's Fort. It was a deliberate act. See *Ohio Arch. and Hist. Society Publications*, iii, pp. 291, 292, 293. See also the account of the expedition in Doddridge's *Notes*. It is there stated that "they chose their own officers, furnished their own means, and conducted the war in their own way;" that "each

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"About Eighty Horses fell into their hands, which they loaded "with plunder, the greatest part furs and Skins; and returned to "the Ohio, without the loss of one Man." —

The Savages making their remarks on the occasion, said: "We envied our friends and Relations the believing (Christian) "Indians, that they lived so happy, enjoying Peace, and having "always plenty of Provisions; while we, who have taken a Share "in the War, were under continual fear, both when out at War, "and at home, not knowing when an Enemy would be upon us; "and besides this, we with our families were always in a starving "condition. Now that we could not bear to see our Relations "flourish, while we were so miserable, and therefore would draw "them back into heathenism, placing them on a level with us, "the great Spirit, who would not have it, put them away from "us."

man furnished himself with his own arms, amunition, and provision;" that "the murder of the Moravians was intended;" that "no resistance from them was anticipated;" that "in the latter end of the year 1781, the militia of the frontier came to a determination to break up the Moravian villages on the Muskingum."

In the *Washington-Irvine Correspondence*, Butterfield has treated the subject very thoroughly and conscientiously, though many will find it difficult to agree with his conclusions.

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[329] CHAPTER XXIX.

I NOW return to the departure of the Missionaries from their Congregation at Upper Sandusky. Many of the Brethren and Sisters, accompanied us part of the way, and some continued with us, untill our arrival at this place, the Sisters carrying our two small Children, by turns on their backs, well secured in their blankets from the wet and Cold. Our Conductor, M^r. Lavallie, seeing the senior Missionary Zeisberger — (at that time upwards of Sixty Years of Age) set out on foot, took his own riding Horse to him, saying: ["]No, Monsieur! that will not do! here is my Horse at Your service!" Zeisberger replying: that he would try to get along with the rest; "no! (said the Frenchman.) respect both for Your Age and the Station You are in, demands this of me as duty!" and walking off took his post in the rear of us. It was a most fatiguing Jo[u]rney, to us all on account of the badness of the Roads; and particularly to those who were afflicted with Rheumatic pains.

Arriving, after several days traveling thro the Wilderness, and swampy grounds at Lower Sandusky, we were kindly received, by two English Traders, who resided about a Mile from each other, with the principle Village of the Wyondots between them. M^r. Arrundle, having a spacious House, took in those who had families, while M^r. Robbins made the two single Brethren welcome at his House: our Conductor lodging with the former. With the assistance of M^r. Arrundle, a Letter was immediately written to the Com-[330]mandant at Detroit, and sent by express, to inform him of our arrival at this place — setting forth our situation — the impossibility of our travelling by land to Detroit, (as Girty had ordered it) — and hoping, he would assist us with a Boat &^c.

During a stay of several Weeks at this place, we were provided, with the best of Provisions which were to be had; and

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had also the pleasure of being frequently visited, by Brethren and Sisters from Upper Sandusky. There also we received the particulars, of what had taken place at Gnadenhutten; and that our Brethren; Sisters and Children, had not been taken off as prissoners, as we hitherto had expected; but had been murdered; our brother Joshua, whose two promising young Daughters, between the Ages of 15 and 18 were among the slain: being himself the bearer to us of this melancholy affair. We grieved much for such loving Souls, — and assembling on the occasion, prayed the Church litany, wishing to be "kept in everlasting fellowship with the Church triumphant;" and with these our dear Brethren, Sisters and Children slain on the Muskingum: and once to rest together, in his presence.

Although we were here in no want, being well suplied with every thing we stood in need of, by our benefactors, Arrundle and Robbins, and also had the pleasure of Visits, from our brethren and Sisters: yet our Minds were not easy, on account of our having to stay here so long. The Hurons, [331] (Wyondots) had already, since we were here, raised a report, that the believing Indians, had murdered some of their Women — enquiry however being made with regard to the truth of this: they were put to shame. We sometimes wished to visit each other, at the two houses where we were quartered, but the Indian Village lying between the two points, there was some risk in doing this, and was therefore seldom attempted. Yet it so happened, that one day, when all appeared quiet at, and about this Village, I had taken a walk to M^r^. Robbin's house, where the brethren Young and Edwards were lodged; when, while there, the Scalp Yell was sounded, at one and the same time, in two opposite directions; and both War parties could, owing to the very high situation of the spot the House was on, be plainly seen coming on with their Prisoners and Scalps, tho yet at a great distance, both Parties having Prairie ground to travel on. Having asked M^r^. Robbins's opinion, which would be the best for me to do, to go straightway home to my quarters. or wait untill the storm was

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over, he advised the first. for me it was here fortunate, that the situation of the Village, deprived the Inhabitants, of hearing the Yells on the back side, the way *I* was coming; while from the other side, they not only heard the Yells plainly, but also saw the party with their Prisoners and Scalps advancing; and knowing that these would be taken to the dwelling of the Captains of the Party, (but about 15 yards beyond M^r^. Arrundels house) they all [332] ran full speed *from* the Village, to meet them, which gave me an Opportunity of passing through the same, after they had left it; and I had just reached my lodgings, as *this* party, consisting of fourteen Warriors, with three Prisoners, and some Scalps, which they had taken at Fort M^c^Intosh; (those being on fatigue while attacked and taken) were ascending the bank at the back side of the House we lodged in, and from whence these Prisoners had to take their start, in running, what is generally called "the Gauntlet".* — The other Party, which came on from the back side, having none but Scalps, stopped at the Village, from whence, as from the opposite side, the Scalp Yell was sounded, and resounded at intervals. [1]

Scenes of this kind we could not help witnessing, while we were here; yet we had to keep ourselves in a manner close, untill their *pretended*§ rage was over. We had also by this time become uneasy, lest Girty should find us here yet, on his return from War, knowing the orders he had given to the Frenchman, respecting us. And he *did* return, behaving like a Madman, on hearing that we were here, and that our Conductor had disobeyed his orders, and had sent a Letter to the Commandant

*see Heckewelders historical Account of the Indians Chap XXVII page 212.

§They are apt on such occasions, to try to frighten People, tho they mean no harm to them.

[1] This was the return of the party led against the settlements by Girty hereinbefore mentioned. It was because he had gone with this party that he could not take the missionaries to Detroit, as directed, and had entrusted that duty to Le Villier. Girty returned with the party.

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at Detroit respecting us. He flew at this Frenchman, who was in the room adjoining ours, [333] most furiously; striking at him, and threatening to split his head in too, for disobeying the orders he had given him. He swore the most horrid Oaths respecting us, and kept going on in that way untill after midnight, which Oaths were all to the purport, "that he never would leave this house, untill he had first split our heads in two with his Tomohawk, and made our brains stick to the Walls of the Room, in which we were!" — I omit the names he called us by, and the words he made use of while swearing; as also the place he would go to, if he did not fulfil all what he had sworn, that he would do to us. He had somewhere procured Liquor, and would, (as we were told by those who were near him) at every sup, renew his Oaths, which he continued untill he fell asleep.

Never before, had any one of us, heard the like Oaths; nor known any body to rave like him. himself seemed like a host of evil Spirits. He would sometimes come up to the bolted Door between us and him, threatening to chop it in pieces, to get at us. No Indian, ever so drunk, had we ever seen, that would have been a match for him. How we should escape the clutches of this White beast in human form, no one could foresee. Yet at the proper time relief was at hand, for on the next following Morning at break of day and while he yet was sleeping: two large flat bottomed Boats arrived from Detroit, for the purpose of taking us from here to that place. This was joyful News! and se[e]ing the Letter written by the Commandant, to Mr Arrundle respect-[334]ing us, we were satisfied, that we at once would be relieved from the hands of this wicked Man, of whom we were led to believe, that perhaps his equal was not to be found among Mankind.[1]

The Letter from the Commandant — after first thanking the Gentlemen here, for their kindness to us: next demands of these: that "they inform him, if they knew of any Person, who had "taken the liberty of insulting us, either before, or since we had

[1] See Zeisberger's *Diary*, i, p. 86, under date, April 11.

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"arrived at this place, and if so, to give him the Names of such "Person, or Persons, that he might punish him or them &c — "that he had given strict orders to the Sergeant, who was to take "us in, to treat us kindly — not endanger our lives on the Lake "(Erie) by sailing in stormy weather, nor even to proceed, when "he found that *we* considered it dangerous, or showed marks of "fear. and finally: that Francis Lavallie, who had brought us so "carefully thus far, should continue with us, till our arrival "at Detroit; and guard against any insults, which might be "intended against us by Indians &c." — which Letter being read to Captn. Girty* by Mr. Arrundel in the Morning: we saw no more of him while here.

On the 14th. day of April in the Morning, after a stay of near four Weeks at this place, we, after taking an affectionate leave of our humane and hospitable [335] hosts, Arrundle and Robbins: embarked in the two Boats, with seven Men of the Kings Rangers to each Boat, the one under the care of Sergeant Race; and the other under a Corporal of the same Name. These Boats were either rowed or put under Sail, when the Wind was favourable; but lying too in boisterous weather. We were on the whole Voyage treated by the Boatmen, with kindness; and not an Oath was heard all that time.

Being on the 20th. landed at Detroit, we were for the present lodged in a new room in the Barracks, where the Commandant soon came to see us, rejoicing that we had escaped the Dangers, that were hanging over our heads, while we remained at Sandusky; he having had the most authentic information to that effect, and which had been the sole cause, of his having taken us away from thence. He now left it entirely at our option, to remain at Detroit, or be sent to Bethlehem, by way of the Lakes &c meanwhile giving orders, that we should be

*This Girty is the same, who in the Spring of the Year 1778. had ran off from Pittsburg with McKee, Elliot and others, and joined the Indians against the People of the United States, under a Comission, from the British Government.

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supplied with Provissions, and any other thing we might stand in need of. After a few Weeks, we moved into a newly finished House, about one hundred Yards from the Town, where we enjoyed more rest and quiet.

By an English Trader, who had been at the Christian Indians Village at Upper Sandusky since we had come away, we learnt with pleasure, "that those forsaken Indians, frequently met together for the purpose of exhorting one another, to abide faithful — and to sing [336] hymns of praises to the Lord. that himself had several times been at these Meetings, and been much affected, when he saw them weeping on account of the loss of their Teachers" — Some few however, caused them trouble, by having become perfidious, in consequence of their having been told, by the Enemies of the Gospel, that their Teachers were the cause of all their misfortunes, even that of their friends and Countrymen being murdered; in telling them which Stories, those White People among them, as Elliot and Girty, had the greatest share. Besides this, the half King of the Wyondots, was so incessantly tormented by his evil conscience, that he could not rest, as long as any Christian Indians were in his Neighbourhood; their presence always reminding him of his treacherous* behaviour towards them, and their Teachers; and he also fearing, that these might take revenge upon him. He therefore now sent a peremptory order to them, to depart from his Country entirely. They obeyed, and most of them proceeded for the present to the Sciota, while others stopped for a while, in the Neighbourhood of Pipestown — all however intending to meet together after a while on the Miami of the Lake, and there establish themselves.

From the time the Christian Indians were murdered on the Muskingum, the Savages had continually kept spies out, to guard against being surprised by [337] the Americans. There was not a public place on the Ohio, from Pittsburg to Grave

*The Hurons, or Wyondots are of the Iroquois, or 6 Nation stock, and in treachery the same. So say the Delawares.

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Creek below Wheeling, left unobserved. Thus, when in May, two Months after the above murder was committed, the White Settlers were seen in agitation, as if preparing for some enterprize, the News was bought to the Towns, and so, from day to day, untill these had crossed the Ohio River; and even their first place of encampment on this side of that River, was recognoitered. Nay, they were even so early in discovering the intentions of a force collecting: that they urged the Commandant at Detroit, to assist them with troops, to join in fighting them on their arrival; and a body of the Rangers were in time enough at Sandusky to meet & join them, tho' these had to cross the Lake and travel a great distance into the Country. The murdering party — for their famous Commander Williamson [1] was with them again — had taken straightway to the Christian Indian village at Upper Sandusky, but finding no "Moravian" Indians there, they turned on the path towards the Towns of the Savages, which was exactly what the assembled Warriors wished for; and these, having reached a certain spot in an open Prairie, where they

[1] David Williamson was born near Carlisle, Pa., in 1752: died at Washington, Pa., in 1814. He was the son of John Williamson. When but a boy he made a trip to the frontiers of Pennsylvania, and was so much pleased with the country that he persuaded his parents to remove there. They settled on Buffalo Creek, in what later became Washington County, some twelve miles from the Ohio River. There he built a fort and maintained it during the Revolution; it was often alarmed but never attacked. He was six feet in height, of florid complexion, with a tendency to corpulency. He married Polly, daughter of Thomas Urie, of Washington County. He left four sons and four daughters. He was Colonel of the 3rd battalion of Washington County militia. He commanded the party that destroyed the Moravian towns and murdered the inhabitants, but it is believed that he would have prevented the massacre had it been in his power to do so. He was second in command in the expedition to Sandusky in which the settlers were defeated and Colonel Crawford captured. Williamson was popular in his county, and in 1787 was elected to the office of sheriff. He died in poverty, and is buried in the old graveyard on North Main Street, Washington, Pa., but no stone or other monument marks his grave.

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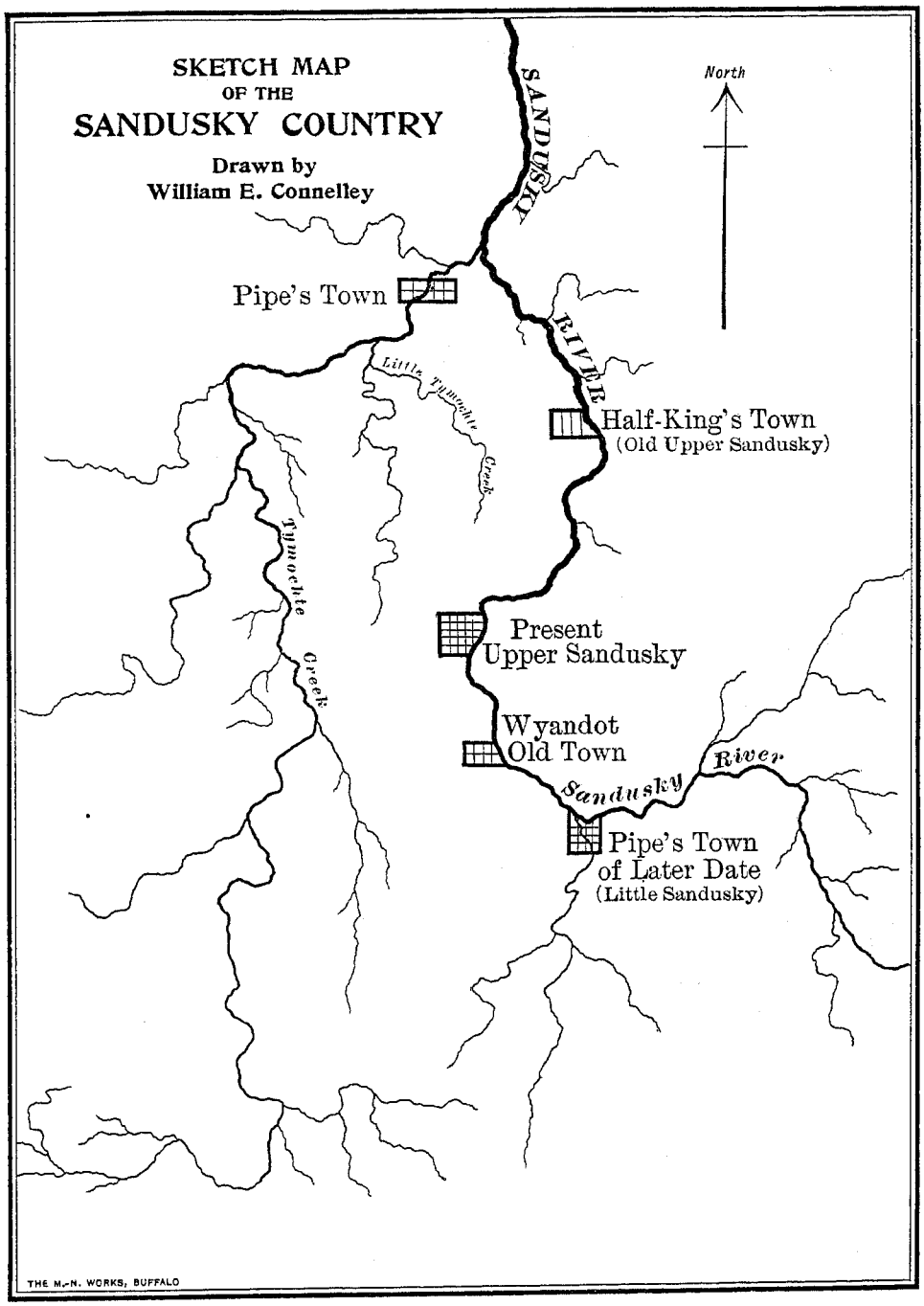

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had no hiding places, while the former were under cover of a grove of Trees: they engaged them, *compelling* them to fight. And it was said, that they would have compleatly routed the whole of them — (tho by the papers they were said to have been five hundred strong) had it not been for the lateness [338] in the day; and that the Indians were hourly in expectation of a large reinforcement from the Shawanese Towns. [1]

The plan now being that they would surround them during the Night, and at day break attack them from all sides; they moved on at the proper time, when however to their mortification they discovered, that the Heroes had fled during the Night, not chusing, as it appeared, to stand an engagement with the kind of "Warriors" they met here. Some few, who had not awoke from their Sleep when their Comrades went off, were found yet in that condition, lying in the high grass. Many bundles of

[1] This was a maraud by the settlers along the border into the Indian country. It was not undertaken by the Government of the United States, although General Irvine, then commanding at Fort Pitt, consented to the expedition and wrote the instructions for its guidance. He also sent with it a surgeon and the "Russian Nobleman," John Rose. The men assembled at the Upper Mingo Bottom (on the east side of the Ohio River, just above the present town of Steubenville) to the number of about four hundred and eighty. They furnished their own arms and provisions. On the twenty-fourth of May, 1782, they selected their officers, electing Colonel William Crawford commander of the expedition by a close vote. On the twenty-fifth the army marched for the Indian country about the Sandusky. On the fourth of June they arrived at Upper Sandusky Old Town, where the Moravians had spent the winter, but from whence they had dispersed in April. To the north of this point the Indians were encountered and a battle fought without definite results. On the fifth the Indians received reinforcements and the Americans decided to retreat, which they did during the night in much disorder. Many prisoners were taken by the Indians, among them Colonel Crawford and Dr. Knight. Most of the army finally reached the settlements, arriving singly, by twos and threes, in squads, several days after the main body had come in. The best authority on this expedition is Butterfield's *Historical Account of the Expedition against Sandusky*. See also his *History of the Girtys* and *Washington-Irvine Correspondence*, and the authorities cited in these.

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Ropes, and ready made halters, for to take off the plunder, and Horses which would fall into their hands, were collected in the Prairie. It seemed, that they had calculated on taking much booty home with them, but finding themselves mistaken, they would rather loose their baggage, than run the risk in loosing their lives. In the pursuit, many were killed, and poor Col[1] Crawford, [1] together with a Doctor M°Knight, had the misfortune to be taken Prisoners. — "Where is Williamson the head

[1] William Crawford was born in Orange County, Virginia, in 1732. His father died when he was four years old. His mother then married Richard Stephenson, who died ten years afterward. By the first marriage she had two sons, William and Valentine; by the second she had six children, John, Hugh, Richard, James, Marcus, and Elizabeth (who died young). In 1749 the family became acquainted with George Washington, then a surveyor for Lord Fairfax. The acquaintance between Washington and Crawford became a strong friendship. Crawford was an ensign in the Braddock expedition; for his bravery on the field the day of the defeat he was made a lieutenant. In 1776 he was made Lieutenant-Colonel of the Fifth Virginia regiment. He was at the battles of Brandywine and Germantown. He was also in the Seventh and Thirteenth Virginia regiments, the latter of which he raised. Late in 1777 he was sent to Fort Pitt to aid Brigadier-General Edward Hand. He had in charge the building of Fort McIntosh at what is now Beaver, Beaver County, Pennsylvania. He was also present at the building of Fort Laurens on the Tuscarawas. He was in command of the militia of the western counties of Pennsylvania, and held several offices in his county. He was visited by Washington at his home on the Youghiogheny, in what is now Fayette County. Their correspondence has been published by Butterfield (*Washington-Crawford Letters*, Cincinnati, Robert Clarke & Co., 1877). He married Hannah Vance. They had three children, Sarah, John, and Effie. Sarah married William Harrison. His son John and William Harrison accompanied him on the fatal expedition. John returned, but Harrison was tortured by the Shawnees. Colonel Crawford might have escaped, but he lingered behind searching for his son and son-in-law. He was captured by the Delawares and burned at the stake. Butterfield's works, *An Historical Account of the Expedition against Sandusky*, *Washington-Irvine Correspondence*, and *History of the Girtys*, are the best authorities to be found upon the life and services of Colonel Crawford.

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murderer?" was the call of the Indians from every quarter. They being told, that he had been of the first who had fled from the ground: they cryed out: "Revenge! Revenge! on those we have in our power: for the Murder of the Christian Indians on the Muskingum, and our friends at Pittsburg!" — "These,["] (said they to one another) "have come out on a similar [339] expedition, and with the *same* Men who committed that attrocious Murder on our friends and relations; to do the same to us, they are all alike! — they want our Country from us, and know of no better way of obtaining it, than by killing us first! for this very reason they killed the believing Indians, and our relations at Pittsburg!" They called aloud for the surviving Christian Indians to come forward and [take] revenge on these Prisoners: but these being off, their Savage relations, stepped forward in their stead — The fire was kindled, and poor Crawford tied to the stake[1] — Torturing had not begun, when it struck him,

[1] *The point where Colonel Crawford was put to death.*—Mr. E. B. Finley, of Bucyrus, Ohio, has written me the following very interesting paper, and furnished me with a map, which is reproduced:

In answer to your favor of January 13th, I herewith enclose you a little sketch, showing the spot where Colonel Crawford was burnt.

I have devoted considerable time and research in endeavoring to determine the exact spot, and believe that the point marked on the sketch I herewith enclose, is within a very few feet of the place.

It may not be uninteresting to here note a brief resume of the facts and circumstances connected with the history of the burning of Colonel Crawford, which lead me to believe that I am right in regard to the spot where he was burnt.

Every eye-witness, whose statement has been preserved, says, (1) that it was on the right-hand side of the Big Springs Trace going north; (2) that it was on the east bank of Tymochtee Creek; (3) that it was on the low bottom lands near a little grove of hickory and oak trees.

The Big Springs were and are at the foot of the bluffs of the west bank of the Sandusky River, at the present site of Upper Sandusky, about three miles north of Wyandot Old Town. What was known as the Big Springs Trace was a broad trail extending from the Ohio River to Detroit, through the forest and plains of Central Ohio, with numerous branches running off at different points to various Indian towns. Beginning at the mouth of the Scioto River it followed the banks of that river to near the north line of Ross County, and thence in a north direction to an Indian village known as Old Chillicothe, in Pickaway County. Thence in a northwest direction through the counties of Pickaway and Franklin, until it struck the Little Scioto at a point southwest from Delaware in Delaware County; thence almost directly north through Delaware and Marion counties to the Sandusky River, a short distance south of Wyandot Old Town; thence following the Sandusky banks to Old Town and Big Springs (present Upper Sandusky). At this point a trail branched off to the right, following the Sandusky River to Half-King's Town, about five miles below Big Springs. At Half-King's Town this branch intersected a trail running east and west, beginning at an Indian village near where Pittsburg now stands, and running through Ohio, striking the Sandusky River near Leesville, in Crawford County, running a little northwest through Half-King's Town until it joined the Big Springs Trace at a point about one mile south of the point where Colonel Crawford was burnt.

The main Big Springs Trace bore a little west of north from the present Upper Sandusky to the point where Crawford was burnt; thence across Tymochtee Creek in a northwest direction until it

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that he had one particular Indian friend, by name, Wingenund —"Where is my friend Wingenund?" — he called out — "I wish to see him!" —This Indian Chief being sent for, an interesting, and somewhat affectionate conversation,* took place between them, yet without producing the effect, the Colonel had faintly calculated on; he hoping, that both by the influence his Indian friend had with the Nation, and the interposition he would

*see Heckewelders Account of Indian Nations. Chap. XXXVIII. page 281.

struck the Maumee River near Perrysburg; following the river a short distance, it bore a little to the west and extended from there to Detroit.

Near the junction of the Half-King Trail with the Big Springs Trace, another trail branched off to the southwest and ran to the Indian village, Wapatomica, in Logan County; and thence south through Champaigne and Clarke counties to the old Indian village known as the original Old Chillicothe, in Greene County, about three miles from Xenia, and thence in a southwest direction to the Miami, and leading to the Ohio River not far from Cincinnati.

History fixes the point where Colonel Crawford was burnt on Tymochtee Creek, three-quarters of a mile below Pipe's Town, or Captain Pipe's house, which was also on the banks of the Tymochtee, and that it was at a point about one-half mile northwest from the old brick house of Daniel Hodge, which has been standing for a great many years, and was within a few feet of the Big Springs Trace. After the burning of Colonel Crawford, Dr. Knight was kept a prisoner at Captain Pipe's house until the next morning, when he was taken by one Tutelu, who set out with him to Wapatomica, a Shawnee village on the Miami. When they passed the point where Colonel Crawford had been burnt, the Indian said to Dr. Knight, "There are the bones of your Big Chief." You will readily see by the enclosed sketch that in taking the Wapatomica Trail south it would bring Dr. Knight and his guard past the point where Colonel Crawford was burnt.

Now, if we can find a point on the right-hand side of the Big Springs Trace, one-half mile northwest of the Hodge brick house, and three-quarters of a mile below Pipe's Town, on the east side of Tymochtee Creek, on bottom lands where the Big Springs Trace crossed Tymochtee Creek, we have solved the problem, and may be sure that we are within a few feet of the exact spot.

There has been great diversity of opinion as to the exact spot. Some hold that it was on the bluffs on the south side of Tymochtee Creek, where there is an old Indian graveyard; others hold that it was immediately north of that, in bottom lands; but neither of these locations will fill the conditions. The course of Tymochtee Creek through Crawford Township is northeast, so that the high bluff marked on the plat as the old Indian graveyard would be not only on high ground, but would be on the south side of the creek instead of on the east bank. The objection to the other point would be, that while it would be on low lands, it would be on the north bank of the Creek; neither of these locations would be near the Big Springs Trace.

Now, a little above the point where the Big Springs Trace crosses Tymochtee Creek there is a bend in the creek, and at that point it runs almost directly north and south, so the point I have marked on the plat fills all the conditions. For it is on the right-hand side of the Big Springs Trace, is on the east bank of Tymochtee Creek, is on bottom lands, is three-quarters of a mile from Pipe's Town, and is a half-mile from the Hodge brick house.

You will remember that Butterfield states that after Colonel Crawford had been taken to Half-King's Town, he was conducted back to Wyandot Old Town, and that in the morning of the day upon which he was burnt, they started with him, Dr. Knight, and five other prisoners, among whom was John McKinley. That when they came to Big Springs (now Upper Sandusky) they followed the Big Springs Trace in the direction of Pipe's Town; and when they reached the Little Tymochtee, which is shown on the plat, all the prisoners except Colonel Crawford and Dr. Knight were killed and scalped, and that a horrid old squaw cut off the head of John McKinley and kicked it around on the ground.

They then conducted Crawford and Knight to the spot where they burnt Crawford, and Simon Girty rode over from Half-King's Town and joined the party at the spot and was present when Crawford was burnt.

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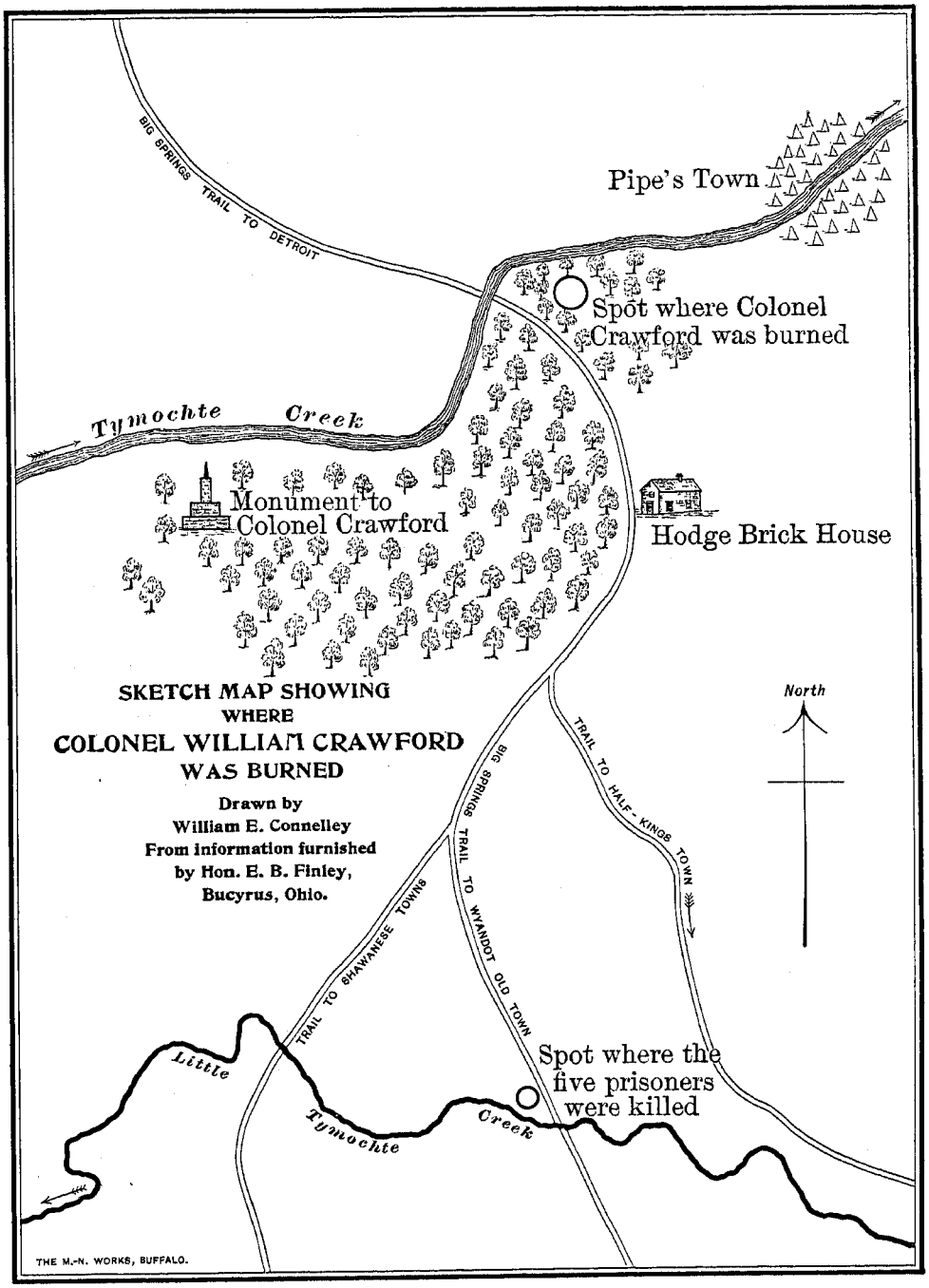

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make in his behalf, his life might yet be saved, in which however he found himself grievously mistaken; for at this time, or, as the case then stood, it was not in the power of any Man, or even body of Men, to save the life of one, who had been of the party, and doomed to suffer in Williamsons stead, who had escaped. He was told, by the [340] exasperated croud, "that he came out with "the worst kind of Murderers, even such, as the Indians had not "amongst them. "Indians," (said they) "kill their Enemys, but "not their friends! When these have once reached out their "hand to a Prisoner, and called him by the name, "Friend"! "they do not afterwards kill him! But how did You do to the "believing Indians on the Muskingum! Did You not always "tell them, that You were their firm friends; and did You not, "when You lately came up to them, hail, and welcome them as "such? — assure them of Your friendship towards them; telling "them, that they need not fear any harm from You! And what "did You afterwards do! Did You not then accuse them of "being Warriors, knowing at the time that they were not such! "Did they run *from* You, when they saw You coming? Did "they fire a single Shot at You! Did You ever hear Warriors "pray to God, and sing praises to him as these did! Could not "the shrieks and cries of the innocent little Children, excite You "to pity, and to save their lives; and if You would remove them, 'take them with You as Prisoners? No! it did not! You! who "would have the Indians believe, You were believers (Chris- "tians) because You have the great Book (the Bible) among "You, are in Your hearts, *Murderers*! Never would these be-

The place where Colonel Crawford was burnt is on the south half of Section twenty-six, Township one, south, of Range thirteen, east, in Crawford Township, Wyandot County, Ohio.

The following statements corroborate my views of the point where Colonel Crawford was burnt:

"It was three-quarters of a mile from Pipe's house."—*Knight's Narrative*, p. 12.

"It was on the Big Springs Trace, on the bottom on east bank of Tymochtee Creek."—Colonel John Johnson.

"I have been on the ground often, and it is near the creek bank, on the east side of the land now owned by Daniel Hodge."—Joseph McCutchin, in *American Pioneer*, vol. ii, p. 284.

"The spot is on the east bank of the Tymochtee. This information I obtained from the Wyandots and two negroes, Jonathan Pointer and Samuel Wells, who were present at the time."—Hon. John Carey.

"The precise spot was pointed out to me on the east bank of the Tymochtee Creek, by a Wyandot, who was present when Crawford was tied to the stake. This Wyandot was wounded in the mouth at Battle Island, and died in Michigan in 1827, aged over ninety years."—William Walker.

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"lieving Indians, have done what You did, tho the great Spirit "never put this book into their hands, as he did in Yours, and "further, taught You to read all that he wanted You to do — "and what was forbidden [341] by him, that You should not do! "These Indians however believed all that their Teachers told "them, of what was *written* in the Book, and believing it strove "to act accordingly! It was on account of the great book You "have, that these Indians trusted so much to what You told "them! We know You better than they did! We often warned "them, to beware of You, and Your pretended friendship; but "they would not believe us! — they believed nothing but good "of You, and for this they paid with their lives!"

This was in substance what was spoken to the unfortunate sufferer (Col. Crawford) previous to his being put to the torture.[1] to which he replied: "that he was not an accomplice

[1] Some writers, among them Butterfield, say that this conversation is too absurd to have occurred. So far as discovered, absurdity is the objection urged against the conversation or any similar conversation. Heckewelder does not pretend to have heard this or any other conversation with any of these prisoners. He was perfectly familiar with the language of the Delawares, and no doubt those Indians repeated to him what he has written. He might have been imposed upon. He certainly had nothing to gain from misrepresentation. Butterfield also objects to Heckewelder's statement that Colonel Crawford was murdered in revenge for the death of the Christian Indians at Gnadenhutten. He was not familiar with the Indian religion. The pagan Delawares burned Colonel Crawford. They believed that the souls of their departed relatives looked down from the sky and cried for revenge. These souls demanded that the living Delawares take revenge for their murder. And the pagan belief taught that if they refused to take revenge, the souls of the slain might come and take revenge upon derelict relatives. In such a case some settlement had to be made. Between members of a tribe, or even individuals of different tribes, the matter might be compounded for a consideration satisfactory to the relatives of the deceased; but they had the right to refuse that form of settlement, and to demand the life of the guilty party. Prisoner-torture rested largely upon this idea, though its origin was the outgrowth, as well, of other and additional religious ideas. Heckewelder was perfectly familiar with all the

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in that atrocious Act &c" His being however, taken in Company with the very Man, who led the party on, and was at the committing of that cruel Act, was so much against him, that no one would even listen to an apology. He was told "that no Man on Earth, could save his life — not even the King of England, were he here with all his treasurs. That the blood of those innocent Indians, whom they had murdered, must be avenged in an exemplary manner." [1]

There was further a circumstance, much against this unfortunate Man, and which enraged the Indians to a high degree. It was reported that the Indian Spies (who were sent to watch the movements of this party,) had, on examining their Camp on this side of the Ohio, (after they had left it,) found on Trees peal-[342]ed for the purpose, the words written with Coal, and other mineral substances:* *"No quarters to be given to an Indian, whether Man, Woman or Child"*. It was even said, that papers with these Words written on them, were picked up at their Camp; all which was sufficient to enrage them.

*The Indians are in the practice of transcribing any thing written by the White People on the Trees, after first pealing, or stripping them of the bark. They then transcribe the writing and take the Copy with them to have it read by a Person who can read. This work they do so well, that it is perfectly legible. It is done either with a Coal on a Skin, or a piece of bark, or the letters are scratched with a Knife or flint.

religious system of the pagan Delawares. The Editor has known members of the Delaware tribe for a quarter of a century, and can testify that more of the old system remains than would be supposed to survive to this time.

[1] *A Moravian scalped Colonel Crawford.*—A Moravian Indian named Joseph scalped Colonel Crawford while he was yet alive, as is shown by the following, from Zeisberger's *Diary*, i, p. 431:

Saturday, 2. After the early service from the text: Examine yourselves whether ye be in the faith; prove your own selves, of which application was made, the remains of the Indian Joseph were buried. He was baptized Jan. 1, '74, in Gnadenhutten, on the Muskingum, by Br. Schmick, but as long as he was in the church he went a bad way, and would never come right. When he was talked with, it was his regular complaint about himself that he was a bad, utterly corrupt man, but thereby it was ever the same thing, for he loved sin, and therefore could not be free therefrom, and yet he could not remain away from the church. He came to us again on the Huron River (Michigan). We had indeed great doubt about receiving him, for he was one of those who had tortured Col. Crawford to death in Sandusky, and he had himself scalped him while yet alive.

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The torture Crawford had to endure was a double one; during which, he was often mockingly asked, how he felt; and whether they did as well to him, as he had done to the believing Indians; they adding, "We have to learn barbarities of You White People!"

The other Prisoner, (Dr. M°Knight) [1] taken at the same time; and who had been sentenced to have the like torture inflicted on him at another place, was committed to the custody of a Delaware Indian, named *Tuteleu* — (a rough looking Man, yet of an easy disposition) from whom the Prisoner found means of efecting his escape, before they had reached the place of his destination, and he arrived safe, in the Settlements of the White People, though much worn down by hunger and fatigue.

[1] Dr. John Knight was born in Scotland in the year 1751. He acquired a knowledge of medicine in England. In 1773 he came to America, and in 1776 he enlisted as a private in the Thirteenth Virginia Regiment, which was later the Ninth and Seventh, and commanded by Colonel John Gibson for a time. He was at the battles of Brandywine and Germantown, and others. He was probably one of Colonel Crawford's recruits; their army services seem to have been much alike. He was appointed surgeon's mate for his regiment, August 9, 1778, holding this position at the time of the expedition and continuing in it until the close of the war. He married Polly, daughter of Richard Stephenson, half brother to Colonel Crawford, October 14, 1784. He died in Shelby County, Kentucky, March 12, 1838. He left a large family. See *Washington-Irvine Correspondence*, pp. 117, 118.

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CHAPTER XXX.

THE before mentioned affair being concluded, and the Indians and Rangers therein engaged, being again returned to their respective homes; the Commandant — who kept in mind, our reply to his proposal (of sending us to Bethlehem,) which was: "that, both from duty and affection, we could not resolve — nor did we think ourselves permitted, in the hour of trial, to forsake our scattered flock entirely!" He now proposed: to send us safe to the Miami of the Lake, where we might gather our scattered People, and settle under his protection. We thanked him for the kind offer he made us, observing however, ["]that from all we had witnessed, while we were settled on the other side of the Lake, we thought we had re[a]son to believe, that the *same* Enemies to the Gospel, who had hitherto troubled and persecuted us, were *still* in that Country, and probably would soon be with us again, should we cross the Lake — and that in making this observation, we did not allude to *Indian* Enemys only"! he took the hint, & replyed: "I understand You, and indeed believe You are right"! From this time, he sought in good earnest, to accomodate, and settle us at a place on this side (Detroit side) of the Lake, where our Indians could be with us, and out of the reach of all danger by the war.

The Commandant, having (after making inquiry for the purpose,) learnt, that the Country on the River Huron, about thirty Miles North of Detroit, was in every respect favourable, offering every advantage towards forming Indian Settlements; he next sought [344] for, and obtained permission of the Chippuwas, who claimed the Land, for us to settle thereon, untill a Peace should take place; and having done this, he advised us, to send a Message out to our Indians, to invite them to come on, in which he also assisted us.

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Messages were therefore prepared and sent, both to those who were fled to the Sciota, and those on the Miami of the Lake. That in writing, sent by the Commandant, (by a Frenchman) to the first mentioned place, having come to Elliots hands, he did all he could to disuade our Indians from ever joining us again. He added, "that whichever of them, s[h]ould be so foolish [as] to go there, might rest assured, that the Chippuwas would kill him!" The verbal Message to our Indians on Miami, was sent by a Shawanese Indian, who faithfully delivered it, encouraging the Indians to whom the Speech had been directed; to accept the invitation; the effect of which was: that on the second day of July, we had the pleasure of welcoming two families — and shortly after, two others, with whome, were the venerable National Assistant Abraham, who all erected huts near our dwelling, and were supplied with Provisions out of the Kings Stores.

On the arrival of these Indians, daily Meetings were held, tho for the want of a convenient place, these were kept in open Air: when the weather permited to which, some of the Citizens, and the Prisoners who were adjoining us attended; and who, declared themselves happy, in having an Opportunity of hearing [345] the Gospel preached, there being no protestant Minister in the place. They were also delighted with the devotion of the Indian hearers, and with their singing. Children were also frequently baptised by the Missionaries.

While we were taking measures to remove to the River Huron, [1] & make a beginning with the twenty eight Christian Indians, now with us, we had the joy to recieve Letters from our Brethren La Trobe and Wollin in London, dated 19th and 20th. of March last (1782) & brought from thence by Sir John Johnson, who had lately arrived at Montreal; by which Letters it appeared, that the account of our being taken Prisoners on the Muskingum, and led Captives to Sandusky, had reached England, thro a Philadelphia Newspaper. These Brethren, on recieving this account, immediately took measures towards re-

[1] Now called Clinton River.

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lieving our wants, which they naturally supposed to be great, (as indeed was the case,) — by procuring permission, from the Members of the Society, for the propogation of the Gospel among the Heathen, to send a Letter of Credit in our favour, for One hundred pounds Sterling, to a Trading house in Montreal. How thankful we were to that Society, and those Brethren for this valuable, and seasonable present, especially as we had now in a manner to begin the World anew, not having sufficient Cloaths and Bedding, to secure ourselves against the Cold of this Climate. Even the Commandant rejoiced with us, and suggested a way [346] to obtain the Money, although it would probably not be before the following Spring; as the distance was great, and no passage to Montreal during the Winter Season. But M^r^. John Askin, the Gentleman to whom the Governor advised us to apply, to procure the money, very generously offered to pay us the whole immediately on our bare word, that such a Letter of credit had been sent to the house in Montreal: and which he accordingly did.

The Commandant, having also liberally assisted us in various ways, furnishing us with Provisions; a Boat; a quantity of plank, together with some necessary utensils, 2 Milch Cows & some Horses; at the same time, his kind Lady presented us with Roots, and an assortment of Garden Seeds &^c^. The Brethren Zeisberger and Youngman with their Wives, and the single Brethren Edwards and Young, set out with Nineteen of our Indians on the 20th. of July, for the new place, and arrived there,[1] the next day in the evening; while the Missionaries, Senseman and Heckewelder (the writer of this) with their families, and

[1] The settlement was made on the south side of the Clinton River, in what is now Clinton Township, Macomb County, Michigan. It was between the present towns of Mt. Clemens and Frederick. The site was fine. It was an elevated tract, bare of trees, but surrounded by forests of large trees growing from tangled thickets of shrubs. Good springs abounded. Indian flax was found growing there in abundance. There were rich lands near by, but the site of the settlement was sandy and thin.

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the remainder of the Christian Indians who had come on, remained at Detroit, to attend to the concerns of the reviving Mission. The new place they were gone to, they called Gnadenhutten.[1] The first Meeting, was held there on the evening of their arrival, when thanks and praises were offered to the Lord for his Mercys — and his further blessing, assistance and protection implored.

[347] The dispersed Christian Indians, kept coming in, though but few at a time, as the Nation to which they belonged, attempted to resist their leaving the Country; considering those that went off, as lost to their Relations, and the Nation. They had therefore to go off privately, and during the Night. Their departure, occasioned disputes among the Savages, one laying the blame on the other but they bore the hardest on those, who had been the instigators for removing the Christian Indians from the Muskingum; and afterwards from Sandusky. "We "told You" — (some said) "that the believing Indians would "follow their Teachers wherever they went, and now You see "that we told You the truth!" —

On the 21st. of September, the Communion was held here for the first time; and on the 5th of November, the new Meeting house was consecrated: fifty three Christian Indians being present. Proper arrangements having been made at Detroit, for the reception of all Christian Indians, who from time to time might arrive, those Missionaries who had remained at Detroit, had previous to this Meeting, joined their Congregation on the Huron River.

The Chippuwas beginning to visit us, no pains were spared by the National Assistants, in preaching the Gospel to them; but they were found to be a People, of little or no reflection &

[1] Loskiel wrote the name of the settlement New Gnadenhutten. Dr. Schweinitz, in his *Life and Times of David Zeisberger*, also wrote the name New Gnadenhutten. The fork of the river was half a mile beyond the town. The place was an old abandoned village site. See *Zeisberger's Diary*, i, pp. 104, 105, for a full description of the place.

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who cared for nothing, but the daily calls of nature; and herein they are even indolent; — plant little, and live chiefly by hunting and Fishing; eating many things which a Dela-[348]ware or Shawanese Indian, would not relish. They eat Frogs, Muskrats; Dogs &c. nay even the fleash of dead Horses, the same as the Calmuck Tartar.

The Commandant, now *Colonel* De Peyster, who so kindly furnished us with the necessary Provisions; did the same to all our Indians passing through Detroit to join us, or otherwise coming on business. He also took pleasure in informing us, that all he had done for us, had met the approbation of the Commander in Chief, General Haldimand, in lower Canada.

This year, although closed with grief and sorrow, on account of what had befallen the Congregation; was withal remarkable, in consequence of the deliverance of more than two thirds of the brethren, from the hands of the destroyers; and the salvation of the Missionaries, from the hands of the Savages, all which we humbly and thankfully ascribed to the gracious protection of a benign Providence.

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CHAPTER XXXI.

AT the commencement of the Year 1783, the Christian Indians (with ourselves,) were comfortably accomodated with dwellings; for having always heard of the hard Winters, or severity of the climate during that Season of the Year, we immediately built log houses; and having finished them; we commenced cutting down, and clearing the Timber from the Land, which we intended to plant in the Spring. The Indians made also a great quantity of Maple Sugar in the Spring; and at intervals, Canoes, Baskets; Bowls, Ladles and Brooms which they exchanged in the Settlements [349] of the French Canadians for Provisions, and Game being plenty, they took what Meat they could spare, together with their Skins and furs, to Detroit, where they exchanged them for wearing apparel.

In July we had the joy of hearing of the Brethren Shabosh and Wygand, who, (after a Journey of seven Weeks,) arrived from Bethlehem, that Peace was concluded between Great Britain and the United States. The first of these Brethren, was one of those taken at Shonbrun, late in the fall of 1781. by that humane Officer, Biggs; and who immediately on their arrival at Pittsburg went to Bethlehem, where he remained ever since. The joy, on meeting his family there was great; though damped, by reflecting on the barbarous manner, in which his Son Joseph was Murdered near Gnadenhutten, by Williamsons party.

Although we were contented and happy in our situation; yet on account of so many of our Indians, being absent, we sometimes felt uneasy, especially when we heard, how much they wished to be with Us, but were not suffered to go, by the Savages, living near them. Some were gone to the Twichtwees,[1] (otherwise called "Miamis") —The Country where

[1] The English called them Twigtwees. They are of the Algonquian lin-

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we were, was described to them, as a desolate, barren Country, where nothing planted, would come to perfection; and the Chippuwas were represented as an ill-natured, and thievish race of Indians; and to make the prospect in going still more unfavourable, they [350] were told: that the English Nation would soon treat them in the same manner as the Virginians had done.

However, three young Brethren, took the resolution of venturing a Journey to us, in order to learn the truth. These were so well pleased with what they saw and heard, that two of them immediately returned with the good News, and soon brought in forty three of our People in a body; whom the Commandant kindly assisted on the way, with Provisions.

The Savages seeing the Christian Indians determined on leaving them — disregarding both persuasion and even threats — now renewed their quarrelling among themselves. The Wolf Tribe, with Capt[n]. Pipe at their head, who had wrested the power of governing the Nation, from the Turtle Tribe, was accused both by the latter and the Turkey Tribe, of being incompetent to govern the Nation, as nothing but disaster had been brought upon them, from the time he (Pipe) had usurped this power. They added that instead of pursuing the course which the Turtle tribe had taken, who studied to spare and strengthen the Nation; they, had roused the Neighboring Nations, and particularly the Wyondots, to join in diminishing and impoverishing them! — And *Pachgantscihillas,** the Delaware War Chief

*This is the same great War Chief, who in the Spring of the year 1781, while at Gnadenhutten and Salem, with eighty of his warriors, had delivered himself so favourably with regard to the Christian Indians, and the choice they had made of being interested in Christianity; and being at Peace with all Men &[c]. declaring: that *he* never would have a hand in disturbing or distressing them.

guistic family of North American Indians. When first known to the whites they lived in what is now Northern Illinois. Afterwards they moved to the Wabash, the Miami, the Maumee and the St. Joseph. They are often mentioned in the history of the country Northwest of the Ohio River. For a long

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on the Miami, [351] (where a number of the Christian Indians resided) being applied to by Captain Pipe, "not to suffer the believing Indians to leave his territory": replied: that "he never would hinder any of them from going to their teachers!" and saying in his Message to Pipe: "Why did You expel these? "Did I not tell You beforehand, that if You drove the Teachers "off, the believing Indians would follow them? but You would "not listen to me, and now we loose both! Who"? (said this Chief) "is the cause of all those disasters, which have befallen "those People! *I* say *You!* — *You,* who threatened them with "destruction! *You* who instigated the Wyondots to act the "treacherous part they did; agreeing with these, that as a recom- "pense for their services, they should be entitled to all the plun- "der they could lay hold of!"

By the Brethren Wygand and Young, who in September sat out for Bethlehem, we, for the first time in our Captivity, in September, 1781, had an Opportunity of sending Letters, to Bethlehem, & other places in the United States.

Although we had planted for large Crops of Corn, that we might be able to supply all our Indians who might come in from time to time: we were sadly disappointed. Mistaking the Climate of this Country for that on the Muskingum, we planted the wrong kind [352] of Corn, which, when scarcely out of the Milch, was exposed to the hard frosts which set in, by which it was frozen, and when afterwards a thaw came on, it rotted, and had to be thrown away. This was a great disappointment; and we were apprehensive, that we should be put to great sufferings, for a Season. Otherwise the Congregation was internally in a happy course, all usual regulations both as to the daily Meetings — family exhortations; and visiting the Sick, had from

time they were very faithful to the French, but in 1748 they went over to the English. They now live in the northeast corner of the Indian Territory upon a fine reservation which has been allotted to the individual members of the tribe. Miami, in their country, is a thriving town on the Neosho River.

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the beginning taken place; and to see the happy exit of several who departed this life during this Year, was truly edifying.

With the new Year of 1784, the weather became uncommonly boisterous, and the cold so very intense, that Rivers, Creeks, and the Lake St. Clair, were soon covered with Ice, which from day to day became thicker* and Stronger. Next fell a Snow of two feet deep, and in a few days after, another of a much greater depth, so that both together, measured full five feet on a level. How gloomy was the prospect before us! Our Indians soon began to suffer, and we, in a great measure, with them. Grain was not only scarce with us, but had become a scarce Article throughout the Settlement of the White People (or French Canadians.) and the Winter being through the whole Country the same, those who had Grain, would not part with any, but keep it to save themselves and their [353] Cattle from starving. — Many emaciated Countenances, were a sad token of the distress, of the poorer People. The nearest Settlements, were at the distance of twenty odd Miles from us. We had no Stables as yet for our Cattle, and what little fodder we had, was but indifferent, the frost having been so hard before it was cut and cured. When we cut Trees down for firewood, the trunks were burried in the Snow, so that it was a most laborious business, to procure this Article.

While relief, both for Man and Beast, seemed to be out of our reach; we were taught by the instinct of our beasts, that much was to be found almost at our Doors. That a wise and benign Providence, had provided the means of subsistance, for all living Creatures, even in the cold and dreary regions of Canada, appeared evident. Burried as we almost were in the Snow, with the Cattle standing close up to our Doors; they would raise their heads towards the River, which lay but a short distance from the Village, as if they wished to go there, and the Indians supposing this was occasioned by their want

*On measuring, the Ice was found to be 3 feet 2 Inches thick on this Lake at the distance of a Mile from the Shore.

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of drink, melted Snow for them, to satisfy their thirst; — seeing however, that they still kept casting eager looks in the same direction, and with their Noses raised, as though they smelt something, we were all at a loss to know the cause. While this was the case, two Deer, who came down the River on the Ice opposite the Village, were shot; and being opened to see what they had fed upon, it was found: that their Stomachs were fil-[354]ed with the *scrub Grass**. — (Equisetum hyemale). The Indians, attentive to the discovery; all joined in working a way for the Cattle to get to the River, or on the Ice. And as soon as this was effected, the cattle were seen, ranging along the banks, where they found the green scrub Grass pastures in abundance; not only along the River banks,* but along the frozen Ponds, adjoining the same, where "breeks", or fields of hundreds of Acres of this Grass was presented to them. The suffering Indians being thus taught where the Deer, were to be looked for, could now daily get as much Meat as they wanted; as by making themselves *rackets,* they could walk over the Snow without sinking; while the poor Deer, could not escape them, either in the Snow, or on the Ice. It was indeed astonishing, to see the Meat that was daily brought in, so that it was found, that during the three Months, that the Snow lay so deep, upwards of One hundred Deer were taken from the Rush Meadows and the River; some of which, being run down, or caught by the Dogs, were brought alive to the Village & there fed with the scrub grass, gathered for the purpose — and finally in the Spring taken alive to Detroit, and sold.

Strange as it may appear, yet it is a fact: that even [355] our Hogs lived chiefly upon these Rushes, or the sap, or juice thereof. for after chewing the Stalks, untill they had drawn

*Scrub—and scouer Grass, so called as it is made use of in scouring Pewter &c —

*The high Winds in Canada which always succeed a fall of Snow, blow all the Snow off of the Ice, whether it be frozen Lakes, Rivers, Ponds &c. so that the Deer and Cattle can get at this food.

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the juicy substance out, they would drop the cud, and take a fresh bite. Both these and the Horn Cattle, were not only saved from starving during the Winter, but were in fine order in the Spring. Even the Fowls would eat it greedily, after being cut up in small pieces of the size of a grain of Indian Corn; and the Indians say: that they lay more Eggs when fed with Rushes, than when fed with Corn. But to the Horses, (and who are equally fond of it,) it proved fatal. A lean Horse would get fat on them in 4 or 5 Weeks, but if left to feed a few Weeks longer, they would surely die. On examining into the cause of this, it was discovered that their Stomachs were cut up, or worn quite thin, and full of small holes, like a Sieve; whereas with Horn Cattle* and Deer who chewed their cud, the roughness, or sharpness of the grass had not this effect. We lost two thirds of our Horses, before the above discovery was made.

By daily observation on the weather, from the beginning of January, when the first Snow fell, to the beginning of March; there was not (during the whole time,) more than four clear Sunshine days, the Sky [356] being daily more or less overcast with either blue, black or red flying Clouds. During this time the Snow had settled, and become so hard, that we could walk over it; and by the second Week in Aprill, it had so much diminished, that our Indians began to manufacture Maple Sugar, of which they, in the course of the Season, made a considerable Quantity. Shortly after this, the River becoming clear of Ice, they caught Fish in abundance; and after the Snow had gone off entirely, they gathered Cranberries and Crab Apples; and dug up Wild Potatoes§. They then began to prepare the

*In November of the Year following this, an Innkeeper of Detroit, sent about 30 head of very lean Cattle, which had been brought in from the United States, to the Rush Meadows, within 3 Miles of our Village, and some Salt to one of our People, for to Salt them once a Week. These Cattle, which had not once attempted to go off, were all, before the Winter was over fit for the Knife.

§Glydine Aspios.

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ground for tillage (in the best manner they could,) taking care however, to procure the kind of Indian Corn for seed, that would ripen in this Country.

Towards the end of May The Commandant of Detroit Col. De Peyster having informed us by Letter, that he would shortly leave the place, being appointed to the Comand at some other Station; we presented our friend and benefactor, our best thanks, for the many real services, he had rendered both to us, and our Indians; wishing and hoping, that the Lord would reward him. He assured us, "that he felt for our misfortunes, in being so ill treated, both on the Muskingum and at Sandusky, and that he had seen no other way of saving our lives in the latter case, than by removing us entirely from the Indian Country! — that since we were here, he had with pleasure served and assisted [357] us, whenever it was in his power! — and that he also would recommend us, and our Indians to his Successor, believing that we would likewise find a friend in him!"

The British Government, having appointed another Governor for Upper Canada: we waited on his Excellency, John Hay Esqr, on his arrival at Detroit — and were very politely received by him. This Gentleman informed us: "that the late Governor Hamilton and himself, had been examined at home, by the Government, respecting the very ill treatment we had met with from some British Officers*, who with a number of Indian Warriors, took us from our Settlements on the Muskingum & plundered and robbed us — and that their conduct was much censured! — that our Captivity had made a great stir at home! That one of our Bishops in England, had waited upon Sir John Johnson, (and Governor Hamilton also being present) — for the purpose of representing the situation of the Brethrens Mission among the North American Indians at this time, in consequence of what had befallen them — and recommending them to their particular notice, and future Protection &^{c}" Fur-

*Matthew Elliot, called Captn. Elliott, was the only British Officer—if he really was one—who took us off from the Muskingum.

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ther, he assured us, that Government had taken measures, respecting the Brethrens Mission among the Indians, that they were in no wise [to] be hindered, in their [358] labours among these People; but on the other hand, supported and Protected; and that already orders to that purpose, had been sent on to all Commanders of Posts, Agents &c. He assured us of his regard and friendship; and would gladly serve us in any way, when he had it in his power;" but, to our grief, he, in the summer fell sick and died.

After the death of this Governor, Major William Ancrum, was appointed Commandant of this Post, and its dependencies, in whom we also found a real friend.

The Town of the Christian Indians, began and built in a Wilderness, had by this time become a pleasant place. The Street having been laid out regularly; and the Houses well built, gave it a good appearance, to which the adjoining cleared Lands and Gardens, added not a little. Every Visitor from Detroit, reporting on his return what he had seen here, drew many to the spot, to become also witnesses of the Industry of Indians; a Spectacle, they had never before seen. Even the Commandant (Major Ancrum) with two of his Officers, and our good friend Mr. John Askin, came at one time on a Visit to us. But, what was pleasing to the White Visitors; was not so to the Chippuwas,[1] who were the owners of the Land we lived on. These had long complained of our remaining so long

[1] The Ojibwas (Chippewas) belong to the Algonquian linguistic family of North American Indians. They are yet numerous, numbering about thirty thousand souls. They have always remained in the country about the Great Lakes. The French found them at Sault Ste. Marie early in the seventeenth century. It is supposed that they had some knowledge of the whites as early as 1612. They were always strongly opposed to Christianity, and are strongly attached to their pagan customs and beliefs. They have kept to the timber in all their migrations, always avoiding the prairies. They have lived chiefly by hunting and fishing. They are now principally found on reservations in Minnesota and Wisconsin. While they have been often associated with other tribes in wars against the white people, they are not a warlike tribe.

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on their Land, saying — it being now Peace we ought to go off, and live on Land of our own; adding, "that they wanted the land we lived on, for their own use; as this part of the Country, was one [359] of their best hunting grounds; on which we had already killed too much of their Game &c" — The Commandant unto whom their Complaints became known, took great pains to make their Minds easy for a while longer; but as all Indian Nations, are very covetous of their Lands, knowing, that by loosing the Land, they also loose the Game on it, accordingly, they were continually urging the Christian Indians to go off — and to shew that they were in earnest about it, they made use of threatening language, if we did not remove. [1]

The Christian Indians, could not blame the Chippuwas for wanting what was their own; but they at the time were at a loss where to go to, if obliged to go off. They had no inclination to cross the Lake, and dwell among a People, who had treated them ill, and sought their destruction. Neither was it at this time advisable, to cross the Lake (Erie) for to settle in that Country, as the Indians there were far from being satisfyed with the terms of Peace, offered them by the United States, — they therefore requested the Chippuwas, to permit them to stay only one Year longer on their Land: which was granted.

The Crops having this Season yielded abundantly, was, among other benefits, matter of praise and thanksgiving, to the disposer of all good; who so manifestly had supported the Congregation throughout the whole Year, although the prospect had been so gloomy, at the commencement of it.

In May 1785, the Missionaries Youngman and [360] Senseman, returned with their families to Bethlehem, it being uncertain, when we should cross the Lake, for to establish a new Missionary Settlement in that Country.

During this Year, we frequently were visited by Indians

[1] In the *Diary of David Zeisberger* (Cincinnati, Robert Clarke & Co., 1885), will be found entries covering almost every day of the time for the remainder of Heckewelder's Narrative.

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who were Strangers to us; generally Delawares and Mohegans. One time there arrived upwards of Forty of them together, in a body; and at another time about the same Number, but mostly of the Nantocok Tribe; all of whom behaved civilly, and attended divine service during their stay.

In the Winter following, when the Rivers were covered with Ice, a great Number of Wolves came into the parts, traversing the Country in packs, and attacking every animal they could meet. They came sometimes into our Village, attacking and killing our Hogs, they would even sometimes seize the largest of them. At one time they attacked and killed a Chippuwa Man and his Wife. At another time, one of our Indian Brethren coming from Detroit on the Ice, was pursued by a pack of these Animals, for several Miles, but being furnished with Skates, they could not come up with them. Many however were killed, by our Indians, by decoying them to places, where they destroyed themselves.*

*The Indians fasten a Musket loaded with buck or Swan shot, to the ground, at the end of—and close beside the trunk of a large long log, or fallen Tree, with the Muzzle fixed towards the other end, and raised so, as to point to the object intended. next, a string, or thin cord, measuring the exact distance, from where the Gun is tied down; to the far end of the log or tree, and to which at the one end a piece of Meat is fastened, while the other end is tied to the trigger: is properly fixed. Then gathering, or cutting small brush, they enclose the Gun and line from one end to the other—similar to a light brush fence, which is to keep the Animal off from entering the enclosure at any place from the side, which if not prevented, he, by touching the string with his foot might cause the Gun to go off to no purpose. If the log or Tree, by the side of which the line is, is not supposed to be of sufficient height, to prevent the Wolf from leaping over, small brush is also laid throughout on this log. The Wolf in his range, getting the scent of the Meat, and coming up, seeks for an open place to come at it, which, being in front of the muzzle of the Gun, which had been cocked, the moment he lays hold of the Meat, he himself draws the trigger and is shot. I have in the Year 1773 seen 16 heads of Wolves which had been killed in this manner, brought in in the course of 10 Days.

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[361] CHAPTER XXXII.

THE Chippuwas, continuing in their determination, that the Christian Indians should move off of their Land; and the Commandant in consequence, having advised the latter, not to erect any more buildings — or clear any more Land at this place: they had no other alternative, but to look out for a place where they could remove to; and the Walhanding River on the South side of Lake Erie being spoken of — we thought proper — previously to our crossing the Lake, to dispatch one of the Missionaries, with two or three of our Indian brethren to Pittsburg, there to learn, whether it would be advisable and safe for us to return, and settle on that River. [1]

Accordingly the Missionary Edwards, who with some of our Indians, had on July last set out on this errand, were now returned, & brought us every in-[362]formation wished for: — indeed much more than we ever had expected. By our Letters from Bethlehem and other places, we observed that Congress had expressly reserved, out of the Land ceded to them by the Indians at the late Treaty; the district formerly occupied by (and by Indian Gift, belonging to) the Christian Indians: for their use. [2] And that the Surveyor General was to lay off this land for them (the Christian Indians) as soon as it could be done. The same intelligence we likewise found in Philadelphia Newspapers brought along; which being made known to the Indians, gave them joy.

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[1] This journey was determined upon by lot. The lot read: "The Saviour favors that Br. Edwards with some Indian brethren shall in our behalf make a journey to Pittsburg."—*Diary of David Zeisberger*, i, p. 231.

[2] This tract was to contain ten thousand acres of land, by direction of Act of Congress, July 27, 1787. It had been first set aside by Congress, May 20, 1785. See *Life and Times of David Zeisberger*, p. 606.

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The Missionaries, who had the best Opportunity of learning the causes of the disturbances, and Wars, between the White People and the Indians, believed, that this wise resolution of Congress, would go a great way in preventing bloodshed in future; for to them it was well known, that whilst the white People were not checked, from going on in the same manner as heretofore; murdering Indians, both privately and publicly, for the sake of breeding disturbances, and thereby finally getting posession of their Lands; their never could be a lasting Peace. This resolution of Congress therefore, was on the one hand a disappointment to those who had murdered so many of the Indians, with a view of becoming the posessors of their Land, while on the side of the Indians, it served to convince them, that, the Government of the United States, were not accessory to those Murder[s], as [363] they had so often been told by wicked and designing Men. Again — all the Indians became thereby sattisfied, that Congress were in earnest, and spake the truth, when, at the commencement of the War, they told them, that "all the "Indian Nations or Tribes who should sit still, not taking up "the Hatchet against them during the contest: would be con- "sidered as friends, and have their Land secured to them and "their offspring if finally *they* should prove victorious; while "those who fought against them, would loose their Land &c."

In consequence of the above favourable news, every preparation was made to leave the place in the Spring, and bend our course to the Muskingum; of which intention we also informed the Commandant, Major Ancrum, who, to favor our design, sent a formal Message to the Indian Tribes on that side of the Lake, not to molest the believing Indians, when they should arrive there.

However attached we had become to the place we lived at, yet to be tenants as it were on the "Land of Strangers", was not agreeable to our Indians. We had, during the time we lived on the Land, not once been called upon to join in the War. Neither the British Government, nor the Indians gave us any

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trouble on that account, but we lived as quiet and undisturbed, as if no War existed; — and as long as the Chippuwas, had asked no more of us, than what fell in the Provision way: they were served with pleas-[364]ure; but now a case occurred, which gave us all much uneasiness, and caused us to wish ourselves away, without further delay. There had namely within a Year past, been several attrocious Murders* and Robberies committed about Detroit, without any Person being able to discover, who the perpetrators of the horrid deeds were, altho no pains were spared to find them out. Every where, both in the Town of Detroit, and throughout the Settlements the People were alarmed, and struck with terror, many not thinking themselves safe in their own Houses, especially at Night.

It being at length discovered, by a fresh attack made on a M^r. Jacobs, a trader, and his hands, while on their way to Sagina, about 60 Miles distant from Detroit — and in which Jacobs and one of his Men, lost their lives: that this gang of murderers, consisted of a Father and his two Sons: (one of whom however was shot dead by Jacobs after being mortally wounded himself) — The Commandant immediately, sent for all the Chiefs of the Chippuwas to come in; who, on their arrival were told, that unless they took, and delivered up to him, the perpetrators of these horrid deeds: all intercourse and Trade with their Nation would be interdicted — and, untill this was done, some of them must be retained as hostages!

The murderers learning, that their Chiefs had become responsible, for their being taken, and delivered [365] up to the Commandant, became more daring, declaring, "that they neith-"er feared their Chiefs; the Commandant, nor any other Person, "and would continue in the same way, of murdering White "People, without respect to person, and never suffer themselves "to be taken, but would kill every person, whether Indian or "White Man, who would attempt to lay hands upon them &c" —

The Chiefs, being harrassed from all sides, for to rid the

*see Heckewelders Account of Indian Nations Chap VII. P. 96.

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Country of these Murderers; and seeing no way of accomplishing this: now applied to the Christian Indians, to assist them, saying: "that they, (the Delawares) being their Grandfather, "would not be suspected by them! that they might take them "without running any risk! — and, should they even happen to "fail in the attempt of taking them alive: they were at liberty "to stab or shoot them;" giving also at the time a minute description of their persons, that they might be able to distinguish them from other Indians.

Such an extraordinary demand, could not be admitted. No Nation would dare to interfere in the concerns of other Nations, and especially when Murder is connected therewith. The demand was so much against the inclination of the Christian Indians, that they felt a disgust for the Country and People in it; and wished themselves away immediately. Luckily, after some time, the Father and his surviving Son, were by the art and cunning of a young White Man, who [366] had worked himself into their confidence, conducted to Detroit, where at once all fears of danger, were done away.*

The Debts, which the Christian Indians had, during the Years they had lived in this Country, necessarily contracted, both in Detroit and the Settlements; and which ran up to a large amount, were all paid off by them to a penny. For this they were particularly thankful, and were under obligations to our good friend M^r^. John Askin at Detroit, who had, in due time, put them in the way of clearing themselves of all debts; namely, by raising as great a Quantity of Indian Corn as they could, for which he would give them a stipulated price, at their Doors. Encouraged by this kind offer, they strained every Nerve, in enlarging their fields for the purpose; besides making a number of large trading Canoes, which were also for the greater part bespoke by this Gentleman, and some by others: so that, when they came to wind up accounts with their Creditors, they could not only pay off their Debts, but most of them had so much

*Heckewelders historical Account &^c^ Chap. VII. P. 96.

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Money left, that they could purchase for themselves, Cows and Pigs, on their arrival at Cayahaga.

The nearer the time came for our departure, the more stories were propogated as to the danger we would throw ourselves into, by returning into our Country, before a firm Peace had been established, [367] between the United States, and the Indian Nations. It was repeatedly said — and indeed with some truth: that the Indians, were far from being satisfied with the Treaties which had been held with them, by Commissioners appointed by Congress — and that a new War would e'er long take place &c. It appeared too, that the People at Detroit were of the same belief.

Nevertheless on the 20th. of April, we met for the last time in the Chapel, to offer up prayers, and praises to the Lord; thanking him for all benefits bestowed, and Mercies received from him in this place; and praying for a continuance of the same; and his kind protection; after which we set out in Canoes for Detroit, where, on our arrival we met with a kind reception, both by the Commandant, and the inhabitants of the place; the former supplying us with Provisions during our stay of several days at this place; as also with the necessary Articles for the Journey.

During our stay, a Meeting had been appointed, for the Christian Indians to express their thanks to the Chippuwa Chiefs, their Grand-Children; for having permitted them to dwell in their Country for so long a time; and for the Peace they had enjoyed while therein. And as a token of their gratitude, they presented them with a large bunch, or bundle of Wampum, containing some thousand Beeds. One of the Chiefs rising from his Seat, in reply said: "Grandfather! I love You; and would rather You would return again to the Huron River, and live with us!" which reply being [368] well understood, as being a bare Compliment; they well knowing that these would not return; a friendly leave was taken on both sides at parting.

It was truly pleasing, to hear the Merchants and other Citi-

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zens of the place, speak respectfully of our Indians; calling them an orderly, industrious, honest, and Christian People; and declaring themselves sorry, to see them depart. [1]

1 Br. David went to Capt. McKee and told him our Indians would like to say something to the Chippewa chiefs, many of whose people were in the city, before they went away, and begged him to give them an opportunity for this; this he did, telling the Chippewas to keep themselves sober, for their grandfather (i. e, the Delaware Indians) had something to say to them and wished to shake hands with them. They came, Thursday the 27th, together, and our Indians made a speech to them, expressing to them their thankfulness for receiving them and allowing them to live near them on their land quietly and peacefully more than four years; they told them they were now going back again over the lake to their former home, and for confirmation of their speech gave them a bunch of some 1,000 wampum. One of the chiefs [they were not all present] stood up with a string of wampum in his hand, and said: "Grandfather, we love thee and see not willingly that thou goest away from us. We bind thy legs together that thou canst not go forth, and say to thee: 'Turn again and abide by the River Huron.'" We looked upon this speech as a compliment, for hitherto we had ever heard that they would like to see us go away again, since our Indians took away their hunt. In the evening, however, came another chief from over the river, who was not in the council, who said to our Indians that they should give no heed to what the drunken Chippewa chief had said; he knew very well that from the beginning it was arranged that we should remain there until there was again peace; it was well we were again going over the lake and should be out of the way, and he gave us to understand they had yet something to settle with their father (i. e., the English) after we were gone. We sent back again to the chief his string of wampum.—*Diary of David Zeisberger*, i, pp. 266, 267.

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CHAPTER XXXIII.

HAVING taken leave of all friends, and in particular of the Commandant Major Ancrum, and of our benefactor M^r. John Askin Esqr. whose many services, rendered both to the Missionaries, and their Indians, will never be forgotten; we embarked on the 28th. inst. on board this Gentlemans two trading Vessels, the Beaver, and the Mackinaw, for Cayahaga [1] on the South side of Lake Erie.

The Captains of these Vessels, had calculated on a Voyage of but a few days to Cayahaga River, where we were to be landed — provided the Wind was favourable, and the Chanel of the River as open as it had been the last Season. Dropping down the Detroit River in the afternoon, we anchored at the Mouth for the Night; and being early next Morning under way, we reached the Bass Islands by dusk, where we anchored. Here, however, we had by high and for the greatest part, contrary Winds and Storms to lay too, for four successive Weeks; shifting our Anchorage, according to the Wind — and when very stormy, we ran into Hopes cove, or put in the Bay. An attempt, was [369] at one time made, to get into the Cayahaga, but found impracticable; at least for the Beaver, she drawing more Water than the Mackinaw, which was a small flat bottomed Vessel. It

[1] Heckewelder frequently writes this name *Cajahaga*. It is now written *Cuyahoga*. The city of Cleveland is at the mouth of the river. The Virginians early regarded this point as possessing superior commercial position and advantages. It was first settled in 1796, and named in honor of Gen. Moses Cleaveland. The map of Lewis Evans, 1755, shows a village of Ottawas and one of Mingoes on the river, also a "French House," perhaps a French trading station. The river was first visited by the French traders and explorers. It was ascended as far as canoes would float, from which point there was a "carrying place" to the head waters of the Muskingum. This river is supposed to have marked the western limits of the country of the Eries.

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was also evident, from the breakers at the Mouth of the River, that the Sand from the blowing Winds, which came from the opposite Shore, had in a great Measure lodged itself in the Channel, and there being no other place, within a great distance where the Vessels could Anchor with safety; we again returned to our former Station

Seeing no prospect of coming to our Journeys end in this way: it was resolved, that the Mackinaw should take all our Baggage, and a few of our aged People to Cajahaga; and we be landed by the Vessels Boats; on the main Shore opposite these Islands, from whence we would take our chance, in getting along. Being landed at rocky Point, the Indians caught in the space of about two hours, upwards of five hundred White fish, that had retired during the high blowing Wind, between Rocky Island and the Shore, where the Water was about two feet deep. The fish lay so crouded together, that they were easily taken, by a kind of scoop Net, made of a piece of linen fixed between a pole with a wide spreading fork. Some even made use of the Shirt from their backs, tieing up the Collar and the Sleeves, while the Shirt tail was fastened to a hoop, made of a piece of a Grape vine; when by dipping, or drawing it under the fish, they would seldom fail of taking several at a time; and as quick as the [370] fish were taken to shore, the Women cleansed and dryed them on scaffolds, over fires, made for the purpose.

We afterwards made several Canoes of the bark of large Elm Trees, which enabled some to proceede by water, whilst others travelled by land for the Mouth of the Cajahaga River, where the Mackinaw was to await our arrival. These by Land, found the Journey very fatiguing, having to cross so many gullies, rivulets, Creeks, Rivers, and swampy grounds; they not having a single Horse to help them along; whilst those by water, with whom the writer of this Narrative, with his family were, could frequently pass on under an easy Sail. Having arrived, after several days sailing, at the rocky Shore, which commences about 8 or 9 Miles West of the Mouth of the Cajahaga River;

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we in consequence of the frequent warnings given us at Detroit, not to risk running with Canoes, along these Rocks, as if overtaken by a Storm or high Wind, blowing from the opposite Shore of the Lake, we would be in an instant dashed to pieces against the Rocks: we made a stop for the rest of the day; that we might leisurely consider, on the best and safest way, of proceeding on the morrow.

By the time we had unloaded & secured our Canoes, by drawing them on the Land, a number of Chippuwas, in their fine large birch bark Canoes — (who likewise were going to the Cayahaga) came up; they seeing, that we lacked courage in venturing to pro-[371]ceed along this Wall of Rocks; endeavoured to persuade us to reload our Canoes, and go in company with them to the mouth of that River, saying: they would pray to the great Spirit, both for themselves and for us, that we might safely pass this dangerous place; which one of them having done, by casting his Eyes upwards, and making a short prayer; he next took his Tobacco Pouch up, when, having taken a hand full of Glecanecan (Indian Tobacco) out of it, he cast his Eyes arround from the North to the South, while he was imploring the Manitto (Spirit) who governs the Winds — to prevent any storms from gathering or coming upon them, untill they were out of danger; he threw the Tobacco into the Air. Then taking another handful he said: "and thou, Manitto of the Waters, (Spirit, or God of the Water) deign that they do not become turbulent and swallow us up; or dash us against this Wall of Rocks!", and having strewed this Tobacco on the Water: "now,["] (said he) "there is no more danger!" finding however, that we were not inclined to accompany them: they set Sail, and went on.

In little more than an hour after these Chippuwas left us: a most tremendous Thunder Gust came on from the North west, which obliged us on the land, quickly to shift our Quarters from where we were, to an open place, where no falling Trees could reach us; as they were blowing down in every direction; some

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being torn up by the Roots; while others were broken off near their tops. This Rock Wall, which we judged to [372] be between 30 and 40 feet higher than the level of the Water — and on which we got by an easy ascent, at its Western extremity, trembled by the force with which the dashing waves or swells ran against it, which came rolling over a Sea of at least forty Miles in breadth, the Water at every dash, flying high above the Wall. Dreadful indeed was the forepart of the Night, & not an Eye was closed by Sleep; but it having become calm on the Land after the Storm had abated; the swells on the Lake also decreased — and a light Southerly Wind blowing about three oClock in the morning, assisted in turning the swells in a direction from the shore where we were. We had, during the Night held several consultations, as to the manner of proceeding to the Cayahaga River where the Vessel lay, waiting our arrival. The Indians reported it impossible for Women with small Children, to travel the distance by Land. The Wind at break of day was as favourable as could be wished for — a gentle side Wind blowing *from* the land and rocky Shore. The Canoe Men full of courage, and being trusty hands, impatiently waited for the word to be given, for loading the Canoe and setting off. This being done at day light, we embarked, and running under an easy Sail, first some distance into the Lake, in order to have Sea room, to run either way in case of an unfavourable winds rising; we took our course for the Mouth of the River; far enough from the Land to be out of danger; yet near enough to have a full view of this [373] natural Phenomenon, the Length of which is said to be Eight or Nine Miles; which distance we made, in One hour, and thirty five minutes. There appeared to be in this Wall, several different strata of Stone, and these of various colours; all which being horizontal, and so nearly parallel, that they in some places, greatly resembled the work of art. The Wind continuing to encrease, at the time we were opposite to the East end of this Wall, and the breakers running out into the Lake to a great distance, from the Mouth of the Cayahaga River; we thought it

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safest, to run in to shore at this place, from which the land was low and level for the last Mile to the River. The Captain of the Mackinaw, who with his glass had viewed our movements, with great anxiety, fearing we might attempt to make the River thro the breakers, when we infallibly must have been wrecked and sunk, our Canoe being but small and too heavy laden; rejoiced in seeing us run into Shore at that place. He told us, that the Chippuwas the day before, had fortunately, reached the Rivers Mouth, before the Storm came on.

We now began to unload the Vessel, altho the land Travellers, (who were the greatest body,) were not yet arrived, which being finished, we commenced making Canoes out of large Chestnut Trees; & when the land travellers arrived, they joined us in the labour with a cheerfulness not to be described. But the Season being already too far advanced, to think of planting Corn on our arrival at the Muskingum, it being [374] this day the 18th of June, we resolved to select a place on this River; where we might plant some Corn and Vegetables; and found a suitable location within about a dozen of Miles, from the Lake, where it appeared, there was formerly an Indian Corn field. Stopping here with our Canoes, we chose the East side of the River, for our encampment, and there built temporary Hutts; while on the opposite side, we prepared the ground for planting. It is indiscribable, how happy these poor Indians felt, on being released from so long a confinement, and again walking on their native Soil: for with all Indians, to live upon the land of Strangers, or land belonging to another Nation or Tribe than their own, is next to being in confinement. They new cheerfully went to Work, meeting daily for divine service, the same as they had done on the whole Journey, whether on board the Vessel, or on the land; & always in the open Air.

To push on to the Muskingum at once, and settle on the Land reserved for them by Congress: was the intention of the Christian Indians, at the outset of their Journey; but we now saw, that a wise Providence had decreed otherwise. The Hon-

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orable William Henry Esq[r]. a Member of Congress at that time — and a Gentleman, who for many Years past, had taken a particular Interest, in the conversion of the Indians of this Country; but who had witnessed, scenes the most shocking and cruel, which had been committed on the harmless and inoffensive Indians, by unprincipled [375] vagabond White People, among which was the murder of the Canestoga Indians: & altho congratulating us by Letter, on the good disposition of Congress, in reserving to the Christian Indians their former Towns on the Muskingum, yet, gave it as his private opinion; "that we "would do well, not to be in too great a hurry in settling on "those Lands, as he had a bad opinion of the frontier white Set-"tlers, who had already murdered a great part of the Congrega-"tion, and probably would at any time when they had an Oppor-"tunity, be ready to do so again to others of the Community: "as these People sought to get the Country to themselves. He "hoped, Congress would before long, pass and enforce such "Laws, as would put an end to all future encroachments* on "Indian Lands; for, unless this was done, those intruders would "keep the Country perpetually at War with the Indians["]. Congress however, who wished that the Indians would shortly settle on the Land, ordered Colonel Harmer, to deliver to them, on their calling on him at his post on the Ohio: Five hundred Bushels of Corn, and One hundred Blankets; which the Indians being informed of, they considered it as a token of the good disposition of that honourable body towards them, and were thankful, though it was out of their power, to go for the Articles at such a distance; they having no Horses.

The honorable Charles Thompson§ Esq[r]. Secretary of [376] Congress, who was well known to be an admirer, and well wisher to the Brethrens Missions among the Indians: expressed himself

*Tomohock improvements, (as they were called) made on Indian Lands, where then customary. Numbers of these were made on the Christian Indians Lands, after these were murdered.

§see Loskiel. Part 3d. page 216.

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in a Letter to the Bishop Ettwein "that he would deem himself happy, in being made instrumental, in saving the precious remnant of the Indian Congregation; and in promoting the general welfare of this poor People!" &c — He therefore earnestly recommended the cause of the Christian Indians, both to Mr. James White,* Agent of Indian Affairs South of the Ohio, as also to General Richard Butler, Agent for the Northern district, in which these Indians were situated. The latter Gentleman, had previous to the War, been an Eye witness to the labours of the Brethren among the Indians; and now assured the Missionaries by Letter, "that he would do every thing in his power to serve them; and to promote the welfare of the Mission in which they were engaged &c"

The Brethren in Bethlehem, were not less sanguine in their wishes and expectations of soon seeing a new Missionary establishment, on the Muskingum; while to the Missionaries themselves, the prospect seemed involved in a cloud of darkness; or, for the present hidden from their Eyes. The Savages had already signified their determination, not to suffer the Christian Indians to go to live on the Muskingum for the present; saying: that "they cared nothing for what the Americans said to them at their late Trea-[377]ties; as they only reproached them for having joined the British in the War," & added, that thereby they had forfeited all their Lands &c — "This (said they) we never did agree to, and therefore it will cause a fresh struggle, before we so tamely give up!"

Many other circumstances likewise proved, that as yet no setled Peace was established between the United States and the Indian Nations. Reports stated, that several Indians had been killed, since these Treaties were held — that the American frontier Militia, had threatened to kill every Indian, who should attempt to settle on the Muskingum, and that they would not suffer the Christian Indians, to reoccupy the Lands, they had formerly lived upon. &c. — Upon the whole it appeared evi-

*see Loskiel. Pard 3d. page 216.

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dent to us, that our detention on the Lake, had eventually been the means, of saving the Congregation, from being murdered by one or the other party; whereas here on Cayahaga, we were out of immediate danger; and could easily cross the Lake again, should necessity compel us thereto.

But, while the Christian Indians were flattering themselves, that they would be permitted to remain on this River, untill all differences between the American People, and the Indian Nations were brought to a close, and a firm, & durable Peace established: they learnt by means of visiting friends and relatives from among the Savages, that the Chiefs of the Nations, were in close Councill, deliberating on the steps proper to be taken to meet the insults that had been of-[378]fered to them, at and since the Treaty: — and to check the progress daily making in their Country,* in consequence of the high toned language which had been held to them. namely: that *"they,* (the Indians) had no longer any land which "they" could call their own, they having forfeited their whole Country, by joining the British against them": — And indeed it was not long before Captain Pipe sent a Belt of Wampum to the Christian Indians to inform them: "that as appearances towards a Peace were very doubt-"ful, and a new War would probably break out soon: the believ-"ing Indians were not well situated on the Cajahaga, but as much "as ever in danger of being surprised and murdered by the "White People. — he therefore would remove them from where "they were, and place them at Petquotting". (on the Huron River) "and order that Country to be cleared of the Settlers "that were now on the Land, to make room for them, where they "might always remain and live in Peace and safety! He said "he wished the believing (Christian) Indians, to consider him "their sincere friend; and therefore accept his invitation!" — Our Indians, fearing by returning an Answer which might give offence, or create suspicion, chose rather to keep the Belt in

*meaning Surveyors that were sent out in every direction, surveying of their Lands for themselves.

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their posession ,which would be the same as giving an Answer in the affirmative.

[379] Another Message, tho not sent by proper Authority, was soon after this, brought on; inviting the believing Indians in pressing terms, to come and live at Sandusky: to which however a negative Answer was given.

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CHAPTER XXXIV.

TO affoard the reader an Opportunity of learning the causes assigned by the Indian Nations, of their dissatisfaction, and hostile disposition towards the People of the United States: I will follow up their own way of reasoning, & the subjects, they bring into view. The greatest complaint they made against the American People was: that "at Treaties, they "charged them, with the injuries they had done to the Ameri- "Cans: while *they* (the Americans) neither said a word, nor "would hear any thing about injuries they had done to Indians! "that finally they took their Land (or Country) from them "alledging to them crimes which properly had been caused by "or committed by themselves. They alledged, that the Treaties "lately held with the Nations, had been highly offensive; they "having been too hard dealt with! "We (said they) "were "addressed by the great Men who spake to us, as if we had been "a conquered People; and who *must,* whether willing or not, "submit to the dictates of a proud Conqueror!" — We were told, "that by having embraced the cause of our fathers the British, "we had forfeited all our Land — had no more a Country, which "we could call our own! — That, they had a right to take the "whole of our lands at [380] once, but, out of compassion, they "would suffer us to live and hunt on a part of it, for a while "longer!" (describing the Lands they now should lay a claim "to.) The Indians further reported: "that the American Peo- "ple, took their Country from them also on the grounds, that "they (the Indians) had been told at the Treaty held at Pitts- "burg at the commencement of the War: "that all those Indians "who joined the British and took up Arms against them, would "loose their Land if they (the Americans) should become the "Conquerers!" — Here the Indians observe: "that in *their* sit-

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"uation, they could not have done otherwise, as for all their "dependence for Necessaries, Articles of Cloathing &c they "had to look to the British alone, the Americans having nothing "to give, or to exchange for their Peltries; and besides, their "father the British *compelled* them to side with them, saying: "that if they did not, they would look upon them as Enemys, "and withhold every thing from them!" — They say further: "that those great Men, who foretold what would be done with "those who joined the British against them, at the same time, "made a very fine promise to all those who did *not* join in the "War, but sit quiet and mind their own business at home; say- "ing: "that all such they would make to be, a *great and happy* "*People*!" — Here — (putting the Question to one another; and "to the Christian Indians particularly —) they ask: "Did they "speak the truth, or did they deceive us?" — They *did* deceive "us; for those were the very People they [381] sought to kill! "they did kill upwards of one hundred of our People, who "never took up a single Weapon against them, but remained "quiet at home, planting Corn and Vegetables, and praying — "and not sattisfied with what they had done on the Muskingum, "and at Pittsburg, to those who befriended them; they even ven- "tured into our Country at Sandusky, for the purpose of killing "the remainder of those, who had done, as we all were bid to "do! — *did sit still"!* — (Then going on, in enumerating the "daily offences given, and injuries done and doing them, they "said:) "those very People, have since the Peace has been con- "cluded, been all over our Country, deadening Trees, and lay- "ing Poles accross* each other on the ground, wherever they "found a spot of good Land; so that, in whatever direction we "go to hunt, we meet with the like work by White People! — "Now (said they) does this not plainly denote, that they mean to "take this *very Land* from us? Is it not evident, that they mur- "dered so many of our friends, for the purpose of getting at this

*making Tomohock improvements, thereby to hold such spot of Land to themselves, as was usual to do before the War.

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"land. — Go and examine your former Towns on the Musking-
"um" (said they to the Christian Indians) "and see what they
"have been doing there! You will find in many places, Trees
"deadened, and cut poles laid accross each other by them*!
"And do you really [382] believe, that those People who have
"done this, would tolerate You, to sit down there again? No!
"indeed! Follow up" (said they) "the Rivers and Streams,
"which fall into the Ohio: to their fountain heads, and You
"will find the like work done!§ Besides this, what have they
"done to our Persons, since they told us, that now all was Peace,
"inviting us to come and Trade with them again; there being
"Stores open for us for that purpose, both at Pittsburg and Fort
"Mac Intosh! Did they not fall upon those of our People,
"who had taken their Skins and Peltry to the latter place, while
"they were in the Act of trading them away, killing several of
"them? † Did we not receive but the other day, an account of
"some Shawanese being murdered on the Sciota ‡ ! — Are they
"not at this present time scattered thro our Country, either steal-
"ing our Horses, or robbing our hunting Camps — taking the
"Skins away from the Scaffolds ¶, while we are absent! And
"shall we suffer such Thieves and Murderers to be always our
"Neighbours! — let them go on in this way, [383] untill they
"have extirpated us entirely; and have the *whole* of our Land!
"— Did not God create us as well as the White People! — Did
"he not place us on this Land! and give strength and ability,

*This was found to be so, on the return of the Christian Indians to Muskingum in the Year 1798.

§The writer of this, found this to be so, wherever he came on his Travelling thro that Country.

†This was a most barbarous Act. One of the Christian Indians was killed at that time.

‡see Loskiels history. Part 3d. Chap. XIII. their Number stated to be 10.

¶Indeed the poor sufferers, sometimes applied to the Missionaries to assist them in recovering their property: but neither the Indian Agent; nor the Civil Authority could effect this at *that* time!

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"to defend ourselves against any invader! — Does he not expect "of us, that we shall exert ourselves, in preserving that which "he gave to our forefathers, both for themselves and their off- "spring for ever! — What Nation of Indians, will tamely sub- "mit, to be driven from their Lands by another Nation! — Is it "not a rule with Indian Nations to make Prisoners of the inhabi- "tants of another Nation, to take their Horses; Guns; Peltry, "nay, every Article found upon them, when such were only "caught hunting, in their Territory! — sending them home nak- "ed, and forbidding them ever to come again, or they must abide "the consequence! — And have not such as *did* return, had their "Noses and Ears cut off; — and been told, that if they came a "third time, they loose their heads! — Yes! all this has been done "by the very Nations,* adjoining us! — And shall we be driven "among these to be served in the same manner! No Nation has "suffered what we have by the White People! We — the Lenni "Lenape (Delawares) together with our numerous train of con- "nexions (Grand-Children) who at the time when the first "White People came over the great Salt [383] water Lake to us, "owned, and were in posession of all the Country lying on the "Sea Shore — far to the South; and far to the East. *We*! — "Our forefathers received the White People with kindness! they "gave them Land to live, and plant upon. We afterwards show- "ed them the same kindness! — We always agreed, to part with "as much land to the White People, as they stood in need of for "planting; for they must live as well as ourselves! — But they are "not sattisfied with this! When we part with a large track of "our Country to them: they do not begin at the one end, and "continue setling, one adjoining the other, untill the whole is set- "tled, or occupied! — No! they scatter like the Deer over the "whole track — one here, another there; leaving vast bodies of "Land lying waste, and then say to us, that they must have more "Land; and if we are not quick in giving it to them, they take

*the Potwatamos. see Heckewelders history of the Indian Nations. Chap XIX.

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"it, saying we *will* have it! — And what are they doing at this "present time! — Have they not their Surveyors out almost in "every direction!* And are they not building houses at the Salt "Spring on the big Beaver; and bringing large Iron Potts out to "make Salt on our Land!" &c.[1]

Such was their language at that time, and which engaged the particular attention of all the Indian Nations residing in the Country — The disappointment they met with at the two first Treaties, held with them after a Peace had taken place between the con-[385]tending Powers; on account of their *not* being at liberty, to meet the American Commissioners, with a Speech, or address, & which they had with *so much care* prepared for the occasion: gave them, a disgust for the whole. — They were not insensible, that they had erred; and that their American Brethren, had also just complaints against them; but they thought, matters should *have* been, and *would* be, properly examined into, — properly weighed; and impartially decided. They had flattered themselves: that when once they should meet their American Brethren at a Treaty, matters would soon be adjusted; & that all that was past, would be burried in the deep; and they again taken by the hand by their American Brethren &c.

*the 7 Ranges, and Donation Lands were then surveying

[1] This is the best summary yet written of the complaints of the Indians. The treaty was concluded at Fort McIntosh, January 21, 1785. The Commissioners were George Clark, Richard Butler and Arthur Lee. It was signed by the Half King as "Daunghquat," Abraham Kuhn, Captain Pipe as "Hobocan," Wingenund, written "Wingenum," and numerous other chiefs. The tone of the treaty is that of the conqueror; the provisions are brief and dictatorial. The document bears evidence of the truthfulness of the charges brought against the treaty by the Indians. The dissatisfaction created by it in the minds of the chiefs, and the unfavorable impression generally of the Americans gained by the Indians were taken advantage of by the British. The errors committed in this treaty were costly in the extreme, and the foundation for much of the mischief which followed. The war in the West did not cease. The proper course at that treaty might have brought about a lasting peace.

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Of the manner in which the Nation intended to meet their American Brethren, at a Treaty, when called upon for the purpose, the Christian Indians had previously been informed of; and the proposed address, met their full approbation; it containing incontrovertible facts — the language not high toned; yet energetic; and calculated to soften, or prepare the heart for a kind reception; closing, with making a present of a *large* track of Land, to their American Brethren — and another very large track of Land, (in both cases boundaries described) they wished "to exchange with their American Brethren for Articles of "Cloathing, "to cover the nakedness of themselves and [386] "families, occasioned from a want of these Articles during the "long contest": as the intended Speech expressed.

In addition to the pain it gave them, in being disappointed with regard to the Speech, or address they intended to make: by an address of the Commissioners to them; a mistake had been made in the interpretation of an article, contained in the address of the latter, which was highly offensive to them; tho at the time they preferred being silent thereon, as the Treaty was held at a fortified place.* — The Commissioners had intended to explain to the Indian Nations, "that by the Treaty, between the British and the United States; territorial lines had been agreed upon, between the parties; and that, according to these, the Nations present, for the greater part, fell within the *territory* and *Jurisdiction* of the United States"; here however, it appeared, that either from a wrong conception — or the want of proper words to designate the true meaning of this Article; the Interpreters had made use of the words "right of *Soil*", instead of *Jurisdiction,* so that the Indians were led to believe, that the American People, laid a claim to every foot of the *Soil,* belonging to them. and, returning home, under this wrong impression, the British — or their subordinate Agents, strengthened and supported them in this belief, which induced them to take the resolution, to stand their ground as long as they were able; and if, finally, they *must*

*see Heckewelders historical Account. Chap. XXII. pp. 177.

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perish, they still [387] would have the consolation: that they had not lost their Country and lives thro' Cowardice.

They however did not wish to commence hostilities, without first giving a warning. Surveyors, were ordered to desist Surveying Lands in their Country, and M^r^. Cribbs placed by a Company (who laid a claim to the land their works were on) to take care of the buildings, Iron Potts, Tools &^c^, not attending to the warning given him, was murdered; the Potts, they were able to break, broken to pieces, and every thing destroyed.

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CHAPTER XXXV.

THE idea, of the Christian Indians settling on the Muskingum, being of course given up untill better times: the writer of this Narrative; whose Wife was not in condition to undergo the hardships and fatigues, which presented themselves to our view, took his family, near the commencement of the Winter, to Bethlehem; the Missionaries Zeisberger and Wife, with Edwards remaining with the Indian Congregation.

Thus were those poor Indians, who expected to enjoy Peace, and rest; already under an apprehension, that new troubles might befal them. Otherwise they were cheerful — had built a convenient temporary house of Worship — and were, since they had crossed the Lake, joined by a number of their dispersed Brethren and Sisters. Poor Thomas; the lad who was scalped at the butchery of the Christian Indians at Gnadenhutten, unfortunately was drowned; while [388] fishing in the River. From the blows he received on his head, previous to the scalping of him, he at times became afflicted with violent pains, and a dizziness in his head, so much so, that sometimes he would faint away. He was an excellent swimmer; but a fit of diziness, taking him unexpectedly, while in a Canoe by himself, he fell out and was drowned.

Some Indian Corn, Potatoes, Pumpkins, Beans, Turnips &c were raised here this Season, altho' late put into the ground; and what was wanting in Provisions, could be readily had from Messrs. Duncan and Wilson, who carried on a Trade in Articles of Provisions to Detroit, and had a store of Flower, within a few Miles of where we were. The Brethren at Bethlehem, had also in August of this Year, sent us Articles of Cloathing &c. for which we were very thankful.

Shortly after the commencement of the Year 1787. accounts were received from various Quarters, that the Christian Indians

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would not be permitted to stay where they at present were; and that they would have to move nearer to the Settlements of the Savages. — The Government of the United States, had also at this time advised the Christian Indians thro' General Butler, Agent of Indian Affairs, not to move to the Muskingum for the present, but to remain at Cayahaga. The Speech from Captain Pipe, already taken notice of, called on them to leave the Cayahaga, and settle at Petquotting.

Such was the state of things at that time; and dis-[389] couraging as it was, they durst not look upon the Speeches sent them, with indifference; especially, what came from Captn. Pipe. Whilst the Christian Indians had this subject under consideration; the hostile Tribes were holding a great Council at Sandusky, at which it was finally resolved, that a War with the United States, should commence; and if the believing Indians, would not decline going to the Muskingum, they would force them to do so, and, that their Teachers should not be taken Prisoners as heretofore, but killed on the Spot. A glimpse of hope, however yet remained & induced them to hope; that, a Peace might yet take place. The Iroquois, (6 Nations) it was said, ha dsent a solemn Embassy* to all the Western Nations, but particularly to the Shawanese, advising them to be at Peace. A report also circulated, that the Commandant at Detroit, had persuaded Nine or Ten Tribes of Indians, to keep the Peace, and that he even threatened such, as should commit hostilities against the United States.*

The Christian Indians, after mature deliberation on the Speeches which had been sent to them, resolved: to seek for a spot of ground between Cayahaga and Petquotting, where, they might live by themselves in Peace and quiet, without being interrupted by the Savages; and having for the purpose examined the Country along the Lake, they found a place, quite to their mind.

[390] At this time the following private Message from a friendly Delaware Chief, was brought and delivered to the Mis-

*Loskiels history Part III^d^. Chap. XIII.

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sionary Zeisberger: "Grandfather! having heard that You pro-
"posed going to live on the Muskingum: I would advise You not
"to go thither this Spring! I cannot§ give You my reasons for
"so advising You! Neither can I say whether we shall have
"War or Peace: but so much I can say: that it is not yet the time
"to go there! Do not think that I wish to oppose Your preaching
"the Word of God! (the Gospel) to the Indians! I am glad You
"do this; but I advise You, not to go to the Muskingum!" — This good Chiefs friendly Message was well understood. Respecting the Missionaries as his friends, he warned them of the danger they would be in, in going there.

On the 19th. of April, the Christian Indians closed their stay at this place, by offering up solemn prayer and praise, in their Chapel. They thanked the Lord for all blessings, both internal and external, which he had showered down upon them in this place; and then set out in two parties, one by Land; and the other by Water. The latter was however delayed a couple of days, on account of a dreadful Storm arrising, just at the moment they were about to run out of the Cayahaga River, into the Lake; the Wind blowing violently from the opposite side, on this Shore. The waves beat with such force against the natural Wall of Stone or Rocks, that the whole Earth seemed to tremble; [391] and the Travellers thanked God, that they at the time were yet in the River in safety, and where they further had the good fortune, to catch several hundred, excellent and large Fish, by torch lights: a fish called in this Country the Maskenuntschi, or Maskenunge — and much resembling the Pike.

On the 24th. of April, the land travellers — and on the day following, those who were gone by Water, arrived at the place they had fixed upon, as their future residence; which was on a large Creek that emptied itself into the Lake from the South, and where a fine fertile Spot was found, much resembling an Orchard, it being interspersed with Crab Apple, and Plumb Trees. Wild Potatoes, an Article of food much valued by the Indians,

§meaning that he durst not disclose &c

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were likewise found here in abundance. In short, there was nothing wanting to encourage them to form a regular Settlement at this place, the which they intended to do, should they be permitted to remain there; this however was not the case. For on the 27th, they were apprized, by a Delaware Captain, who was sent for the purpose; "that they were not permitted to stay, but must proceed on to Sandusky, [1] where a place, Ten Miles distant from the nearest habitation of Indians, was destined for them to live at! and where protection would be granted them; — that, the orders he brought, were positive, and must be obeyed, without further consideration! — The Captain was further, charged with a seperate Message to Zeisberger, to this effect: "Hear my friend, You my [392] Grandfather! I know that "You have formerly been adopted by our Chiefs, as a Member "of the Nation! No one shall hurt You; and You need not be "afraid, or have any scruples, about coming to live at Sandusky!" (delivering a string of Wampum) — The answer given to the above Speech, was of course in the affirmative; yet not without representing to the Captain, the Malice, deceit, and treachery imposed upon them, for these Six or seven Years past.

While preparing to leave this favourite spot Michael Young, who as before related had gone to Bethlehem from Upper Canada, in 1783, now returned again to resume his Missionary Station; & joining the company they continued their Journey, as before, some travelling by Land, while others with the Baggage, went by Water. Arriving at the Huron River, which emptieth itself into Lake Erie, about thirty Miles to the Eastward of Sandusky: they learnt from good Authority, that the Message sent them by the Savage Chief, was not the truth, and the place allotted for them to live at, instead of Ten, was but two Miles from the Village of the Savages; and that the real intention of these was; to draw the Christian Indians back into heathenism. The latter finding this to be their Object, resolved, not to go any further, for the present; but to remain where they

[1] Zeisberger says that this was Lower Sandusky. See his Diary, i, p. 315.

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were, in opposition to the orders of the Chiefs, let the consequence be what it would. — After running their Canoes a few Miles up the River, they, on the 11th of May [393] halted, and all hands turning out, both Men and Women, they erected for themselves, on the same day, a sufficient number of small bark Hutts, to lodge in; and on the next day, sent a deputation to the Chiefs, giving their reason for what they had done: on which they were permitted to stay where they were, for one Year unmolested.

The Village was afterwards built on the East Side of a high bluff, & their Corn fields were on the opposite side. To this place, which they named New Salem,[1] the Heathen sometimes came to hear the preaching of the Gospel, some of whom also joined the Congregation, becoming steady Members of the Church. One noted profligate, who in 1781 had formed a Plan against the lives of the Missionaries, and often laid in Ambush to surprise them — was among those New comers. Even a Huron (Wyondot Indian) who had an invitation to become a Chief of the Nation, refused the offer, and joined the Congregation. They having here, as at all places where the Brethren have Missions, adopted such rules and regulations, as tended both to their internal and external happiness and welfare; they lived contented together, within themselves; yet not without concern as to the fate of the Indian Nations, should these persist in their hostile disposition towards the People of the United States; as the present prospect evinced.

As these Indian Nations, had on all occasions signified their dissatisfaction, at the language held to [394] them, at the Treaty at Fort MacIntosh in 1785. — the Government of the United States appointed another Treaty to be held with them in the fall of the Year 1788 at Fort Harmer, (Mouth of Muskingum) — To this Treaty, they were long in coming, and such as did attend, were, (except those of the 6 Nations, and a few Delawares) barely permitted to go; — or, sent on to keep the United States

[1] On the site of Milan, Erie County, Ohio.

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from suspecting them, they being at that time, engaged at home in deliberating, on the manner of carrying on a War against the United States. The 6 Nations who were present, were brought on by the United States, for the purpose of using their endeavours in bringing about a Peace with the other Nations: they being at Peace with the United States. At length a Treaty was concluded in January 1789.[1]

Four Months after this Treaty was held, the writer of this Narrative, accompanied by Abraham Steiner, a Member of the Society, made a Journey to Petquotting on the Huron River, where the Christian Indians resided; for the purpose of learning the disposition of the Indian Nations — and whether this would be a proper time, for a Surveyor to lay off the Lands, reserved for the Christian Indians on the Muskingum; the Surveyor appointed for the purpose, being in readiness to proceed to the spot. Although all the Indians we met and had seen by the way in going out, were very friendly and hospitable towards us, and glad to see and converse with me, yet they assured us, that [395] they did not believe, a Surveyor would be safe, when seen doing such work in the Country, for altho' they had not been at the Treaty themselves, they knew the Nations were not disposed to keep the Peace, especially the Shawanesse, who had declared, that they never would give up their Lands so foolishly, &c. — The Delawares, for the greater part, wished for a Peace very much, that they might follow up their favourite occupation, (hunting.) although their complaints against the United States were the same as heretofore: namely, that at Treaties, they charged the Indians with what they had suffered by them; and took their Land from them on that account: while they would not suffer the Indians, to state their grievances — or "stopped up their Ears, so that they might not hear what they said". &c. The Christian Indians, tho very anxious for a Peace, thought this

[1] The treaty was concluded January 7, 1789, between Arthur St. Clair, Commissioner of the United States, and the "sachems and warriors of the Six Nations." There were no other parties to the treaty.

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very distant, they having learnt that the hostile party, were strengthening themselves, more and more from day to day.

It was of course to be foreseen, that on the terms insisted on by the United States, they never would conclude a Peace, that would be durable. In their Councils, they were unanimous on what they called the main point, namely: "that at Treaties the grievances from both sides "ought to be heard, and brought in contact — and when this was "done, it would be found, that the guilt of the American People "would by far overbalance theirs. — They were made to suffer, "(said they) for siding with their father, (the British) in the "[396] *War*, although they were *compelled* thereto — while "they, (the American People) were continually harrassing them, "both in Peace & War, by murdering their People — Stealing "from them — incroaching on their Lands and taking their "Game from them! They do us all the harm they can (said "they) and escape *un*punished; for we, never yet heard of a "White Man being punished for killing Indians; we therefore "must conclude, that neither Murder nor theft, committed on "an Indian, is considered with them as a crime!" —

Under the impression, that the American People sought their destruction, for the purpose of getting all their Land; the Western, and a part of the Northern Indians, entered into a formal league, to unite all their strength and forces, in compelling the People of the United States, to keep within certain bounds; expecting that their father, the British, at whose call they had taken up Arms against the United States in the last War, would now at their call, turn out, and assist them; untill they should have fully obtained their object. [1]

[1] This was a renewal or strengthening of the confederacy of the lake tribes known as the Northwestern Confederacy. It had been in existence since the days of Braddock, Forbes and Bouquet, embracing at times almost all the tribes and sometimes but a portion of them. It originated with the Six Nations, and about 1788 and 1789 Brant spent many months trying to perfect and strengthen it in the interest of the British. It was destroyed forever

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At their sittings in Council, during the Winter of 1789-90. they came to the following Resolutions: *first.* "to declare their "case a public grievance in which *all* were concerned — that "therefore every able bodyed Man, ought, and should turn out, "to assist in repelling the Enemy, who had come into their "Country, to take their Land from them. *Secondly*: That the "Christian Indians and their Teachers, should be [397] re- "moved from Petquotting to *Kegeyunk,** with a promise of "being permitted, to enjoy at that place all the priviledges they "could wish for; but having them once there, they would compel "them to fight by their sides, and that death should be the pun- "ishment of all, who refused to fight in this just cause of theirs. "That, if their Teachers in any wise threw obstacles in the way, "by preventing the believing Indians, from joining them in "fighting for their Country; they should instantly be put to "death;§ And that, this part of the Speech be kept a profound "Secret. *thirdly,* That they no longer would listen to any one "who might be sent† to them from the American People, "unless they first saw them moving back again, and, off of their "Land["].

Fortunately the Christian Indians, had real friends among the hostile Indians, and who, on learning the trick to be played on them, gave them private notice thereof, that they might be

*Fort Wayne was afterwards built there.

§That this really had been concluded on, was confirmed by a Tuscorora Indian Chief, who voluntarily, in the Year 1793, called on the writer of this Narrative at Niagara, to inform him of the intrigue: he having been present, when the resolution had been taken.

†Therefore the[y] afterwards murdered the three Messengers, Freman, Truman & Hardin. see Heckewelders history of Indian Nations. Chap. XXI. page 173.

by Wayne's victory. The Emigrant tribes in what is now Kansas revived its form and a little of its spirit at a great meeting held at Fort Leavenworth in October, 1848. It served a good purpose in securing the organization of the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska. See *The Provisional Government of Nebraska Territory.*

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on their guard; when the Message should be brought to them. The Missionaries, seeing the inevitable ruin of their Congre-[398]gation, if they did not very soon retire, to some place, where they would be out of the reach of the Savages; without loss of time, dispatched the Missionary Edwards, with a couple of Indian Brethren, to Detroit, to represent their situation, to the British Commandant, requesting, that he would grant them an Assylum, during the time the War should last; which being readily agreed to, a Vessel was engaged to be at their Village, on the Huron River, at a stated time, to take them off.

The Savages, who by this time, had come on with the Message, for the Christian Indians to get in readiness, and remove to Kegeyunk, were led to believe, that they would go with them; when unexpectedly a Vessel appeared in the River, and took them off, landing them, after crossing the Lake, above the Mouth of Detroit River, where cleared Lands was allotted them, to plant Corn on for the Season; they being here under the protection of the British Government. [1]

The Missionary Senseman, who in 1785, as already noticed, had taken his family from the Huron River in Canada to Bethlehem; being about this time, (Apr 1790) on his return to the Congregation at Petquotting, ran a great risk of falling into the Enemys hands, although at the time it was not known to him. He fortunately arrived with his Wife at Petquotting, to join the Congregation in their flight accross the Lake. In [399] the service of this Mission, there were now four Brethren and two Sisters employed.

The place however, appointed for the temporary abode of the Indian Congregation, was not found to answer the ends wished for; the Savages passing and repassing by Water, would frequently halt at their Settlement; and having Liquor with

[1] On the lands of McKee and Elliott on the Canada side of the Detroit River. Zeisberger and Jung lived in a house on the land of McKee, and Senseman and Edwards lived in a house on that of Elliott. See *Zeisberger's Diary*, ii, p. 180.

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them, would get drunk, and become troublesome; whilst, some of their White Neighbours — more wicked and mischievous, than any Indians, would do all manner of injury to one another, purposely to have the blame thrown upon the Indians. The Missionaries, becoming tired, of having such a set of People for their Neighbours, stated the case to the Commandant at Detroit, who, readily advised them, to remove in the Spring, to the River La Tranche, (now called *Thames*) which they gladly accepted, & moving to the place allotted them, they built a Town; which they called Fairfield.

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CHAPTER XXXVI.

THE depredations which were committed by the Savages, for several Years past; had at length induced the United States, to march an Army into their Country, with the view of chastiseing them, and bringing them to a Peace. Unfortunately however, both this Expedition under General Harmer[1] in 1790, and that the Year following under General St. Clair,[2] failed. — Generals Scott and Wilkinson, had car-

[1] The Harmar expedition was against the Indian towns on the Maumee in the vicinity of where Fort Wayne was afterwards built. Harmar had about fourteen hundred men. The Indian towns were found deserted, but the crops were destroyed. Two detachments of the army were defeated, one being cut to pieces. The campaign failed of its object. The next year St. Clair was sent against the Indians. On the night of the third of November he encamped where Fort Recovery was afterwards built, in the northwest corner of what is now Darke County, Ohio. At sunrise on the morning of the 4th his army was attacked and defeated by the Indians under Little Turtle. The retreat of the army became a rout.

[2] Arthur St. Clair was born at Edinburg, Scotland, in 1734, but the month and day are not known: died at Greensburg, Pennsylvania, August 31, 1818. He graduated at the University of his native city, and began there the study of medicine. Joined the British army, and in 1755 was sent to America. He served under Wolfe, and was in the battle on the "Plains of Abraham." In 1763 he was given command of Fort Ligonier, Pennsylvania. In that colony he became a farmer and a land surveyor. He moved to Westmoreland County, where he was a judge. In the disputes between Pennsylvania and Virginia as to the boundary between them he was a prominent actor in the interest of his adopted colony. He was made a Colonel in the Continental army in 1775, and was ordered to Canada to aid Arnold and Montgomery, but arrived too late to do aught but cover the retreat. In August, 1776, he was made Brigadier-General, receiving his commission on the 9th. He was in the battles of Princeton and Trenton, and February 19, 1777, was made Major-General. He was put in command of Fort Ticonderoga, which he was compelled to abandon upon the approach of General Burgoyne; for this he was tried by court-martial and his action approved; served to the close of the war. In 1786 he was elected to Congress, of which body he was made President. He was appointed the first Governor of the Northwest Territory. In 1791 he was defeated by the Indians against whom he was marching an army. He was removed from office by President Jefferson in 1802, and returned to Pennsylvania. He died in poverty, but his name is imperishable.

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ried their Expeditions [1] to the Waters of the Wabash, with better Success, and brought about Sixty Women and Children Prisoners, to Fort Washington, which, of [400] course, would be a check on those Nations, to whom they belonged, against going to War: but the principle body of the Warriors, held their rendezvous at, or near the Miamis. There all Nations or Tribes in league, would resort; and there it was, that, a number of British Emisaries, Agents and Subalterns, of whome McKee Elliot and Girty were a part; who being influential among them, gave advice and instructions, how they were to act, (so that the Spirit of animosity was kept alive with them;) in order to prevent a meeting of the parties, for the purpose of adjusting matters, and concluding a Peace.

After the two aforesaid expeditions had failed, little hopes could be entertained, that the combined Nations, would be brought to a Peace, until after being humbled; yet the executive of the United States, were not willing to resort to the severest measures, untill they had first tried all possible lenient means; believing, that if the Nations were at liberty to reflect, and act for themselves, there could be no doubt in obtaining this end, and the more so, as they, on their part, were agreed: "if possible to terminate the War upon principles of justice and humanity.["]*

*this was the expression made use of by the Secretary at War (Gen. Knox) in his Letter at the time sent by express to the writer of this Narrative; on requesting him, to accompany, and assist Brigadier Genl. Rufus Putnam, the Commissioner appointed to treat with the Western Indians; on that Mission.

[1] The first expedition of General Wilkinson left the Ohio opposite the mouth of the Kentucky River, May 2, 1791, to destroy the Wea towns, which was successfully done. In the campaign General Wilkinson was aided by General Scott. July 20, 1791, General Wilkinson marched from Fort Washington (Cincinnati) for the Indian town l'Auguille, on Eel River six miles from the Wabash. This and other towns were destroyed and much growing corn cut down.

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Accordingly, both in the Spring of the Year 1792, [401] and the Summer of 1793, attempts were made to bring the parties together, at a Conference, and at such places, as would be most suitable for the purpose. The first Embassy, under General Rufus Putnam, who was appointed a Commissioner for the purpose; though, not succeeding as to the main Object, yet was the means of weakening in a great measure, the powerful alliance; as some Tribes, were detached from the great body, by means of the Prisoners taken from them, by Scott and Wilkinson,[1] being now given up to them again, under a promise that, they would remain quiet, and take no further part in the War. The Treaty held with the Tribes alluded to, was at Post Vincennes on the Wabash River, to which place, the Women and Children, belonging to some of these Tribes, were brought; for the purpose of delivering them up again. After this Treaty was ended, the Chiefs of the Nations were taken to the President of the United States, then at Philadelphia.

[1] James Wilkinson was born in Maryland in 1757: died near the City of Mexico, December 28, 1825. Joined the army under Washington at Cambridge, and was commissioned a Captain and sent to Canada with Montgomery and Arnold. In July, 1776, was made a Major, and attached to the staff of General Gates; was in the battles of Trenton and Princeton. Was made a Colonel and Adjutant-General in 1777, and was at Bemis Heights and Saratoga. Was made Brigadier-General November 6, 1777, and soon after appointed Secretary of the Board of War, of which body General Gates was President. Was implicated with Gates in the "Conway Cabal," and resigned as Brigadier-General, but retained his commission of Colonel; saw little service during the remainder of the war. Settled at Lexington, Kentucky, in 1783, where he entered into a conspiracy with the Spanish to separate the territory west of the Alleghanies from the Union, which was discovered and defeated. In 1791 he requested reinstatement in the army, and was made Lieutenant-Colonel; in 1792 he did good service against the Indians in what is now Indiana. Upon the death of General Wayne in 1796, he was given command of the Western frontiers. Was appointed Governor of Louisiana in 1805, and was in the conspiracy of Burr to establish a Western Confederacy, but he betrayed Burr. Was made Major-General in 1813, but was unsuccessful in his service. He acquired large estates in Mexico, and to these he retired and spent the remainder of his life. His character is one to be despised always, though he rendered his country some good service.

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The Commissioners appointed to the Peace Embassy of 1793, were General Benjamin Lincoln; Col. Timothy Pickering, and Beverly Randolph Esqr. The Object was, to meet the Indian Nations, at the Rapids of the Miami of the Lake; where, it was understood, the great body of the Warriors were assembled; — and it was hoped, — that once met, face to face at a conference, matters might be adjusted, to their satisfaction. But, it was evident, that the British, (by their Agent on that ground,) prevented this [402] meeting, which unquestionably was much to the injury of the poor deluded Indians. The Commissioners, indeed, spared no pains in their attempt to bring them to a meeting, even where they were encamped; and the representation of the danger, they would expose themselves to, by meeting an enraged Enemy, and the certainty of their loosing their lives if they came amongst them (as some predicted would infallibly be the case) had no effect upon them. However all their endeavours to attain the so much wished for meeting, proved ineffectual. At length, by an insolent Speech, that was brought to the Commissioners, as the Sentiments of the Council of the Savages: all hope of meeting them vanished, & the Commissioners returned them a short answer, to this purport: "That they reminded them of the pains the United States had taken, to bring about a Peace with them; but as they were inattentive, to their own welfare, and had disappointed the United States, they must abide the consequences; and onely blame themselves, and their advisers, for future events!"

The writer of this, having been by a Letter from General Knox, dated 19th. March (1793) informed, that the President requested him, to accompany the Commissioners, who were to negotiate with the hostile Indians, and being also on the spot; witnessed, the insolent manner in which this last Speech was both worded and delivered. Even Simon Girty, who together with Elliot were present at its delivery, sup-[403]ported his insolence, by a Quill, or long Feather run through the under part of his Nose crossways. It appeared also, that Girty (the

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interpreter of the Message) had taken the liberty, of adding the last Sentence to it. Two Delawares of Note, who in the course of our stay at the Mouth of Detroit River, arrived with a deputation, being questioned by me; the reason why the Commissioners, were not permitted to meet them on the Miami, at their Quarters? replied: "all we can say is: that we wish for Peace; "but we cannot speak further, our Mouths being stopped up, "when we left the Council!" — which was saying, that they had been forbidden to disclose any of their secrets.

There were also Six respectable Members of the Society of Friends,* on this Embassy, who voluntarily, and at their own expence, accompanied the Commissioners, on this Peace errand; — and whose sole object was, that of being instrumental in putting a stop to the effusion of so much human blood. The disappointment therefore was to us all, a distressing one; and the poor Savages some time after had to pay dear, for having suffered themselves, to be thus mislead.

While these friends, myself and several more of our Company were at Detroit awaiting the arrival of the Commissioners from Queenstown; I paid a visit of [404] several days, to the Indian Congregation at Fairfield on Thames River, about Seventy Miles to the East or Northeastward of Detroit. The Settlement was only begun the preceeding Year; yet much labour was already completed, and the inhabitants lived very happy, and enjoyed Peace, as though there was no War. Some good Houses and a Chapel, were already built; and their Corn and Wheat Fields, promised according to appearance, good Crops. In provision however, they were deficient; not having the last Year been able to raise much, as the land was covered with Wood & brush, which they were obliged to cut off. The friends, learning their situation, generously made them a present of One hundred Dollars, to purchase Provisions and other

*their Names were, John Parrish, William Savory, and John Elliot, of the City of Philadelphia. Jacob Lindlay of Chester County and Joseph Moore and Willm. Hartshorn of New Jersey.

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necessary Articles; for which they, by Letter, returned their benefactors, their best thanks.

The Savages, continuing their murderous incursions, into the Settlements of the United States: General Wayne [1] in August 1794, marched an Army into their Country, and on the 20th of that Month, in a general engagement at the Rapids of the Miami, completely routed them; which Victory, was the salutary means, of bringing on a Peace with them, & which was concluded, with all these hostile Nations, on the third of August the following Year.

The Indians, now seeing, and acknowledging their error said: "since we would not listen to the Messengers of Peace, sent to us by the great General [405] Washington; but treated them contemptuously: he has sent out a *"Sukach-gook"** (a black Snake) among us, to punish us; and this he has done"!

*"Sukachgook." is the Delaware Name for black Snake which they called Genl. Wayne by, saying: that he posessed all the arts and cunning of that reptile, which was known to be the greatest destroyer of small Birds and Animals, of the Snake tribe.

[1] Anthony Wayne was born in Chester County, Pennsylvania, January 1, 1745: died at Presque Isle (Erie), Pennsylvania, of an attack of gout, December 15, 1796. From 1767 to 1774 he was a farmer and land surveyor. In 1774-75 he was a member of the Pennsylvania Legislature, serving as a member of the Committee of Public Safety during the latter year. This year also he resigned his seat in the legislature and raised a company of men. He was commissioned Colonel January 3, 1776, and was sent to New York and Canada; was at Three Rivers, and also commanded at Fort Ticonderoga. Was commissioned Brigadier-General February 21, 1777, and assigned to service under Washington; commanded a Division at Brandywine; September 27, 1777, was surprised by the British at Paoli; was in command of the right wing at Germantown. In 1778 he successfully raided country within the British lines, and was at Monmouth. One of the most daring and brilliant acts of the Revolution was Wayne's storming of Stony Point, July 15, 1779. In January, 1781, he suppressed a mutiny in the Pennsylvania Line, and commanded at Green Springs. He served at the siege of Yorktown. In 1782 he was sent to the South, where he defeated the British and Indians in Georgia. Septem-

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ber 30, 1783, he was made Major-General by brevet. Was appointed Major-General and Commander-in-chief of the army in 1792, and took personal command in the West, where he drilled and equipped an army to go against the Indian tribes of the Northwest. In 1794 he defeated the combined forces of the Indians at Fallen Timbers, Maumee Rapids, and destroyed their power forever. In 1795 he built Fort Recovery, and negotiated a lasting treaty of peace with the Indians at Greenville. He was one of the greatest of the Generals of the War of the Revolution.

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CHAPTER XXXVII.

IN the Year 1797. the Land that was granted to the Christian Indians by the Congress of the United States; was by the Surveyor General, Rufus Putnam Esqr: surveyed, and laid off in three Seperate Tracts of four thousand Acres each, including their former Towns of Gnadenhutten, Salem and Shonbrun; all on the Muskingum River. The Directors of the Society, being desirous, that this might be made known to the Christian Indians at Fairfield, in Upper Canada, that they, or some of them, might come and commence a Settlement on their Land; the writer of this Narrative, accompanied by the Rev^{d}. Benjamin Mortimer, who was appointed a Missionary to the Indians, travelled together in the Spring of 1798, by way of the Ginessee Country, black Rock, Niagara, the grand River, and the Pinery in Upper Canada, to that place; where we found the Indian Congregation in a flourishing state, and glad to learn, that Congress was so well disposed towards them, and had granted them their Lands: on which, a number of them, were willing to settle in the fall of the Year.

[406] Having made a Weeks stay at this place, I set out with the aged Missionary Edwards, and two Young Indian Brethren for the Muskingum, to begin a Settlement at Gnadenhutten, and make the necessary preparation, for the reception of those Missionaries and Christian Indians, who were expected to come on in the Fall. The route we took to the place of our destination, was, by Detroit, Brownstown, the River Raison, the Rapids of the Miami of the Lake, Upper Sandusky, Owl Creek, and forks of the Muskingum.

Meeting with some Delaware Indians of my acquaintance, at the Rapids of Miami, one of them mentioned, the narrow escape he made, in the engagement with the "black Snake" at this place, and pointing to the spot, where he dropped down in the high Grass, while the Horsemen were in pursuit of him

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and others, said: "there it was, where the horsemen galloped almost over me, in pursuit of those ahead; but the great Spirit prevented them from seeing me, and their Horses from treading on me!"

In our passage thro the Upper Sandusky, Wyondot, and Delaware Villages, the Indians were very friendly to us; declaring: that they were glad of the Peace; and hoping that it would be of long duration; but before we had left the last Village, and while they were in the Act of extending their hospitality to us; the alarm Yell at a distance, sounded, *bad News,* which, when the runner came in, was reported to be: that some White People had surprised an Indian hunt-[407]ing Camp on Scotia, and killed a Woman and her Child, robbing afterwards the Camp. This News, as might be expected, checked their joy, and cast a gloom on all countenances, and on our arrival at Killbucks Creek, about 5 Miles from the forks of Muskingum, where some Delawares had planted a field of Corn, we found this bad news was already known, with the addition, that, Thomas White Eyes, (Son of the late Captain White Eyes[)] who was educated at Princeton College in New Jersey at the expence of the Government of the United States, during the revolutionary War, was also murdered by a White Man near Georgetown on the Ohio. Another horrid Murder, tho a Year or two later, was committed in the New Connecticut reserve, by some White People, on well known quiet and friendly Indians, who considered themselves perfectly safe amongst their American Brethren.

In October, the Missionaries, Zeisberger and Mortimer, together with a number of the Christian Indians, from Fairfield in Upper Canada, arrived on the Muskingum, and having laid off a Village on the Shonbrun Tract, about seven Miles from Gnadenhutten, they called it Goshen. [1]

[1] Goshen was laid out on a tract of land which Dr. Schweinitz found owned by Jacob Keller in 1863. It was seven miles northeast of Gnadenhutten, in what is now Goshen Township, Tuscarawas County.

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The Delawares residing on White River, (an Arm of the Wabash) having at several times, sent invitations to the Christian Indians, to come with their Teachers, and make a Settlement near them, that, they also might have an Opportunity of hearing the Gospel preached: the brethren Kluge and Luckenbach from [408] Bethlehem, together with three respectable families of Christian Indians, among whom was Joshua, a National Chapel Interpreter, all from Goshen, were in the Spring of 1801, sent there for the purpose. They Travelled together, the greater part of the way by Water, first running down the Muskingum into the Ohio. — then down that River to the Mouth of the big Miami; — thence up that River a considerable distance to a point, from whence they struck accross the Country, to the White River; where, within a few Miles of the Indian Settlements, they built themselves Houses and Huts, and under flattering expectations, that, many would be brought over from heathenism, to the knowledge of Christ, by the preaching of the Gospel, they cheerfully entered on their Missionary Labours.

With this Mission, the Brethren did not succeed; for, instead of gaining for the Lord, they lost. It became more and more evident, that it was not the desire of hearing the Gospel, as they set forth in their Message when giving the invitation; but a scheme to draw off all the Christian Indians, from the Neighbourhood of the White People, and have these united with themselves. The Preaching was however continued, for several Years, when, unfortunately, both for them and the Savages, an Impostor arose, from among the Shawanos, who, pretending to be endowed with the Gifts of prophesy, caused such commotions among the Indians in that Quarter, that it became unsafe for the [409] Brethren to remain there much longer, as the sequel will shew.

This Prophet,* (called Tecumseh) [1] during the course of

*see Heckewelder's Account of the Indians Chap. XXXIX. page 292 &c.

[1] It is strange that Heckewelder should fall into this error. And he calls

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his Administration, had by art and cunning, raised himself so into such importance, that he became the Oracle of the day. His first discourses, like those of his predecessors, (who also had taken to preaching and Prophecy,) were intended to instigate the Nations against the White People, by causing them to reflect on the past and happy time, they (or their forefathers) lived in, previous to the coming of white people into their Country — pointing out, the wretched state they were brought to, by suffering themselves to be mislead and decieved, by those who sought nothing short of their utter destruction, in order to get their whole Country to themselves. — Hence this advice was: "that they must entirely withdraw their affection from those Strangers; leave them to *their* way of worship, while they, (the Indians) must return to their ancient ways and customs, and worship the great Spirit, in the manner their forefathers had done". — He next observed: that "while the White People "on the one hand were seeking their destruction; they were "destroying each other by Witchcraft! And it was high time "for a stop to be put to the evil. For having been left so long "unpunished, they had both become numerous, and grown bold! "— But, he however, being endowed with [410] supernatural "powers, that enabled him to discover every Witch among them, "would point them out; when, it would become their duty, to "sacrifice on the pile, and burn to Ashes, every one he should "pronounce to be such, without regard to persons!"

Tecumseh the prophet in his *History of the Indian Nations*. The prophet was Tecumseh's brother. He acted as Tecumseh directed. He was really a remarkable man. Catlin found that he had visited the remote regions of the headwaters of the Missouri River in an effort to unite firmly all the Indian tribes in a confederacy to resist the Americans. He had arranged for a large army to march to the assistance of his brother, when enemies from his own tribe arrived and succeeded in neutralizing his efforts. He had many prominent Indians executed for witchcraft with which he charged them. It was a powerful weapon because of the peculiar attitude of the Indians toward it. One accused must be executed; no evidence is required and no defense could be made. The Prophet died in Wyandotte County, Kansas, in 1848, and is buried in Shawnee Township, about two miles southwest of Argentine, near a large spring. The grave is near the old Junction School-house.

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The novel doctrine held forth by this Prophet, drew many to the spot to hear him, and be witnesses to the actions of so extraordinary a Character; little thinking at the time, that when they were in his presence, they, or some among them, would be on the verge of being pronounced Witches, and condemned for execution. Here was a wide field for this Man, to exercise his Authority, and gratify his ambition; — for he who dared to question has Authority — or the legality of his proceedings, was sure to fall a Victim. § — The credulous disposition with regard to novelties, which is peculiar to the Indians, and especially with respect to Witchcraft; deprived many for the moment, of reflection. They hastened to the spot, for the purpose of hearing and seeing, who those were, that had been so fatal to the Nation, when, alas! some of them were finally pronounced to be Witches; and executed as such.

Amongst the many who were sacrificed as Witches, by the orders of this pretended Prophet, notice shall be taken of a few. The Delaware Chief *Tatapachkse,** [411] generally called the "*Grand Glaize King*"; being condemned to be burnt on the pile, was brought from the Village, where the great Assembly was, to the little Village of the Christian Indians, and executed near the same; that the Inhabitants might be witnesses of the Act. After a large pile of Wood was cut and heaped up, they placed him bound upon it; giving him a stroke or two with

§see Helkewelders Account of Indian Nations Chap. XXXIX. page 294 &c.

**Tatapachkse*, (properly) not "Teta-boksk-ke", as his Name is signed to Waynes Treaty—This Chief of the Turtle Tribe, was for many Years well known to the writer of this Narrative, as a quiet, inoffensive and harmless Man; he then being a Councellor of the Nation at Goshachking. A vacancy being occasioned afterwards. by the death of the young Chief of that Tribe, whom Williamsons party murdered near Pittsburg—and most of the Tribe having fled to the Westward; ho was nominated their Chief, and while in that Station condemned as a Witch, and put to death. He was about 60 Years of Age.

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the Tomohawk, and having kindled the fire under him; they made themselves merry, in having relieved the Nation of a Witch. Then returning, they all entered the Missionary's House; demanding something to eat, saying they were hungry!! — Dreadful as the sight of these barbarians was to the Missionaries, they were obliged to comply; when they ate with as much composure, as if nothing had happened. The Missionaries, having in some measure recovered from their first fright, now enquired of them, "whether they knew any thing of their "brother Joshua, who had been sent for by their People, to "answer some Questions they had to put to him, after which he "would be at liberty to return home again; but, as he had not "yet returned, they felt anxious for [412] him, and therefore "wished that they would, on their arrival at the Village, pro- "cure his liberation, he being much wanted at home. They "added, that, he being a believing (Christian) Indian, had noth- "ing to do with Witchcraft, and, whatever might be said of him "by designing Men to the contrary, could not be true: &c" to which they replied: that "no harm was intended to him, and he would soon be at home again:" on that they felt somewhat easy; yet, as he did not return, at the expected time, brother Luckenbach took the resolution to go to the place, where the great body of the Savages were assembled, (which was some Miles distant,) and try to bring him off, but meeting with a Person on the Way who came direct from there, he was informed, that he was too late, for that Joshua had been burnt to death on the Pile, already the day before.

The grief the Missionaries felt, on account of what had befallen their brother; was indiscribable. They "sank down on their knees deeply afflicted, praying to the Lord, to avert all danger from them and their People, and take them under his gracious protection! — and that he also in his Mercy, would cause the works of darkness, which at this present time, were so destructively carried on among the Heathen, to cease; that the lives of those ignorant heathen might be preserved, for the

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good purpose, of turning them from their heathenish ways unto him!"*

[413] It appeared, from the conduct of the Savages, in taking this Chief thro the brethrens Settlement, and burning him so near their Village, that this plan had been devised, for the purpose of drawing the attention of the Missionaries and their Indians, to the Act they were committing *here* — while, forgetting Joshua for the moment, he at the same time, would be executed, at the place they had come *from*; so that they would be too late, if they afterwards came to look for him.

Joshua, before, and after being placed on the burning pile; prayed most fervently to God his Saviour; and continued either praying, or singing praises to the Lord, until his strength was exhausted, and death closed his career. One Indian from that quarter — an acquaintance and friend of mine, who witnessed the scene, assured me and others; that "our brother Joshua, remained faithful to *his* God as long as life was in him. his prayers however were in a Language none of them could understand!" — (probably in German, in which Language he was well versed).*

Another victim was, Ann Charity, an aged Woman, who from a Child lived in the Congregation, until the dispersion of

*Letter from the Missionary Kluge, to the Missionaries at Goshen.

*This Indian, (Joshua) of the Mohegan Tribe, was born in the Year 1741 at Wachquatnach, an Indian Village bordering on the Connecticut River in New England, where the Brethren at that time had a Mission; but the White People, sometime after becoming troublesome, on account of the Land they occupied, which they wanted, and finally took from them. The Indian Converts, Fifty four in number, [414] besides their Children, emigrated on invitation of the Brethren, to Bethlehem in Pennsylvania; and afterwards settled on a tract of Land, purchased for them about 27 Miles distant from that place. Here they built a Town which was called Gnadenhutten (Cabbins of Grace)—The Father, of the Indian Joshua, (who bore the same Name,) was one of the two first Indians, who were baptised at Bethlehem in the Year 1742. Count Zinzendorf himself, together with the Missionary Buttner, officiating on the occasion. This Joshua, (the Father) was from the time of his

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the Christian Indians, in the Spring of [416] 1782, when She was taken by her heathen relations, to the White River, to be out of the way of the murdering gang of White People, who had destroyed so many of their relatives already. She had not yet joined the Christian Indians on White River, when the Prophet pointed her out as a Witch, on which she was also put to death, and burnt on the Pile. This Woman, having been

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Baptism, unto his Death in 1773, a faithful and useful Member of the Church; being both a National Assistant, or Warden, and also Interpreter* of the Sermons preached to the Indians—Joshua, the Son, above alluded to, was brought up in the fear of the Lord, and had, from his Childhood, been within the pale of the Society. He had a genius for learning, both Languages, and the Mechanical Arts; was a good Cooper and Carpenter; could stock a Gun nicely; and no one excelled him in building a handsome Canoe. He also, with a little assistance from the Missionary of the place where he dwelt, (Wyalusing) made a Spinet for the use of the Congregation, and was the Chapel Musician, while they resided there, having learnt to play on this Instrument, and the Organ, at the time when the Christian Indians were stationed [415] at Bethlehem in the Years 1756.57. and 58. during the continuance of the War between the English and French. He spoke both English and German well, and could write Letters in either of these Languages, especially in the latter. He was also fond of reading, in the Bible, Hymnbook, and other religious Books. The Murder, of his two beloved and only Daughters, between the Ages of fourteen and Eighteen Years, by Williamsons party, at Gnadenhutten on the Muskingum in 1782. was a hard stroke for him to bear. Often, very often has he been seen shedding Tears, on this account, though he was never heard to utter a revengeful Sentiment against the Murderers; He however could not conceal his astonishment, that a People, who called themselves Christians, and read the Scriptures, (which he supposed all the White People did) could commit such Acts of barbarity, and was firmly persuaded, that if all the Indians had the Bible, and could read it, they would be a better People. In later Years, he served as a Chapel Interpreter, to the Christian Indian flock on the White River, until the artful Shawano Prophet, Tecumseh, who was an enemy to the preaching of the Gospel to the Indians, declared him an associate in Witchcraft; which brought him to the Pile, on which he ended his life as a Christian—his age being 65 Years.

*see Loskiels history. Part 3d. page 108 & 9. (English Translation)

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while a Child placed in the family of the Missionary Youngman, and brought up to all manner of labour in the house belonging to Women, she was particularly noticed, as an active industrious Woman, and admired for her cleanliness, both in dress, & in household affairs.

The Prophet, who had given notice to the neighbouring Nations, that he would pay each of them a visit, for the purpose of pointing out the Witches they had amongst them; had already began to issue orders for the execution of some Individuals at a distance;* he generally directed his shaft at those, who were reported as placing no faith in his doctrine; or considered him as a destroyer of Indians; & also at those, whom he knew to be friendly to the White People. However he did not succeed in all his schemes and undertakings; for one day, when in the heigth of the exercise of his assumed Power, he met with a spirited inferior Chief, who defied him, boldly stepping up to him, in a Language, or expression he could [417] not misunderstand; asked him if he dared to accuse him of Witchcraft: he immediately became sensible, that limits were set to his powers and proceedings. On receiving this rebuke, he with great artifice resumed the subject he began with, when first entering on preaching, namely: by drawing a comparison, between the state of the Indians, previous to the White Peoples coming amongst them; and since these had mingled with them: exhorting the Indians, to abide by their mode of worshiping the great Spirit; and not adopt that of the White People.

The Missionaries, having no prospect of success by continuing to preach the Gospel to a People, who either did not want to hear, or despised it; broke up the Settlement in 1806, and returned to Bethlehem.

*see Heckewelders Account of Indn. Nations Chap. XXXIX.

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CHAPTER XXXVIII.

IN the Autumn of the Year 1803. the Bishop George Henry Loskiel,[1] late from Europe, and last from Bethlehem — Author of the Book entitled: "History of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Indians in North America", paid a Visit to the Indian Congregation at Goshen on the Muskingum, to which place, the Missionary Schnall, from Fairfield in Upper Canada, on previous notice being given him for the purpose came also. In a conference, on the State of the Mission, it was resolved: that another Mission Settlement should be commenced in the Spring, following, at Petquottink, on the Huron River, (South side of Lake Erie,[)] with a part of the Fairfield Congregation; which Missionary Settlement, begun in 1804, [418] was again broke up in 1809, on account of the Lands on which they lived, being sold to White People, who wanted to live there themselves. Other two Directors of the Society, Charles van Forrestier from Europe, and John G. Cunow from Bethlehem, visited in the Year 1807 the brethrens Missionary Settlements, both in the State of Ohio, and in Upper Canada.

In November 1808 the venerable Missionary David Zeisberger, aged Eighty seven Years and seven Months, departed this life at Goshen on the Muskingum; after which his faithful Colleague, the reverend Benjamin Mortimer, took charge of the Congregation.

As with the death of the Rev[d]. David Zeisberger, who entered into the service of this Mission shortly after its first

[1] George Henry Loskiel was born at Angermunde, in Curland, November 7, 1740: died at Bethlehem, Pa., February 24, 1814. His parents were Lutherans, his father having been a minister in that Church. He joined the Moravians in 1759. He held various offices in the Church, and was made a Bishop in 1802, when he came to America. He wrote *The History of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Indians in North America* prior to 1782. It is one of the great authorities on American history.

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commencement: a period is closed, highly interesting as to external incidents, and occurrences relating to the Mission, & some of a most extraordinary nature; which have been detailed in this Narrative: it may be proper, summarily to state: that from the commencement of this Mission among the Mohicans in New York and Connecticut States — in 1740. and the Delawares in Pennsylvania, a Year later: unto the Year 1808, inclusive, (a period of near 70 Years) between thirteen and fourteen hundred* Souls were baptised by the Brethren; of whom [419] a considerable Number departed this life, in the Christian faith, rejoicing in the hope of soon being in the presence of their Redeemer; while others, who were living in the same faith, had been prematurely cut off from the land of the living, by an inhuman lawless band, (as hath been detailed in this Narrative) — Others again, had on account of trouble, Persecutions, and Wars, been compelled to resort to places of safety, beyond the reach of their Adversaries. The Number of Christian Indians, under the special care of the Missionaries in these stations, exceeded 200 Souls, at the time, their much beloved senior Missionary Zeisberger, departed this life.

Exclusive of the Ten Brethren and Sisters and one Child, who in November of the Year 1755, were murdered,§ at their Station on Mahony, near the Christian Indian Village Gnadenhutten; Six Missionaries have departed this life at their Posts, namely: Gottlieb Buttner in 1745 at Shecomeko, an Indian Village then in the Province of new York and bordering on the Connecticut River. David Bruce, in 1749 at Pachgatgoch, in Connecticut. John Hagen, about the Year 1750 at Shamokin in Pennsylvania. Gottlob Senseman in 1800 at Fairfield in Upper Canada. William Edwards, aged about 70. in 1801 at Goshen

*the *exact* Number of Baptisms, cannot well be ascertained on account of the loss of a Church Register Book taken by the Warriors in 1781. but the number as to hundreds, is here not overrated, & supposed to be nearest to fourteen hundred.

§see Loskiels history of the Mission Part II Chap XII. page 166.

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on the Muskingum, and David Zeisberger at the same place in 1808, while at Bethlehem in the [420] same Year, the two venerable Missionaries, Grube and Youngman, were also called from hence to meet together in the presence of that Lord and Saviour, whom they so faithfully served here below; to receive their reward of him.

It is remarkable, that these last three Venerable Missionaries, who at an early period of their lives, had entered into that service with the resolution to endure for Christs sake, all hardships, privations, persecution and dangers which might befal them — and who indeed had, during long services, given proof, of their firmness, by the numerous hardships and trials they had endured: should live to such advanced Ages, as they did, and therewith, enjoy generally good health to the last. — Bernhard Adam Grube, who had been the first Missionary to the Delawares, and spoke their Language well, died at Bethlehem on the 20th. of March 1808. aged 93 Years and three Months. John George Youngman; first a Missionary to the Mohicans in Connecticut, and afterwards for a number of Years the same to the Delawares on the Susquehanna in Pennsylvania and in the Western Country: died also at Bethlehem in July of the *same* Year (1808) aged 88 Years and three Months; and David Zeisberger, (as aforesaid) died in November of the *same* Year, at Goshen on the Muskingum, aged 87 Years and seven Months.

As the Names of all the Brethren, who hitherto had been in the service of this Mission, are inserted in [421] their proper places in "Loskiels history of the United Brethren among the North American Indians:" I will only subjoin the Names of such as were actually employed in this service at the close of this period of the Mission, 1808. These are Benjamin Mortimer; John Schnall; Abraham Luckenbach, and Christian Frederick Dencke, with their Wives; and Michael Young; Benjamin Haven and John Joachim Hagen, single Brethren.

The Mission of the Brethren among the Cherokees, began in the Spring of the Year 1801. by Brother Abraham Steiner of

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Salem* in North Carolina, and was continued for a few Years by him, with the assistance of Gottlieb Byhan of the same place; it was afterwards supplyed by Brother John Gambolds, who took charge of it: together with his faithful Wife, who are indefatigable in their labours, of making known the Gospel truths both to the Natives and others, who are inclined to hear it; and of giving School instruction to their Children. It is pleasing to add, that they have found sufficient reason to be thankful to the Lord, for the blessing he has laid on their Ministry. Otherwise this Southern Mission, is as to its ex-[422]ternals concerns, unconnected with the Mission treated of in this Narrative; and is supplied by the Directors of the Society in Salem, North Carolina.

As a brief relation of the life and Character of the late David Zeisberger, may be interesting to the reader: I will conclude this Narrative with a few extracts from the writings of such Persons, who served with him in the same cause for a number of Years. The following Article,§ copied from the American Register of Vol: V. Part I. for 1809, was written by the Rev^{d}. Benjn. Mortimer, for the Pittsburg Gazette, as an obituary notice. M^{r}. Mortimer, had for the last 9 Years been constantly near the Person of the deceased — and preached his funeral Sermon.

(The Extract). "Died on the 17th November, 1808, at "Goshen, on the River Muskingum, State of Ohio, the Rev^{d}. "David Zeisberger, senior Missionary of the United Brethren

*Previous to Brother Steiners beginning a Mission in the Cherokee Country, he, with Brother Frederick Christian von Schweintz, made two Journeys into that Country, for the purpose of obtaining permission from the Chiefs of the Nation to settle among them; who together with the Officers of Government stationed in that Country, favoured the design to his wishes.

§the Errata in this Article are necessarily here corrected by the Copyist.

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"among the Indians, aged Eighty seven Years and seven Months."

"He was a native of Moravia in Germany, from whence he "emigrated with his parents at an early age to Herrnhuth in "Upper Lusatia, for the sake of obtaining religious liberty. In "1738 he came to this Country, landed in Georgia, where at that "time some [423] of the United Brethren, had begun a Settle- "ment, merely for the purpose of preaching the Gospel to the "Creek Nation. From thence he removed to Pennsylvania, and "assisted at the commencement of the Settlements of Bethlehem "and Nazareth. Ever since the Year 1746, a period of Sixty- "two Years, he has, with few and short intervals, been a Mission- "ary among the Indians, making himself master of Sundry of "their languages."

"He was blessed with a cool, active, intrepid Spirit, not "appalled at any danger or difficulties, and a sound judgment to "discern the best means of meeting and overcoming them. Hav- "ing once devoted himself to the service of God among the In- "dians, he steadily, from the most voluntary choice, and with the "purest motives, pursued his object, namely, the glory of his "Redeemer, in the salvation of his fellow Men, whom he found "sunk in heathenish darkness, and error. Never was he so happy "as when he could believe, that the Souls to whom he preached, "had sought and found forgiveness of their Sins, and could truly "rejoice in their Saviour; he then rejoiced with them, as if he "had gained the utmost object of his wishes, for with the apostle "Paul, he counted all things but lost, in comparison of the excel- "lency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus our Lord, and the being "found in him (Phill. iii. 8-9) and it may be truly added, that "the gaining over one Soul to this excellent knowledge and ex- "perience, was with him of more estimation, [424] than if he "acquired possession of the whole world. His endeavours for "the conversion of the Indians, were crowned with very signal "success, as may be seen at large in Loskiel's history of the Mis- "sion of the United Brethren among the North American In- "dians."

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"In the course of a long life, thus spent among Savages, he "was, of course exposed to innumerable hardships and privations. "In addition to these, he had at times to suffer much persecution "from the Enemies of the truth, and was frequently in imminent "danger of his life. Nothing, however, of this kind, dismayed "him for a moment, but only served to whet his Zeal; and he has, "more than once had the pleasure to baptise those of his converts, "who had not long before lifted up some Weapon of death to "destroy him. In reliance upon his God, in whom alone he "trusted, and not in man, he had always good courage, in the car- "rying on of His work. At the same time he was of an humble, "meek spirit, and always thought lowly of himself. Self was "the least of all his considerations, that occupied his mind— "universal love filled his bosom. He was a most affectionate "husband; a faithful and never-failing friend; and every linea- "ment of his character; shewed a sincere upright, benevolent, "and generous soul, with perhaps as few blemishes, as can be "expected in the best of Men, on this side the grave. This is no "studied eulogium, to give an exalted opinion of a departed, "much esteemed friend; it is a free description of that genuine "worth, which every [425] one well acquainted with M^r. Zeis- "berger, must have perceived and found in him, and which must "therefore long endear his memory among them.

"It deserves still to be particularly noticed, that M^r. Zeis- "berger, probably was one of the oldest white settlers in the state "of Ohio; and that perhaps no man had ever preached the Gos- "pel among the Indians for such a long succession of Years, and "amidst so great a variety of trials. In accommodating himself "in this state of things among them, it would be difficult to re- "count his journies, or, how often he had to change his place of "residence. — In the last forty Years of his life, he never was at "any one time six Months absent from his Indian flock, and dur- "ing which long period, he only paid *two* visits to his friends and "acquaintances in the Atlantic states. His last journey to Beth- "lehem was in the year 1781, from which time to his death (full

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"twenty-seven years) he has continually been, and dwelt with "his Indian Congregation, in the Western Country," (and Upper Canada) "wherever their respective Settlements were.

"In the evening of his days, as his faculties began to fail "him, his desire to depart, and be with Christ encreased more and "more. At the same time he awaited the dissolution of his mor- "tal frame with an uniform, calm, dignified resignation to the "will of his Maker, and with the sure and certain hope, of leav- "ing this world for a better. His last words were — "Lord "Jesus, I pray thee, come, and take my spirit to thyself!" — "[426] And again — "Thou hast never yet forsaken me in any "trial: thou wilt not forsake me now." — "A very respectable "company attended his funeral. The solemn service was per- "formed, in the English, Delaware, and German Languages, to "suit the different auditors. The sermons were from Rev. xii. "II. and Prov. x. 7. A summary written account of the principal "occurrences in his remarkable life, was communicated, and "heard with particular interest and attention."

Some interesting Anecdotes might, if necessary, be related of this worthy Man, which alone, would establish his Character, as an exemplary Christian & faithful follower of Christ, who, having enlisted under the banner of his divine Master and Redeemer — to serve him and His cause alone, cared nothing for the things of this World, being of Opinion, "that a servant of "Christ ought never to be sha[c]kled with earthly concerns, nor "attached to those things which are perishable."

Zeisberger would never consent to have his Name put down on a salary list; or "become a hireling" — (as he termed it) saying: ["]that altho to some Missionaries, a Salary might be both "agreeable and proper, yet with him it would not do, as he had, "from the beginning devoted himself to the service of the Lord, "among the Heathen, without any other view of reward, than "such as his Lord and Master should deign to bestow on him; "well convinced, that if he proved faithful, and deserving of "being rewarded, he would receive it, [427] especially, when he

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"had finished his earthly career, and joined Him, whom he had "served here below!" —

Tho' he coveted not the things of this World, but being content with food and raiment alone; he was not inclined to censure those who sought to acquire wealth. He only hoped, that the wealthy would make such use of what they had acquired, that it might prove a blessing to them. How often have I observed the smile on his Countenance, and seen his Eyes glisten, when he, either witnessed — or learnt from others, that a needy, or distressed Person had been relieved.

Zeisberger was a Man of small stature, yet well proportioned, with a cheerful countenance, and endowed with a good understanding, and sound judgment; a friend and benefactor to Mankind; and also beloved by all who knew him, with perhaps the exception of those, who were Enemies to the Gospel which he preached. His words were few, and never known to be wasted in an unprofitable or random manner.

Tho he had so often been exposed to extreme hardships and dangers of various kinds: yet he was never known to complain of his situation, or utter any expression of regret, that he had engaged in a cause, with which such a number of privations, and sufferings of the body were combined; but on the contrary, bore, whatever befel him with Christian fortitude, and even with cheerfulness. — Plain, yet cleanly in his attire — regular in his Meals when attainable, [428] and at no time overcharging his Stomach — Avoiding spirituous Liquors; and taking as much manual exercise, as his time would allow; together with a good Constitution, may perhaps have been the means, of his generally enjoying good health, and living to such an advanced Age.

During the time of his being a Missionary, he learned two different Indian Languages; the Onondago (one of the idioms of the Six Nations) & the Delaware, and understood other Languages connected with them. In the Onondago, he had already about the Year 1768 written and compleated two Grammars; one written in English & the other in German and a copious Diction-

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ary, (German & Indian) containing upwards of 1700 pages. In the Language of the Lenape, (or Delaware) he published in the Year 1776, his first Edition of a spelling book, and in 1806, his second Edition enlarged. Other two Books in this Language, published by him, were, Sermons to Children, and an Hymn book, containing about 360 pages; and upwards of 500 hymns translated by him partly from the German, and partly from the English Hymnbook, which is in use in the Brethrens Congregations. In Manuscript he left, *first* a Grammar of the Delaware Language, with the German anexed, which has lately been copied, and the German translated into the English Language, by my much esteemed friend Peter S. Du Ponceau Esq[r]. of Philadelphia; and lastly, [429] the harmony of the four Gospels translated into the same Language; the publication of which, for the benefit of the Christian Indians, and all those of the same Nation, is undertaken by the Female auxiliary missionary Society of Bethlehem, aided by voluntary personal Contributions of friends and wellwishers to the cause, of various denominations, among which number the venerable President of the American Bible Society Dr. Elias Buodinot stands conspicuous.

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APPENDICES

A. Lenni Lennape or Delaware Indian Names. Prepared for *The Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society* from a MS. by John Heckewelder, by William C. Reichel, Nazareth, 1872.

B. Narrative of a Late Expedition Against the Indians, with the accounts of Col. Crawford, Dr. Knight, John Slover, and Mrs. Frances Scott. Reprinted from a copy of the edition published by Ames & Parker, Andover, no date. Title-page reproduced from a copy in the possession of the Wisconsin Historical Society.

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NAMES

WHICH THE

LENNI LENNAPE OR DELAWARE INDIANS

GAVE TO

RIVERS, STREAMS AND LOCALITIES,

WITHIN THE STATES OF

PENNSYLVANIA, NEW JERSEY, MARYLAND and VIRGINIA,

WITH THEIR SIGNIFICATIONS.

PREPARED FOR THE TRANSACTIONS OF THE
MORAVIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY FROM
A MS. BY JOHN HECKEWELDER,

BY

WILLIAM C. REICHEL.

NAZARETH.
1872.

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NAMES WHICH THE LENNI LENNAPE OR DELAWARE INDIANS GAVE TO RIVERS, STREAMS AND LOCALITIES WITHIN THE STATES OF PENNSYLVANIA, NEW JERSEY, MARYLAND AND VIRGINIA, WITH THEIR SIGNIFICATIONS, BY JOHN HECKEWELDER.

THE footprints of extinct races of men always become objects of interest in proportion to the fewness of their number and the obscurity of their character. Those of the Indian tribes, who once dwelt along the rivers that drain the loveliest portions of the eastern slope of the Appalachians, are growing less and fainter with the lapse of succeeding years. With no records to perpetuate the story of their origin, the course of migratory waves, the wars of contending nations, the rise and decadence of clans and the prowess of national heroes and heroines, save an oral tradition distorted by the adornments of a rude poesy,—the archæology of this occidental people is likely to remain a sealed book. Even the tokens they have left us in enduring stone,—memorial pillars, implements of war, of the chase and of the household,—whether inscribed in hieroglyphics of hidden meaning, or cunningly wrought from material as hard as adamant in an age which was ignorant of the use of the metals,—instead of aiding in the solution of the problem, present it in a more perplexing form. Equally obscure and unintelligible, but for the interpreter through whom they now speak, would have forever remained another class of relics come down to us—we mean the straggling footprints of its language, impressed upon the beautiful objects of nature among which this mysterious people lived and passed away.

It is with such fragmentary remains of a now dead tongue that this paper is concerned; principally with words belonging to the euphonious dialect of the Unamis or Delawares of the lowlands, the first of the copper-colored aborigines, who witnessed the advent of the white man from countries beyond the "great water," and the rising of the sun.

When Mr. Heckewelder undertook to restore the mutilated forms of Indian appellations of mountains, rivers and localities current among the whites of his time, and then to point out their significance, he did a work for which he is entitled to grateful remembrance. These names are now no longer empty sounds. They have become as it were living things, endowed with the faculty of speech. Transformed by him into tutelary spirits, they cling like

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dryads and hamadryads to the inanimate objects to which they were long ago attached, and keep watch over the artless records inscribed upon them by another race of men. Some fix the localities of events that belong to the history of nations or of incidents that occurred in the experience of individuals, —some the favorite haunts of the animals of the chase or the habitat of those spontaneous products of nature which ministered to the Indian's daily wants; others afford us glimpses of his sylvan life when on the hunt or on the war-path, or are descriptive of peculiarities in the landscape, of its flora or of its fauna; while together they people portions of our country with historical recollections of their former occupants which would otherwise have been inevitably lost.

In preparing this paper, the editor took some liberties with Mr. Heckewelder's MS., deeming it desirable to avoid repetitions, to abbreviate modes of expression where it could be done without involving a sacrifice of the compiler's meaning, and to adapt topographical descriptions to the geography of the present day. An alphabetical arrangement of the names suggested itself at once as the most convenient for reference. The historical annotations were drawn from a variety of trustworthy sources, and whilst in their selection preference was given to such matter as belongs to Moravian history, the attempt was made in all cases to adduce the earliest use or mention on record of the names under consideration. The following maps were freely consulted in this effort: 1st. "*A Map of the Middle British Colonies in America and of Aquanishuonigy, the Country of the Confederate Indians, comprehending Aquanishuonigy proper, their place of residence,* (that part of the State of New York lying south of the Mohawk)—*Ohio* (embracing the region of country south of the Maumee as far down as the Kentucky) and *Tiiuxsoxruntie* (the country north of the Maumee and west of the Huron, as high as Lake Huron) *their deer-hunting countries,*—and *Couxsaxrage* (upper New York, south of the St. Lawrence) and *Skaniadarade* (the country lying north of Lake Erie) *their beaver-hunting country;*" "published by Act of Parliament by Lewis Evans, June 22, 1755, and sold by R. Dodsley in Pall Mall, London, and by the author in Philadelphia. Engraved by James Turner, of Philadelphia." Being dedicated to the Honble Thomas Pownall, Esq., the map is illuminated with the coat of arms of the Pownall family, blazoned as follows: *Arms.* Arg., a lion rampant, sa. charged on the breast with a cross paté of the first. *Crest.* A lion's jambe erased, erect ppr, grasping a key or, from which a chain is reflexed of the last. 2. "*A Map of the improved part of the Province of Pennsylvania, humbly dedicated to the Hon. Thomas Penn and Richard Penn, Esqrs., true and absolute Proprietaries and Governors of the Province of Pennsylvania, and Counties of*

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New Castle, Kent and Sussex on Delaware, by Nicholas Scull, and published according to Act of Parliament, January 1, 1759." The formula of dedication appearing on this invaluable historical chart is inscribed within elaborate scroll-work, surrounded by the arms and crest of the Penn family blazoned thus: *Arms.* Arg. on a fess sa. three plates. *Crest,* A demi-lion rampant, ppr. gorged with a collar sa. charged with three plates. *Motto.* Mercy and Justice.

3. "*A Map of the State of Pennsylvania, by Reeding Howell. Respectfully inscribed to Thomas Mifflin, Governor, and to the Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania by the author. Published August 1, 1792, for him, and sold by James Phillips, George's Yard, Lombard Street, London.*" This map is beautifully executed, and shows, to use the words of the draftsman, "the triangle lately purchased by Congress, and the boundary lines of the State as run by the respective Commissioners, with parts of Lake Erie and Presqu' Isle; also by actual survey the rivers Susquehanna (its north-east and west branches), Tyoga, Sinnemahoning, Juniata, Lehigh, Lexawacsei[illegible], Schuylkill, and the western rivers, Ohio, Alleghany, Conewango,—part of the Chautaughque Lake and French Creek, agreeable to the late discoveries,—the Monaungahela, Yaxhiogeni and Kiskemanetas; also the larger creeks, most of the lesser streams, mountains, the principal old roads, with the many new ones in the northern and western parts of the State, and portages and communications according to the late surveys by order of Government; furthermore the division lines of the respective counties and townships, a delineation of the districts of depreciation and donation lands, with all the other districts in the new purchase—besides the seats of justice in the respective counties, iron-works, mills, manufactories, locations of minerals, bridle-roads, Indian-paths, &c., &c."

It was from a third edition of this map, that Mr. Heckewelder, as he tells us, copied the majority of names in his catalogue; Proud's History of Pennsylvania (Phila. 1798) furnished him with a few, and his friend Samuel D. Franks, of Harrisburg, with those occurring in Indian deeds preserved in the Land Office of the Commonwealth.

David Zeisberger's "*Essay of a Delaware Indian and English Spelling-book for the use of the Christian Indians on the Muskingum*" (Phila. 1776) supplied the vocables which are incorporated in the notes for the purpose of confirming or illustrating Heckewelder's interpretation.

In conclusion, it may be stated that the Moravian missionaries of the last century were unanimous in pronouncing the Unami dialect of the Delaware, despite its many gutturals and aspirates, eminently musical, and well adapted by its structure to the purposes of public harangue or oratory. A

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German tongue, they add, finds no difficulty in mastering even its characteristic sounds, and enjoys the advantage of meeting with vowels that differ as to their power, in no respect from those with which it is already familiar. The absence of the consonants *r*, *f*, and *v*, the accumulation of the *k* sounds (all enunciated from the depths of the throat), the paucity of monosyllabic and the abundance of compound and polysyllabic words, are marked peculiarities of this dialect. The last feature renders its acquisition extremely difficult. Finally, it should be kept in mind that in words of three syllables, the stress of the voice *generally* falls upon the penult; in polysyllables, however, *always;* and that a violation of rules of accent, in most cases, involves an entire change of signification.

John G. E. Heckewelder, missionary to the Delawares, was born March 12, 1743, in Bedford O. E. whither his father (who was a native of Moravia), had been sent from Herrnhut, a few years previous, to labor in the service of the Brethren's Church. His childhood was spent at the Brethren's schools at Buttermere, in Wilts, and at Smith-house and Fulneck in Yorkshire. In 1754 he accompanied his parents to Bethlehem, whence, on leaving school, he was placed at Christian's Spring, where he engaged in the labors of the farm, then worked by the young men of the settlement for the benefit of their Economy. He was next indentured to William Nixon a cedar-cooper at Bethlehem. It was while thus employed that the desire he had for some time felt of becoming an evangelist to the Indians was gratified, as in the spring of 1762 he was called to accompany Frederick Post, who had planned a mission among the tribes of the far west, to the Tuscarawas branch of the Muskingum. But the Pontiac war broke out, and the adventurous attempt was abandoned before the expiration of the year.

In the interval between 1763 and 1771, Mr. Heckewelder was occasionally dispatched from his cooper's shop in the capacity of a messenger or runner in the service of the mission, to Friedenshütten on the Wyalusing, and to Indian towns on the Susquehanna. The most active period of his life, however, dates from 1771, and covers an interval of fifteen years, during which he participated in the various fortunes of the Moravian Indians, accompanying them on their tedious migrations westward,—from the Susquehanna to the Allegheny, thence to the Big Beaver, and thence to the Muskingum, sharing their joys and their sorrows, in times of peace and war, "in journeyings often, in perils of waters, in perils of robbers, in perils of his countrymen, in perils by the heathen, in perils in the wilderness, in weariness, in watchings often, in hunger and thirst, in fastings often, in cold and nakedness;" and, yet spared as to his life to a good old age, in the quiet days of which, when resting from

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his labors, he drew up his well known "Narrative" of eventful years in his own experience and in the history of his Church.

In the autumn of 1786, on withdrawing from active service in the mission, Mr. Heckewelder settled with his wife (Sarah, m. n. Ohneberg, whom he had married in 1780) and two daughters at Bethlehem. This change, however, brought him no rest, as much of his time for the next fifteen years was devoted to the interests of the Church and her missions, in behalf of which he undertook frequent long and trying journeys. In 1792 and 1793, Government associated him with United States Commissioners to treat for peace with the Indians of the Maumee and the Wabash. This was a high testimonial of confidence in his knowledge of Indian life and Indian affairs. The remuneration he received for these services was judiciously economized for his old age, his immediate wants being supplied by his handicraft, and the income accruing from a nursery he had planted on his return from the western country. There are orchards still standing in the vicinity of Bethlehem set out by John Heckewelder and his daughters.

In 1801 he removed with his family to Gnadenhütten on the Tuscarawas, and was a resident of the State of Ohio for nine years. Mr. Heckewelder now became a man of official business, having been entrusted by the "Society of the United Brethren for Propagating the Gospel among the Heathen,"* with the care of the reservation of 12,000 acres of land on the Muskingum, held in trust by said Society for the benefit of the Moravian Indians. He was also in the civil service, being a Postmaster and a Justice of the Peace.

In 1810 he returned to Bethlehem, built a house (still standing on Cedar Alley), planted the premises with trees and shrubs from their native forest, surrounded himself with birds and wild flowers, and through these beautiful things of nature with which they were associated in their woodland homes, sought to prolong fellowship with his beloved Indians. In 1815 he was called to mourn the departure of his wife to the eternal world.

At a time when there was a growing spirit of inquiry among men of science in the department of Indian archæology, it need not surprise us, that Mr. Heckewelder was sought out in his retirement, and called on to contribute from the store of his experience. In this way originated his intimacy with Duponceau and Wistar of the American Philosophical Society, and that career of literary labor to which he dedicated the lonely and latter years of his life. In addition to occasional essays which are incorporated in Transactions of that Society, Mr. Heckewelder in 1818 published his well known "Account

*This Association, whose Board has its seat at Bethlehem, was incorporated in 1788.

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of the History, Manners and Customs of the Indian nations who once inhabited Pennsylvania and the neighboring States," a work which was received with almost unqualified approbation. Fenimore Cooper, when venturing upon a new field of romance, drew much of his inspiration from the pages of this fascinating volume. The "Narrative of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Delaware and Mohican Indians," appeared in 1820, and in 1822, Mr. Heckewelder, at the request of members of the American Philosophical Society, made the collection of Indian appellations here offered to the reader. This was one of his last efforts; another year of suffering, and on the 30th of January, 1823, the friend of the Delawares, having lived to become a hoary old man of seventy-nine winters, passed away.

He left three daughters; Johanna Maria, born April 16, 1781, at Salem, Tuscarawas County, Ohio, (she died at Bethlehem, Sept. 19, 1868); Anna Salome, born August 13, 1784, at New Gnadenhütten on the river Huron, Michigan; (she married Joseph Rice of Bethlehem, and died January 15, 1857), and Susanna, born at Bethlehem Dec. 31, 1786; (she married J. Christian Luckenbach of Bethlehem, and died Feb. 8, 1867).

Mr. Heckewelder was a fair representative of the Moravian missionary of the last century,—one of a class of men whose time was necessarily divided between the discharge of spiritual and secular duties; who preached the Gospel and administered the sacraments in houses built by their own hands; who wielded the axe as well as the sword of the Spirit, and who by lives of self-denial and patient endurance, sustained a mission among the aborigines of this country in the face of disappointments and obstacles, which would have discouraged any but men of their implicit faith in the Divine power of the Christian religion.

The subject of this notice was no scholar; nor did he make any literary pretensions. Despite this, however, and although his mode of giving expression to thought is German, his writings are characterized by a pleasing simplicity of diction, and an honesty of purpose, which enlist the sympathy of the reader. It would be presumptuous to claim for him infallibility, as we know that even the best of men are led astray, or err in their search after truth. It would be as presumptuous however to deny his statements all claim to respect. Hence we do not hesitate to say, that John Heckewelder's contributions to the store of knowledge we possess respecting Indian traditions, language, manners and customs, and life and character, are worthy of the degree of regard that is usually accorded to men of intelligence, and disinterestedness of purpose, whose position permitted them to ascertain or to observe what they relate.

For the curious reader, we append the following enumeration of his many

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journeys and their distances, found among Mr. Heckewelder's private papers, in possession of Mr. Henry B. Luckenbach, of Bethlehem, a grandson.

JOHN HECKEWELDER'S JOURNEYS BETWEEN 1762 and 1814.

		Miles.
1762.	From Bethlehem (in company of Christ'n F. Post) to the Muskingum (Tuscarawas branch), and return	840
1763.	To New York, and return	200
1765.	To Friedenshütten (*Wyalusing*) and, after a sojourn there, return	300
1767.	To Wyoming, and return	160
1768.	" " with the Brethren Zeisberger, Ettwein and Senseman, and return	160
1769.	To Friedenshütten in the capacity of a messenger, (alone)	160
1770.	" " and Sheshequin (Bradford County), as ditto	180
	With Bro. Rothe, and Indians, return	180
1771.	To Friedenshütten, in company of Zeisberger, and return	300
	" " thence in Oct. with David Zeisberger to *Friedensstadt* (Town of Peace) in Delaware *Langunduotenink*, on the Big Beaver	380
	Thence to Pittsburg, and return	120
1772.	In July, up the Allegheny (to meet the Christian Indians en route from Friedenshütten to the Big Beaver, under conduct of the Brethren Rothe and Ettwein), and return	180
	In August, with Zeisberger, Ettwein, and some Indian converts to *Schönbrunn* (Beautiful Spring) in Delaware, *Welhik-tuppeek* (the best spring) on the Tuscarawas	80
	Return to Friedensstadt with Zeisberger and Shebosh, and a second time to Schönbrunn	160
1773.	To Friedensstadt, by land	80
	Thence, in April, down Beaver creek, by water	30
	Thence down to Ohio, to the mouth of the Muskingum (*Elk's-Eye*, compounded of *moos*, an elk, and *wusch-gink*, the eye, the face)	150
	Thence up the Muskingum, by water, to Schönbrunn	160
		420
1774.	To Bethlehem, in company of some Indians by way of the *Great Island* (in the Susquehanna) and Gnadenhütten on the Mahoning, and return by the same route	800
1775.	In company of Shebosh and some Indians, to the Mahoning, to *Sickheunk*, and *Langunduotenink* in search of stolen horses, and return	200
1776.	April 11. Moved to Lichtenau on the Tuscarawas with David Zeisberger	48
	In the autumn, returned to keep school at Schönbrunn	42
1777.	Thence to Bethlehem, alone	420
1778.	From Bethlehem (in March) to Pittsburg and Lichtenau	450
	Thence to *Tuscarawas*, and return with some Indians	110
1779.	A second journey to Tuscarawas, and return with some Indians	110
1780.	Moved to Salem, journeying by water	45
1781.	Taken as prisoner of war to Upper Sandusky	100
	Thence with Zeisberger, Edwards, Senseman and some Indians to Detroit	110
	Return to Upper Sandusky	110
1782.	A second time to Detroit (all the missionaries)	110
	Thence to Huron River and return, by water	80
	Thence a second time to Huron River	40
1783.	In May from Huron River to Detroit, and return by water	80
	In October, in company of Senseman, from Huron River to Detroit, and return by water	80
1784.	From Huron River to Detroit, and return	80
1785.	Do. do. do. twice	160
1786.	From Huron River the last time to Detroit, and thence to *Cayahaga* (in North Eastern Ohio)	160
	Thence, in the autumn, with my family, to Bethlehem	420
1787.	In company of Michael Jung and Weygand to Pittsburg, and return	640
	In October, with Bro. Ettwein, by way of Staten Island to New York	100
	Return to Bethlehem, by way of Hope, New Jersey	130
1788.	In August to New York (for warrants), and return	200
	In September, in company of Matt'w Blickensderfer to Pittsburg, and thence with Capt. Hutchins, Surveyor General, by water to Marietta, and (after nine weeks stay) return	940
1789.	Accompanied Bro. Abraham Steiner to *Petquottink*, and return	980
	In September with Bro. Charles Culver to Carlisle, and return	230
1792.	At Washington's request was commissoned by Gen, Knox, Secretary of War, to accompany Gen. Putnam to the Wabash, and aid in opening negotiations for a peace with the Indians—traveling thus:	

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From Bethlehem to Pittsburg..... 320
From Pittsburg, by water, to the Wabash.....1022
Up the Wabash to Post Vincennes..... 160
From Post Vincennes by land to the Falls of Ohio..... 150
From the Falls of Ohio to Pittsburg..... 705
From Pittsburg, via Bethlehem, to Philadelphia.... 370
—2727

1793. At the request of Government, accompanied by Gen. Lincoln, Col. Pickering and ex-Governor Beverly Randolph, (appointed Commissioners to treat with the friendly Indians on the Miami) via Philadelphia, New York, Albany, Schenectady, Fort Stanwix, Oneida Lake, Oswego, Niagara and Lake Erie, as far as Detroit..... 800
From Detroit, alone to Fairfield, upper Canada and return 140
From Detroit to Bethlehem, as follows: across Lake Erie to Niagara—across Lake Ontario to Kingston—from Kingston down the St. Lawrence to Montreal—thence by land to St. Johns—thence down Lake Champlain to Skenesborough or Whitehall—thence along the Hudson to Albany—thence by sloop to New York, and thence to Bethlehem.....1310
179-. Accompanied Jacob Eyerly as far as Pittsburg—he was on his way to survey lands on French Creek, and return..... 620
1797. In company of Bro. William Henry and others, to the Muskingum..... 410
From Gnadenhütten through the wilderness (accompanied part of the way by an Indian) to Marietta 125
Return, with Gen. Putnam (engaged in a survey) to Gnadenhütten, and thence to the Tuscarawas Fording Place..... 200
A second time to Marietta by water, and thence to Bethlehem..... 640
1798. Accompanied Bro. Benjamin Mortimer to Fairfield, U. C., traveling through the Genessee country to Buffalo, thence by way of Black Rock, Niagara Falls, Queenstown, Newark (head of Lake Ontario) Burlington Heights, Grand River (or Brandt's Town), the Pinery, and Monsey Town..... 530
From Fairfield (in company of William Edwards and two Indians) by way of Detroit, Brownstown, River Raisin, Miami, Old Fort, The Rapids, Upper Sandusky, Owl Creek and Walhending to Gnadenhütten..... 270
Thence to Pittsburg, in company of Bro. Mortimer (to escort Eldridge,) and return..... 200
In the autumn, in company of Bro. Mortimer (who along with Zeisberger had led some Indians from Fairfield to Gnadenhütten) to Bethlehem..... 410
1799. To Muskingum and return..... 820
1800. Accompanied Bro. Christian Fdc. Dencke to Gnadenhütten..... 410
Thence in the autumn to Pittsburg, and from there by way of Fort Franklin and Meadville to La Boeuf, pursuant to commission received from the Directors of the "Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Heathen," to view its lands on French Creek; thence via Pittsburg to Bethlehem..... 660
1801. Moved with my family to Muskingum..... 410
To Marietta, and return..... 220
1802. Do do. 220
To Bethlehem and return, at my own expense..... 820
1803. To Marietta, and return..... 220
In the autumn with Bro. Loskiel from Gnadenhütten to Pittsburg, and return..... 200
1804. On official business (to appraise houses, &c.) to Zanesville and other towns, and return..... 140
1805. To Zanesville and return..... 120
1806. To do. (to pay taxes) and return 120
Thence to Bethlehem and return via Philadelphia, at my own expense..... 850
1807. To Zanesville, and return..... 120
1808. To do. (to pay taxes) and return..... 120
1809. Appointed by the Assembly one of three commissioners to fix two new County seats, visiting Canton, Wooster, Richland, &c., and return..... 190
To Zanesville, and return..... 120
In December, via Zanesville and New Lancaster to the Assembly sitting in Ohio, and in January of 1810, return..... 245
1810. To Zanesville (to pay taxes) and return..... 110
In October removed with my family to Bethlehem..... 410
Thereupon to Lancaster to present William Henry Killbuck's petition to the Assembly, and return to Philadelphia..... 190
1813. For the last time in the Western country, traveling to Gnadenhütten by way of Pittsburg, Harmony, Beaver Town, Tuscarawas and New Philadelphia. From Gnadenhütten to Zanesville, and return to Bethlehem..... 955
26,257

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1. DELAWARE NAMES OF RIVERS, STREAMS AND LOCALITIES IN PENNSYLVANIA.

ALLEGHENY, corrupted from *Alligéwi*—the name of a race of Indians* said to have dwelt along the river of that name,† and in *Alligewinink*, i. e., all

* Of the wars of the Lenape and Mengwe with the Alligewi, and of the discomfiture and expulsion of the latter from Alligewinink, Heckewelder records the following tradition in his History of Indian Nations. The Lenape (the Delawares), resided many hundred years ago in a far distant country in the western part of the American Continent. For some reason they determined to migrate eastward, and accordingly set out in a body. After a very long journey and many nights' encampments by the way, they at length arrived at the *Namaesi Sipu* (i. e. the *River of Fish*, the Mississippi) where they fell in with the Mengwe (the Iroquois), who were likewise emigrating from a distant country in search of new homes, and who had struck that river somewhat higher up. Spies sent out in advance by the Lenape to reconnoitre had ascertained, before the arrival of the main body of their people on the Mississippi, that the country east of it was inhabited by a very powerful nation, who had numerous large towns built on the rivers flowing through it. This was the nation of the *Alligewi*. Many wonderful things are told of them. They are said to have been remarkably tall and stout, and even of gigantic stature, far exceeding in size the tallest of the Lenape. They were likewise skilled in the arts of defensive warfare, of throwing up entrenchments and of erecting fortifications, remains of some of which are to be seen at the present day in the western country.

The Lenape, on arriving at the Mississippi, thought it prudent, before crossing the stream, to send a messenger to the Alligewi to request permission of them to settle in their neighborhood. This was refused. Instead, however, the Alligewi expressed a willingness to allow them a passage *through* their country. The Lenape accordingly began to cross the river. It was now that the Alligewi, on seeing that the strangers were a numerous people, (not to be counted by thousands), moved by fear, fell treacherously upon those who had already crossed, slew many of them, and threatened the others with annihilation should they persist in the passage. On recovering from the surprise, the Lenape held a council, in which they considered what was best to be done, whether to retreat, or whether to measure their strength with those who had cruelly betrayed their confidence. They felt disposed to do the latter, for they were a brave people, and incensed at the loss of their kinsmen. But prudence forbade them engaging in an unequal contest, and they were about setting their faces westward, when the Mengwe, who from their encampment had been spectators of the unprovoked attack, proposed to render them assistance, to join them in a war of conquest and extermination with the Alligewi, and after its successful close, to share with them the conquered territory. "Thus," they said, "their wanderings would end, and there they would find the homes in search of which they had left the setting sun."

Having thus united their forces, the Lenape and Mengwe declared war against the Alligewi, and great battles were fought, in which many warriors fell on both sides. It was a long and bloody contest, in which quarter was neither asked nor given. The enemy stockaded their large towns and erected fortifications, which the allies besieged, and sometimes took by storm. In a certain engagement the slain were thrown together in large heaps and covered with earth,—their places of sepulture forming tumuli or mounds, that for many generations marked the site of the great battle-field. Thus hard pressed the Alligewi, seeing their destruction inevitable, withdrew from the contest, abandoned their country to the invaders, and fled down the Mississippi, never to return. Hereupon the conquerors made a division of the country, whereby the Mengwe came into possession of the lands about the great lakes and their tributary streams, the Lenape of those situate to the south, whence these gradually moved eastward, even to the Atlantic coast, until when the white man came, the Delaware or *Lenapewihittuck* (i. e., the river of the Lenape) was in the very heart of their settlements.

† The Allegheny was called by the French, on their first hostile occupation of Pennsylvania territory in 1753, "*La Belle Riviere*," a name subsequently applied to the Ohio, the former being regarded not as a tributary, but as the *main stream* of the great river of *Alligewinink*. Hence, too, Indian traders also called the river *below the Forks* the Allegheny, or else used this name and Ohio without discrimination when speaking of the great river of Western Pennsylvania. The Delawares called the Allegheny or Ohio, *Kit-hanne*, i. e., the *main stream* in its region of country, it being the same descriptive appellation by which they designated their great river of the East, i. e., the Delaware. Jonah Davenport and James Le Tort, Indian traders, in Oct., 1731, reported that on *Kittanning River* there dwelt mostly Delawares, 50 families, 100 men, with *Kykenhammo*, their chief. (See *Delaware*, *Kittanning* and *Ohio*, in this register.)

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the country west of the Alleghenies, drained by the tributaries of the Ohio and their numerous sources. The Shawanose called this river *Palawu-thepiki.*

APPOLACON, (emptying into the Susquehanna from the South, in Susquehanna County), corrupted from *Apelogácan*, (in Minsi Delaware *Apellochgacan*), signifying, *whence the messenger returned.**

AQUANSHICOLA, (emptying into the Lehigh from the north-east in Carbon County), corrupted from *Achquoanschicola*, signifying, *where we fish with the bush-net.*†

AUGHWICK, (a tributary of the Juniata in Huntingdon County), corrupted from *Achweek*, signifying *brushy*, i. e., *overgrown with brush.*‡

BALD EAGLE, (emptying into the Susquehanna from the southwest in

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* *Al-lo-ga-can*, a servant, a messenger. *Zr.*

† *Ach-quoa-ni-can* a bush-net; *ach-quo-ne-man*, to fish with a bush-net; *ach-qwoa-na-u*, caught with the bush-net.—*Zr.* "As soon as the shad (*scha-wa-nam-meek*, the *south-fish*, compounded of *scha-wa-ne-u* south, and *na-mees* fish) come from the south to deposit their spawn, running up the rivers from the sea, the Indians assemble for the annual fishery. And first they build a stone dam across the stream, the two wings or walls of which converge into a pound or wooden box, perforated with holes. This is the trap. A wild grape-vine of sufficient length to reach from shore to shore is then cut, and loaded down with brush, secured at intervals of from ten to fifteen feet. This barrier is stretched across the river, perhaps a mile above the pound, and being held in position by Indians in canoes, is slowly towed down stream. The frightened fish are driven before it back into the dam, and thence by the Indians, posted on its walls, into the pound, where they are caught by hand. As many as a thousand are known to have been taken in this way in a morning. The Delawares called March *the shad-month.*"—*Loskiel's History of the Moravian Mission among the North American Indians.*

The narrow valley or gorge of the Aquanshicola (written sometimes *Aquanshahales* in old deeds), was visited by Zinzendorf in July of 1742, and by missionaries from Bethlehem, until the commencement of Indian hostilities in the fall of 1755. It must have been a favorite planting-spot of the Delawares. It may have been inhabited by even an earlier race, by a race of strong men that wrought in stone as we do in wood, handling and fashioning huge blocks taken out of the mountain side, with the same ease and accuracy of design as with which are fashioned the lesser implements of war and the chase, found so plentifully along the Aquanschicola. If ever there was a relic of a "stone-age," it is the so-called "Indian mill (*tach-quoa-hoa-can*) of the Aquanschicola," now in the museum of Mr. Richard Crist of Nazareth, Pa. Of its history we know only the following: Mr. Chas. E. Buskirk of Chestnut Hill Township, now sixty-five years of age, states that in his grandfather's time the mill was discovered, partially embedded in the ground, near the foot of the mountain on the left bank of the creek, not far from the Ross Common Tavern, and at once became an object of curiosity to the neighborhood, as well as to passing travelers. In 1860, Mr. Reuben Hartzell, on whose land it lay, had it disinterred, removed and set up in front of the Tavern. Mr. Crist purchased and had it conveyed to Nazareth in Sept. of 1869. This unique piece of antiquity is wrought from a solid block of gray sandstone, and in form is a perfect frustum of a cone, with an altitude of three feet, the diameter of the lower base being the same, and that of the upper base being one foot six inches. A funnel-shaped cavity tapering down from a ten-inch to a five-inch diameter, is chiseled into the block to the depth of two feet, at which point the polished circumference shows where the stone that *ground* or *cut* the corn, revolved in its socket. From here the grist fell through a hole, nine inches square, morticed into the lower base. The weight of the block is 2185 pounds. It would almost appear as if the mill were worked by an application of the power at the extremities of levers, fitted into the upright that carried the *cutter* or *crusher* at its base, after the fashion of a capstan—that the mill was placed over a pit, and that the grist was caught in bags or other receptacles placed in the latter. The *crushing* or *cutting* stone, although lost, is well remembered by inhabitants of Ross Common.

‡ *A-che-we-u* bushy.—*Zr.* An Indian village of this name, mentioned in Provincial records prior to 1750, stood on *Aughwick Creek* (it is said on the site of Shirleysburg) where Fort Shirley (so named in honor of Gen. Wm. Shirley of Massachusetts) was built in 1756. George Croghan, a trader of note, and subsequently Sir Wm. Johnson's deputy in Indian affairs, resided previous to the Indian war at *Aughwick Old Town.* In Sept. of 1754, Conrad Weisser treated with the Delawares and Shawanese of the West, in behalf of the Province, at Aughwick.

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Clinton County), called by the Delawares *Wapalanewachschiec-hánne*, i. e., *the stream of the Bald Eagle's nest.**

BALD EAGLE'S NEST,† in Delaware, *Wapalanewachschiéchey.*

BEAVER DAM, (a branch of the Kiskiminetas in Westmoreland County), called by the Delawares *Amockkpahásink*‡ signifying *where the beaver has shut up the stream.*

BEAVER RIVER, (a branch of the Ohio in Beaver County), in Delaware, *Amochkwi-sipu*,§ i. e. *beaver-river*, or *Amochk-hánne*, i. e., *beaver-stream.* The

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* *Woap-su* and *Woa-peek*, white. *Woap-a-lanne*, the bald eagle. *Wach-schie-chey*, a nest. *Han-ne*, a stream.—*Zr.*

† The name of an Indian village, situated above the confluence of Buffalo Run and Bald Eagle Creek (now in Centre County), and the residence of "Bald Eagle," a noted chief. Scull's map calls it simply "*The Nest.*" It stood on the flats near Milesburg, on the "Indian Path from the Great Island to Ohio."

‡ *A-mochk*, a beaver.—*Zr.*

§ *Sipo* and *sipu*, a river. *Si-po-tit* (diminutive), a creek. *Si-punk* and *Si pu-sing*, at, or, in the river. —*Zr.* The Moravian missionary, C. Frederic Post, in the summer of 1758 undertook a perilous mission in behalf of the Proprietary Government to the Delawares of Ohio,—in the course of which he penetrated the wilds of Pennsylvania to their extreme western limits. His journal appears in full in the third volume of the Archives of Pennsylvania. Accompanied by several friendly Indians, he set out from Bethlehem on the 19th of July for Fort Augusta, (Sunbury). There he took the path along the right bank of the West Branch, leading over the *Chillisquaque*, over *Muncy*, *Loyalsock* and *Pine Creeks*, —crossed the *Susquehanna* at the *Great Island*, and then struck one of the main Indian thoroughfares to the West. On the 3d of July he forded *Beech Creek*, on whose left bank he came to the forks of the road. One branch led south-west along the *Bald Eagle*, past the *Nest* to *Frankstown*, and thence to the Ohio country;—the other due West to *Chinklacamoose*. Post took the latter. It led over the *Moshannon*, which he crossed on the 1st of August. Next day he arrived at the village of *Chinklacamoose* in the "*Clear Fields.*" Hence the travelers struck a trail to the north-west, crossed *Toby's Creek* (Clarion River), and on the 7th of August reached *Fort Venango*, built by the French in 1753, in "the forks of the *Allegheny.*" "I prayed the Lord," writes Post, "to blind the French, as he did the enemies of Lot and Elisha, that I might pass unknown." Leaving Venango, Post and his companions turned their horses' heads to the south-west,—struck the *Conequenessing* on the 12th of August,—crossed the *Big Beaver*, and next day arrived at *Kaskaskie*, the terminus of their journey and the head-quarters of "The Beaver" and 'Shingas,' war-chiefs of the Western Delawares. Post was, therefore, the first Moravian west of the Alleghenies. He closes his interesting journal with these words: "Thirty-two days that I lay in the woods, the heavens were my covering, and the dew fell so hard sometimes, that it pricked close to the skin. During this time nothing lay so heavily on my heart as the man who went along with me (*Shamokin Daniel*), for he thwarted me in everything I said or did; not that he did it against me, but against the country on whose business I was sent. When he was with the French he would speak against the English, and when he was with the English he would speak against the French. The Indians observed that he was unreliable, and desired me not to bring him any more to transact business between them and the Province. And it was owing to him, too, that I failed in obtaining an interview with the prisoners. But praise and glory be to the Lamb that was slain, who brought me through a country of dreadful jealousy and mistrust, where the Prince of this world holds rule and government over the children of disobedience. It was my Lord who preserved me amid all difficulties and dangers, and His Holy Spirit directed me. I had no one to commume with, but Him; and it was He who brought me from under a thick, heavy and dark cloud into the open air, for which I adore, and praise and worship Him. I know and confess that He, the Lord my God, the same who forgave my sins and washed my heart in his most precious blood, grasped me in his almighty hand and held me safe—and hence I live no longer for myself, but for Him, whose holy will to do is my chiefest pleasure."

The town, or towns of *Kaskaskie* (*the Kaskaskies*), are first mentioned in official records, in Weisser's Journal of his Proceedings at Logstown, fifteen miles below Pittsburg, on the right bank of the Ohio. "To-day" (Aug. 29th, 1748), he writes, "my companions went to *Kaskaskie*, a large Indian town about thirty miles off." "Early this morning," (Aug. 17th, 1758) writes Post in his Journal, "the Indians called all the people together to clear the place where they intended to hold the Council, it

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Indians, however, called the river *Kaskaskiesipu*, from the town of Kaskaskie on its bank.

BEECH CREEK, (a branch of the Bald Eagle in Centre County)—in Delaware, *Schauweminsch-hanne*,* i. e., *beech-stream.*

BLACK LICK, (a branch of the Two Licks in Indiana County)—in Delaware, *Næskahóni*, i. e., a *lick of blackish color.*†

BRUSHY CREEK, (a branch of the Conequenessing in Beaver County)—in Delaware, *Achweek*, i. e., *bushy*, or overgrown with brush.

BUFFALO CREEK, (a branch of the Allegheny in Armstrong County)—in Delaware, *Sisilie-hánne*, i. e., *buffalo-stream*—a stream whose banks are the resort of the buffalo.

CATASAUQUA, (an affluent of the Lehigh from the North-east in Northampton County), corrupted from *Gattoshácki*‡ signifying, *the earth thirsts*, viz. for rain.

CAT-FISH RUN, (a small stream near the borough of Washington, Washington County). The Delawares called it *Wisaméking*,§ signifying, *where there is a Cat-fish, where the Cat-fish dwells.*

CATAWISSA, (a branch of the Susquehanna in Columbia County), corrupted from *Gattawísi*,‖ signifying *growing fat.* (*Note.* Probably the Indians who named the place, had shot a deer along the creek in the season when deer fatten.)

CAWANSHANNOCK, (a branch of the Allegheny in Armstrong County), corrupted from *Gawunsch-hánne*, signifying *green-briar stream.*

CHESTER RIVER, (in Delaware County), called in early deeds *Macopan-*

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being in the midst of the town. *Kaskaskie* is divided into *four towns*, each at a distance from the other. and the whole settlement consists of about ninety houses and two hundred able warriors."

Howell's Map notes *Kaskaskie* on the *Little Beaver* or *Mahoning Creek*, now in Lawrence County, Heckewelder crossed the *Big Beaver* in April of 1762, then on his way with Post to the Tuscarawas, (in Stark County, Ohio), the first scene of his missionary labors. Between 1770 and 1773 Moravian Indians under Zeisberger were settled at *Friedensstadt* (Town of Peace) on the West bank of the Big Beaver, in the southern part of Lawrence County, about 15 miles south-east from *Kaskaskie.* Howell's Map notes the site of the Moravian settlement.

* *Schau-we-min-schi*, the red-beech tree.—*Zr.*

† *Nees-ki-u*, black. *Nes ca-lenk*, a negro. *Ma-ho-ny*, a lick.—*Zr.*

‡ *Gat-tos-so-mo*, to thirst. *Hacki*, the earth, the land.—*Zr.* The name is written *Calisuk* and *Caladaqua*, in old deeds. Scull's and Howell's Maps call the stream *Mill Creek.* Scotch-Irish immigrants from Ulster settled on its banks as early as 1737. They were the first white residents within the present limits of Northampton county.

§ *Wi-sa-meek*, a cat-fish. Compounded of *wi-su*, fat, and *na-mees*, a fish.—*Zr.* "Cat fish Camp," formerly on the site of the borough of Washington, was so called for the head man of the village, a half-breed, *Cat-fish* by name.

‖ *Wi-sa-heen*, to fatten. *Wi-su*, fat.—*Zr. Catawissa*, is regarded by some, as a corruption of *Ganawese*, and as designating the region to which the Conoys retired, on withdrawing from the limits of Lancaster county. See *Conoy* in this paper.

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ackhan,* corrupted from *Meechoppenáckhan*, signifying, *the large potato stream*, i. e., the stream along which large potatoes grow.

CHICKHANSINK, corrupted from *Tshickhánsink*,† signifying, *where we were robbed,—the place of the robbery.*

CHICKISALUNGA,‡ (emptying into the Susquehanna from the North-east in Lancaster County), corrupted from *Chickiswalungo, the place of the craw-fish*, i. e., where the ground is full of holes bored by the crab or craw-fish.

CHILLISQUAQUE,§ (emptying into the Susquehanna from the North-east in Northumberland County), corrupted from *Chililisuági*, signifying, *the place of snow-birds.*

CHINKLACAMOOSE,‖ now shortened into Moose, (emptying into the Susquehanna from the North-east in Clearfield County, "*the Clear Fields*"), corrupted from *Achtschingi-clamme*, signifying, *it almost joins*, in allusion to a horse-shoe bend in the stream, whose extremities almost unite.

CHOCONUT, (emptying into the Susquehanna in the County of that name) corrupted from the Nanticoke word *Tschochnot.*

CLARION RIVER,¶ (a branch of the Allegheny draining Clarion County), called by the Delawares, *Gawunsch-hánne*, i. e., *brier-stream*,—the stream whose banks are overgrown with the green-brier.

COAQUANNOCK,** the name by which the site of Philadelphia was known to the Indians, is a corruption of *Cuwequenáku*, signifying, *the grove of tall pines.*

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* *Me-cheek* and *Ma-chwe-u*, large. *Hob-be-nac*, potatoes.—*Zr.* The name occurs in an Indian deed executed to William Penn, the 14th day of 5th mo., 1683, "for lands lying between *Manaiunk*, alias Schuylkill and *Macopanackhan*, alias Chester River." The Swedes called the stream *Opland Kill.*

† *A-men tschiech-tin*, to rob, to plunder. *Me-ha-men-tschit*, a robber.—*Zr.*

‡ Shortened into *Chiquis* and *Salunga*, both post-towns in Lancaster County.

§ Scull's Map locates an Indian village of the same name at the mouth of the creek. "An old Shawano took us in his canoe across the creek at *Zilly-squachne*, for which service I gave him some needles and a pair of shoe-strings."—*C. Weisser's Journal to Onondaga.* March, 1737.

‖ On the site of the County-town of Clearfield, there stood in olden times the village of Chinklacamoose, written *Chinglecamouche*, on Scull's Map. It was the central point of the great "Chinklacamoose Path." Post lodged at this village on his way to the Ohio country in the night of August 2d, 1758. "We arrived," he writes in his Journal, "this night at *Shinglimuce*, where we saw the posts painted red and stuck in the ground, to which the Indians tie their prisoners. It is a disagreeable and melancholy sight to see the means they use to punish flesh and blood."

"July 14th, 1772. We came to the Clearfield creek, so called by the Indians because on its banks there are acres of land that resemble 'clearings;'—the buffalo that resort hither, having destroyed every vestige of undergrowth, and left the face of the country as bare as though it had been cleared by the grub-axe of the pioneer."—*John Ettwein's Journal of the Migration of the Moravian Indians to the Big Beaver.*

¶ Formerly called *Toby's Creek.*

** "The Proprietary having now returned from Maryland to *Coaquannock*, the place so called by the Indians, where Philadelphia now stands, began to purchase lands of the Indians." *Proud's History of Pennsylvania*, Vol. 1, p. 211. Penn purchased *Coaquannock*, the site of his intended capital, from the three brothers, Andrew, Swen and Ole Swenson, early Swedish settlers on Delaware,—said brothers or other whites having bought the Indian claim, prior to his arrival in the country in October of 1682. "The Proprietor at his first arrival, finding the Swedes possessed of the most valuable tracts of land on the front of the river, without inquiring into the validity of their titles, but considering them as strangers in an English government, through his known benevolence to mankind was pleased so

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COCALICO, (a branch of the Conestoga in Lancaster County), corrupted from *Achgookwalico*,* (*shortened into Chgokalico*), signifying, *where the snakes collect in dens to pass the winter.* (*Note.* This spot along the Creek was well known to the Indians.)

COCOOSING, (a branch of the Tulpehocken in Berks County,) corrupted from *Gokhosing*,† signifying, *where owls are, the place of owls.*

COHOCKSINK, corrupted from *Cuwenhásink*,‡ signifying, *where the pines grow,—where there are pine-lands.*

CONESTOGA,§ an Iroquois word.

CONEWANGO, (a branch of the Allegheny in Warren County), corrupted from *Guneunga*,‖ signifying, *they have been gone a long time, they stay a long time.*

CONEWANTA, (emptying into the Susquehanna in the County of that name) corrupted from *Guneúnga*, signifying, *they stay a long time.*

CONNEAUT, (a branch of French Creek in Crawford County), corrupted from *Gunniati*, signifying, *it is a long time since he or they are gone.*

CONOCOCHEAGUE,¶ (a branch of the Potomac draining Franklin County),

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far to distinguish them by his favors as to confirm to all such as applied to him all their just claims to the great disappointment of those English adventurers who embarked with him and hazarded their lives and fortunes in the commendable design of peopleing this colony; or where it was found necessary to apply any of those claims to other purposes, he was pleased to make very ample compensation for them; as pregnant instance of which, is his grant of 600 acres of land to the Swensons in lieu of a very slender claim they had to about half that quantity in the place where it was judged most convenient this city should be built" *Report of Petition of the Swedes*, 1721. *Penn'a Archives*, Vol. 1, p. 172.

* *Ach-gook*, a snake. *Woa-lac*, a hole. *Suck-ach-gook*, a black snake—*M'bi-ach-gook*, a water-snake;—*As-gask-ach-gook*, a green snake;—*Mach-ge-u-ach-gook*, a copper-snake.—*Zr.*

Heckewelder, in his Narrative, states that the Western Indians, who were signally defeated by Gen. Wayne at the Rapids of the Miami in August of 1794, called him *Suckachgook*, because of the caution and cunning he displayed in his movements throughout the campaign.

† *Gok-hoos*, an owl, *Gok-ho-tit*, an owlet.—*Zr. Ink*, the local suffix *at*, or, *where*. On Dec. 28, 1742, Zinzendorf preached in a farm-house on the Cocoosing.

‡ *Cu-we*, a pine. *Ha-cki*, land.—*Zr. Ink*, the local suffix *at*, or, *where*.

§ On the flats east of Turkey Hill at the mouth of the Conestoga in Manor Township, dwelt the small tribe of the Conestogas, whom Wm. Penn is said to have visited in their town, and to retain whose friendship despite the machinations of French emissaries, his Lieut. Governors exercised constant precaution. Hence James Logan repaired to Conestoga in 1705, Gov. Evans in 1707, Gov. Gookin in 1710, Gov. Keith in 1717 and Gov. Gordon in 1728. *Tagodalessa*, or *Civility*, a chief of this tribe is often named in the records of those days. It was he who wrote that touching letter in which grief for the loss of a beloved child appears in almost every line. "The late death of my child causes so much trouble and sorrow at this time, it puts all other thoughts out of my mind—my grief and sorrow overpower me—my eyes are full of tears for the sake of my child. My trouble is so great at this time that it puts all other thoughts out of my mind, so that I do nothing but cry every day. When my grief and sorrow are a little over, you shall hear from us, if I even do not come myself!" The Conestogas remained on their old seats long after the other Indians on the Susquehanna had been crowded by the advance of civilization, beyond Shamokin, and it was upward of sixty years after William Penn had been at their town, and full twenty-five after *Tagodalessa* had ceased grieving for his child, that they were barbarously exterminated to a man, by the Scotch-Irish partisans of Paxton.

‖ *Gu-ne-u*, long. *Gu-nax-u*, it is long. *Gu-ni*, a long while. *Gu-na-ge-u*, he stays long.—*Zr.*

¶ *Gu-ne-u*, long. *Hi-tschi-wi*, indeed.—*Zr.* The valley of the Conococheague was explored and settled about 1730, by Scotch-Irish pioneers, among whom were three brothers, by the name of Chambers. The site of Chambersburg at the confluence of Falling Spring and the Conococheague was built on by Joseph Chambers. The "Conococheague Settlement" suffered much from the Indians after Braddock's defeat in 1755. Moravian itinerants visited the lower valley in Maryland, as early as 1748.

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corrupted from *Guneukitschik*, signifying, *indeed a long way!* a name expressive of impatience manifested by a company of Indians traveling along the stream.

CONODOGWINET, (a branch of the Susquehanna draining Cumberland County), corrupted from *Gunnipduckhánnet*,* signifying, *for a long way nothing but bends.*

CONONODAW, (one of the head branches of the Allegheny in McKean County), corrupted from *Gunniáda*, signifying, *he tarries long.* (*Note.* A name expressive of the impatience of some Indians, when halting along the creek to await the return of one of their companions.)

CONOQUENESSING, (a branch of the Allegheny, draining Butler County) corrupted from *Gunachquenésink*,† signifying, *for a long way straight.*

CONOY,‡ (a small creek emptying into the Susquehanna in Lancaster County), corrupted from *Guneu*, signifying, *long.*

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* *Gu-ne-u*, long. *P'tuk-hanne*, a bend in a river.—*Zr.* An inspection of the map, will show the appropriate application of this euphonious Indian name. When John Harris settled on Paxton Creek, (see Paxton in this register) there were Shawanese planting at the mouth of the Conodogwinet, on the right bank of the Susquehanna.

† *Gu-ne-u*, long. *Scha-chach-ge-u*, straight.—*Zr.*

‡ This creek perpetuates the name of the *Conoy*, *Ganawese*, or *Piscatawa* Indians who in 1700 entered the Province from the South, and settled "near the head of *Potomok.*" For upwards of 40 years, we find their deputies participating in conferences held with Wm. Penn, or with the Proprietaries' Governors at Philadelphia, or on the Susquehanna. In 1705, (at which time they were reduced by sickness to a small number) they requested permission of Gov. Evans, through *Manangy*, "the Indian Chief on Schuylkill," to settle among the Schuylkill Indians near *Tulpehocken.* Instead, however, they planted *some miles above Conestoga*, at *Connejahera.* Their village here was called *Dekanouga*, and the Governor states it to have been *nine miles distant from Pequea.* In 1719, the Conoy Town, we learn, was a halting-point for warriors of the Five Nations, as they returned north from marauds against the Catawbas of Virginia and the Carolinas. In June of 1733 the *Conoys* or *Ganawese* "living between Paxton and Conestoga," sent a messenger to Shikellimy of Shamokin, (for being tributaries of the Six Nations they looked to Shikellimy for counsel) to inform him of intelligence come to them, to the effect that the Governor of Virginia was about to send a party of armed men to cut them off for a murder committed within his jurisdiction, and charged to them.

In May of 1743, Gov. Thomas laid before the Board the following letter written by Thomas Cookson of Lancaster, at the instance of the Conoy Indians. "The Indians of the *Conoytown on the east side of Susquehanna*, in April last, sent me a message, signifying their having something to communicate to your Honor, and desired me to be at home on the 11th of the same month, on which day they came down to the number of fourteen. Having invited them into the house, *Old Sack*, their chief, spoke to the following purpose: We desire you to acquaint our brother the Governor, that our forefathers came from *Piscatua* to an island in Potomock, and from there down to Philadelphia in old Proprietor Penn's time (May 1701) in order to show their friendship to the Proprietor;—that after their return they brought down all their brothers from Potomock to *Conejohala*, on the east side of Susquehanna, and built a town there,—that the Six Nations had told them there was land enough, they might choose their place of settlement any where about Susquehanna,—that accordingly they thought fit to remove higher up that river to the Conoytown where they now live; and on their first settling there, the Indians of the Six Nations came down and made their fire, and all the great men declared the fire of their kindling to be in token of their approbation of the settlement; but that now the land all around them being settled by white people, their hunting is spoiled, and they have been long advised by the Six Nations to leave their place and go higher up the river either at the mouth of *Conedogwinet*, or of *Juniada*, or to *Shamokin.*'" In August of 1744, Shikellimy reported to the Governor, that "the Conoy Indians having moved higher up to be nearer us, we desire to inform the Governor of it, and on their behalf give this string of wampum." In 1749 the Conoys were residing "among other Indian nations at Juniata." *Conniack*, represented the Conoys, in a private conference held by the Proprietaries' agents with the chiefs of the United Nations, at the house of Adam Yohe in Easton, Oct. 24, 1758. Bainbridge, at the mouth of the Conoy in Conoy township, is said to occupy the site of the last settlement of the Ganawese in Lancaster county.

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COSHECTON, (a branch of the Susquehanna in the County of that name), corrupted from *Gischiechton*,* signifying, *finished, complete.*

COWANESQUE, (a branch of the Tioga in Tioga County), corrupted from *Gawunshesque*, signifying, *overgrown with briers, briery.*

CROOKED CREEK, (emptying into the Allegheny from the Southeast in Armstrong County),—in Delaware, *Woak-hánne*,† i. e., *crooked stream*, the stream with large bends.

CROSS CREEK, (a branch of the Ohio, heading in Washington County). A creek bearing the same name empties into the Ohio from the West. The two are called the Cross Creeks—in Delaware, *Wewuntschi-saquick*, words signifying, *two streams flowing into a river at the same point from opposite directions.*

DELAWARE RIVER,‡ called by the Delawares *Lenape-wihittuck*, i. e., *the River of the Lenape.* Also *Kit-hánne*, (in Minsi Delaware *Gicht-hánne*) signifying, the *main stream* in its region of country.

DUCK CREEK, (in Delaware) called in early Indian deeds *Quing Quingus*,§ corrupted from *Quiquingus*, the Delaware name for the *mallard*, or common *wild duck.*

ELK CREEK, (emptying into the Susquehanna from the South, in Lycoming County),—in Delaware *Mos-hánne* or *Moos-hánne*,‖ i. e., *Elk-stream.*

ELK LICK, (one of the sources of the Sinnemahoning in Potter County), —in Delaware, *Mosi-mahóni.*

EQUINUNK, (emptying into the Delaware from the south-west in Wayne County.) The word is Delaware, and signifies, *where articles of clothing were distributed.*

FISHING CREEK, (emptying into the Bald Eagle from the South, in Clinton County,)—in Delaware, *Namees-hánne*,¶ i. e., *fish-stream.*

HOCKENDAUQUA, (emptying into the Lehigh from the Northeast in Northampton County), corrupted from *Hackiundochwe*,** signifying, *searching*

* *Gi-schiech-en*, finished, done.—*Zr.*

† *Woak-tschin-ni*, to bend. *Woak-tsche-u*, crooked.—*Zr.*

‡ *Len-na-pe*, an Indian. *Len-na-pe-wak*, Indians.—*Zr.* The Dutch who were the first Europeans to sail up the Delaware named it in contradistiction from the North River, *Zuydt* or *South River.* It takes its present name from Lord de la Ware, Governor of Virginia, who passed the Capes in 1610. *Kik-hi-can* and *Kik-hit-tuk*, a large river. *Kid-han-nünk*, in, or, at the large or main river.—*Zr.*

§ *Qui-quin-gus*, large ducks.—*Zr.* This name occurs in a deed executed to Wm. Penn, by certain Indian kings, Sachemakers (*Sa-ki-ma*, chief, king.—*Zr.*) at New Castle, the 2d day of 8 mo. 1685. for lands "from *Quing Quingus*, called Duck Creek unto Upland, called Chester Creek, all along by the west side of Delaware River, and so between the said Creeks backwards, as far as a man can ride in two days with a horse."

‖ *Moos*, a cow. *Moo-sak*, cattle.—*Zr.*

¶ *Na-mees*, a fish. *Na-me-sac*, fishes. *Na-mee-si-pook*, it tastes fishy.—*Zr.*

***Ha-cki*, land. *Un-dooch-wen*, to come for some purpose.—*Zr.* Surveyor-General Eastburn's Map of the Forks of Delaware, drawn in 1740, notes three surveys on the Hockendauqua, one 1800 acres, another of 1426 acres, marked *William Allen*, and a third of 1500 acres, marked *John Page.* These surveys were made prior to the walk of a day and a half in Sept. of 1737. *Lappawinzoe* (whose portrait

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for land. (*Note.* Probably some whites were observed by the Indians surveying or prospecting along this stream.)

HOPPENY CREEK, (emptying into the Susquehanna from the West, in Wyoming County), corrupted from *Hobbenísink*,* signifying, *where there are wild potatoes.*

JUNIATA,† an Iroquois word. The Delawares say *Juchniáda*, or *Chuchniada.* (*Note.* The Iroquois had a path leading to a Shawanese town on the Raystown branch of the Juniata, situated, I am told, on the site of Bedford.)

KENJUA, (a branch of the Allegheny, heading in McKean County), corrupted from *Kéntschuak*, signifying, *they gobble.* (*Note.* The creek was evidently a resort of wild turkeys, the name it bears alluding to the *gobbling* with which the turkey-cock responds to the call of his mate.)

KIGISCHGOTAM, corrupted from *Kikischcotam*,‡ Delaware for *katy-did.*

KIKITSCHIMUS, (Duck Creek) corrupted from *Kiksischimus*,§ Delaware for *wood* or *tree-duck.*

KISHICOQUILLAS,‖ (emptying into the Juniata from the North, in Mifflin

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was presented to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, by the late Granville Penn,) at that time king of Hockendauqua, witnessed the walk in part, and expressed his dissatisfaction at the walkers in the memorable words—"No sit down to smoke—no shoot a squirrel; but lun, lun, lun all day long!" His village lay between Howell's grist-mill and the mouth of the Creek. Near it the tired walkers passed the night of the 19th and 20th of September, on the completion of a twelve hours walk, bivouacking before a blazing fire, while the Indians in the village below prolonged a cantico till into the hours of the early morning.

* *Hobbenac*, wild potatoes.—*Zr.*

† Written also *Scokooniady*, *Choniata* and *Chiniotta.* "Shikellimy then asked the Proprietor (Thos. Penn) whether he had heard of a letter which he and Sassoonan (Allummapees) had sent to John Harris to desire him to desist from making a plantation at the mouth of *Choniata*, where Harris had built a house and is clearing fields. They were told that Harris had only built the house for carrying on his trade,—that his plantation at Paxton is his place of dwelling, and it is not to be supposed he will remove from thence. Shikellimy said he had no ill will to John Harris, it not being his custom to bear any man ill will, but he is afraid that the warriors of the Six Nations when they pass that way may take it ill to see a settlement made on lands which they have always desired to be kept free." *Minutes of Prov. Council, June* 19, 1733.

"Bro. Onas! The Dutchman on *Scokooniady* claims a right to the land merely because he gave a little victuals to our warriors, who stand very often in need of it. This string of wampum serves to take the Dutchman by the arm and to throw him over the big mountain within your borders. We have given the River *Scokooniady* for a hunting-place to our cousins the Delawares, and our brothers the Shawanese, and we ourselves hunt there sometimes. We therefore desire you will immediately by force remove all those that live on the river of *Scokooniady*." *Council of Onondaga to Gov. Thomas, April* 9, 1743.

The Shawanese town alluded to in Mr. Heckewelder's note, may have been the "Shawanese Cabins," noted on Scull's Map, and situate about 8 miles west of Raystown, on the Raystown branch of the Juniata.

‡ *Ki-gisch-go-tum*, green grasshoppers.—*Zr.*

§ *Gi-gi-tschi-mu-is*, a summer duck.—*Zr.*

‖ In an enumeration of Indians residing within the Province, furnished to Government by Jonah Davenport and James Letort, traders, in October of 1731, *Ohesson* is mentioned as an Indian town on *Choniata*, 60 miles from Susquehanna, inhabited by 20 families of Shawanese, numbering 60 men, and *Kissikahquilas*, their chief.

Conrad Weisser writes from Aughwick, Sept. 3, 1754, as follows: "I also condoled with the Indians in the name of this Government over the death of the Shawanese chief, who died at Capt. McKee's in Paxton last month. His name was *Kissakoochquilla.*

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County), corrupted from *Gischichgakwalis*, signifying, *the snakes are already in their dens;* compounded of *gischi*, already—*achgook*, snakes—and *wa.ieu*, in dens.

KISKIMINETAS or Conemaugh, (a branch of the Allegheny dividing Armstrong and Indiana Counties from Westmoreland), corrupted from *Giesch-gumanito*,* signifying, *make daylight!* (*Note.* Probably the word of command given by a warrior to his comrades at night, to break up camp and resume the journey or warpath.)

KITTANNING,† (the County-seat of Armstrong), corrupted from *Kit-hánne*, in Minsi Delaware, *Gicht-hánne*, signifying, *the main stream*, i. e., in its region of country.

LACKAMISSA, (corrupted from *Legau-miksa*),‡ signifying, *sandy soil.*

LACKAWANNOCK, (emptying into the Susquehanna from the North-east in Luzerne County,) corrupted from *Lechauwáh-hannek*,§ or *Lechau-hánnek*, signifying, *the forks of a stream.*

LACKAWAXEN, (a branch of the Delaware in Wayne and Pike Counties), corrupted from *Lechauwésink*, signifying, *where the roads part*—at the forks of the road.‖

LEHIGH RIVER, called by the Delawares *Lechauwéeki*, *Lechauwiechink*, or *Lechauwékink*¶ signifying, *where there are forks.* This name was given to the R,iver because through it struck an Indian path or thoroughfare coming

* *Gisch-gu*, day. *Gisch-que*, to-day. *Gi-scha-pan*, it is day-break. *Ma-ni-toon*, to make.—*Zr.* "On Conemaugh Creek there are three Shawanese towns, 45 families, 200 men, and *Okowela* their chief." *Report of Jonah Davenport and James Letort, Oct.* 29, 1731. "*Aug.* 25, 1748. "Crossed *Kiskeminetas Creek*, and came to Ohio, that day traveling 26 miles."—*Weisser's Journal to Logstown.*

† On the alluvial flat on the left bank of the Allegheny, where Kittanning was laid out in 1804, there stood in Colonial times an Indian village of the same name, and through it passed a great trail called the "*Kittaning Path*," by which the Indians of the West communicated with those of the Susquehanna country. Scull's Map calls it "the Ohio Path." In August of 1756, Col. John Armstrong fitted out an expedition at Fort Shirley, and attacked and burned the 30 houses which composed the Indian town of Kittaning "on Ohio," then the head-quarters of the Delaware war-chief, Capt. Jacobs.

‡ *Le-kau*, sand.—*Zr.*

§ *L'chau-hanne*, the fork of a river or a stream.—*Zr*,

‖ The head-line of the so-called "walking purchase," run by Surveyor General Eastburn at right angles to the line of the walk, extended from the "five chestnut-oaks cut with the Proprietaries' initials and the year 1737, at the end of the day's and a half walk through a mountainous barren country abounding in pines" to a tree *near the mouth of the Lackawaxen*, on Delaware, marked with the letter P.

¶ *Le-chau-woak*, a fork. *L'chau-wa-quot*, a sapling with a fork. *L'chau-wie-chen*, the fork of a road. *L'chau-hanne-wall*, the forks of streams. *Lal-chau-wu-linscha-ja*, the forks of the fingers. *Lal-chau-uch-si-ta-ja*, the forks of the toes.—*Zr.* The Lehigh River is noticed in records of the Province as early as 1701. On the 21st of March of that year, the Proprietary and Governor informed the Council "that a certain young Swede arriving from *Lechay*, brought intelligence that on 5th day last some young men going out a hunting at that place, heard the frequent report of fire-arms, which made them suspect that the Senecas were coming down among them." "*March* 31, 1701. The Proprietary and Governor acquainted the Board that despite a law prohibiting all persons to trade with the Indians in this Province, but such as dwell and reside therein, and have a license from the Governor,—John Hans Stiehlman, said to live in Maryland, and to have no such license, followed a close trade with the Indians of this Province, not only at Conestoga, but had been endeavoring to settle a trade with those at *Lechay*, or ye *Forks at Delaware*, to the great prejudice of the trade of this Province, for which reason the Governor had seized such of his goods as were going to *Lechay*." To John Hans, the Governor thereupon wrote as follows: "The present management of the Indian trade is directly

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from the lower parts of the Delaware country, which thoroughfare, on the left bank of the River, *forked off into various trails*, leading North and West. The word *Lechauwékink*, was shortened into *Lecha*, the name still in use among the descendants of German settlers,—of which abbreviation *Lehigh* is a corruption.

Lechau-hánne, literally a *forked stream*, is the word also applied by the Delawares to the angle or wedge of land lying between the confluence of two streams. *The forks*, most frequently alluded to in early records of Provincial Pennsylvania, are those of the Delaware and its *West Branch* or Lehigh—called the *Forks of the Delaware.*

Lechauwítank, the place at or within the forks, was the name given by the Delawares to the site of Easton, and then to the town.

LICKING CREEK, (a branch of the Potomac heading in Bedford County). In Delaware, *Mahonink*, signifying, *where there is a lick.*

LITTLE BEAVER, (a branch of the Ohio in Beaver County). In Delaware, *Tank-amochk-hánne*, i. e., *little beaver-stream.*

LITTLE BRIER, (in Jefferson County?) In Delaware, *Tangawunsch-hánne* i. e., *little brier stream.*

LITTLE CONEMAUGH, (a branch of the Conemaugh or Kiskiminetas in Cambria County). The Delawares called it *Gunamóchki*,* *the little otter.*

LITTLE MOSHANNON, (a branch of the Moshannon in Centre County). In Delaware, *Tankimoos-hánne*, i. e., *little elk stream.*

LITTLE SCHUYLKILL, Beaver, or Tamaque Creek, (a branch of the Schuylkill in Schuylkill County). In Delaware, *tamaque-hánne*, i. e., *beaver stream*,—a stream across which the beaver throws a dam and builds his lodge.

LOYALHANNA,† (a branch of the Conemaugh or Kiskiminetas in Westmoreland County), corrupted from *Laweel-hánne*, signifying, *the middle stream.*

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contrary to our laws. I have therefore stopped thy goods intended for *Lechay*, till according to thy frequent engagements thou come hither thyself and give further satisfaction than thou hast yet done to "Thy friend, WILLIAM PENN."

"*July* 25, 1701. The Proprietary and Governor ordered that Menangy, Indian chief on Schuylkill, *Oppemenyhook, Chief on Lechay*, and Indian Harry of Conestoga be sent for to consult with about passing a law to prohibit all use of rum to the Indians of their nations."

"Last week thy son, Judge Mompesson, and myself went to Pennsbury to meet one hundred Indians, of which nine are kings. *Oppewoanumhook* (Oppemenyhook?) the chief, with his neighbors, who came hither to congratulate thy son's arrival, presented nine belts of wampum for a ratification of peace, and had returns accordingly."

James Logan to William Penn, Philadelphia, 14th 1 month, 1710.

Memoirs of the Hist'l Society of Penn'a, Vol. IX.

The "Indian Ford," alluded to above, crossed the Lehigh at the head of the island opposite the works of the "Bethlehem Iron Company," and was included in the purchase of 500 acres made by the Moravians of Abraham Taylor in February of 1756. When, in 1745, a road was laid out from the grist-mill at Bethlehem, to the terminus of the King's Road from Philadelphia at Irish's stone quarry, the "Indian Ford" was included in the survey.

* *Gun-na-moochk*, an Otter,—*Zr.* Compounded of *gu-ne-u* long and *a-moochk* a beaver.

† *Le-la-wi*, the middle. *Lawi-lo-wan*, mid-winter. *La-wit-pi-cat*, mid-night. *La-wu-linsch-gan*, the middle finger. *La-wu-linsch*, the middle or palm of the hand.—*Zr.*

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LOYALSOCK,* (a branch of the Susquehanna in Lycoming County), corrupted from *Lawi-saquick*, signifying the *middle creek*, i. e., a creek flowing between two others.

LYCOMING,† (a branch of the Susquehanna in Lycoming County), corrupted from *Legaui-hánne*, signifying *sandy stream*. The Delawares called it invariably by this name.

MACUNGY, (a township in Lehigh County) corrupted from *Machk-únschi*,‡ signifying, *the feeding place of bears*.

MEECH-HÁNNE,‡ (signifying, *the main stream*; a name applied to the *largest* of several affluent streams, prior to their confluence. This was the name given by the Delawares to the main branch of the Lehigh, (between Luzerne and Monroe), it being larger than either the *Toby-hanna*, or the *Tunk-hanna*, its other sources.

MECHEEK-MENÁTEY,§ i. e., *the Great Island*, the name in use among the Delawares.

MAHANOY,‖ (a branch of the Susquehanna in Northumberland County), corrupted from *mahoni*, *a lick*.

MAHANTANGO,¶ (a branch of the Susquehanna between Dauphin and Northumberland Counties), corrupted from *Mohantango*, signifying, *where we had plenty of meat to eat*.

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* Count Zinzendorf was at the Indian town of *Ots-ton-wa-kin*, at the mouth of the Loyalsock, in October of 1742, said town at that time being the residence of Madame Montour. (See Memorials of the Moravian Church, Vol. 1, p. 80, for the Count's narrative.)

† Written Lycaumick on Scull's Map. *French Margaret's Town*, stood on the right bank of the creek, near its outlet.

‡ *Machk*, a bear. *Mach-qui-ge-u*, plenty of bears. *Mach-quik*, there are bears plenty.—*Zr.* The region of country drained by the Little Lehigh and its tributaries (since 1812 in Lehigh County) embracing the townships of Upper and Lower Macungy and Salsburg, was called *Macaunsie* and *Macquenusie* prior to 1735, and was already then in part well settled by German immigrants. In March of that year, "sundry of the inhabitants of Bucks living near and at *Macaunsie*, in a petition to Gov. Gordon, set forth the great necessity of a public road from their settlements to *Goshen-hoppen*," a return of which road was made in January of 1736. The Moravians labored in the Gospel among the Germans of Macungy as early as 1742, in July of which year Gottlieb Pezold, of Bethlehem, occupied that field. It was one of the few outside of their own settlements in which they effected a permanent footing. In 1747 they organized a congregation among the settlers near the South Mountain, five miles South-west from Allentown, and also established a school, which was in operation until 1754. About this time Salsburg township was erected. In 1761 the Moravian village within its bounds was named *Emmaus*, now a station on the East Penn R. R.

‡ *Me-cheek* and *Mach-we-u*, great, large. *Meech-gi-lük*, the large one. *Meech-han-ne*, a large stream.—*Zr.*

§ *Me-na-tey*, and *Me-na-teu*, an island.—*Zr.* This island lies in the West Branch of the Susquehanna, in that long stretch of the river, called *Quenischaschachki*, not far from Dunnstown, Lycoming County. It was a favorite resort of the Indians and lay on one of the great thoroughfares of the Delaware Country.

‖ Zinzendorf, on his way to Shamokin in Sept. of 1742, named the Mahanoy *Leimbach's Creek*, for Henry Leimbach, of Oley, one of his fellow-travelers.

¶ The Count on the same journey named the Mahantango, *Benigna's Creek*, in honor of his daughter.

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MAHONING,* (a branch of the Lehigh, heading west in Carbon County), corrupted from *Mahonink*, signifying, *where there is a lick, at the lick. Mahoni* is Delaware for *a lick*, *mahonitty* signifies, *a diminutive lick*, and *mahon-hánne, a stream flowing from or near a lick.*

MAKERISK-KITTON.† This name, written also *Makeusk-kitton*, *Makerisk-hickon* and *Makeerick-kitton* in early Indian deeds, denotes, I am inclined to believe, a spot either on the bank, or in the bed of the Delaware;—which conjecture I base on the termination *kitton*, evidently intended for *kit-hánne* or *gicht-hanne*, signifying *the main stream.*

MANAHAN, (a branch of the Yellow Breeches in York County), corrupted from *menéhund*,‡ signifying *where liquor had been drunk.*

MANALTIN, corrupted from *menaltink*, signifying, *where we drank liquor to excess.*

MANATAWNY,§ (a branch of the Schuylkill in Berks County), corrupted from *menháltanink*, signifying, *where we drank liquor.*

MANAYUNK,‖ corrupted from *mene-iunk*, signifying, *where we go to drink—our place of drinking liquor.*

MASGEEK-HÁNNE,¶ *swamp-stream*, the name given by the Delawares to a run flowing through the swamp of the Broad Mountain in Monroe County.

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* Compounded of *Mahoni*, a lick, and *ink* or *ing*, the local suffix. This name was a very common one for rivers and places in the Delaware country, along which or where the surface of the ground was covered with saline deposit or efflorescence, provincially called "*licks*" from the fact of deer and elk frequenting them and *licking* the saltish earth.

† The name occurs in the deed executed by the Indians to Wm. Markham, (Penn's deputy,) on the 15th July, 1682, (the oldest Indian deed on record), in which indenture the tract of land conveyed to the Proprietor is described as "lying in the Province of Pennsylvania, beginning at a certain white oak on the land now in the tenure of John Wood, and by him called the Gray Stones over against the falls of Delaware River, and so from thence up by the River's side to a corner marked spruce-tree with the letter P, at the foot of a mountain, and from the said corner marked spruce-tree along by the ledge or foot of the mountains, west north-west to a corner white-oak marked with the letter P, standing by the Indian path that leads to an Indian town called *Playwickey*, and near the head of a creek called *Towsissinock*, and from thence westward to the Creek called *Neshamony's Creek*, and along by the said *Neshamony's Creek* unto the river Delaware, alias, *Makerisk-hickon*, and so bounded by the said *main river*, to the said first-mentioned white-oak in John Wood's land." This purchase situate within the great bend of the Delaware, and between the falls opposite Trenton and the Neshaminy, was made by Markham for Penn's private use, and became the seat of the *Manor of Pennsbury.*

The curious instrument from which the above recital of boundaries was taken is in the possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

‡ *Me-nee-ton*, to spend in drinking. *Me-neel*, drink. *Mee-neet*, a drunkard. *Me-ne-woa-can*, drinking.—*Zr.*

§ Manatawny is mentioned in official records as early as July of 1707. In May of 1728 it was the scene of a collision between the settlers and some Shawanese who had come down from *Pechoquealin* armed, and with a Spanish Indian, as it was thought, for their Captain. Many of the back inhabitants in consequence quitted their houses, being under apprehension of numbers of foreign Indians, Twightwees or Flatheads, coming to attack them, and several Palatine families gathered together in a mill near New Hanover, there to defend themselves.

‖ Occurs in the deed cited under Chester River, in this register.

¶ *Mas-keek*, a swamp. *Mas-ke-kunk*, in the swamp.—*Zr.*

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MAUCH CHUNK, corrupted from *machk-tschunk*,* signifying, *bear-mountain*, or strictly, *where there is a mountain, the resort of bears.*

MAXATAWNY,† (a branch of Saucon Creek in Berks County), corrupted from *machksit-hánne*, signifying *bear's path stream*,—the stream along which bears have beaten a path.

MENIOLOGAMEKA,‡ the name of an Indian village on the *Achquoanschicóla*, at the northern base of the Blue Mountain, near Smith's Gap.

MESHOPPEN, (emptying into the Susquehanna from the North in Wyoming County), corrupted from *maschápi*,§ signifying, *glass-beads*, a name given by the Indians to commemorate a distribution of such trinkets, made somewhere on the bank of the stream.

MINISINK, corrupted from *Mins-ink* or *Miníssink*, signifying, *where there are Minsies*, i. e., the home or country of the Minsies.‖

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* *Machk*, a bear. *Wach-tschu*, a mountain. *Wachtschuwall*, mountains. *Wachtschunk*, on the mountain.—*Zr.*

† Also the name of a township in Berks, in which, at the house of Jacob De Levan, a French Huguenot, Zinzendorf preached in 1742. Scull's Map notes Delevan on the road from Easton to Reading, about six miles West of Mertztown.

‡ See Memorials of the Moravian Church, Vol. 1, p. 35. Heckewelder in his Narrative states that the word implies *a rich spot of ground surrounded by barren lands.*

§ *Ma-scha-pi*, corals, beads. *Woop-a-schapi-all*, white beads.—*Zr.*

‖ Early records assign this division of the Lenape, to the North-eastern wilds of the Province, within the country which is called on old maps "the land abounding in the sugar tree." The upper valley of the Delaware, however, was pre-eminently the home of the Minsies, (the historic Minsinks,) where they built their towns, planted their corn and kindled their council fires, and whence they set out on the hunt or on the war-path. The *Minsies*, *Monseys*, or *Muncys*, were the most warlike of their people, and proverbially impatient of the white man's presence in the Indian country. The murder of one Wright at John Burt's house in Snaketown, in Sept. of 1727, was the act of *Minsies*, and subjects we are told of Kindassowa, who resided "at the Forks of the Susquehanna above Mechayomy." The following notice of the physical peculiarities and traits of these mountaineers, is copied from a paper, in the hand-writing of Mr. Heckewelder. "According to my observation and judgment of Indian tribes, the Minsies have a peculiarity which signalises them from other nations or tribes; and I have seldom failed in pointing them out among a crowd, where they, Delawares and Mohicans were together. The principal distinguishing marks with me, are—robust or strong-boned, broad faces, somewhat surly countenances, greater head of hair and this growing low down on their foreheads, short, round-like nose, thick lips seldom closed, or rather having their mouths generally somewhat open, which, as I am inclined to believe, may be owing in some measure to an awkward custom of this people, who, instead of pointing to a thing or object with their hands or fingers, as other Indians do, generally draw out their mouths or lips in the desired direction. They are averse to manners, prone to mischief and friends of war. Their natural complexion is dark, more so than any Indians I have seen, but being within these twenty last years much mixed by intermarriages with other tribes, their color has become lighter or fairer."

"From the Falls of Delaware River the Indians go in canoes up the said river to an Indian town called Minisinks, which is accounted from the Falls about 80 miles; but this they perform by great labor in setting up against the stream. I have been informed that about Misininks by the riverside, both in New Jersey and Pennsylvania are great quantities of exceeding rich open land which is occasioned by washing down of the leaves and soil in great rains from the mountains." A True Account of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, by Thomas Budd, 1685.

The settlement of "the Minisinks" by whites from Esopus prior to the purchase of the Indian claim, (ostensibly consummated by the "one and a half day's walk," in the autumn of 1737) was one of the grievances that alienated the Delawares from the English, and provoked the war of 1755.

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MOHULBUCTEETAM, now Mahoning Creek, (a branch of the Allegheny in Armstrong County), corrupted from *Mochoolpakiton*,* signifying, *where canoes are abandoned*, i. e., the head of navigation.

MONOCASY, (a branch of the Lehigh in Northampton County), corrupted from *Menágassi*, or *Menakessi*, signifying, *a stream with several large bends.*†

MONODY, (a branch of the Swatara in Dauphin County), corrupted from *Menatey*, signifying, *an island.*

MONONGAHELA, corrupted from *Menaungehílla*, a word implying *high banks or bluffs, breaking off and falling down at places.*

MOSELEM, (a branch of Maiden Creek in Berks County), corrupted from *Meschilameek-hánne*,‡ signifying, *trout stream.*

MOSHANNON, (emptying into the Susquehanna from the Southwest, between Clearfield and Centre Counties), corrupted from *Mooshánne*, i. e., *elk stream.*

MUNCY CREEK,§ (an affluent of the Susquehanna in Lycoming County), corrupted from *Mins-ink*, signifying, *where there are Minsies.*

NESCOPEC, (emptying into the Susquehanna from the East in Luzerne County), corrupted from *Neskchoppeek*,‖ signifying *black, deep and still water.*

NESHAMINY, (a branch of the Delaware in Bucks County), corrupted from *Nischam-hánne*,¶ signifying *a double stream*, i. e., a stream formed by the confluence of two branches.

NESHANNOCK, (emptying into the Beaver from the North in Lawrence County), corrupted from *Nishannok*, signifying, *both streams, two adjoining streams.*

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* *A-mo-chool*, a canoe. *Pa-ki-ton*, to throw away.—*Zr.*

† *Menagachsink*, was the name given by the Delawares to the site of Bethlehem at the mouth of the Monakasy.

‡ *Me-schi-la-meek*, a trout. *Ma-schi-la-me-quak*, trouts.—*Zr.*

§ Called *Ocochpocheny*, on Scull's Map. Zinzendorf and his companions were the first Moravians to cross Muncy Creek. It was in September of 1742. "In the afternoon of Sunday, Aug. 26, 1753, we launched our canoe and paddled up the river. Four miles above Shamokin we came to *Logan's* place, The few Indians who reside here informed us that he had gone to the Seneca country. In one of the cabins there lay a Shawano dying of small-pox. The poor fellow had just returned with two *Tudelars* from an unsuccessful expedition against the Catawbas, in which the captain of his company, an Oneida, and four other comrades lost their lives. On the 27th we arrived at *John Shikellimy's* hunting-lodge (*quaere*, at the mouth of Warrior's Run?). The Shawanese here gave us a friendly reception, supplying us also with bear's meat, in return for which Bro. Grubé made the children a present of dried apples. After dinner we came to the mouth of *Muncy Creek*, 40 *miles above Shamokin.* As the Susquehanna was high and the current rapid, we left our canoe in care of an Indian acquaintance, shouldered our packs, and keeping along the bank of the river, arrived at *Otstonwakin* in the evening. —*Journal of Mack and Grube from Bethlehem to Quenischaschachki.*

‖ *Neesk-i-u*, black. *Tup-peek*, a spring, a well.—*Zr.*

¶ *Nis-chi*, two. *Ni-schi-nach-ke*, twenty. *Ni-sche-cat*, double.—*Zr.* The name occurs in the deed of July 1682, cited under *Makerisk-kitton.* When in July of 1742, Zinzendorf inaugurated a work of home-missions in the rural districts of the Province, he sent John Okely, of Bethlehem, to preach to the English settlers on the Neshaminy. His appointments were probably at Hartsville, a small village on the Willow Grove Turnpike, about six miles south from Doylestown, not far from the Neshaminy Church and the "Log College," both of which were in charge of the Rev. William Tennent.

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NESQUEHONING, (emptying into the Lehigh from the West, in Carbon County), corrupted from *Neska-honi*, signifying, a *black lick.*

NIPPENOSE, (draining Nippenose Bottom, and emptying into the Susquehanna from the South, in Lycoming County), corrupted from *Nipeno-wi*,* signifying, *like the summer*, a name indicating a warm and genial situation.

NOCKAMIXON, (a township in Bucks, bordering on the Delaware), corrupted from *Nochanichsink*,† signifying, *where there are three houses.*.

NOLAMÁTTINK,‡ signifying, *where the silkworm spins,—the silkworm lands*, —was the name given by the Delawares to that part of the "Nazareth tract," on which Gnadenthal and Christian's Spring lay,—and which abounded in the mulberry.

OHIO. (*Note.* Having always failed to satisfy myself that this name was an Indian word, (excepting perhaps as an *abbreviation*), I will proceed to state my views on its probable origin, based upon observation and hearsay, during my residence among the Indians of the Ohio country.) There were persons who would have had me believe that *Ohio* signified "*the beautiful river*," and others, "*the river red with blood*," or "*the bloody river.*" This diversity of interpretation exciting my curiosity, I took special care to arrive at a true solution of the problem, by all the means at hand,—by questioning intelligent Indians, and by giving close attention to their conversation, whenever its subject was this river, or any event that had occurred along its course. That an Indian word of but four letters should be so comprehensive as to express the complex idea *beautiful river*, or *bloody river*, I could never concede. Could it even have embraced so much, I was totally at a loss to which of the Indian languages to assign it. The latter designation, furthermore, I knew to be a figurative one, and suggestive of the bloody wars that had been conducted from time immemorial within the country washed by the Ohio and its tributaries.

Only when conversing with traders, or white travelers, to whom the word was familiar, would the Indians, in naming the river in question, call it the *Ohio*; invariably, however, emphasizing the *antepenult*, viz: *O-hi-o*, and *not the penult*, as we do. This circumstance satisfied me that the word was not in the vocabulary of the Lennape or Delawares. Among themselves, the Indians always called the river *Kit-hánne* (in Minsi Delaware, *Gicht-hánne*) which signifies the *main stream*, i. e., in its region of country;§—a name which is perpetuated in *Kittanning* (once the site of an Indian town on the Allegheny,)

* *Ni-pen*, summer. *Ni-pin-ke*, in the summer. *Ni-pe-na-cheen*, the summer-hunt.—*Zr.*

† *Na-cha*, three. *Wik*, a house. *Na-che-nach-ke*, thirty.—*Zr.*

‡ *Ne-le-mu-tees*, the silk-worm.—*Zr.* In June of 1752, Philip C. Bader, who was conducting the culture of the silk-worm at Bethlehem, transferred his cocoonery to Christian's Spring, where mention is made of it as late as 1755. *Quaere.* Did the Delawares name the place from this circumstance?

§ See *Kittanning*, in this register.

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corrupted from *Kit-hannink*, signifying *at* or *on the main stream*, i. e., the *town at* or *on the main stream* of its region of country. Thus much for the name of the river in question current among the Delawares,—which name I hold to be the *national* or *historical* one. Next, as to the origin of the name *Ohio* current with us. In tracing this it will be necessary for me to adduce a series of words from the Delaware, all of which have a bearing on the question under consideration. I borrow both from the *Unami* and *Minsi* dialects.

Unami.	*Minsi.*
Ohui, very; when prefixed, written *Ohi.*	*Achwi*, very.
Opeu, *opsit*, white.	*Wapeu*, *wapsit*, white.
Opíechen, it looks white.	*Wapíechen*, it looks white.
Ohiopiechen, it is of a whitish color.	*Wahewapiechen*, it is of a whitish color.
Opeléchen, white, bright.	*Woapeléchen*, white, bright.
Opeek, white with froth.	*Wapeek*, white with froth.
Ohiópeek, very white with froth, or white-caps.	*Achwiwápeek*, very white with froth, or white-caps.
Ohiophánne, a very white stream.	*Achwiwoaphánne*, a very white stream.
Ohiopeekhánne, a very deep and white stream, whitened all over with white-caps.	*Achwiwapeekhánne*, a very deep and white stream, whitened all over with white-caps.

These words, in connection with what I shall proceed to relate, will, I think, be sufficient to convince the reader of the plausibility if not of the correctness of my theory, that the name *Ohio* is only the fragment of an Indian word or words, which in their entirety were used by the Delawares, to describe *a certain condition* of the *main river* (*kit-hanne*) of their western country, —but *not as its name*. The Ohio being often wide, deep and with no perceptible current in its course for miles, the slightest wind that blows up stream, invariably covers its surface with what are provincially called *white-caps*. I have seen the river, when under the influence of a westerly or south-westerly wind, (the prevailing winds of the country) in this condition for several days in succession, so that my Indian companions and myself would be obliged to haul our canoes on shore, well knowing that navigation on the river, when covered with white-caps, was perilous. On such occasions the Indians never failed to apply one or another of the above quoted words to the condition of the river—ejaculating "*juh Ohiopiéchen!*" "Lo! it is of a whitish color!" or "*Ohiopeek!*" "it is very white!" or "*Ohiophanne!*" "the stream is very white!" and at points where they supposed the river to be very deep, they would exclaim "*Kitschi Ohiopeekhanne!*" i. e., "verily this is a deep and white stream!"

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Thus much for the derivation of Ohio. Its fragmentary form is easily accounted for. We owe it to the traders and settlers along the frontiers. The former penetrated the Indian country solely for gain; the latter were generally an illiterate class, and both were satisfied in communicating with the natives, by words (however incorrectly or carelessly spoken) which sufficed to render themselves intelligible. Whenever possible, they would abbreviate Indian words, or adapt them to their powers of enunciation. To such a degree was this corruption of language practised, that the Indians would even indulge in incessant laughter at the quaintness and impropriety of speech made use of by their white visitors.

On their return to the settlements, the traders would report where they had been, and thus ingraft *their* names of streams and places upon the vocabulary of the whites. In this way, I presume to account for the origin of the name *Ohio*.

OHIOPILE, (the falls or rapids of the Youghiogheny in Fayette County), corrupted from *Ohiopéhelle*, signifying, *water whitened by froth* by its rapid descent over rocks and stones.

OLEY, (a township in Berks County), corrupted from *Olink*, or *Olo* (also *Wahlink*, or *Wahlo*,)* signifying, *a hole*, *cavern*, *a cell*, or "*cache*;" also a *cove*, that is, a tract of land encompassed by hills.

OSWAYA, (a tributary of the Allegheny in Potter County), corrupted from *Utschéja*,† signifying, *the place of flies*.

PAINT CREEK, (a branch of the Conemaugh or Kiskiminetas, in Cambria County), called by the Delawares *Wallamink*, signifying, *where there is paint*.

PAXTON, (emptying into the Susquehanna from the East, at Harrisburg), corrupted from *Peekstank*,‡ signifying, *where the waters stand*—the place of dead water, whether in a stream, or pool, or lake.

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* *Woa-lac*, a hole. *Wal-he-u*, he is digging a hole.—*Zr.*

Oley was one of the first fields of Moravian religious activity in the Province of Pennsylvania.

† *Ut-sche* a fly, *ut-sche-wak*, flies.—*Zr.*

‡ *Tup-peek*, a spring, a well, standing water. *Hanne*, a stream. *Onk*, *ank*, *ink*, *nk*, and *k*, local suffixes.—*Zr.* The name is written also *Peshtang* and *Pestank* in early official papers. "*July* 25, 1709, the chiefs of several nations living on the Susquehanna at *Peshtang, above Conestoga*, met Gov. Gookin in council at Philadelphia." In 1726 John Harris, a Yorkshireman, settled at the mouth of Paxton Creek, traded largely with the Indians by whom he was surrounded, cleared a farm, and kept a ferry. "Harris' Ferry over the Susquehanna," became an important outpost in the Province. John Harris, Jr., born on the Paxton in 1726, inherited from his father 700 acres of land, on a part of which Harrisburg was laid out in 1785. Paxton Township was erected in what was then Lancaster County, in 1729. Its first settlers were Scotch immigrants from the north of Ireland (Scotch-Irish), who, in order to protect their frontier-places against the Indians, on the opening of hostilities, organized a company of rangers. To these belonged the "Paxton Boys" who exterminated the last of the Conestogas on their hereditary seats in Manor Township, Lancaster County, in December of 1763.

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PENNYPACK,* (emptying into the Delaware in Philadelphia County), corrupted from *Pemápeek*, signifying, *a body of water with no current*, whether a stream, a pool, or lake.

PEQUEA,† (emptying into the Susquehanna in Lancaster County), corrupted from *Picueu*, a Shawano word.

PERKIOMEN, (a branch of the Schuylkill in Montgomery County), corrupted from *Pakihmominк*,‡ *Pakiominк*, signifying, *where there are cranberries*, the place of cranberries. *Pakihm*, in Delaware, a *cranberry*.

PINE CREEK, (a branch of the Susquehanna between Lycoming and Clinton Counties.) In Delaware *Cuwenhánne*, i. e., *pine stream*—a stream flowing through pine lands.

PITTSBURG. The Delawares called the site of this city, after its occupation by the French, *Menachk-sink*, which signifies, *where there is a fence*, or an *enclosure*. *Menachk*,§ is an enclosed spot of ground, a place secure against entrance, hence equivalent to a *fortification*.

PLAYWICKY,‖ corrupted from *Plaeuwikichtit*, signifying, *the home or habitation* of Indians of the *Turkey tribe*.

PLUM CREEK, (the North branch of Crooked Creek in Armstrong County.) In Delaware, *Sipuas-hánne*, i. e., *plum stream*. *Sipudssink*, signifies, *where there are plums*.¶

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* In a letter to James Logan, written at Pennsbury House, the 22d day of 6th month, 1700, Penn directs him in these words, "Urge the Justices about the bridge at *Pemepecka* and *Poquessin* forthwith for a carriage, or I cannot come to town."—*Memoirs of the Historical Society of Penn'a, Vol. IX.*

The name of this stream occurs for the first time in deeds, in one executed by four Indian Shakamakers on the 14th day of the 5th month, 1683, to Wm. Penn, for "lands lying between Manaiunk, alias Schuylkill, and *Pemmapeka Creek*."

† Written in early records *Pequehan*, and *Peckquea*, was already before 1707 a settlement of Shawanese (*Southerners* or *South-men; Scha-wa-ne-u*, south, *Sha-wa-ne-munk*, southward, *Sha-wa-noch-que* a Shawano woman.—*Zr.*,) at the mouth of the Creek of that name, and the residence of Martin Chartiere, a well-known trader and interpreter, but "late French glover of Philadelphia." When Gov. Evans, in June of 1707, visited the Indians on the Susquehanna, he was conducted to *Pequea* by *Opessah*, the Shawano Chief, and on his entrance into the town saluted by a volley of small arms. Swiss immigrants settled a tract of 10,000 acres on the North side of Pequea Creek in 1710. In order to secure the good will of the neighboring Indians for these strangers, Gov. Gookin met them in conference at Conestoga in June of 1711, and addressed them through Indian Harry, as follows: "Gov. Penn on all occasions being willing to show how great a regard he bears to you has sent this small present (50 lbs. of powder, 1 piece of Stroudwaters, 1 piece of duffels and 100 lbs. of shot) to you, and hath required me to acquaint you that he is about to settle some people upon the branches of Potowmack, and doubts not but that the same mutual friendship which has all along as brothers passed between the inhabitants of this government and you, will also continue betwixt you and those he is about to settle. Furthermore he intends to present five belts of wampum to the Five Nations, and one to you of Conestoga, and requires your friendship to the *Palatines settled near Pequea*."

‡ Occurs the first time in a deed executed by *Manghoughan*, at Philadelphia, the 3d day of 4th month, 1684, in which he makes over all his land on *Pahikihoma* to William Penn, "in consideration of two matchcoats, four pair of stockings, and four bottles of cydar."

§ *Mee-nachk*, a fence, a fort. *Me-nach-gink*, in the fence. *Me-nach-gak*, a fence-rail.—*Zr.*

‖ Occurs in the deed of July, 1684, cited under *Makerish-kitton*. *Pla-e-u*, a turkey. *Wik*, a house,

¶ *Si-pu-o-man-di-can*, wild plums.—*Zr.*

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POCONO, (emptying into McMichael's Creek in Monroe County), corrupted from *Poco-hánne* signifying, *a stream between mountains.**

POHOPOCO, or Big Creek, (emptying into the Lehigh from the North-east, in Carbon County), corrupted from *Pochkapochka*, signifying, *two mountains bearing down upon each other with a stream intervening*,—as is the case at the *Water-gap*.†

POKETO, (emptying into the Allegheny from the South, in Allegheny County,) corrupted from *pach gita*,‡ signifying, *throw it away*, *abandon it*.

POPONOMING, (a pond, or small lake in Hamilton township, Monroe County), corrupted from *Papennámink*, signifying, *where we are gazing*.

POQUESSING, (emptying into the Delaware between Philadelphia and Bucks Counties), corrupted from *Poquesink*, signifying, *where there are mice*,—the place of mice.§

PYMATUNING, (a branch of the Chenango in Mercer County), corrupted from *Pihmtominк*,‖ signifying *where the man with the crooked mouth resides*,—the home of the man with the crooked mouth. (*Note.* I was acquainted with the person to whose deformity there is allusion in the name of the creek.)

QUAKAKE, (emptying into the Lehigh from the West, in Carbon County), corrupted from *Cuwenkeek*,¶ signifying, *pine lands*. *Cuwen-hánne*, signifies, *pine-land stream*, i. e., a stream flowing through pine-lands.

QUEMAHONING, (a branch of the Conemaugh or Kiskiminetas, heading in Somerset County), corrupted from *Cuwéi-mahóni*, signifying *pine-tree lick*, i. e., a lick in among pines.

QUENISCHASCHACKI.** This name was given by the Delawares to the *long reach* in the West Branch of the Susquehanna in Lycoming County. Hence, they called the West Branch *Quenisch-áchachgek-hánne*, which word has been corrupted into Susquehanna.

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* *Pock-a-wach-ne*, a creek between two hills.—*Zr*

† It is inferable from remarks recurring in diaries kept by the Brethren, that the name *Pohopoco* or *Buch-ka-buch-ka* (rock aside of rock, from *gan-scha-puchk*, a rock, in composition abbreviated into *puchk*) was applied to *the region of the Lehigh Water Gap, running back east of the river, and north of the mountain*. Hence it was applied to *the main stream of that region*, now called Big Creek.

‡ *Pa-ki-ton*, to abandon.—*Zr*.

§ *Ach-po-quees*, a mouse.—*Zr*. This name occurs in the Record of Upland Court, in a minute of Oct. 8, 1678, recording the survey of a tract of 417 acres of land, situate at the mouth of Pont Quesink Creek, to James Sandelands and Lassie Cock. Also in a release executed by King *Tamanend*, i. e., "the affable," and three other kings, June 15, 1692, at Philadelphia, in which they release to Wm. Penn and his heirs, any further claims on their part to a tract of land situate between Neshaminah and *Poquessing* upon the River Delaware, *claimed by them from the beginning of the world until the aforesaid day*.

‖ *Pim-e-u*, slanting. *Pi-moch-que-u*, twisted. *W'doon*, the mouth.—*Zr*.

¶ *Cu-we-u-chae*, pine wood.—*Zr*.

** *Quin*, long. *Que-nek*, length. *Schaschack-ki*, straight.—*Zr*. The Delawares had a town of this name on the *long reach* of the river, said to have stood on the site of Linden, 6 miles east from Jersey Shore. It was repeatedly visited by missionaries from Bethlehem, prior to 1754. Scull's Map notes it.

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QUILUTAMEND, signifying, *we came unawares upon them,* is the name given by the Delawares to a spot, a short distance above the mouth of the Lackawannock in Luzerne County, situate between a steep mountain and the Susquehanna, where, they told me, their people had surprised and captured a body of Five Nation Indians (*Mengwe*) in their early wars with that confederacy.

QUITOPAHILLA, (a branch of the Great Swatara in Lebanon County), corrupted from *Cuitpehelle,* or *Cuwitpehelle,* signifying, *a spring that flows from the ground among pines.*

RACCOON CREEK, (emptying into the Ohio from the South in Beaver County). In Delaware, *Nachenum-hanne,** i. e., *raccoon stream.*

REDSTONE CREEK, (a branch of the Monongahela in Fayette County). In Delaware, *Machkachsen-hánne,* i. e., *redstone stream.*† *Machkachsinnink,* signifies, *where there are red stones.*

SALT LICK, (a branch of the Youghiogheny in Fayette County.) In Delaware *Sikhéwi-mahoni.*‡ *Sikei-hánne* signifies a *stream flowing from a salt lick.*

SANDY LICK, (emptying into the Allegheny from the West, in Venango County.) In Delaware, *Legauwi-mahóni.*

SANKINACK,§ corrupted from *Sank-hánne,* signifying, *flint stream,* i. e., a stream in or along which flint abounds.

SAUCON, (emptying into the Lehigh from the South-west, in Northampton County), corrupted from *Sakunk,*‖ signifying, *where a smaller stream empties into a larger,* hence, its *place of outlet.* (*Note.* The *outlet of the Big Beaver* into *the Ohio,* a point well known to all Indians,—to warriors of different and of the most distant tribes, as well as of those of the vicinity,—their rendezvous in the French wars,—their thoroughfare and place of transit—a point of observation, and the scene of frequent contest and bloodshed, was the best known of the many *Sakunks*¶ in the Indian country.)

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* *Na-chenum,* a raccoon. *Na-che-num-mook,* raccoons.—*Zr.*

† *Machk-e-u,* red. *Mach-xum-men* to dye red—*machk-te-u,* morning-red—*mach-gen-ach-gook,* the copper snake. *Ach-sin,* a stone.—*Zr.*

‡ *Si-key,* Salt.—*Zr.*

§ Probably the Delaware name of *Tar Run,* a small stream that empties into the Lehigh from the West below Weissport, in Carbon County, as may be inferred from the following extract of a letter written from Bethlehem to Count Zinzendorf in June of 1747. "As to the improvements at Gnadenhütten—besides completing the mill-dam and race on the Mahoning, the brethren have thrown a footbridge 120 feet long across the *Sankinac, two miles below Gnadenhütten.* By this means we can communicate with the Mission even in times of freshets, when the Creek runs wild down the gorge and its passage by raft or canoe is extremely perilous."

‖ *Sa-ku-wit,* the mouth of a creek or river.—*Zr.*

¶ Conrad Weisser in his Journal to the Ohio mentions *Sakunk* under the name of *Beaver Creek.* "August 23, 1748," he writes, "I went to an Indian town *about eight miles below Logstown,* (chiefly Delawares, the rest Mohawks) to have some belts of wampum made." Barbara Lingaree and Mary Roy, who

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SCHUYLKILL. The Delawares called the river *Ganshowe-hánne*,* i. e., *the roaring stream*,—the stream that is noisy in its course over rocks and stones.

SERECHEN, corrupted from *Seléhend*, or *Sinuéhund*, signifying, *where milking is done*,—the place of milking.

SHACKAMAXON, corrupted from *Schachamesink*,† signifying, *where there are eels*, the place of eels. *Schachameek*, an eel.

SHAMOKIN‡ (Sunbury) written *Schahamóki*, or *Schahamôkink* by the Delawares. In early times the place was called *Schachaméki*, *the place of eels*, and the creek *Schachamékhan*, i. e., *eel-stream*. It was next called *Schachhenamendi*, signifying, *the place where gun barrels are straightened*,§ because it had become the residence of an ingenious Delaware, *Nutamees*|| by name, who undertook to repair the bent fire-arms of his countrymen.

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were taken prisoners on John Penn's Creek in Snyder County, in October of 1755, by French Indians, state, in a deposition made on their release from captivity, that they had first been carried to *Kittanning*, thence were removed to Fort Duquesne, thence to *Sakunk*, twenty miles below *at the mouth of the Big Beaver*,—and in the spring of 1757, to *Kaskaskie, up Beaver Creek twenty-five miles*." Post, in his Journal to the Ohio records his experience at *Sakunk*, in these words: "Aug. 20, 1758, we set out from *Kaskaskie* for *Sakunk*. My company consisted of twenty-five horsemen and fifteen footmen, and arrived there in the afternoon. The people of this town were very dissatisfied at my coming, and received me in a rough manner. They surrounded me with drawn knives in their hands, so that I could hardly get along, running up against me with their bare breasts, as if they wanted some pretence to kill me. I could read a desire of my life in their countenances,—their faces were quite distorted with rage, and they went so far as to say that I should not live long."

Evans' Map locates *Shingas' Town* at the outlet of the Big Beaver.

* *Gan-sche-we-u*, it roars. *Gans-chi-hit-ta-quot*, it makes a terrible noise. *Gan-schi-hi-ta-xen*, a roaring noise.—*Zr.* In old deeds the Schuylkill was called *Manaiunk*. Gerrit van Sweeringen, in his "Account of the settling of the Dutch and Swedes at the Delaware," assigns a reason for the name Schuylkill, by stating "that the Swedes' ship sailed up as high as Tinicum, hiding themselves in a creeke, which is called to this day the Schuyl-kill, from *schuylen* to hide, that is, in English the *Hiding Creek*."—*Record of Upland Court.*

Again it is said that when the Dutch under Capt. Hendricks, sailed up the Delaware in 1616, not knowing whence the river came whose outlet they were passing, they named it Schuylkill, i. e., the hidden kill or stream.

† *Scha-cha-meek*, an eel, compounded of *Scha-chach-ge-u*, straight, and *na-mees*, a fish,—*the straight fish.—Zr.* Others derive the word from *Sa-ki-ma*, a chief, a king, with the local suffix *ink*, giving it the meaning of *the place of chiefs or kings*, i. e., where sachems meet in council.

‡ See *Memorials of the Moravian Church*, *Vol.* 1, *p.* 66, for a further notice of Shamokin, and of the Moravian Mission at that town. Pyrlaeus, the Iroquois scholar, in a collection of vocables taken from the mouth of the Oneida sachem Shikellimy, while on a visit to Bethlehem in April of 1745, gives *Ot-ze-nach-se*, as the name of the place, in the Maqua, or language of the Six Nations.—*MS. of Iroquois vocables* in possession of the editor.

§ *Schach-ach-ge-ne-men*, to straighten. *Schach-ach-ga-gee-chen*, a straight road. *Scach-ach-ga-me-u*, a straight row.

‖ Probably, *old Nutimaes*, one of the signers of "the release for lands on Delaware," executed August 25, 1737, which lands were measured off by the one and a half day's walk in September following. This same Nutimaes, at the time king of Nescopeck, was courteously entertained at Bethlehem in March, 1754, then on his way with his two oldest sons, and negro servants, to the Jerseys. *Pontius Nutimaes* the older son, was born near the site of Philadelphia. Together with his brother *Isaac*, he removed to the Ohio, after the war, and deceased on the Muskingum in 1780. *Nutimaes*, according to Heckewelder, signifies a *spearer of fish*. *Quaere.* Were not perhaps the smithy built at Shamokin by Joseph Powell and John Hagen of Bethlehem in July of 1747, and the blacksmiths Schmid, Wesa and Kieffer, who wrought in iron at that place until in October of 1755,—suggestive of the name *Schach-he-na-men-di?*

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SHOHOLA, (emptying into the Delaware from the South-west in Pike County) corrupted from *Schauwihilla*,* signifying, *weak, faint, depressed.*

SHOHOKIN, (emptying into the Delaware from the South-west in Wayne County,) corrupted from *Schohácan*,† signifying *glue. Schohacanink, where there is glue*, where glue is made.

SHUMMONK,‡ signifies, *where there is a horn*, the place of the horn.

SINNEMAHONING, (emptying into the Susquehanna from the North, in Clinton County), corrupted from *Achsinni-mahoni*,§ signifying, *stony lick.*

SKIPPACK, (a branch of the Perkiomen in Montgomery County), corrupted from *Schki-peek*,‖ signifying, *a pool of stagnant, offensive water.*

SLIPPERY ROCK, (emptying into the Big Beaver from the North-east, in Lawrence County.) In Delaware, *Weschachachápochka*,¶ i. e., a *slippery* rock.

STANDING STONE, (emptying into the Juniata from the North, in Huntingdon County) called by the Delawares *Achsinnink, where there is a large stone*,**—the place of the large stone. *Achsinnessink* signifies, *where there is a small stone*,—the place of the small stone. (*Note.* I know of four places within 500 miles called *Achsinnink*, where large stones or rocks stand isolated either on the margin or in the bed of streams.)††

STONY CREEK, (a branch of the Quemahoning in Somerset County). In Delaware *Sinne-hánne*, or *Achsin-hánne*, i. e., *stony stream.*

TAMAQUA. (See Little Schuylkill.)

TIOGA, (one of the tributaries of the Susquehanna, draining Tioga County), corrupted from *Tiaóga*, an Iroquois word, signifying *a gate, a place of*

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* *Schau-we-wi* and *Schau-wi-hil-le-u*, weak. *Shau-wus-su*, he is weak. *Shau-wi-na-xu-woa-gan*, weakness.—*Zr.*

† *Sco-ha-can* and *Me-suk-hoa-can*, glue.—*Zr.*

‡ *W'schum-mo*, a horn. *We-uch-schum-mu-is*, cattle.—*Zr.*

§ *Ach-sün*, a stone, *Ach-sün-nall*, stones.—*Zr.*

‖ *Me-nup-peek*, a pool or pond. *Tup-peek*, a spring or well.

¶ *W'scha-che-u*, slippery.—*Zr.*

** *Chot-ach-sun*, a large rock.—*Zr.*

†† The *Standing Stone*, a landmark for trader and Indian traveling through the wilds of Western Pennsylvania in the middle of the last century, is first mentioned in records by Weisser in his Journal to Logstown. "Aug. 18, 1748," he writes, "had a great rain in the afternoon, and came within two miles of the Standing Stone." John Harris, in a "report of distances on the road to Logstown," drawn up in 1754, allows "24 miles from Aughwick to the Standing Stone," and observes that "the stone is 14 feet high and 6 inches square." Scull's map locates the pillar on the right bank of the *Achsinnink*, near its outlet, where also stood the Indian village of Standing Stone. When the town of Huntingdon was laid out a few years prior to the Revolution, this historic column was still, though mutilated, at its place. Tradition says that it was a memorial stone, and that on its preservation depended the existence of the tribe who had set it up. Hence when a hostile people once came down the Tuscarora valley, and in the absence of the warriors of Standing Stone carried off their pillar, fierce battles ensued, and there was no peace until the sacred palladium had been restored, and again placed on the flats of the Achsinnink. Three Indian trails diverged from the Standing Stone, one leading to Aughwick, one to Frankstown, and the third to the great Chinklacamoose Path.

There is a Standing Stone in the Susquehanna, opposite the village of that name, in Bradford County.

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entrance. (*Note.*) This name was given by the Six Nations to the wedge of land lying within the forks of the Tioga and North Branch of Susquehanna,—in passing which stream, the traveler *entered* their territory *as through a gate.* The country south of the forks, was Delaware country. David Zeisberger, who traveled that way to Onondaga in 1750, told me that at *Tiaoga*, or the *Gate*, Six Nation Indians were stationed for the purpose of ascertaining the character of all persons who crossed over into their country, and that whoever entered their territory by another way than through *the Gate*, or by way of the Mohawk, was suspected by them of evil purpose, and treated as a spy or enemy.)*

TOBYHANNA, (emptying into the Lehigh from the North-east in Monroe County, corrupted from *Topi-hánne*, signifying *alder-stream*, i. e. a stream whose banks are fringed with alders.

TOHICKON, (emptying into the Delaware from the West, in Bucks County), corrupted from *Tohickhan*, or *Tohickhánne*, signifying *the drift-wood stream*, i. e., the stream we cross on drift-wood.†

TOWANDA, (emptying into the Susquehanna from the South-west in Bradford County), corrupted from *Tawundeunk*, signifying *where we bury the dead.* (*Note.*) Here the Nanticokes buried the bones of their dead.

TOWSISSIMOCK,‡ corrupted from *Dawá-simook*, signifying, *the feeding place of cattle*, i. e., pasture grounds.

TOMBICON,§ corrupted from *Tombic-hanne*, signifying, *crab-apple stream.*

TUCQUAN, corrupted from *P'duc-hanne*,‖ signifying, *a winding stream;* corrupted from *p'ducquan*, round, and *hanne*, a stream. *P'ducachtin* signifies a *round hill* or *knoll.*

* Bishop Spangenberg, accompanied by David Zeisberger and John Shebosh, passed through the Gates of Tioga, on the 12th of June, 1745, on the way to Onondaga. They were the first Moravians to enter the country of the Six Nations at this point of ingress. Spangenberg states, that they were there distant from Shamokin, about 180 miles by water, and were come to a Mohican town.

† This stream, heading not far below the outliers of the South Mountain or "Lechay Hills," (up to which point the Indian claims had been extinguished) was repeatedly declared by Teedyuscung, the Delaware King, to be the southern limit of the white man's country, and he furthermore asserted that all lands lying between the Tohickon and Wyoming had been fraudulently taken from him and his people, and were in the occupancy of intruders.

"I desire to see T. Fairman, for that I hear an Indian township called *Tohickon*, rich land, and much cleared by the Indians, he has not surveyed to mine and children's tracts, as I expected. It joins upon the back of my manor of Highlands, and I am sorry my Surveyor-general did not inform me thereof. If it be not in thy warrants, put it in, except lands already or formerly taken up, or an Indian township. The Indians have been with me about it." *Wm. Penn to James Logan, Pennsbury, 6th day, 7th month*, 1700. Penn and Logan correspondence.

‡ the name occurs in the deed of July, 1682, cited under *Makerisk-kitton.*

§ *Tom-bi-ca-nall*, crabs, or wild apples.—*Zr.* Tombican Creek occurs under the head of Berks and Schuylkill in Heckewelder's arrangement. *Quaere.—Tumbling Run*, a branch of the Schuylkill at Pottsville?

‖ *P'tuck-hi-can*, a ball, *P'tuck-han-ne*, a bend in a stream. *P'tuck-quin-schu*, a round bowl.—*Zr.*

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TULPEHOCKEN, (a branch of the Schuylkill in Berks County), corrupted from *Tulpewi-hacki*,* signifying, *the land of turtles.*

TUNKHANNA, (a branch of the Tobyhanna in Monroe County), corrupted from *Tank-hanne*,† i. e., *the small stream.* (*Note.* The smallest of two or more confluents or sources of a river is always called *tank-hanne* by the Delawares.) *Tunkhannock* is a corruption of the same.

TUPPEEKHÁNNA, (one of the sources of the Little Lehigh at Trexlertown, in Upper Macungy, Lehigh County). The word signifies *the stream that flows from a large spring.*

TURTLE CREEK, (emptying into the Monongahela from the East, in Allegheny County). The Delawares called it *tulpewisipu*, i. e., *turtle river.*

TWO LICKS, (a branch of the Conemaugh in Indiana County). In Delaware *Nischa-hóni*, i. e., *two licks.*

VENANGO. The Delawares called French Creek *Attike.* (*Note.* The name was sometimes written *Onenge.*)

WAPPASUNING, (a branch of the Susquehanna in Bradford County), corrupted from *Wapachsinnink*,‡ signifying, *where there are white stones*, alluding to a deposit of silver ore—the Delaware for silver being *Woap-áchsin*, i. e., *the white stone.*

WAPWALLOPEN, or Whopehawly,§ (emptying into the Susquehanna from the East in Luzerne County), corrupted from *Woap-hallách-pink*, signifying, *where the white hemp grows*, i. e., the kind, which when dressed, is whitest.

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* *Tul-pe*, a water or sea-turtle. *Tach-quoch*, a land-turtle. *Hac-ki*, the earth, the land.—*Zr.* During Mr. Heckewelder's stay among the Delawares of the Muskingum in the summer of 1762, he received the name of *Pi-se-la-tul-pe. Quaere*, compounded of *Pi-se-lus-so*, wrinkled, and *tul-pe*, a turtle?

In March of 1705 the Conoys requested permission of Geo. Evans to remove from their towns on the Susquehanna to *Tulpehocken.* In July of 1707 the Governor visited the Indian town of Tulpehocken, which tradition locates near the site of Womelsdorf, in Berks County.

The lands watered by Tulpehocken Creek and its tributaries, were settled by Germans from Scoharie (without the knowledge of the Proprietaries' agents, and before the Indian claim had been bought) in 1723. Among these Palatines were the Weisser's and George Loesch, the ancestor of the Moravian family of Loesch or Lash. This unwarrantable occupation much dissatisfied the Indians, and was made a matter of complaint by the Delaware chiefs Sassoonan and Opekasset, at a conference with Gov. Gordon, held at Philadelphia in June of 1728. The Indian claim was bought by Thomas Penn soon after his arrival in the country, in 1733. Tulpehocken was one of the rural districts of the Province in which the Brethren labored in the Gospel, with marked success. Zinzendorf preached there frequently, and in the spring of 1742, Gottlieb Büttner of Bethlehem, was on his recommendation accepted by the settlers as their minister. They hereupon built him a church. Philip Meurer succeeded Büttner in the autumn of the year, and the Brethren were inclined to believe that they had now effected a permanent footing; but as a Lutheran church was organized in the neighborhood (this was in 1743) they lost influence, were regarded with distrust, and then with displeasure, and finally (in January of 1747) deprived of the building in which they worshipped. Meurer was accordingly recalled to Bethlehem.

† *Tang-han-ne-u*, a little stream or run.—*Zr.*

‡ *Woap*, white. *Woap-ach-poan*, white-bread. *Woap-i-min-schi*, the white tree, i. e., the chestnut tree, because white when covered with blossoms.—*Zr.*

§ This name is invariably written *Wambhallobank* by Moravian Missionaries. Gottlieb and Mary, the first converts from the Delawares, who were united with the Church by baptism, administered at Bethlehem, in April of 1745, resided on the Wapwallopen.

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WAULLENPAUPACK, or Paupack, (a branch of the Lackawaxen, dividing Wayne and Pike Counties), corrupted from *Walinkpapeek*,* signifying, *deep and dead water.*

WECHQUETANK, for *Wekquitank*, the Delaware name of a species of willow, growing in the neighborhood of the Indian town of that name, once on Head's Creek, (*Hoeth's* Creek) in Monroe County.†

WELAGAMIKA,‡ signifying, *rich soil*, was the name of a Delaware town on the "Nazareth tract," when the Moravians came there in 1740. The Indians applied the name to the entire tract.

WHEELING CREEK, (heading in Washington County), corrupted from *Wihling*, or *wih-link*, signifying, *where the head is*, or *the place of the head.*§ (*Note.* The Indians state that along this creek they had decapitated a prisoner, and then impaled his head).

WHITE DEER, (emptying into the Susquehanna from the West, in Union County). In Delaware, *Woap'tuchánne*, i. e., *white-deer stream.*‖

WICONISCO, (emptying into the Susquehanna from the East in Dauphin County), corrupted from *Wikenkniskeu*, signifying, a *wet and muddy camp.*¶ (*Note.* Probably some Indians encamped along the creek, where the bank was wet and muddy.)

WINGOHOCKING, (the South branch of Frankford Creek), corrupted from *Wingehacking*,** signifying, *a favorite spot for planting.*

WISSAHICKON, corrupted from *Wisameckhan*,†† signifying, *cat-fish stream.*

WISSINOMING, (the Tacony, or North branch of Frankford Creek), corrupted from *Wischánemunk*,‡‡ *where we were frightened.*

WOLF CREEK, (a branch of the Slippery Rock in Mercer County), called by the Delawares *Tummeink*, signifying,§§ *where there is a wolf*, i. e. *the place of wolves.*

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* *Woa-lac*, a hole. *Me-nü-peek*, a pool.—*Zr.*

† The seat of a Moravian Mission, between April of 1760, and October of 1763, part of the Christian Indians at Bethlehem, last from Gnadenhütten, having been transferred thither, at the first named date.

‡ *Weh-lick*, the best. *Hacki*, land. *Ha-cka-mi-ga*, a small tract of land. *Ha-gi-ha-can*, a plantation. *Linn-ha-cka-mi-ga*, common land, *Kit-ha-cka-mi-ga*, upland, *Si-ap-ha-cka-mi-ge-u*, wet land. This village was reluctantly abandoned by *Captain John* in the autumn of 1742.

§ *Wihl*, the head. *Wi-tunk*, on the head.—*Zr.*

‖ *Woap-su* and *Woa-peek*, white. *Ach-tu*, a deer. *Ach-tu-hu*, where deer are plenty.—*Zr.*

¶ *Wik* and *wi-quoam*, a house. *Wi-quoam-tit*, a small house. *Nisk-as-sis-ku*, muddy. *Nisk-su*, nasty. *Gun-das-sis-ku*, mire.—*Zr.*

** *Win-gan*, sweet. *Ha-gi-ha-can*, a plantation.—*Zr.*

†† *Wi-su*, fat, fleshy. *Na-mees*, a fish.—*Zr.*

‡‡ *Wi-schas-siu*, to be afraid.—*Zr.*

§§ *Tim-me-u* and *Me-tum-me-u*, a wolf.—*Zr.*

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WYALUSING, (emptying into the Susquehanna from the North-east in Bradford County), corrupted from *M'chwihilusing*,* signifying, *the place of the hoary veteran.*

WYOMING,† corrupted from *M'cheuomi*, or *M'cheuwami*, signifying *extensive flats.* The North Branch of Susquehanna was in consequence called *M'cheuweamisipu*, i. e., *the river of the extensive flats.* The Iroquois called it *Gahonta*, a word of like signification.

WYSOX, or Wysaukin, (emptying into the Susquehanna from the North-east in Bradford County), corrupted from *Wisachgimi*,‡ signifying, *the place of grapes.*

YELLOW BREECHES, (a branch of the Susquehanna dividing Cumberland and York Counties). The Delawares called it *Callapátschink*, signifying, *where it returns*, in allusion to a point in the creek's course where it bends back.

YOUGHIOGHENY, (a branch of the Monongahela in Fayette County), corrupted from *Juh-wiah-hanne*, signifying, *a stream flowing in a contrary direction*, or in a circuitous course.

* *Mi-hi-lu-sis*, an old man. *Mi-hi-lu-sac* and *Mi-hil-lu-sis-sac*, old men.—*Zr.*

The first Moravians to cross the Wyalusing in "the land abounding in the sugar tree" (*ach-sün-na-minschi*), were Bishop Cammerhoff and David Zeisberger, on the way to Onondaga in the summer of 1750. In July of 1759, a Monsey of Wyalusing, one *Papoonhank*, while visiting acquaintances at Nain, near Bethlehem, was deeply impressed by the preaching of the Gospel, so that on his return to his people, (with whom he stood in high repute as a teacher of morality), his representations of what he had lately heard, prepared their minds for the reception of Christianity. Thus it came to pass that David Zeisberger missionated at Wyalusing in 1763, and that Papoonhank was admitted into the Christian Church, by baptism, on the 26th of June of that year. The Monsey village of Wyalusing, or Papoonhank's town, is thus described by John Hays in his Journal to Tioga: "*May* 19, 1760. Arrived at a town called *Quihiloosing*. The captain's name is *Wampomham*, a very religious civilized man, in his own way, who showed us a great deal of kindness. The town is on the Susquehanna, east side, about twenty houses full of people, very good land and good Indian buildings, all new." Post, who accompanied Hays, writes in his report, "which is endorsed," Frederic Post's relation of what passed between him and the Quaker or religious Indians at *Monmuchlooson* on the Susquehanna," as follows: "Dear Sir,—It gives me great pleasure to inform your honor of our arrival at *Machhachlosung*, an Indian town *newly laid out*, where there dwells a company of Monseys, a religious people in their way. It is about eight years since they were gathered together by *Papoonhang*, who is their leader and teacher."

In Dec. of 1763, Papoonhank (who in baptism had received the name of *John*) came to Bethlehem with twenty-one of his Monsey adherents, desirous of sharing the protection which Government was in that perilous time extending to all friendly Indians. In this way the chieftain and his company came to be incorporated with the Moravian Indians, whom they cheerfully followed into exile to Philadelphia. On the return of peace, it was John Papoonhank, who offered to intercede in person with the SIX NATIONS, in behalf of his Christian brethren for permission to plant on the site of the Monsey town on the Wihilusing. This was granted, and so it came to pass that in the spring of 1765, *Friedenshütten* (huts of peace) was built by the Moravian Indians under Schmick and Zeisberger. Wyalusing was deserted by the Moravian Indians in June of 1772.

† For a further notice of Wyoming, see *Memorials of the Moravian Church, Vol.* 1, *p.* 69.

‡ *Wi-sach-gan*, bitter, pungent. *Wi-sach-gim*, grapes. *Wi-sach-gi-min-schi*, the grape-vine. *Wi-sach-gank*, rum.—*Zr.*

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2. DELAWARE NAMES

OF RIVERS, STREAMS AND LOCALITIES IN NEW JERSEY.

ACHQUAKENUNA, corrupted from *Tachquahacanéna*, signifying, *where pounding-blocks or mortars, are made*,—where the gum tree (*Tachquachcaniminschi*) grows, of whose wood hominy-blocks are made.

AMBOY, corrupted from *Embóli*, signifying, *round, hollow. Emboolhatton*, signifies, "*hollow it out.*" When speaking of this place, the Indians would say *Embolink*, i. e., *where* there is a hollow, or *at* the hollow place. (*Note.* An old Indian, born on the site of Amboy, about 1680, with whom I was acquainted for upwards of twenty years, informed me, that as the spot resembled a *bowl*, it was called *Emboli.*

CHYGOES, (the island in the Delaware opposite Burlington), called by the Indians *T'schichopacki*, signifying, *the oldest planted ground. Note.* The Delawares state that their first settlement so far east, was on this island.

HACKENSACK, corrupted from *Hackinksaquik*, signifying, *a stream that unites with another on low ground*, or *imperceptibly.*

HOBOKEN, corrupted from *Hopócan*,* *a tobacco-pipe.*

MACKIAPIER, corrupted from *Machkkiábi*, signifying, *reddish water.*†

MUSCONETCONG, corrupted from *Maskhanneunk*, a *rapid stream.*

PASSAIC, corrupted from *Pasáic*, or *Passajeck*, signifying, a *valley.*

PISCATAWAY, corrupted from *Pisgattauwi*, signifying, *it is growing dark.*‡

POGUNNOCK, corrupted from *Peek-hanne*, signifying, *the dark stream.*§

POMPTON, corrupted from *Pihmtoon*, signifying, *crooked-mouthed.*‖

ROMOPACK, corrupted, probably, from *Wulumipeek*,¶ *a round pond, or lake.*

SUSPECAUGH, corrupted from *Sispeckh*,** signifying, *muddy standing water.*

TAPPAN, corrupted from *Tuppeek-hanne*, signifying, *a stream issuing from a large spring.*

TOTAWA FALLS. Totawa corrupted from *Totauwei*, signifying, *to dive and reappear.*

WALPACK, corrupted from *Wahlpeek*,†† signifying a *turn-hole.*

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* *Ho-poa-can*, a pipe.—*Zr.*

† *Mach-ke-u*, red. *M'bi*, water.—*Zr.*

‡ *Pis-ge-ke*, night. *Pis-ge-u*, it is night. *Pischk*, the night-hawk.—*Zr.*

§ *Pe-ge-nünk*, in darkness.—*Zr.*

‖ See *Pymatuning* in this Register.

¶ *Woa-lac*, a hole, *Wu-lum-eu*, round. *Tup-peek*, a pool.—*Zr.*

** *Nisk-as-sis-ku*, muddy. *Tuppeek*, a pool.—*Zr.*

†† Compounded of *Woa-lac*, a hole, and *tuppeek*, a pool. The name *turn-hole*, a provincialism now obsolete, was used to designate a sudden bend of a stream around the base of a rock, by which means the water when deep was turned upon itself into an eddy. Sixty years ago the *Turn Hole* in the Le-

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WANTAGE, corrupted from *Wundachqui*,* signifying, *that way.*

WHIPPANY, corrupted from *Wip-hanne*, signifying, *arrow-stream*, i. e., a stream along which the *arrow-wood* grows.

WISCONK, corrupted from *Wis-quonk*, signifying, *where there is an elbow. Wisquoan* signifies a *twist*, anything *twisted*, as a *twist* of yarn, or a *twist* of tobacco.

3. DELAWARE NAMES

OF RIVERS, STREAMS AND PLACES IN MARYLAND.

ACQUIA, corrupted from *Equiwi*,† signifying, *between.*

AQUAKIK, corrupted from *'Achowékik*, signifying, *a thicket.*

AQUÁSQUIT, corrupted from *Achowasquit*, signifying, *grassy, overgrown with grass.*

CHESAPEAKE, corrupted from *Tschischwapeki*, or *K'tschischwapeeki*, compounded of *Kitschi*, signifying, *highly salted*, and *peek*, a body of *standing water, a pond, a bay.*

CHICKNICOMIKA, corrupted from *Tschikenumiki*,‡ signifying, *the place of turkeys.*

CORAPECHEN, corrupted from *Colapéchen*, signifying, a *fine running stream.*

MAGOTTY, corrupted from *Megukty*, signifying a *small plain destitute of timber*, a *meadow*, or *prairie.*

MANOKIN, corrupted from *Menáchkink*,§ signifying an *enclosed spot*, whether a fort, or a town.

MESONGO, corrupted from *Meschánge*,‖ signifying, *where we kill deer.*

NANTICOKE, corrupted from *Néchticok.* (*Note.* Along this stream the Nanticokes, who are descendants of the Delawares, had their settlements.)

OCCOQUAN, corrupted from *Okhucquoan*,¶ *a hook, a pot hook.*

OPICON, corrupted from *Opeekhan*, signifying, *a stream of whitish color.*

PAMUNKY, corrupted from *Pihmunga*,** signifying, *where we sweat*, viz: in the sweat-house.

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high, above Mauch Chunk, was one of the objects of interest, which attracted the attention of travelers in that then wild region of country.—Howel's Map of 1792, indicates the spot.

* *Wu-li*, yonder. *Wum*, he came thence. *Wun-dach-al*, come here.—*Zr.*

† *Equi-wi*, under.—*Zr.*

‡ *Tschi-ke-num*, a turkey.—*Zr.*

§ *Me-nach-gunk*, within the fence.—*Zr.*

‖ *Me-scha-can*, to wound.—*Zr.*

¶ *Hoc-quoan*, a pot-hook.—*Zr.*

** *Pihm*, to sweat. *Pomo-a-can*, a sweat-house. *Pimook*, go to sweat. *Pim-hottin*, they are sweating.

"The Indians are remarkably addicted to the use of sweating-baths, made of earth and lined with clay. A small door serves as an entrance. The patient creeps in, seats himself and places heated

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PATAPSCO, corrupted from *Petapsqui*,* signifying, *back-water*, or *tide-water covered with froth.*

PICCOWAXEN, corrupted from *Pixúwaxen*,† or *Pikiuwaxen*, signifying, *torn-shoes.*

POKOMOKA, corrupted from *Pocqueumoke*, the place of shell-fish.‡

POTOMAC, corrupted from *Pethamook*, signifying, *they are coming by water.*

QUENTICO, corrupted from *Gentican*,§ signifying, *dancing*, the place of dancing.

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stones around the sides. Whenever he has sweated a certain time, he immerses himself suddenly in cold water; from which he derives great security against all sorts of sickness."—*Beschryving von America on t' Zuidland, door Arnoldus Montanus, Amsterdam* 1671.

"Their physic is scarcely anything beyond a hot-house or a powaw. Their hot-house is a little cave, where, after they have terribly heated it, a crew of them go and sit and sweat and smoke for an hour together, and then immediately run into some cold adjacent brook, without the least mischief to them."—*Increase Mather.*

"The sweating-houses of the Indians of Carolina and Florida, are usually placed on the banks of rivers, and are some of stone and some of clay. In form and size they are like a large oven, into which they roll stones heated very hot. The patient creeps into the chamber thus prepared, and is closely shut up. After about an hour's confinement in this warm situation, he comes forth all reeking in torrents of sweat and plunges into the river. Among the benefits which they receive by this sweating, they say it cures fevers, dissipates pains in the limbs contracted by colds, also rheumatic diseases, and creates fresh spirits and agility, enabling them the better to hunt."—*Catesby's Natural History of Carolina, Florida and the Bahama Islands.*

"In those complaints which proceed from rheumatic affections, bleeding and *sweating* are always the first remedies applied. The *sweat-oven* is the first thing an Indian has recourse to, when he feels the least indisposed; it is the place to which the weary traveler, hunter or warrior looks for relief from the fatigues he has endured, the cold he has caught, or for the restoration of his lost appetite.

"The oven is made of different sizes so as to accommodate from two to six persons at a time, or according to the number of men in the village, so that they may be all successively served. It is generally built on a slant or slope, one half of it within and the other above ground. It is well covered on the top with split planks and earth, and has a door in front, where the ground is level, to go or rather creep in. Here, on the outside, stones, generally of about the size of a large turnip, are heated by one or more men appointed each day for that purpose. While the oven is heating, decoctions from roots or plants are prepared either by the person himself who intends to sweat, or by one of the men of the village, who boils a large kettleful for general use, so that when the public crier going his rounds, calls out "*Pimook!*" "*go to sweat!*" every one brings his small kettle which is filled for him with the potion, which at the same time serves him as a medicine, promotes a profuse perspiration, and quenches his thirst. As soon as a sufficient number have come to the oven, hot stones are rolled into the middle of it, and the sweaters go in, seating themselves or rather squatting around the stones, and there they remain until the sweat ceases to flow; then they come out, throwing a blanket or two about them that they may not catch cold. In the meantime, freshly heated stones are thrown in for those who follow them. While they are in the oven, water is now and then poured on the hot stones to produce steam, which they say increases the heat, and gives suppleness to their limbs and joints. In rheumatic complaints, the steam is produced by a decoction of boiled roots and the patient during the operation is well wrapped up in blankets to keep the cold from him, and promote perspiration at the same time.

Sweat-ovens are generally at some distance from the village, and where wood and water are at hand. The best order is preserved at these places. The women have a separate oven in a different direction from that of the men, and subjected to the same rules. The men generally sweat themselves once and sometimes twice a week; the women have no fixed day for this exercise, nor do they take it as often as do the men." *Heckewelder's Indian Nations*, p. 219.

* *Pe-ta-quie-chen*, the water is rising.—*Zr.*

† *Pix-u*, ragged. *Mack-sen*, a shoe or sock.—*Zr.*

‡ *Poc-que-u*, a clam, a mussel.—*Zr.*

§ Hence, *cantico*, an Indian dance. See note under *Huscanawpen*, in this register.

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QUEPONCO, corrupted from *Cuwenpónga*,* signifying, *ashes of pine-wood.* (*Note.* Probably some Indians encamping on the bank of this stream, were necessitated to bake their bread in such ashes.)

SASSAFRAS RIVER. In Delaware, *Winak-hánne*,† i. e., sassafras stream.

SENEGAR CREEK, corrupted from *Sinnike*, signifying, *stony*, *Sinni-hanne*, a *stony stream.*

SENEGAR FALLS. In Delaware, *Sinnipehelle*, i. e., *water running over stones.*

SHENANDOAH, corrupted from *Schindhandowí*, or *Schindhandowik*,‡ signifying, *the sprucy stream*, i. e., a stream flowing past spruce-pines.

TUCKAHOE, corrupted from *Tucháchowe*, signifying, *deer are shy. Tuchá-uchoak*, *the place where deer are shy.*

WILIPQUIN,§ right Delaware, signifying, *the place of interring skulls.* (*Note.* The Nanticokes had a custom of carrying the *skulls* and even the bones of their deceased to certain places, where they buried them in caverns or holes.)

WICOMICO, corrupted from *Wikcomika*,‖ signifying, *where houses are building.*

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4. INDIAN NAMES

OF RIVERS, STREAMS, LOCALITIES AND PERSONS,

COPIED FROM AN EARLY HISTORY OF VIRGINIA,¶ ALL WHICH NAMES, BEING DELAWARE, ARE EVIDENCE THAT THE LENNAPE WERE IN POSSESSION OF THAT COUNTRY WHEN FIRST OCCUPIED BY THE ENGLISH.

ACCOMACK, corrupted from *Achgameek*, signifying, *a broad bay.*

ARRAHATUK, corrupted from *Allahattek*, signifying, *empty*, *there is no more of it*; spoken probably of a bottle, keg or vessel, *emptied* of its liquor.

CHAPACOUR, corrupted from *Tschäppichk*, a medicine prepared from *roots*, —*tschäppick*, signifying, *a root.*

CHICKAHOMINY, corrupted from *Tschikenemahoni*, signifying, *a turkey-lick*, *a lick* frequented by *turkeys.* (*Note.* I know several places that bear this name.)

CHICONNESSE, corrupted from *Chiconásink*, signifying, *where it was forcibly taken from us.*"

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* *Pong-us*, the sand-fly,—ashes.—*Zr.*

† *Wi-nakch*, the sassafras tree.—*Zr.*

‡ *Schind*, the spruce tree. *Schin-di-ke-u*, where spruce is plenty.—*Zr.*

§ *Wihl*, the head.—*Zr.*

‖ *Wik* and *wi-quoam*, a house. *Wik-i-a*, my house. *Wi-kich-tid*, their house. *Wi-ke-u*, he is building a house.—*Zr.*

¶ *The History of Virginia, in four parts, by a native and inhabitant of the place. London*, 1705.

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CHISSENESSICK, corrupted from *T'schuissenetschik*, signifying, *the place of blue birds.**

GANGASCOE, corrupted from *Shingáscui*, signifying, *level and boggy.*†

GINGOTEQUE, corrupted from *Shinghattéke*, signifying, *he rejects it, he despises it.*‡

HUSCANAWPEN, corrupted from *Hus-ca-na-pe-i*, or rather, *husca n'lenapewi*, signifying, *Indeed I am a Lennape!*§ an *Indian of the original stock!*—an exclamation or refrain I often heard the Delawares use at their *Canticoes* or festive dances.‖

KIEQUOTANK, corrupted from *Kiwiquótank*, signifying, *a visitor.*¶

KIQUOLAN, corrupted from *Kiquatank*, signifying both, *one who heals*, and *the place where the sick are healed.***

MACOCK, corrupted from *Mitzhack*, the name given by the Delawares to the edible kinds of hard-shelled fruits or pepones, such as the *pumpkin*, the *cashaw*, &c., compounded of *mitz*, (from *mitzin*, to *eat*) and *hack*, *rind* or *shell*. *Hackhack* is their word for *gourd*. Each variety of pepo has its specific name. *Geskondháckan* is the generic name. (*Note*. The boxes made from the inner bark of the elm or birch, in which the Indians pack maple-sugar for transportation, are also called *macocks*.)††

MATCHACOMOCA, corrupted from *Matachgenimoah*, signifying, *they are counselling about war*,—*they are holding a council of war*,—hence also a *council of war*.

MATCHOPUNGO, corrupted from *Matschipungo*, signifying *bad powder*, or *bad ashes* (i. e., ashes unfit for the baking of bread).‡‡

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* *Tschi-ma-lus*, and *Tscht-hoa-pe-ke-lis*, the blue bird.—*Zr.*

† *Shin-ge-u*, level. *Shin-gas-gunk*, a bog-meadow.—*Zr.* Shingas was the name of a brother of King Beaver, one of the ablest war-chiefs of the western Delawares, between 1755 and 1763.

‡ *Schin-gat-tam*, to dislike. *Shin-ga-lend*, one who is disliked.—*Zr.*

§ *Le-na-pe*, an Indian. *Lenapewak*, Indians. *Lin-ni le-na-pe*, Indians of the same nation.—*Zr.*

‖ "Their *Canticoes*, as they call them, are performed by round dances, sometimes words, then songs, then shouts,—two being in ye middle that begin and direct ye chorus. This they perform with great fervency and appearances of joy." *Wm. Penn to Henry Savell, Phil'a, 30th day, 5th month*, 1683.

"It is a pleasing spectacle to see the Indian dances, when intended merely for social diversion and innocent amusement. I acknowledge I would prefer being present at them for a full hour, than a few minutes only at such dances as I have witnessed in our country taverns among the white people. Their songs are by no means unharmonious. They sing in chorus, first the men and then the women. At times the women join in the general song, or repeat the strain which the men have just finished. It seems like two companies singing in questions and answers, and is upon the whole very agreeable and enlivening. After thus singing for about a quarter of an hour, they conclude with a loud yell, which I confess is not in concord with the rest of the music. One person always begins the singing; others fall in successively, and then comes the chorus, the drum beating all the while to mark the time. The voices of the women are clear and full, and their intonations generally correct." —*Heckewelder's Indian Nations*.

¶ *Ki-wi-ke*, to visit. *Ki-wi-ke-u*, he visits. *Ki-wi-ka-mell*, I visit you. *Ki-wi-ka-mi*, visit me.—*Zr.*

** *Ki-ke-woa-gan*, a cure.—*Zr.*

†† *Mit-zin*, to eat. *Mitz-u*, he eats. *Mit-zit-te*, if he eat. *Mi-ziech-tit*, their victuals.—*Ge-scund-hac*, pumpkins.—*Zr.*

‡‡ *Mach-tis-s-ieu*, and *mach-tit-su*, bad. *Pongus*, ashes.—*Zr.* The bread used by the Indians is of two kinds; one made of green corn while in the milk, and another of the same grain when fully ripe

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MATOMKIN, corrupted from *Mattemikin*, signifying, *to enter a house.**

MATTAPONY, corrupted from *Mattac hpóna*,† signifying, *no bread at all—no bread to be had!*

MENHEERING, corrupted from *Menhattink*, signifying, *on the island.*‡

MOCCASIN, corrupted from *Macksen*, Delaware for *shoe* or *sock.*§

MONACAN, corrupted from *Monhácan*, a *spade*, or any implement used for digging the soil.

NANSAMOND, corrupted from *Neunschimend*, signifying, *whence we fled.*

NEMATTANO, corrupted from *Nimmattima*, signifying, *our brother. Ni-mat*, a brother.

OAKSUSKIE, corrupted from *Woak-as-sisku*, signifying, *a winding marsh or bog.*‖

OANANCOCK, corrupted from *Auwannáku*, signifying, *foggy.*¶

OCCOHANNOCK, corrupted from *Woak-hanne*, *a winding stream.*

OPPEEHANEANOUGH, corrupted from *Opeek-hánne*, *a froth-white stream*, or from *Huppeechk-hanne*, *the rain-worm stream*, *huppeechk*, signifying, *a rain worm.*

PAMUNKY, corrupted from *Pihmunga*, signifying, *where we sweat.*

POCCOSEN, corrupted probably from *P'duckassin*,** signifying, *a place where balls, bullets or lead are to be had.*

POCOHONTAS, corrupted from *Pockohantes*, signifying, *a streamlet or run between two hills*, compounded of *pochko*, a rock, or rocky hill, and *hanne*, a stream, the latter word made a diminutive by the suffix *tes.*††

POCOMOKE, corrupted from *Pockhammókik*, signifying, *broken* or *diversified by knolls and hills.*

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and dry. This last is pounded as fine as possible, then sifted and kneaded into dough, and afterwards made up into cakes of six inches diameter, and an inch in thickness rounded off on the edge. In baking these cakes, they are extremely particular. *The ashes must be clean and hot, and if possible come from good dry oak bark, which they say gives a good and durable heat.* The Indians laugh at the white hunters for baking their bread in dirty ashes."—*Heckewelder's Indian Nations.*

* *Mat-te-mi-geen*, to enter in.—*Zr.*

† *Met-ta*, no. *Ach-poan*, bread.—*Zr.*

‡ *Me-na-tey*, an island, *ink*, the local suffix.—*Zr.*

§ *Wusk-ha-xen*, new shoes; compounded of *wus-ken*, new, and *mack-sen*, shoes.—*Zr.*

‖ *Woak-tschin-i*, to bend. *Woak-tsche-u*, crooked. *Woak-tschach-ne*, compounded of *Woaktscheu* and *hanne*, a bend in a river. *Nisk-as-sis-ku*, muddy.—*Zr.*

¶ *A-wonn*, fog.

** *Al-uns* and *P'tuck-a-luns*, a bullet. *Al-uns-hi-can*, a bullet mould.—*Zr.*

†† *Poch-ka-wach-ne*, a stream between two hills.—*Zr.*

Pocahontas, daughter of Powhatan, well-known for her friendship to the early colonists of Virginia, was born about 1595. Soon after her baptism, in which she received the name of *Rebecca*, she married John Rolfe, of Jamestown, in April of 1613. In 1616 she went to England, where she was an object of great interest to all classes, and was presented at Court by Lady De la Ware. When on the point of embarking on her return to America, she died at Gravesend, in March of 1617. She left one son. John Randolph of Roanoke, was descended from Pocahontas on his father's side,—other descendants are still found in Virginia.

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POWHATÁN, corrupted from *Pawat-hánne*, i. e., *the stream of wealth* or *fruitfulness*,* the name of *James River* as well as of the historic sachem of the allied Powhatans.

PUNGOTEQUE. (*Note.* The Delaware word *pung*, signifies, *powder*, and also, *ashes*, *dust* and *fine sand.* The word as above *incorrectly* written may denote a locality where either of those substances abound. Written *Punghatteke*, it denotes *the place of powder.*

RAPPAHANNOCK, corrupted from *Lappi-hánne*,† signifying, *the stream with an ebb and flow. Lappahannink*, signifies, *where* the tide-water flows and ebbs.

TANGOMOCKONOMINGO, corrupted from *Tangamochkomenúnga*, signifying, "the *bark* for the *medicine*," which was brought from Little Beaver Creek, (*Tangamochke*).

TOMAHAWK, corrupted from *Tamahican*, an *axe* or *hatchet.*

UTTAMACCOMACK, corrupted from *Uchtamáganat*, signifying, *a path-maker, a leader.* (*Note.* The name of a well known war-chief.)

WASEBUR, corrupted from *Waschábuck*, signifying, *a physic.*

WERAUWANO, corrupted probably from *Wajaúwi*, Minsi Delaware for *chief.*

WIGHSACAN, corrupted from *Wísachgim*, *sour grapes*, or from *Wisachgank*, *rum*, or *whiskey*, *wisachk* signifying, *pungent* to the taste.

WIGWAM, corrupted from *wiquoam*, *a house.*

WINANK, corrupted from *winaak*, the *sassafras tree.*

WISOCCON, corrupted from *wisachcan*, signifying, anything *bitter* or *pungent* to the taste.

WYANOKE, corrupted from *Wigunáka*, signifying, *the point of an island—the land's end.*

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* *Pa-wall-si*, to be rich.—*Zr.*

† *Lap-pi*, again. *Lap-piech-si*, to tell it over again.—*Zr.*

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NARRATIVE

OF A LATE

EXPEDITION

AGAINST THE

INDIANS

WITH AN

ACCOUNT

OF THE

BARBAROUS EXECUTION

OF

COL. CRAWFORD;

AND THE

WONDERFUL ESCAPE

OF

DR. KNIGHT & JOHN SLOVER

FROM

CAPTIVITY IN

1782.

To which is added,

A NARRATIVE

OF THE

CAPTIVITY & ESCAPE

OF

Mrs. FRANCES SCOTT,

An Inhabitant of Washington County, Virginia.

ANDOVER:

PRINTED BY AMES & PARKER.

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THE NARRATIVE OF DR. KNIGHT.

ABOUT the latter end of the month of March, or the beginning of April of the year 1782, the western Indians began to make incursions upon the frontiers of Ohio, Washington, Youghagany, and Westmoreland counties, which has been their constant practice ever since the commencement of the present war between the United States and Great Britain.

In consequence of these predatory invasions, the principal officers of the above mentioned counties, namely, Colonels Williamson and Marshall, tried every method in their power to set on foot an expedition against the Wyandot towns, which they could effect no other way than by giving all possible encouragement to volunteers. The plan proposed was as follows: Every man furnishing himself with a horse, a gun, and one months provisions, should be exempted from two tours of militia duty. Likewise that every one who had been plundered by the Indians, should if the plunder could be found at their towns, have it again, proving it to be his property: And all horses lost on the expedition by unavoidable accidents were to be replaced by horses taken in the enemy's country.

The time appointed for the rendezvous, or general meeting of the volunteers, was fixed to be on the 20th of May, and the place, the old Mingoe town on the west side of the river Ohio, about forty miles below Fort Pitt by land, and I think about 75 by water.

Col. Crawford was solicited by the General voice of these western counties and districts to command the expedition. He accordingly set out as volunteer and came to Fort Pitt two days before the time appointed for the assembling of the men. As there was no surgeon yet appointed to go with the expedition, Colonel Crawford begged the favour of Gen. Irvine to permit me to accompany him, (my consent having been previously asked) to which the General agreed provided Col. Gibson did not object.

Having obtained permission of the Colonel, I left Fort Pitt on Tuesday, May 1st, and the next day about one in the afternoon arrived at the Mingoe bottom. The volunteers had not all crossed the river until Friday morning the 24th, they then distributed themselves into eighteen companies, choosing their captains by vote. There were chosen also, one Col. Commandant, four field and one brigade-major. There were four hundred and sixty five who voted.

We began our march on Saturday May 25th, making almost a due west course, and on the 4th day reached the old Moravian town, upon the river

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Muskingum, about 60 miles from the river Ohio. Some of the men having lost their horses on the night preceding returned home.

Tuesday the 28th in the evening, Major Brenton, and Captain Bean, went some distance from camp to reconnoitre: Having gone about one quarter of a mile they saw two Indians, upon whom they fired, and then returned to camp. This was the first place in which we were discovered, as we understood afterwards.

On Thursday the 4th of June, which was the eleventh day of our march, about one o'clock, we came to the spot where the town of Sandusky formerly stood; the inhabitants had moved 18 miles lower down the creek, near the lower Sandusky: But as neither our guides or any who were with us, had known any thing of their removal, we began to conjecture there were no Indian towns nearer than the lower Sandusky, which was at least 40 miles distant.

However, after refreshing our horses, we advanced on in search of some of their settlements, but had scarcely got the distance of three or four miles from the old town when a number of our men expressed their desire to return, some of them alledging that they had only five days provision: upon which the field officers and captains, determined, in council, to proceed that afternoon, and no longer. Previous to the calling of this council, a small party of light horse had been sent forward to reconnoitre.

I shall here remark, by the way, that there are a great many extensive plains in that country: The woods in general grow very thin, free from brush and underwood; so that light horsemen may advance a considerable distance before an army without being much exposed to the enemy.

Just as the council ended, an express returned from the above mentioned party of light horse with intelligence, "that they had been about three miles in front, and had seen a large body of Indians running towards them."—In a short time we saw the rest of the light horse, who joined us, and having gone one mile further met a number of Indians who had partly got possession of a piece of woods before us; whilst we were in the plains but our men alighting from their horses and rushing into the woods, soon obliged them to abandon that place.

The enemy being by this time reinforced, flanked to the right, and part of them coming in our rear, quickly made the action more serious. The firing continued very warm on both sides from four o'clock until the dusk of the evening, each party maintaining their ground. Next morning about six o'clock some guns were discharged at the distance of two or three hundred yards, which continued till day, doing little or no execution on either side.

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The field officers then assembled and agreed, as the enemy were every moment increasing, and we had already a number wounded, to retreat that night. The whole body was to form into three lines, keeping the wounded in the centre. We had four killed and twentythree wounded, of the latter, seven very dangerously, on which account as many biers were got ready to carry them: Most of the rest were slightly wounded and none so bad but they could ride on horseback. After dark the officers went on the out posts and brought in all the men as expeditiously as they could. Just as the troops were about to form, several guns were fired by the enemy, upon which some of our men spoke out and said, our intention was discovered by the Indians who were firing alarm guns. Upon which some in front hurried off, and the rest immediately followed, leaving the seven men that were dangerously wounded, some of whom however got off on horseback, by means of some good friends, who waited for, and assisted them.

We had not got a quarter of a mile from the field of action, when I heard Col. Crawford calling for his son John Crawford, his son-in-law Maj. Harrison, Maj. Rose and William Crawford, his nephews, upon which I came up and told him I believed they were before us—He asked, was that the Doctor? I told him it was he then replied, they were not in front, and begged of me not to leave him—I promised him I would not.

We then waited, and continued calling for these men till the troops had passed us. The Colonel told me his horse had almost given out, that he could not keep up with the troops, and wished some of his best friends to remain with him: he then exclaimed against the militia for riding off in such an irregular manner, and leaving some of the wounded behind, contrary to his orders. Presently there came two men riding after us, one of them an old man, the other a lad: We enquired if they had seen any of the above persons? And they answered they had not.

By this time there was a very hot firing before us, and, as we judged, near where our main body must have been. Our course was then nearly south-west, but changing it, we went north about two miles, the two men remaining in company with us. Judging ourselves, to be now out of the enemy's lines, we took a due east course, taking care to keep at the distance of fifteen or twenty yards apart, and directing ourselves by the north star.

The old man often lagged behind, and when this was the case never failed to call for us to halt for him. When we were near the Sandusky Creek he fell one hundred yards behind, and bawled out, as usual, for us to halt. While we were preparing to reprimand him for making a noise, I heard an Indian halloo, as I thought one hundred and fifty yards from the man, and

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partly behind him; and after this we did not hear the man call again, neither did he ever come up to us any more. It was now past midnight, and about day break Col. Crawford's and the young man's horses gave out, and they left them. We pursued our journey eastward, and about two o'clock fell in with Capt. Biggs, who had carried Lieut. Ashly from the field of action, who had been dangerously wounded. We then went on about the space of an hour, when a heavy rain coming on, we concluded it was best to encamp, as we were encumbered with the wounded officer. We then barked four or five trees, made an encampment and a fire, and remained there all night. Next morning we again prosecuted our journey, and having gone about three miles found a deer which had been recently killed. The meat was sliced from the bones and bundled up in the skin with a tomahawk lying by it. We carried all with us, and in advancing about one mile further espyed the smoke of a fire. We then gave the wounded officer into the charge of the young man, desiring him to stay behind whilst the Colonel, the Captain, and myself, walked up as cautiously as we could toward the fire. When we came to it, we concluded from several circumstances some of our people had encamped there the preceding night, We then went about roasting the venison, and when just about to march observed one of our men coming upon our tracks. He seemed at first very shy, but having called to him he came up and told us he was the person who had killed the deer, but upon hearing us come up, was afraid of Indians, hid in a thicket and made off. Upon this we gave him some bread and roasted venison, proceeded altogether on our journey, and about two o'clock came upon the paths by which we had gone out. Capt. Biggs and myself did not think it safe to keep the road, but the Colonel said the Indians would not follow the troops farther than the plains, which we were then considerably past. As the wounded officer rode Capt. Biggs' horse, I lent the Captain mine; the Colonel and myself went about one hundred yards in front, the Captain and the wounded officer in the centre, and the two young men behind. After we had traveled about one mile and a half, several Indians started up within fifteen or twenty steps of the Colonel and me. As we at first discovered only three I immediately got behind a large black oak, made ready my piece and raised it up to take sight, when the Colonel called to me twice not to fire; upon that one of the Indians ran up to the Colonel and took him by the hand. The Colonel then told me to put down my gun, which I did. At that instant one of them came up to me whom I had formerly seen very often, calling me Doctor and took me by the hand. They were Delaware Indians of the Wingenim tribe. Captain Biggs fired amongst them but did no execution. They then told us, to call these people and make them

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come there, else they would go and kill them, which the Colonel did, but they four got off and escaped for that time. The Colonel and I were then taken to the Indian camp, which was about a half a mile from the place, where we were captivated. On Sunday evening five Delawares who had posted themselves at some distance further on the road brought back to the Camp, where we lay, Captain Biggs' and Lieutenant Ashley's scalps, with an Indian Scalp which Captain Biggs had taken in the field of action: They also brought in Biggs' horse and mine, they told us the two other men got away from them.

Monday morning, the tenth of June, we were paraded to march to Sandusky, about 33 miles distant: They had eleven prisoners of us and four scalps, the Indians being seventeen in number.

Col. Crawford was very desirous to see a certain Simeon Girty, who lived among the Indians, and was on this account permitted to go to town the same night, with two warriors to guard him, having orders at the same time to pass by the place where the Colonel had turned out his horse, that they might if possible, find him.—The rest of us were taken as far as the old town which was within eight miles of the new.

Tuesday morning, the 11th, Col. Crawford was brought out to us on purpose to be marched in with the other prisoners. I asked the Colonel if he had seen Mr. Girty?—He told me he had, and that Girty had promised to do every thing in his power for him, but that the Indians were very much enraged against the prisoners; particularly Capt. Pipe one of the Chiefs: He likewise told me that Girty had informed him that his son-in-law, Col. Harrison and his nephew William Crawford, were made prisoners by the Shawanese, but had been pardoned. This Capt. Pipe had come from the towns about an hour before Col. Crawford, and had painted all the prisoner's faces black.

As he was painting me he told me I should go to the Shawanese towns and see my friends. When the Colonel arrived he painted him black also, told him he was glad to see him and that he would have him shaved when he came to see his friends at the Wyandot town. When we marched, the Colonel and I were kept back between Pipe and Wyngenim, the two Delaware chiefs, the other nine prisoners were sent forward with another party of Indians. As we went along we saw four of the prisoners lying by the path tomahawked and scalped, some of them were at the distance of half a mile from each other. When we arrived within half a mile of the place where the Colonel was executed, we overtook the five prisoners that remained alive: The Indians had caused them to sit down on the ground, as they did, also the Colonel and me at some distance from them, I was there given in charge to an Indian fellow to be taken to the Shawanese towns.

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In the place where we were now made to sit down there was a number of squaws and boys who fell on the five prisoners and tomahawked them. There was a certain John M'Kinley amongst the prisoners, formerly an officer in the 13th Virginia regiment, whose head an old squaw cut off, and the Indians kicked it about upon the ground. The young Indian fellows came often where the Colonel and I were, and dashed the scalps in our faces. We were then conducted along toward the place where the Colonel was afterwards executed: When we came within about half a mile of it, Simeon Girty met us, with several Indians on horseback: He spoke to the Colonel, but as I was about one hundred and fifty yards behind could not hear what passed between them.

Almost every Indian we met struck us either with sticks or their fists. Girty waited till I was brought up, and asked, was that the Doctor?—I told him, yes, and went toward him reaching out my hand, but he bid me be gone, and called me a dam'd rascal; upon which the fellow who had me in charge pulled me along. Girty rode up after me and told me I was to go to the Shawanese towns.

When we were come to the fire the Colonel was stripped naked, ordered to sit down by the fire, and then they beat him with sticks and their fists. Presently after I was treated in the same manner. They then tied a rope to the foot of a post about fifteen feet high, bound the Colonel's hands behind his back and fastened the rope to the ligature between his wrists. The rope was long enough either for him to sit down or walk round the post once or twice and return the same way. The Colonel then called to Girty and asked if they intended to burn him? Girty answered, yes. The Colonel said he would take it all patiently. Upon this Capt. Pipe, a Delaware Chief, made a speech to the Indians, viz., about thirty or forty men, sixty or seventy squaws and boys.

When the speech was finished they all yelled a hedious and hearty assent to what had been said. The Indian men then took up their guns and shot powder into the Colonel's body, from his feet as far up as his neck. I think not less than seventy loads were discharged upon his naked body. They then crowded about him, and to the best of my observation, cut off his ears: When the throng had dispersed a little I saw the blood running from both sides of his head in consequence thereof.

The fire was about six or seven yards from the post to which the Colonel was tied: It was made of small hickory poles, burnt quite through in the middle, each end of the poles remaining about six feet in length.

Three or four Indians by turns would take up, individually, one of these burning pieces of wood and apply it to his naked body, already burned black

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with the powder. These tormentors presented themselves on every side of him, so that which ever way he ran around the post they met him with the burning faggots and poles. Some of the squaws took broad boards upon which they would put a quantity of burning coals and hot embers, and throw on him, so that in a short time he had nothing but coals of fire and hot ashes to walk upon.

In the midst of these extreme tortures he called to Simeon Girty and begged of him to shoot him: But Girty making no answer he called to him again. Girty then, by way of derision, told the Colonel he had no gun, at the same time turning about to an Indian who was behind him, laughed heartily, and by all his gestures seemed delighted at the horrid scene.

Girty then came up to me and bade me prepare for death. He said, however, I was not to die at that place, but to be burnt at the Shawanese towns. He swore by G—d I need not expect to escape death, but should suffer it in all its extremities.

He then observed that some prisoners had given him to understand that if our people had him they would not hurt him; for his part, he said, he did not believe it, but desired to know my opinion of the matter; but being at that time in great anguish and distress for the torments the Colonel was suffering before my eyes, as well as the expectation of undergoing the same fate in two days. I made little or no answer. He expressed a great deal of ill will for Colonel Gibson, and said he was one of his greatest enemies, and more to the same purpose, to all of which I paid very little attention.

Col. Crawford at this period of his sufferings, besought the Almighty to have mercy on his soul, spoke very low, and bore his torments with the most manly fortitude. He continued in all the extremities of pain for an hour and three quarters or two hours longer, as near as I can judge, when at last being almost spent, he lay down on his belly: They then scalped him and repeatedly threw the scalp in my face, telling me "that was my great Captain."—An old squaw (whose appearance every way answered the ideas people entertain of the Devil) got a board, took a parcel of coals and ashes and laid them on his back and head after he had been scalped: He then raised himself upon his feet and began to walk round the post: They next put a burning stick to him as usual, but he seemed more insensible of pain than before.

The Indian fellow who had me in charge now took me away to Capt. Pipe's house, about three quarters of a mile from the place of the Colonel's execution. I was bound all night and thus prevented from seeing the last of the horrid spectacle. Next morning, being June 12th, the Indian untied me, painted me black, and we set off for the Shawanese town, which he told me

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was somewhat less than forty miles from that place. We soon came to the spot where the Colonel was burnt, as it was partly in our way; I saw his bones laying amongst the remains of the fire, almost burnt to ashes, I suppose after he was dead they had laid his body on the fire.

The Indian told me, that was my Big Captain and gave the scalp halloo. He was on horseback and drove me before him.

I pretended to this Indian I was ignorant of the death I was to die at the Shawanese town, affecting as cheerful a countenance as possible and asked him if we were not to live together as brothers in one house when we should get to the town? He seemed well pleased, and said, yes. He then asked me if I could make a wigwam?—I told him I could—he then seemed more friendly—we went that day as near as I can judge about 25 miles, the course partly southwest—The Indian told me we should next day come to the town the sun being in such a direction, pointing nearly south. At night when we went to rest I attempted very often to untie myself, but the Indian was extremely vigilant and scarce ever shut his eyes that night. About day break he got up and untied me: He next began to mend up the fire, and as the gnats were troublesome I asked him if I should make a smoke behind him? He said, yes. I then took the end of a dogwood fork which had been burnt down to about 18 inches long: It was the longest stick I could find, yet too small for the purpose I had in view: then I picked up another smaller stick and taking a coal of fire between them went behind him: Then turning suddenly about, I struck him on the head with all the force I was master of; which so stunned him that he fell forwards with both hands into the fire, but seeing him recover and get up, I seized his gun while he ran off howling in a most fearful manner—I followed him with a determination to shoot him down, but pulling back the cock of the gun with too great violence I believe I broke the main spring. I pursued him, however, about thirty yards still endeavoring to fire the gun, but could not; then going back to the fire I took his blanket, a pair of new mokkisons, his hoppes, powder horn, bullet bag, (together with the gun) and marched off, directing my course toward the five o'clock mark; about half an hour before sunset I came to the plains which I think are about sixteen miles wide. I laid me down in a thicket till dark, and than by the assistance of the north star made my way through them and got into the woods before morning. I proceeded on the next day and about noon crossed the paths by which our troops had gone out: These paths are nearly east and west but I went due north all that afternoon with a view to avoid the enemy.

In the evening I began to be very faint, and no wonder; I had been six days prisoner; the last two days of which I had eat nothing, and but very little

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the first three or four: There were wild gooseberries in abundance in the woods, but being unripe required mastication, which at that time I was not able to perform on account of a blow received from an Indian on the jaw with the back of a tomahawk: There was a weed that grew plentifully in that place, the juice of which I knew to be grateful and nourishing; I gathered a bundle of the same, took up my lodging under a large spreading beach tree and having sucked plentifully of the juice, went to sleep. Next day I made a due east course which I generally kept the rest of my journey. I often imagined my gun was only wood bound and tried every method I could devise to unscrew the lock but never could effect it having no knife nor any thing fitting for the purpose; I had now the satisfaction to find my jaw began to mend and in four or five days could chew any vegetable proper for nourishment, but finding my gun only a useless burden left her in the wilderness. I had no apparatus for making fire to sleep by so that I could get but little rest for the gnats and musquetoes; there are likewise a great many swamps in the beach ridge which occasioned me very often to lie wet: This ridge through which I traveled is about 20 miles broad, the ground in general very level and rich, free from shrubs and brush: there are, however, very few springs, yet wells might easily be dug in all parts of that ridge; the timber on it is very lofty, but it is no easy matter to make a strait course through the same, the moss growing as high upon the south side of the trees as on the north. There are a great many white oaks, ash and hickory trees that grow among the beach timber; there are likewise some places on the ridge, perhaps for three or four continued miles where there is little or no beach, and in such spots, black, white oak, ash and hickory abound. Sugar trees grow there also to a very great bulk: The soil is remarkably good, the ground a little ascending and descending with some small rivulets and a few springs. When I got out of the beach ridge and nearer the river Muskingum the lands were more broken but equally rich with those before mentioned, and abounding with brooks and springs of water: There are also several small creeks that empty into that river, the bed of which is more than a mile wide in many places: The woods consist of white and black oaks, walnut, hickory and sugar trees in the greatest abundance. In all parts of the country thro' which I came the game was very plenty, that is to say, deer, turkies and pheasants, I likewise saw a great many vestiges of bears and some elks.

I crossed the river Muskingum about three or four miles below Fort Laurence, and crossing all paths aimed for the Ohio river. All this time my food was gooseberries, young nettles, the juice of herbs, a few service berries, and some May apples, likewise, two young blackbirds and a turripine which I

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devoured raw. When my food sat heavy on my stomach, I used to eat a little wild ginger which put all to rights.

I came upon Ohio river about five miles below fort M'Intosh, in the evening of the 21st day after I had made my escape, and on the twentysecond, about seven o'clock in the morning, being the fourth day of July, arrived safe, though very much fatigued, at the fort.

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A SHORT MEMOIR OF THE WITHIN MENTIONED COL. CRAWFORD.

COL. Crawford, was about 50 years of age, had been an old warrior against the savages. He distinguished himself early as a volunteer in the last war, and was taken notice of by Colonel (now General) Washington, who procured for him the Commission of Ensign. As a partisan he showed himself very active, and was greatly successful: He took several Indian towns, and did great service in scouting, patrolling and defending the frontiers. At the commencement of this war he raised a regiment in the back country by his own exertions: He had the Commission of Colonel in the Continental army, and acted bravely on several occasions in the years of '76, '77, and at other times. He held his Commission at the time he took Command of the militia in the aforesaid expedition against the Indians; most probably he had it with him when he was taken: He was a man of good judgment, singular good nature, and great humanity, and remarkable for his hospitality, few strangers coming to the western country, and not spending some days at the crossings at the Yochaghany river, where he lived; no man therefore could be more regretted.

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THE NARRATIVE OF JOHN SLOVER.

HAVING in the last war been a prisoner amongst the Indians many years, and so being well acquainted with the country west of the Ohio I was employed as a guide in the expedition under Col. William Crawford against the Indian towns on or near the river Sandusky. It will be unnecessary for me to relate what is so well known, the circumstances and unfortunate event of that expedition; it will be sufficient to observe, that having on Tuesday, the fourth of June, fought the enemy near Sandusky, we lay that night in our camp, and the next day fired on each other at the distance of three hundred yards, doing little or no execution. In the evening of that day it was proposed by Col. Crawford, as I have been since informed, to draw off with order; but at the moment of our retreat the Indians (who had probably perceived that we were about to retire) firing alarm guns, our men broke and rode off in confusion, treading down those who were on foot, and leaving the wounded men who supplicated to be taken with them.

I was with some others on the rear of our troops feeding our horses on the glade, when our men began to break: The main body of our people had passed by me a considerable distance before I was ready to set out. I overtook them before they crossed the glade, and was advanced almost in front. The company in which I was, had separated from me, and had endeavoured to pass a morass; for coming up, I found their horses had stuck fast in the morass, and endeavouring to pass mine also in a short time stuck fast. I ought to have said, the company of five or six men with which I had been immediately connected, and who were some distance to the right of the main body, and had separated from me, &c. I tryed a long time to disengage my horse, until I could hear the enemy just behind me, and on each side, but in vain. Here then I was obliged to leave him. The morass was so unstable that I was to the middle in it, and it was with the greatest difficulty that I got across it, but which having at length done, I came up with the six men who had left their horses in the same manner I had done; two of these, my companions, having left their guns.

We traveled that night making our course towards Detroit, with a view to shun the enemy, who we conceived to have taken the paths by which the main body of our people had retreated. Just before day we got into a second deep morass and were under the necessity of detaining until it was light to see our way through it. The whole of this day we traveled towards the Shawanese towns, with a view of throwing ourselves still further out of the search of the enemy. About ten o'clock this day we sat down to eat a little, having

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tasted nothing from Tuesday, the day of the engagement, until this time which was on Thursday; and now the only thing we had to eat was a scrap of pork to each. We had sat down just by a warrior's path which we had not suspected, when eight or nine warriors appeared. Running off hastily we left our baggage and provisions, but were not discovered by the party; for sculking some time in the grass and bushes, we returned to the place and recovered our baggage. The warriors had hallooed as they passed, and were answered by others on our flanks.

In our journey through the glades, or wide extended dry meadows, about twelve o'clock this day we discovered a party of Indians in front, but sculking in the grass and bushes were not perceived by them. In these glades we were in great danger, as we could be seen at a great distance. In the afternoon of this day there fell a heavy rain, the coldest I ever felt. We halted while it rained, and then traveling on we saw a party of the enemy about two hundred yards before us, but hiding ourselves in the bushes, we had again the good fortune not to be discovered. This night we got out of the glades, having in the night crossed the paths by which we had advanced to Sandusky. It was our design to leave all these paths to the right, and to come in by the Tuscarawas. We should have made a much greater progress, had it not been for two of our companions who were lame; the one having his foot burnt, the other with a swelling in his knee, of a rheumatic nature.

On this day, which was the second after the retreat, one of our company, the person affected with the rheumatic swelling, was left behind some distance in a swamp. Waiting for him sometime we saw him coming within one hundred yards, as I sat on the body of an old tree mending my mokkisons, but taking my eye from him I saw him no more. He had not observed our tracks, but had gone a different way. We whistled on our chargers, and afterwards hallooed for him but in vain. Nevertheless he was fortunate in missing us, for he afterwards came safe into Wheeling. We traveled on until night, and were on the waters of Muskingum from the middle of this day.

Having catched a fawn this day we made a fire in the evening, and had a repast, having in the mean time eat nothing but the small bit of pork I mentioned before. We set off at break of day. About nine o'clock the third day we fell in with a party of the enemy about twenty miles from the Tuscarawas, which is about 135 miles from Fort Pitt. They had come upon our tracks or had been on our flanks, and discovered us, and then having got before had way-laid us, & fired before we perceived them. At the first fire one of my companions fell before me, and another just behind; these two had guns: There were six men in company, and four guns, two of these rendered useless

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by reason of the wet, when coming through the swamp the first night; we had tried to discharge them, but could not. When the Indians fired I ran to a tree, but an Indian presenting himself fifteen yards before me, desired me to deliver myself up and I should not be hurt: My gun was in good order, but apprehending the enemy behind might discharge their pieces at me, I did not risk firing, which I had afterwards reason to regret when I found what was to be my fate, and that the Indian who was before me and presented his gun, was one of those who had just before fired. Two of my companions were taken with me in the same manner, the Indians assuring us we should not be hurt. But one in company, James Paul, who had a gun in order made his escape, and has since come into Wheeling. One of these Indians knew me, and was of the party by whom I was taken in the last war. He came up and spoke to me, calling me by my Indian name, Mannuchcothee, and upbraiding me for coming to war against them. I will take a moment here to relate some particulars of my first captivity, and my life since.

I was taken from New River, in Virginia, by the Miamese, a nation of Indians by us called the Picts, among whom I lived six years; afterwards being sold to a Delaware, and by him put into the hands of a trader, I was carried amongst the Shawanese, with whom I continued six years; so that my whole time amongst these nations was 12 years, that is, from the eighth to the twentieth year of my age. At the treaty at Fort Pitt in the fall preceding what is called Dunmore's war, which, if I am right, was in the year '73, I came in with the Shawanese nation to the treaty, and meeting with some of my relations at that place, was by them solicited to relinquish the life of a savage, which I did with some reluctance, this manner of life having become natural to me, inasmuch as I had scarcely known any other. I enlisted as a soldier in the Continental army at the commencement of the present war, and served fifteen months. Having been properly discharged I have since married, have a family, and am in communion with the church.

To return: The party by whom we were made prisoners had taken some horses, and left them at the glades we had passed the day before. They had followed on our tracks from these glades; on our return to which we found the horses and rode. We were carried to wachatomakak, a town of the Mingoes and Shawanese. I think it was on the third day we reached the town, which when we were approaching, the Indians, in whose custody we were, began to look sour, having been kind to us before, and given us a little meat and flour to eat, which they had found or taken from some of our men on their retreat. This town is small, and we were told was about two miles distant from the main town, to which they meant to carry us.

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The inhabitants from this town came out with clubs and tomahawks struck, beat and abused us greatly. One of my two companions they seized and having stripped him naked, blacked him with coal and water: This was the sign of being burnt: The man seemed to surmise it, and shed tears. He asked me the meaning of his being blacked; but I was forbid by the enemy in their own language to tell him what was intended.—In English, which they spoke easily, having been often at Fort Pitt, they assured him he was not to be hurt. I know of no reason for making him the first object of their cruelty, unless it was that he was the oldest.

A warrior had been sent to the greater town to acquaint them with our coming, and prepare them for the frolic; for on our coming to it, the inhabitants came out with guns, clubs and tomahawks. We were told that we had to run to the council house, about three hundred yards. The man that was blacked was about twenty yards before us, in running the gaunlet: They made him their principal object, men, women and children beating him, and those who had guns firing loads of powder on him as he run naked, putting the muzzles of the guns to his body, shouting, hallooing and beating their drums in the mean time.

The unhappy man had reached the door of the council house, beat and wounded in a manner shocking to the sight; for having arrived before him we had it in our power to view the spectacle: It was indeed the most horrid that can be conceived: They had cut him with their tomahawks, shot his body black, burnt it into holes with loads of powder blown into him: A large wadding had made a wound in his shoulder whence the blood gushed.

Agreeable to the declaration of the enemy when he first set out, he had reason to think himself secure when he had reached the door of the council house. This seemed to be his hope, for coming up with great struggling and endeavor, he laid hold of the door but was pulled back and drawn away by them; finding they intended no mercy, but putting him to death he attempted several times to snatch or lay hold of some of their tomahawks, but being weak could not affect it. We saw him borne off and they were a long time beating, wounding, pursuing and killing him.

That same evening I saw the dead body of this man close by the council house. It was mangled cruelly and the blood mingled with the powder was rendered black. The same evening I saw him, after he had been cut into pieces and his limbs and his head about two hundred yards on the outside of the town put on poles. That evening also I saw the bodies of three others in the same black and mangled condition: These I was told had been put to death the same day and just before we had reached the town. Their bodies

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as they lay were black, bloody, and burnt with powder; two of these were Harrison, and young Crawford. I knew the visage of Colonel Harrison, and I saw his clothing and that of young Crawford, at the town. They brought horses to me and asked if I knew them?—I said they were Harrison's and Crawford's. They said they were.

The third of these men I did not know, but believe to have been Col. M'Cleland, the third in command on the expedition.

The next day the bodies of these men were dragged to the outside of the town, and their carcases being given to the dogs, their limbs and heads were stuck on poles.

My surviving companion shortly after we had reached the council house was sent to another town, and I presume he was burnt or executed in the same manner.

In the evening the men assembled in the council house: This is a large building about fifty yards in length and about twenty-five yards wide and about sixteen feet in height, built of split poles covered with bark: Their first object was to examine me, which they could do in their own language, inasmuch as I could speak the Miame, Shawanese and Delaware languages, which I had learned during my early captivity in the last war. I found I had not forgotten these languages, especially the two former, being able to speak them as well as my native tongue.

They began with interrogating me concerning the situation of our country, what were our provisions? our numbers? the state of the war between us and Britain? I informed them Cornwallis had been taken, which next day, when Matthew Elliot, with James Girty, came, they affirmed to be a lie, and the Indians seemed to give full credit to their declarations.

Hitherto I had been treated with some appearance of kindness, but now the enemy began to alter their behaviour towards me. Girty had informed them, that when he asked me how I liked to live there, I had said that I intended to take the first opportunity to take a scalp and run off. [It] was, to be sure, very probable that if I had such intention, I would communicate it to him. Another man came to me and told me a story of his having lived on the south branch of Potowm[ac] in Virginia, and having three brothers there, he pretended he wanted to get away, but I suspected his design; nevertheless he reported that I had consented to go. In the meantime I was not tied and could have escaped, but having nothing to put on my feet, I waited some time longer to provide for this.

I was invited every night to the war dances which they usually continued until almost day. I could not comply with their desire, believing these things to be the service of the devil.

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The council lasted fifteen days; from fifty to one hundred warriors being usually in council, and sometimes more. Every warrior is admitted to these councils; but only the chiefs or head warriors have the privilege of speaking. The head warriors are accounted such from the number of scalps and prisoners they have taken.

The third day M'Kee was in council, and afterwards was generally present. He spoke little, and did not ask any questions or speak to me at all. He lives about two miles out of the town, has a house built of squared logs with shingled roof; he was dressed in gold laced cloaths. I had seen him at the former town through which I passed.

I think it was on the last day of the council save one, that a speech came from Detroit brought by a warrior who had been counseling with the commanding officer at that place The speech had long been expected, and was in answer to one sometime before sent from the town to Detroit: It was in a belt of Wampum and began with addressing them, "My children," and enquiring why they continued to take prisoners? "Provisions are scarce; when prisoners are brought in we are obliged to maintain them, and still some of them are running away, and carrying tidings of our affairs. When any of your people fall into the hands of the rebels they show no mercy: why then should you take prisoners? Take no more prisoners, my children, of any sort; man, woman or child."

Two days after a party of every nation that was near being collected, it was determined on to take no more prisoners of any sort. They had held a large council, and the determination was, that if it were possible they could find a child of a span or three inches long, they would show no mercy to it. At the conclusion of the council it was agreed upon by all the tribes present, viz. the Tawaws, Chiappawaws the Wiondots, the Mingoes, the Delawares, the Shawanese, the Munses, and a part of the Cherokees, that should any of the nation who were not present take any prisoner, these would rise against them, take away the prisoners and put them to death.

In the course of these deliberations I understood what was said perfectly. They laid plans against our settlements of Kentucky, the Falls, and towards Wheeling. These it will be unnecessary for me to mention in this narrative, more especially as the Indians finding me to have escaped, and knowing that I would not fail to communicate these designs, will be led to alter their resolutions.

There was one council held at which I was not present: The warriors had sent for me as usual, but the squaw with whom I lived would not suffer me to go, but hid me under a large quantity of skins. It may have been from

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an unwillingness that I should hear in council the determination with respect to me, that I should be burnt.

About this time twelve men were brought in from Kentucky, three of whom were burnt on this day: The remainder were distributed to other towns, and all as the Indians informed me, were burnt. This was after the speech came from Detroit.

On this day also I saw an Indian who had just come into town, and who said that the prisoner he was bringing to be burnt, and who he said was a doctor, had made his escape from him. I knew this must have been Dr. Knight, who went as surgeon of the expedition. The Indian had a wound four inches long in his head which he acknowledged the doctor had given him: he was cut to the scull. His story was, that he had untied the doctor, being asked by him to do so, the doctor promising that he would not go away; that while he was employed in kindling the fire, the doctor snatched up the gun, had come behind and struck him: that he then made a stroke at the doctor with his knife, which he laid hold of, and his fingers were cut almost off, the knife being drawn through his hand; that he gave the doctor two stabs, one in the belly, the other in the back; said the doctor was a great, big, tall, strong man. Being now adopted in an Indian family, and having some confidence for my safety, I took the liberty to contradict this, and said that I knew the doctor who was a weak, little man. The other warriors laughed immoderately, and did not seem to credit him. At this time I was told that Col. Crawford was burnt, and they greatly exulted over it.

The day after the council I have mentioned about forty warriors accompanied by George Girty came early in the morning round the house where I was. The squaw gave me up; I was sitting before the door of the house; they put a rope round my neck, tied my arms behind my back, stripped me naked, and blacked me in the usual manner. George Girty as soon as I was tied, damned me, and said that I now should get what I had deserved many years. I was led away to a town distant about five miles, to which a messenger had been dispatched to desire them to prepare to receive me: Arriving at this town I was beaten with clubs and the pipe ends of their tomahawks, and was kept for some time tied to a tree before a house door. In the mean while the inhabitants set out to another town about two miles distant, where I was to be burnt, and where I arrived about three o'clock in the afternoon.

Here also was a council house, part of it covered, and part of it without a roof. In the part of it where no cover was, but only sides built up, there stood a post about sixteen feet in height, and in the middle of the house around the post, there were three piles of wood built about three feet high and four

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feet from the post. Being brought to the post my arms were tied behind me and the thong or cord with which they were bound was fastened to the post; a rope also was put about my neck and tied to the post about four feet above my head. During the time they were tying me, piles of wood were kindled and began to flame.

Death, by burning, which appeared to be now my fate, I had resolved to sustain with patience. The divine grace of God had made it less alarming to me: for on my way this day, I had been greatly exercised in regard to my latter end. I knew myself to have been a regular member of the church, and to have sought repentance for my sins; but though I had often heard of the faith of assurance, had known nothing of it; but early this day, instantaneously by a change wrought upon me sudden and perceivable as lightning, an assurance of my peace made with God sprung up in my mind. The following words were the subject of my meditation—"In peace thou shalt see God. Fear not those who can kill the body. In peace shalt thou depart." I was on this occasion by a confidence in mind, not to be resisted, fully assured of my salvation: This being the case, I was willing, satisfied, and glad to die.

I was tied to the post, as I have already said, and the flame was now kindled. The day was clear, not a cloud to be seen: if there were clouds low in the horizon, the sides of the house prevented me from seeing them, but I heard no thunder, or observed any sign of approaching rain. Just as the fire of one pile began to blaze, the wind rose; from the time they began to kindle the fire and to tie me to the post, until the wind began to blow, was about fifteen minutes. The wind blew a hurricane, and the rain followed in less than three minutes. The rain fell violent, and the fire though it began to blaze considerably, was instantly extinguished. The rain lasted about a quarter of an hour.

When it was over, the savages stood amazed and were a long time silent. At last one said, we will let him alone till morning, and take a whole day's frolic in burning him. The sun at this time was about three hours high. It was agreed upon and the rope about my neck was untied, and making me sit down, they began to dance around me. They continued dancing in this manner until eleven o'clock at night; in the mean time, beating, kicking, and wounding me with their tomahawks and clubs.

At last one of the warriors, the Half Moon, asked me if I was sleepy? I answered, Yes. The head warrior then chose out three men to take care of me. I was taken to a block house; my arms were tied until the cord was hid in the flesh; they were tied in two places, round the wrist and above the elbows. A rope was fastened about my neck, and tied to a beam of the house, but per-

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mitting me to lie down on a board. The three warriors were constantly harrassing and troubling me, saying, "How will you like to eat fire tomorrow—you will kill no more Indians now." I was in expectation of their going to sleep; when at length, about an hour before day break, two laid down; the third smoked a pipe, talked to me, and asked the same painful questions. About half an hour after, he also laid down and I heard him begin to snore.—Instantly I went to work, and as my arms were perfectly dead with the cord, I laid myself down upon my right arm which was behind my back, and keeping it fast with my fingers, which had still some life and strength, I slipped the cord from my left arm over my elbow and my wrist. One of the warriors now got up and stirred the fire: I was apprehensive that I should be examined, and thought it was over with me; but my hopes revived when now he lay down again. I then attempted to unloose the rope about my neck, tried to gnaw it but in vain, as it was as thick as my thumb and as hard as iron, being made of a buffaloe hide: I wrought with it a long time, gave it out, and could see no relief. At this time I saw day break and heard the cock crow: I made a second attempt almost without hope, pulling the rope by putting my fingers between my neck & it, & to my great surprise it came easily untied: It was a noose with two or three knots tied over it.

I stept over the warriors as they lay, and having got out of the house looked back to see if there was any disturbance; I then run through the town into a corn field; in my way I saw a squaw with four or five children lying asleep under a tree: Going a different way into the field I untied my arm which was greatly swelled and turned black: Having observed a number of horses in the glade as I ran through it, I went back to catch one, and on my way found a piece of an old rug or quilt hanging on a fence which I took with me: Having caught the horse, the rope with which I had been tied serving for a halter, I rode off; the horse was strong and swift, and the woods being open and the country level, about ten o'clock that day I crossed the Scioto river at a place by computation fifty full miles from the town. I had rode about twenty miles on this side Scioto by three o'clock in the afternoon, when the horse began to fail and could no longer go on a trot. I instantly left him and ran on foot about twenty miles farther that day, making in the whole the distance of near one hundred miles. In the evening I heard hallooing behind me and for this reason did not halt until about ten o'clock at night, when I sat down, was extremely sick and vomited; but when the moon rose which might have been about two hours after, I went on and traveled until day.

During the night I had a path, but in the morning judged it prudent to forsake the path and take a ridge for the distance of fifteen miles in a line at

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right angles to my course, putting back as I went along with a stick the weeds which I had bended, lest I should be tracked by the enemy. I lay the next night on the waters of Muskingum: The nettles had been troublesome to me after my crossing the Scioto, having nothing to defend myself but the piece of a rug which I had found, and which while I rode I used under me by way of saddle; the briars and thorns were now painful to and prevented me from travelling in the night until the moon appeared: In the mean time I was hindered from sleeping by the musquetoes, for even in the day I was under the necessity of travelling with a handfull of bushes to brush them from my body.

The second night I reached Cuihakim; next day came to Newcomers town, where I got about seven rasberries, which were the first thing I ate from the morning in which the Indians had taken me to burn me until this time, which was now about three o'clock the fourth day. I felt hunger very little, but was extremely weak; I swam Muskingum river at Oldcomer's town, the river being about two hundred yards wide; having reached the bank I sat down, looked back and thought I had a start of the Indians if any should pursue. That evening I traveled about five miles, next day came to Stillwater, a small river, in a branch of which I got two small crafish to eat: Next night I lay within five miles of Wheeling, but had not slept a wink during this whole time, being rendered impossible by the musquetoes, which it was my constant employment to brush away. Next day came to Wheeling and saw a man on the island in the Ohio opposite to that post, and calling to him and asking for particular persons who had been on the expedition, and telling him I was Slover, at length, with great difficulty, he was persuaded to come over and bring me across in his canoe.

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A NARRATIVE OF THE CAPTIVITY AND ESCAPE OF MRS. FRANCES SCOTT

AN INHABITANT OF WASHINGTON COUNTY, VIRGINIA

ON Wednesday, the 29th day of June, 1785, late in the evening, a large company of armed men passed the house, on their way to Kentucky: Some part of whom encamped within two miles. Mr. Scott living on a frontier part, generally made the family watchful; but on this calamitous day, after so large a body of men had passed, shortly after night, he lay down in his bed, and imprudently left one of the doors of his house open; the children were also in bed, and asleep. Mrs. Scott was nearly undressed, when to her unutterable astonishment and horror, she saw rushing in through the door that was left open, painted savages with presented arms, raising a hideous shriek—Mr. Scott being awake, instantly jumped out of his bed, but was immediately fired at: He forced his way through the middle of the enemy and got out of the door, but fell a few paces from thence. An Indian seized Mrs. Scott, and ordered her to a particular spot, and not to move; others stabbed and cut the throats of the three youngest children in their beds, and afterwards lifted them up and dashed them down on the floor, near the mother; the eldest, a beautiful girl of eight years old, awoke and escaped out of bed, and ran to her parent, and, with the most plaintive accents, cried, "O mama! mama! save me"—the mother, in the deepest anguish of spirit, and with a flood of tears, intreated the savages to spare her child; but, with a brutal fierceness, they tomahawked and stabbed her in the mother's arms. Adjacent to Mr. Scot's dwelling house another family lived, of the name of Ball.—The Indians also attacked them at the same instant they did Mr. Scott's, but the door being shut, the enemy fired into the house through an opening between two logs, and killed a young lad, and then essayed to force the door open; but a surviving brother fired through the door, and the enemy desisted, and went off: The remaining part of the family ran out of the house and escaped. In Mr. Scott's house were four good rifles well loaded, and a good deal of clothing, and furniture, part of which belonged to people that had left it on their way to Kentucky. The Indians loaded themselves with the plunder, being 13 in number, then speedily made off, and continued travelling all night; next morning their chief allotted to each man his share and detached nine of a party to steal horses from the inhabitants of Clinch. The eleventh day after Mrs. Scott's captivity,

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the four Indians that had her in charge, stopped at a place fixed upon for a rendezvous, and to hunt, being now in great want of provisions. Three went out, and the chief, being an old man, was left to take care of the prisoner, who, by this time, expressed a willingness to proceed to the Indian towns, which seemed to have the desired effect of lessening her keeper's vigilance. In the day time, as the old man was graining a deer skin, the captive pondering on her situation, and anxiously looking for an opportunity to make her escape, took the resolution, and went to the Indian carelessly, asked liberty to go a small distance to a stream of water, to wash the blood off her apron, that had remained besmeared since the fatal night of the murder of her little daughter. He told her in the English tongue "go along;" she then passed by him, his face being in a contrary direction from that she was going, and he very busy. She after getting to the water, proceeded on without delay, made to a high barren mountain, and traveled until late in the evening, when she came down into the valley, in search of the track she had been taken along; hoping thereby to find the way back, without the risk of being lost, and perishing with hunger in uninhabited parts. On coming across the valley to the river side, supposed to be the easterly branch of Kentucky river, she observed in the sand, tracks of two men, that had gone up the river, and had just returned. She concluded these to have been her pursuers, which excited emotions of gratitude and thankfulness to divine providence for so timous a deliverance. Being without provisions, having no kind of weapon or tool to assist her in getting any, and being almost destitute of cloathing, also knowing that a vast tract of rugged high mountains intervened, between where she was and the inhabitants eastwardly, and the distance of the Kentucky settlements unknown, and she almost as ignorant as a child of the method of steering through the woods, excited painful sensations. But certain death, either by hunger or wild beasts, seemed preferable rather than to be in the power of beings, who had excited in her mind such horror. She addressed heaven for protection, and taking courage, proceeded onward. After traveling three days, she had nearly met with the Indians, as she supposed, that had been sent to Clinch to steal horses, but providentially hearing their approach, concealed herself among the cane, until the enemy had passed. This giving a fresh alarm and her mind being filled with consternation, she got lost, proceeding backwards and forwards for several days; at length she came to a river, that seemed to come from the east; concluding it was Sandy river, she accordingly resolved to trace it to its source, which is adjacent to the Clinch settlements. After proceeding up the same several days, she came to where the river runs through the great Laurel mountain, where is a prodigious water-fall, and numerous high craggy

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cliffs along the water edge; that way seemed impassable, the mountain steep and difficult: However, our mournful traveller concluded that the latter was the best. She therefore ascended for some time, but coming to a range of inaccessible rocks, she turned her course towards the foot of the mountain and the river side: After getting into a deep gully, and passing over several high steep rocks, she reached the river side, where, to her inexpressible affliction, she found that a perpendicular rock or rather one that hung over of 15 or 20 feet high, formed the bank. Here a solemn pause took place; she essayed to return, but the height of the steeps and the rocks she had descended over, prevented her. She then returned to the edge of the precipice, and viewed the bottom of it, as the certain spot to end all her troubles, or remain on the top to pine away with hunger, or be devoured by wild beasts. After serious meditation, and devout exercises, she determined on leaping from the height, and accordingly jumped off. Although the place she had to alight was covered with uneven rocks, not a bone was broken; but, being exceedingly stunned with the fall, she remained unable to proceed for some space of time. The dry season caused the river to be shallow—she travelled in it, and where she could by its edge, until she got thro' the mountain, which she concluded was several miles. After this, as she was travelling along the bank of the river, a venemous snake bit her on the ancle: She had strength to kill, and knowing its kind, concluded that death must soon overtake her. By this time, Mrs. Scott was reduced to a mere skeleton with fatigue, hunger and grief: probably this state of her body was the means, of preserving her from the effects of the poison: be that as it may, so it was, that very little pain succeeded the bite, and what little swelling there was, it fell into her feet. Our wanderer now left the river, and after proceeding a good distance, she came to where the valley parted into two, each leading a different course. Here a painful suspence again took place: A forlorn creature, almost exhausted, and certain, if she was far led out of the way, she would never see a human creature—During this soliloque, a beautiful bird passed close by her fluttering along the ground, and went out of sight up one of the valleys.—This drew her attention, and whilst considering what it might mean, another bird of the same appearance in like manner fluttered past her, and took the same valley the other had done. This determined her choice of the way; and in two days, which was on the 11th day of August, she reached that settlement on Clinch, called New Garden; whereas (she is since informed by woodmen) had she taken the other valley, it would have led her back towards the Ohio. Mrs. Scott relates, that the Indians told her, that the party was composed of four different nations, two of whom she thinks they named Delawares and Mingoes.

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She further relates, that during her wanderings from the tenth of July to the eleventh of August, she had no other subsistance but chewing and swallowing the juice of young cane-stalks, Sassafras leaves, and some other plants she did not know the names of, that, on her journey, she saw Buffaloes, Elks, Deer, and frequently Bears and Wolves; not one of which, although some passed very near her, offered to do her the least harm. One day a Bear came near her, with a young Fawn in his mouth, and on discovering her, he dropped his prey and ran off. Hunger prompted her to go and take the flesh and eat it: but on reflection, she desisted, thinking that the Bear might return and devour her; besides she had an aversion to taste raw flesh—Mrs. Scott continues in a low state of health, and remains inconsolable for the loss of her family, particularly bewailing the cruel death of her little daughter.

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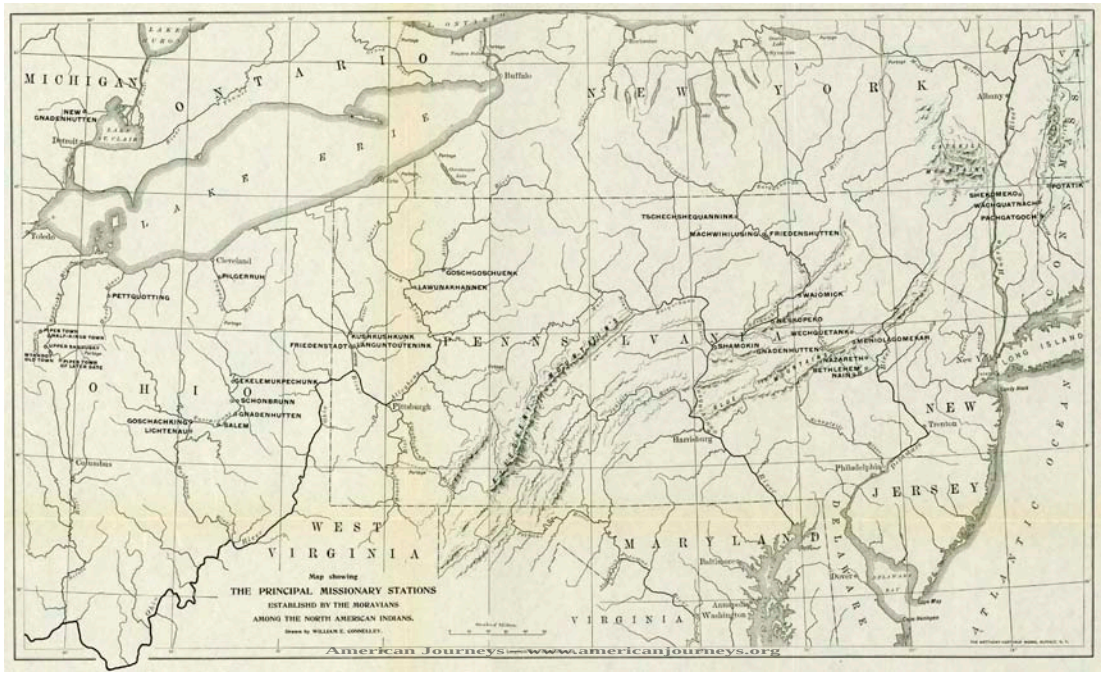

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