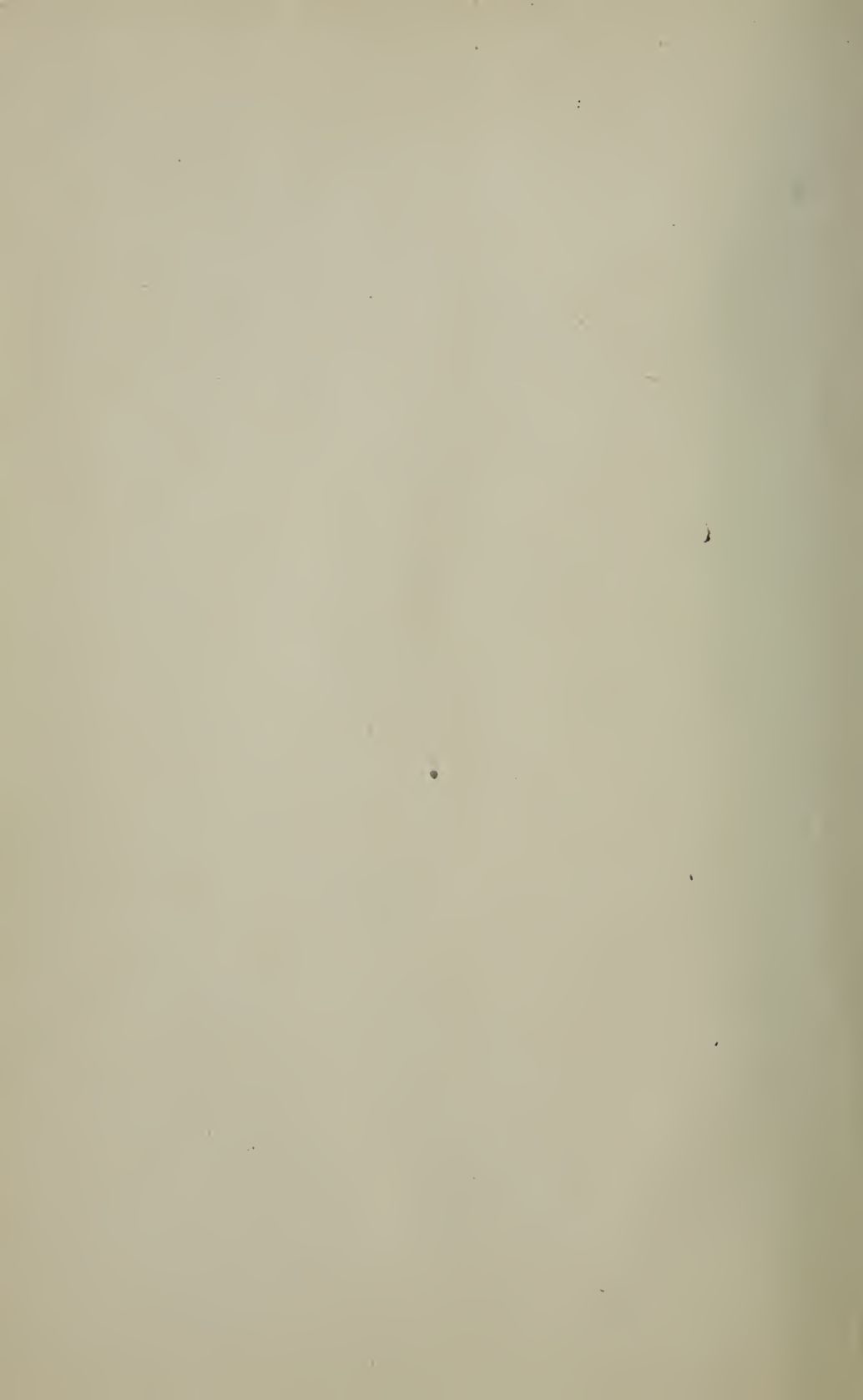


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Zeisberger's Diary,  
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NEW SERIES—VOL. III.

*Committee of Publication.*

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JULIUS DEXTER,  
ROBERT CLARKE,  
MANNING F. FORCE.



DIARY

OF

DAVID ZEISBERGER

A MORAVIAN MISSIONARY

AMONG THE INDIANS OF OHIO

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL GERMAN MANUSCRIPT  
AND EDITED

BY

EUGENE F. BLISS

VOLUME II

CINCINNATI

ROBERT CLARKE & CO

FOR THE HISTORICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY OF OHIO

1885



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HISTORICAL  
SURVEY

DIARY  
OF  
THE INDIAN CHURCH  
IN THE  
WESTERN PART OF NORTH AMERICA, 1789.

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CHAPTER IX.

NEW SALEM, ON THE HURON, OHIO (PETTQUOTING).

Thursday, Jan. 1. Br. Michael preached about Jesus, our Saviour, who came to heal the wounded, to seek the lost, and to save sinners. Then the baptized brethren had a service from last year's text: Grace be unto you and peace from God, our Father, and from the Lord Jesus Christ, whereby they were admonished to give and offer themselves up to him anew with their whole heart, to do with us as he pleased, to hold us fast in faith in him; thus would the God of peace be with us. We commended ourselves anew to him, to his faithful guard and to the care of the Holy Ghost; we awaited confidently all goodness from him, that in his mercy he would think of us and help us on our way, and that in the bad outlook of the times he would aid us and show us the way we should go, if again we were to take the pilgrim's staff; of this among the brethren nothing was heard, they forgot their miserable life and earthly needs from the comfort the Saviour sent to our hearts. Through the whole day the brethren and the children came to greet us. We could read upon their faces an easy and cheerful look. An unbaptized woman with her husband, who has been here for some time, though not belonging here, goes now regularly to the meetings, though before they avoided

10100

them, and the woman especially was touched. Another woman, Jacob Cook's wife, who often shed tears during the services, said: "I do not very well understand what is said, but one thing I have heard and retained, namely, whoever there understands and feels that he is a sinner, he has a Saviour that can help him and cheerfully will; such a one am I, therefore I believe he will, perhaps, have mercy upon me," and she wept sore. With her spoke also Br. David, and when she thus wept, her child a year old looked at her and wept heartily too.

Saturday, 3. When last evening the brother of the Tawa chief with another man came here, and we heard that the chief lay with his people the other side of Sandusky Bay, having nothing to eat, we collected several bushels of corn, also tobacco, and sent them to him and his people. He had been on the way to us, but could not get over the bay, the ice not being strong enough, and had to remain behind encamped there. We heard he was on his way to Sandusky to find out why the nations had not gone to the treaty, and will himself go there, having learned that they have not stood by the resolve of the Council of the Miami, but departed therefrom, though there they had all voted for peace. We still hope he can bring it to pass that there will be no open and general war.

Sunday, 4. David preached about the story of the murder of so many innocent children in Bethlehem. Edwards held the congregation meeting.

Tuesday, 6. At morning prayer we commended ourselves to the grace of the heathen's Saviour, asked for his near presence and blessing for to-day (Epiphany) in all our services. Then was the service for the baptized from last year's text to this effect, that the mystery of our redemption is now made known through the prophets and the preaching of the Gospel, since the Saviour came into the flesh, to which we also, now that it is made known to us, should be obedient. In the afternoon was a love-feast, at which, there being many new people with us, it was explained why we celebrate on this day the feast for the con-

version of the heathen, and the history was related. Br. Edwards made an end with a short address from the Scripture-verse and with the blessing of the church. The Saviour made himself known to us. There was a blessed feeling of his presence at all our services. We could have no baptism, though we had candidates, but either their husbands or their wives were not at home. This made us sad and we could hardly bear it.

Wednesday, 7. From Pittsburg came Mr. Robbins with another man on their way to Detroit, and both had been longer than three weeks on their road here on account of high water. We were forced to send them food when they were still a day's journey from here, encamped on a creek which they could not cross, for they had nothing to eat. We had hoped since now there are so many opportunities from the Fort hither, to get letters or the Scripture-verses for this year, which we knew to be on their way, but we got nothing. We had now a chance to do good to Mr. Robbins, who had shown us much kindness during our captivity in Sandusky, and had taken us—especially Brs. Edwards and Michael Jung—into his house for several weeks, and entertained us, and to entertain him. This we did too, the more willingly that now he is very poor and has nothing in his possession.

Thursday, 8. By Indian acquaintances from Sandusky we learned that the outlook is not so bad about the treaty on the Muskingum as we had heard, but that after Joseph Brant had several times exchanged letters with the Governor, the latter finally answered him that he had nothing to do there at the treaty, it were better he went home, whereupon he, with several Mingoës, went back, but many are going there, the Wyandots, Delawares, Tawas, Chipewas, Shawanos, etc., so that we can yet hope that something good will occur.

Saturday, 10. Renatus, the Mohican, came from hunting. He lost old Michael, who was with him, and has since not been found. It is conjectured that he went away and froze to death, for it soon became very cold, and he

had when he went out little clothing, and had not taken with him his hatchet.

Sunday, 11. Br. Edwards preached about the Gospel: And when he was twelve years old. Then the large boys had a blessed service on their day, at which the Saviour made himself known, and a fine feeling was to be observed among them. In the evening David held the congregation meeting, when he sang some new verses, which had been translated, which treated of the Holy Ghost. His scholars soon came to acquaint themselves with them, and he wrote them out for them, for they can read writing as well as print, though they cannot write. They have a peculiar spirit in learning. They spend day and night over their books. Married brothers and sisters with three and four children go to school, and we cannot refuse them. The need is at hand we have long foreseen and feared, that if school should once begin, suitable books would be lacking, useful for them to read. We have been thinking about this, and make preparation to prepare something for printing, yes, we wish we had something already, for it is much to be feared they will have to wait for them. Those who attended school on the Muskingum and are now married and have children, have not forgotten what they learned, they can read, and those who lately began with their a b c have in a few weeks learned to read. Thus among the Indians no trouble and labor, however little, is in vain; it aids them, is for their good and future well-being, and to the Saviour brings honor and joy.

Monday, 12. The brethren got wood for us.

Wednesday, 14. A deep snow fell, hitherto there having been little of it this winter, so that the hunters cannot do well without snow-shoes and get any thing.

Thursday, 15. David, the Indian, came home from hunting; who, with his company, was absent during the holidays.

Friday, 16. David baptized to-day the child of a savage woman, Frank's wife, that was very weak, with the name, Nathan. The mother, who is also very low, has been here since autumn, and not quite without movement in her

heart, but on account of her husband, who is away hunting, she cannot yet quite make up her mind, not being free.

Sunday, 18. Michael preached and David held the congregation meeting. An Indian was here two days ago from his hunting in the bush, and yesterday went to an Indian brother here to hear something, but as he asked many questions and got very short answers, he was soon disposed of, for he believed the Indian merely wanted to find out every thing from curiosity's sake, but this was afterwards shown not to be so, for to-day, in the afternoon, which they had free on account of snow-squalls, there were no services till evening. Samuel went to Abraham's house, where several brothers and sisters were together, and when he began to speak the house was soon full and many had to stand outside. There came then old Beata, asking to be let inside, saying she would like to be saved. After a time came the above-mentioned Indian, who managed to get as far as in front of Samuel, and listened to him. He so directed his discourse that he thought the Indian would reply to him, or at least ask him questions, for he spoke about the ignorance and blindness in which the Indians live, knowing nothing of their Redeemer and Saviour; they put their trust and confidence in their sacrifices, idols, and superstitions, which help them yet not at all; in their pretended worship of God they merely bring about their eternal damnation, which pleases Satan well enough, whose will they do with all pleasure. The Indian listened, but said not a word till he came home to Boaz, his brother, and the latter's mother, an unbaptized woman. Then he began, and said: "I have heard all sorts of astonishing things, the like of which I had never heard in my life. Now I am convinced it is the truth. I must keep silent, lay my hand upon my mouth, and say—it is the truth. And this is not all I think, but here will I dwell and also so live. I also should like to be saved." He said to his brother and mother that they should go and tell what his mind was. They replied that he must do this himself. He said: "That will I too," but that they should first do it. He came, therefore,

Tuesday, 20, himself to Br. David, asking for reception. The assistants spoke about it with him, and advised him to bring his wife, who last summer wanted to live here, whom the doctors advised to come here, where she would get well. This, too, he was glad to do, the sooner the better.

Wednesday, 21. Mr. Robbins went away to Sandusky, after being here two weeks.

Sunday, 25. David preached and held the communion quarter-hour, which was announced for Saturday. Edwards held the congregation meeting.

Tuesday, 27. We had a conference with the assistants about Renatus, the Mohican. It was laid upon them to search his things, which they did. We have lately heard all sorts of strange, disagreeable things about Satan's witchcraft among the Indians, which is very frequent. When we lived on the Muskingum, we heard there, now and then, something about like works of darkness, but it bore no comparison to what there is here. We see very well that Satan has here still great power, and we have also examples and indications that it has had effect upon some of our young women, who thereby come to harm, and are led astray. We have then to do with a bad kind of heathen, with whom we have to use foresight, and whom we have to watch well, that our youth be not seduced and the like come among them. For the savages, especially the women, gladly seek to strew abroad the wicked seed, which easily takes root with young people, for the tinder of nature still lies in them, and destruction is thereby brought about, and the Indians cannot well bear temptation.

Saturday, 31. After the brethren had been before spoken with, the communicants enjoyed the body and blood of the Lord in the holy sacrament. Two sisters, Mary Elizabeth and Lydia, who some time ago came back to the church, were readmitted, to their unspeakable blessing and the joy of all the brethren. Two, namely, Abraham and Benigna, Samuel's daughter, were candidates.



For three days now the weather is the coldest we have had this winter.

Sunday, Feb. 1. After the communion liturgy, Br. Edwards preached and Michael held the congregation meeting. Sudden sickness seized David, but it soon passed off. Our Chippewa visited us here again, who was now come home from hunting, who, we had heard, had been so burnt by an explosion of powder that he would hardly get well, but he is pretty well cured. He was talking always of wishing to bring to us his family and all his friends.

Tuesday, 3. Wyandots came here from Sandusky and stayed over night. The assistants spoke with Pemitschischen and his wife, and made peace between them.

Wednesday, 4. Chippewas, from Huron River over the lake, came here to find out what the prospect was about the treaty, having heard that all who went there had been taken prisoners, which news Brant had brought to them, but this we neither knew nor had heard of. This Brant has for some years secretly labored to extirpate the Delawares, and on this account, has urged the Chippewas, Tawas, etc., to begin war with them. This plan, secretly formed, became manifest last summer, and at the same time found its end, for it came to naught. He then worked for this, that the nations should begin war afresh with the States, with the hope that in this the Delawares would be extirpated and blotted out. Since now the Governor has sent him home, and told him he had nothing to do at the treaty, he has not very well succeeded.

Friday, 6. A couple of white people, who, last autumn, went over the lake, leaving cattle here, came in two days' time over the lake on the ice to get them.

Saturday, 7. The assistants spoke with Moses and his wife, likewise with Mary Elizabeth, Renatus' daughter.

Sunday, 8. Michael preached, David held the congregation meeting. Two, namely, Tscholi and the son of John Cook, who came home yesterday out of the bush from his journey, announced themselves for baptism. A Chippewa chief, from Machinaw, whom we knew in

Cuyahoga, where, for a considerable time, he encamped near us, and had received from us much kindness, came back from the Muskingum, where he went three weeks ago, but we could not learn much about the treaty, that was trustworthy, except that the Chippewas had declared for peace, but that the Wyandots must first give up their prisoners, which they were now doing, having sent men from there to fetch them; that the States claimed the land and would not yield it. It appears, then, that we shall have no Indian war, at least, not a general war. More exact information we expect to hear from Gelelemend, when he comes, for he is now there. This chief knew nothing of him.

Monday 9. Edwards held morning service. Susanna, Adolphus' wife, gave birth to a daughter early to-day. The brothers yesterday spent half the night with a couple of strange Indians, who were come here out of the bush from hunting, praising to them the Saviour and his redemption. They gave out that in the spring they would come to us. They were present at the services and were very attentive. One of them, a counsellor, related that Pipe had spoken with the Wyandots in regard to us, it being asked, among other things, what they held about the believing Indians, and when they knew not how to answer the question at once, Pipe himself answered and said: "We have a model and example in them." Whereupon they applauded and said: "Yes, that is true. We think so too." Thus also must Indians many times say somewhat and speak out what at another time they would not have said.

Tuesday, 10. In the early service, which Br. David held, the little daughter of Adolphus and Susanna, born yesterday, Hannah, was baptized into Jesus' death.

Wednesday, 11. Weschnasch came in from hunting, all whose horses, on account of high water, have died in the bush.

Thursday, 12. Gelelemend came back from the Muskingum, whence he has been three weeks on the way. By him we got from there the Scripture-verses for this year,

which, from letters, we had already long known to be on the way. Thus much we can depend upon as to how the treaty has gone. Certainly no perfect peace has been concluded, since they were not all there, yet an agreement has been come to with those who were present, and the Wyandots, who have surrendered their prisoners, will have peace, likewise the Delawares and Indians this side of Gigejunk, Chippewas, etc., so that we can hope there will be no common war, and if the farther nations shall now be quiet, none at all; that the States, in regard to the land, yield nothing, but wish to claim it.

Gelelemend was nearly killed, was insensible for several days and for three weeks in bed. Smaan freed himself and got off well.

Friday, 13. Chippewas, who come from the Muskingum, and were present at the treaty, came here to get correct information as to what had been discussed and treated of there, for they, as they said, had heard and understood nothing, but had comforted themselves, that their grandfather, the believing Indians, would tell them every thing, which also the brethren did.

Sunday, 15. We had with the Indian church a blessed day, when our dear Lord very graciously made himself known to us. Br. Edwards preached. In the afternoon meeting, after a discourse upon our day's text: I can do all things through Christ which strengtheneth me, a single man, Israel, the first child baptized on the Ohio, now twenty years old, and also two large girls, were taken into the church. In the service for the baptized, which followed, about the Scripture-verse, absolution was given to David and his wife, Salome, who came to us last autumn from Gigejunk. Both the reception and absolution caused much joy and awakened much praise and thankfulness to our dear Lord.

Tuesday, 17. We had once again to endure a sad occurrence. We heard that one of our sisters, Anna Elizabeth, who has here in the church a husband and three children, wanted to marry a Chippewa. We spoke with her, but she denied it all, saying she knew nothing of it.

The thing was, however, afterwards stopped, so that nothing came of it.

Wednesday, 18. Two Frenchmen came from Detroit, one a smith, with whom we were acquainted, and a third, also from Sandusky Bay. The smith brought ironware here and sold it for corn, and the next day went back again.

Thursday, 19. Mingoes came here from the Muskingum, on their way to Niagara, where they live, to whom we had to give food for their journey; also several Delawares.

Friday, 20. Anna Elizabeth at last left us. We always thought she would get over her difficulty, but all was in vain, though the assistants and we too took every care. In the evening was the betrothal of the two single people, Israel, Luke's son, and Salome, Joshua's daughter. The assistants spoke with Pemitischischen about his disorderly conduct.

Saturday, 21. Israel and Salome were married.

Sunday, 22. Michael preached. Mr. Abbot came from Detroit with another man, and as they were going to Pittsburg, we wrote to the church. We heard now that peace had been made and that the nations have come back satisfied and peaceful from the treaty. This was refreshing and pleasant news to us. A. Elizabeth's three children were taken from her and placed elsewhere.

Monday, 23. David held early service. The white people set out for Pittsburg, Thomas going with them as pilot.

Tuesday, 24. Early in the morning at sunrise four suns stood in a circle in the heavens till nine o'clock. All the Indians stood and wondered at the phenomenon, and some of them asked if the end of the world was at hand.

Wednesday, 25. Some made the beginning of going to the sugar-places, but this whole month it has been severely cold and has frozen worse than during the whole winter.

Friday, 27. An Indian, a counsellor, came back from the Muskingum here, from whom we got certain information

about the treaty, better than we had yet heard. There is peace, and the nations, well content, have dispersed. The Governor had also said to them, after all was over, that Congress had given the believing Indians their three towns, with so much land, and that he wished to invite them to settle there again, to which the nations offered no opposition. While now we have trustworthy news, we made it known to the brethren, to their unanimous pleasure and joy.

Sunday, March 1. Br. David preached and then conducted the communion quarter-hour, announcing to the communicants the Lord's supper for next Saturday.

Thursday, 5, and Friday, 6. There was speaking with reference to the communion, when there was much to be set right, but the Saviour sent grace, so that this time only one remains away.

Saturday, 7. The communicants had the most blessed enjoyment of his body and blood in the holy communion. Two, namely, Abraham and Tobias, partook for the first time. Six, namely, two young men, Israel and Anthony, and four sisters, Anna Regina, Salome, David's wife, Esther, and Sophia, looked on for the first time. It was a communion especially blessed, and accompanied with the Saviour's near presence.

Sunday, 8. After the communion liturgy was the sermon, and in the afternoon meeting, three adults and one child were baptized, namely, Luke's daughter's husband, with the name Simon, John Cook's son, with the name Isaac, and his wife, Rebecca, likewise their child, six weeks old, which was born here, with the name Martin. This ceremony was accompanied with the near presence of the Holy Trinity. Strangers and inhabitants shed many tears. A couple of white people from Detroit, who came here yesterday, on their way to Pittsburg, and had been present at the services, said afterwards to some of our people that they had seen to-day what they had never seen in their lives before, and they showed the greatest respect and regard for all this. We observe that people see and must bear witness that the Christian Indians have not that

name vainly and to no purpose. The people in Detroit, except the French, have neither church nor worship of God. With this Isaac, who was baptized, there was a singular instance, a case of a sort we have never had. His father said that he was baptized as a child, though he was himself in doubt whether the baptism was valid. He was in the bush hunting, far away from any settlement, and this his son, then a little child, became very sick, so that he thought he would die. There came to him two French traders, who asked him if he would let his child be baptized, saying that perhaps he would die. He replied: "Where shall I get him baptized? There is here no preacher, and before I can get to one my child will long have been dead." One Frenchman said he would baptize him, for he had already seen people baptized, and knew how it was done. And, as the father of the child did not refuse, the two Frenchmen took the child, but what they did with him no one saw. They brought him back again, said he was baptized, and was named Jacob. We could not grant the validity of the baptism by a private person, and, still more, a very bad man, for what the traders are and what their character is, we know only too well. We declared the baptism insufficient. On the other hand, old John Cook was baptized by a French priest, and this baptism we let avail.

Monday, 9. After the early service, which David held, the brethren were told they could go undisturbed to their labor in their sugar-camp, and were exhorted to be industrious and to observe the time, so that in four weeks they could be together again. We heard much that was cheering about the effect the baptism had upon those still unbaptized. Some were cast down, who had announced themselves for baptism, that they must still wait, whom we urged to be patient—Gelelemend, for instance. A woman, who does not belong here, but who has been here with her husband for some time, could not, for weeping, control herself. Others did not sleep all the night, from thoughtfulness and reflection. Other strangers said they did not like to go to our meetings, they became so restless,

and yet had no idea of being converted, therefore they avoided attending the meetings.

Tuesday, 10. Most of the brethren went away to their sugar-huts, and the town became very deserted.

Friday, 13. After the early service from the Scripture-verse: I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel, not according to the covenant which I made with their fathers, a messenger came with the news that A. Charity on her way to the sugar-huts, eight miles from here, had fallen ill three days before, and had not since got up; that she was so bad she would hardly recover. It is a sort of sickness which prevails not only here, but everywhere among the Indians. We sent help to the sisters with her, but in the afternoon, before evening, another messenger came with the news that she was already departed. The body was brought here the next day.

Saturday, 14. We sent out to summon the brethren to bury the corpse, and many came in. From Gigejunk came an Indian, who had another message from the Delaware chief there for us, but since few of the brethren were at home, and there was also no time, he had to wait.

Sunday, 15. Michael preached from the Epistle: Be ye, therefore, followers of God, as dear children, and in the afternoon was the burial of the remains of A. Charity, at which nearly all were present.

Anna Charity came with her husband, Jeremy, to the brothers, 1760, just as they came to Goschgoschink on the Ohio,<sup>1</sup> and heard the Gospel for the first time, she was dead in heart, but suffered and endured reproach and scoffing from the savages there, when it was a hard and dark time. She was baptized Jan. 21st, 1770, went in the spring with us to Languntoutenunk,<sup>2</sup> continuing blessed in the grace she had found and kept. Jan. 6, 1771, she came to the enjoyment of the holy communion, one of the first three on the Ohio to share this mercy. She was with us in 1772 when Schönbrunn was settled, and also in the year

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<sup>1</sup>This place was really on the Alleghany River, Venango Co., Pa.

<sup>2</sup>On Beaver River, Lawrence Co., Pa.

'76 at the founding of Lichtenau. In December, 1778, she became a widow. In the year '79 she moved again with the church to New Schönbrunn, where, in October of the same year, she was married to Luke, the present widower. She was chapel servant and assistant, had gifts and tact also; if any work had to be done for the sisters, she was the first, and was loved. She lost, however, much of this, for she came away from her heart, and was no longer what she had been, although exertion was always made to bring her to the right track. In the year '82, when the Indian church lost its laborers and teachers, who were taken away to Detroit, she moved with her husband to the Shawano towns, from where in the spring of 1783 [May], she came to us again over the lake, on Huron River, but it was not easy for her, and she had to wait long before coming again to the enjoyment of the Lord's supper. In the year '86, when we were in Cuyahoga, on account of lying stories, she went away with her husband and others. She soon came back to us, and remained till we broke up from Cuyahoga, but to no purpose. They remained through the winter here in Pettquotting. The year after, in '87, they returned to us, when we came here. She could not, however, come to herself again, and sinfulness was hard upon her, but she at last became meek, so that it was intolerable for her, and she turned to the Saviour, as a poor sinner, asking forgiveness and pity, and he took her again to grace. She came the 13th of last August to the holy communion, was then again easy in mind and cheerful. It could be seen she had found peace before his eyes. At the last speaking before the communion, a week ago, she was content, and spoke so feelingly of her heart that we took particular notice of it. Four days ago she went with sisters to the sugar-camp, but the snow was still deep and there was nothing but water. On their way they passed a night in the open air, when she became ill, complaining of pains in the breast, and her illness grew worse the next and the third day. The sisters with her asked her at the beginning of her illness if she thought she should die. She answered, no, she thought not, but when



she became worse, she said she should go, and go quite willingly. She was not quite well when she set out, and said to some sisters that perhaps she should die, and not come back again. Since autumn, when also she had a bad sickness, she has often spoken about death; she believed she should not be here long below, and it was as if she was always making herself ready for death. Thus her soul took wing, very quickly, after an illness of three days, and on her account we were much consoled. The Saviour has done well in taking her to eternal rest and safety with himself, at a good and suitable time, out of this wretchedness.

The assistants came together to hear the Indian's message, for which most of them had slight inclination, and would rather not hear it. They said: "What good can we expect to hear from Gigeyunk" (Fort Wayne)? It had to happen, however, and must be listened to. The message of the chief was as follows: "My friends, often when we are assembled in our councils, taking to heart and considering the welfare of our young people, ye should also be present, and I wish I had you again near me. I am troubled about you, especially as I have heard that the Indians, or nations, were told at the treaty that ye would move to the Muskingum and dwell again in your towns. I have no faith in the Virginians. They speak fine words, their heart is foul, therefore I do not wish that ye should be betrayed by them and be enticed thither, where the bones of your slaughtered friends still lie in heaps, unburied, and where ye also would suffer the same. Therefore I am distressed, for I am always fearing that some morning I shall hear the dreadful news that ye are already there, or on the way thither. I should then like to hear from you what your intention is and upon what ye have resolved." Thereupon followed a string of wampum. As we knew something about this beforehand, and understood pretty well the contents of the message, and the assistants had learned already our disposition, they answered his speech with his own string, without first going apart, and said: "Friend, we have received thy words,

that thou wouldst be glad to see us nearer thee. Thou didst send us last autumn a message of just the same import. We understand not what thou meanest, and what thine endeavor and desire about us are. We formerly lived beyond the Alleghany Mountains, on the Susquehanna, whence the chiefs called us, not one alone, but the chiefs of all the tribes had come together and had agreed and arranged this with one another, telling us also the reason why they called us, namely, that the Indians might hear the word of God. They made ready for us a place where we could live alone by ourselves, apart from the savages, and when we came hither we found it so. The old chief, Netawatwes, and White Eyes, and others visited themselves our meetings, and urged their people to follow them. Welapachtschiechem (Capt. Johnny), afterwards Israel, thy grandfather, lived with us till his death. We have not forgotten, and it is still fresh in our memory, what kind of agreement we made with the chiefs, and what understanding we had with them. Thereby we would yet stand. On our part we have yet broken nothing, and if it shall be broken, it will not be so by us. But all this, as it seems, has been forgotten. In both thy messages not a word was said about it. Always before it has been the custom with all chiefs, if they sent a message, to make mention of the old or former friendship, to conduct their matter from it, and to bind fast the threads there where they had before left them. If now it is different, or the chiefs have agreed upon something new among themselves, we have heard nothing about it. We get messages, each different from the other, many times very sharp, hard words and threats, by which an effort is made to frighten us and to throw us into terror, and each man speaks his own mind. Therefore we do not understand it, there being nothing therein of that which the chiefs have agreed with us from the very beginning of our coming here, and we can also give no answer. There is always a wish to unite us to the savages, that we should make one people with them, that is, they would ruin us and blot us from the surface of the earth. The second point in thy message is this; thou hast learned

that it was said to the nations at the treaty that we should again dwell in our towns on the Muskingum, and thou wouldst like to know certainly about the matter. If thou hadst thyself gone thither, as was right and proper, see, thou wouldst have heard plainly, and if thou hadst had any thing to offer to this, thou couldst have spoken and expressed thy thoughts, but now thou comest to us and wilt hear from us, who were not there, and also have not heard, what was said to them, and if also we wished to tell it to thee, it might not be the truth. *We know nothing more than thou also.* Thou wilt know our intention. We have not yet thought about it, and no one has yet said any thing to us about it, except what we have heard by chance, as thou also. What shall we say to this? Know then, we sit here in Pettquotting. Pipe, the Wyandots, Tawas, and Chipewas have established us here, this it is which we *can* say to thee, *and they told us to remain till they spoke farther to us.* Wouldst thou have friendship with us, thou knowest where we are. Our purpose is this, to arouse the chiefs, that they may awake and reflect, seek and search, and if they do so they will find. They can think about this.” (In the margin) N. B. The message to Gelelemend and his answer. He knows little indeed about our affair, therefore we will give him occasion to ask, for Pipe and others are still alive who know about it. The Indian related farther among our brethren that he was on his way to the treaty with the chiefs, but that Brant met them, who was on his way back, having been sent away; he informed them they were already all killed, wherefore they also turned about. This Brant, a Mohawk, told the chief he should call away the believing Indians from Pettquotting, or, if he wished, kill them, that they might be out of his way once for all, or if he did not want to do this, the Mingoes would do it; it were better they were blotted from the surface of the earth; they caused only unrest among the Indians; this was the reason and cause for his summoning us, fearing we should be killed by the Mingoes. It is a like story to that we also heard at our captivity on the

Muskingum. We are a small number, not even a handful in comparison with them, why are they then always concerned about us, and have their eyes upon us? Why do they not let us rest in peace? We put nothing in their way. Or why do they not make away with us, as they are always threatening and would gladly do, that at last they may be done with us? We should not be even a breakfast for them, but they dare not venture, they are forbidden. He who is with us is stronger and above them all. Were that not so they would long since have done it.

Monday, 16. After the early service, which Br. Edwards held, the brethren went again to their sugar-camp. Gelelemend's son, Henry, came and spoke out to us his heart, perplexed and troubled about his salvation, and asked what he should do to be rid of his unrest. He was answered that he should give himself up to the Saviour, corrupt and full of sin as he was, and beg for his grace and mercy, thus would he find peace.

Wednesday, 18. For three or four days now the snow, which has been very deep, has gone off very fast, with a warm south wind, so that there is uncommonly high water, and on the west side of our town every thing is under water, and it looks like a lake. To-day there were showers and thunder-storms, one after the other.

Sunday, 22. David preached upon the subject that believers from among the heathen are Abraham's children, according to the promise given him: In thee shall all families of the earth be blest, for his faith was imputed to him for righteousness, that we all by faith and not by our good works become righteous and blessed. For also the heathen in our time, who yet know nothing of God, and have shown nothing good, nor can show any thing, wish to be saved, and if they wish to do good, must themselves acknowledge that they have no power, and thus see themselves lost and damned until they turn to the Saviour as such, and beg for his mercy and grace, who will then always have pity upon them, forgive them their sins, by his grace save them, adopt them as his children, and impart to them his spirit, who leads them to all truth, and gives

them assurance that they are God's children, co-heirs with Christ. From Sandusky came Petty, Job Chilloway's former wife, who is on her way to us, with her children, to borrow horses here, in order to get them and her things here.

Monday, 23. After the morning service by Br. Edwards, a messenger came, whom a sick Indian of our neighborhood sent to us, begging the brothers to come to him and hear his mind and wish; he would much like to be baptized before he died. The Indian, Samuel, and several others, had visited him daily during his illness, and the first, especially, had often praised to him the Saviour and redemption through his blood. Brs. David and Edwards went to him with Samuel and Joshua, several sisters following, also, without having been requested, and we heard his frank confession, made in the presence of the brethren and his friends. He said: "I believe that the Saviour died for me and poured out his blood for me. I believe that nothing on earth can help me, nor save me, except his blood, that his blood alone can wash away my sins, and that he for his blood's sake will forgive my sins. And if he does this for me, and I again get well *and live longer in the world*, I shall not stay here, I shall come to you to *live*, yes, if I could have come, I should already have come to you, and not have you call me first." Br. David said to him farther, that if he were baptized, he must then dismiss his Indian doctors and no longer be subject to them, and this he promised to do, saying he had already dismissed them, and wished to have nothing more to do with them. Upon this, his belief and confession, Br. David baptized him in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, into Jesus' death, and named him Paul, whereby a blessed feeling was aroused *in the presence of all his friends*. When we took leave of him and kissed him, he was very thankful, seemed quite cheerful, a bright and lively look shone from his eyes, and he said he would like to go with us at once, for he was there no longer content, but since a cold north wind was blowing, we promised to come and get him the next day, which pleased him and was a comfort to him.

Tuesday, 24. The brothers went with a couple of canoes down the river and brought the sick Paul, with his family, up to us, where we had made ready for them a good hut. He was very joyful when they arrived, and said his heart was now right well and content, and while before, from thought and reflection, he could not sleep, he now had peace, and had rested right well the whole night. In the evening was the burial of little Martin, who died yesterday.

Thursday, 26. The child of Simon and Jacobina, about a year old, became very sick in the sugar-camp. They hastened home with the child, and asked for its baptism. Br. David baptized it the same evening into Jesus' death, and named her Sybilla.

Friday, 27. From Sandusky came the father of Moses and Lamst, from whom we heard that there, in a drunken quarrel, two men had been killed. Abraham came home from the sugar-camp, soon visited the sick man, who longed to hear him, and talked with him, exhorting him to place his hope and trust in the Saviour, and to give himself up entirely to his will. The next morning, however, he took Indian beson,<sup>1</sup> which his son brought, which was not pleasing to us.

Sunday, 29. Br. Edwards preached from the Gospel: Which of you convinceth me of sin? Several came home, but soon went away again.

Wednesday, April 1. We heard from Sandusky many rumors and complaints that the Indians are restless among themselves, talk about war, and it is said they will have war, yet we can hear no reason therefor, whether it is merely a flying rumor or whether there is something in the thing.

Saturday, 4. Our brethren came home from the bush all right joyful and pleased; they were glad to be together again after being, most of them, away for four weeks. From there Nicholas Smaan brought us pleasant news, to

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<sup>1</sup>"Their medicine or beson is not for a white man's stomach."—Olden Time, Vol. I., p. 279.

whom a Chippewa came and told him the Tawa chief would come here to us and tell us we should stay here and plant, and not be persuaded to go to Gigéyunk; the Chippewas, Tawas, and all Indians this side the place mentioned, wished not to have war, but peace; we had, therefore, nothing to fear. This news was very pleasant for us to hear, particularly as we had heard for some time many sorts of rumors which were not pleasant, and caused us much anxiety. The chief had probably heard of the message we had received, which induced him to come here.

Sunday, 5. Michael preached about the Saviour's entrance into Jerusalem for his passion, which he so willingly underwent in order to bring about our redemption. In the afternoon the Lord's supper was announced to the communicants for Thursday, and what St. Paul, I. Cor. xi, 23, wrote about it, was read to them. Paul, who had convulsions towards evening, was blessed for his death, for it was not thought he would live till evening, but he got better again.

Monday, 6, and Tuesday, 7, there was speaking to the brethren with reference to the communion.

Wednesday, 8. Early before day the sick Paul departed, after lying speechless two days. His remains were buried in the evening, many strangers being at the funeral and listening attentively to what was said to the church about his last hours. He passed the two weeks he was with us quite contentedly. It pleased him when we and the Indian brethren visited him and spoke to him of the Saviour. The brethren having come home four days ago, most of whom had not seen him since his baptism; that night he was especially aroused, when many brethren watched by him. He told them how it had been with him at his baptism, and how his heart had been comforted and lightened, that the Saviour had forgiven his sins and had washed him with his blood. He told, also, what idols he had when a heathen, wherein he had trust and assurance, but all this now he had given up for the Saviour, having renounced those things; that he had given himself entirely to the Saviour, and if he should be well again he should

go with the brothers wherever they went, and since he probably may have heard before that we should go to the Muskingum, he said he should not remain behind; he must be with us, and would be ready for this. The last night that he could speak he made disposition of his outward things, how they should be held, and at last he said he had still a care, and that was his four children, who are still quite small, and cannot speak for themselves. The assistant brothers understood him, and said to his wife that she should speak for herself and her children, that at peace about them he might go from time, but the woman kept silence and knew not what to answer, for she had yet no disposition to be in the church as widow. This was also the last time he spoke, for the day after he became speechless, lay for most the time with his eyes closed, and only gave the brethren to understand the condition of his heart. He, as a sinner, reconciled and washed with the blood of Jesus, is gone from time, who yet in his last hour came to him, longing for grace and mercy. In the evening the communion brethren, with a discourse from last year's text for this day, had a reading of the history, and, upon their knees, the prayer of absolution, and then the washing of feet, first the sisters apart, and then the brothers, which to the brethren is always a weighty, respectable affair.

Thursday, 9. The communicants, fifty-three in number, had the Lord's supper the night he was betrayed. Three brothers and six sisters enjoyed it for the first time with the church, all young brethren, born and bred in the church, except Abigail; but first was a reading of the history.

Friday, 10. After the communion liturgy, began the reading of the martyr-history of our Lord, wherewith we divided the day into four parts. At the words: Jesus gave up the ghost, we read a newly translated liturgy upon our knees, which the savages, also upon their knees, went through with us respectfully and devoutly. The history was listened to with the greatest attention, both by the brethren and by strangers, a great number of whom were



present, and many had made a great point of being here during the holidays, and to our brethren it was as if they heard it for the first time. We can surely believe that the story of our Lord's passion, outpouring of blood, and death will not have been published in vain here among these blind heathen. Here and there a seed falls, which in its own time will spring up and come to sight. A rich woman, what is called rich among the Indians, namely, who goes about well clad and can bedeck herself with silver, said: "Never in my life have I seen or heard any thing like this. I was in Stockbridge, (in Mass.), where the Indians also have a minister who preaches to them, but I did not hear that which I hear here." [There they go to church not very much and hear nothing.] She said also to our Indians: "Ye have certainly the right way and the right doctrines." She omitted no meeting, listening with the greatest attention and curiosity, saying she wished also to come here and live with us and believe. Others are convinced of the truth of the Gospel and restless [for instance, Ihis]; they would willingly be converted, too, but they cannot be done with thinking about it, for they are not yet willing to lay aside every thing which belongs to the world, and as they do not want to renounce every thing, they make it hard for themselves, and have no rest.

Saturday, 11. We had Quiet Sabbath, in the afternoon a love-feast.

Sunday, 12. Early, before daybreak, David was called to the sick Benjamin, who was perfectly content and happy, and with joy wished to go to the Saviour, of whom he talked much to the brethren, who filled the house, exhorting them to remain with the Saviour, that in his presence they might come together and see one another again. We read the Easter litany in our chapel, which was before small and narrow, and during the holidays two hundred people were assembled in it; on account of snow and water, for it snowed yesterday, all day long, we could not go to our grave-yard. We prayed for eternal communion in the perfected church, with those who had this year died, six brethren, among them a sister and two little boys. After-

wards was read the story of the resurrection, and then Br. Edwards preached about the same story. In the afternoon, after consideration of the text: He is the beginning, the first-born from the dead, that in all things he might have pre-eminence, etc. Jesus, my Redeemer, lives!—I, too, unto life must waken. Gelelemend was baptized into Jesus' death with the name, William Henry,<sup>1</sup> and this was a blessed ceremony. It was as if he alone should have grace and honor, for in his whole family there was movement and ferment, his wife, two grown sons, and yet others begging with many tears for baptism [but they all fell away]. He sat and kneeled at his baptism like an honorable old man. Already for many years he wished to be in the church, and although it was through many by-paths and crooked ways, the Saviour at last reached his end with him. May he help him farther and let him thrive!

Monday, 13. After the early service by Br. Michael Jung, the strangers from Sandusky and Gigejunk went back home again, the latter place being ten days' journey from here. The rich woman was from there, who came of herself to us, took leave, and expressed her great thanks for all she had heard and enjoyed here. She said to us that if God were gracious to her and helped her, she hoped to see us again. Her whole circle of friends—so far as we could make out—mother, brothers, sisters, etc., are from Anohockquage, on the Susquehanna, where for many years a minister lived, till the war broke out, when he, as the woman said, went to the war also and died in it. The sisters, who talked with her, said to her: "Our ministers do not go to war and we also not." At this she much wondered, and said we were certainly in the right way. She believed believers should have nothing to do with war. She will know how to say much about us in Gigejunk, and Pettquotting will preach far around and shine. Oth-

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<sup>1</sup> Taking the name of William Henry, of Lancaster, Pa., who, as early as 1769, had been of help to Zeisberger and Sensemann. Bishop de Schweinitz speaks of him as "Judge Henry, the Congressman." In the year 1797 he was one of the commissioners to survey the land in Ohio granted to the Moravian Indians.

erwise to-day we had a day of work for the assistants, who were busy all the time. A. Elizabeth came and begged hard for readmission, and she was again received. On the other hand, Pauline, Cornelius' daughter, was sent from the church. What A. Charity left behind was distributed and settled, and besides we spoke with many.

Wednesday, 15. Both yesterday and to-day the sisters went again to their sugar-camp and the brothers hunting.

Thursday, 16. Petty came here with her husband, who is a Mohican, and said he wished to come here to live, but often if such people go among the savages they are forgetful, for much is said to them to persuade them against coming. Whoever seeks honor among men is easily held back. Thus it often happens that Indians go on for many years, longing ever for the church, but cannot find the way.

Saturday, 18. By Mr. Abbot, who came back from Pittsburg, we received both the text and Scripture-verses for this year, together with letters from the church, of January and February, to our hearty joy and refreshment. Petty went back.

Sunday, 19. Br. David preached from I. John, v. 4: For whatsoever is born of God overcometh the world, etc. Only some few were come home, and they went back again to their work, which will now soon, probably, be over.

Wednesday, 22. As most of the brethren came home yesterday, at the early service the greetings from the church, contained in our letters, were given to them. In the assistants' conference the brethren were told to speak with Andrew and A. Pauline, Pauline, Cornelius' daughter, who had been sent away, and now at their prayer were again received.

Friday, 24. Michael held early service. From Detroit came here in a boat the smith, who again brought iron-ware to sell. Both yesterday and to-day all sorts of bad rumors and stories came to us, as though it would come to a general war with the Indians, of which we heard to-day almost every hour one bad piece of news after the

other, and though we had always comforted ourselves with the thought that the Wyandots would yet stand fast and with the Chippewas and Tawas remain at peace, having thus always heard from them, yet to-day we were told that they too were secretly getting ready and that the people of Sandusky were fleeing. We knew not what to think of all this, could not make it out, and since we much wished to know how we stood, for it was already late in the spring, and it was needful for us to know positively whether we could plant here and not have to flee from here in the summer, we asked,

Thursday, 25, the Saviour about it, in order to spare ourselves unnecessary concern: whether on this account we had any thing to ask him concerning our mission. The answer, however, was no, and thus we became quiet and comforted. Not long afterwards the French trader came and told us that the Tawa chief, whom we had always been expecting, was come to the mouth of this creek and would soon be here. This was joyful news for us, for we knew we should be freed from our anxiety and perplexity and hear the truth; how circumstances in the Indian kingdom then were, and what we had to hope. It was not long before the chief, Ekuschuwe, came, with ten men of his body-guard, to visit us. We had already made ready for them the school-house, which is large and roomy, where we quartered them. We bade them welcome and were careful to entertain them the best we could, for which purpose one of the largest fat hogs was killed. After they had been greeted and had eaten, the Indian assistants made a speech to him, telling him that since last autumn we had wished to speak with him or to have opportunity to send him an answer to the message he had sent us the former year, and were now very glad that he himself was come. We thanked him by a string of wampum for all he had then said to us. This was repeated to him, and he acknowledged it, and we showed him our joy and satisfaction, and this is what was done to-day.

Sunday, 26. Br. Michael delivered the sermon from the Gospel: I am the good Shepherd; at this the chief

was present with his people. There were farther no services until evening, for we knew that the chief wished to speak to our Indians, and this happened in the afternoon, for the assistants with some others went to him. He began the business in the following manner in his speech: "Grandfather, and ye believing Indians in Pettquotting, last year when the nations were assembled in Detroit and took to heart and considered the good of our young people, our wives, and children, yes, of all the Indians, we thought of you too in our grand council, ye were not forgotten, we were concerned about you that ye are so alone here, as if forsaken, and no one interests himself for you. The nations, namely, the following: The Chippewas, Tawas, Potawatomies, and the Wyandots, have charged me personally to come here to you and in their name to bring you also the following message, likewise to inform you what we have agreed upon and to what conclusion we have come. This string is a proof of the commission of the nations aforesaid." He then went on and said: "Grandfather, thou hast suffered much hardship and anxiety. Thou hast heard many evil rumors, which have caused thee much uneasiness. I wash the tears from thine eyes, comfort thee for all thy suffering and take out of thy heart all trouble and anxiety. Cleanse thine ears and make thine eyes clear, that thou mayst see me and understand what I have to say to thee." He gave a string. "Grandfather, listen not to the songs of the birds in the thickets, whereby all sorts of lies have been brought to thine ears; listen to me, from whom thou wilt hear all that is true. I say to thee now, in the name of the four nations, remain here in Pettquotting and plant, that thy young people and children may have something to eat. Think not of going elsewhere, whereby thou wilt make thy life hard, and if any one comes and will drive thee away from here, give no heed to him, but let me know. Thou shalt always hear from me truthfully what goes on among the chiefs of the nations, and if any danger appears thou shalt come to know it betimes. This is what I have to say to thee

in behalf of the nations, who have agreed together for peace, and will hold together therefor until the other nations shall give their assent thereto. And since we know of you that ye are a peaceful folk, having nothing to do with war, nor troubling yourselves about it, we have resolved to take you also into our agreement. Therefore, I say to you, remain firm in Pettquotting. Flee not. Ye are not alone, nor forsaken." Whereupon he gave a third string of wampum.

We received this speech for many reasons. It is the peace-party of the nations. The former speech, which we got this spring from Gigejunk, where the seat of war is, we sent back and now we see that we did well. We thanked the chief for the news given to us of the good intentions of the nations towards us, and promised him to do as he had told us, and in confirmation of this we gave him both a string and a belt of wampum. Thereupon he answered that he would take this our answer with him to Detroit, where the same nations would now again come together, and we could believe that it would be received with joy. He said that the Mingoes, or Six Nations, had at present a council among themselves, but what they proposed he knew not, perhaps it was good; likewise of those in Gigejunk, and as soon as he had news of them we should learn; that they, the nations aforesaid, make every effort that they shall yet all follow them, and be of one mind with them, i. e., for peace. They went away on the 27th, and we gave them several bushels of corn, for which they were glad and thankful. As they went off and were in the midst of the river, they greeted the town with two rounds from their guns, and they were answered in like manner on our part.

If we make our reflections over this occurrence, we see in it a new phenomenon, for which we have contributed nothing. We should hardly have undertaken to make any application to a strange nation, but perhaps to the Delaware nation. We have not sought it, and if we had been seeking for it, we should not well have known how to find the thread thereto, so as to have a beginning and

a chance to put it in execution. Thus the Saviour has done it quite alone, and we perceive now with wonder what will come from this. The Indian church in the Indian land must have at least one nation to protect it, and, so to speak, watch over it, or it cannot stand nor maintain itself, for it is among wolves where every one snaps at it and does his best to injure it. When the Indian church came to the Susquehanna, the Cayuga chief (Togahaju) was the man who had interest in it, gave it land and privileges, so that no one of the Indians dared put any thing in its way. It was afterwards invited to the Ohio by the chiefs of the whole Delaware nation and protected. Although the chief at that time, Netawatwes, did it with a certain fear, not knowing how this would be imputed to him and regarded by other nations, the Indian church found with him care and help, so that it throve, and in a short time grew very much. After Netawatwes and also White Eyes were dead, and Goschachgiunk was destroyed, the Indian church was alone, forsaken, as the bird upon the tree. Thus it was easy to carry it away where they pleased. The Delaware nation had thus at first received the believing Indians, but afterwards helped ruin them, and most distinguished themselves thereby. But what is the Delaware nation now? A nation disturbed and rent asunder, which cannot support itself, without head or ruler according to the Indian manner. We have been thinking, since we have been here, of again coming to a good understanding with them, but as there is no regular chief among them, we see not how it could fitly happen. We shall, however, in spite of this, neglect no opportunity to bring this about where it is possible. Yes, one could almost start the question, whether the Delaware nation has attacked and sinned against the Indian church.<sup>1</sup> Now it is taken from their hands since they did not esteem it, nor know how to protect it, though we have no doubt that the Saviour will get together many of them and save them

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<sup>1</sup> Perhaps Zeisberger implies that after all the Delawares had not very much harmed the believing Indians.

in the church, perhaps more than before. The Chippewa and Tawa nation thus takes the believing Indians to its arms, and takes upon itself to protect them from acts of violence and from harm, and to interest itself in them, that they shall not be given over as booty to any idle populace to exercise its caprice upon. We hope that this will contribute much to this result, that many Indians will come together to us for their eternal salvation. May the Saviour turn this to the eternal good of the Chippewa nation, with which over the lake we had nothing to do, but this side the lake we first became well acquainted with it. To what shall we ascribe that which the Tawa chief also said to us? The agent of Indian affairs, the year before, at the council in Detroit, had said to the nation that they should still look to Pettquotting; there were the Christian Indians forsaken, no one troubled himself about them, no one protected them; they knew what they had suffered, for many of their own friends had innocently lost their lives; this might happen again if the times should be dangerous; they should think about their safety and care for them. He is also not unaware of this business of the Tawa chief with us, and it takes place with his approval.

Tuesday, 28. Michael held early service. From Sandusky came Mr. Robbins, sick and poor, to us again. There also came from there a widow with two children, who last year was always herself wishing to come to us, and begged us to receive her, she wanted to live with us and be saved, and when we told her how it was here, and how she would have to conduct herself, set forth to her her widowhood, and gave her to consider whether she could be here as widow, she answered that she had thought about this and considered every thing, but that she wished to be saved. After she had been spoken to by the assistants, she was received and established. So was also,

Wednesday, 29, a sick woman brought here, who was here a long time last winter, keeping away from no meeting, because the people in our neighborhood moved away, and, so to speak, threw her aside. She is a poor woman



who has no friends to care for her. She entreated us, by means of strange Indians, to take her, she wanted much to die among the believing Indians, and she was very glad and thankful when she came. Moreover, many strange Indians came from Sandusky and Gigejunk, whence we heard again many tales, that on the Muskingum nine Indians had been killed, who had stolen horses, and that from Gigejunk (Ft. Wayne) war-parties are continually going out. When Indians come here from that place, it is not otherwise than as if devils in person came into town. They bring the most frightful and abominable lies among our people, so that one would hardly think it possible to invent them.

[Thus far sent to Bethlehem.]

Thursday, 30. Nathaniel's people came here, daughter and Louisa's son, on account of his things, but left them here again, after hearing how the circumstances were. They went in the autumn to harvest their fields, afterwards moved around to the treaties, and now they are again among the wolves, and now from fear have fled farther towards Gigejunk with Indians.

Friday, May 1. The sick woman, brought here two days ago, asked very longingly for baptism and was very weak. Upon her earnest request she was baptized into Jesus' death with the name Anna Maria. Before her baptism she answered all questions very intelligently, though she could not speak aloud. She was afterwards very contented and smiled, having quite another look and expression.

Saturday, 2. David held early service about this, never to forget how much it has cost the Saviour to redeem us, and to be thankful to him. By Mr. Smith, from Detroit, we sent our diary and letters to Bethlehem. The assistants had labor again to-day in speaking with some brethren, Renatus, Pauline, and others. The strangers, who brought so many lies to town, went away.

Sunday, 3. Br. Edwards held the early service, David the children's service. In the neighborhood was drinking.

Tuesday, 5. Several sisters went to Sandusky, Helena,

with the woman who lately came, also Mark, about whose return we doubt. Many Chippewas came here to trade all kinds of things. The Tawa chief has made known to all Chippewas this side the lake what he has arranged with us, and has ordered them to behave in a friendly way towards us, looking upon us as their good friends. And since this summer a great trade in flour will be carried on from Pittsburg to Detroit, by way of Cuyahoga, he has likewise ordered them not to think of going there, nor of stealing horses, nor of robbing, for the flour which is brought through was for their father over the lake, who has ordered it. This also is good for us, for we can hope it will be quiet in this country and that no warriors will pass through it. This, no doubt, the English over the lake will impress upon those nations.

Friday, 8. The Indian brethren went together to fence in yet one more new piece of land for those who have come and have no fields; thus we have spread quite a mile down the creek, and nearly as far up stream. William, Peter, Nicholas, and Joachim came home from hunting.

Saturday, 9. We had the whole afternoon a strong party of Chippewas here, coming from their winter hunt in Cuyahoga, and getting some kindness from us. A Chippewa lad below here is said to have been driven out into the lake by a strong wind, in a little canoe. They set after him, but dared not follow him very far, and had to give him up to the lake, whether he came from it or not. He was for a night on the lake, and lost sight of land. Fortunately, the wind changed, and drove him back towards land, so that the next day he got sight of land again, and about noon came to it, among the Chippewas, about twenty miles east of here.

Sunday, 10. David preached about the history of the Holy Ghost, who convinces the world of its unbelief, and punishes it for not believing in the name of the only begotten son of God, in whom we have our life and salvation, for which he was given us. We heard again many rumors from Sandusky, which caused much uneasiness among the brethren, though we are in no danger from war.

On the Miami, in the former Shawanese towns, a thousand white people are said to have come, to build a fort and lay out a settlement; that in a short time they would visit Gigejunk, who have already stolen many horses from them and murdered people, and yet more of the like, if all be true.

Wednesday, 13. Some of our people came back from hunting on the Muskingum in our towns, where they might very easily have come to harm, for there came to them six Mingoes, who went to the river (Ohio), came back to them in a couple of days with eleven horses they had stolen, which they took to Sandusky. If now the white people had followed after them, they would have been in great danger of perishing with them, wherefore they at once started for home. The brethren at home got done to-day with fencing the new field. As last year we had trouble with our brethren on account of the Chippewa stories, and were always hearing from Sandusky that they were coming and would plunder us, which now has an end, and the savages see we have no better friends than the Chippewas, this year they have invented something else to make our people anxious, namely, the Indians in Gigejunk will come and take us off captive for not having accepted their message and invitation; thus the chief had ordered the captains, and they would come with warriors to take us away. Although that is only a lie, yet there are always people among us who will believe it, making their life hard thereby, being afraid.

Friday, 15. We heard by Chippewas that old Michael, who was lost in the winter, had been found dead in the Cuyahoga, as also were found his gun and clothes, which he must have taken off to wash himself in the water, but how he died is not known. Probably he broke through the ice and was drowned. At the same time we heard that a ship was come to the Cuyahoga.

Saturday, 16. The brethren planted our fields. Edwards held early service.

Sunday, 17. Edwards preached, David conducted the

communion quarter-hour, and Michael held the congregation meeting.

Monday, 18. David held early service about this subject, that those, wretched and distressed about their salvation, have a Saviour, true and trustworthy, and who has confidence in him, will not come to harm. Loveless came here from Sandusky, where he went from the Muskingum to get prisoners, but he could get none, and, as it appears, they do not surrender them, so that the outlook is not good. The widow, baptized on the 1st of this month, A. Maria, died in peace in the evening.

Tuesday, 19. In the evening the remains of A. Maria were buried, who was baptized on the 1st Inst. She has passed right blessedly the seventeen days she has been in the church since her baptism. She was a poor, forlorn widow, and when she begged for acceptance, Sophia received her from compassion, and took tender care of her, for which the sick woman called her mother, and was always very well aware of what she and the sisters, who watched with her, did for her, and was thankful. After her baptism she seemed to grow better, as is usually the case with the sick, since their heart is then blessed and content, so that it was believed she would again get well, but two days ago there was a change in her, she began to fail and took nothing farther. When they spoke to her about the Saviour, that he had forgiven her sins, washed her with his blood and taken her to grace, she always showed her joy and thankfulness. Last evening she asked the sister with her whether it were well to go to the Saviour in the night also, and when she was told yes, that it was all the same, by day or by night, she was contented. She remained in possession of her senses till her breathing ceased, which happened with the benediction for her death by Sister Susanna, when she departed easily and blessedly, the spoil of the Saviour, as a brand rescued from burning. Who will not rejoice thereover, blushing with shame? N. B. Lobeia, her mother-in-law, was present at the burial, she who was so angry when Paul was baptized, and called him a fool.

Wednesday, 20. There came to us suddenly and in quite unexpected quickness Brs. John Heckewelder and Abraham Steiner,<sup>1</sup> by way of Pittsburg, from which place they had had a tedious and difficult journey, giving us joy by their letters and news from the church. Their arrival was the more unexpected and pleasing from our knowing that the way was not quite safe from warriors and horse-thieves.

Thursday, 21. Ascension Day, Br. Michael preached. There was a service for the baptized from the text: I will see you again, and your heart shall rejoice, etc., about intercourse and acquaintance with our unseen Saviour, whom we love and in whom we believe, about which the brethren were told to be thoughtful. The brethren were greeted from the church.

Friday, 22. Heckewelder held early service about this: That it is labor in vain to try to live a life well-pleasing to God and holy, before the heart has been washed with Jesus' blood and forgiveness of sins has been received.

Saturday, 23. The communicants had the very blessed enjoyment of the body and blood of our Lord in the holy communion, at which a brother, Isaac, and a sister, Rahel, looked on as candidates.

Sunday, 24. After the communion liturgy Br. Edwards preached from the Gospel about the Comforter promised, who leads us to all truth, and David held the congregation meeting.

Monday, 25. Abraham Steiner held early service from the Scripture-verse to the effect that in us by nature nothing good is to be found, that we are poor, depraved men, but that the blood of Jesus heals us and makes us blessed men, so that the nations round about see that they love God and are loved by him. Then the single brethren went down to have a view of the lake.

Wednesday, 27. Heckewelder held early service. The

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<sup>1</sup> Abraham Steiner was a Moravian missionary, the scene of whose labors was for the most part in N. Carolina and Georgia. He was in the year 1801 a missionary among the Cherokees in Georgia; stationed at Hope, N. Carolina, 1802-1806; principal of the Salem (N. C.) Female Academy, 1806-1816, when failing health made him give up the place.

brethren were busy planting. Praise be to God that all is so quiet. Boaz came from hunting. His, with his wife, Jael, came here from hunting, also Moses, from Sandusky.

Thursday, 28. Michael held early service. Brs. Heckewelder and Steiner went up the creek to see an old Indian fort.

Friday, 29. Abraham held early service. Joachim came back from Gigeyunk, where he saw his old mother, who will come here this summer. He told us the Indians were very anxious there on account of Virginians, and say that all of us here will be killed by them. Benjamin died.

Saturday, 30. Edwards held early service from the Scripture-verse: I will gather the remnant of my flock out of all countries, etc. Towards evening was the well-attended burial of the young man, Benjamin. He came to us with his mother on Huron River (Michigan), from Niagara, and was baptized in Cuyahoga by D. Zeisberger, Jan. 1, 1787. He had a tender heart and loved the Saviour. Nothing frivolous was to be seen in him, as with boys usually, but he had a weak tabernacle. When he did something wrong, and was admonished about it, he confessed and promised amendment. This winter he got the consumption, yet went to school and had the wish to learn, but was soon driven to his bed. Some days before Easter, when he was already quite wasted away, he had Br. David called, to whom he opened his heart, that he had not always been true to the Saviour since his baptism, had not walked as he should, but had often saddened the Saviour. Since we knew his conduct, and we were all aware that he had meddled with nothing and sinned, we said to him that the Saviour would willingly forgive him all; this he should believe and have no doubts about. He did this and got the assurance in his heart, and was as perfectly happy as if he were now first baptized, so that he wanted to go to the Saviour Easter morning, exhorted his brothers and the brethren to stand fast by the Saviour, also begging those who were baptized at the same time with himself to remain with the Saviour, so that they might meet above in his presence. His

mother asked him and said, if he had to choose one of two things, either to die or to remain here, which he would choose. He replied, that he chose to go to the Saviour, for he was no longer glad to be here, and if he should yet live and get well, he feared he might again make the Saviour sad and lose his feeling of blessedness. It was then thought already he could no longer be here below, but he was patient and resigned in his illness, was pleased when the brethren visited him, to whom he always showed how gladly he was going to the Saviour, and all liked to hear and visit him. He often sent his greetings to Br. David, which meant he was glad to see him, for it was an especial pleasure if he visited him, spoke with him, or sang verses. Thus he departed in peace with the blessing of the church. His conduct in his long sickness preached much to baptized and unbaptized. He is an example of a blessed youth, the like of which we have not yet had.

Sunday, 31. Br. Heckewelder preached from the Gospel: If a man love me he will keep my words, and my Father will love him, and we will make our abode with him, about the work of God, the Holy Ghost, to convince men of their unbelief, and to conduct them to the Saviour, our Redeemer, whom we have cost his blood, that thereby we should have forgiveness of sins, eternal life, and salvation. In the second service from the Scripture-verse: O Lord, righteousness belongeth unto thee, but unto us confusion of faces, about the same subject, four were buried in Jesus' death by the bath of holy baptism, namely, John Henry, Charles, Gottlob, Cornelia, by Brs. David, Heckewelder, Edwards, and Michael Jung, a ceremony accompanied by the near presence of the Holy Trinity. In the afternoon was a love-feast, which a whole troop of Chippewas attended, who came here to pass Sunday, and were all very friendly. In conclusion, the baptized had a service, praying upon their knees to God, the worthy Holy Ghost. We begged forgiveness of all our faults and failings, in which we had grieved him by giving no heed to his voice, thanked him for the care we had enjoyed from him, which he has bestowed upon us,

entreated him not to turn from us, nor to be weary in preparing us for our Saviour to his honor and joy, and vowed to him anew faith and obedience.

Monday, June 1. Br. Heckewelder held early service, took leave of the brethren, and admonished them to abide by the Saviour and his wounds, who would bless them, make them fruitful, and let them shine, a light among the nations, and they would be a blessing. Afterwards, in the afternoon, they set out for Pittsburg with a great company of Indian brethren, nearly the whole town going with them a part of the way.

Tuesday, 2. Michael held morning service. School then began again, which, on account of the holidays and for other reasons, had been closed a week. This and his wife, who had expressed their wish and wanted to live here, were earnestly spoken to by Br. David and the assistants, and they held permission to be here. Land was also shown them to plant. We have all the time examples here in the church that a baptized husband brings into the church an unbaptized wife, or a baptized wife an unbaptized husband, with children, and then both thrive. What fruit then has Satan from this, that he always seeks to seduce sinners? He must see to his sorrow that he works for his own harm. It happens quite right to him. Why does he not leave believers in peace? Why will he always be driving them back to heathenism? If he accomplishes this, they do not remain with him, but bring others with them back to the church. As it seems, however, that is ceasing, and he will hereafter be more shrewd.

Betsy Leeth, who was for a time so sick here that her recovery was despaired of—it appears now that during her sickness she was not by herself, though she said every thing intelligibly, for three days ago she heard for the first time and was aware that the brothers from Bethlehem were here, wherefore she arose, went to them, and greeted them. She had convulsions seven times in one night, and afterwards miliary fever, and then lay unconscious, until, all at once, she came to herself. She then said she had not been sick, but only absent in a beautiful place



where it was very pleasant for her, and whence now she was come back, and she was sorry for it, for she would have liked to stay there, but could not say how nor where. She had to go without the Lord's supper, being unconscious, and she missed the holidays too; thus the Saviour made recompense to her in her illness.

Thursday, 4. Mr. Askin's ship from Detroit, which had come below here into the river and had taken in a cargo of corn and pelts near the Frenchman's, who trades here for him, sailed away to-day. We were alarmed again to-day for a time by bad news, for it was said that two messengers from the Tawa chief were to tell us that the Chippewas and Tawas had taken up the hatchet and would go to war. When we made more careful inquiries it turned out that they were not sent, and that he who had spread abroad the stories was a great liar; also that he lay there and was drunk, which no ambassador or messenger does or is allowed to do, wherefrom we could soon see that all was a lie, and we were comforted.

Saturday, 6. Between twenty and thirty Chippewas came here, and as some came from over the lake, they told what they had heard, but there was nothing of consequence. They were not sent, as they said themselves. Meantime they got something to eat and went away again down the lake. Mr. Smith came from Pittsburg on his way to Detroit.

Sunday, 7. Michael preached from the Gospel about Nicodemus, and David held the congregation meeting from the Scripture-verse: To him that overcometh, about the hidden manna, the bread that comes from heaven and gives life. We read the church-journal.

Monday, 8. Quite early came here Manitto, who was present at the early service, and said a messenger from Ekuschuwe was come, who would soon be here. White people from the States passed through on their way to Detroit. Wyandots arrived with liquor, but we at once sent them away on account of the Chippewas. At noon came the messenger with a large following of Chippewas, but in reality he did not bring much, except that the

chief would let us know that M(cKe)e had brought powder and shot to the Indians and Twightwees in Gigejunk, and had told them to defend their land and not suffer it to be surveyed, and since the chief cannot know exactly about this, he will go to Detroit and find out how the thing is, which will become clear this summer, as he said. With the message he left a belt here, which we shall send back again, if he gives us more exact news.

Thursday, 11. Indians came from Pittsburg, bringing news that every thing was quiet there, and that Indians went there and came away undisturbed, though here we are always hearing that the Virginians will make an invasion. We heard the like from Detroit, whence Chippewas came. Meanwhile a rumor had secretly spread among the sisters that we should not stay here, but must flee again, on which account they were already getting provisions ready. They had heard something from the Chippewa women, which they wove into something more, for women will always know more than the chiefs.

Saturday, 13. A messenger came from the Miami here with a large company of Chippewas, who are on the lake here, bringing a message to the Chippewas of this import, that they should arise and all come to the Miami, bringing with them their grandfather in Pettquotting, for the next day the Virginians would be in Sandusky, and we should be surrounded. The Indian brothers, the assistants, examined the messenger, seeking carefully to find out whence the message came, and they told him they saw very well it was no speech from our chief, and when the messenger could think of nothing farther, he said it came from a Tawa chief in Gigejunk, whereupon we sent him back with his message, and thereby made it known that we were ordered to receive none, and to listen to no one, except the chief, Ekuschuwe; thus we had no ears for the message, whereupon they went away. It is probable that Welandawecken, the Delaware chief in Gigejunk, whose message we sent back in the spring, was the author of this.

Sunday, 14. David preached and held the children's

service. In the afternoon were thunder-storms. We read the church-journal. We learned that two Tawas from the Miami, who were here yesterday, had gone to the war to-day. It is as if Satan begrudged us the quiet we would yet have and sought to disturb us. They seek to make us fearful, when no danger is present.

Monday, 15. Michael held early service from the text: Woe to that man by whom the offense cometh. Frenchmen from Detroit, on their way to Cuyahoga, who have run into the river in a transport, on account of contrary winds, came here. From them we learned that ammunition had been given to the Indians in Gigeyunk. The assistants spoke with Tutele and M. Magdalene. Both were told to go away from the church on account of unseemly conduct.

Thursday, 18. By Joshua, who returned from Sandusky, we had news from there that nothing dangerous was to be feared from war; that those there, as we here, had many lies sent them from Gigeyunk, but that the Chippewas far beyond Gigeyunk were quiet and wished to have no war, so that it is only those in Gigeyunk, the Shawanese and Twightwees, who also were become weary of it, but yet they had murdered on the Muskingum and thereabout. Samuel and his company came back from Pittsburg. By letters from Heckewelder and Steiner, as well as by word of mouth, we perceive that they arrived fortunately and had gone away down into the country.

Friday, 19. A white man also came from Pittsburg with goods, such as salt, bacon, etc., to trade. Likewise Mr. Robbins came again. David held morning service.

Saturday, 20. Edwards held early service. The brethren hoed our plantation. An Indian came here with corn. This brought good news from Sandusky that the chief in Gigeyunk at the present convention on the Miami had given his consent for peace. Pleasant news.

Sunday, 21. Edwards preached, David held the quarter-hour for the married, and Michael held the congregation meeting. Many strangers were here. We read the church-journal.

Tuesday, 23. Edwards held early service. William spoke with Ihis, David with Mary Magdalene, who went away and is come back. She asked for readmission.

Wednesday, 24. The assistants spoke with young married people, and provided for what is right; also with William Henry and his wife about their son, John. They also considered about the girl, Mary Magdalene, where she could be. In the afternoon died Adolphus, who for a year already has been sick with consumption, and for the last three months has always been more apparently approaching the end. He died blessedly and very peacefully. His remains were,

Thursday, 25, buried. He came as a youth with his departed mother, in 1770, to the church in Languntout-enüink (on Beaver River, Pa.), was baptized by David Zeisberger in Schonbrünn, Feb. 13, 1774, and May 29 of the same year he was married to his present widow, whom he leaves with four children. He came to the enjoyment of the Lord's supper Aug. 13, 1780. By nature he was a wild, uncontrollable man, and nothing except the grace, the Saviour wrought in his heart, could have made him tame, for as soon as this got the upper hand with him he became a lamb; it made him meek and humble, and he walked with it until thé church, 1782, went asunder and was dispersed, when he relapsed to heathenism, falling into greater sins than before. In 1784 he came again to the church on Huron River. The spirit of murder, which had wholly possessed him, shone from his eyes, so that once, when he wanted to go to Detroit on business, we were forced to say to him that we could not let him go except under good oversight, fearing he would kill somebody, thus bringing scandal upon the whole church. Yes, we had reason to hesitate about receiving him again, but since we knew him and could hope that if the Saviour should again come to his heart and grace be master with him, he would become a lamb instead of a bear, we were not in despair about him. Praise be to God this happened, for after he once, late into the night, had with Br. David an upright, fraternal talk, confessing to him all his sins, of

which no one among the brethren knew any thing, he received absolution from the church. He soon became quite another man and was pliable clay in the hand of the potter. He was soon readmitted to the enjoyment of the Lord's supper, and became again a blessed man, only much more solid and firmer in the faith and in confidence in the Saviour, who in him had shown so great grace and mercy, than ever before. But he came not through without opposition from his friends, who often beset him here, seeking to lead him away from the church by crafty promises, since they proposed to make him a chief, whereto he had pretensions from his forefathers. He did not, however, let himself be moved, but always spoke out very freely to them that he should stay his life-long in the church; he knew what he had found, namely, eternal life; they should give themselves no trouble about him; he would not exchange with them; they should hold for themselves what seemed to them good and precious. A year ago this spring, in clearing land, he hurt himself by too hard lifting at a log, so that he lay sick for a while. He became indeed somewhat better by remedies he used, but consumption soon showed itself in him, which continued and was the occasion of his death.

The Quaker went back to Pittsburg. We learned late this evening that a party of Indians had come from Pittsburg with thirty gallons of brandy, and had encamped half a mile from our town, probably because they knew that here in town they would not be masters of it, since it would be taken for safe-keeping. That we might have no drunkenness from it, for many Chippewas lay by the lake, we sent out a good party of Indian brethren already in the night, who took it away, and brought it into town, where it was kept till they went farther.

Friday, 26. The assistants married John Henry and Anna Mary, Ignatius' daughter.

Saturday, 27. Michael held early service. We learned to-day that the two Chippewas, of whom mention was made under the 14th Inst. are come back without letting themselves be seen by us, with six horses they had stolen.

Sunday, 28. Michael preached. David held the communion quarter-hour and Edwards the congregation meeting. We laborers read the church-journal, and to-day the Memorabilia of the U. A. C. for 1787.

Monday, 29. David held early service from the Scripture-verse: In this place will I give peace, saith the Lord of hosts.

Tuesday, 30. Boatmen from Detroit arrived early, who went to Presque Isle to get flour there, to whom we had to give an Indian as pilot, for they did not know how to get by the rocks. There came upon us this morning, like a storm, all sorts of trouble and difficulty. Two other white people wished to have a pilot for Pittsburg, and as we knew and had heard that warriors were out, we could not very well refuse; besides we had two parties of Indians, who had a great quantity of brandy with them, to be on our guard against, that we might have no trouble from them, by whom already last night we had been disquieted. This is now a real evil, and for us like a land-plague, for the Indians can now safely and unhindered go to the Fort and bring away strong drink in such great quantity, whereby are caused so much misfortune, murder, and deadly quarrels.

Wednesday, July 1. The whisky-Indians finally went away, but encamped again not far off, where there was more drinking, and most vexatious was it that two of our people were there.

Friday, 3. Yesterday and to-day was talking, always hard work, but when it is done it awakens praise and thanks to our dear Lord, who always does best thereby, and takes away many a difficulty, and thus it was this time, so that on Saturday the 4th we had a communion very gracious and blessed in his near presence. Two brothers, Isaac, John Cook's son, and Boaz, were partakers for the first time, and one brother and one sister looked on as candidates. In regard to admitting brethren who have lately been baptized to the Lord's supper, we have had to make a change in our principles, and admit them sooner than was before customary. The communion

church grows, as does the church of the baptized. This shows the Lord is with us.

Sunday, 5. After the communion liturgy, Br. David preached, and in the afternoon, after consideration of the Scripture-verse: Be strong, all ye people of the land, etc., old John Cook was taken into the church, and William Henry's wife was baptized into Jesus' death with the name Rachel; both the one received and she who was baptized were absolved. This was again a very blessed affair, and preached much. The strangers who were present shed many tears and were mightily moved. A Mohican woman said afterwards to some sisters that it came hard for her to go away from here, she would like to be here; she had often spoken with her husband about it, that he should go to the church with her; she knew for a certainty that there the right way to life eternal was taught, and she should like to be saved, but he had no ears therefor, but said she might go, he had no thought thereof.

Monday, 6. Michael held early service. One of John Cook's sons, with his wife, who for a year already has been here off and on [he is the one who last winter burnt the a b c board of his brother, a youth who is now baptized and can read, since he could not suffer that the children should learn any thing]—they, to-day, upon their repeated request, got leave to live here. When the assistants spoke with them, the husband said he would not like to promise much, so as not to speak a lie, for he did not find in himself the power to keep it, though perhaps the Saviour would show him mercy, and send him a heart to live for him; he saw that many times people came to the church, who promised much good, how they would pass their whole lives blessedly in the church, and wished to live for the Saviour, but before they had experienced or enjoyed any thing, yes, before they were baptized, they went away, having merely deceived the brothers, and this he did not wish to do. His wife, on the other hand, said that all her friends were dead, except her mother, who was still alive, not having heard God's word, as she now had an opportunity to do, which she looked upon as a mercy

from God, who wished to let her feel his grace; therefore, she would like to live and die in the church, and as it fared, well or ill, she wished to stand by it.

Wednesday, 8. The boy Matthew was buried, three years old less three months, William's child, so beautiful a corpse that the brethren could not gaze at it enough. A Wyandot woman, who had indeed helped plunder us in Schönbrunn, came here and frequented the services. Since in her we had a merited case, we wished the Saviour would give her eternal life, punishment for her, revenge for the devil.

Saturday, 11. Many Indians from Sandusky, the Miami, and Gigejunk arrived, all very hungry, to buy corn, for on every hand is famine. In Sandusky they sold their corn to the Detroit traders, since they always wished to flee, and many have fled. Now for this they must suffer. All, however, agree about this, that there will be peace. The Chippewas and Tawas have spoken very sharply and earnestly with the western nations and Indians, representing to them that they were in no condition to continue the war against the white people; they should give it up, if they wished with their children to remain alive; they should know that the Chippewas, Tawas, Potawatomes would not stand by them. This speech brought them to reflection, and the Chippewas will be masters and attain their end, so that yet all nations will unite with them. Among those who came here, were also some who are strongly inclined to come to the church, but either the husband or the wife is not resolved, and thus there are always hinderances and objections. If the husband will come, the wife will not; at another time the wife would be glad to be here, and then the husband will not, and if at last they so far agree as to come to the church, then often difficulties still arise, merely in holding them together.

Sunday, 12. David preached from the Gospel: Depart from me for I am a sinful man, O Lord, at which sermon many strangers were present.

Tuesday, 14. David held early service. Indians from all quarters are all the time coming here, so that the town



was full of strangers, among whom there are always some who are uneasy and think about coming to the church, with which thought some are busy for ten years or more, as, for example, one of Packanke's sons is here and has spoken much with Samuel about salvation, for it depends upon this, whether he can make up his mind. The strangers frequent the services assiduously, and one can see and observe, here and there, in this one or in that, that they do not hear in vain. The seed is sown and brings forth fruit in its own time. Among the heathen the Gospel is certainly not preached in vain, and though it often appears as though it would bear no fruit, yet the time comes when it shows itself as God's strength.

Wednesday, 15. Many brethren went off to dig ginseng, in order to pay their debts. Here the house of Isaac and little Renatus was blocked out.

Friday, 17. From Detroit two white people came here on their way to Pittsburg, who told us there was such a famine there, that most of the French were living upon grass, that neither corn, flour, nor bread were to be had in the city for money, and that already five children in the settlement had starved to death. There is a common famine in the whole country, and what was this year planted has been eaten by the worms, so that the fields stand bald and bare. We hear the same in a letter from Mr. Askin to Br. David. He adds that unless they soon get help, he does not know how they can get on. Not long since a boat went by here on its way to Presque Isle to get flour. Yesterday it came back by here empty, since people from Niagara had got there first and taken every thing away, where there is said to be even greater want of food, so that they have to kill and eat horses. We now first perceived, after the event, that the Saviour had wished to spare us the famine, and had helped us away from there. Were we still there, we should be with our Indians in extreme need and misery, greater than ever before, for the heavenly Father has blessed us here, so that Indians and whites cannot enough wonder at our fruitful, vigorous fields, and the white people said there was not in all Detroit so

much and so fine corn to be seen as here. God is here praised.

Sunday, 19. Many strangers thoughtfully attended the sermon, which Br. Edwards preached from the text: Except your righteousness shall exceed, etc., about the righteousness that comes from the bloody merits of Jesus, upon which we are commanded to dwell, and David held the congregation meeting from the Scripture-verse: This is his name whereby he shall be called, the Lord, our Righteousness.

Monday, 20. The white people set out for Pittsburg, who hired an Indian to go with them as guide, by which opportunity we wrote to the church. Among them was a woman, who, as she said, with her father, Mr. Wit, had lived a couple of years near Bethany, in Carolina, a mile therefrom, had afterwards with her husband moved to Holston River, in eastern Tennessee, where her husband was killed, and she and her sister were taken prisoners by the Shawanese, among whom she was five years, and at last was brought to Detroit, and her sister too. A couple of white people from Bedford passed through on their way to Detroit, Germans.

Tuesday, 21. David held early service. Samuel, with Thomas and his daughter, went to Sandusky to get his daughter Jael's corn, coming back on the 24th.

Thursday 23. English came here in a boat, who in their boats together are surveying the lake shore from Niagara as far as Detroit. Old acquaintances, Sajipihillen and Helena's son and daughter, came here, and rejoiced to see the church and brethren, especially the daughter, to see where her parents had lived. Her father, an unbaptized man, died in Pittsburg at the hands of the militia.

Friday, 24. The brethren came back from the islands with ginseng in good quantity, where indeed there is a good deal of it, so that a man in a day can get a good half-bushel of it.

Saturday, 25. Edwards held early service. Louisa, with her children, arrived from the Miami [Nathaniel will come again in the autumn], who long before our captivity

went away from the church, and wherever we were and came she always followed, even to Detroit, but from afar. Thus it is with people; they cannot make up their minds to give themselves entirely to the Saviour and to be altogether in the church, and yet they cannot remain away from us.

Sunday, 26. Michael preached and David held the congregation meeting. Susanna was sick with toothache. There was quite a large number of strangers here and of acquaintances. Helena's friends here.

Tuesday, 28. David held early service from the text: There is no man that hath left home or brethren or sisters or father or mother, etc., to this effect, that many for the sake of their friends, who are dead or still alive, and who either have never heard God's word or have not received it, would rather be lost than cut loose from them or leave them. Many strangers were present. William and several others went to the islands, many sisters for whortle-berries.

Wednesday, 29. Michael held early service. Frenchmen from Sandusky Bay came here to seek aid in their need, for they had nothing for themselves and their families to eat, and they got something. Otherwise many strangers were here, and new ones are always coming.

Friday, 31, and Saturday, Aug. 1. Still more strangers from Gigejunk came here.

Sunday, 2. David preached from the Epistle, Romans viii., 12: Therefore, brethren, we are debtors not to the flesh, etc., and Edwards held the congregation meeting from the Scripture-verse. From Gigejunk came Petty with her husband and children. He is the son of David, the Mohican, grandson of Abraham, the first to be baptized. Also from there, Johanna's son, Samuel, with his wife.

Tuesday, Aug. 4. David held early service from the text: He that overcometh, the same shall be clothed in white raiment; and I will not blot out his name out of the book of life. Susanna was to-day and the following days

again very ill. William came from the Erie Islands and several families, others also came back from Cuyahoga on the 5th.

Friday, 7. From Gigejunk, whence new Indians are always coming here, we learned that old Eva, Israel's sister, was gone from time. She and her sister have always longed for the church, but they could not help themselves, and their friends would not do them the favor. This spring she sent word here and begged to be brought here, but it could not be done, and, as we now hear, she died at that very time. Doubtless the Saviour will take her to grace.

Sunday, 9. Edwards preached about the unjust steward, David held the communion quarter-hour, and Michael the congregation meeting.

Monday, 10. David held early service. The brethren built a hut for the single brothers. Samuel had on this, his baptismal day, a love-feast with those who, twenty-three years before, had been baptized with him and are yet alive, and with some assistants. They rejoiced in their election, for which they thanked the Saviour with many tears that he had kept them in the church and shown them much goodness. John Cook and William Henry, two new-comers, whom they had with them, did nothing but weep.

Wednesday, 12. Abraham preached about the Gospel to a multitude of strangers, men and women, both how they had to conduct themselves during their visit here, and if they wished to live here in a disorderly way, and could not bear it so long, they should rather go away. He set forth to them also the salvation the Saviour has won for all without exception. In the point of order we have need of an Abraham, who holds eagerly to it, with unwearyed zeal, day and night.

Thursday, 13. The Saviour made this a day of especial blessing for the whole church, and particularly for the church of the communicants, and our Lord and Head showed himself gracious to his brown flock, especially in his supper, to which three brethren, namely, Simon, Re-

becca, and Rahel, this last a single woman, were admitted for their first enjoyment of it, and two, namely, William Henry and Charles, father and son, looked on as candidates. In a common service, when there was a discourse about the Scripture-verse of the day: He will bring me forth to the light, and I shall behold his righteousness, about the church of Jesus Christ, which he has assembled by his apostles, and has until now kept together and increased, to which the Saviour has revealed the word about his sufferings and death, as the only cause and source of our salvation and redemption, of which he says: The gates of hell shall not prevail against it, whereby he has also got together a church from among the heathen, has imparted and revealed himself to them, to which we also by grace belong; he reveals himself to us and graciously calls us his, making us participators in his blood and wounds, and always brings together more from the world, to whom he lets his light shine, and reveals himself to them, so that they first see and find their unblessed and lost condition, and at the same time their weal and eternal salvation in Jesus' wounds. Then an adult, named Levi, was buried by baptism in Jesus' death.

Friday, 14. Br. Edwards held early service about praising and thanking the Lord for all the goodness and mercy he has shown us, in having reconciled us to God by his death. The Indian brethren, with many strangers, men who were here, went out hunting in common for a couple of hours, but brought home only one deer.

Saturday, 15. In the early service which Br. David held from the text: And the servant said, Lord, it is done as thou hast commanded, and yet there is room, many strangers listened very attentively, mostly young people. We see very plainly that if the word of God is preached to Indians it makes them tame. We see a great difference, and it makes us wonder how the young savage people, who by nature have frightful self-esteem and pride, when they come here and hear God's word, become so tractable and pliant, conducting and behaving themselves in an orderly and modest way beyond our expectations. How

have they raved and stormed on the Muskingum, at Gnadenhütten, like unreasonable beasts, and if one sees them now he can hardly believe they were the same men, and whence comes this? It is from God, he gives them respect and reverence for his church.

Sunday, 16. Michael preached, and as it rained hard all day, there were no other services. Petty, who came here several days ago, spoke with us about coming to the church, asking advice, for she has an unbaptized husband. We had the assistants speak with both of them, and found the man not disinclined to come to the church. He was once formerly on the Huron River, over the lake, to make us a visit, before he married Petty, and promised then to come to us again, and he also told the Indians, after he got home, that he was going to the believers, and wanted to live with them, but they persuaded him against coming, telling him he should not do it, but wait, giving him expectancy of the office of chief, therewith to bind him to stay with them, of which he must first make himself free, if he will come to us, which will yet happen. We advised Petty to go with her husband and wait for him, meanwhile she left a boy here.

Tuesday, 18. Edwards held early service. The strangers, a multitude of whom has been here a long time, begin to go away again, after eating some of our brethren quite clean, for there were daily from ten to thirteen persons to be entertained. It is well that the corn is already quite advanced, so that they find something to eat from their fields and will not starve. Among the strangers were also several families of the baptized, with whom we spoke, reminding them what they had formerly enjoyed in the church, and encouraging them to seek again eternal grace. They gave us hope of their again being found here.

Thursday, 20. David held early service. The brethren went again to the lake and islands for ginseng. From Gigejunk came Polly, the former wife of lame Thomas, with her child, a little boy, baptized Christian.

Saturday, 22. Michael held early service. Louisa, who

with her sons was here for a time visiting, went back again to the Miami Fork. When she took leave of us, she said she wished as soon as possible to come away from there, and to come again to us to stay. Really, her sons, who are grown men, are the cause of her coming to us, and if she will not leave them, she must be here with them.

Sunday, 23. David preached about Pharisees and toll-gatherers. In the afternoon service, the little daughter of John Thomas and Cathrine, born yesterday, was baptized into Jesus' death with the name Juliana. Towards evening Wunanktis, who has been very sick for a couple of days, was buried in Jesus' death by baptism in the presence of a company of brethren, and named Abel, whereby was an especially blessed feeling. Before this more than once he should have been baptized, but as he did not wish it, it could not happen till now, when he begged for baptism, for he was of a very modest and bashful character, and probably had not confidence enough in himself to go through the ceremony of baptism before the whole church, therefore the Saviour must bring it to pass with him in such a way. He had a very capable head for learning, and last winter from his a b c he learned to read, and taught himself to write without aid, for he often wrote to Br. David of his heart, which was easier for him than to talk by word of mouth, since thus he could better express himself.<sup>†</sup>

Monday, 24. Edwards held early service, Samuel, Bill, Henry, Isaac, and others went out for ginseng.

Tuesday, 25. Michael held early service. From Detroit, whence two white people came, we learned that the famine was somewhat lessened, for they had harvested something, but not enough; there was little hope. In Mackinaw a hundred pounds of flour cost ten pounds. In Niagara many men have starved to death, likewise in Detroit.

Friday, 28. Michael held early service. William with a company of brethren came back from the lake and islands, who on the lake had been in much danger of going down, for as they came away from the islands it was

good sailing upon the lake, but when they were half-way over a strong wind suddenly sprung up, so that they all thought they should go down, for the waves struck into their canoes. Once they had to turn about. All said they had in their need from their hearts called upon the Saviour. The children with them sang verses amid the great waves, which was their prayer, and all thanked the Saviour heartily when at night they first came to land. Towards evening the child Nathan, of unbaptized parents, not living here—but he was born and baptized here—seven months and eleven days old, was buried. He was an attractive child, who, when he was asked, or of his own accord, already knew how to point out the Saviour's wounds in his hands and feet, though he could not speak.

Sunday, 30. Br. Edwards preached. Tschuwisch or Sem, who came here two days ago, attended industriously the services, and said to the brethren that he thought much about again coming to the church. We had a love-feast with the unmarried brothers, for their feast-day, yesterday.

Monday, 31. The widows, nine in number, and one widower, had for their feast-day to-day a blessed service and love-feast. The Saviour showed himself gracious to them and blessed them, of which the tears upon their cheeks bore witness. One brother, Luke, and one sister, Susanna, have this year been added to their number.

Tuesday, Sept. 1. Polly, the former wife of lame Thomas, went back to the Miami, after making a visit of ten days here, but she had no thought of coming again to the church. Late in the evening, towards midnight, William's Martha was delivered of twins, both girls, but one of them was still-born.

Thursday, 3. In the early service William's child was baptized with the name Gertrude. The Joachims came here from the Fort. We heard from them that the brethren who went two months ago to Tschinque<sup>1</sup> to look for

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<sup>1</sup> See note, p. 345, vol. i.



ginseng,<sup>1</sup> had gone about in vain (finding nothing that was good for any thing<sup>2</sup>), and are now on their way home.

Friday, 4. Most of them also arrived.

Sunday, 6. Michael preached and David held the congregation meeting. The assistants spoke with two new people, Samuel, Johanna's son, and a big boy, Sophia's sister's son, who had announced their wish to live here. Both got leave.

Monday, 7. Morning service was early, when we begged the Saviour's recognition of us and his boody blessing out of his fulness for this day. In the service for the married from to-day's text, the Indian, Levi, was married to the single sister, Rahel. Afterwards was a common love-feast, at which the Chippewa, Manitto, with his wife and several others, was present. The brethren were reminded of and had impressed upon them our communion with all churches, since we were one people with all God's children, having received his word, loving him and believing in him, which was told us by the church, wherefore we owe our thanks to him, so that, if we shall then be perfected, we shall be assembled together around him, praise and glorify him forever for his great grace and mercy. The children and young people were also exhorted not to forfeit righteousness, grace, and salvation by going their own ways. In conclusion Br. David held a service from the Scripture-verse: Sow to yourselves in righteousness, reap in mercy; break up your fallow ground, for it is time to seek the Lord till he come and rain righteousness

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<sup>1</sup> Frequent mention of this root has been made in this diary. For many years now it has been a common object of traffic among the Indians. The Encyclopedia Brit. says:

"Ginseng, the Chinese name for *Panax quinquefolium*, a small plant of the natural order Araliaceae, found in the northern parts of Asia and in America. It has a jointed, fleshy, tapered root, which, when dried, is of yellowish-white color, and has a mucilaginous sweet flavor somewhat resembling liquorice, accompanied by a slight bitterness. It is highly prized by the Chinese as a stimulant and restorative, or rather as a panacea for every ill. . . . Now the Americans carry it direct to China, which is its only market."

<sup>2</sup> The passage in brackets is conjectured.

on you. Thy blood-righteousness makes us blessed in time, and will also eternally be the only cause of our well-being.

Tuesday, 8. David held morning service. Three families of white people, with a great troop of children [20], who came here last evening, and are from Maryland, from the head of the Potomac, and were going to Detroit, gave us much to do, one family wishing to stay here through the winter, but this we could not permit. By them we had a letter from Br. Kiefer,<sup>1</sup> of July 17. They wanted to have canoes lent them and people to take them over the lake, since they could not go by land, but all had nothing more to eat. They went away,

Wednesday, 9, some by land, but the women and children by water, Rhenatus and Ignatius being their pilots over the lake. Michael held early service. An Indian, who had come a very roundabout way from Oswego, by way of Niagara, to Detroit, and from there by way of Gigejunk here, and had already been here some time, came and begged to be permitted to live here. When we spoke to the assistants about him, we learned that he himself had told them, when first he went to the meetings and heard, that it was to him thus: "Here will I live; from this place I will not go away." He had already arisen and gone to the table, and wished to beg admission before the whole church, but had again considered whether this was right and gave it up. From that time, however, he has so remained and has not forgotten. After our rules had been made known to him, to which he submitted, promising to comport himself thereby, he got permission.

Thursday, 10. In the early service from the text: All things are possible to him that believeth, Br. David baptized Thomas' little daughter, born yesterday, Ruth, into Jesus' death, at which ceremony white people were also present, for it was quite new for them to see Indians lead

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<sup>1</sup>A Moravian missionary, who narrowly escaped massacre at Penn's Creek, Cumberland Co., Pa., in 1755, and was concealed for two weeks afterwards by a friendly Indian.

so Christian a life and conduct, for they said they had lived in the land there among the mountains without sermon or worship of God. One was from Saucon (near Bethlehem), and was well acquainted in Bethlehem. They then went to Detroit with Ignatius and Renatus.

Friday, 11. Edwards held early service. By some of our Indians, who came from their hunting in Cuyahoga, to whom Mingoes from Niagara came, telling them that there this summer there had been hail-storms and that hail-stones as big as apples had fallen and done great damage. Something of the sort we have also had here, the biggest like hickory-nuts, but in no very great abundance. There, however, the night after, the cold and frost were so severe that all the corn was frozen and withered after the sun shone warm, so that men wept and have now nothing to look forward to except starvation, for they had to slaughter their horses this year, and many died of hunger.

Sunday, 13. David preached about the ten lepers, from the Gospel, and Michael held the congregation meeting. Strangers came here again yesterday, who showed a wish to remain here. We learned from Sandusky that there they have had hard night-frosts for some time and that the tender corn has been injured, while we here have not been aware of any in our fields. Sickneses prevail among the Indians, so that many are dying, and among the cattle, and especially among the horses, pestilence spreads, so that they perish in great number, and through the frequent visits of strangers these (sickneses) are brought here, so that many have died.

Tuesday, 15. Boaz' brother sent us word to pray for him, that the Saviour might help him to come to us, that he might not be held back by the Indians.

Wednesday, 16. Abraham, Samuel, and Stephen went to Sandusky Bay to get various things, stone, cedar-wood, etc. From the new settlement over the lake Ignatius and Renatus returned, whither they had taken the white people by water, some twelve miles the other side of the Miami. They brought news that in Detroit pestilence and sick-

nesses prevailed, of which many people died. The Shawanese and Indians at the head of the Miami are said to have begun their cruelties again and to have burnt two captives. Ten Indians are also said to have died, of whose death horse-thieves are the cause, after whom the white people followed, and thus whom they fell in with must pay the penalty. The Tawa chief will soon visit us.

Friday, 18. By the Indian, Moses, who came from the Fort, we learned that a brother<sup>1</sup> from Bethlehem was said to be there, who would like to come to us, and that our Cook's brother had agreed to bring him out, but we can hardly believe this, and are in doubt, and having no word by letter of it, we did nothing.

Saturday, 19. In the early service from the Scripture-verse: Go up to the mountain and bring wood and build the house; and I will take pleasure in it and I will be glorified, saith the Lord, the little daughter of Joachim and A. Maria, born yesterday, was baptized into Jesus' death with the name Henrietta. He had gone several days before to his father in Gigeyunk, from whom he can by no means get away and whom he cannot give up.

Sunday, 20. Edwards preached from the Gospel: No man can serve two masters. David held the communion quarter-hour, and Michael the congregation meeting.

Monday, 21. David held early service. The assistants were told to speak with several girls, likewise to attend to fencing the grave-yard, at which they made a beginning to-day, and finally, to answer Pipe, to whom we owe an answer to his belt, and thereby to take occasion to say to the chiefs, that since they have abandoned Pettquotting to us, they should now hold to it, and no other Indians should settle in our neighborhood, as we have already heard of several; that they should bear this in mind, and if it happens we must go away.

Tuesday, 22. The brethren got done with the grave-yard, and then the sisters went at once and put it in order.

Friday, 25. David, who became quite ill three days ago,

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<sup>1</sup> See under Oct. 19, next, p. 62.

was better again, yet he spoke to the brethren yesterday and to-day. Very many grow ill, and it is a very sickly time.

Saturday, 26. The communicants enjoyed the body and blood of our Lord in the holy sacrament, to which two sisters were readmitted, one of whom, Jacobina, had gone from the church, married a savage and brought him to the church, who has now been baptized, and before her has come to the Lord's supper. One sister, Rachel, looked on as candidate.

Sunday, 27. Michael preached after the communion liturgy. In the afternoon service Samuel, Johanna's son, born in Friedenshütten, who lately came here from Gige-yunk, was taken into the church. This caused emotion in the whole circle of his friends, who had all been here long before him, so the last became first and the first last. At this service the assistant, Samuel, said to his mother and step-father: "Thou hast always made the excuse and said thou must think too much about thy son, that thy heart was ever in Gige-yunk, and that thou hadst no time to think of the welfare of thine own soul. Now thy son is here, and already farther along than thou, though thou wast here more than a year before him. Now thus art thou backward and not once a real friend of his." Such expressions, which mean much to the Indians, cut to the heart.

Monday, 28. The brethren worked in common at the school-house, and at the same time to put in order the house of the sick Thomas. A woman, Mary Elizabeth, who went away from here some time ago, and married a savage, Paul's son, for she was single, came to Br. David, begging for readmission to live here. He replied to her: "Thou hast gone from the church. Then thou wast unmarried, and couldst speak for thyself, but now thou hast a husband and art not thine own ruler. He must come and tell if he also is of that mind. We heed not what the wife says, but what the husband says."

Tuesday, 29. In the early service the dear angels were thought of, who are sent to serve us and to turn away from

us many harms and dangers, for which we ought to thank the Saviour. Joachim, who two days ago went to Gige-yunk, came back from there, bringing with him his old father, Joachim, who rejoiced to see the church again.

Wednesday, 20. A family of seven persons, Renatus' friend from Sandusky, named Wojanwes, upon their request and desire, got leave to live here. When he went from home he said to his brother that he was now going to Pettquotting, that he did not know whether he should come back again; he wanted to go and see what they had there, for he believed the believing Indians had some good thing of which they did not know; so if he should not come back again, he would know where he was, and might himself consider what he would do.

[Thus far to Bethlehem.]

Thursday, Oct. 1. Indians came here from the Fort with liquor, which we indeed took in charge until they went away, two days after, but they encamped not far off, having deceived us, so that there was drunkenness, and we were much plagued by vile people.

Saturday, 3. Loveless, who went to the Fort from Detroit, arrived, and with him young Isaac Williams, sixty of whose hogs the Wyandots had killed. He said they thought of moving away in the spring.

Sunday, 4. Edwards preached. Many Indians came from the Fort with much brandy, fourteen casks, which we took in charge till their departure.

Tuesday, 6. Samuel and Charles went with the white man to the Fort, by which opportunity we sent letters and our diary to Pittsburg, and wrote also about our things there, to send them to us. Many Chippewas here.

Thursday, 8. The whisky-people nearly all moved farther away, including a daughter of Cook. David held morning service. Old Ruth came with her son, Tobias, and his wife, and her grandson, a child, in order to live again in the church. They were for the time housed until they could farther be spoken with.

Friday, 9. We brethren harvested our field, some three hundred strings of corn, besides the loose corn, and the

fields have made a rich return, in spite of the fact that the birds have done much damage, for thus far this year in flocks of thousands they have covered the fields black. Every thing has thriven without harm from frost, which this year has injured nearly all places.

Sunday, 11. Br. David preached from the Gospel about the great commandment. The assistants spoke with Ruth and her son, who longed to live again in the church, and though we know about it, and were acquainted with her of old, that she is a hard person to get along with, who would give us much trouble and care, yet we did not wish to reject her, for she was yet concerned about her salvation and already quite old.

Tuesday, 13. Michael held early service, as yesterday Br. David. The brethren were all very busy harvesting, to which the birds force them, which eat up all they find. Many Chippewas also helped, who wished to earn some corn, for they do not plant, but live by hunting, in the summer for the most part upon fish and musk-rats, and in winter from game in the bush, but yet they like to have corn when they can get any, but they do not like to plant, for they are accustomed to move about, and are nowhere at home.

Wednesday, 14. David held early service. There were thunder-storms both yesterday and to-day. Frank, who came from the Fort yesterday, knew nothing about brothers having been there and wishing to come hither, nor had he heard any thing about this. Indians arrived with whisky.

Thursday, 15. White people from Pittsburg, with cattle, went through here, on their way to Detroit, likewise others, the Quaker, etc., by water to the same place. We hoped to get letters by Robbins, who arrived with them, but they came not, and thus probably we sent for our things in vain.

Saturday, 17. The white people set out by water for Detroit. David held early service. The brethren were busy bringing in their corn.

Sunday, 18. Michael preached, strangers being present.

We permitted the brethren to labor in their need to-day, for there has been much rain, and the corn suffers harm.

Monday, 19. By a family of Mennonites, with four children, from Maryland, on their way to Detroit, who are acquainted with the brothers and have attended their meetings, we got a letter from Br. Sydrick,<sup>1</sup> from Graceham, on the Monocacy, of Sept. 19th. The people were very glad to meet the brothers and brethren, and we served and helped them as much as we could. We now found out too who the people were who had been called brothers from Bethlehem, who had wished to come out to us, namely, a Dunker, and preacher from Redstone, Pa., who had wished to go to Detroit, but whose courage failed him on account of the difficult journey, and therefore he turned back.

Wednesday, 21. A white man came from Detroit on his way to Pittsburg, who stayed here several days.

Saturday, 24. This week the brethren have been busy harvesting, the weather having been tolerably good. We finished the potato harvest, so that we are done. On the Miami the nations have again had a meeting and got presents. The Delawares in Gigejunk, we hear, are moving to the Spaniards, with whom many of them already are. Welandawecken went there not long ago to live. At the mouth of the Miami the English in Detroit have a plan to buy a strip of land from the Wyandots, to have a proper place where they can hold treaties with the nations, to which the Wyandots are said to have shown themselves not disinclined.

Sunday, 25. Edwards preached, and in the afternoon David discoursed to the baptized about stealing. The brothers came together to take measures about buying and selling.

Tuesday, 27. Edwards held early service. From Detroit Mr. Askin sent us word in a writing that he will send

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<sup>1</sup>Daniel Sydrick, 1727-1790. He came to America in 1750, was assistant minister in several places, and ten years in charge of the church in Philadelphia, and afterwards in Graceham, Frederick Co., Md.



his son and buy all the corn which we could do without. There are also several other traders who want to buy corn, for in Detroit it will be again a dear time, and among the Indians we hear from every place that the corn has been touched with frost. In Sandusky most people have no harvest, and we hear that many Indians will come here and pass the winter with us, in order to find something to eat; thus the supplies of our brethren will be used up, and they also may then come to want. In the evening Samuel came from the Fort, but we got neither letters nor any of our things, which were not yet come. On the Wabash, and in that country, there was a fight between the whites and Indians, in which the latter were worsted and four hundred were lost, all warriors, whereupon the whites attacked a town and laid low whatever they found.<sup>1</sup> It is now said they are begging for peace, which before they would not take, but wanted to fight.

Friday, 30. From Detroit came some white people here on their way to Pittsburg, two of whom were here several days on account of sickness.

Saturday, 31. The whole week, when the weather was tolerable, for it has rained now more than eight days, the brethren were busy harvesting their corn.

Sunday, Nov. 1. David preached from the Epistle to the Ephesians vi, 10: Finally, my brethren, be strong in the Lord and in the power of his might, and held the communion quarter-hour. The assistants arranged matters between Helena and Lydia. In the evening service, which Br. Michael held, we thought of the church above and of our communion with the same. In the evening A. Elizabeth arrived from the Miami, and desired to live here again. There all the corn is frosted and none of it ripens, so that now the Indians separate, and each one has to seek to find something to eat.

Monday, 2. It was a dark morning till towards ten o'clock, so that in the house nothing could be seen without a light. Edwards held the early service from the text: I

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<sup>1</sup> I find no confirmation of Samuel's report.

will not leave you comfortless, etc. A. Elizabeth came to Br. David, begging for readmission, but got no answer, for she was false.

Wednesday, 4. A party of whites came through here from Detroit on their way to Pittsburg. They were here a day, and went, Thursday, 5th, farther. David wrote to Br. Sydrick to Monocacy.

Friday, 6. There came another family of white people here from Detroit on their way down into the country. They stayed over Sunday and went farther, from whom their horses were stolen the first night.

Saturday, 7. After the brethren had been spoken to the preceding days, we had the holy communion in the near presence of our Lord, in which the brethren, William Henry, his wife, Rahel, and their son, Charles, participated with the church for the first time, and Johanna, who came to us in the spring from Gigeyunk, was readmitted. John Henry and Louisa, Helena's daughter, looked on as candidates. The assistants have for several days, and to-day also, labored in speaking with the brethren, here and there arranging matters among them. They are our true helpers, and if they must sit and use up whole days, they become not weary until they have perfected their work, and we see and learn that the Saviour is with them, and leaves them in the lurch in nothing. We thank the Saviour that he gives us such help in them and through them, which is a great relief for us, for if we had to do every thing we should not be equal to the task.

Sunday, 8. After the communion liturgy, in which the brethren were admonished, now that they are going out for their autumn hunt, and will be scattered in the bush, to take with them as food what they have received and enjoyed, and to watch over it as a precious treasure, so that towards Christmas they may come together again with joyful and blessed hearts, and lose nothing thereof, Br. Michael preached, and in the afternoon in the service the little daughter of Samuel Nanticoke's grandchild, Jael, was baptized with the name Charlotte. White people were present at the services, who, the next day,

Monday, 9, travelled on, getting Isaac as pilot to the Fort. In the early service from the text: Where two or three are gathered together in my name, etc., Br. David told the brethren that now they could attend to their hunting, that they should indeed take with them the Saviour as their companion when they were in the bush; they should hunt and do all their work walking with him, and he gave them forty days therefor. Br. Edwards went down to John Askin, Jr., who came into the river yesterday with his ship, and will trade with our Indians, buying corn and cattle.

Wednesday, 11. The assistants made peace between Lewis and Esther. A. Elizabeth was again received, who came again to her husband.

Thursday, 12. David held early service. Yesterday and to-day nearly all the Indians went off hunting. Many strange Indians were here, who are on their way hunting, remaining several days. Many who had cattle, left them here in charge of our Indian brethren through the winter for pay. Thus it is with Indians; they like to have cattle, but as they move about almost the whole year hunting, it is hard for them, they cannot take care of them. Therefore many for this reason like to live here, being weary of wandering about, for they see that our Indians in their manner of life fare better than themselves, and have no lack of the means of life, and if they come to our town, they find all sorts of things to buy.

Friday, 13. Br. Edwards, who held the early service, and Br. Michael Jung went down to Askin's ship to buy some flour. Several Indians drove hogs there, for which they took clothing in payment.

Sunday, 15. Br. Edwards preached. There were to-day, as there have been all the week every day and night continuously, thunder-storms and rain. Many strangers have been here lately and are still here, who come for the sake of food, for among the Indians corn is nowhere to be found. In the quarter-hour for the married in the evening Charles, William Henry's son, was married to Benigna Nanticoke, both before unmarried.

Monday, 16. Still always rain and snow, on which account there was no early service. Late in the evening came Susanna Minque here for a visit, who came to see us the next morning. Some white people from Detroit arrived, who were going to Pittsburg.

Tuesday, 17. David held early service from the text: Ye shall be witnesses unto me, etc. The weather cleared up and was very cold.

Wednesday, 18. Edwards held early service.

Thursday, 19. Michael held early service, and then went down to Askin, who sails to-day in his ship for Detroit. Susanna Minque spoke with us and asked for advice, what she could do to come again to the church with her children, to whom and to her we spoke plainly and directly.

Friday, 20. David held early service from the Scripture-verse: I have loved thee with an everlasting love, etc. The Quaker who traded here came back from Detroit.

Saturday, 21. A boat came from over the lake with French people, and another below here in the river, to pass the winter, for our Indians promised to build a house for him.

Sunday, 22. David preached of the advent of the Saviour for judgment after his advent in the flesh. There were snow-squalls all day long.

Tuesday, 24. Various Indians arrived, but all only for the sake of food and corn. The Frenchmen bought it at a dollar a bushel, which they take to Detroit, and our Indians got clothing therefor, which also they were forced to.

Thursday, 26. David held early service. Text: I seek not mine own will, but the will of the Father, etc. The assistants spoke with some strangers, asking what their plans were, and why they were here and stayed so long, so that they might not get established here. We heard also that the Tawa chief, Ekuschuwe, was on the way here, and soon to be expected.

Friday, 27. Edwards held early service. Text: Behold, I come quickly, etc., about being ready for his advent, wherever we have to ask our hearts assiduously.

Saturday, 28. Michael held early service: Thy faith

hath saved thee, etc., that the faith, which the Holy Ghost works, is mighty and strong with those who are spiritually poor.

Sunday, 29. Michael preached from the Epistle about the incarnation of our Lord and Saviour, who is revealed in the flesh, which mystery is concealed from the wise and prudent and revealed to the simple. David held the congregation meeting from the text : This is the work of 'God, that ye believe in him whom he hath sent. We heard again the old Chippewa stories, which are again revived and circulated among the brethren.

Monday, 30. Edwards held early service : It is not for you to know the time or the occasion.

Tuesday, Dec. 1. Michael, from : Blessed are the poor in spirit, etc. An Indian, Elizabeth's sister, with her children, came here visiting, and several others. Anna Elizabeth spoke with us, showing her perplexity about the forgiveness of her sins against the Saviour and the church.

Wednesday, 2. David held early service : No man knoweth the Son, but the Father ; neither knoweth any man the Father, save the Son.

Thursday, 3. Edwards held early service : Every tree is known by his own fruit, etc.

Sunday, 6. Edwards preached from the Gospel about the advent of the Saviour for judgment, wherefore we should be ready to receive him with joy, since then the redemption of believers draws nigh. David held the congregation meeting from the text : Behold, I make all things new, that our chief care should be that we are renewed in spirit and put on Christ, be made into new men, and be born again through his blood ; but that heaven and earth shall pass away and be no more, this to leave to him, who after having brought about our redemption by his blood, went in his majesty to prepare a place for us. From Gige-yunk came Louisa with Lydia's daughter, an unbaptized woman, who as a child lived in the church, and afterwards married a Twightwee Indian, but since she always longed to come again to the church, she made herself free and at last is come hither.

Monday, 7. Louisa came to tell us her wish to live here. On this occasion we heard that several families of our Indians in Gigéyunk would come to us in the spring, for instance, Sara, Gideon's former wife, with her children, Regina and Philippina. We know from experience that it is best to act as if we no longer took notice of them. For years, by every opportunity, we sent them word and greeting, of which they often made bad use and were ill-inclined, as if we wanted to entice them to us and get them here, so that they might fall into the hands of the white people and be destroyed. Therefore we have for some time stopped all this, and not once sent them greeting, but if any one of them has come here, we have shown him that we would force no one to come to us, if he were not so disposed of himself, but whoever came in the poverty of his heart, him we would not refuse. As it seems, this will have the best effect in making them sooner thoughtful. David held early service: Inasmuch as ye have done it, etc.

Tuesday, 8. Michael held early service. John Leeth, Peter, and David, the Indian, went out with goods—for Squirrel (a Frenchman) in the bush.

Friday, 11. Various strange Indians have come here the last few days from their hunting-camps, among them Boaz' brothers, one of whom came to Br. David, asked him many things, and among other things, whether indeed he would be received and get leave if he wished to live here. He was told that if he were really in earnest to be saved and to renounce his heathenish life of sin, at least willing to be free therefrom, he would not be refused. He replied that he was unmarried, and having heard that such were not readily received, he had been cautious about persisting from fear of rejection; he was twenty-eight or nine years old, and had remained single and did not wish to marry; he had, therefore, doubts about being received as an unmarried man, or that he would be compelled to marry. Since he was so straightforward and gave sufficient reason, Br. David told him that he compelled no one to marry against his will, who could give

good reasons, only he must live in a quiet and orderly way and keep away from women. He said farther: "Why has God permitted that his children—he called them his children—on the Muskingum to be murdered? Why has he not pitied them and prevented the murder?" Answer: "God at times grants wicked men their will and lets it happen. Those who perished on the Muskingum have lost nothing thereby; they have been rescued from much trouble and sorrow and are now with God, where all is well forever and would no more come back if they could." As he had his hunting-hut hardly a day's journey away, Br. David asked him here for the Christmas holidays. This pleased him much, and he said he would come here in eight days with his mother and brother.

Sunday, 13. Br. David preached from the Gospel about John in prison and Br. Edwards held the congregation meeting. From elsewhere and from Gigejunk we heard that a Delaware messenger was come back from the Spaniards with news for the Indians conjointly, that next spring a great treaty would be held with the nations on the Miami, and from this news it appears as if the Spanish and French on the Mississippi would appear at the treaty, who would be the means of bringing about a stable peace between the nations and the States. We also learned that two hundred warriors, Twightwees and Shawanese, had gone out against the States, in spite of the chiefs and captains, after their sending messages to them and earnestly forbidding them. They would not obey; whereupon the chiefs at once sent word to the Muskingum, giving them leave and freedom to do with the warriors whatever they would, or to kill them all, if they wished.

Tuesday, 15. The brethren put together corn for the church love-feasts for the coming year, so also tallow for lights in the chapel.

Wednesday, 16. The brethren have lately and to-day in part come home from hunting. William, who has been away several weeks, met on his way home strange Indians, who asked him how long it was to Christmas. They knew how to give him the precise number of days till

then, for lately many strangers have always been going to and fro, who have found out about this.

Friday, 18. The hunters contributed pelts for the common expenses, such as tea for the love-feasts.

Sunday, 20. Michael preached and David held the congregation meeting. The assistants spoke with Louisa, Helen's sister, a widow, and with Lydia's daughter, an unbaptized woman, who as a child lived in the church, but is now a grown woman. Both are lately come from Gigejunk, and upon their request were received to be dwellers here. At the same time measures were taken with the assistants to enlarge the chapel, which is become too small and narrow, and to make an addition to it before the holidays, wherewith also,

Monday, 21, they went at once to work, and Tuesday, 22, had finished it. Isaac came from the Fort. No letters.

Wednesday, 23. The assistants spoke with Mary Elizabeth, Jun., who again got leave to be here, for which she asked, although she had not been away, but she had been ordered to go away from here. They also spoke with John Cook's son and his wife, between whom trouble had arisen, and reconciled them.

Thursday, 24. We began Christmas with a love-feast, rejoiced in God, our Saviour, in his holy incarnation and birth, and brought to him our thank-offerings that the eternal God had clad himself in our poor flesh and blood and had made us aware of his boundless love for us, poor, lost men, for which upon our knees we adored the Infant Jesus in his manger. At the end candles were given the children. The many tears of those present were a proof of the little Jesus' recognition of us, his miserable people. A multitude of Indians had come from the bush, so that, although we had made our chapel a good deal larger and thought there would be room enough, it was as if this helped little or not at all, for it was packed full, and yet all could not get in who wanted to.

Friday, 25. Br. Edwards preached from the text: Unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given, to a great multitude of strangers. In the second service from the



Scripture-verse, three were buried in Jesus' death by holy baptism, with the names Joel, Joseph, and Zipporah, the last John Cook's wife, by Brs. Edwards, Michael, and David, whereto the Holy Trinity showed itself mighty, and whereby strangers as well as inhabitants shed many a tear. [Joseph's stepmother wished to lead him away in a crafty manner a few days ago, and said to him he should go a part of the way with her and show her the way in the bush, but he answered her: "The way which thou goest, thou knowest best, but I not." ] By the preaching of the Gospel to the heathen is fulfilled what stands written: Praise the Lord, all ye heathen, for the savages who also come hither see the work of God and hear what he has done for them, praise him therefor and with him adore the Infant Jesus in the manger, who is God eternal, Father, and Maker of all things. In the service for the baptized from the text: Before Abraham was, I am, Anna Elizabeth was absolved, who several months ago left the church, but could not bear it, and came back again, and then her child, with whom she was pregnant when she went away, was baptized with the name Lucy, two months old.

Saturday, 26. Michael held early service. The brethren, John Leeth, Peter, and others came home.

Sunday, 27. David preached from Gal., iv., 4: But when the fulness of the time was come, God sent forth his Son, made of a woman, and then (David) held the communion quarter-hour, which he announced for Wednesday. Several, yesterday and the day before, expressed their wish for baptism and reception into the church.

Tuesday, 29. The assistants arranged dissensions between Charles and Benigna.

Wednesday, 30. After the brethren had been spoken to yesterday, the day before, and to-day, the communicants enjoyed his body and blood in the holy sacrament in the most blessed way, whereof Louisa, Helen's daughter, partook for the first time. Nicholas and Anna Maria, Joachim's wife, were readmitted after receiving absolution. John Cook, and young Joachim, were candidates. The joy of the brethren over Nicholas, whom the Saviour

fully restored again, is not to be described. About a week before he had spoken with Br. David very openly and thoroughly, what the reason and occasion had been of his leaving the church in the year '77, whereto he was led together with Jacob Gendaskund, who was made chief, and the former became captain, of all which the well-known Indian preacher, Wangomen, of Goschgoschünk, was cause.

Thursday, 31. In the morning, to the communion liturgy, Nicholas came full of thankfulness of heart, with eyes full of tears, over the great grace the Saviour had done him, that he had taken the burden from his heart, which oppressed him, as he said, had forgiven him all and again loaded him with grace, so that he said it was as if something great had come to him so that he was quite ashamed. An upright, dear old man, whom we love. The Saviour be praised and adored therefor.

We closed the year with a love-feast. At this was present such a number of Delawares and Chippewas that our chapel was much too small, and many had to stand outside. It was well that the weather was mild, for thus far we have had no snow that has not melted. We found also in the past year many reasons for bringing praise and thanks to the Saviour, and to our dear Father in heaven, for the manifold kindnesses he has done us, and for all the goodness we have enjoyed from his mild hand outwardly and inwardly, and for the blessed care and watchfulness which he has shown for us, for soon after we made our blessed entrance into the new year we were always hearing rumors of preparation for war among the Indians; and when spring opened, and the time for planting drew near, we were ourselves in doubt whether we could plant here, but we got directions from our Saviour to make no change, wherein afterward also we were strengthened by the Tawa chief, who encouraged us to plant in comfort, which we did, although many Indians, when they came here and saw our brethren so industriously at work, asked whether they expected then to harvest and enjoy any thing of this.

They had their time with their lying tales, now they suffer want, and we can yet share with them.

The numerous and frequent visits of savages through the summer have not been without fruit. Many have remained affected by the church service, and many have heard the Gospel of God's plan for salvation, which will bring forth fruit in its own time. It is and must always remain to us a great and weighty thing that the Saviour has opened a door for us and made for us a place in the Indian land, where the word about his sufferings and atonement is openly preached, and many will yet hear and receive it to their eternal good.

We can also thank the Saviour that he again brings to us, little by little, out of their error, our scattered and dispersed former brethren, restores them again and makes them sharers of the church's grace, and that will be fulfilled in them: the grayer the sinner the more mightily grace prevails, and God's mercy over them, if they come to the church.

Brs. Heckewelder and Abraham Steiner made us heartily joyful in May by a visit of eleven days from Bethlehem, which was very pleasant for us. They went back there the 1st of June.

The holidays, Easter, Whitsuntide, Christmas, etc., were days blessed by the Lord, which have always contributed somewhat to the brethren.

For all, especially for his recognition of us and his walking among us, and for what we have already forgotten, we thanked him upon our knees, begged forgiveness of our transgressions and shortcomings, which we confessed to him, and gave ourselves anew to his care, to the conduct and oversight of the Holy Ghost, and commended our affair, which is also his affair and work, and ourselves, to his grace, so that his holy name by us may become known and glorified among the heathen to the honor of God, the Father.

There were baptized this year—

|                |    |
|----------------|----|
| Adults.....    | 16 |
| Children ..... | 10 |

|  |                |
|--|----------------|
| Taken into the church.....   | 5              |
| Admitted to the Lord's supper.....   | 20             |
| Married.....   | Three couples. |
| There have died—   |                |
| Adults.....  | 5              |
| Children .....   | 3              |
| At present there are living here 34 couples<br>of married people and 2 single persons,<br>among whom 6 are unbaptized..... | 70             |
| Unmarried men (3 unbaptized).....  | 10             |
| Unmarried women (1 unbaptized).....  | 8              |
| Widowers .....   | 3              |
| Widows (2 unbaptized).....   | 13             |
| Big boys (5 unbaptized).....   | 9              |
| Big girls (1 unbaptized).....  | 9              |
| Boys.....  | 29             |
| Girls.....   | 33             |
| Total.....   | 184            |

69 of whom are communion brethren, 19 more than at the close of last year.

## CHAPTER X.

1790.

NEW SALEM, ON THE HURON RIVER, OHIO.

Friday, Jan. 1. Br. Edwards delivered at the usual time the sermon from the Gospel about the name of Jesus, who is our Redeemer. In the second service from the Scripture-verse: I am the Lord, your God, dwelling in Zion, about his blessed rule in his church, which he has acquired by his own blood, whereto from time to time out of heathenism he collects his chosen as a reward for his sufferings, and makes them sharers of his merits and of the salvation gained for us, by forgiving their sins and washing them with his blood and giving them power to be God's children, who believe in his name, etc. Three were buried in Jesus' death by the bath of holy baptism, with the names Benjamin, Anna Rosina, and Justine, by Brs. Michael, Edwards, and David, whereby the Holy Trinity showed itself mighty and there was a reverential feeling. After the baptized had worshipped, received the blessing, and been led from the chapel, a child was baptized with the name Mark, the son of Simon and Jacobine. In conclusion the baptized had a service from the text: Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world, about the blessed intercourse and acquaintance with the Saviour, which was recommended and praised to the brethren, that they should be earnest for it, which would be for them the most blessed thing and preserve them, body and soul. At the end they exchanged the kiss of peace. Many strangers, Chippewas and Delawares, came to wish us Happy New Year, in order to get something, and thus they took home from town great quantities of bread, corn, and all sorts of things. This comes about from their custom of so doing with the

French in Detroit. Different brethren had for their baptism-day love-feasts, as also yesterday.

Sunday, 3. Michael preached from the Gospel about the Saviour's flight into Egypt and of the murder of the innocents at Bethlehem. David conducted the children's hour, whom he admonished not to hear in vain the word about our Saviour's incarnation, passion, and death, for many others have not the good fortune to hear it, but to make good use of it. Br. Edwards held the congregation meeting from the text: Neither pray I for these alone, etc. The weather was as fine and warm as in spring. We have yet had no snow, and the sisters brought us flowers from the bush, which is not usual at this time of year.

Wednesday, 6. Early at morning-prayer we begged from the Saviour of the heathen his recognition, near presence, and blessing for the day, thinking also of the other heathen churches. In the second service the text of to-day: Go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, was considered and realized, and three were buried in Jesus' death, through the bath of holy baptism, and brought to the church, whose names are Verona, Zachaeus, and James, by Brs. David, Edwards, and Michael. The first is John Cook's daughter-in-law, whose husband had always before laid upon her the blame that he could not be converted, since she had no desire therefor, but when Br. David spoke with him, telling him his wife would be baptized, and therefore he should like to know his mind about it, and whether he would not also find it needful to be washed from sin, he was dumb and could not answer a word. This will give him occasion to find blame within himself. The second is the Indian who came here from Oswego by way of Niagara, Detroit, and Gigejunk, naked and bare, bringing nothing with him except the Indian hackey,<sup>1</sup> otherwise neither blanket nor stockings, neither shirt nor shoe, neither knife, musket, hatchet, nor kettle.

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<sup>1</sup>In Zeisberger's Delaware Indian Spelling-Book hackey is given with the meaning, body. The word occurs again under Aug. 24, 1791.

Afterwards was a love-feast, and then something was said to the brethren about the history of the day (Epiphany) and its purpose; wherefore it is noteworthy, since the wise men from the East came and worshipped him. In conclusion the baptized had a service and gave thanks with joyful hearts for the blessing this day enjoyed.

Thursday, 7. Michael held early service. We wrote to-day to Bethlehem. Indians arrived with brandy, which they willingly, however, gave over to our charge.

Friday, 8. The Quaker went to the Fort, by whom we sent letters to Bethlehem. The brothers spoke with a big boy, whom his elder brother brought here, and who wished to live in the church, and confessed to the brothers he would like to be saved, therefore wishing to be in the church, for which he got leave, after they had found out his elder brother's mind and satisfaction thereover. As a little boy he had often been in the church, now and then, on the Muskingum. Then the assistants asked the elder at last whether he did not think the same also about himself and also wished to be saved. He answered: "Yes, indeed, I think about it, and therefore I am pleased and let my brother be in the church. Perhaps sometime it will be my lot also to come to the church, but now I have many hinderances in the way."

Saturday, 9. Gertrude's daughter and her husband came here with liquor, which they gave to our charge. Pemitschischen visited him and they greeted each other. The stranger observed carefully our town, and the former, still unbaptized, spoke with him like a brother.

Sunday, 10. Br. Michael preached from the Gospel: When Jesus was twelve years old. Then the boys had a blessed service, who were exhorted and admonished to follow after the boy, Jesus, to take him for model and example, and to strive to be as he was, to learn obedience, thus would they also find grace with God and men. In the congregation meeting from the text: Except a man be born of water and of the spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God, two grown girls were taken into the church.

Monday, 11. Several brothers and sisters went to Sandusky to see Luke's daughter, Pauline, and if possible to bring her here, whom we heard to be paralytic and to be wasting away from hunger, and her child too, of which she had been there delivered. From the cold she must freeze, having no clothes, of which her disobedience is the cause, all exhortation and admonition having been fruitless with her. Thus must they suffer for their disobedience, but when we see them in their misery we must needs have compassion upon them and help them. We have had two or three illustrations of this since we have been here, that people by their disobedience have put themselves in great misery, and then again have turned back and taken refuge in the church. Otherwise would certain strangers, John Cook's daughter, for instance, be advised to go farther, for we see they cause discontent here.

Tuesday, 12. A fine snow having fallen, the first also this winter, many deer were brought to town. The whisky-people went away.

Wednesday, 13. Strangers were always here, who remained during the winter, having themselves nothing to eat.

Friday, 15. Pauline, Luke's daughter, was brought here, sick, with her child, which late in the evening was baptized with the name Gottfried, who that night, the morning after, died, and was buried on the 17th.

Sunday, 17. David preached about the righteousness which God has revealed through faith in Jesus Christ, that we by faith and not on account of our works become righteous and blessed. In the afternoon the child, Gottfried, was buried, on which occasion our young people were admonished to take it for an example, and to think what ill results disobedience draws after itself, since, when they do not wish to be ruled by God's spirit, but rather give heed to their own spirit, which is worthless, they are sacrificed, since they will so have it, doing that which is of no use, and thereby coming outwardly to the greatest misery.

Tuesday, 19. Different brethren went out to their sugar-



huts to make preparations, some also hunting; strange Indians from the bush came here, who attended the meetings.

Friday, 22. David held early service from the text: I am the light of the world.

Saturday, 23. Michael held early service: If a man love me, he will keep my words. A strange Indian, who has already been here several days, Boaz' brother, came to Br. David, who asked him if he was going away, and got for answer that he must go to a feast in the neighborhood, to which he was invited. Br. David replied that he would get no good from it; the Indians, as he well knew, believed in the like things and sacrifices which helped them not at all; they had among themselves nothing of the word of God, and whence should they know what availed for their salvation? they were dull of sight and did the works of Satan and of darkness, and that too willingly. He said he would not speak against him and dispute about this, whether it was really true. David answered: "I also not. My disposition is not to dispute, but I speak the truth. Who has not the Saviour, who is life, who does not know him, and is not acquainted with him, he is in darkness, and does the deeds of darkness and of Satan, and is lost." He said there were many here who did not so live, that he saw from their conduct. Answer: "I know that well, but they are yet right in this, that they wish to live for the Saviour, and therefore, since they would like to, they have a Saviour. Thou, however, exaltest thyself, and thinkest to be better, but thou hast no Saviour, for thou wantest none, and actest thus still worse, for thou knowest not the Saviour, who has bought us with his blood, and by whom we get forgiveness of our sins and life eternal. Thou lookest merely upon others, but how bad it is within thyself thou dost not see. Look into thine own heart and search if thou canst find any thing good, certainly nothing but filth, and if thou art aware of it, go then to the Saviour, who has poured out his blood for such for the forgiveness of sins. Ask him to have mercy upon thee.

Thus thou wilt have no time to look upon others, but enough to do with thyself."

Sunday, 24. Edwards preached, thereupon was the communion quarter-hour, which was announced to the brethren for next Saturday. Towards evening was the burial of the child, Mark, who died yesterday, twenty-three days old. A woman, baptized Sophia, the only surviving daughter of the late Jacob Gendaskund, for in Schönbrunn he went from the church, and his whole family has died, came here and desired to live in the church, but her husband, half Shawano and half Tutelee, the worst mixture of Indians, had no wish, saying he would not become a believer, nor hear any thing about it. With him the brothers talked much, and it went so far that they wanted to separate, and there was trouble that they should not do this here. Thus also Pipe's son has been here a considerable time with his wife, who cannot make up his mind, although his wife, who would like to be in the church, always urges him, and he can give no excuse for not making up his mind, save that he has no children, and perhaps he makes this a reason for leaving her. His wife replied to him about this: "How comes it that thou now first thinkest about this, thou hast known it for many years already, but hast never reproached me until now, when we are with the believers, with whom I should like to remain?" Thus we usually find it; if Indians come here, begin to think about conversion, and wish to be in the church, then they find so many difficulties of which they never before had thought, and when, even before they have lived together quite contentedly, dissension begins, so that they wish to separate, and we have labor to keep them together, all which is the work of Satan, who well knows that if he can sow and cause discontent, nothing will come of their conversion.

Monday, 25. Michael held early service from the Scripture-verse: The Lord stirred up the spirit of all the remnant of the people: and they came and did work on the house of the Lord, etc. A woman, related to Pipe, with her daughter, who have already been here ten days, begged

for the baptism of a sick child, whose mother, the daughter of this old woman, died last summer, and upon her sick-bed had much wished to be brought to Pettquotting to the believers, where she wished to die, and when this could not be done, she wished very much that this, her child, might still be brought to the church. Pipe had also advised them to bring the child to the believers, perhaps some one there would take it and care for it. The woman and her daughter promised never to take the child from the church, but they said they would themselves like to live here with it, a proof that Pettquotting preaches more among the Indians than is known to us, for these people were unknown to us and strangers, and to our knowledge have never been here. The child, which was about a year and a quarter old, and already quite wasted, was baptized this evening with the name Lea, in the presence of her grandmother and many brethren, whereby a blessed feeling of the Saviour's recognition prevailed. After the baptism the child's grandmother thanked us repeatedly for the pity we had for her and her grandchild, and she is a savage. The Indian brethren present were much affected, and praised God.

Tuesday, 26. In the early service from the text: Go out into the highways—and compel them to come in, etc., the little son of Jacob and Christina, born yesterday evening, was baptized into Jesus' death with the name Martin. To the 25th belongs what follows: The brothers, Samuel and Abraham, remained after the baptism of the child yet a long time there, talking with the grandmother and friends of the child. She said that a year ago, after Pipe came back from the treaty on the Muskingum, he had once had all his friends and Indians come together, and had said to them that he knew nothing better in the world to advise them, which would be most advantageous for them and their children, than to go to Pettquotting to the believing Indians, and to be content to live as they lived. This would be best for them, and they would have a quiet and good life. Another time he said to them

again, when they were together, that they should not look to him, whoever wished should go to the believers; he would hinder nobody, and were they his own friends it would please him so much the more; to be sure he was chief, but a poor chief could be helpful to them in nothing; they should not depend upon him. He did not see of what use the chieftainship was to him, and would like to be quite rid of it. "Look to Pettquotting; there is now one who was a great chief (Gelelemend), with whom I have myself often taken counsel. He has now made himself free, given up his chieftainship, and has chosen something better in its place. Things are now well with him, and he has a right pleasant life, whose example I will follow." Whereupon one of the company replied, that he should only make the beginning, and go before, they would all follow. He answered: "I am getting ready for it. I must first make myself free, and this cannot be quickly done, but whoever will go, to him I say: Thou dost well."

Wednesday, 27. The child Lea, baptized day before yesterday, departed early in the day, who,

Thursday, 28, was buried.

Saturday, 30. After the brethren had been spoken to for several days, the communicants enjoyed the Lord's supper in his near presence, where these looked on as candidates, namely, David, Joachim, and Levi, and one, Joachim, Sr., who had been without it for eight years, wandering around in error, was readmitted, to the great joy of all the brethren. Since he has been here he has depended upon his own righteousness, and always represented himself to the brethren as pure, since, as he said, he had not forgotten the Saviour, nor had he joined in the heathen ways and customs, but had remained by himself, and it was hard to make him see that the near walk with the Saviour and God's peace were lacking to him, until Br. David said to him: "But yet thou knowest the Saviour's word when he says: Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man and drink his blood, ye have no life in you, and this thou hast not enjoyed for many years. How couldst thou remain strong inwardly, when thou hadst to

do without the nourishment and strength which are given us in the holy communion, and wherefrom we have life in our hearts?" Hereupon he burst into tears, and replied: "Ah! it was deception. I thought I had something, but my heart was empty. I thought I had something, but if then I tried to seize it and sought for it, I found nothing. It was as if I grasped for a shadow." We have always found that it is the hardest with those who have once been assistants and come again to the church, since consciousness of sin is not so easy for them.

Sunday, 31. After the communion liturgy Br. Michael preached from the Gospel about Christ's transfiguration. In the afternoon meeting from to-day's text: If thou wouldst believe, thou shouldst see the Glory of God, the son of Renatus, the Mohican, sixteen years old, was baptized with the name John Adam, and a grown girl, Beata, Johanna's daughter, was taken into the church, whereby many strange Indians were present, and very attentive listeners. The reception of children, baptized in the church, which now happens pleasingly often with us, is a very necessary thing for our youth, upon which a real blessing rests, so that we experience great joy in the youth of our folk. It is no common pleasure, and awakens much praise and thankfulness to the Saviour, to see such a number of unmarried people of either sex, grown boys and girls, who have been baptized, taken into the church, and many admitted to the Lord's supper, and to see how the strength of the body and blood of Jesus is manifested in them.

Monday, Feb. 1. Edwards held early service. Afterwards there came two messengers from the Tawa chief, Ekuschuwe, with the following message, for he could not himself come, as he had much wished, being lame, which he announced: "Grandfather, a year ago I closed thine ears, so that thou shouldst not listen to others, who brought lies to thee, but I told thee thou shouldst wait until thou shouldst again hear from me. Now I open thine ears again, and thou wilt again hear me. I let thee know that we, Tawas, Chippewas, and Potawatomes, arranged together in the autumn to sit still, to look after our food and

hunting, and not trouble ourselves about the Shawanese, who alone are out in war. We will let them act. They may see where finally they will remain. Thereby the nations have likewise thought on their grandfather and the believers in Pettquotting, and have said: 'Our grandfather will be glad to hear that we are peacefully disposed,' and they have charged me to inform thee of this, which now I do. Also Alexander McKee, in Detroit, has shown his satisfaction at this, that we had resolved to let thee know this, and has said that thou hadst nothing to do with war, and lovedst peace and livedst in peace. But I must tell thee something, grandfather, though I do it not very willingly, for I see thou art well established where thou art, but if war should again arise, thou art just in the way of the warriors, who will make their march through thy place, when disasters of all sorts can happen to thee, therefore I should prefer to have thee nearer me, that thou mayst be out of the way of danger, but I must also tell thee I am too much in my dotage<sup>1</sup> to have thee near me, for our young people would do thee much harm, shooting thy cattle and the like. So long, therefore, as it is well where thou art, and if peace remains, it will not be needful, but should war arise, it must needs come to this. I do not therefore, say it shall happen, I announce it only beforehand. Thou canst think about it. The reason of my telling thee this is that we have got a message from the Spanish governór, which wonderfully sounds as if he would come to Detroit next summer, which circumstance gives us much anxiety. Since I did not quite hear the message, I can say and mark out nothing certain. As soon as I hear more of it I will let thee know." N. B. How the message sounded, about which we had doubts.

Tuesday, 2. Michael held early service from the text: My sheep hear my voice, etc. The brethren made a beginning of going to their sugar-camp. Here the brethren got corn together for families lately come here to live, who have planted nothing.

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<sup>1</sup>The Bethlehem MS. supplies a word here, which in this diary is unintelligible.

Wednesday, 3. David held early service. The assistants spoke with John Henry and his wife, likewise with Renatus' two daughters, Cornelia and Mary Elizabeth, about their bad conduct, letting them know that we could no longer have patience with them, and be content merely to observe them.

Thursday, 4. Gabriel, who has been here a considerable time, but has always wished to get away, but could not, came now to Br. David and announced his wish to live here altogether, and to remain with the church. He is deaf, hears with difficulty, but yet in the meetings understood one word, which went to his heart, namely, that many times people were not disinclined to be converted, they are disposed thereto, but wish for a while to do and to prefer only this or that, lose their time thereover, and often their eternal weal and salvation.

From the bush came John Leeth and Cook home, who have been away trading for the Frenchman, Huno. Quite a large number of strangers came to town also.

Friday, 5. By Nicholas, who got in from the Fort late in the evening, we had letters both of September and of December of last year, at the same time we learned from a note of the arrival in Bethlehem of Br. Ettwein with his company from Europe; with these letters we busied and refreshed ourselves in the evening.

Saturday, 6. David held early service from the text: I am the way, the truth, and the life. This afternoon old Beata departed, after a long illness, right blessedly. Pauline, Cornelius' daughter, gave birth to a son.

Sunday, 7. David delivered the sermon, at which a goodly number of strangers were present, as also in the afternoon at the burial of the old widow, Beata, Luke's mother, who departed yesterday in peace. She was a widow and among the first of those who came in the year '68 to the brothers at Goschgoschünk (on the Alleghany River). She was baptized Jan. 25, '69, in Lawunakhannek (three miles above Gosch.), and Nov. 3, '71, came to the enjoyment of the holy communion in Languntoutenünk (on the Beaver River). She walked blessedly so long as

she was in the church. In the year '83 she came to us again on the Huron River, after the scattering of the Indian church, with her son and five grandchildren, and then in the spring of '86 to Cuyahoga, when from confusion and pretended fear of the white people she left the church and was away more than a half-year, though we could excuse her, from her age and helplessness, that she went with her family. But when the following spring, in '87, she came again to the church, it was found she had gone far from the Saviour, and it was hard with her to become a conscious sinner, to come to grace and to have a reconciled heart. Yet the Saviour showed her mercy, that she learned to know herself as a sinner, who had strayed from him and lost him from her eyes, and as such she sought forgiveness from him and found it too. She came again, May 10, '88, to the enjoyment of the Lord's supper, and was from that time a blessed heart, passing her days in the church quite content, attending all the meetings, though walking was hard and difficult for her. She often said: "I like to live in the church and for a long time, if the Saviour will so have it, but if he will have me go to him I shall go also willingly to him." About a week ago she lay down ill. When she was asked if she thought she should die, she answered yes, that she thought so, and should go quite willingly; she wanted to go to the Saviour. Thus she peacefully died, with the blessing of the church. Many who have always seen and known her reckon her age about a hundred, but nothing childish was to be observed in her.

Monday, 8. Edwards held early service. The assistants had to-day a day of work all day long with John Cock's house, wherewith we have always trouble, and in this may the Saviour be pleased to help us. Gabriel, who came here last autumn, and has always wished to go away, has now resolved and asked to live again in the church, for which he got leave, after both he and his wife, who is again a communion sister, had been spoken with.

Tuesday, 9. Michael held early service. Then the assistants spoke with old Ruth's son and his wife. Both



came here last September with her old mother, but went away and now came back again. He was born in Friedenshütten, and when a child, baptized. Now he asks to live in the church, promising to be obedient to the brothers, whereto they got leave, not only on their personal account, but also for the sake of the old, helpless woman. Another Indian, Titawachkam's son, came two days ago out of the bush, from his father's hunting-lodge, and announced his wish to live with the church. Upon all sorts of questions, which were put to him, and which he answered very understandingly, Br. David asked him whether his father had been made aware that he wished to live here. He replied in the affirmative, that already a long time ago and just now when he left him, but that he had given no answer. He said he did not look to nor listen to his father, but wished to care for himself and his own soul. When it was afterwards said to him, he might well reflect upon it, that he might not afterwards repent what he had done, since people sometimes came here, asked to be in the church, promised much and then went their own way, he answered he had only too long considered already, for if he had sooner given heed to the request in his heart, that would not have come upon him, for which he must now suffer. He had been here at Christmas, when he heard that people many times had a call in their hearts and wished also to become believers, but thought first to attend to this and to that, thereby losing their time and often their eternal salvation; he had first wished to make a prosperous hunt and bring something for himself, had sunk into a swamp while hunting in the bush, and had not only soaked every thing, but had suffered in his whole body from freezing, from which he was not yet well; therefore he wished to delay no longer. He had no intention of going away from here, if only the brothers permitted him to be in the church. The assistants made him acquainted with our regulations, and said to him that we would first seek out a place where he could be and live, though giving him our permission to

live here. Last year he had been with Col. Morgan<sup>1</sup> to the Spaniards on the Mississippi, coming back from there last summer.

Wednesday, 10. When we had already been busy two days with the aid of the assistants in making peace between Cook's son, who wanted to leave his wife, and her, for she is now baptized, but could not attain our object, it is to-day known that he has gone away; against this we had nothing, for he had no disposition to live here. Thus it is if people come to the church only for their friends' sake, having no inclination for the Saviour; thence come war and discontent, so that married people separate, which before they would not have done, nor have thought of doing. Now also it will become plain with his wife whether she has a good mind and is upright. We have longed used patience with the family, and have always wished to help them, but could not well see where to take hold; now the Saviour will take hold of them and help, to our consolation. There came again a family and announced their wish to live here. The brothers had once spoken with the husband in the winter, on account of his long stay here, when he answered that he did not intend to remain, but to go away in the spring, though it might be otherwise with him. He was advised to agree with his wife about this, so that if he were spoken to by the assistants, he could give answer.

Friday, 12. At the early service the little son of Pauline, Cornelius' daughter, born on the 6th Inst., was baptized John Lewis, after the old man had been spoken

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<sup>1</sup> Col. Geo. Morgan, of New Jersey, was sent to New York by a land company in that State to negotiate the purchase of a large tract of land in Illinois from the Continental Congress. While there he became acquainted with the inducements Gardaquí (a Spaniard) was offering to emigrants from the United States, and determined to transfer his negotiations from the confederacy to Spain. . . . His memorial was forwarded to the Spanish court, and a grant of some twelve to fifteen millions of acres was conceded to him. In the spring of 1788 Morgan passed down the river," where he founded New Madrid. Albach's Western Annals, p. 505. Though Zeisberger was writing in 1790, there can be little doubt that by last year he meant 1788.

with, for her husband is unbaptized, so that the child might not be taken from the church.

Sunday, 14. Br. Edwards preached at the entrance of passion-time. In the service for the married, the widowers and widows, from to-day's Scripture-verse, Abraham, Jun., and Anna Regina, the daughter of Johanna's sister, Charlotte, were married, after which in the evening the friends and the assistants had a pleasant love-feast with the new couple.

Tuesday, 16. Edwards held early service about the word of God, our daily food and nourishment. We had to-day a hard day, partly on account of Verona, whose husband has left her, partly on account of Benigna, who was in the same way of leaving her husband, which was prevented in time and she was brought back again. Samuel with others went out hunting, but many others to their sugar-huts.

Wednesday, 17. From much rain the last two days the river rose so much as to put all our fields under water. Samuel, who from the impulse of his heart turned about and came back, found great disturbance in his house and family, so that the next morning his two daughters left the church, who for several days have given us much trouble, perplexity, and uneasiness. They came,

Saturday, 20, back again, and kept themselves there in the neighborhood, finding they had been deceived, but here they had so gone astray that they dared not come back, for to Br. David they had behaved too badly and shamefully.

Thursday, 18. Early service from the text: My Father worketh hitherto and I work, about his rule in the church, for he often puts it in order, making manifest false hearts and putting liars out of the church, and he purifies it of all which is useless, and sweeps it away, and this is fidelity from him.

Sunday, 21. Michael preached and David held the congregation meeting. Very few brethren had come

home. The ice in the river broke up and it was quite clear.

Wednesday, 24. From much rain and many thunderstorms last night, the river rose fast to day and put all the lowland under water. We had much labor in saving the cattle, which were in danger of being swept away.

Friday, 26. Edwards held early service, as did David yesterday. The water this morning had fallen, and dry land was again to be seen in the fields.

Sunday, 28. David preached from the Gospel about the Canaanite woman, more strangers almost than brethren being present, for these were in their sugar-camp. Abraham, who is watchman in the town, preached the Saviour to the strangers often, telling them he spoke to them the words of life on this account, that they might not hereafter accuse him and us of having said nothing to them. The Lord's supper was announced to the communicants for next Saturday, and there was discourse about the text: Out of the heart proceed evil thoughts, etc., of which we afterwards heard from different brethren that they had taken notice of it, and some found themselves hit. To-day, Benigua, Samuel's daughter, went away from this neighborhood, for which we were glad, as she was only a shame and vexation.

Monday, March 1. Edwards held early service, and,

Tuesday 2, some brethren came home from the sugar-huts, since it rained and there was nothing to be done.

Thursday, 4. Br. David baptized Joachim, Jun.'s, sick child, somewhat over three years old, into Jesus' death, with the name of John Jacob.

Friday, 5. The brethren were at home from the bush. Both yesterday and to-day the brethren were spoken to in reference to the communion, whereto the Saviour gave grace so that this time only one remained away.

Saturday, 6. Edwards held early service from the Scripture-verse. At the Lord's supper, which the communicants enjoyed in the evening, young Joachim and John Henry were partakers for the first time, and Zachaeus, who has here recovered himself, body and soul, for

he came in the autumn to the church, bare and naked, bringing nothing in the world save the Indian, was candidate, likewise Anna Maria, John Henry's wife. O, what does not the Saviour do for sinners! On such, grace and boundless mercy are not expended in vain, but to good purpose, thence has he honor, glory, and thanks.

Sunday, 7. After the communion liturgy Br. Edwards preached. Thereupon the brethren were dismissed to their labor in their sugar-camp.

Monday, 8. David held morning service, at the end of which he gave notice that in three weeks the brethren should return for the Easter holidays, according to our reckoning, for we have received neither calendar nor Scripture-verses, and if we do not reckon right we cannot help it.

Tuesday, 9. Michael held early service about the all-blessed name of Jesus, which the angels plainly announced to Mary. The weather being milder somewhat, since for a few days the weather has been as cold as ever in the winter, most of the brethren went to their sugar-camp. Petty came here with her children to dwell again with the church, for she is now free, having no husband.

Thursday, 11. Edwards held morning service. More and more brethren are ever going off to the sugar-huts. It snowed yesterday, to-day it was somewhat milder. Out of the bush we had news from Temsitusunk that a certain Indian, who was following after our Jacob, seeking his life, had gone out to look for him, of which we had several times heard, though we had not believed it, and since Jacob was out in the same neighborhood in which the Indian is, we were not without anxiety for him.

Saturday, 13. A messenger came early from the most distant sugar-huts with the news that Verona was upon the point of death. We sent out word to the assistant, Stephen, to bury her there if she died, and to attend to her funeral, since it is too far and a bad way to bring her here.

Sunday, 14. Only a few were present at the sermon, which Br. David delivered, and they soon went back again.

We had news of Verona, from whom a messenger came, that she was yet alive and had recovered her senses, but was very low, and Pauline, who is in pitiable circumstances, was this evening absolved, in the presence of a company of brethren, upon her request and prayer, at which all present were moved with compassion in their hearts, and were aroused to pray to the Saviour for her.

Monday, 15. In the early service, which Br. David held from the text: I am come that they might have life, and that they might have it more abundantly, at which Joachim, Sen., translated for the first time, to the satisfaction of all present, the child of David and Salome, born last night, was baptized with the name Anna Margaret.

Tuesday, 16. Both yesterday and to-day there was much thunder and rain. We observe already that spring draws nigh, of which war-stories are always the fore-runners, and so it goes now also. The Indians carry about with them tales that an Indian war is unavoidable. Just so it was last year that by their lying stories they put off their planting-time, so that afterwards what they planted was frozen, and then they came here in crowds to us, and eat up our people. Thus Satan plays with the poor folk, so that outwardly too they have a much plagued, pitiable life, thereby are in constant fear and, as it were, always in flight, of which we have to feel our share in one way or another.

Thursday, 18. The child was buried that was born on the 15th, Anna Margaret, and died yesterday. From the most distant sugar-huts, a messenger came in with the news that Verona died this morning, and will be buried there, for it is twenty miles away. It has gone well with the woman that we were often anxious and not without much perplexity about her since her baptism, for it was her lot to pass through difficult circumstances. When, with tears, she begged for baptism, we were not without hesitation in proposing her for baptism, having doubts about her husband, that he had no real intention to be converted, and this afterwards proved true. The Saviour, however, permitted her baptism at once, and we did it in

faith and confidence in him, who knows all things best. She was baptized at the last feast for the conversion of the heathen, very thankful that the Saviour had forgiven her her sins and cleansed her with his blood. It was to her a great thing that she now belonged to God's church, and she rejoiced thereover, with tears in her eyes, as often as she thought of it. After her baptism she got word from her mother, who was somewhere in the neighborhood of Pittsburg, to come to her, and not to remain here. She sent her answer that she was now a believer, and belonged to the church of the believers, from whence she should not go away as long as she lived, and if she wished to see her daughter she must come hither, she would not go to her. The other thing, and the hardest for her and for us, was that her husband, one of Cook's sons, went away from her and left her, although we and the assistants did our best to keep them together, but all was in vain. She herself did what she could, for she held him dear. She had no sound body, and often had here severe fits of illness. About a week ago, when she was going with the brethren to the sugar-huts, she came to us and was very cheerful and lively, but five days ago she had another severe attack, so that she lay a long time unconscious, yet at last came to herself, and when she was asked if she thought she should die, she answered yes, that she believed so, that she went quite willingly, indeed she begged him to take her to himself, where she would be happier, for she had had a bad time here, her husband had made it hard for her, which was the truth, and we had pity for her. She was a choice woman for the church, and a prize for Jesus. She fell asleep so calmly and peacefully that those present were hardly aware of it. The assistant, Stephen, cared for her burial; instead of a coffin, they hollowed out a trough from a tree, for they had no tools.

Sunday, 21. Br. Michael preached, very few being present, and they also afterwards went away again.

Tuesday, 23. Early before day Pauline, Luke's daughter, departed, who had been brought here Jan. 11, from Sandusky, sick and paralytic. On the 24th her body was

buried. She was born in Old Schönbrunn, July 30, 1772, and baptized by David Zeisberger, Aug. 2. She grew up in the church, but after she came to years, was always dead and unfeeling in heart, and though she saw other maidens, her companions, precede her and become sharers of the church's grace, in her could be seen neither life nor longing; instead of this it could be seen since we have been here, that she went farther to destruction, and gave in to sin, and if we spoke with her and admonished her, then she often wept about it and promised amendment, but in her it was all in vain and without fruit. About two years ago she took a husband herself, and since she was born and brought up in the church, we did not like to send her away, particularly as she also did not wish to be away from us; we hoped much more that it would be better with her, but also this was of no use. She was lazy, unwilling to work, but liked to roam about; then, last summer, she was for weeks among the Chippewas on the lake, who did not want her, and told our Indians to come for her, and they did so. She went from place to place, and was nowhere at home, for here was no abode for her. In the autumn, therefore, we sent her to Sandusky to her friends, where, as we heard, she fell into the hands of a wizard, and was lamed in every limb, so that she could neither walk nor move. This was known from there, since an Indian offered to cure her, saying he would cure her, he himself having brought the sickness upon her by magic, that she could not get well, and he told the reasons why, but this cure was not made, since the woman with whom she lived was too poor. In regard to searching for the truth, whether this is possible or not, we wish to leave undecided, although we know there are Indians who practice such arts. This, however, we believe: had she remained in the church, she would never have incurred this trouble. She left the fold and fell into the teeth of wolves; she had given herself up to Satan and the pride of the world, and thus the works of Satan had power over her, so that in the flesh she was chastised, but in the spirit blessed even yet. Somewhat more than two



months ago it happened that we thought much about her, though before we had been glad of her departure, and we wondered where she had gone, that we heard nothing farther about her. Once we learned by strange Indians that she lay sick in Sandusky, and was in the greatest misery, at the same time that she would gladly be here and be sent for. This was done, and she was brought hither Jan. 15. Her child, born there after she lay down sick, was baptized, and soon died. She was herself already so wasted that no hope of her recovery could be seen, but she was cheerful and thankful to be again here in the church. Ten days ago she had Br. David called, to whom she told her heart, that she was troubled about herself, would like forgiveness, she had sinned much against the Saviour and the church, and wished much to be received again into the church. It could be seen that this came from her heart, and that she was anxious about herself. One could not see her without feeling pity. Absolution was given her in the presence of several brethren by the laying-on of hands by Sister Susanna, for which she was glad and thankful, and from that time she became another person, and we saw in her life and feeling from the Saviour, which we had never observed in her before. She was new-born, like a child. We had to love her, and yet with compassion. She had now a heart and confidence in the brethren, and Br. David, from whom before she ran away, had to visit her every day once or twice, and if he did not come, she sent for him, who then sang verses to her and told her something about the Saviour and death, for which she longed. She went in confidence in the Saviour as a comforted sinner, who had met great compassion, as a prize of the Saviour. This was a child of our church whom the wolf had already half swallowed, but must again let her go, wherefore to him above are due glory, honor, praise, and thanks. Her remains were buried on the 24th. Her age was seventeen years, seven months, twenty-three days.

Friday, 26. The brethren came home from the bush and their sugar-huts. They have this time had a good

year for sugar-boiling, and every family has made a good quantity, from one to two hundred pounds, accordingly as they had kettles.

Sunday, 28. Edwards preached about the Saviour's lordly entrance into Jerusalem to his passion, death, and burial. Thereupon was the communion quarter-hour. The assistants spoke with Samuel and Polly, who had married of themselves.

Tuesday, 30. Both yesterday and to-day there was speaking with the brethren with reference to the communion. We heard now from a trustworthy Indian, well acquainted with the matter, the real connection and the truth, how it was in regard to our coming over the lake four years ago, and what had been announced and told to the Indians in regard to us. We had requested the then commandant and the agent, McKee, to tell the Indians and nations that we had thoughts of turning back to our land. This the latter did, but in a bad way, for we ourselves could not, and dared not, send a message to the Indians. He, McKee, told them that we wanted to go back over the lake, since we could no longer live there, on account of the Chippewas, who killed our cattle and eat up our plantations, which was yet not true, nor had they thus injured us, nor had any reason so to do. He told them farther, to keep good lookout in Miami Bay, and if they saw us arrive there, to stop us and direct us up the Miami, or if by chance we had already gone by, to bring us back again. This message the Indians got, but since it was held back until they were together, and it must so happen that we were sent over in ships, they did not hear it until they learned that we were come to Cuyahoga. No one wanted to say any thing about the message, save that Pomoacan said they had already once given heed to the English and done their will on us, and they saw what had come from it; to bring us back was not advisable, but they could let us know we were not to go farther, there being yet no peace, but other Indians had afterwards taken the liberty to plague us.

Wednesday, 31. Edwards held morning service. The

communicants had in the evening the washing of feet, in two divisions, the brothers and the sisters separately, whereby for the first time the assistants were employed, for our communion church is already above eighty, namely, Samuel, William, Martha, and Sophia. Afterwards in the absolution service, after reading of the history, old Ruth and Louisa, who have been many years from the church, were absolved by the laying-on of hands, and three brothers, David, Levi, and Zacchaeus, and one sister, Anna Maria, were confirmed for the first enjoyment.

Thursday, April 1. In the evening was a reading of the history of our Saviour's anguish of soul on the Mount of Olives at his death and captivity, which was heard with sympathetic hearts. Then the communicants received his body and blood in the holy sacrament most blessedly. This the three brothers aforesaid, David, Levi, and Zacchaeus, and one sister, Anna Maria, enjoyed for the first time. [The grown girl, Anne, looked on as candidate.] Louisa and Ruth were readmitted.

Friday, 2. After the communion liturgy in the morning there was reading of the history, and this was kept up during the day. This was listened to by the brethren and those present with the greatest attention. It was as if they had never heard it before, and the history of all his suffering and anguish of soul, of his trial before Pilate and Herod, of his being mocked, struck, and scourged, of his head torn by the crown of thorns, of his condemnation to death, of his crucifixion, death, and burial, made a deep and affecting impression upon our hearts, from which there is the most blessed food for heart and soul, by which we were much refreshed and revived. At Jesus' death we read a liturgy upon our knees of newly translated verses, as: O behold your Saviour wounded—Hanging on the accursed cross, etc., and, On thy dying look, dear Saviour—I will fix my eyes forever. Strangers were present.

Item. Titawachkam came here last evening and wanted to tell tales, but had no success. He spoke with his son and Guschachgis, an unbaptized man. The assistants

spoke with Schummis, who, upon her request, got leave to live here with her three children, two boys and a white girl.

Saturday, 3. There was a love-feast, at which something was said and sung of the Saviour's rest in the grave, whereby rest is sanctified to our tabernacles and bodies, since he lay in the grave for us.

Sunday, 4. We read early a part of the Easter litany in the chapel, and the other part in our grave-yard, and begged for eternal communion with the perfected church, especially with the twelve brethren, who have departed since last Easter, namely, two brothers, four boys, four sisters, and two girls. Afterwards the story of the resurrection was read, and then Br. Edwards preached. In the afternoon service two were taken into the church, namely, Tobias, old Ruth's son, born in Friedenshütten, and the grown girl, Elizabeth, William's daughter. Then the wife of the former was baptized by David Zeisberger with the name Margaret, Lydia's daughter, a young widow, with the name Deborah, by Br. Edwards, and Bill Henry's boy, Christian Gottlieb, by Br. Michael Jung, into Jesus' death, whereby many tears were shed, especially by those who were awaiting the same grace. Late in the evening, towards midnight, Br. David baptized a child sick unto death, six or seven years old—whose mother was received here to live two days ago, with two other children, a white girl and a son already quite grown—into Jesus' death, with the name George.

Tuesday, 6. David held early service. Then Petty, who now for three or four years has always been wishing to come back to the church, but could not succeed, was received again with her two boys and a girl.

Friday, 9. There was a drunken bout in the neighborhood, of which we had to know somewhat, for drunken men came here in the night, one of whom had to be bound, in order to have peace.

Sunday, 11. Michael preached in the forenoon. In the service for the baptized, afterwards, from the text: Reach hither thy fingers and behold my hands, and reach hither thy hand and thrust it into my side, and be not

faithless, but believing, the brethren who had been baptized and received during the year were mentioned by name, and exhorted to make good use of the church's grace, of which they had become partakers, not to let it rest there, thinking this was enough, but to strive for yet more, so that they might grow and increase in grace and knowledge, and be perfect sharers of the salvation won for them by his blood, whereby many of the newly-baptized shed tears, five of whom are already communion brethren. David held the congregation meeting from the Scripture-verse: The Lord is my portion, etc.

Monday, 12. The assistants marked out new plantations for those who have lately come here to live, and yet have none. Our town grows so large and full as we have had nowhere else, so that we wish a chance to lay out another settlement, only as yet we know not where. We wait then when and where the Saviour will show us a way thereto, and make open the doors.

Wednesday, 14. The little boy, baptized on the 4th, six and a half years old, who died yesterday, was buried. He came to us in the autumn with his mother, liked to go to the meetings, and when he was sick, and had not yet been baptized, he had begged his mother to take him to the chapel, saying that, perhaps, he should be baptized if he went to the chapel. His mother promised him, if he died, to remain with the church, and follow after him. The brethren went out hunting to get something to eat while they were making fences, and the sisters to dig wild potatoes.

Thursday, 15. The hunters brought in six deer. From Paint Creek (Monroe Co., Mich.), came Joshua and Peter by water, having been kept upon the lake several days by wind. Several days ago there was a great storm, which laid all the trees low where they were, when they were wonderfully and evidently protected from harm, so that nothing happened to them. In order not to be swept away by the wind, they crept along the ground, holding on to the trees, until they could shelter themselves under the bank of the creek. They could not enough relate

how in their need they prayed to the Saviour, from which can be seen how they at once took refuge with the Saviour, seeking protection and help from him, while, on the contrary, the savages know of no providence and refuge.

Sunday, 18. David preached about the good Shepherd who lays down his life for his sheep, and is come to seek and save the lost. Then was the communion quarter-hour, in which especial mention was made by name of those brethren who, during the year, have come to the Lord's supper, of whom there are fifteen, and of those re-admitted after many years, of whom there are seven, and they were commended to the Saviour and his Spirit to be lent grace; they were told to cling fast to him, the Vine, as branches receiving from him their daily food, juice, and strength for living and thriving. Br. Edwards held the congregation meeting. In the neighborhood wrangling and strife arose among Tschuwisch's people, who wanted to kill his son and daughter [who in the night fled hither], and, as it seems, for this reason that they wish to be in the church, and he will not let them.

Monday, 19. Michael held early service. Isaac Williams, who lies at the mouth of the river and trades, came here. The brethren were done with the fence about the new field, and now every one gets land enough to plant, and there is yet some left in case yet more should come here.

Wednesday, 21. Yesterday and to-day the brethren repaired the fences. David held morning service about the new birth.

Thursday, 22. Michael held early service. A woman, named Peggy, baptized when a child by Brainard<sup>1</sup> in the Jerseys, upon her request got leave to live here with her two children.

Thursday, 22. The brethren were done with the com-

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<sup>1</sup> Loskiel, p. 351, mentions the visit of a Presbyterian minister, Brainard, to Gnadenhütten in 1749. He had been preaching to the Indians in New Jersey, and had baptized some fifty of them. Id., p. 344.

mon work. Wojanwes, who came here in the autumn with his family, sick and wretched, having nothing to eat, for whom we not only built a house, so that he had a dwelling, but whom we had supported with his whole family during the winter, having collected corn for him, now went away secretly, when he was cured here, and was become strong, saying nothing to any body, like a cunning fox, but we had not much confidence in him, and had not observed in him any longing to be saved. The Saviour does well by us, in sweeping away what is good for nothing, separating the wheat from the chaff.

Saturday, 24. Now the war-stories begin again with might. We learned from Sandusky that a party of Cherokees from Gigejunk had come there with thirty white prisoners and ten scalps, whom they had attacked in the Ohio on boats and had plundered. A party of Shawanese is said to be on the way back with prisoners.

Sunday, 25. Edwards preached. Both yesterday and to-day we and the assistants had work, and were busy in bringing order among the brethren in regard to the lands for planting. Also another family, Tschuwisch's daughter's husband, got leave to live here. They had been here nearly all winter, or in the neighborhood. They had always wished to be here, and the wife's father would not give his consent, and yet he is baptized, but when he wished to go from this neighborhood, and his daughter would not go with him, he became angry, so that he first struck his daughter over the head with a club, then seized his hatchet and wished to tomahawk her, and when the mother prevented him, and took the hatchet from him, he got his musket and wanted to shoot her, but while he was loading it the woman ran off and came here by night in flight, and has since remained here, and although her parents have sent her word several times to come to them, she did not go, but said she would not come to her father as long as she lived. If he had been drunk this action towards his daughter, according to the Indian way, would have been pardonable, but as he was quite sober and in his senses, it is among the Indians some-

thing cruel and inhuman. At the bottom, however, lies hostility to the Saviour and to all goodness.

Monday, 26. The brethren went out for a hunt in common and the sisters to dig wild-potatoes, for corn begins to be scarce, and many have really nothing more to eat, who in the autumn sold too much to the French, who take it to Detroit, coming here in the autumn and troubling our people, who thus afterwards come to want.

Wednesday, 28. David held early service about the grace of our time, that we believe in the Saviour and love him, although we do not see him bodily, but with the eyes of the heart. Nicholas and David came home from the bush, having met Wyandots with a drove of stolen horses, from which they cannot desist. In the evening was a visible eclipse of the moon, whereat the Chippewas, a great party of whom is come to the lake from hunting, made some fifty shots.

Saturday, May 1. David held early service. From Sandusky we learned that a message had come to Pipe from Detroit, wherein the Indians were encouraged to keep quiet, to plant, and not to turn to the Shawanese and Indians in Gigeyunk, who are only working for their own harm and downfall, which was for us a good message.

Sunday, 2. Michael preached from the Gospel: But now I go my way to him that sent me, and David held the congregation meeting.

Monday, 3. Edwards held early service. The brethren planted our fields to-day.

Tuesday, 4. David held early service. We learned by strange Indians that the Quaker with our things was on his way out from Pittsburg, but had lost a pair of horses, on which account we sent two men with horses to meet him and bring him in.

Wednesday, 5. The assistants sent away again the two girls, Mary Elizabeth and Mary Magdalene, who began again to run about, telling them to leave our town, since we had had patience with them too long to our harm.

Friday, 7. Adam, who went day before yesterday to meet the Quaker, came back. He met him, who is now



on his way hither, and brought us, to our joy, two letters from Br. Ettwein, one from Herrnhut, of July 8, '89, the other from Bethlehem of Jan. 10, 1790; likewise one from Hübner<sup>1</sup> of Oct. 5th, last year.

Saturday, 8. From Upper Sandusky we had news that the Wyandots had again gone out in a strong party to murder and steal, so that we do not know what will yet be, and still we hear they are planting and not thinking of flight, many coming here for seed-corn. The Quaker arrived, who wished to bring our things, but they were not given to him, because Mr. Dibson was not at home, and thus we have yet none of them.

Sunday, 9. David preached, and then held the communion quarter-hour, which was announced for Saturday. There was a conference of assistants about Niganelema, who wishes to live here, but her husband not, who therefore left her. She was,

Monday, 10, received to live here. She has already for more than a year wished to be with us, and has been waiting for her husband, who put her off from time to time, until at last they quarrelled about it and separated.

[Thus far to Bethlehem.]

Thursday, 13. On Ascension Day Br. Edwards held early service, and then the baptized had a service from the text: I will see you again, and your heart shall rejoice and your joy no man taketh from you, whereby the brethren were exhorted to be eager for walking with the Saviour, whom indeed we see not with the eyes of the body, but we believe in him and love him, and daily to be assured of his promise: I am with you alway.

After reading of the history we adored him upon our knees, and asked from him his dear and blessed nearness so long as we must be away from him, and we were conscious of his comfort and blessing.

Saturday, 15. Both to-day, and yesterday, and the day

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<sup>1</sup> John Andrew Hübner, 1737-1809. He came to America in 1790, and was pastor of the Bethlehem church. In 1790 he was consecrated bishop, and then lived at Litiz.

before the brethren were spoken to with reference to the Lord's supper. There came also people to Br. David, telling their desire to live here, and the cases were very much all alike. In the first place, a young woman, Quetindis, who had for the most part grown up in the church, and came here with her husband two years ago nearly, neither ever having had permission to live here, for the husband never desired it. Their child, of which the wife was delivered, was baptized and died. Her husband had now left her, and driven her from himself, but after straying about for a while, she came here again, begging to live in the church. Another, Cook's son, Verona's husband, left her, after she was baptized. Now he wishes to live here after his wife's death. A third was the woman's husband, who was received on the 10th Inst., since she came here with his permission. He spoke with Br. David for two hours, who asked especially about his wife, coming to an understanding with him about her, and found that not only had he no objection to his wife's reception, but that he was glad of it. After he had finished his talk with Br. David, he was so affected in soul that he resolved to remain here with his wife and not to leave her, when before for more than a year he had thought of it and reflected, but could never make up his mind. At the Lord's supper, which the communicants enjoyed in the near presence of our dear Lord, Petty, who came to us this spring, was readmitted, and the young man, Joseph, and the great girl, Judith, looked on as candidates.

Sunday, 16. In the communion liturgy the brethren were greeted from the churches in this land and from Europe, and they were told that Br. Ettwein had returned from the synod,<sup>1</sup> and had brought to them many hearty greetings from the churches; thereby was made plain and clear to them what the synod means; that the laborers from all parts and quarters of the world come together to take to heart the welfare of all churches, and to consider what is needful to be done in the Saviour's kingdom; that the Sa-

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<sup>1</sup> This was the twenty-first general synod, held at Herrnhut, in 1789.

viour's kingdom is no earthly kingdom; that we do not concern ourselves about earthly affairs, which are not our business, for these there were other people; to whom we cheerfully gave them over, thanking the Saviour therefor, if under their rule we could have a peaceful, quiet, and blessed life; our business was to urge on the Saviour's work in all parts of the world, this had been laid upon the brothers by him. It was found necessary to remind them of this, since often when we received letters it was concluded that affairs of war were treated in them. They were also told that our town should be called New Salem,<sup>1</sup> at the same time also that we expected one or two brothers from Bethlehem with us this summer.

Thereupon Br. Edwards preached. In the afternoon the assistants had work, upon whom we had put the duty of speaking with the four new people mentioned above, and to take them here to live, and this happened, for which they were all glad and thankful. The assistants married the two people, Tobias and Anna Justina.

Tuesday, 18. By the Quaker, who started for Pittsburg with a couple of Indians, Adam and Charles, we sent letters and our diary to Bethlehem.

Thursday, 20. Joshua went over the lake to sell a canoe there for provisions, which are scarce with us, and are always becoming more so. William came from Sandusky, where he had bought corn for nine dollars, this was not so much as he could have carried.

Friday, 21. We had again a pleasant occurrence. A young man, named Christian, Louisa's son—she is a communion sister—who came here a year ago, and was with us for some time, went off hunting with Indians, living with them and white people, and went this spring in the bush to the Chippewas, where he found a wife, with whom he then came here, called with his wife upon Br. David, and wished to live here. When now he wished to come here, he told his wife he wished to go to Pettquotting to the believers and beg to live there, whereupon she answered

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<sup>1</sup>The first time Zeisberger has used the name.

him: "So will I go with thee, for I should also like to know and learn what good they have and enjoy, and live as they live." Her parents and friends live in our neighborhood, when at home, and have willingly let her come hither with her husband. While he was speaking with Br. David, his wife said to him, he must speak for her also, for she too wished to live here, and he did so. Both were to-day spoken to by the assistants, and got leave to live here. Arrangements were also made that they might yet plant. We look upon this as a special providence from the Saviour, for she is the first of the Chippewa nation who desires to be with us, which is already enough. If Indians come here and only hear the Gospel, we do not in the least doubt that it will show itself as God's strength in their hearts; this we leave to the Saviour and to his spirit, who searches and opens hearts, and may this also happen. Amen.

From Pittsburg a family of white people arrived, who were moving to Detroit, a part of whom we had to help thither by water for pay. Among them was an Englishman, their pilot, who is known or lives in Detroit, and understands Chippewa. He had jeered at a Chippewa in the neighborhood, struck him, called him a dog, and otherwise ill-treated him, at which he became angry and was upon the point of killing the white man, but he did him no harm, and kept silence. The next day, however, there came ten or twelve Tawas, who held before him what he had done, and wanted to have satisfaction from him, but he could no otherwise excuse himself than by saying he was joking. There were also Frenchmen there, all were upon him, and the Tawas said they would take him prisoner; to be sure here in the town would do nothing to him, but if they brought him to the lake they would bind him and take him to Detroit, where he would get his deserts. The man gave in and wanted to make up with the Chippewa, which at first they would not allow, but at last were persuaded, and they gave them a calf, which they took with them and drove off.

Sunday, 23. Br. Michael preached about the outpouring

of the Holy Ghost, his gifts and working in the hearts of believers, especially in convincing men of their lost and unblest condition, and in bringing them to the Saviour, their Redeemer. In the second service from our Scripture-verse: I will heal their backsliding, I will love them freely, which the Holy Ghost does in us through the wounds and blood of Jesus, which he applies to our hearts, a widow, Schummis, by the name Theodora, and then a child, John Henry's, by the name Sally, were buried by baptism in Jesus' death. White people were present, both at the sermon and the baptism. Then the baptized had a service, prayed to God, the worthy Holy Ghost, thanked him for his true care, asked forgiveness when they had been deaf to his voice and had not listened to it or had indeed grieved him; that he would remain with us, would daily reveal in our hearts Jesus' wounds and death as the only ground for our salvation, and would give us understanding of the mystery of the Gospel. At the same time the liturgy to the Holy Ghost was first sung in Indian.

Monday, 24. By a Baptist named Missemmer, who had come through Litiz, we got a letter from Br. Klingsohr.<sup>1</sup> By the people we heard the contrary of what those who went through yesterday told us, namely, that one or two armies, each of three thousand men, would come out against the Indians, and that there was nothing in this. In such wise it often happens that the Indians are made restless, who are always in fear any way.

Wednesday, 26. Many of our people went out hunting, to seek for meat, for corn becomes scarce among our people, and famine is always increasing, as we hear also in the land generally among the white people.

Saturday, 29. Samuel, who wished to conduct to Detroit two families of whites, came back again with them from Sandusky Bay, since for several days it has been stormy upon the lake. The white people, who are in great

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<sup>1</sup>“Rev. John Augustus Klingsohr, a graduate of the University of Leipsic, who came to America in 1783. He was stationed at Litiz and at Bethlehem, where he died in 1798.” Letter from Bishop de Schweinitz.

want of food, resolved to turn back to Pittsburg, particularly as it is not safe to travel farther from here on account of Indians.

Sunday, 30. David preached about the Holy Trinity from the Gospel about Nicodemus, about the new birth of the heart.

Monday, 31. Joshua came back from Detroit, where he sold his canoe. Many white people there, who had lived at the mouth of the river, eastwards on the lake, had fled, leaving everything, on account of the Chippewas, who killed their cattle and had robbed them. On this account the authorities have now, in the king's name, bought the land from the Indians, paid for it, and closed the business by discharge of cannon from the Fort. Moreover, we to-day had news that Wojanwes, who, in the spring, went away from here secretly, with his family, had become sick again at the mouth of this river, where, from stormy weather, he had to stay several days, but at last got through to Tawa River, where he lived but one day, and then died, which causes much reflection among our brethren, and also among the savages.

Thursday, June 3. The two families who came out from Pittsburg to move to Detroit, but found much difficulty and vexation here, on which account they resolved to turn back, set out to-day from here, accompanied by Martin, Renatus, and others, who went that way hunting. They were very poor, having consumed all their substance, and we had to help them with provisions, so that they might get through, though here among our people there is great want.

Sunday, 6. Br. Edwards preached from the text: God is love. Benigna, Samuel's daughter, who went away from here some time ago, came now again, since her husband, with whom she went away, has left her.

Monday, 7. The brethren hoed our fields. Strange Indians came here with whisky.

Thursday, 10. Anthony, who several days ago came here from the bush, went to Sandusky and again came here, went to the services. We had always heard of him

that he accused the missionaries of being the cause that the brethren on the Muskingum must be a sacrifice. With other Indians he planted in Cuyahoga, as also Chippewas, where they never left us in peace. He did not let himself be seen by us. We hear also that Indians have planted on the Muskingum at Licking Creek.

Friday, 11. An Indian family, that came here from the Fort with whisky, but would not give it up, caused drunkenness in the neighborhood, of which we were also somewhat aware.

Sunday, 13. Michael preached about the great supper, to which God invites all mankind, but many in various ways seek to be excused. Thereupon was the children's hour, and Br. Edwards held the congregation meeting. From Pittsburg, by Adam, who came from there with our things, we had a letter from Heckewelder from Bethlehem; likewise one from Tobias Hirte from Pittsburg. We had expected brethren, but all hope was vain. From Sandusky, Pipe sent us the Muskingum treaty, printed, with a belt, also a message to Pipe about the horse-thieves.

Monday, 14. David held early service from the text: To him that overcometh will I grant to sit with me in my throne, that we through faith gain the victory, which is our strength. Michael rode out with two horses to meet Adam. The assistants had labor yesterday and to-day in speaking to several brethren in regard to Johanette. Early in the afternoon came Br. Michael with our things, when we got news from the churches here and from Europe and letters too, but all of last year.

Wednesday, 16. We had news that different parties of Chippewas, chiefly Tawas and Potawatomes, had gone out for war. These can do much harm. The conjecture is that their chief business will be horse-stealing.

Thursday, 17. Michael held early service. Him that overcometh will I make a pillar, etc. Our brethren industriously brought roots<sup>1</sup> here from down the creek, of which they got many loads to town, which they cut thin,

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<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the yellow water-lily.

dry in the sun, pound and bake bread from, and this is now their principal food. They made a great mistake last autumn in selling so much of their corn to the French, on which account they now suffer. Yet in part they were eaten out by strangers. Our fields stand fair, blessed by the Lord, to the astonishment of all men who come here, and we hear that in Sandusky, Detroit, and elsewhere the worms have consumed every thing. From Detroit a message came to the Indians to be industrious in planting, for from there they would get no corn.

Sunday, 20. David preached, then held the communion quarter-hour, in which it was earnestly and precisely said that there was not harmony among the communion brethren, and that it is against the greatest commandment of the Saviour that one should cherish in his heart against another, hatred and bitterness, that such had no advantage nor blessing from the holy communion, but eat death therein, and thus would do better to remain away. In the congregation meeting towards evening the little son of Tobias and Margaret, born yesterday, was baptized Christopher.

Monday, 21. Edwards held early service. Wyandots went through, who looked as if they were going to war, probably to steal horses.

Wednesday, 23. From Sandusky we learned that the Indians are much afraid of the white people. This is no wonder, for they do much harm and are always going to war, so that they fear the white people will fall upon them.

Thursday, 24. Samuel came back from Sandusky, where he went yesterday in hope of getting corn there from the traders, but all this had already been sent to Detroit. Our people have thus nothing left them except to wait until their plantations yield them something, which now give us a good prospect, for the plants stand fine, to the amazement of every one, in the dry weather, for we have had no rain for quite two months. Our people industriously search for roots out of the water, which now are their only food. Samuel brought from there no good news, for most people told him it would not be long before the



white people were upon them, but we believe nothing of all these rumors.

Saturday, 26. At the holy communion, which the communicants enjoyed in the near presence of our Lord, Anna, a grown girl, was a partaker for the first time. Cornelia, Joachim, and Gottlob looked on as candidates. A sister, Johanna, came there without having been prevented. She was in the chapel till the enjoyment of the bread, but had not received it. Then she went out, which was the occasion that it was manifest that she wished to go to the Lord's supper with a bitter heart towards a sister, but this the Saviour prevented in this way.

Sunday, 27. Br. Edwards preached. Afterwards, in the communion liturgy, one thing and another was called to mind concerning the communicants at the Lord's supper. We read the journal, Bethlehem report, which we now had from April of last year. In the afternoon, in the meeting was the baptism of two adults, namely, Leonard and Jephtha, the former by Br. Edwards, the other by David Zeisberger. The Saviour does yet pleasant things, and we observe how wonderfully he does. That the last came to the church was owing to his wife, who, for more than a year, had always wished to come to the church, remaining here at times many weeks. Since her husband had no inclination for the church, but saw that his wife could not be contented, they separated, and his wife came here with his consent and approval. After the wife was here, the husband had no rest. He came here, but instead of going to any one of our Indians, he went to Br. David, talked out the matter with him for more than two hours, when he was convinced upon the spot, resolved to come to the church and to his wife, and now, when it is to-day just six weeks since he had permission to live here, he has also been baptized, and his wife, who was the cause of this, has not yet announced herself for baptism. Thus we have always to be learning the Saviour's ways with souls, that we may injure nothing; thereto may he give us his blessing.

Monday, 28. From Detroit came back several German

people, who went there in the spring with cattle, pleasant, agreeable people, by whom we wrote to Bethlehem.

Wednesday, 30. Samuel, with several Indian brothers, went with a French trader in a boat to Detroit to get corn, for want becomes ever greater, and our people have nothing to eat.

Thursday, July 1. From Detroit we had an answer from Squire Askin, that the commandant there would take care that traders brought no more rum here, and that those who had settled so near us should go away. As we hear from the traders themselves, there has been a thorough investigation of all those who trade here. From Gigeyunk old Anna Margaret came here to stay, sick and half-dead, who said she had longingly desired to be here, and had always said that could she only come here, she should be willing to die among the believers; now that the Saviour had so far helped her, she was very cheerful and could not be thankful enough therefor. The Delawares who lived there have all moved off, and were now on the way to the Spaniards, having planted nothing. Several of our Indians are still there, and such as do not wish to go with them thither, would come to us here, yes, it was said they would soon also send us another message, and what will that be? It is easy to guess, they will want to call us thither.

Friday, 2. Ten Chippewa warriors came from Sandusky Bay to the French trader below here, who wanted to go to war, but were stopped, for the French trader, having just come from Detroit, could tell them that all Indians were told to keep still, to hunt, and not to go to war. These ten warriors came,

Saturday, 3, up here, and wished, after the manner of warriors, to dance from house to house here in the town, in order to get something. We sent them back forthwith, telling them, if they were hungry and had nothing to eat, they should look for roots in the creek below here, as we did, whereupon they went away. Indians who have already been here several days and had concealed in the bush several casks of whisky, we sent away, that we

might have no unpleasantness with the warriors, who, if they knew of it, would not rest till they found it. We hear from Detroit that the States have given up and exchanged to the English all the posts and forts upon the lakes.

Sunday, 4. Michael preached, and David held the congregation meeting. We read the Bethlehem report of January of last year. Our Chippewa woman, whom people of her nation have several times already advised not to remain here, came and complained, saying a Chippewa had again said to her yesterday to go away from here, it was not well for her to stay here, she must die here, and at the longest would live till autumn, if she stayed here. She said, however, she liked to be here, and it pleased her. We said to her not to concern herself about all these tales, no harm would happen to her here, her life stood in no man's power, and this the Saviour alone, who is God over all, held in his hands and to him she belonged, having been redeemed with his blood; the man who told her she would die, was a liar, and had not so much power as a croaking frog. The woman has somewhat to endure from her countrymen, but if she only bears it and holds out, something good can come from it. Another Chippewa, who was here yesterday, and again went home, and is almost entirely blind, said to one of our people, who brought him on the way home, that in the autumn he also wished to come here to live. Manitto, on the other hand, who wished to live with us in the beginning, when we came here, still remains in the neighborhood, where he lives and is our friend, coming often to the meetings, for he understands Delaware somewhat, but he fears his nation and friends, who, nevertheless, since he is not with us, call him a Gendowa.<sup>1</sup> It is not easy to come with the Gospel among the Chippewas, for they are fortified against it

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<sup>1</sup> Here a Bethlehem MS., in English, uses the expression "Sunday-Indian." In Zeisberger's Indian Spelling-book, Sunday is Gendowen in Delaware, and from this is derived Gendowenke, on Sunday.

with bulwarks and redoubts, which the Saviour alone must break through and open.

Tuesday, 6. Michael held early service, that it is a blessing to suffer for the Saviour and his cause, etc. As only Abraham of the assistants was at home, there has been much to do to-day, for instance to speak with Sarah about her daughter, with Peggy, Ignatius, and his friends, etc.

Wednesday, 7. David held early service. Edwards and Michael went down to Squirrel, who told them to send a message to the Tawa chief.

Thursday, 8. Edwards held early service. Abraham with several brothers went down to the Chippewas, by whom they sent a message to the chief, Ekuschuwe, wherein they reminded him of his promise, when he sent word to us here, namely, that no one should injure us or do us harm, but that now, since the Chippewas and Tawas on Sandusky Lake were beginning to shoot our cattle, and that such might no longer be done, he should send a message to them to desist, and in the future to do the like no more. To this the Chippewas here near by had advised us, and had themselves exposed their people who had done it. We learned likewise that a message was come from Detroit to the Chippewas and Tawas, that they should keep still and go not at all to war, which also, as we heard, had been commanded these nations, especially the Shawanese, Twightwees, and Cherokees, who had also promised to observe it, and thus improvement is to be hoped for. The Twightwees have replied to their father: "I have not done it of mine own accord, thou hast ordered me."

Friday, 9. A Frenchman, who has for a wife an Indian woman, our Rachel's sister, wanders about in the bush, and is nowhere at home, came here and wished to establish himself here, but we ordered him to leave our town, telling him we did not suffer such people to be here. We did this for this reason, having trustworthy information from many Indians that they had recently killed and robbed a trader on the Muskingum.

Saturday, 10. Brs. Samuel, Stephen, and others, came back from Detroit with some flour and corn for sufferers.

Sunday, 11. David preached from the Epistle: Know ye not that so many of us as were baptized into Jesus Christ were baptized into his death? Then the children's hour, and Br. Edwards held the congregation meeting.

Friday, 13. Most of our people went out hunting. Many strange Indians are here, who seek where they may find something to eat, for everywhere among them are famine and want.

Thursday, 15. After a long drouth, for it has not rained for longer than two months, we had a twelve-hours' rain, which has revived every thing, and helped our corn and crops betimes. When we have already for many days been plagued by wandering women, and could not get rid of them, and saw no outcome, for they were nothing but harm, it happened to-day, all at once, that they went away over the lake, we helping them in this.

Friday, 16. Moses and Levi also went over the lake, likewise bad timber, and thus at once we were rid of our care, but the latter came back again.

Sunday, 18. Edwards preached and David had an hour of song instead of the congregation meeting. We read from the church journal the Memorabilia of the U. A. C. of last year, and Br. John's biography. (De Watteville.)

Tuesday, 20. Quetindis was delivered of a son.

Wednesday, 21. After the early service, which Br. Edwards held, the assistants spoke with a number of girls, who have not behaved well. Then the old, sick widow, Anna Margaret, who came to the church from Gigeyunk on the 11th Inst., was absolved in the presence of a number of brethren, amid a blessed feeling of the Saviour's nearness. For this she had much entreated, that we should do her this favor before she died, while she was yet in her senses and was not speechless, for speech was hard for her. By Nicholas, who came back from the Fort, we had a letter from Br. Hübner from Litiz of May 31st, from which we learned the dangerous condition of

Br. Ettwein's health, as likewise Br. Sydrick's<sup>1</sup> death, and that we have to expect here Br. Sensemann and his wife by way of Monocasy and Hagerstown.

Saturday, 24. To-day and for several days very many strange Indians have been with us, for this is the time when the work in their fields is ended and the corn is hilled. Then they either go hunting or wander about in other towns until their corn can be eaten or is already ripe.

Sunday, 25. Michael preached and David held the congregation meeting. We read the news of the U. A. C. from January of last year to April. This morning Rabel, Levi's wife, was delivered of a daughter. We spoke with the Frenchman who settled near here last autumn, and we earnestly ordered him to go away, and no longer to remain here, for there is disorder there.

Tuesday, 27. The assistants spoke with Abraham's daughter's husband, a Mobicán, who had told his wish to live here, and they heard him, and since we found he was in earnest, besides that his wife had always for years been thinking of coming again to the church, he was advised to accommodate himself to her circumstances, and as she had planted in Sandusky, to harvest her fields, to make himself quite free, so that hereafter they might be out of all need and trouble, and could be quiet here, and this they promised to do.

Wednesday, 28. David held early service. Zephath's house blocked out. Anna Regina went from the church.

Thursday, 29. Edwards held early service. The assistants investigated Adam's affairs with Nicholas. He learned that Sir Johnson in Detroit is to confer with the nations.

Friday, 30. From Detroit, whence traders came, we learned again as trustworthy news, as we had already heard several times, that the English would again take possession of the land this side the lake, in accordance with an agree-

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<sup>1</sup> See before p. 62.

ment with the States, and that Sir Johnson, who is now in Detroit, is busy making a stable peace with the nations.

Sunday, Aug. 1. David preached, and thereupon was the communion quarter-hour, when the brethren were told that this time we put off the Lord's supper until the 13th of this month. In the sermon he baptized the little daughter, Maria Barbara, of Levi and Rahel. From Pittsburg came the Quaker, Mr. Parke, who trades here, but we got no letters from the church. From the journal we read a part of Br. Laaterbach's life.

Tuesday, 3. We had again disagreeable circumstances, namely, Anna Regina, who went away from the church, led away Deborah also, and both went to-day from this neighborhood.

Thursday, 5. The brothers made fences along the creek, from the plantations, on account of cattle. Many strange Indians came here of all sorts, bad material, too. From Sandusky we learned that two negroes, who went through from Detroit, had killed five Wyandots in the bush, where they met. From the Miami came the old widow Gertrude, with her two grandchildren, Levi and Frederica, to remain, by whom we heard that there were several of ours who wish to come.

Saturday, 7. David held early service. Text: No man can serve two masters, etc.

Sunday, 8. Since we had yesterday a message from Manitto, who notified us to drive away from his house and plantations bad women and rascals, we sent there the assistants, who bade them go out of this neighborhood and to leave it, and this they did. Among them were Samuel's two daughters, who caused much trouble, raged like devils against God and the church, and so blasphemed that one's hair stood on end. Br. Edwards preached, and David held the communion quarter-hour, of which he gave notice for the 13th. We read the journal somewhat, and finished it to-day.

Monday, 9. Early, through Chippewas, we had news that a messenger from Ekuschuwe was on his way with a message for us, who would be here to-morrow. We learned

also that the Chippewas had killed four Shawanese and a Cherokee on the Miami. This happened, it is said, to punish them for not wishing to keep peace. The assistants spoke with Tulpenejundam and his wife, who, upon their request, which they had already long expressed, got leave to live here. The like was given to the old widow Gertrude, and to her granddaughter Frederica.

Tuesday, 10. Christian and his brother came out of the bush home, who had met Anthony, lying sick, quite alone, and blind besides, with whom they stayed until Indians came, who cared for him. He had been here four days before, and lay sick, but hardly was he a little better when he went away, without intimating that he wanted any thing, though the brothers often visited him. Now we hear he would like to come here, but is no longer able, and will hardly recover. When he was here he seemed quite dead in heart, was yet twice at the meetings. Moreover, they met many Indians, and in one place nearly fifty, out hunting. This was Pemitschischen, an unbaptized man, and Jacob. They were asked whether they came from Pettquotting, and when they answered them yes, they would have it that they should say something to them. The first, an unbaptized man, said he could tell them nothing, for he was not yet a believer, but only lived there, but the one with him was baptized there as a child, and perhaps he could say something to them, but he also did not know much, for he has not been in the church for many years. They said then there must be something and an especial case with us; it was certainly the truth that was taught here; some said they knew it was nothing but the truth, and they maintained it. They said: "For so many years we believed we should find something good among the Indians, but there is none to be found, save in Pettquotting; there is some good of which, however, we knew nothing." Many said they would soon come here to visit us.

Wednesday, 11. Edwards held early service. Gertrude's grandson, Levi, who had taken Deborah to wife, who several days ago was led astray and went away, came



with her too, both asking for reception, whom we took upon trial, to see how they would conduct themselves. On the other hand, the assistant, Luke, on account of his scandalous behaviour, and the trouble he had given, was put out of the assistants' conference, and likewise from the Lord's supper, and thus also Sarah Nanticoke.

Friday, 13, was a day of blessing for the communicants especially, but the others also did not go away empty, but had their share. Something was told them about this remarkable day in all our churches for the glory of Jesus, that we also have been made partakers from grace of the blessing which has since rested on his church. Thereupon, in his near presence, we had the holy communion, of which one, namely, Gottlob, was a partaker for the first time, and Theodora, a widow, looked on as candidate. Besides a messenger came here from Ekuschuwe, who let us know that there would soon be a treaty on Tawa River, to which also two or more of our Indians should come, where they would then learn why he had so long closed their ears, for he would make every thing clear and plain to them; they should hold themselves ready for this, which, however, would probably take place towards autumn. Both the message and string were likewise from Alexander McKee, in Detroit. Joel, whom his father had deceived, wishing to get him away from the church by guile, came now and showed his sorrow that he had let himself be blinded. His father sent him word that if he would come to him he would give him a gun, and he did so too when he went thither, but when he did not wish to stay there they took it away from him, and Joel said to him that not for the gun could he or would he remain with him, that he could not leave the church, he might then keep his gun, and so he left him and came hither.

Saturday, 14. Edwards held early service. The Chippewa messenger went away, but took the Chippewa woman, Christian's wife, with him, and thus our hope of them has failed.

Sunday, 15. Michael preached, and then was the com-

munion liturgy, and towards evening we had thunderstorms, so that there could be no congregation meeting.

Monday, 16. Three Wyandots passed through here with six stolen horses, which had gone through here a few days ago.

Tuesday, 17. Now at last we have heard something trustworthy about Johnson's labor among the Indians, namely, to excite them to war against the Spaniards. So far as we learn, the Tawa chief is opposed, and will not give his consent thereto, and will gladly, therefore, have our Indians on his side, so as to be strong and able to stand in opposition, as has been made known to us by a good friend, a Chippewa.

Thursday, 19. Michael held early service. The brethren were told that we should hereafter have our daily services in the evening, for in the morning the brethren must take care of their plantations, wherewith,

Friday, 20, a beginning was made.

Sunday, 22. David preached. Mingoes, among whom were our Cook's friends, came from Niagara. In the neighborhood of Cuyahoga, in a storm, they had suffered shipwreck, saving themselves with great difficulty upon the rocks. They brought news, which we had also heard from Detroit, that Congress gave back again to the Indians all the land on the west side of the Ohio, and that two of their chiefs had therefore been summoned by Congress, who are gone there, where it will be made known to them.

Wednesday, 25. We had a letter by an Indian from Br. Sensemann, from Graceham, in Maryland, by way of Redstone and Pittsburg, which gives us news of his proposed journey to us. We likewise heard lying tales of armies to come out, by which our Indian brethren were alarmed for a while, but which we do not believe.

Thursday, 26. From the Miami John Cook's father came here, a very old man, for his son is already old, and can no longer go hunting. He said he had for a long time wished to be here, and rejoiced now to have attained his purpose, for he wanted to end his course here among

the believers, and also to become a believer. God help him thereto!

Friday, 27. The old widow, Anna Margaret, who died in peace yesterday, was laid to rest. She was baptized in Lichtenau, May 28, 1778, where one of her children was baptized and died. She came to the Lord's supper Nov. 7, of the same year, had received grace from the Saviour, and experienced it in her heart, but was not true, and did not use it well, which was the reason of her taking her way at once to the savages in the Shawanese towns when the Indian church was scattered, and of being away from the church more than eight years. Her elder sister, Eva, who also went away with her, went from time about a year ago, in Gigejunkt, who had very much longed to come again to the church, but their friends would help neither of them to this. Anna Margaret longed for the church, and at last her daughter, an utterly bad person, brought her here. Thus she came, July 1, last month, sick and weak, saying at once that she had long wished to be here, and since the Saviour had fulfilled her wish and longing, she was willing to close her course in this life in the church, and this soon happened, for her time was short. She was cheerful and thankful to be again in the church, yet one thing was wanting to her, namely, the assurance that the Saviour had forgiven her all her transgressions, and was reconciled to her. This the Saviour vouchsafed her; she believed it, was blessed, and waited from this time forward longingly for her departure. She made also arrangements with her daughter, a half-white, in the presence of some assistants, that she should remain in the church and with her sister Rachel. Two days ago she said finally that she had always been wishing and hoping that her daughter, Dorothy, would come while she was yet alive, for she had promised her to come to the church, but that she could not wait so long, it was too long before she came; she gave up seeing her now, and wished to go to the Saviour, that was the place where she longed to be and which she had been waiting for. She often asked the sisters who came to her to sing verses to her,

and they did so. She departed blessedly, free from all which is upon earth, and went to a better home than she had had here.

Sunday, 29. Edwards preached from the Gospel about the good Samaritan and David held the congregation meeting in the evening from the Scripture-verse. There came here Wyandots, among them some horse-thieves, whom the white people had followed after, and in the Tuscarawas were thought to have overtaken and killed one of them, for he did not come back to them, and they had to abandon their stolen horses.

Monday, 30. A Wyandot chief from over the lake, who came from hunting, called upon Br. David. He was for some time a hostage at Fort Harmar, now Marietta; had a pass from Gov. St. Clair, which he showed to Br. David.

Tuesday, 31. Fourteen widows and two widowers had a pleasant love-feast and then a blessed service for their festival to-day, to whom the Saviour showed himself gracious and blessed them from his bloody plenty. Besides strange Indians came here, the well-known Titawachkam, with others, for a visit.

Wednesday, Sept. 1. From over the lake came Moses, who went away some time ago, bringing word to Ignatius' friends to go to the treaty on Tawa River.

Thursday, 2. Edwards held the evening service from the Scripture-verse and text: They shall look upon me whom they have pierced, and then shall appear the sign of the Son of man in heaven.

Saturday, 4. From Detroit came fourteen prisoners, who are taking to Pittsburg by Wyandots, whom we helped on their way with provisions. There came through here from Sakunk (mouth of Beaver River, Pa.) a messenger to the Wyandots and Pipe, to tell them they should deliver up with the messenger the horses which had lately been stolen, and if they should do this they could live safely in their towns, and that the army would not come near them, which was now in movement to hunt out thieves and murderers.

Sunday, 5. Michael preached and David held the congregation meeting.

Tuesday, 7. The married people celebrated their festival with grace and blessing. The Saviour showed himself gracious to them and let his cheerful face shine over them. Early was a morning service, then their festival service from to-day's text: But that on the good ground are they, which having heard the word keep it and bring forth fruit. In the afternoon was a love-feast for all inhabitants, and in the evening Br. Michael held the congregation meeting from to-day's Scripture-verse.

Wednesday, 8. The assistants spoke with Moses, with whom, still having hope, we have yet farther patience, and therefore take him upon trial; likewise with Abraham, Jun., and with his wife, Anna Rosina. Edwards held the evening service.

Thursday, 9. They spoke with Cook's father, who asked for leave to live here, which he received with the hearty wish that it might redound to his eternal life in the church. He has been this summer a year in coming to us from Gigeyunk. After he had gone about a hundred miles winter overtook him and he remained there. In the spring he continued his journey hither, coming at last to Sandusky, where he rested a few days, and then from there in four days got here, which is a usual day's journey. His provisions for the four days were a little Indian loaf of bread, which a man who is not very hungry could eat at once. At night he lay under a tree without fire, for he could make none, and he was more than glad when God helped him hither, and he said that here he wished to end his life among the believers. It is exactly as if a snail proposed to make a journey of a hundred or more miles, for which, to be sure time is required, but yet it attains its purpose.

Saturday, 11. The brothers spoke with Rénatus, the younger, about his plantation, concerning which a dispute had arisen between him and Amelia. Susanna, who became sick already on the 7th Inst., was very bad.

Sunday, 12. David preached from Galatians, v., 16:

Walk in the spirit, etc. A message came from the Tawa chief that three or four of our Indians should be present at the treaty on the Miami, whereto the nations were now assembling. We took counsel therefore with the assistants, that Samuel and William should go there, but first of all have an interview with the chief, and if it seemed advisable, to speak with him about another settlement, to hear what he said to this, and to make to him our proposition. From Temsitasunk, a creek which falls into the Walhonding, came back John Cook's step-son, Gottlob, whither he went three days ago with his mother, to visit her sick brother, who lay there sick unto death. He sent Gottlob back to tell us that he had been here in the spring, had had a call to the church, but had wished to make a good hunting and then to come here and tell us his mind and wish. On this account he had left his two boys here, who likewise would be the pledge that he wished to come to the church, but now he had wasted his time through his disobedience, and must, perhaps, die there in the bush, for he could not again get well, but yet he wished to commend himself to the consideration of the brethren, to commit himself to them whatever they should say to him and advise him.

Tuesday, 14. We sent Bill Henry with Leonard to the sick Indian, to speak with him, and to see whether they might possibly bring him here as he had longed. Here Br. Edwards was also very ill, and Susanna was not yet better.

Thursday, 16. The brothers, William, Samuel, Zachary, and Lewis, set out for the Miami, where the nations have an assembly, to which they were asked. We laborers strengthened and refreshed our thirsty hearts on the body and blood of our Lord in the holy sacrament. From Sandusky returned the messenger to the Wyandots, mentioned on the 4th of this month, with three prisoners on their way to Pittsburg, whom we had to provide with food. They waited a couple of days here for a third prisoner, who was yet to be brought from the bush. Among our brethren fever and ague prevail, by

which Sister Susanna and Br. Edwards have been afflicted more than a week.

Saturday, 18. The brothers went away to the Miami to the treaty. Here we had labor with Jephtha, who for several days has not been quite in his right mind, whom the brothers must examine. He was let blood, more than three quarts; whereupon he fell asleep, had a good sweat, and came to himself somewhat.

Sunday, 19. Michael preached about the youth at Nain; then was the communion quarter-hour, notice of which was given for next Saturday.

Monday, 20. From Detroit traders came here, who wanted some Indians to help them build a house, but we could not and would not grant them this, for they had rum.

Wednesday, 22. Many brethren lay sick of fever and ague. Frenchmen came here by water from Detroit to trade, established themselves below us on the creek and built a town.

Friday, 24. Both yesterday and to-day the brethren were spoken to in regard to the communion, for which the Saviour gave grace, for we thought that many of them would remain away, but no one remained away, and we enjoyed it,

Saturday, 25, in his near presence, with hungry and thirsty hearts, to our indescribable blessing. There were many sick and weak in body still, among whom were Sister Susanna and Br. Edwards, but no one would avoid it or miss it. The widow, Theodora, and the two girls, Juliana and Judith, were for the first time partakers at the communion.

Sunday, 26. The four brothers came early back from the Miami and received also their share in the holy communion. They made their journey quite in vain, and found they had been deceived by a false message and that no one had called them. The agent, Capt. McKee, said to them it did not occur to him to invite them to the treaty; he had summoned only horse-thieves and murderers, to tell them to desist from their evil ways. If he had any thing to say to us, he should not send wampum,

but a writing, for they had ministers who would read it to them, for they could at once all come together and hear. The Wyandot, Abraham Kuhn,<sup>1</sup> said: "It did not occur to us to invite you with thieves and murderers; we know you are not such; we will not liken you with them." They did not meet with the Tawa chief, Ekuschuwe, and so could not speak with him. The brothers met Pipe there, whom they greeted. He said to them, among other things, that he and the Wyandots had given Pettquotting to the believing Indians to inhabit; they should now hold on to it and not give it from their hands, nor let it go, nor be driven from it. He said farther that he was sad as often as he thought of it, and did not like to think of it, that he had treated us so badly and roughly upon the Muskingum, but that he was not the cause of it, the English in Detroit had forced him and the Wyandots to it. To the Indians who were there, presents had been made, but our brethren got neither presents nor any thing to eat. Then said Abraham Kuhn to them quite freely: "If you go stealing horses and murdering, then you will get presents, too, but since you do not thus, you get nothing, for only thieves and murderers get presents."

Early was the communion liturgy, and then Br. Michael preached. In the congregation meeting was the reception of two persons, namely, Christian and Matthew, who as children had been baptized in the church, but for twelve years and longer had wandered about with their mother in error, and last year came again to the church.

Tuesday, 28. The assistants went down to the lake to the creek, where a trader from Detroit was come with more than ten barrels of rum, who builds a house there, to speak with him, and to bid him leave our neighborhood with his rum, but they accomplished little or nothing, for, as we hear, a new commandant<sup>2</sup> is come, who, as he said, permits the traders to bring as much rum among the In-

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<sup>1</sup> Written also Coon. He was the Wyandot war-chief from Lower Sandusky, a white captive, adopted by the Indians.

<sup>2</sup> Maj. D. W. Smith, as we learn, under Nov. 14th, next.



dians as they please, for this is the best trade, and otherwise the traders could not stand, but must break; seeing that the States can sell their goods much cheaper to the Indians than they, most business passes over to Pittsburg. Since this is so, and we have from that quarter no help to expect, we must turn to Pipe and the Wyandots, and if nothing can be done with them, the next best thing will be to vacate Pettquotting and abandon it to the traders, for since we live here on the lake, where they can come by water in boats and transports, and since they know that here is so large a town, the like of which is not to be found among the Indians, the traders come here in crowds, and cause us nothing but trouble and disorder.

Wednesday, 29. A party of brethren went to bring in the sick Indian, who has been on the way hither since the 14th of this month, and now is not far off, for he cannot sit upon a horse, but must be carried in a litter. When they reached him, however, he was already dead, but the next day they brought in his corpse here, where he was buried. Shortly before he had spoken with his sister, Zipporah, saying he had much longed to come to the believers and to die there, but he knew he could not now accomplish it; his whole thought and longing had so been, but if it pleased God that he should no longer come here, he would resign himself to this. He exhorted his sister and friends to remain in the church to the last, and when he had ceased speaking he died.

Friday, Oct. 1. Early before day a son was born to Israel, which, in the evening meeting, was baptized with the name Lewis.

Sunday, 3. Early came Mr. Parke from Pittsburg, as express, who brought us letters from Br. Sensemann and his wife and from the church, at the same time also the news that they were at the Fort and waited to be sent for, for which we made immediate preparations. This Parke was upon the point of setting out for Detroit with some goods and cattle, but he gave all this up, and hastened hither to bring us news. Br. David preached, after which the greetings from the church here and in Europe were

delivered to the baptized and received; also a letter from Br. Ettwein to the Indian church was read, to the great joy and encouragement of the brethren.

Monday, 4. The brothers set out with Mr. Parke for Pittsburg. David, who was yesterday indisposed, was better to-day. We sent letters to Bethlehem.

Wednesday, 6. The brethren harvested our plantations, as they have themselves been busy doing for more than a week. Every thing has done well and finely, nothing lost. The French from Detroit, however, begin again to wheedle our Indians out of their corn, come here with apples to exchange for it, and thus this week one of them has taken from here a great boat's load. This was the cause of the famine this summer among our brethren, for they had exchanged every thing, the apples enticing them, for which they gave every thing.

Saturday, 9. Wyandots, who had taken prisoners to Pittsburg, came back from there, bringing news that the militia kept good watch on all roads, and that not long before four Indians, who stole horses, died. The Indians had themselves found one lying in the bush, who was mortally wounded and could not get away. He begged them to help him off for he could again recover, but instead of this they struck him dead.

Sunday, 10. Michael preached and David held the congregation meeting. From the Miami, where the nations hold an assembly and council, came back one of our unbaptized Indians, who had been invited there by his uncle. He had heard what occurred after our Indians came away, for he got there afterwards. There were Shawanese and Twightwees there, and one of the former arose, threw his belt high up before all the nations, and was so headstrong as to summon them all to rise at once and go to war against the States; they should make a campaign this autumn and then rest until spring, and then begin anew. After a pause a chief of the Maschko<sup>1</sup> nation, from the south,

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<sup>1</sup>"The Wawiachtanos and Twightwees are found between the rivers Scioto and Wabash, also the Kickapoos, Moschkos, and Tuckashaws,

arose and said that he had not come there to hear any thing of the sort, but would have been glad to hear something good; he could give him no answer, for he was but one man, but he wished to take his words home, perhaps he would get an answer after a year, but he could not promise him when; whereupon he rolled together the belt and threw it at the feet of the Shawano, saying: "Thou and the Twightwees may go to war alone; of all the nations here assembled, none will help you." This was, in short, the purport of his speech, for which he was praised by Pipe and the Wyandots, who thereupon, one after the other, arose and threw the war-belt at the feet of the Shawano. No greater insult can be done one than to throw at his feet his belt with his proposition.

Tuesday, 12. The brothers were busy harvesting their fields, but rainy weather hindered them much, but we have a good, plentiful harvest, and all has thriven well.

Thursday, 14. From Detroit, whence Squirrel came back, we heard wonderful news, that they are preparing for defence, raising soldiers, and the like; but what it means time must teach us, as though they expected trouble from the part of the Indians. It was said that traders had gone to the Wabash with goods, from whom every thing had been taken away by the Indians.

Friday, 15. Already for eight days it has rained every day, which hinders the brethren much in their harvest, and the corn suffers damage.

Sunday, 17. David preached about the wedding-garment, Christ's blood, and righteousness, wherewith we are clad, our sins covered, and we are sunk into the sea of mercy, if we come to the Saviour sinful, naked, and bare. Br. Michael held the congregation meeting. Sister Susanna was able to go to the chapel again, the first time in five weeks, so also Br. Edwards. Squirrel arrived, who

on both sides of the Wabash, though at some distance one from another."

Loskiel's Mission History. Germ. Ed., p. 4. Loskiel is supposed to have had his information from Zeisberger.

came from Detroit several days ago, who told us the reason the traders brought rum to the river was that a new commandant was come, who knew nothing about us; we must pay our respects to him and lay before him our complaints, then the matter would be remedied.

Monday, 18. The Indian brothers built a house for Br. Sensemann and his wife, which they finished Thursday of this week.

Thursday, 21. We got the first news and information about the army<sup>1</sup> which marched into the Indian land, that the Miami towns near Gigeyunk are all destroyed, burnt down, and all their corn ruined, but that all the Indians got away, leaving every thing in the lurch. They had also burnt the goods of the Detroit traders, and were building a fort in the old Shawanese towns.

Friday, 22. In the evening in the marriage service Christian, Louisa's son, and the single woman, Johanette, Helen's daughter, were married. French came again into the river with rum and cider, to whom Abraham went and made known our rights, that they should here sell nothing of the kind.

Saturday, 23. Below here on the lake died the Chippewa Manitto, and at the same time his Longus.<sup>2</sup> They asked help from us about his burial, which we could not give on account of the Chippewas, who are drinking about there. Along the shore of the lake there are said to be

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<sup>1</sup> This army was under the command of Gen. Harmar, and the whole expedition is sometimes named "Harmar's defeat." Hist. of the Backwoods, p. 289. A writer in Indian Antiquities, vol. ii, p. 179, protests against this appellation. Perkins, in his Western Annals, p. 344, says: "The army as a whole effected all that the popular expectations of Clark in 1782 and of Scott and Williamson in 1791 did; we mean the annihilation of towns and corn, and was by Harmar and St. Clair considered very successful; but in reality, *in the view of the Indians*, it was an utter failure and defeat."

<sup>2</sup> This word, Longus, has occurred three times before, and may be found in vol. i., pp. 342, 408, 413, where the meaning, messenger, would be suitable, but if this conjecture be correct, the coincidence of Manitto's and his messenger's death in the present passage is at least curious.

many Indians sick. With us the sickness is nearly over, and it now goes among the Chippewas. Not long ago they laughed at us that we had so many sick, no one of them being sick. It is said that Manitto three days in succession had diarrhœa and vomiting, which could not be stopped. Of his last hours we have learned that he repeatedly said he wished to be a believer, for it probably occurred to him what he had heard here, and he remained thereby to the last. Squirrel said to him: "Thou sayest that now indeed, since thou seest thou must die, but if thou shouldst again become well, thou wouldst again forget it." The Frenchman baptized him, soon after which he departed. Since Joshua, who was also there at work, must make a coffin for him and see how the Tawas placed him in the ground, we will give the following account: He was painted red, clothed in new clothes in the best way, hung with much silver about the head, neck, and arms, then at last he was wrapped in a new shroud and placed in his coffin. Upon one side of his head lay apples, and upon the other onions. In the middle at his side were his tobacco-pouch, fire-tongs, pipe, and knife, his hunting-bag and powder-horn, furnished with powder and lead, upon the other a great wheat loaf. At his feet were the kettle, hatchet, bowl, spoon, and shoes, and thus was he buried. The Frenchman, who baptized him, placed in his hands a crucifix for his burial. His other property was divided among those who helped at his burial. In the evening service the little daughter of Samuel and Sarah, born this morning before day, was baptized with the name Mercy.

Sunday, 24. Br. Edwards preached and Michael held the congregation meeting. We learned from Sandusky that our Cook's father, who had come here a long way from Gigejunk, asked leave to live here, which he obtained, but who soon afterwards went back again, when he came to Sandusky fell sick, and is dead. He had brought here his doctor's tools, a tortoise-shell taken from the animal, wherein little stones are placed, which they rattle before the patient, and at the same time dance, sing, and

mumble. When he was told that he must cease from this and put it away, if he wished to live here and become a believer, he promised so to do, went at once and carried away the tortoise-shell in front of the town, and thus addressed it, saying: "Now will I speak myself free from thee. I have served thee long enough, and am become old. From this time forth I will begin another life, and thou canst now go and seek another abode where it pleaseth thee." He put down his tortoise-shell and went away. The next day he went there again and found it still there. He took it and brought it home. Upon being asked why he brought it back, having wished to put it away, he replied that it did not wish to leave him; he had taken it away, and when he came there again it still lay in the very same spot, therefore he had taken it to himself again. With such silly things Satan holds people captive, since they believe in them.

Sophia visited a sick woman in the neighborhood, who, for two years, has wished to come to the church, and was still of this mind, but her husband had no inclination for this. She advised the woman to have patience, and to wait for her husband; she comforted her that if her disposition was from her heart, the Saviour would yet in the end help her to accomplish it.

Wednesday, 27. We got our second intelligence about the army, that they had come to Gigeyunk eight thousand<sup>1</sup> men strong, and that, six days before, there had been a skirmish in which three hundred of the whites were said to have fallen, that the army was surrounded and hemmed in by the Indians, and as soon as any one let himself be seen, he was shot down; that all hastened there in the hope of blotting them all out. The news sounded frightful, that is, in Indian, but we cannot and must not believe every thing, for many lies are told. The Detroit traders had all gone away before the army came, having burnt their houses and forts. We committed ourselves to the Saviour for pro-

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<sup>1</sup>"The total force of the expedition consisted of fourteen hundred and fifty-three men." Albach's West. Annals, p. 546.

tection. May he, in his grace, think of his inheritance out of the heathen. They were told to keep still, not to go far away hunting. A scalp was sent to the Sanduskians, and they were asked to the fight.

Friday, 29. Still more traders come to this river from Detroit, and all bring rum. It must first become very bad that we may have reason and ground enough to make complaint, and as soon as we have a chance to meet the Tawa chief, we shall do something in the matter. Since the traders still come here in such number from Detroit, it is a sign that they fear nothing here; another reason is that they cannot go up the Miami on account of the army.

Sunday, 31. Michael preached. A sick Mohican woman of the neighborhood here, who has been here already a couple of years, has attended our meetings and would always have liked to be in the church, but was held back by her husband, who has no inclination thereto, was now so sick that others, and she herself, had doubts of her recovery. The sisters had often visited her, to whom she showed her longing, and whom she asked to bring her here to us, where then she would willingly go from time. So to-day she was brought here in a canoe by the sisters, with the consent of her husband, who said that neither he nor his friends could be helpful to her in any thing she sought and desired; he was glad we wished to take charge of her, but he would himself never leave her as long as she lived. After she was here, David and Susanna (Mr. and Mrs. Zeisberger) visited her, to whom she said she was thankfully glad to be here, but that this was not all she wished; one thing was still lacking to her, namely, forgiveness of her sins and cleansing with the Saviour's blood. She was asked whether she believed that that alone could help, satisfy, save, and quiet her, whether she believed that the Saviour had died for her sins and had poured out his blood for the forgiveness of her sins. She answered: "Yes, I believe that, and therein put my whole faith and trust." As she was very weak, and we saw that the end was near, she was also baptized this evening with the name Mariane, and this Br. David told to the brethren

in the congregation meeting. A widow, the wife of the Indian brought here dead, got leave to live here with four children, after the assistants had first spoken with her.

Monday, Nov. 1. As we were distressed in such troublesome times about Br. Sensemann and his wife, who remained out beyond their time, and as we had an inkling, too, that the Chippewas and Tawas, many of whom were down at the lake, would fall upon and plunder Mr. Parke, who came out with them, and was driving cattle too, we sent a couple of Indian brethren to meet them, either to bring them in, or, if they were yet far away and the other side of the Cuyahoga, to warn them and tell them to do as they held it best, either to turn about or to continue their journey. We conferred with the assistants, whether we could not send a speech to the Chippewas to do no harm to Parke, since he had been of service to us, and was now coming out with Br. Sensemann and his wife, but they had no disposition for this, and as we saw this, we sent him word to turn about. While we were still deliberating about this, however, there came a white man from Detroit, with an Indian, to get the cattle. They went on with the brethren to meet the party, and thus were we helped in our need and perplexity.

Of the army we got somewhat more exact news, and that it is not in such danger as had been said, namely, that the advance troops had been attacked as they came to Gigeyunk; but they had cut their way through and pitched their camp in the town, which the Indians had burnt; that the Indians had brought away their wives and children, and that the men remained there, and many times made an assault, but, as soon as they were fired upon, they ran off, not standing firm. In the evening service we called to mind our communion with the church above, in the blessed hope of sometime with it kissing his wounds, and we sang the song, Jerusalem.

Tuesday, 2. Early before day died Mariane, who was baptized day before yesterday, thankful, joyful and blessed. She had believed, had given herself to the Saviour, and depended upon his blood and merits alone. Thus again



is a brand saved from the fire, for which praise and honor are due the Saviour. Her remains were buried this evening, for it was high time. Her things were divided among the sisters who had taken care of her.

Wednesday, 3. From the Miami a Chippewa came as messenger, bringing news from the army that six days ago there had been a fight with the Indians, they could not muster more than two hundred men, did not stand, but ran away; it was said twenty Indians and one hundred whites were killed, besides the wounded; after the fight it was said farther, that the whites had burned down the town, of which they had taken possession, and where was much corn, that they had laid waste every thing, and had moved away to the head of the Scioto, where they had built a fort, and whither they came unmolested;<sup>1</sup> that the Indians had left Gigejunk and gone down the Miami to the Fork, where they were now altogether, but where they must eat up one another, which famine would cause.

Saturday, 6. By a Chippewa messenger, who went back to the Miami to Ekuschuwe, we sent to the old chief a message with a piece of tobacco and a string, and reminded him that he had told us, if we had to suffer inconvenience from any one, whoever he might be, to let him know it; that the traders now brought much rum here, whereby we were much disquieted, that he would know how this was to be helped. Here belongs the interview of Squirrel, who gave occasion for the message, with the chief in our behalf. This Frenchman, who has lived here many years, and as long as we have been here, has always shown himself our friend, who also stands in good relation and ac-

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<sup>1</sup>Oct. 13th Col. John Hardin was sent with nearly seven hundred men to surprise the Indians, but found their towns deserted. The main army, under Gen'l Harmar, joined Hardin's force on the 17th, and the villages and their contents were destroyed, among them several thousand bushels of corn. The further operations of this army were far from successful, and they had begun their homeward march, when Harmar, at Hardin's request, sent back about four hundred men to surprise the enemy. Owing to lack of co-operation on the part of the troops, many men were lost. See note on p. 130.

quaintance with the Tawa chief, has spoken with him in our behalf, that since so many traders are here, and the rum-business is driven so hard, to our harm and prejudice, whereby we are made uneasy and are annoyed, and although it might be that he had his own advantage in the business, he had spoken for the existence and need of the Indian church. Upon this the Tawa chief replied, that he would like to have something immediately from us to push the matter, which gave occasion to the message. The Tawa chief had farther expressed himself in speech about our existence and outcome, if another Indian war should break out, which was now quite probable, and it was not known to which side it might turn; he had been considering within himself how he should act in such case, if it should really come to a war. The believing Indians, he said, could not remain in Pettquotting, and he saw, at the same time, the impossibility of his taking them away, it was too hard, it seemed impossible to help us; therefore he had resolved within himself, if things came to such a pass, as he feared, to ask the commandant in Detroit for help, and to say to him: "Thou art strong enough. I know it is not impossible for thee, if only thou wilt. Thou hast ships, and canst bring them all away together at once and take them to a safe place, where they will be out of danger of being swallowed."

Sunday, 7. David preached, and Edwards held the congregation meeting from the Scripture-verse: Thousand thousands ministered unto him. By a blind alarm and lies which arose from misunderstanding, when a Chippewa messenger came from the Miami, our people were for a time very much alarmed, but were quieted upon our finding out there was nothing in the thing.

Monday, 8. Although five weeks have passed since we sent brethren to Pittsburg to bring here Br. Sensemann and his wife, and eight days ago we sent two messengers to see and to get news where they were, but no one came back, and when we were not a little anxious about them, and had many reflections,

Tuesday, 9, early in the afternoon we were freed from

our doubts all at once, for the Sensemanns came to us here well and fortunate, to the hearty joy of ourselves and of all the Indian brethren. Old and young ran out and greeted them, the children heard shouting, and ran out to meet them. At the evening service the brethren were greeted from the church, and the Saviour was thanked from the heart for watching over their brethren and bringing them to us. Early before this Br. Jung went down to the lake and conducted the burial of an English trader who died there yesterday, and requested this before his departure.

Wednesday, 10. In the evening service Br. David baptized the little son of Lewis and Esther, born yesterday, into Jesus' death, Caleb.

Thursday, 11. John Leeth, who, in Cuyahoga, came again to the church from Pittsburg, and since then, with his family, has lived with us, but who in these troublous times does not think it safe here for his wife and children, went away from here to-day, with our blessing, for Pittsburg, to go from there farther to the church, according to circumstances and opportunity, which we have already long wished for him—to succeed in his purpose.

Saturday, 13. In the forenoon, in the service for the baptized, the brethren were told of this important day, about our Saviour's office of Elder, and about his blessed rule in the church, at the end of which Gertrude was absolved. In the evening the communicants enjoyed his body and blood in the holy sacrament.

Sunday, 14. Early the communion liturgy, then Michael preached and Br. Sensemann held the congregation meeting from the Scripture-verse. From Detroit we had a letter from the commandant, Maj. D. W. Smith, in which he told us, that so far as we were said to have trouble with the traders in regard to the rum-business, we should only let him know, for what had happened had been without his knowledge. This letter Br. David answered at once.

Wednesday, 17. A white woman, named Mary, of John Harris' family, from the Susquehanna, who, as a little girl, in the first war (1763?), was captured, and since then had been around among the Indians, Shawanese, Chippewas,

and in Detroit, came with French people to this neighborhood a year ago, and has often been to us and gone away again. She sent word to us and begged us, since she lay sick unto death, to have compassion upon her, and to help her hither, where she would like to die, and we did so. After she was brought here, she had Br. David called, whom before she had many times visited, and upon being asked what her wish and disposition were, she replied, that Jesus Christ might pity her, receive her through his grace, and forgive her her sins. Whether then she knew and believed she was a sinner, and whether she believed that the Saviour had died for sinners, and poured out his blood for the remission of sins? She answered, very intelligently: "I am a great sinner, this I know, I am lost unless the Saviour have compassion upon me, therefore this is my only desire, the forgiveness of my sins. I gladly believe that the Saviour died for me and has redeemed me with his blood, I have to do with his grace and mercy, this is my greatest anxiety, wish, and desire." Br. David gave her absolution in the name of Jesus Christ, whereupon she was much comforted, and on the morning of the 18th early she peacefully died. Her remains were buried on the 19th.

Thursday, 18. We began again to hold our daily services in the morning.

Friday, 19. A party of brethren went down and destroyed a French trader's house, who two years ago had settled not far away, and whom we could not get to go away. Since now, however, he had died in Detroit, and the house was vacant, we took it away before other people should be in it. It was the resort of an utterly bad set, to our damage and prejudice.

Sunday, 21. Br. Sensemann preached about faith in the only-born Son of God, whereby alone through faith and not for our good works we are saved and win life eternal. David held the congregation meeting from the Scripture-verse: Vow and pay unto the Lord your God; let all that be round about him, etc. We read the journal.

Monday, 22. Michael held early service. Now we again have trouble about Mr. Parke, who has begun to trade

from Pittsburg here. We had already heard before now he came here that the Tawas were watching to kill him. Of this, to be sure, since he was here, we had heard nothing, but had yet warned him and advised him not to remain here for the present, since we could not protect him against a plundering crowd. To-day Squirrel came quite early and told us they were quite determined to kill him; whereupon four Tawas also soon came after him, with whom the Indian brethren spoke, reminding them that their chief had placed us heré, and had admonished all his people to put nothing in our way and not to injure us; therefore they should not befoul our town with blood, and should they do so, they drove us away from here. We showed them also his strings and belts, to which, however, they answered that their chief had himself gone to war, much rather would they be blamed for not doing it. After handling Parke somewhat roughly and taking from him two pieces of linen, they went away, but they said this was not satisfaction enough; they would yet tomahawk him. We then begged Parke to go away, and could hardly persuade him to it. In such times it is not fit that traders from the States should be here. They cause us nothing but trouble and perplexity, and they are not sure of their lives. Moreover they make pretensions to be protected by us, when we only put ourselves in danger on their account. Hitherto he has given no heed to our statements and warnings, but now he saw the danger before his eyes and got out of the way secretly for Detroit, by way of Sandusky. In Detroit he thinks he shall get help.

Tuesday, 23. Edwards held morning service.

Wednesday, 24. The Indian brothers got ready for their autumn hunt: From the Miami came back the messenger; a Chippewa, by whom we had sent a message to the Tawa chief, but he told us he had delivered and made over this message, and that the chief was in Detroit, where in a short time we should hear from him, what sort of success he had against the rum-business here in our neighborhood. Of disquiet from war he knew nothing; likewise

about the army. All is quiet and the Indians go hunting. We recalled the occurrence upon the Mahony (1755).

Sunday, 28. Br. David preached at the entrance into Advent time, exhorting the brethren to school their hearts and to be ready to go to meet God, our Creator and Saviour, with joy, and to stand in expectation and readiness for what he would bring us good and blessed, of which also the congregation meeting treated, which Br. Sensemann conducted.

Monday, 29. Edwards held early service. To-day most of the brethren went out for their autumn hunt, and only the old remained at home.

Tuesday, 30. David held the early service in Indian from the Scripture-verse.

Thursday, Dec. 2. Now all at once we got rid of our unpleasant neighbors, the traders, who were troublesome to us with their rum-business, who could not be induced, by all our representations, to move away from here, for two of them are dead; from the third his rum was taken by the Indians with force, and thereupon he hurried away also, and the other two, still there, are not troublesome to us, but are our friends.

Sunday, 5. From Gigeyunk we got news that misfortune came upon some of our brethren too, and that several of them were killed; for instance, Philippina, with her son, Adolphus, his wife and Nathaniel, Gottlieb's son. They always thought themselves safer there than here with us. Here the word applies: Whoever shall seek to save his life shall lose it. Generally more Indians have died than was at first asserted. Mr. Robbins, who came from Sandusky, on his way to Pittsburg, brought unpleasant news from every side, that the whites are making ready for war, and that fifty men are already prepared to go out; that through the last expedition, which turned out disastrously, they have become only the more bitter. We also heard the old story warmed up again about Br. David's writing to the Fort. This aroused in us the sigh: Help thy people, Lord Jesus Christ! Br. Edwards preached and David held the congregation meeting, about the hope

and trust we have in the Saviour in all the needs of the earth and in dangers, if only we hold fast to him.

Wednesday, 8. Mr. Robbins, who came here a couple of days ago, went away to Pittsburg, whom an Indian brother accompanied more than half-way. We should have liked to write to the church by this occasion, but were too uneasy to venture it, since the old story has again shown itself, that we conduct a secret correspondence with Pittsburg, besides the white people cannot be trusted.

Thursday, 9. Br. Edwards held early service about the safety, rest, and peace, believers in Jesus enjoy in his holy wounds.

We had trustworthy news that the Delawares on the Miami during these disturbances have made themselves prominent and have shown themselves our opponents, of which, to be sure, we had already heard several times, but had not believed, namely: In Gigeyunk, after the meeting with the army was entirely over, the Indians held a council, whereby we were especially spoken of and the believing Indians were mentioned, that none of them had come to the fight and helped, but only sat there and sent news to the States of what went on among the Indians. The captains had already resolved to come here with their power and to take us prisoners with the threat of killing the teachers, since they could do with the Indians what they would. In this they had one of our Indians for their aim, namely, Samuel Nanticoke, who, as they said, was a head-man among them, and whom they must put out of the way. This his own brother, who was present, heard, and he said to them: "I say to you if you do that, I shall not keep still regarding it. I shall also do something. If you wish to go there, you may go, but I will go with you, and some one of you shall lie there dead before you lay hands on my brother. You have already once robbed my brother and the believing Indians, and despoiled them of house and goods. You have a mind to do that again, since you know they have again got a little property together. You wish to rob and steal, this brings you to this thought, but when you should fight, about which you are

ever boasting and making great promises, you run away." The chiefs who had not been present, but had heard of what he said to the Indians, had him called before them, stated to him what he was reported to have said, and asked him if it were so. He replied that it was the truth, he had said it and said it yet; he did not wish to prevent their doing what they wished, but he wanted to do what he wished. Thereupon the chiefs said it did not come from them, they had not made the plan, but the captains among themselves, and they told them to desist from their scheme, for the Tawa chief, Ekuschuwe, had us in his arms and would care for us. They let this content them, but said that if he said nothing to us, they would come and tell us something. This was to us the foreboding for another pilgrimage, but whither? This the Saviour knows, but not we. The world, which yet is great, and contains land enough, will soon be too small for them, a little handful of believing Indians, who are on this account reviled and despised, of whom the world is unworthy, because they believe in Jesus Christ.

Friday, 10. In our conference we laborers considered what, for the use and advantage of the Indian church, we had most necessary to accomplish, and we were directed by the Saviour to take thought about increasing the number of assistants, which we did at once, and for the present appointed three brothers and three sisters, namely, Joshua, Bill Henry, Thomas, and Sophia, Martha, Salome.

Sunday, 12. Michael preached from the Gospel of John in prison. In the children's hour, which Br. Sensemann conducted, he baptized Eleonora, the little daughter of Br. Boaz and his wife Abigail, born on the 5th of this month. Br. David held the congregation meeting. From Pittsburg came the white man, Walker, who went there from Detroit some time ago, with an Indian and a negro. He went to meet Parke, but had missed him, and now he took his cattle to Detroit, which was pleasing to us. They had yet learned nothing in Pittsburg about the army and its doings.

Tuesday, 15. The brethren began to come home from



their autumn hunt. The white man went away to Detroit with Parke's cattle.

Friday, 17. The brethren contributed corn for the love-feasts of the year to come.

Sunday, 19. Br. Sensemann preached about this, that God in this last time, through his son, had spoken to us lost men, and had invited sinners to repentance, forgiveness of sins, to receive life and salvation, all which were won for us by his incarnation and bitter death. Br. David held the communion quarter-hour, inviting thereto the poor and needy. Edwards held the congregation meeting.

Monday, 20. Michael held early service. Polly gave birth to a son before her time. Most of our people were come home from hunting, having generally done very well, except David, who nearly broke his leg, and had been kept in by it the whole time. From Little Beaver Creek Abel came back, where he had left his father sick, who had accompanied John Leeth.

Tuesday, 21. By William, who, while hunting, had met Pipe's brother and other Indians, we learned that both the first and the Wyandots are much cast down, and have given up longer advising peace and holding to it, saying: "What can we do? We are but two, and all other nations are for war. We must expect to have the nations fall upon us, if we do not agree with them." And so it is, too. They will, therefore, in the spring, all go away from there, and if this happens we also cannot and dare not remain. We await, therefore, what the chief Ekuschuwe will say to us and advise us.

Thursday, 23. Polly's son, born on the 20th, was baptized Nathan in her house.

Friday, 24. To-day, yesterday, and the day before, the brethren were spoken to by the Zeisbergers and Sensemanns.

We began Christmas with a love-feast, rejoiced in the incarnation and birth of God, our Saviour, in a stall and manger, who brought peace into the world, and was called Jesus, because he saves us. We adored him and asked him

to make plain to us this great, all-surpassing wonder in the hearts of us all. In conclusion, little lights, wax-tapers, were given to the children, whereupon all joyfully went home.

Saturday, 25. Br. Sensemann preached about the message of the angels to the shepherds about the birth of the Saviour, which was announced to the poor. In the afternoon service; Peggy, a woman from the Jerseys, baptized when a child by Mr. Brainard, was taken into the church. In the evening the communicants received his body as he came from his mother Mary, and his holy blood, with hungry and thirsty souls in the holy sacrament, to which the widow Gertrude was again admitted, likewise Tobias, who escaped the hands of the murderers on the Muskingum.

Sunday, 26. After the communion liturgy Br. Michael preached and David then conducted the children's hour, whom he exhorted to love the Infant in the manger, who for us was born a man, with all their might, and to give to him their poor, sinful hearts. The conference of assistants, with whom we had a meeting, was enlarged and strengthened by two brothers, Joshua and William Henry, and three sisters, Sophia, Martha, and Salome, to whom their office and duty were explained and recommended at length, to provide for good order in the church. Abel and Charles went to Little Beaver Creek to get the sick Thomas.

Monday, 27. David held early service. A daughter was born to Tulpe.

Tuesday, 28. Sensemann held early service. Edwards held the congregation meeting.

Thursday, 30. Edwards held early service. From the Miami strangers were here, among others, the son of Joseph Snowshoe, who lived for a long time in the Brothers' home, in Bethlehem. He had never yet heard any thing about the brothers nor the Saviour. The assistants came together. They were charged to speak with Samuel's daughter, who has again come here, but they got from her no answer.

Friday, 31. Towards midnight we assembled for the

close of the year, beginning with a love-feast. This year also we found much reason, and were moved, to bring to our good Lord honor, much praise, and thankfulness for all the grace, kindnesses, goodness, and faithfulness he has shown us, bodily and spiritually. In outward matters our dear heavenly Father has cared for us and bestowed upon us what was needful, and in our inward life our dear Lord has held us by his wounds, and has daily fed our hearts with his sufferings, and kept us in intercourse with him. He has given blessing and success to the preaching of the Gospel, so that many strangers have heard it, not without fruit. The daily words of the apostles and prophets, given through the Holy Ghost, and written for our instruction, exhortation, and comfort, were our daily food and nourishment, by which our hearts have been refreshed and revived. May he be pleased to give us more.

And what a kindness it is he has shown us, that amidst all the unrest among the Indians he has let us enjoy peace and rest, so that we have experienced little or no disquiet, for through the whole year robbing, stealing, and murdering on the part of the Indians have not ceased, and when in the autumn an army came to Gigeyunk, we remained in peace and undisturbed, except that we afterwards had to hear many threats from Indians ill-disposed towards us, but this is nothing new, we are accustomed to it.

To be sure we have at present no distinct prospect that we shall have peace and quiet, for all the information we get from abroad is announcement of an Indian war, and so much the more now that an army has been to Gigeyunk, whereby the Indians are the more embittered, but we commit ourselves to the eye and guard of Israel, and we pray the more earnestly: God, give peace in thy land, and we trust in him and believe he will care for our welfare and good, be a refuge for his church in time of need, and find for us a free city, as thus far he has always done. Sometimes it falls upon us to think: Why must we yet be among a wicked, murdering people. All the

Indians who live to the eastward, of whom there are not a few, have peace, why then can we not have things as good? Yes, if we did not know that we have not ourselves chosen this place, but, much more, have planned to get away from it, we should have reproach and must blame ourselves, that up to the present time we have not come to rest. Since then we thus know that we have not established ourselves here of our own accord, but have been compelled against our will, we look upon it already as guidance on the part of the Saviour, who must have his own reasons therefor, that we must now be here in the midst of dark heathendom, among people the most bent on murder, that will hear nothing of peace. So must we comfort ourselves herewith, and think: Perhaps it is for this reason, the Saviour will break through darkness with the light of the Gospel, and use as an instrument for this his poor, weak, little Indian church. If this be so, he will requite us with strength therefor. Moreover, we put before us in advance, that towards spring again a storm will hover over us, and that we have to await a visit from hostile Indians, of which we have information—so far as the Saviour in his grace does not turn it from us. We thanked him humbly for all the mercy and kindness shown to us outwardly and inwardly, asked forgiveness of all our faults, and committed ourselves farther anew to the protection of our heavenly Father, to the mercy of our Saviour, Jesus Christ, and to the care of the Holy Ghost. Besides we called to mind the arrival of Br. Sensemann and his wife at the mission on the 9th of November.

|  |               |
|--|---------------|
| Adults have been baptized.....                                       | 14            |
| Children .....   | 16            |
| Taken into the church.....   | 9             |
| Gone from the church.....  | 3             |
| Admitted to the Lord's supper, which we<br>"have had nine times..... | 10            |
| Married.....   | Five couples. |
| Died, adults.....  | 6             |
| "    children .....  | 5             |

The inhabitants of New Salem are—

|                                     |    |
|-------------------------------------|----|
| Married, 38 couples.....            | 76 |
| Single men.....                     | 9  |
| Single women.....                   | 6  |
| Widowers, 7; widows, 17.....        | 24 |
| Great boys, 13; great girls, 9..... | 22 |
| Boys.....                           | 37 |
| Little girls.....                   | 38 |

|            |     |
|------------|-----|
| Total..... | 212 |
|------------|-----|

28 more persons than at the end of last year.

## CHAPTER XI.

1791.

NEW SALEM, ON THE HURON RIVER, OHIO—AT THE MOUTH OF THE DETROIT RIVER.

Saturday, Jan. 1. Edwards preached. Br. Sensemann held the service for the baptized from the Scripture-verse, and David held the congregation meeting from the text. Many Chippewas came here, not to listen, but to beg. Several brethren had for their baptismal day a love-feast together, preaching and thanking God with heart and mouth for their salvation, and they recalled and renewed the grace received at baptism.

Sunday, 2. Br. David preached from Tit., iii., 4, that God's goodness and mercy towards poor, fallen mankind were revealed in his beloved Son, who won for us by his blood, eternal redemption, forgiveness of our sins, everlasting weal and salvation.

Tuesday, 4. In our conference with the assistants we arranged that Samuel with Stephen and Joshua should go to the Tawa chief over the lake, to converse with him, and to find out how circumstances there were, and what we had to expect, for two days ago we heard very bad, dangerous news on the part of the ill-disposed Indians, of their wicked designs against us, of which and of other things we wanted much to hear the certain foundation and the truth. This gave occasion for a thorough consideration of our affairs with the chiefs, since our assistants had set Pipe too much aside, though we had often reminded them, and now they must themselves recognize their mistake. It was therefore resolved first to send a message to Pipe, since we had first received his belt, but the Tawa chief came afterwards. A Mohawk Indian woman, Mary Montour, sister of Cathrine, and of the former An-

drew Montour,<sup>1</sup> who came here not long ago, upon her request and desire, got leave to be a dweller here. She knows too how to speak many languages, for example, Mohawk, her mother-tongue, Wyandot, Ottawa, Chippewa, Shawano, Delaware, English, and French. Her sister, Cathrine, and several of her friends, live not far from Niagara over the lake, and we have already many times heard that she would like to be here, for John Cook, her son, is here. The Saviour grant that they may thrive in the church, and if more should come, we must think about laying out a Mingo town. This Mary, when a child, was baptized by a Catholic priest in Philadelphia.

Wednesday, 5. Daniel Tschitquieche was spoken to, who does not belong here, but is still always here, off and on, and has not behaved properly. He was advised to go away from here, whereupon he came to reflection and asked the assistant brethren to give him good advice. They therefore advised him first to come to an agreement with his wife, what they sought in the world, and then to come to them to tell their mind, and this he promised to do. His wife, who had gone away to her friends, came back to-day luckily. From the bush came also Anthony for a visit here, and several others, who first intended to celebrate Christmas here. From Detroit we had a letter from the commandant, wherein he mentions the receipt of Br. Zeisberger's letter, a copy of which he had sent to his excellency, the Governor,<sup>2</sup> whose answer he was expecting.

Thursday, 6. We celebrated blessedly Epiphany, and the heathen's Saviour graciously made himself known to us and let his friendly face shine over us. At morning

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<sup>1</sup> Andrew Montour was the son of an Iroquois chief by his French wife, Madame Montour. He had been a warm friend of Zinzendorf and of Spangenberg. In De Schweinitz' *Life of Zeisberger*, p. 112, is an amusing description of Montour's costume. On the same page it is said that Madame Montour "believed Bethlehem, the Saviour's birth-place, to be in France and his crucifiers to have been Englishmen," having so been taught among the French Indians.

<sup>2</sup>At this time Lord Dorchester, formerly Sir Guy Carlton.

prayer we asked for his presence and his blessing for this day to be plentifully shown us, and to let his grace prevail. In the second service from the text: Thou wast slain and hast redeemed us to God by thy blood out of every kindred, and tongue, and people, and nation, two were incorporated into his church by the bath of holy baptism, and buried in Jesus' death in holy baptism, one a woman, by the name, Anna Sophia, by Br. David, and a man by the name, Nicodemus, by Br. Sensemann. This was the first baptism during these holidays, though we had many subjects for it, but they fell away, whereover we had all manner of thoughts and considered what might be the cause, which time will teach. Yes, we thought, if it does not forbode bad times, we will be comforted. At the love-feast in the afternoon we praised the Lord for the mercy he has shown the heathen, and we thought of the churches among the heathen. In the service for the baptized, which Br. Sensemann held from the Scripture-verse: Taste and see that the Lord is good, he gave absolution to Andrew in the name of Jesus Christ, wherewith we ended the day, blessedly, joyfully, and thankfully.

Saturday, 8. The brethren, Samuel, Stephen, and Joshua, went on business concerning the church to Pipe, to commend the same to him, and to provide for the good of the Indian church. Four days ago we had proposed to the assistants to send an embassy to the Tawa chief, but after mature deliberation, we found it best and most profitable to send the same to Pipe, and indeed for this reason, Pipe was the first, after we came back from over the lake, to send us a message with a belt, and to invite us to Pettquotting, which belt, indeed, we did not regularly answer, but yet received and kept until we should get farther intelligence. After we were come to Pettquotting, we were also settled and established here by the Wyandot chief and last by the Ottawa chief. The assistants thus arranged the message: they bound the three chiefs together with a three-fold string of wampum, and sent this to Pipe, with the following words: "Friend, it



is doubtless in thy memory that the three former Delaware chiefs, Netawatwes, Packanke, and Weldpachtschiechen, afterwards Israel, invited us from the Susquehanna to the Alleghany, and established us with our teachers on the Muskingum, at the same time telling us we should there continue our worship of God undisturbed, and no one should hinder us or be troublesome to us, and this we so found after we came there. Not long afterwards, Netawatwes moved with his people to Goschachgüink, and left to us the whole country from Gekelemukpechüink,<sup>1</sup> to make a place for us, so that we could extend and alone live there. It was not long before Netawatwes invited us and desired we would also lay out a place (Lichtenau) near Goschachgüink, that his people might have more opportunity to hear the word of God, and this also was done. They stood in friendship and good accord with the three chiefs of the Delaware nation, as is known to thee. A great storm, however, which came upon us, was the cause that we were all driven apart and dispersed; our alliance and good friendship were rent and destroyed, and we believing Indians were driven over the lake. Five years later, after we had come back to this side the lake, first of all, we have again heard thy voice in Cuyahoga, where thou didst send us this belt [which was raised up], with the words: 'My friends, ye believing Indians, ye wander about from one place to another, over the lake to the Chippewas, and now to Cuyahoga, of all which I know nothing. It is not yet time for you to go to the Muskingum. Here in Pettquotting is a place made ready for you. Come here then and live in peace. No one shall disturb you here, still less injure you.' We were glad when we heard thy voice again from afar, and it soon occurred to us that thou wouldst call to mind the friendship which we had had one for the other, and that thou hadst not yet forgotten it. We obeyed thy voice, came to Pettquotting, and after we were settled there, we had assur-

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<sup>1</sup>In the outskirts of the present Newcomerstown, Tuscarawas Co., Ohio.

ances from the Wyandot chief and at last also from the Tawa chief [here three strings of wampum, one after the other, were raised up and shown to both these chiefs], which have strengthened thy words. While we have been in Pettquotting, we have enjoyed quiet and peace, for which we are grateful and thankful to you." Now follows the especial message to the three chiefs: "My friends, it seems, however, as if a storm would again arise, and the peace we have enjoyed for a short time would be disturbed, for we hear much that is bad, therefore we wish herewith to call ourselves to your minds for your thought and deliberation, how in the future we can best and most fittingly remain in quiet. This we give over and leave to your wise consideration." Whereupon, a three-fold string was given. We found the message necessary, also, for this reason, to make ourselves secure from a mob.

Sunday, 9. Br. Edwards preached, and afterwards the big boys had their service from their text: I would have you wise unto that which is good and simple concerning evil. From the bush, whence Indians came, we heard nothing but bad news, that the disposition to go to war is always growing among the Delawares, and that a party of twenty or more wished to attack the block-house, all which are bad tokens. One of our baptized, named Daniel, who married a Shawauo wife, and has three children, came here some time ago, asked for leave to live here, whereabout they were spoken to by the assistants, and got permission.

Tuesday, 11. Br. Sensemann began the school again with the children and young people, which was a new encouragement to them, for which they have long waited.

Wednesday, 12. Samuel returned with the two brothers from Sandusky, where they were so lucky as to meet with Pipe, and to deliver our message, which was also well received. He promised to confer with the Wyandot and Tawa chiefs about our affairs, to consider our welfare, and as soon as possible to send us their answer and resolution. He said to the brethren, however, that they should by no means think that perhaps in the spring we could still re-

main here, of this there was no possibility, for no one would remain in Sandusky either; we should therefore be prepared soon for departure, since we were hard to move; before that time we should learn whither the march would be, and where we could be in the future. Of this we had had an inkling for some time that we must soon again take the pilgrim's staff, after dwelling here for four years. We dare not think about this, we should be so anxious about going away, for we are very hard to be started. The assistants now made a little calculation, and found they would have to make forty canoes, besides those we already have; this would be a fleet of from fifty to sixty. Of all this the murdering people are the cause, who cannot rest. The Delawares and Wyandots are all drawing together along the Miami, besides the Delawares from the Spanish county, go there, and those who have been driven away, so that in the neighborhood no place can be found for us, and according to every appearance we must go back again over the lake. At the service the hymn was translated: Lord, uphold me day by day—Shed a light upon my way, etc., and make known thy might, Lord Jesus Christ.

Thursday, 13. David held early service.

Friday, 14. Michael held early service. The assistants had to intervene and settle matters between Renatus and a strange Indian, old matters. From Detroit came a French blacksmith, to work for the Indians, and as they have to make many canoes and have not axes enough, we allowed him to be here thus long and to work.

Sunday, 16. Br. Sensemann preached from the text: There is one God and one mediator between God and men, etc. In the afternoon a party of brethren went to Sandusky Island to get the French blacksmith. We read the news of the U. A. C.

Wednesday, 19. Sensemann held early service. Different Indians went hunting for a few days.

Thursday, 20. Mr. Elliot came here from Detroit in a sledge, with a captain besides and a Wyandot interpreter, Isaac Williams, Jun. They had been to Sandusky with

Col. McKee, whence they came here to visit. This was pleasant to us and came very apropos, for we lived in uncertainty, and could not learn to what we had to look and whereon to rely, for we had learned that we could not stay here, an Indian war being probable, of which Elliot, however, knew nothing. So we charged him to lay the matter before the agent, McKee, that he should speak with the Tawa chief, Ekuschuwe, to find out how circumstances were and whether an Indian war was to be feared, and if it were, as we had heard that the Indians were all going away from Sandusky, for then we too could not remain, they should be thoughtful for our safety and consult together where a place was to be found, so that we might not dwell among savages, which would be our ruin. This he not only promised to do, but gave us hope that if we had to withdraw from here we should also be supported by the English government and be helped with ships to make the change of place, but should there be nothing in the matter to cause anxiety and danger, and could we stay here undisturbed, he would soon let us know. Late in the evening Br. Sensemann baptized Daniel's sick child, John.

Friday, 21. They went away early to Detroit, and Elliot, who is a person of consideration, and was very active in our captivity on the Muskingum, was now in every way friendly and showed himself altogether eager to be of service to us. We had a conference with the assistants. They were charged to speak with Helen and Lydia, a couple of bad women, and to look to the right, and as Br. David had already spoken with them and broken the ice, it was so much the easier to make peace.

Saturday, 22. From Little Beaver Creek Thomas came home, where he has lain sick nearly two months and is not yet quite well. He related, with tears, that when the sickness was at its height, for three days and nights he could think of nothing, not even of the Saviour, and had also no feeling in his heart [for probably he was not quite by himself], until on the fourth day, when he came to himself and prayed to the Saviour: "Dear Saviour, how is it

with me; hast thou rejected me? Ah, throw me not aside, though I am a poor, sinful man, and if my time here is out, so take me to thyself and reject me not. Thou hast redeemed me with thy blood, in which alone I have my comfort." Upon this he became aware of a voice in his heart, which said to him: "Thou art not forsaken nor rejected. The Saviour has thee in his hand; only hold fast to him. He is and remains thy Saviour." Whereupon he was comforted and at peace with the Saviour. We heard also that below Little Beaver Creek five white people had been killed by Indians. These are nothing but messengers of an Indian war. We have also information that the Indians have wished to attack and plunder the block-house.

Sunday, 23. Michael preached and David held the congregation meeting. We read the journal. We learned from the Chippewas that their remote nations would also in the spring move out against the States, and wished to destroy Detroit.

Monday, 24. David held morning service. We learned by Indians from Detroit that Pipe had given our speech to the Wyandot chief, who delivered it to Col. McKee, now returned to Detroit, to give it to the Tawa chief, and that Pipe advised him to reach a speedy resolution, whither the believing Indians could be moved in safety. The matter thus goes through the right channel and comes to the right hands.

Tuesday, 25. We heard that three Wyandots, one Delaware, and one Shawano, who went to war, had been killed.

Wednesday, 26. Michael held early service. After school the assistants had to arrange matters between William and Thomas. Several strangers were advised to go away from here, since they make nothing but trouble. So deceitful are the Indians, often when they come here they speak well, giving out they wish to be converted and to hear about Jesus, whereby they then get opportunity to stay here, knowing this, that such people will not soon be sent away. Under this pretext they begin after a while, when they have become a little known, secretly to live a

sinful life and to follow harlotry, when we at times must use severity, and can hardly get rid of such people.

Saturday, 29. Anthony, who was here for a time, and always accuses the brothers of being the cause of the death of the Indians in Gnadenhütten, who is now quite blind and at the same time a cripple, and will doubtless have avenged himself enough, has no disposition to be converted, and went with his brother, Moses, an avowed murderer, to his home in the bush, which is his element, and during the winter lay sick unto death.

Sunday, 30. Br. David preached and Sensemann conducted the communion quarter-hour, announcing it for next Saturday. We read to-day the conclusion of Br. Layritz<sup>1</sup> life. Mons. Huno<sup>2</sup> came here and said now himself there would be war.

Monday, 31. Michael held early service. This morning died the child, John, baptized on the 20th of this month.

Tuesday, Feb. 1. After the early service, which Br. Sensemann held, he attended the burial of the child John, who died yesterday. We have already for some time wondered what was the reason of our hearing nothing farther from Ekuschuwe, for he promised us if any thing occurred among the Indians, to let us know, so that we could conduct ourselves accordingly, especially that we have not a word from him in these critical circumstances. We have now come upon a trace, where the stoppage is and what the ground for it is, and that some one else, and not Ekuschuwe, is the cause. Mr. Parke came back from Detroit, who was in danger here some time ago and had to flee, after being privileged to trade and placed out of danger therein. The general impression there is that an Indian war will occur.

Wednesday, 2. A Mohican Indian, Joshua's friend, who came here several weeks ago from over the lake, and is

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<sup>1</sup> "Paul Eugene Layritz was a distinguished scholar, writer, and bishop of the Moravian church in Germany, who died at Herrnhut in Saxony, in 1788."—Letter from Bishop de Schweinitz.

<sup>2</sup> The French trader who lived at the mouth of the river.

now resolved to remain with the church, was spoken to by the assistants, and got leave therefor. He is the son of Joseph Snowshoe, who lived for a long time in the Brothers' house in Bethlehem.

Friday, 4. Yesterday and to-day there was speaking with reference to the Lord's supper. The brethren paid their debts to Parke in corn.

Şaturday, 5. In the near presence of our Lord we had his holy supper.

Sunday, 6. Br. Sensemann preached and David held the congregation meeting. It was very wet and dirty weather. We read the journal of the U. A. C. of the Synod.

Monday, 7. After the early service, held by Br. Edwards from the text: He that hath an ear, etc., the brethren were admonished to attend to their labor, and though we could yet fix upon nothing certain, yet we knew thus much that we had to make ourselves ready; secondly, not to behave foolishly and sell all their corn, but to bear in mind that they would need the means of life wherever they went, so that hereafter another time they would not have to buy so dear and put themselves in poverty. The assistants had to speak with Mr. Parke, and were very straightforward and earnest.

Tuesday, 8. Michael held early service. We got news from Sandusky that the Delawares were back from the Muskingum with four prisoners and ten scalps, and had taken much booty. The assistants arranged between Nicodemus and his wife.

Friday, 11. About fifty brothers, young people, went to Paint Creek<sup>1</sup> to make canoes. We learned by an Indian from Pittsburg that there the Indians come and go, and trade, and that all is quiet there, and the Indians had nothing to be alarmed at. We awaited therefore longingly for news from over the lake. Strange women gave

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<sup>1</sup> Probably the creek in Monroe Co., Mich., so often referred to though it seems a long distance.

out that we should be told to live over the lake on the deep creek, a day's journey this side of Detroit.

Sunday, 13. Br. Edwards preached. After this Samuel went to those making canoes, to look after things. The sisters went to their sugar-huts.

Monday, 14. From the Miami, the seat of war, came Tatkenos here with another Indian, bringing a message, but as the brethren were not at home, we sent out, and at least had Samuel called, who,

Tuesday, 15, came in, and we heard his words, which came straight from the assembled council of hell, and were thus: "My friends, we hereby make you aware and certain that ye can no longer abide in Pettquotting. Make yourselves ready for departure, and in two months' time something will be told you; then ye will hear exactly, but if ye refuse to arise ye will see and suffer the same as upon the Muskingum," whereupon a string was given. We answered with his own string: "My friends, we have received your words, that we should prepare and make ready for departure. We are busy at this all the time, and already at the work which goes on well. We are also not in doubt, but know what we do, and are in a good way. We have made over our affairs to the chiefs, who consider our welfare and consult for us, from whom we are every day expecting a resolution. We thank you, meantime, for your admonition and encouragement." Whereupon, we gave him back his string. Had we kept this, we should have taken upon ourselves no little trouble, plague, and vexation. Their sending us a message came from this, that they had heard nothing of our message to Pipe and others, and it was well. We thanked the Saviour for giving us the idea of doing this betimes, whereby their scheme is brought to nought, for they had evil in their thoughts. We heard that all Monseys and Delawares from the Alleghany had this spring all been summoned, that is, for the war.

Thursday, 17. We congratulated Susanna (Mrs. Zeisberger) in a love-feast upon her forty-eighth birthday, and wished her the Saviour's nearness and aid, to



strengthen her in the future, body and soul, and abundantly to bless her.

Sunday, 20. From Paint Creek, where the brethren are making canoes, several came home. Michael preached. It was colder than it has been this winter. From the bush we heard that the Indians are going in strong numbers to the war. Also a couple, and Levi, got leave to live here.

Friday, 25. Frenchmen, who came here two days ago to buy corn, went away. During the whole week our town was quite empty, the brothers making canoes, and the sisters, for the most part, being in their sugar-camp.

Sunday, 27. David preached from the Gospel about the sower. Thaw and rain set in, the river rose. Most of the brethren who have been busy at canoe-making came home; they have twenty ready, wherewith for the present we wish to stop, until we see farther whether we can man so many as we now have, thirty odd canoes, to go over the lake.

Monday, 28. Sensemann held morning service. The river was so high from rain that much land went under water, together with the cattle. It was lucky for us that our young people were at home, who worked nearly all night in rescuing the cattle from the water, so that none were lost. Many stood in the water, and in the morning were frozen into the ice, until they could be helped out of it.

Wednesday, March 2. Edwards held early service. Most of the brethren went to Paint Creek to bring into the water the canoes they had made. From the bush came Jacob home, who had been out hunting since last autumn in bad company.

Friday, 4. By a senseless alarm, which arose from this, that the brethren came from Paint Creek, where they had launched their canoes, and were seen before they got to town, the brethren were frightened, the report being that white people had come, whereupon they all ran from town and fled until they became aware of their mistake, and were glad it was only such a report. The stolen horses, which wicked Indians, always wishing to bring misfor-

tune upon us, brought here, caused this fear among our brethren.

Sunday, 6. Br. Sensemann delivered the sermon, at which different brethren were present, and David held the congregation meeting. Some Tawas from over the lake arrived on their way to war to get a prisoner. This is the Indian custom; if the son or daughter of a man or woman dies naturally, or in any other way, they give to a captain a black belt of wampum, with the desire that he will go out and bring back a prisoner in the place of the dead. He gets together a company, goes out, and if he obtains a prisoner he shaves and paints his head, so that he looks like no white man, and he hangs this same belt about his neck, which is a token that he is to remain alive, and when he comes to the proper place he is delivered to the one who gave the belt, and taken into the family in place of the child. Such was the business of these warriors, who had with them such a belt.

Monday, 7. Michael held early service. Since our river and lake will be open and traversable so far as ice is concerned, we resolved in our conference that Br. Edwards with some Indian brothers should go to Detroit, make our compliments to the government, and in person seek for help, likewise, as we could find out nothing, to learn what was resolved upon about us in regard to our future abode.

With an Indian, our Boaz' half-brother, we had a pleasing and unusual occurrence. He came here some two years ago, and wished to live in the church, but he was then advised to get his wife, and if she was of the same mind, to ask again. This he did, but could not persuade his wife to come to the church, whereupon he gave up for a time his notion of coming to the church, believing he would not be received, but he left his wife and took another in hope that she would be of his mind. As often as he came to our town, however, which he frequently did, he was shy and never said any thing farther about living here, but yet had inwardly no peace, as can be seen from what follows. His sister was here last year

for a time, who also wished very much to be in the church, but her husband, a Mingo, not. She went to Sandusky, fell sick, begged her mother to take her to Pettquotting, where she would willingly die, and hoped in peace to go from time. Her mother, however, could not bring her, and there was no hope besides. An Indian offered her his rifle, to pay the doctor, if she would be doctored, but she refused it, not wishing to be doctored, but told them if they wished to do her a service of love, to send a messenger to Pettquotting, and merely make known that she lay at the point of death, so that the believing Indians might think of her with the Saviour and pray for her. This indeed was promised, but was not done. This, her brother, was present at her death, and heard how she admonished her mother and friends to be thinking of Pettquotting and looking thither, for that was the place where the way to eternal life was to be found. This impressed his heart, and awakened again his yearning for the church, which he could not forget. Unrest followed him wherever he went, in the bush, hunting, or at home, which he could not conceal from his wife, telling her what he lacked, namely, rest for his heart; but when he told her he wanted to come to the church, and wished to know what she thought about it, and whether she would not also become a believer, she would hear nothing of it. To get rid of this restlessness of his heart, he resolved at last to make himself free from every thing and to come to Pettquotting, and the evening before he told his wife of it, and she replied he might go, but she would not go with him. To his mother he sent all of his silver ornaments, for he was rich, and then he came here, and indeed first to Br. David, whom he knew. To him he immediately told why he was come, namely, to be with the church. Br. David sent him to speak with some one of the assistants, which he did, talking with Samuel till midnight. At first, indeed, we did not wish to receive him, and advised him to bring his wife, or even another one who would be of his mind. Upon this he began to

weep bitterly, begging us to have mercy on him, for in this way he would never come to the church, knowing that he would in vain exert himself and miss his time, as his sister had done, which so moved us to compassion that we could no longer refuse him, but received him, thinking, if he is one chosen, the Saviour will help him farther. This was such comfort to him and awakened such joy and thankfulness that he came to Br. David to express the same. Who then urges people to the church in such times of war? We set before him every thing, and that we should not remain here, but he replied that he had thought about all this.

Tuesday, 8. At the morning service Br. David baptized the little son of Br. Simon and his wife, Jacobina, born yesterday, with the name Solomon. We got news that a war-party was come back from the settlements, passing by not far from here, who had done much damage, having murdered more than ten men, and bringing away several prisoners, whom they killed not far from here.

Saturday, 12. Br. Edwards went away with four Indian brothers for Detroit. Br. David had written an account of our circumstances and position both to the commandant and to Col. McKee. We wished Br. Edwards good success for the best interests of the mission.

Sunday, 13. Br. David preached in Indian. From the sugar-camp we got news that Jacob, Job, and Jonas had the small-pox [measles], which the first had probably got in the bush from Indians who had it. We arranged that they should remain out in the bush and be cared for, and that none of them should come to town, and that no one should go thither.

Tuesday, 15. John Cook's son, Henry, complained about his unblest condition, that he could not come to rest and be rid of his longing. He was told that he must still be loving sin, which was the reason he could not be helped, for, if he knew and felt that he was a man unblest and lost in sin, but yet would like to be helped, and would only give himself up to the Saviour, sinful as he was, he would soon be helped. He admitted that this

was the truth, and that he was himself the cause of his unblessed condition.

Thursday, 17. There was heavy rain, with thunder and lightning, from which the water so rose that all our fields were overflowed, and the next day we could go about everywhere in canoes. For this reason, also, our cattle came into trouble and the brethren had work in saving them. Samuel came from Paint Creek by water with several canoes they had made and brought laden with grind-stones, ordered in Detroit. On the lake they had very stormy weather, a wild sea. The waves so struck into the canoes that they had always to be bailing out.

Friday, 18. Many brethren came home from the bush and the sugar-huts, and for this time had done with that work, in order to make ready for going away, having yet much to do in preparing the corn to take with them.

Sunday, 20. Michael preached. In the afternoon the assistants had labor in speaking. The wife of the Indian mentioned under the 7th of this month, came here with her grandmother, and as the assistants were now at home, they summoned them both and asked the old woman whether she wished to leave her grandchild with her husband, who now lived here. She was willing, whereupon they asked the wife also, who was found willing to remain with her husband. Thus was the Indian at once helped, to his comfort and joy, and we were not brought to shame in our hope, for it is much easier and better to receive unmarried persons, of which we have many examples, than the married, who separate one from another. The assistants were advised to get the canoes here.

Monday, 21. Br. Sensemann held morning service, after which all the young men were requested to bring the canoes here from Paint Creek, for which they made ready. Now the measles got to town, which the brethren had brought here from the sugar-huts. We put one family in a hut in the fields, who already had them, but before night they broke out in two other families, so that there was no hope of making head against them.

Several days ago the brethren were advised—the sisters to get ready and to have the corn prepared for departure, and the brothers not to go far from home in hunting, so as always to be at hand if necessary. Two, however, one baptized Nicholas, and the other, unbaptized, proposed to go away hunting for ten or fourteen days. They had gone hardly a mile when the unbaptized Indian was thrown from his horse and broke his rifle, whereby he was put out of condition for hunting. Nicholas advised him to go home, have his rifle repaired, and come back again, saying he would meanwhile wait for him. The unbaptized man answered: “I see well enough that we are not in the right way, and therefore is my rifle broken. We were told not to go far away hunting, and we act contrary to the order. I have long enough followed my own head, but on this account I came to the church, not to live for myself, but for the Saviour, and in accordance with his word, therefore I will turn about and not come again, for something yet worse might happen to me.” Nicholas remained fast by his purpose. They separated, and he went on to carry out his plan, but he had not gone far, before the bottom fell out of his powder-horn, and he lost all his powder, not having a grain left. Now he had to give up his hunting, and also go home. We saw from this his disobedience and waywardness, which foretold us something bad of him; we had already observed in him that he opposed the regulations in the church, and acted contrary to them; the worst of this is that he seeks to lead others astray, innocent souls, although we always have an eye upon him, and have thus far found that he has no following.

Tuesday, 22. David held morning service. The young brethren, more than twenty, went to Paint Creek to get all the canoes hither, so as to have them ready.

Thursday, 24. They came back, having had very windy weather on the lake and their canoes half-full of water, thrown in by the waves. Three Indians came from Great Beaver Creek, bringing news that they had there been attacked by the militia, while they were drunk, where some Indians

died, among them Matthew, Cornelius' son, and an unbaptized man, who had lived here. The former came over the lake to us on Huron River, stayed awhile and again went his own way. He came also here, often remained some time with us, so that at first we had hope he would yet bethink himself, but though we often spoke with him and set before him the danger in which he already stood, for he might die or be killed in the bush, and he was admonished to think of the eternal welfare of his soul, all was yet fruitless, he never disclosed what hindered him or held him back. Last autumn he went away from here for the last time, and is now dead. He was a man who had no desire to live among the savages. He would have liked to live in the church, but thereby to go his own way, and such there are always.

Friday, 25. In the morning service mention was made of this important day (Annunciation), when our Lord and God came into the flesh, who through his great sufferings and bitter death has redeemed us from death and everlasting damnation, for which we thanked him with humble hearts. From Detroit came back Br. Edwards, bringing us an answer both from the agent McKee and from the commandant. When Br. Edwards got there and delivered our letter, both took our circumstances into consideration, and as the Ottawa chief had done nothing in our affairs, though they had given them over to him and to the Wyandot chief to reach a resolution as soon as possible, the commandant and Col. McKee were inclined to provide us with a place of abode ad interim, until the answer from the Governor and Superintendent-General of Canada arrived, and also to help us with ships for our transportation. But after an express had come in from Niagara, while Br. Edwards was there, they came to the following resolution about us: We should remain a year and plant; meanwhile they would get an answer, and our matters would be cleared up, when we could at once move to our land, build, and not perform useless labor; they did not suspect that the Free States would undertake any thing against the Indians, at least they knew nothing of it, and

had no news of it. As for the Indian nations he, McKee, would do his best for us, that they should not be troublesome. We were glad and thankful for the good inclination and explanation of the government, but since Br. Edwards' departure circumstances had become much worse, for, not to mention the occurrence on Beaver Creek, where five, or six, or more Indians died at the hands of the militia, we have also had news, of which indeed we have not the necessary certainty, that several Indian families, off hunting on the Tuscarawas, have either been captured or killed, for no one knows where they have gone and stayed. We saw beforehand and had examples quite lately how the warriors, when they have done a murderous deed, first hasten hither with their prisoners and scalps and put our brethren in fear and danger of the militia. Now we already know quite well the disposition and inclination of our Indian brethren, that they would like to be out of the way, not feeling safe here, nor thinking themselves so. Now that Br. Edwards was come back, all looked with longing and awaited to hear from us something certain, whether we stay or go. Since now we had joyfulness in consulting the Saviour, being now bound to nothing and unhindered, we did so and got from him the answer: "In God's name break up from here. The Lord is with you." This was to us a real comfort, for which we thanked him with one accord, and now we could confidently go to work. We at once informed the assistants what sort of news and direction we had from Detroit, at the same time also of our own thoughts and disposition in regard to this, and that we held it best, in spite of this, to break up from here and to go over the lake so soon as we could possibly be ready for this, but that also Br. Edwards, with some Indian brothers, must on this account again go to Detroit, to make announcement of this, so that they might send ships to Sandusky Bay, whither meanwhile, with the thirty odd canoes we now have, we would bring our goods and property, since there the harbor is good for ships to run into. This met with the full approbation of our assistants, and also of all the Indian brethren, to whom it was soon



made known, whereupon all were very joyful, instead of being sorry, to leave their dwellings and fields.

Sunday, 27. Br. Sensemann preached and Br. Edwards held the congregation meeting. David wrote to Detroit and to Bethlehem to give our brethren speedy news.

Monday, 28. After early service, held by Br. Michael, Br. Edwards started for Detroit, with four Indian brothers, commended to God's mercy.

Tuesday, 29. From Tuscarawas and Sakunk (at the mouth of Beaver River, Pa.) Indians came here, who corroborated the news received several days ago about Beaver Creek. Our brethren were fearful and wanted to get away from here, the sooner the better, not feeling themselves safe from the militia, and this caused commotion and uproar; but we encouraged them, saying that we had yet no reason to be anxious, nothing bad would overtake us.

Thursday, 31. We made the beginning of sending our goods and corn to Sandusky Bay, and some remained there to watch over them. From Lower Sandusky yesterday there came here a widow, with her grandchild, a girl, the sister of Akerlemann, and asked for leave to live with the church, and received it, after the assistants had spoken with her. From Ekuschuwe we learned secretly that he suspected us of having a secret understanding with the Virginians, and therefore had not thought that we feared any danger from them and so had no concern about us. In part too he has been vexed with us that none of us went to him, which indeed we often mentioned and strove for, but it was not done. He will now, however, be convinced of his error, and see that though he and they will not help us and set to work, we shall still be helped. Luke came and apologized.

Friday, April 1. David held morning service. Sixteen warriors, Wyandots and Mingoes, came here with one prisoner, a boy, who, not far above Pittsburg, had murdered twelve white men.<sup>1</sup> They were here two nights, and

<sup>1</sup> In a little book, entitled "A Narrative of the Sufferings of Massy

told how they had deceived the people, who first gave them something to eat. The captain was the same who had taken Br. David prisoner on the Muskingum.

Saturday, 2. Sensemann held early service. Many strange Indians came here, who, at this time of our departure, made us much trouble and hindered us. The first party, who had brought the things to Sandusky Bay, but had been much hindered by wind, came back from there. Esther, Anthony's wife, was delivered of a daughter.

Sunday, 3. The white brethren sent our things away, and many brethren went, bag and baggage, in canoes to Sandusky. The Frenchmen here lent us three great boats, which did us good service. The warriors went away to Sandusky.

Monday, 4. In the morning service Br. David baptized Anna Cathrine, the little daughter of Anthony and Esther, born day before yesterday, into Jesus' death. The brethren continued to go to Sandusky Bay with their things, and all were in movement. In this we laborers had our full share of work among the great number of people, in helping the widows and the old to get off. In this we were often forced to cry out: O Lord, help! for one's head could hardly bear every thing.

Tuesday, 5. Sensemann held early service from the Scripture-verse: O praise the Lord, all ye nations; praise him, all ye people. He, with his wife, went away in the

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Harbison," etc., Pittsburg, 1826, on p. 13, is to be found, perhaps, an account of this transaction: "On the night of the 22d of March (1791), seven Indians came into the house of Mr. Abraham Russ in a friendly manner, leaving their rifles at the door (a well-known token of Indian friendship), and solicited their supper. When they had supped, one of the savages went and placed himself against the door, to prevent any of the family from escaping, while the rest, with their instruments of death (the tomahawk), began an indiscriminate murder of the inhabitants of the house. They succeeded in their diabolical project so far as to tomahawk and scalp four men, old Mrs. Russ and six children. Mrs. Dary, daughter of old Mrs. Russ, stood and endured the appalling and heart-rending sight of an Indian taking her own child, of eighteen months old, and knocking its brains out against the head of her (Mrs. Dary's) mother."

afternoon for Sandusky Bay in the boat, with all our household-goods and provisions, where already a number of brethren had gone and encamped, but Br. Zeisberger and his wife still remained behind with those in the town. Among those encamped near the lake below, the measles prevail, more than before in the town, all having them, even those who have already before had them.

Wednesday, 6. Sister Anna Sensemann came up here from the lake, since from contrary winds and the roughness of the lake they could not get on, but she went back thither in the evening, whither canoes are all the time going with loads. By strange Indians from Sandusky, a multitude of whom came here, we learned that all the Indians there are coming together below the Falls and wish to remain there; that the Wyandot chief was summoned to the Muskingum and had gone there too, but others said he had gone to the war [Pipe to the Miami]. Meantime, since some strange Indians hold it needless for us to move away, they cause among our brethren different inclinations. Some are for going, but others for remaining. It is, however, quite a different thing with us and with the savages, who can load their possessions upon their backs, and go whither they will, as soon as danger is nigh, but our Indians cannot do that, unless they abandon every thing. Therefore we must use forethought in our matters, ere it is too late, and not remain here at hazard.

Thursday, 7. Br. David baptized the sick child of unbaptized parents, Tschakeleunos, with the name Mark. The white brethren were now in four places, Br. Edwards on his journey to and from Detroit, Michael at Sandusky Bay. Br. Sensemann and his wife at the lake, and Zeisberger in Salem, Pettquotting.

Friday, 8. After the early service, which Br. David held, he charged the male and female assistants, some of whom were still here, to speak with the wife of the slain Matthew, who had come to the Zeisbergers and said she wished to live in the church. Already more than two years ago she had asked this, but since her husband had

no perfect inclination thereto, we could not receive her nor grant her this, though on this account she still always stayed here, and would never go away. Now that her husband is dead, and she is always of the same mind, and asked for this, we could not and would not longer refuse her. After the assistants had found out about her relatives among the savages, and whether any opposition was to be feared from them, they gave her leave to go with us, whither we should go, whereupon she was comforted, glad, and thankful, and showed this by her tears.

A perfectly strange Indian from the Wabash and that country, who had gone to the Miami, where he heard about Pettquotting, that believing Indians lived there, had prepared to come hither to see and to hear. When he was not far from here, he met Indians who had come from here, and who said that we had already all gone away, and that no one was here, whereupon he turned about, but another Indian on horseback overtook him, and told him, on being asked, that we were still here. He came here yesterday and wished to hear something, particularly to find out why there were preaching here and God's worship, and what sort of a thing that was, for as yet he knew nothing at all of it, and was a dull, blind Indian. The assistant, William, went to him, and set before him, in the Indian way, the condition of mankind, by nature disinherited and lost, into which they had come by the fall, and said that therefore God himself, in his great mercy, had come down from heaven into the flesh, taking a body such as we have, and had informed us how we could be saved and attain to life eternal, which we had lost, that he was finally tortured, being struck and wounded in every part for our sins, was crucified, when he poured out all his blood, and had therewith redeemed us from eternal death and the power of the devil, building for us the way to life eternal; that he arose from the dead and now lives eternally, and whoever believes in him and calls to him, he will be saved. "See," said William, "that is what is preached here, sung, and prayed. We wish to be saved. We believe it to be the truth, and since we so

believe it, we are here already blessed, and whatever Indian comes hither, and will hear and receive the words of salvation, he is welcome, but whoever does not receive them, he will be forever lost." The Indian in the first place, after the manner of Indians, was always putting in an answer, but at last became quite still and listened, sitting a long time in very deep thought. He went also to the meetings.

Saturday, 9. We got news that warriors had gone by not far from here, having a white prisoner, also that Indians have again been killed, so that no hope will be left of a truce. From the mouth of the river, where our brethren are, some of them sick with the measles and others encamped on account of contrary winds, we learned that Br. Sensemann and his wife were already come to Sandusky Bay.

Sunday, 10. Br. Zeisberger delivered the farewell sermon here from the text in to-day's Gospel: Verily, verily, I say unto you, if a man keep my saying, he shall never see death. Several brethren came up from the lake from the mouth of the river, and there were also strangers present. He said, among other things, that the word of God about our eternal salvation and redemption, that is, that God came into the flesh, suffered death for our sins, and becoming a sacrifice and pouring out his blood, thereby reconciled us to God, and won for us and brought back to us life eternal; that we now through faith in him have been made righteous and saved; this had been daily preached and made known in this place for four years, and to as many as had received it and believed it in their hearts, it had shown itself to be the truth and God's strength, and they were witnesses for it, and all who had made use of it were blessed; but this would now cease, and in the future no word of God would here be preached; we, however, who had received it, believed it and entered into enjoyment thereof, would take it with us in our hearts, and our Lord and Saviour, to whom we belonged and who recognized us as his own, would go with us wherever we went, and where we settled, there he would

again dwell and walk with us, as he here had done. In conclusion, we thanked him filially for all the goodness, bodily and spiritual, we had enjoyed from him in this place, asked his recognition of us and his farther dwelling among us wherever we should be, to comfort us with his blessed nearness, and to refresh our hearts that we might shine and appear as a light amidst dark heathenism, for the blessing and rescue of many blind heathen. We sang: Attend me, Lord, in all my ways, etc. We ended with the blessing of the church. Then the bell was taken down from the meeting-house and carried away. In the afternoon, several brethren went away to Sandusky Bay. Of the strangers here some went off to war, a token that this ceased to be a place of the church, and they sang their war-song.

Monday, 11. From up the lake we heard that Chippewas who came from Cuyahoga brought news that they had seen thirty men, militia, at the mouth of the Cuyahoga, at which news all our people went away over the Sandusky.

Tuesday, 12. A party of Chippewas came up from the lake, to whom Parke, who has bought up all the corn here we cannot take with us, and the cattle also, had to give a hog at their request. A number of brothers and sisters came from Sandusky with canoes to help on those who remained behind, to get the cattle, and to take Br. Zeisberger and his wife.

Thursday, 14. The Zeisbergers, with some brethren who were yet in town, went away, leaving it to the savages, a multitude of whom was there, but as the lake was too rough they had to encamp at the mouth of the river, where many of the sick were still, and wait for a good wind. Abraham, who had to go back again to our town, came again in the evening, bringing news that from Pipe's town, whence Indians had come, all the men had gone to war and that the militia had been noticed a good day's journey from our town, and this moved the warriors to seek them out. Abraham said it was no longer a town of believers, for as soon as we left it, playing and shouting

began, which was now the regular thing there. Many Ottawas and Chippewas were encamped at the lake, who were all going over and waiting for a good wind. Those who went out some time ago to get a prisoner, came back empty, having accomplished nothing. They are poor warriors. The Delawares, Wyandots, and Shawanese are the most eager for war. In the evening we had a meeting in camp: I will take the cup of salvation and call upon the name of the Lord.

Saturday, 16. As there was a favorable east wind, we set out at daybreak for Sandusky, Br. Zeisberger and his wife being the first to start, but the others had not yet loaded (their canoes). Though the wind was not strong, the lake was quite rough, and the waves were high, the wind coming from the open sea, and the Zeisbergers were very sea-sick, but after they had come a part of the way the wind, changing to the north, became too strong and the waves too high, so that they had to land, and they did this not without danger, for near land it is always more dangerous than far out. The waves filled their canoe, but without other harm, they came fortunately to land and encamped on the shore, where they had ever before their eyes the foaming, raging lake. In the afternoon they had the joy of seeing two of their brethren, who had been to Detroit with Br. Edwards, and were going to Pettquotting. From them they heard that not only Br. Edwards had come back well, but that when they left Sandusky a ship had come there for us and run in, but as we had no letters we could learn nothing circumstantially.

Sunday, 17. Capt. Elliot came with Capt. La Mot also to our camp to Br. David, on their way from Pettquotting to Sandusky, where they had arrived yesterday, from whom we first found out how affairs prospered over the lake. McKee had arranged with the Wyandots and the Tawa chief that we could plant and settle either on the east or the west side, or on both sides of Detroit River, where we were best pleased, where there are many old fields, but no fences. As to the ship which has come to get our provisions, this is to be said: Having no answer from head-

quarters, they could not send a royal ship for us without leave. Thus it came about that Br. Edwards had to hire a merchant-ship from Mr. Askin, in accordance with the resolution we had come to, for our help, one that could carry fourteen or fifteen hundred bushels of corn, so that our heavy baggage could all be carried. We heard also that there is hope that the troubles between the States and the Indian nations will come to an end. The English, on their side, will arrange their boundaries at a meeting of the nations, and if this happens, it will aid the States to settle their boundaries with the consent of the Indians. As many are yet behind in Pettquotting, and on account of the wind, cannot get away, Br. David spoke with Elliot about sending the ship there to take them in, so that we might soon get away, and this he promised to do if he could. Br. David informed Abraham, who had come to camp from Pettquotting, how our circumstances were, that he might tell them there, whence we heard much that was unpleasant.

Sunday, 18. We had yet heard nothing of Br. Sensemann and his wife. Br. David wrote to them, since he could not go on with his company on account of the wind, in case they should not meet, and the ship could not wait so long, that the Sensemanns and Br. Michael Jung, with some Indians, should depart, we others would follow after them in canoes when the weather permitted. In the afternoon, however, the wind went down, and it was quite calm, and the Zeisbergers got to Sandusky Bay in the evening, to the common joy, and now they were again together. They had already made a good beginning of loading the ship, which lay at anchor some two miles off in the bay, the water being too shallow for her to come nearer. When the Zeisbergers were on the point of going away, a messenger came with the news that Joachim's little daughter, Henrietta, had died of the measles in Pettquotting; they ordered that the body should be brought to Sandusky Bay and buried there.

Tuesday, 19. Early in the morning came Capts. Elliot and La Mot, and the captain of the ship, the Sagina [so it



was called], to our camp. They first bought a canoe and went away to-day to the Miami, where McKee is holding a treaty with the nations and where also he will speak with them in our behalf. The three captains were very friendly and ready to aid us. McKee, Elliot, and La Mot have plantations near together, on which there are houses, and they offered them to us and our Indians to plant and make use of as we pleased, and the Wyandots then offered us their land and many old fields on the west side of the river, but all for a year only. Thus must all serve us, English, French, and Indians. Such things the Saviour brings to pass, who can do all he will in heaven and on earth. In Detroit there is common joy that we are coming there again, and every one wishes to be of use to us. Our people got every thing aboard to-day, making a full cargo. Br. Sensemann and his wife, and Br. Jung, with Samuel's family, also went on board, to go to Pettquotting as soon as the wind changed, when they will take in every thing, and then sail straight for Detroit. In the afternoon was the burial of Henrietta, Joachim's child.

Wednesday, 20. Our brethren were to-day busy in bringing over their cattle. The ship tried to get out, but could not, and anchored again. She ran aground, but by help of the anchor got off again.

Thursday, 21. Early when we got up we saw the ship a mile out in the lake, lying at anchor. She had run out at night with a good, but weak wind. At noon our brethren had got their corn from Pettquotting aboard, whereupon the ship sailed for Detroit, getting at night a favorable south wind. Our people were busy as long as the wind and waves permitted, in bringing over their cattle. A multitude of Chippewas, who are encamped at the lake, came into our camp, likewise French and English traders. In the afternoon was the burial of Mark, son of Tschakeleunos, born April 7th. In the evening was a meeting and consideration of our Saviour's anguish of soul and deadly trouble on account of our sins, which also the Saviour, in to-day's word for our comfort, prom-

ised to write in our hearts and minds, how much we have cost him.

Friday, 22. The whole day has been very windy, and as we are encamped near the lake, on account of the noise and roaring of the waves we could have no service, and had to celebrate Good Friday silently, and silently to think how our Lord and Saviour had suffered and endured in order to win for us salvation and life eternal. In the evening the storm was so severe, lasting till after midnight, that we were anxious about our Indian brethren, who are encamped along the lake in the bush, lest they might be hurt by falling trees, but the Saviour guarded them, and had his angels sing: They shall uninjured be, etc., as we called upon him.

Saturday, 23. The weather being calm to-day, the cattle were all brought over the river. From Pipe a messenger came with a message from the Chippewas beyond Mackinaw, of this purport: "Grandfather, we let thee know that we are coming in great numbers, and wish to visit the Virginians. Thou must think nothing of it, if we eat up thy provisions and cattle, of whatever sort they may be. Thou must not think that any thing is thine own. If we come, we eat up every thing, for we are so hungry we must eat up one another." Pipe sent us this message as a warning, for he conjectured we were still in Pettquotting. They said in this that they would make their march by way of Pettquotting, where they thought to find us. It is, therefore, well that we are out of the way. Pipe sent us word in regard to this, to send our cattle away.

Sunday, 24. Br. Edwards preached from the Scripture-verse of last year. Then was the burial of the child, Nathaniel, that died yesterday. In our little grave-yard here at Sandusky Bay we read the Easter litany, asking eternal communion with the brethren who have died during the year, of whom there were three adults and five children. We were then busy with the assistants in arranging our passage by water, that all who had no canoes should be helped to get over. In this matter each of the

assistants had his own work, and to-day every thing was arranged, in case we got a favorable wind, to depart. Hereby we came upon much that was unpleasant, about drunkenness, to which our young people have been led. An English trader filled the whole neighborhood with rum.

Monday, 25. We intended to depart, and were fully prepared for this, but partly the wind was unfavorable, and partly there were other hinderances, so that we did not get off. We had much trouble with drunkenness and distress about our young folk. A trader from Detroit causes us great harm and ill.

Tuesday, 26. Early before day died old Elizabeth, a widow, right blessedly. Her remains were buried in the evening, and thus we left behind us here a little graveyard, where four of our people rest, so long have we had to wait here in camp.

Wednesday, 27. Early in the morning at last we broke up from here, with the Scripture-verse: He shall give his angels charge over thee, to keep thee in all thy ways, and this he did also to-day with us, that no one came to harm, when we saw several canoes coming, tossed by the waves so that it was a frightful sight. Br. Zeisberger and his wife made the beginning. We sailed with a good wind from the west out of the bay, and along the lake westwards. Towards ten o'clock the wind changed to the north-east, and the lake became so rough that we had to land, hoping it would go down, but it was soon so strong that we had to unload and draw up on land all our canoes, of which some thirty came here, it being a rocky shore, in order not to be wrecked by the high waves, which, like hills, came rolling in. All was done with pleasure and good will. The assistants took hold and encouraged the young people, so that it was a pleasure to look on. In travelling we have an easy time with Indians, for they help one another when needful. Meanwhile some canoes remained behind to avoid this, and now could not come to us. There are also some, for instance, Cook's family, and

others perhaps, of whom we do not know what they will do, also Helen and Louisa.

Thursday, 28. The wind remained as it was yesterday, and we had to encamp. The young people went out hunting. A couple of sisters overtook Petty by land, who was said to have gone to Isaac in a canoe, but he remained behind.

Friday, 29. We broke up our camp, and our fleet made the lake quite lively. We passed Rocky Point, and towards evening came up with the brethren who had driven the cattle along the lake, where we encamped together, but had in the evening, and nearly the whole night, thunder and rain. Here where a great creek (Portage Creek) falls into the lake, it is about a mile from the portage, about two miles (long), into Sandusky Lake, where strange Indians lay, who wished to come to us over the lake.

Saturday, 30. After helping the cattle over the creek, which is deep, in the canoes, we continued our march. The lake was pleasant for travelling, and as smooth as glass. In the evening we encamped on a sandy shore, which lies very low, Locust Point, from locust-timber growing there, and the waves go over it if the lake is wild. In the evening an east wind sprang up, and we had to draw the canoes ashore.

Sunday, May 1. At noon, when the weather was still, we set out with a favorable wind, the Zeisbergers and Br. Edwards being the foremost, and came in the evening to Miami Bay, Cedar Point, where the brethren, who had quite outsailed them, and lost them from view, had all run into a good harbor, and the canoes, like bees, all came fluttering thither upon the waves, having left a good piece of the way behind them, for which, in the evening, we thanked the Lord in our camp, who had thus far so well helped us, that all had gone so well. The east wind continued, but the night was so stormy that we,

Monday, 2, must encamp, since from here we have to go far over the bay, and must wait for calm weather. Here we lay in the bay, the entrance to the place where the treaties with the nations are held, and, secondly, it is the

entrance to that nest of hell, Gigejunk (Ft. Wayne). In the evening we had an hour of song, singing, among<sup>1</sup> other things: Day nor night, never let us hold our peace—In his blood-bought congregation never shall his praises cease.

Tuesday, 3. We left the bay early and came first to Stony Point (Monroe Co., Mich.), where we passed the night on land again.

Wednesday, 4. We broke up early and set out in calm weather, and after going a piece of the way, got a good wind, but this became very strong and the waves ran very high. We made straight for the mouth of Detroit River. In the strong wind our fleet was scattered, which stretched out several miles in length and breadth. Some held their course to the islands in the mouth of the river, which is six miles wide, and sought shelter, others made the first best firm land, but shipped much water in their canoes, each one striving to save himself as well as he could. The settlers and inhabitants looked at us and doubted about our all landing, for it seemed frightful on account of the high sea, but all got fortunately to land without harm, to the wonder of all, for which we praised the Lord and thanked him from our hearts, who had brought us all fortunately to land. Old Abraham said he had already given up, and thought indeed he should be buried in the lake. Here, when we landed, we met Br. Sensemann, his wife, and Michael Jung, with some Indian brethren, who saw us coming, and prayed for us. The others who had been separated from us in the storm came, some the next day, others not till three days afterward. We rejoiced together and thanked the Saviour, who had again brought us together. The Sensemanns, who had sailed from Sandusky with a good wind April 21, got into the river here the same evening at ten o'clock, and came to anchor. They found a house, which belongs to Capt. Elliot, where they took shelter, and the next day they unloaded the ship and stored every thing in the house, for which they got help from the inhabitants, so that in one day the ship was un-

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<sup>1</sup> From a Bethlehem MS.

loaded, and also sailed for Detroit. We examined the country and encamped with the Indian brethren for the most part on McKee's plantation, where no one lived, for it had been vacated for us, where there is much cleared land for planting. Next to this is Elliot's plantation, where also we got much cleared land and a house to live in.<sup>1</sup>

Thursday, 5. We considered together how we could most suitably arrange ourselves. The Zeisbergers, with Br. Michael Jung, took the house on McKee's land, and the Sensemanns, with Br. Edwards, the house on Elliot's land, so that they have between them the Indian brethren, who are all encamped upon the former plantation. We spoke with the assistants and charged them to point out and distribute the fields to the brethren, and this was in part done to-day. We found that they would all have cleared land for planting, though some of it was hard to work, and yet this is easier than if they had first to clear the land, for which it is already too late. In the evening we had a meeting in the open air, and Br. David reminded the brethren of our last meeting in Pettquotting, and that now here also the word of Jesus' death would dwell among us and our hearts have food therefrom.

Friday, 6. The brethren were busy putting up huts on McKee's land, for which they found in abundance timber and material on the islands over against us. There live here only a few white settlers beyond Elliot's farm, near us. He came to-day with McKee's son and two officers from Detroit, who remained here on the 7th, pointing out to us how far we had to go and could make use of the cleared land. We found, since we had all of McKee's

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<sup>1</sup> "This little settlement, which they called the Warte, or the Watch-Tower, stood in full view of the lake. Opposite to it, on the American side of the river, was a Wyandot village. A few Canadian farmers lived in the vicinity, among them a steward of Elliot, with a number of negroes."—De Schweinitz' *Life of Zeisberger*, p. 624. It will have been noticed that Zeisberger seldom calls the Indian towns he founded by name, but rather makes use of the river on which they were placed to designate them. For instance he writes, I think, but twice the name of the town they have just left, New Salem.

land, that with Elliot's we should have enough for us all for planting. He and the officers were very friendly, and showed their satisfaction at our being here. The house of the Frenchman, La Mot, was too far away for us, and had we been willing to be separated, his land was overgrown with old turf, not good for Indians to plant, besides it was not fenced, and so we could make no use of it.

Sunday, 8. Capt. Elliot sailed away early in his bark for the Miami, where Col. McKee is, treating with the Indians, and it is said he will pass a couple of months there. Br. Jung preached about the good Shepherd, when some whites and blacks were present. Some of the assistants went over to the Wyandot towns, whither they were invited. When they got there, they were first entertained with food in the best way, and every one exerted himself to be kind to them. Then it was made known to them in the council-house that their chiefs had resolved about us, to propose to us two places where we could dwell and plant, namely, on the great<sup>1</sup> river, the old towns, or up the deep creek,<sup>1</sup> where we liked best. Here they mentioned one inconvenience, namely, that they had many cattle, which would do us harm, if we did not make good fences; now, however, it was come to this, that they heard the Wyandots from Sandusky were all coming over, since the Virginians were already on the way and upon the Scioto, coming here; so they had resolved to offer them the old towns, which then we could not have. What was most pleasing to us, was their saying, that if we lived near them, they would have the opportunity of attending our meetings, for they never heard the word of God and yet were baptized, and if they wished to hear any thing, they had to make a long journey to Detroit to the church. The brethren heard them, thanked them for their kindness, and told them then we had waited so long for an answer and got none that we had asked their father

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<sup>1</sup>What streams are meant by the "great river" and the "deep creek," I have been unable to determine, but they seem, from the next sentence, to have been tributaries of Detroit River. Deep creek has been mentioned before, p. 158.

to help us, who had given us cleared, fenced land to cultivate this year, so that this year we needed nothing farther. Had we waited for their answer, we should still be in Pettquotting, having the journey before us, when now it is time for planting, and would still have had to clear land, so that it is well we were earnestly thoughtful in this betimes, the sooner the better, about coming over the lake. Yet soon more about this in the future. In the evening Br. David held the meeting from the Scripture-verse.

Monday, 9. We saw now that the message we received in Sandusky Bay, when we were warned against the Chippewas, was true, which then we had not believed, but yet had wished to lose no time in getting away. Sixty or seventy Chippewas, from Saginaw, were over the river, who were going to war against the States, and a party of fifty was still in Detroit, who had destroyed every thing where they had gone, and taken from the settlers all they found and shot their cattle. A party of them met Thomas, who was on his way back and arrived to-day, who had to give them a couple of bushels of corn. The time was well-chosen for our escaping their hands, for had they met us on the way, we should have paid dear for it. Now we see that it was high time for us to hasten from Pettquotting, and the Saviour has directed our journey, so conducting us that we have indeed good reason to praise him therefor, and to thank him, especially for this, that he has himself so brought it about that we are upon the east and not upon the west side of Detroit River, where the warriors make their way, so that we are free from all trouble and danger, and being upon McKee's and Elliot's land, who are agents, we find protection from the wild people in case we should be troubled by them, but they do not easily come over to the east side, for their road to the Miami lies on the west side. Our Lord and Saviour again lets us see how he is master to help, to protect his folk, and if danger be nigh, to lead them away and rescue them. Let all churches praise and thank him, for he is worthy, and we are but a small number therefor. O, a



true and veritable Saviour! In Pettquotting he promised to be with us. He has kept his word, and will further keep it. Amen.

Wednesday, 11. The brethren went to fence-making about a piece of land, cleared, but unfenced, and in part to make repairs. David held evening service from the Scripture-verse.

Friday, 13. We had the joy of hearing from Joshua, that the brethren who went with the cattle by land, were now successfully come to the other side of the river, while we had lately heard that on Tawa River, where a war-party is assembled, they had been stopped and their cattle shot, and we could hardly keep our brethren from going there to see how the matter was. Now we hear that all is not true, but that fifty Potawatomes met them, who wished to do so, but the brethren conceived the good idea of giving them the public bull, with which they were content, and thus none of the brethren has individually lost any thing, so that we can thank the Saviour for this, too, that this labor has been so well and fortunately accomplished without loss.

They met the Tawa chief and spoke with him, who was very glad that their father, the English government, had received us and given us land, and he was still more glad that we are on the east side of the river, out of the way of the warriors' march, for many more warriors go against the States than in former wars, so that it will be a more active war than ever before. On the Tawa River some of our Indians friends wished to persuade them to stay. A Wyandot captain gave Joshua and Bill Henry a string of wampum, with words for us, that the Miami River stood open to us and we should come and select a place for dwelling, that pleased us, for it was their land both sides of the river; but of this in these critical times of preparations for war we took no notice.

Saturday, 14. Most of the brethren went over the river to get the cattle over, but found trouble there, for rum had been brought there, wherewith many of our people got drunk, and to-day only a few head were brought over.

Sunday, 15. As most were busy with the cattle, since many warriors were come, and they were in danger, we had to postpone the sermon and to work to get the cattle out of the way as soon as might be. This forenoon a ship sailed by to Detroit from Fort Erie. The captain, who knew us, greeted us. In the evening Br. Sensemann held the congregation meeting.

Monday, 16. We were aware that a disagreement must have arisen among our people, but this, from our knowing it in time, was hindered and brought to an end. The origin of this was that some Wyandot women had wheedled some of our people to build upon the west side, where, as they said, they would have much finer and better land, the land on this side being already old and hard to work. And, secondly, it was hard for them to get their cattle over, the mouth being six miles wide. They had not reflected that on the west side they might lose all from the warriors, and the Wyandots may well have had their own interest in this. If now, when May is half over, we must clear land, make fences, and so on, we can not expect to harvest anything. Why have they not let us know this before now we are come here? We appeared early enough before them and asked [but, perhaps, the Saviour has so arranged and resolved], but we got no answer. David held evening service.

Tuesday, 17. We brought all the cattle over the river by boat, and though this was a weary work, and often by windy weather not to be done, yet every thing went off well. In the evening Br. David addressed the brethren.

Wednesday, 18. Now the brethren had nothing so needful as to care for their fields, at which they went earnestly. The ranger captain, Colvill, gave our Indians a field, where eight or more families could plant, good land and fenced, which we received with thanks, and thus are we helped in many ways. An old widow, named Rosina, quite lame, who has often and long lived in the church and often again left it, who some time ago came from Gigejunk to this country and awaited our arrival, having heard that we should come here—she got leave at

her request and entreaty to live in the church. Michael held evening service.

Friday, 20. We heard that some, for instance, Jacob, with his family, who remained behind in Sandusky, but on their way here had come as far as Tawa River, could come no farther on account of warriors, so that McKee advised them to go aside into the bush until the way was safe to travel. Thus are many behind; the families of Cook and of Boaz, Helen, Louisa, Petty, and Tulpe, an unbaptized man, of whom we have not the least idea where they are. It is said that the Americans are on the march. Here among us a new trouble has broken out among the dogs, some of which have gone mad and injured the cattle. In Sandusky already we were forced to shoot some, for the Chippewa dogs had infected ours. Since then we have been aware of nothing, until now it breaks out afresh. Our brethren are not yet done with the measles either, which have broken out anew since we came here.

Saturday, 21. Jacob arrived with his family, who were hindered on Tawa River by the warriors, and on account of the cattle they had with them they could come no farther until the warriors had gone, who have all gone to the war. Some who are yet behind are coming by water, as we hear, whom we had already given up. Two ships went by for Fort Erie, and one up this morning, the Saginaw, our ship. Our fields were planted.

Sunday, 22. David preached about the promised Comforter, who would comfort the world in its troubles. Several whites were present.

Monday, 23. Hard rain. Our town was overflowed with water, on which account our brethren had to tear down the huts they had built and rebuild them nearer the river's bank.

Wednesday, 25. After the brethren were done with fencing they earnestly set about planting. We heard this morning that a hundred warriors went by yesterday on the west side of the river on their way to war, of which we had known nothing. We are always seeing more and

more how safely the Saviour has led us and taken us away from the present troubles of the earth by establishing us on this side of the river. This forenoon Boaz also with his family came to us. The others, such as Cook's family, Helen, Louisa, Petty, Tulpe, and Tschakeleunos, the latter a short time ago having permission to live with us, are all on Tawa River, and plant there, but have nothing but trouble, living in fear, for they know not what will happen to them, of which their corruption is the cause, bad intentions being at the foundation. David held early service.

Friday, 27. We got news that the traders are all fleeing from the Miami, for the Americans advance, and it is said they were on the Hockhocking, that is, in Assününk. Our brethren were very busy planting, in which they are yet much hindered by rainy weather, for as soon as rain falls, the ground is at once too wet.

Sunday, 29. At the sermon, which Br. Sensemann delivered, and which we had to have in the open air on account of the much needful work, especially in planting, many blacks [negroes] and also whites were present. Some Baptists, among them John Missemer,<sup>1</sup> the preacher, who have held meetings on the lake seven or eight miles from here, came back from there and called on us. They were very friendly and cordial, invited us to attend their meetings, and told us in what place it would be held a week hence, and where they would have the breaking of bread in two weeks. We did not accept the invitation on account of our Indians, and could not also make plain to them our reason. On account of rain we could have no evening meeting.

Tuesday, 31. Samuel, who with several others went to Detroit yesterday, came back to-day, bringing news that the Chippewas had done much damage in the settlements they passed through, in some places having shot all the swine. The inhabitants are generally anxious, for if

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<sup>1</sup> See before, page 107.

the Indians should get the worse in the battle, as they think they will, they will have to suffer.

Thursday, June 2. It rained all day, and we could have no meeting.

Saturday, 4. As this was the King's birthday, we heard here, though we are eighteen miles from Detroit, the cannon fired very plainly, at the same time a ship was launched there.

Sunday, 5. Capt. Elliot arrived very early in a boat from the Miami, when we heard that about four thousand Indians, more or less, are assembled there, many of whom were in the war, and that a strong army of militia was by this time expected in Gigeyunk, not, however, authorized by Congress, which would rather make peace with the nations. At the sermon by Br. Michael Jung several whites of the neighborhood were present. After this the matter of building a meeting-house was brought before the minds of the brethren and given to their consideration. They were reminded that they had heard in the farewell sermon in Pettquotting that wherever we went we should take God's word with us. This we had done, God's word dwelt with us, but the meeting-house we could not take with us, and therefore they should think about building one.

Wednesday, 8. To our unexpected and no common joy we had letters from Bethlehem and Litiz, together with the Scripture-verses and texts for this year, and some church journals, wherewith we were much refreshed and revived. These letters came with a packet by way of Niagara from Sandusky from the Secretary of War to the commandant in Detroit, whence forwarded to us, we got it this evening. This was the way it was, otherwise they might well have remained over a year in Pittsburg. Chipewa warriors came in here, who went about our town singing and begging, but they soon took themselves off.

Thursday, 9. Though we have now escaped the trouble and anxiety which stood over us, and threatened us in Pettquotting, yet it seems in spite of our being in safety and out of the way of the multitude of warriors, that we

shall not yet remain altogether undisturbed, and we learn now, and that now comes to light of which we have already long had a presentiment, namely: we got to-day a message from that nest of hell on the Miami (Gigeyunk) that our Indians should come there, where now the warriors were assembling and should help fight for their land against the Americans. Now becomes evident what they propose for us. They wish to disturb and utterly destroy the Indian church. They come with threats and say that if we do not go to the war they will come and root us out. For weak minds this is a very hard trial. They wish to force us to embrace again heathenism, saying we should put aside Christianity until the war is over; then we can again live according to God's command and will, and think thereof, for now there is no time for this, but for fighting. Thus the Scripture-verse of the day: I have hallowed this house which thou hast built to put my name there forever.

Friday, 10. Since Brs. Sensemann, Edwards, and Michael were gone to Detroit, Br. David had a long conference and talk with the assistant brothers, when we took up and considered the message received yesterday, whereover the Indian brothers were no little troubled. They said it would have among our young people no good effect, but cause disturbance, and something must be done in the matter, or they, the assistants, would be blamed if things should not come out well. They thought that in some measure the message must be complied with, unless we wished to incur danger, for it was threatened, in case we refused and sent none of our people thither, that all would be taken from us. We have never experienced any thing like this as long as there has been an Indian church. These are evil times. Br. David gave to the assistants his views, namely: that it would be best to be steadfast and let come whatever they would do to us; besides to hope for the help of the Lord, who would not abandon us, but in one way or another aid us; since, however, we knew that many among our brethren had not good sense and were not strong in faith, and on account of their weakness we must yet do something to quiet the church, so that they might

not fall upon the idea of helping themselves, and to make themselves safe, fall into sin, (he thought) that some of the assistants should go thither to get information about the truth of the message and to see what was to be done. But when they told him that not old people, but young, were required, Br. David replied that he and we would not and could not do this, send young people thither, which was nothing else than sending them into fire and into war, when we should soon hear that the war-song was sung in our town, and before permitting that he would rather die than live. We separated without reaching a decision. Towards evening Capt. Elliot came from Detroit, as if summoned, with whom Br. David took occasion to speak as soon as he landed, especially about this message, who gave us excellent information whence the message came, namely, from the wicked Delawares, out of that nest of hell, Gigeyunk, whence we are always treated with enmity, and that it was not at all needful for our Indians to be distressed about this, and even if none of them went there, they would not on this account suffer ill; we must not think that if the Indians should do us harm, the government would merely look on, no, they would interfere. He assured our Indians that for twenty years they had lived in no place where they were so safe and quiet as here. This and yet more that he said was made known to our people in the evening and explained to them with a good and desired effect, and their minds were again, so to speak, revived, and thus will the Saviour help us out of this need too, to his glory.

We had farther trustworthy information that the man who (carried) our letters, written to the church, some in Pettquotting, others in Detroit, had been taken prisoner by the Indians near Presque Isle, and taken to Detroit, where, however, he was released, since he had gone with the approval of the government, so that our letters yet get through, to be sure not to the Susquehanna, but to Pittsburg, as we conjecture. Here the affair with Cornplanter should be mentioned for June 11.

Saturday, 11. Br. Sensemann and others came back

from the Fort. A war-party from Retrenche River (Thames) arrived, who have friends here.

Sunday, 12. Br. Edwards preached and Sensemann held the congregation meeting, both treating of the gifts imparted to us by God, the worthy Holy Ghost, who is sent to us by the Father, who sanctifies us, cleanses us from sin, and makes us sharers of the salvation, won for us by Jesus Christ. In the afternoon we laborers had another conference, considering what in these evil times, when Satan is abroad, seeking to do harm among us, we should do to withstand him and avoid loss, for the message among many of our young people has had a bad effect and caused evil, so that many long to go to war, especially when now a war-party was encamped here, who this evening wished to dance their war-dance on the shore, but this we would not allow, telling them to desist from this until they came to their like in their own towns. However, we gave them something to eat, and they went away the morning after for the Miami, and at their departure struck up their war-song. With them went Ska, an unbaptized man. We resolved, since we had to do something for our young people's sake, to send a couple of assistants to the chiefs, and to remind them of our covenant with them, which we made with them in Gekelemukpechüink, having made known to them our way of life, that we went not to war. As we did not quite know and could not find out whether the speech came from the nations or from the vile Delawares, we could come to no determination.

Monday, 13. After the brethren had got timber for the meeting-house, they went to work to-day to build it, thirty-two feet long and twenty-four wide. We observed that in Cuyahoga and Pettquotting, when we wanted to put up the meeting-house, disturbance always came from frightful stories, and so it is now here too, so that for two days the brethren have shown no desire and earnestness about it, and we had to encourage them that it might merely go on. David held evening service.

Tuesday, 14. By young McKee, who arrived to-night from the Miami, we heard that the American army had



already got to the Miami towns,<sup>1</sup> and had a skirmish with the Indians three days ago, that the army is five thousand men strong, and has cannon. We heard at the same time that the Indians are much dissatisfied with us, in that our Indians do not come and help defend their land, and a French captain, La Mot, spoke very sharply about this to our Indians, and so alarmed them that they wanted to go at once to the army. We saw and knew no better plan than to say to them, that if any one wanted to go, he might; but we did not bid him, and he went upon his own responsibility; if they came to harm they could not blame us. In part, too, they feared the threats of the Indians, that if they did not appear they would be stripped of all their goods and possessions. Should we forbid them, then all blame would come upon us, and it would be said: "The teachers do not let us go, we wish it," as was the case on the Muskingum. We declared to them, however, that if they stood fast and let come what would, whatever the result might be, we would suffer with them and help bear what came over us; we would not leave them alone and would do for them what we could. Since we saw that some young people were getting ready to go, we sent the two assistants, William and Thomas, to the Miami to the chiefs, for which they had received instructions two days before, to speak with them, and if possible to declare to them that in the beginning, immediately upon our arrival from the Susquehanna, we had made known to them that we had nothing to do with war, so far as they would have ears to hear, now that they had weapons in their hands. So to-day ten young people went away there without asking us and without orders, among them some who never had a gun, and most of them went from curiosity to see and hear something new. This was sad, but we could not alter it. We commended the matter to the Saviour, and awaited what farther would come out of it. Already,

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<sup>1</sup> I do not find upon what M'Kee's report was based, unless he refers to Gen. Chas. Scott's expedition against the Wabash towns, which had left the Ohio River, May 23d, reference to which is made under July 8th following.

several years ago, the nations labored to form a union, so that all having a brown skin should help defend their land. This also so far succeeded that all called Indian, had to appear thereby, until it came to battle, but who will not then stand fast and runs away, no one can hold him, much less force him, as has been shown hitherto. It has never happened in former wars that the nations have been so united as at present, and for this very reason it is a hard time for our Indian church, such as has never been before. Had we remained in Pettquotting we could well have expected something of the sort that our Indians would be summoned to the war, but here, and particularly on English ground and soil, we had yet hoped to be spared this. Here the Saviour must help. He will find ways and means we know not. I wrote, I think, two years ago :<sup>1</sup> The Indian church must have at least one nation in the Indian land to receive it, and in such cases to stand by it and take it to its arms. This the Delaware nation did, among whom for a short time we enjoyed peace and protection. With this, however, it is in all probability over, since they have fallen out among themselves. Pipe is indeed our friend, does for us what he can, but he has little authority. The other Delaware chiefs are not well disposed towards us. And we cannot be quite sure about Ekuschuwe. Apparently he is our friend, but he has given himself little trouble about our moving away from Pettquotting, nor has he made any exertion. Whether the reason is this, that he has had to bear and suffer much on our account for taking our part and defending us against our adversaries, and now draws back from this, we cannot be quite sure.

Friday, 17. McKee's son and Capt. La Mot, who came from Detroit, asked us for a couple of Indians to help them go with their boat to the Miami, which was granted them.

Saturday, 17. Our meeting-house was so far done that; Sunday, 19, Trinity Sunday, we could have the first sermon in it, where we first read something, the first part

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<sup>1</sup>See before p. 29.

of the church litany, at which were present whites and blacks from the neighborhood. In the afternoon we laborers read the church journal. We had already yesterday heard through Mingoës and to-day by Chippewas, who came from the Miami, got certain news that the army had come as far as the head of the Miami, had destroyed a couple of Twightwee towns, whereby fifty Indians are said to have perished, and was back again, so that they have not come into that place on the Miami, where the Indians had assembled and were awaiting them; that the Chippewas from the Michilimackinac towns, etc., whence over a hundred had gone to the strife, had gone in full numbers back home, there being a famine among them. This was interesting news for us, for from this we shall breathe again, and be freed from our trouble and anxiety, and our Indians will no more be summoned to the war. But, although the army is back again, the Indians do not cease on this account, but they go out stronger for murdering. Br. Sensemann held the evening service from the text.

Tuesday, 21. Br. David held the evening service from the text: Every one that exalteth himself shall be abased, etc., and then the communion quarter-hour, wherein, earnestly and directly, he spoke of the transgressions and sins which have lately been committed here, and admonished the brethren to cease doing evil, to seek forgiveness from the Saviour. He gave notice of the communion for next Saturday for such as had a communion-heart. The meeting-house was to-day chinked, doors and benches made, and the bell put in place.

Wednesday, 22, and Thursday, 23. Brs. Zeisberger and Sensemann and their wives spoke with the brethren, for there was much to be settled, and many must remain away from the Lord's supper.

Saturday, 25. We had again the first communion since we had it in Pettquotting. Our number was small, for many remained away, who in the intervening time have made themselves unworthy of it, and have lost it. Much

also that was hid came to light. Those who enjoyed it, of whom there were forty odd, he blessed unspeakably.

Sunday, 26. After the communion liturgy, Br. Sensemann preached, after which we laborers heard the church journal read. A woman, baptized in Thuppeküink, when a great girl, with the name Mariane, who, since the disturbance, had lapsed into error, came here two days ago with her unbaptized husband and two children, requesting to be again in the church. She related how for three years she had longingly endeavored and desired to come to the church, but had been hindered by her husband, who had no such wish, and put her off from one time to another. She had resolved by herself that if she once had the good fortune to come to the church, she would not leave it as long as she lived. The assistants spoke with her husband, but found he had no inclination for the church, which indeed he did not speak right out, but he cheerfully left his wife and children here, and set the time in the autumn when he would again come to her. He wished first to speak with his friends and take counsel, but this the brethren did not allow him, for nothing would have come from it. He said afterwards to his wife, since he feared he might not keep his word, that he had indeed put the time as late as autumn, but he might come sooner. The assistants told him then, that so long they would believe of him that he would come, but if he did not come then, they should believe he would not come, but had abandoned his wife. So to-day he went away to the Miami, and his wife stays here with her children.

Tuesday, 28. By Charles, who came with McKee's boat from the Miami, we learned that William, Thomas, and the others were still there, waiting for the chiefs who are summoned there, and that there is hope of our affair having a good termination, that McKee, Pipe, and the Mingoës had advised them not to go farther, we having thought they would have to go up to Gige'yunk, all which is a fine token of a good ending. In the afternoon Capt. Elliot arrived in his boat from Detroit.

Wednesday, 29. Elliot, who went back to Detroit, gave

us news that McKee would now give his whole attention [it is now his chief business] to bringing the nations to incline their ears to peace, that they should propose what they asked and desired. We heard at the same time that the Chippewas from Mackinaw are going in good numbers home, others to the war.

Thursday, 30. Samuel and young Renatus' daughter went from the church. The former has not belonged to us for a long time, and has twice already been sent away, but had not gone.

Saturday, July 2. In the morning service, which Br. David held, notice was given to make the disorders cease, which have lately been occurring among us.

Sunday, 3. Michael preached and Edwards held the congregation meeting. Whites and blacks attended the services.

Tuesday, 5. The assistants spoke with a party of sisters who have been living in hatred and strife, and brought about peace, but Peggy out of perversity left the church. A Mohican, a near relative of our people, who visited here yesterday, and to-day went to Detroit, capsized in the waves, for it was rough. The Indian and his wife, who swam some four miles, came to land, but his child and brother drowned. Those who escaped, to whose assistance our people in the neighborhood went and whom they saved, came then thither. At the same time we got news that Frank, Helen's son, who was coming back from the war, was drowned in the Ohio. He was much in the church, off and on, in Pettquotting, and had a call to come to the church, but opposed it. He was Helen's idol, for on his account she now remains away from the church, being unable to leave him.

Wednesday, 6. We had the pleasure of seeing that William and Thomas with all the others, who of their own accord had gone thither, came to us from the Miami fortunately and without harm. When they came there, they learned at once that the army had gone back, and as all was over, they were no longer required. As long as they were there, they had encamped apart by them-

selves, and McKee during this time supplied them with food. Our speech had been well received. The pleasantest thing to us was that the matter for which especially they went there, had a good result, namely, since they had sent our Indians the hatchet and summoned them to the war, the Delaware chiefs Pipe, the Big-Cat,<sup>1</sup> and Tedpachxit, not only excused themselves, and showed their displeasure that it had happened, and said that the Monseys had inconsiderately sent the message to us, which the nations had sent to the Delaware nation, adding to it many lies and wicked threats, of which they knew nothing, having no part therein; they well knew that we had nothing to do with war, and did not concern ourselves about it, did no man harm, and liked to live in peace with every one; there were enough of their own people to go to the war without us, who in comparison with them were but a handful, and therefore they would have been glad to spare us. We had something else, from which we had more good to enjoy than they, of which he, the speaker, the Big-Cat, wished himself to have a share. This was so far good, and we were thankful to the Saviour for it, but now something hard followed, the speaker saying that last winter they had received a message from us of this purport, that they should consider where we should turn now in this unquiet time, when war and bloodshed were near, and had already begun, where we could be quiet and undisturbed; this message of ours was handed and given over for consideration to the Tawa chief, and they admitted it was a mistake that we got no answer within a fit time, and had therefore settled on English land and soil. Upon this discourse he drew out a string of wampum, and said: "My friends, hear ye now my words. The land there up the Miami has been given to us [the Delawares] to enjoy, thither we invite you too. Come and look at the country, seek out yourselves a place

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<sup>1</sup> Among the witnesses to the treaty between the Shawanese and the United States, Jan. 31, 1786, appears the name of Big-Cat. In the *Am. Pioneers*, vol. 1, p. 54, is an affecting speech of his when his adopted (white) son leaves him; there he is called Whingery Pooshies.

where ye are best pleased, there ye shall live quietly and no man shall disturb your worship of God, nor your manner of life." That was a white string, to which a black one from the Tawa chief was added with the words: "Grandfather, and ye believing Indians, I learned from you in the spring that ye wished to go over the lake, since ye no longer thought it safe to be in Pettquotting. Then I thought ye would use your former abode on Huron (Clinton) River. I then heard farther that ye were on the way, but when I expected you on Huron River, I heard all at once that ye were come to the other side and had there settled. Now arise and go thither, and if ye wish to live there I will send your teachers home and tell them they have themselves foolish people enough among the whites, to whom they must preach." With this speech of the Tawa chief the Delawares were not content, but they could not change it nor recall it, and said therefore to the Indian brothers to tell the assistants to speak as soon as possible with the Wyandots opposite us, and then soon to send an answer to them, the Delawares, whereupon the Tawa chief's speech would be brought to naught.

The Chippewa chief met Thomas and asked him what he was doing there, whether he came to hear or was going into the war. Thomas replied: "How canst thou ask what my business here is? Have ye not sent us the hatchet? That is why I am come." The chief said: "We have not sent it to you, but said something to the Delaware nation." This message, too, was nothing but politeness and craft on the part of the chiefs to deceive us and catch us with lies. Thus we cannot use caution enough, nor too much care, in finding them out. In the first place, a short time ago, they sent us the hatchet to frighten us, of which, however, they pretended to know nothing. Then they now come with an invitation to the Miami, after they believed they have frightened us, and think now the more easily to have reached their end, that from fear we shall at once say yes to this; and to give their affair strength, and to make it necessary, they add a speech from the Tawa chief, which

is, indeed, not from him, but probably invented, so that we may have nothing to do with him. The Delawares would much like to have us with them and in their power. They themselves know and see very well that on the Miami there is no place for us, that we should have to dwell among savages, where we should be devoured, body and soul, for it is all thickly settled with Indians, and therefore all intelligent people, whites and Indians, have advised us against going thither, for there have hitherto been two chief reasons why we could not settle there—1st, because the seat of war is there; 2d, because there is no place for us there. Before this they were always anxious for fear we might go to the Americans or to the Muskingum, the contrary of which they saw to their satisfaction, but now they are suspicious, thinking we shall give ourselves to the English, for there is already among them an outcry about this, that we have settled down on the English side, of which they are themselves the cause, for we first gave them notice in time, and asked them, but got no answer. We wondered what the Delawares, several years ago, were seeking among the Spaniards, we believed they went out of the way of war, but now it is plain what work they had in hand. They have labored for this since the last war, and have also been aided by the whites in this, that all Indian nations should unite, stand together, and hold fast by one another. Among the northern nations, as appearances show, this has been done. They work for this now among the southern nations, and, as we hear, with good success. This is the work of the Delawares, and the object of their living there. They made peace among those who were at war, and labored for unity, that all who have a brown skin should hold together to maintain and defend their land against the white people.

Friday, 8. Last night Capt. Elliot came in his bark from the Miami, and with him Joseph Brant and the deputies of the nations, on their way to Canada, there to be present at the negotiations for peace between the nations and the States, wherein the English will be the intermediaries. As we hear, at this treaty, which has already



been going on two months, and was interrupted for a time by the army, the nations have resolved on and fixed a line, and, as we hear, the Muskingum shall be the line, but not farther below, nor also above. If now the States are satisfied with this, they will make peace, if not, the war will then really begin. We heard farther, that it is true enough that an army was out from Kentucky, which, however, was not ordered by Congress, that it had destroyed a Wahweeahthenon<sup>1</sup> town, had killed twelve men, among them an old chief, whom they treated barbarously and worse than the Indians; and had taken prisoners thirty women and children; that the Indians followed them on their return, but made no attack on account of the prisoners.

Sunday, 10. Br. Edwards preached about the lost sheep; that the Saviour came to seek and save the lost; that there is joy in heaven over a sinner that repents. Since Brs. William and Thomas had been told, who brought the last message from the Miami, that our assistants should speak with the Wyandots before they gave an answer, they went over there to-day, having made the appointment and been told that this day towards evening they would be together, and they so found them. As they were assembled in the council-house [those too who lived near Detroit had been called], after the customary introductory speech of the following import in short: "Uncle, it is clear and pleasing to us that God has given us and appointed this day, when we see one another face to face by the council-fire and can address one another, so that we can speak right out together the thoughts of our hearts, which now we will do and tell thee nothing else than the truth, and we expect the same from thee, uncle." Samuel, who was spokesman, thereupon began and made known to the Wyandot chiefs the origin of the Indian church, that before the former war they had lived in Penn-

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<sup>1</sup> This word is in part conjectured. This expedition was made by volunteers, under command of Gen'l Chas. Scott. Wahweeahthenon was on the Wabash River, in Indiana. Albach's West. Annals, p. 561. The expedition was ordered by Congress.

sylvania where in that war they had been protected by the government there against wicked people, and when peace was made had been allowed to return to their friends. They had then lived above Wajomik [Wyoming, Pa.], whence, nineteen years ago now, they had been invited by the chiefs, together with their teachers, to the Ohio, and had first lived in Kaskaskunk,<sup>1</sup> and soon afterwards in Thuppekünk, on the Muskingum, where they had been placed by the chiefs, that there, quiet and undisturbed, they should have their worship of God, which also they found as long as we lived there. Eight years ago last autumn we were taken to Sandusky, afterwards lived four years on Huron River (Michigan), and had then gone back again over the lake. In Cuyahoga we had received an invitation from Pipe to move to Pettquotting, where we were afterwards placed and established by our uncle, the Wyandots, and lastly by Ekuschuwe, there to dwell. He had himself afterwards visited us and many times sent us messages, of which the strings and belts were shown and laid out. He had stopped our ears, so that we should give heed to no man, and never again unstopped them. This spring, while it was yet almost winter, we got a message from Pipe, letting us know we could not remain nor plant there, as restless times were probable. We had, therefore, sent a message to Pipe and the Wyandot and the Tawa chiefs, begging them to consider where farther we could find in quiet and security an abiding place, and asking for a speedy answer, but we had received none, on which account their father had granted us night-quarters<sup>2</sup> till we should find out where we were to live. Since we were here, we had sent us, not long ago, a string of wampum, with a piece of tobacco, when the hatchet was sent us, though every one was well aware that we had nothing to do with war. At the same time we had been threatened, in case of refusal, of being stripped of all our goods

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<sup>1</sup> A Monsey Indian town in Lawrence Co., Pa.

<sup>2</sup>i. e., a temporary abode.

and possessions. We had not thought, when we came into this land, that there would be thoughts of our taking up the hatchet, but the chiefs had told us that we should keep up our worship of God and trouble ourselves about nothing but our maintenance. We had now from Tawa River, from the Delaware chiefs, a message inviting us there; also a bad one from Ekuschuwe, who will place us on Huron River and then send away our teachers, and he stopped our ears and has not yet unstopped them. Thus we have no ears for his speech. They said to them finally that we got all sorts of messages, but in them no mention was made of what in the first place we had arranged with the chiefs and wherein we came to agreement. This had quite passed over into forgetfulness. We had received the word of God; to that we would hold fast so long as we lived. We had renounced heathenish life and ways, and strove to live according to God's will. The Wyandot chiefs said then that they had never heard this; it was pleasant to them at last to hear their cousins. They could not at once give an answer to so many weighty matters; they would think them over and give an answer at the earliest day.

Monday, 11. The assistants spoke with Andrew, Schelachpis and Ska, held before them their sinful life, and told them that they could not in this way be in the church.

Tuesday, 12. Several Indian brethren, among them Samuel and Abraham, went to Detroit, the sisters with baskets and brooms, for now here they can again sell such things. A ship, the Nancy, with the deputies of the Indian nations, and some soldiers also, went by on its way to Fort Erie.

Thursday, 14. The brethren came back from the settlement. A Chippewa woman had killed a man, whereupon she was put to death, and both were buried in the same grave. We have already heard more of the like, and more has come to our knowledge, for this is the Chippewa law. Thus six Indians came here within a few days, four were drowned and two were slain; of the first, the bodies of two, a woman and a child, have been found.

Saturday, 16. The assistant, Samuel, who returned from Detroit, had spoken there with Ekuschuwe, who told him he sent us word in Pettquotting, if he heard any thing certain that concerned us he would let us know; he had stopped our ears, and told us if we heard any thing from him, and others told us any thing from him, for example: "Ekuschuwe has said so and so," or, "This he lets you know," believe it not, nor give heed to it, though I myself say it. Hitherto I have had nothing to say to you; thus things remain as they were. But I am now going to Michilimackinac to confer with the chiefs there, and ere I come back, I expect also the deputies of the nations back from Canada; then I shall have something to say to you, be it good or bad. This is proof enough that the last speech which we had with the Delawares was not from him, but invented by them to deceive us. Ekuschuwe's brother-in-law afterwards said to Samuel alone that he could not hitherto tell us any thing, for he wished first to wait for what news the deputies would bring, and whether it should be peace or war, but yet he had heard something, that the Tawa chief intended to settle us on the straits, between Lakes St. Clair and Huron, on the east side, by a creek, where the land is good and there are said to be walnut-bottoms and good hunting.

Sunday, 17, was for us a hard day. There came a heavy storm over us, for there was drinking in the neighborhood, so that our people also were led astray, which brought upon us much trouble, for as it is harvest time there is among the white people nothing but drunkenness.

Monday, 18. A ship, the Dunmore,<sup>1</sup> from Ft. Erie, with many passengers and soldiers, went by. Joshua went out to them, eight or nine miles into the lake.

Tuesday, 19. Elliot, who came from the Fort yesterday, asked for some of our people to help in the harvest, which

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<sup>1</sup>Spencer, in his "Indian Captivity," mentions the Dunmore, an old vessel of six guns, as anchored in front of Detroit in 1793. De Peyster, in his book, already referred to, in a poem entitled "Red River," says, "While frost-bound, the Dunmore, the Gage, and Endeavour." See vol. 1, p. 33.

was granted under the condition that they should be kept sober, for Simon Girty has caused trouble in the neighborhood among us, by making our Indians drunk, and he has paid them in rum.

Thursday, 21. After early service we got the assistants together, spoke with them about the disorderly life in the church, and charged them to assemble the church, to speak with them and to learn whether they wished to cease doing ill, and we told them outright that we neither could nor would have any thing to do with such a people, that loved sin and persisted in drinking; they should admonish them to repent, to feel sorry and suffer for their transgressions, to see whether, perhaps, God would be gracious to them and forgive their sins; they should speak with each one apart and each should declare whether he wished to live for the Saviour or not, and whoever wished to live after the lusts of the flesh, to him the door stood open for departure. This was done to-day. First they assembled the brothers and then the sisters and spoke with them, saying that if they persisted in leading so disorderly a life the teachers would leave them and let them live according to their own devices and lusts of the flesh. This had such a wholesome effect that nearly the whole church wept; sorrow and sadness filled their hearts; they were frightened at themselves and each one acknowledged himself guilty, both those who had sinned and those in whom there had been no outbreak. It was a day of repentance for the whole church, and many came with tears and expressed their sorrow, both about themselves and about all and sought comfort. Some said they had never in their lives had so hard a day as to-day. They had grieved him and he in turn had grieved them, and this was directly for their salvation. Now indeed it was not our thought, far from it, to abandon them, for the greater number was yet innocent, but we wished to teach them to maintain order in the church, and hereby we reached our purpose. We had trouble and sadness over them, but were again comforted about them. We waited then until all had been spoken to, and each one had declared that he would be obe-

dient and submit to the rules of the church. Then we assembled the church on the 23d, and showed them that they all had wandered from the right way; that even they who had not sinned were just as guilty as they who had sinned, in that they looked on with indifferent hearts and gave in. The brethren were reminded to be obedient to the teachers and assistants and to give heed to them, for if they did not listen to the assistants, they also did not listen to us, and if they did not listen to us it was all over with them. They were in general admonished to maintain order in the church, to renew their covenant with the Saviour, to live for him and for the glory of his name, and to be obedient to his word, therein to be of one mind; and if this were their intention, we would remain with them, shunning neither trial nor danger, as we hitherto had stood by them in all kinds of trouble. For a time we had had much sorrow over them, but now that we again saw them sorry for this, we were comforted about them, for it was a grace from the Saviour and a repentance for their salvation. We then knelt with the church, and asked our dear Lord for forgiveness of all our transgressions, for the mercy of his look, for his acknowledgment of us, and for the enjoyment of his peace.

Saturday, 23. Br. David had a letter from Gottlob, on the Miami, whence Amelia came. A royal and a merchant ship from Ft. Erie went by. The merchant ships have orders not to go through the lake without a royal ship which has cannon.

Sunday, 24. Br. David preached from the Gospel, that the Saviour, from the beginning of the world since the fall of man, had revealed himself to mankind by signs and wonders, until at last he came himself and revealed himself by a supreme wonder in becoming man, suffering death, pouring out his blood and reconciling us to God, which now has since been preached in all the world, and in thinking about which, we have enough to do, and this is a blessed occupation. Michael held the congregation meeting. Sensemann, who consulted the Indians on this

account and submitted to their treatment, lay ill from his trouble with his chest.

Monday, 25. David held early service. In a ship which sailed for Ft. Erie, several Tawas went to Montreal to seek aid there from the government against the American States, having heard that a stronger army than ever before is in movement to invade the Indian land.

Thursday, 28. David held early service from the Scripture-verse. Some went into the harvest to earn something, others for whortleberries. Many got work here from Elliot and Colville. We heard that the Americans are busy building boats in Presque Isle.

Friday, 29. Edwards held early service. From the Miami came back David and Jacob, who went there with Elliot several days ago, bringing news that an army had advanced to the fork of the Miami and had surrounded an Indian town; that another army advanced upon Gigyunk, and a third fell upon the Wabash, and that the Indians were everywhere in flight; that the Americans were making boats in the Cuyahoga and at Presque Isle, and that among the Indians all is alarm.

Sunday, 31. Michael preached from the Epistle to the Romans, vi., 3: Know ye not that so many of us as were baptized into Jesus Christ were baptized into his death? From the Miami came a swarm of Indians in flight, to get out of the way of the army expected there. Elliot, who also came from there, thought we should send them all back again; they should now fight, for they were always wishing to go to war; but we replied that to do this was neither in our power nor in that of our Indians.

Tuesday, Aug. 2. Still more Indians, among them quite a strong party of Nanticokes, arrived. Though it is not usual for Indians to come here, yet they now come here in crowds because we are here, and the shore is full of them, but we notice no hunger for God's word, but only for bodily food, for they are now busied with other matters, war and anxiety for food, for the little which they planted on the Miami the warriors consume, who are constantly there, before it is yet mature for eating. The assistants

married a couple of young people, Charles and Theodora's daughter. An English officer, who came with Elliot, asked Joshua why he and they did not go to war. He answered that they did no man harm, loving all men, Indians, English, French, Americans, and whoever he was, and they tried and made effort to live at peace with every one. Whereupon the officer gave him a wicked answer, saying: "Ye will soon be compelled to go to war, and if ye will not so do a crown will be put upon your heads with the tomahawk." Joshua said: "That must be a very bad man."

Friday, 5. Edwards held early service. Elliot went in his boat to the Miami, and with him Jacob.

Saturday, 6. David held early service from the text. Soon after this, the little child, Lewis, somewhat over four months old, died, Joshua's grandchild.

Sunday, 7. Br. Sensemann preached from . . . . to which a German preacher saw his way, and which he attended. Br. David conducted the communion quarter-hour and gave notice of the Lord's supper for the 13th, and towards evening attended the burial of the little Lewis, at which whites and blacks were likewise present.

Monday, 8. By a ship from Ft. Erie we got news that a strong army, in which were many New Englanders, was marching for the Miami. The deputies and Brant, who went to Canada, have sent back word that all the Indians should come together to receive them. Michael held early service. Sabina gave birth to a daughter, which,

Tuesday, 9, in the early service from the Scripture-verse: And all Judah rejoiced at the oath, for they had sworn with all their hearts, etc., was baptized by David Zeisberger, and named Willhelmina.

Wednesday, 10. We wrote to Bethlehem.

Saturday, 13. Michael held early service. A royal ship that came from Ft. Erie sailed for Detroit, in which came Willcock, who in the spring had taken our letters, bringing with him the German preacher's wife from the States. In the evening sixty-four brethren received the sacrament of the body and blood of the Lord in his near pres-



ence, at which the brethren were told something of the importance<sup>1</sup> of this day, and Luke was readmitted.

Sunday, 14. The sermon by Br. Michael Jung was attended by Germans from Grose Isle, and English of this neighborhood. As the inhabitants here long as little for the word of God as the heathen do, perhaps they will be induced by Indians to become eager for it, for they live like heathen. If then the Indian church should be placed as a light to these so-called Christians, and be an example and blessing to them, so much the more must we be content to encamp here for a while.

[So far to Bethlehem.]

Wednesday, 17. Brs. David, Sensemann, and Michael Jung went to Detroit on business, returning on the 19th. They there settled with Mr. Askin about the ship-hire of last spring, and sent a packet of letters and the diary to Bethlehem by way of Montreal and New York. They also made a visit to Maj. Smith, the commandant, by whom they were very kindly received. He told them that they had not yet received a letter from Quebec about us, but expected it by the first ship. They had also an opportunity to make the acquaintance of Judge Powell, who lives on the east side not far from Huron<sup>2</sup> church, with whom they talked much about the Brothers' church, their missions, the beginning and growth of them, all which was to him quite new, but pleasant to hear, since he had yet never had so much information about this, how it happened that we had settled at the mouth of the river, where we were now waiting to see what farther would be done with us. He spoke likewise about this, that we with our Indians should not live among whites, nor be surrounded by them. It was becoming and right that the government should give land to us and our In-

<sup>1</sup> See vol. 1, p. 199.

<sup>2</sup> Conjectured. "The Huron village lay east of the river a short distance below Detroit. A missionary of the order of Carthusian Friars, by permission of the Bishop of Canada, resided there." Carver's Travels, p. 92. "Coming round the point at Huron church." Hist. Sketches of Mich., p. 35.

dians, and this would happen too, for which he made no unreasonable proposition, namely (a tract on Huron Streights—Beth. MS.). We told him that if our Indians lived under and were received by the government, they should not be required nor encouraged to go to war, which would be the destruction of our mission, and if we were willing to agree to that, our mission was at an end. He thought it over and said it was true. About the Act of Parliament concerning the brothers, that they were free from bearing arms, he was not aware of this, and would not quite believe it, but would yet examine his books. He asked us to visit him as often as our way lay thither.

Saturday, 20. After the early service was the burial of Eleonora, who died yesterday, child of Boaz and Abigail.

Sunday, 21. David preached and Michael held the congregation meeting. In the evening died John Henry's and Anna Maria's child, Sally. A boat-load of warriors went by for the Miami. A couple of white people, who live above here on the river, came and wished to buy horses, whom our Bill Henry recognized as having been among the militia, who at night in Pittsburg fell upon and murdered the Indians, and also helped murder our Indians in Gnadenhütten. We took them to breakfast.

Monday, 22. Lydia died of slow consumption quite blessedly.

Tuesday, 23. After the early service by Br. David, the child of John Henry and Anna Maria, that died day before yesterday, Sally, was buried, and then Br. Sensemann baptized a sickly child of Nicodemus and an unbaptized mother into the death of Jesus, with the name, Lea.

Wednesday, 25. After the early service from the Scripture-verse: I shall give peace in the land, and ye shall lie down, and none shall make you afraid, the remains of Sister Lydia, who died day before yesterday, were brought to rest amidst a great concourse. She was baptized Dec. 26, 1766, in Friedenshütten (on the Susquehanna), came to the Ohio with the church in the year '72, and also to

the Muskingum and Gnadenhüten to live, where, Jan. 10, '73, she was married to the Mohican, Gabriel. She there became a partaker of the holy communion, March 9, '76, and went a blessed way in the church. When the Indian church was taken to Sandusky, in the year '82, and robbed of its teachers, she went to Gige-yunk, where she remained till '89, when she once came to Sandusky, and her sister, Helen, brought her with her children to New Salem, but at first she was shy and undecided about remaining with the church. The grace of the Saviour, however, and the general feeling gained her heart. She was swept on by them so that she gave herself anew to the Saviour to be his property, and wept for mercy and forgiveness, which too the Saviour soon gave her, and she again became a communicant. Her husband, who once came to Salem from the war, and showed inclination to be again in the church and with his wife, got leave for this. She did it from obedience, and received him again, but it was soon seen that he could not be in the church, and we had to let him go again, but she remained steadfast, though very helpless, weak, and sick, and obliged to live in poverty. This spring, when we left Pettquotting, and her two sisters, Helen and Louisa, again went from the church, and followed their own way, she remained, firmly resolved to go with the church wherever it went. She was therefore helped to come hither, but was for the most part sick, wasted away little by little, and at last was quite bed-ridden, and it could be seen that her departure drew nigh, but she was composed and resigned to the Saviour's will. The last communion, Aug. 13, which she received upon her sick bed, was especially impressive and blessed to her. She so expressed herself and said that the Saviour's body and blood had so worked in her that she felt it in her whole hackey (body<sup>1</sup>). Her two children she commended to the church, and said that as she had no friends there, she would beg all the brothers and sisters to care for them, that they might not

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<sup>1</sup> See before, p. 76.

be taken from the church, and this, too, was promised her. Day before yesterday, on the 22d, she had Br. Zeisberger and his wife called, who had often visited her, and asked them to bless her for her departure, saying she feared she might not longer be in possession of her senses, that she believed the Saviour would soon take her to himself. This was done, the blessing was given her by Sister Zeisberger in a sweet liturgy, several brethren being present, whereby she folded her hands and a blessed peace of God prevailed. In the evening we appointed to watch with her among several others a sister. When she saw her she at once seized her hand and said: "Forgive me, sister, for many times we have had something against each other, whereby love was hurt. I have given every thing up to the Saviour. I love thee and have nothing against thee. I depart in peace to the Saviour." Hardly had she done speaking when her soul took flight and she went to her Redeemer, in whom she believed, leaving behind a deep impression in the hearts of all present.

Thursday, 25. Br. Michael held the early service from the Scripture-verse: But the more they afflicted them, the more they multiplied, and the text: If they have persecuted me they will also persecute you. We had to-day a hard day, on account of a circumstance which concerned our Indians. One of our neighbors, Colvill, in the spring gave our Indians land to plant two miles from here. We did not quite approve of it, fearing it might cause unpleasantness, but he said to our Indians much that was good and fair, and they let themselves be deceived. Now, from eight to fourteen days ago, a hog got into their fields and did much damage. They gave notice of this to the man to whom it belonged, but he replied that it did not belong to any one here, and our people were advised to shoot it, which they did, but as soon as all was done, this same Colvill knew at once that it belonged to Elliot, and sought most earnestly to blacken our Indians with him. This went so far that they threatened to arrest the participants and bring them into court, yes, they should be hanged. Br. Sensemann spoke in the morning with Elliot, who came

last evening from the Miami, and sought also to show him the truth in the matter, but in vain. He got a rough and hard answer, and they then decided that the perpetrators should be apprehended. Br. David then got a letter wherein all their threats were contained, and we were ordered to go away from here without knowing whither. Br. David took now occasion to speak with Elliot alone, and found so far acceptance that the matter was put aside and stopped. He saw very well himself that he could accomplish nothing under the law, but Br. David admonished the brethren and young people,

Friday, 26, so long as we are here, to behave in an orderly and peaceful way towards the people, and to give them no occasion to complain about us. We see, however, already what the results are if we live among white people. They hire our people to work for them and will not pay them. They drive their cattle into the Indian fields, which have utterly eaten out some as bare as a tennis-court, and if they wish to complain about this, they get no hearing and no justice; we must have patience and endure.

Saturday, 27. Elliot with his followers went to Detroit.

Sunday, 28. Br. Sensemann preached from the Gospel: Jesus wept over Jerusalem, about the tears of Jesus, and David held the congregation meeting. We laborers had a conference, and considered our present situation with our Indian brethren, and whether we had any thing to care for and to do, but we found it well yet to wait, for we were, in part, of the mind that it would be well, in the autumn, to move elsewhere with a portion of our brethren, for many reasons. Peggy, who from perversity went away from us several weeks ago, came again and asked for reception, promising amendment. Among the Indians without, we heard that sickness prevails more than with us, where, for the most part, only our children are attacked.

Monday, 29. Michel held early service. With the unmarried brothers we had a pleasing love-feast for their festival, we wish them much happiness and the Saviour's bloody blessing for their work in the Indian church. A

child was born to Tobias and Anna Justina. In the evening died the child, Lea, Nicodemus' daughter, which,

Wednesday, 31, after the early service by Sensemann, was buried. We heard from without again much about war and war-cries, so that we have from this not only much anxiety and care, but think: How will it go with us, and what will the end be? But we have here also our own perplexity with our neighbors and our Indians, so much occurring that makes trouble, for if the white people's cattle are killed and stolen by strange Indians, all this is attributed to our Indians, and they are accused of it, for they say and give out that such things never happened before, and this may well be true, but Indians did not so easily come here before we were here, since now all sorts of bad company come hither, who do damage at the cost of our Indians, who must pay therefor.

Thursday, Sept. 1. In the early service, from the Scripture-verse: And God saw every thing that he had made, and, behold, it was very good, and the text: Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God, the little daughter of Tobias and Anna Justina, born on the 29th Ult., was baptized with the name Rebecca. Indians arrived from the Miami, from whom we heard that few Indians were there, and did not know whether and when an army would come, where yet the Indians will always be called together for a fight.

Saturday, 3. Br. Edwards held early service. Three ships from Ft. Erie came to anchor here, and wait for a good wind. By them we had news that the Russians had taken Constantinople.<sup>1</sup>

Sunday, 4. Br. Edwards preached about the Pharisees and tax-gatherers. Then Br. David Zeisberger held the communion quarter-hour, of which he gave notice for Saturday, and invited the poor and thirsty.

Wednesday, 7. The married brethren celebrated their

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<sup>1</sup> The Russians under Gen'l Suwaroff took the fortress of Ismael Dec. 22, 1790, and the road to Constantinople was thus open to them, but the jealousies of other powers hindered the Russians in the accomplishment of their design.

festival in the near presence of our dear Lord, and his recognition of us filled our hearts with comfort and joy, and this awakened thankfulness and praise to our dear Lord. We recall very often that he promised us, when we had directions from him in Pettquotting, that he would be with us. We must confess and say: He keeps his word gladly, for he is truly with us, has already helped us through many difficulties and much trouble, and will farther do so. We firmly believe this and depend upon him. Br. David held morning prayer, and asked in the name of the church for his nearness and his blessing for us this day. Br. Sensemann held the festival service of the married, and Br. David the love-feast. He announced that this was the smallest part of the heathen church.

Thursday, 8, and Friday, 9. Brs. Zeisberger and Sensemann, and their wives, spoke with the brethren in regard to the Lord's supper, to which speaking our dear Lord gave his blessing, so that we again find cause to thank him.

Saturday, 10. The communicants enjoyed the body and blood of the Lord in the holy communion, in the most blessed way, and he blessed us unspeakably in the enjoyment of this holy sacrament. Ten brethren, who had not partaken of it here in this place, had again this mercy. The Saviour brings all again to the blessed fold and to salvation. He heals what has suffered harm, and cures what is weak and sick. Br. Sensemann conducted the Lord's supper, to whom Mr. Dolson has sent his two children to school.

Sunday, 11. After the communion liturgy, which Br. David read, Br. Michael preached. In the afternoon we had the first baptism here of adults, among them a white girl, who, when a child, had been taken in the last war by the Indians, and given to our Theodora in place of a child, before she came to us. Since she asked for baptism, and we could not find out whether, when a child, she had been baptized, having reason to doubt about such a baptism, as she was from a neighborhood on the frontier where there are few inhabitants, and where there were only a couple of houses, far away from the settlement, we

concluded and thought: It is better at all events that she should be twice baptized than that she should live in doubt about her baptism all her life. Thus, at her request, with the approval of the Saviour, she was baptized by David Zeisberger into Jesus' death, receiving the name of Anna Charity, and another by Br. Edwards, with the name Henrietta, at which blessed ceremony whites and blacks from the neighborhood were present. Sensemann took to his bed sick.

Monday, 12. Br. Edwards held the early service about the light that has come into the world and shines upon all men. The Wyandots upon the west side, over opposite us, sent a messenger here with a piece of tobacco, painted red, and made known to us that some of their warriors had captured two prisoners from the Ohio on Tawa River, where they had been examined, questioned, and then killed. These had confessed that an army,<sup>1</sup> two thousand men strong, was on its way out, but they could not tell where it would make its inroad. Our Indians were required to hold themselves ready, so that if the army should march this way they would be prepared to meet it, which was then told them. We listened to the message, but gave no reply, answering it with silence. Our Samuel's brother, an Indian captain, who attends all the councils of the chiefs, without whose advice the chiefs neither do any thing nor deliberate, who then knows about every thing, visited us lately. He is a Nanticoke, but our friend, who told our Samuel and gave him insight of what the chiefs of the nations at the Tawa River treaty deliberated and considered together about the believing Indians. He said that there had been present the Wyandots, Chippewas, Ottawas, Potawatomes, Mingoes, Delawares, and also a chief of the Wawiachtanos<sup>2</sup>—from seven nations. In the council the well-known Jos. Brant, a Mohawk, made a speech to the chiefs about the believing Indians, of the following import: "Why should we wish to compel them to go

<sup>1</sup> Then preparing under Gen. St. Clair at Ft. Washington (Cincinnati).

<sup>2</sup> See before, p. 128.



to war? They have quite a different object; they have something other than we have to think of, and of this we know nothing. They have the word of God. About this they have to think. By this they wish to live and act. Why should we take them from it? Let them be, and disturb them not. They have chosen the right way and the best for us all; yes, it were to be wished that we would all together make this our chief matter and concern. In Pettquoting already they sent us a message, asking us to care for them and be thoughtful to show them a place where they could be safe and out of the way of the present war, where they could hold their worship of God free and undisturbed, but up to this time they have had no answer. Come now, let us stir ourselves, and think about this. It is certainly time. Seek out a place for them somewhere near, but away from us, not here among us, where they can be by themselves alone. The time may come when we shall ourselves be in such need that we shall not know where to bring to safety our wives and children. If then the believing Indians have once a place where they live constantly and safely, we in time of need can take refuge with them, and if not quite with them, they can grant us, or our wives and children, a place near them, where they can support themselves by planting.” This speech has Brant made to the chiefs, but when he was here with us he gave no hint of it, but yet told our Indians they had done well in choosing to remain here. The Saviour at times summons men in the world, if it be needful, who must prophesy and speak the best for his people and cause, and give good advice. More heed is given to such than if a brother spoke. Now we have been told from every quarter that the nations have thought of placing us on the river, between Lakes St. Clair and Huron. We, on our part, wait with patience how the Saviour will do with us, and we depend upon him alone. Thus far we have been quite inactive in the affair. Towards evening the child, born Aug. 29, and baptized Sept. 1, Rebecca, was buried, having died yesterday. On this occasion it was said to the brethren, this being the fifth child that has

died here, that the parents were especially grieved when the Saviour took their children to himself; it was not well in them to misunderstand this nor to take it ill. They must not on this account be discontented with the Saviour. They should think that their children belong to him, that he can take better care of them than I or we, and he seals them from all sin and need of earth; what he does is right and well; we had also the comfort and certain hope, if we remained with Jesus, of seeing them with him where we shall all be assembled sometime, shall rejoice with them, thank and praise him for his grace and mercy eternally.

Tuesday, 13. Michael held the early service. Last night there was a greater storm than we have had since we have been here, so that it seemed as if no house would remain standing, and the lake roared like thunder. We thought of the ships upon the lake, for day before yesterday twenty sailed by for Ft. Erie. The river became very high from the wind, and to-night, with a west wind, it fell five feet.

Thursday, 15. After the early service, held by Br. Michael, sixteen brothers went to Grose Isle<sup>1</sup> hunting. They thought that some fifty deer would be on the island, for last winter they went there on the ice, and as the river broke up soon after, they were left there. This island is inhabited, but it is very great and mostly a wilderness. Other brethren went a day's journey eastward on the lake to make canoes, so as to buy clothing for the winter.

Friday, 16. The Ottawa chief, Ekuschuwe, arrived from the Miami, by whom we learned that a couple of white people had come as messengers from Pittsburg, with letters for Detroit. The messengers reported that it was said an army, two thousand men strong, was coming out against the Indians, but it was not known where the invasion would be made. The chief will insist upon it that their father shall help them or ——.<sup>2</sup> This evening died

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<sup>1</sup>A large island in the lower part of Detroit River.

<sup>2</sup> Here a blank, made purposely in the original.

Gertrude, daughter of William and Martha. Br. Sensemann's sickness, from which he has suffered the whole week, grows worse all the time. It began with an injury upon the breast, and when he was better of this and quite cured, he got the diarrhœa, after which came a severe fever, so that it seems doubtful whether he will recover.

Saturday, 17. Towards evening little Gertrude was buried. By Wenginund, who came here sick from the Miami, we learned that nearly all the Indians there are sick and every day two or three are buried, and how can or shall they go to war and who shall fight?

Sunday, 18. David preached from Gal. iii., about the blessing of Abraham, who by faith was justified and received the promise that in him the heathen should be blessed, and Br. Edwards held the congregation meeting from the Scripture-verse: With joy also say to the heathen, etc. Br. Sensemann's illness to-day seemed to be less, this being the ninth day.

Wednesday, 21. David held early service. After this the assistants were directed to send away some strange Indians, who do not belong here, but have already been here two weeks, for last night they had a drunken bout. Among them was an old woman who wished to take away with her by force an unbaptized grown girl, who lived with us and was nearly related to her. The girl, who did not want to go with her, got out of the way, taking refuge with the Zeisbergers until the woman was away, where she refrained from looking for her, and thus she escaped her hands. From Capt. Elliot, who came from Detroit, we learned that they had news that a strong army from the States was on the march out against the Indians.

Thursday, 22. Edwards held early service. This evening the assistant, William, died right blessedly, after a tiresome illness. His remains were,

Saturday, 24, committed to the earth, for which we called in the absent brethren. In his youth he was much with the late Sir William Johnson, and, as he understood English, his interpreter at the treaties, was honored by the Indians and regarded by the whites as a man of conse-

quence. He came about the year 1770 to Friedenshütten, but being unmarried and desiring to be in the church, he was advised to get a wife, and then to ask again. This he did and came again, when he got permission, with his wife, his present widow, who was from the Jerseys, to live in the church. He at once, upon his admission to the church, formed the resolution to live all his life in the church and to say good night to the world, Indian councils, the chiefs and their affairs, and kept it to the end. He was baptized Jan. 6, 1771, by Br. Schmick, in Friedenshütten, and came to the enjoyment of the Lord's supper December 21 of the same year. In the year '72 he came to the Ohio, and indeed to Schönbrunn on the Muskingum, where he soon became interpreter, for which he had fine talent, and came into the body of assistants. When he preached to the savages and praised to them the Saviour he had a fine gift of making them understand plainly, after the Indian way and manner of speech, what served for their salvation, and his speech found admittance with them, for he was loved and respected by them, as in the church he was loved by all, and his intercourse with the brethren was upright, straightforward, and for their blessing and edification. As often as we had to treat with the chiefs about the common affairs, when we always made use of him, we could depend upon this, that our purpose would be accomplished, for herein he had more than others a successful hand. He considered well what he had to accomplish. He knew the manners and customs of the chiefs, and the Saviour was with him. The last labor of the sort in which he was engaged was to take back the hatchet, sent to our Indians from Gigejunk, and summoning them to war and fighting. He did not want to do this, but yet he did it from obedience, for he was not well, and the matter was unpleasant to him. And in this also he was fortunate, so that since that time we have had no farther trouble about this. He came here from there sick, and was hardly able from weakness to give account of his journey and what he had done. He said to Samuel, who was also sick: "We cannot know which of us two will first come to the Saviour, thou or I. If thou

goest first, be assured that I shall remain with the Saviour; if I go before thee, do thou likewise, so that there we may see each other again." For some time he went to the chapel, but soon had to take to his bed. The sickness so seized upon him, he so lost all his strength that we had doubts about his recovery. Once the sickness seemed to break, his whole appearance seemed to be better, as indeed it really was, for he had no pain, and though he gained somewhat he was always weaker, and his legs could no longer carry him, though he always said that nothing was the matter with him, he would yet be well, as we also hoped. Day before yesterday, towards evening, Br. Zeisberger was called to him, who soon saw that his end was near. Upon being asked if he thought he should soon go to the Saviour, he replied that he knew not and could not determine. Br. David said to him: "He will soon come for thee, and thou art near thine end." He answered: "With my whole heart if it pleaseth him. There is nothing more to hold me here." He asked still after some brethren he would like to see, but who were not here, and as soon as he had been blessed for his departure he fell asleep calmly and blessedly, quite conscious to his last breath.

Sunday, 25. Michael preached, and in the afternoon meeting Br. David baptized the little son of Nicodemus and Henrietta into Jesus' death with the name of Matthew. Two ships came to anchor here yesterday, and waited to-day for a good wind; from one of them the captain visited us, who knew us, and, to our no common joy and pleasure, brought us letters from Bethlehem, which came by way of New York and Montreal. From these we learn to our comfort that our letters of April had been duly received. All this was told the brethren for their participation, and the church was greeted from our dear churches. The ships brought artillery, stores, and much ammunition.

Monday, 26. Br. David held early service. This evening another ship went by for Detroit, in which was Mrs. Dolson, to whom and also to the captain, who called out greeting to us, we sent aboard some refreshment in the way of garden-sauce and butter, which were very wel-

come, as they came from the lake. Br. Sensemann had so far recovered from his illness that he could go out again. Everywhere in the whole settlement and in Detroit, likewise among the Indians, it is a sickly time, and, as we hear, in many houses all are down sick.

Wednesday, 28. Warriors came here, going to the war. We heard that all Cornplanter's<sup>1</sup> young people had left him and gone to the Miami to take part in the war.

Thursday, 29. In the early service we thought of and mentioned the dear angels, and we thanked the Saviour for their service and watchful care, which so often and in many circumstances we have been especially aware of and have experienced. The warriors, who came here yesterday, went.

Friday, 30. away, taking with them a baptized youth, before we were aware of it. Thus a d people come here merely to do harm among our people. At first when they come, they talk well until they have attained their purpose and have accomplished their wishes.

Sunday, Oct. 2. Br. Sensemann, for the first time since he was sick, preached from the Gospel—No man can serve two masters. Three ships went by for Ft. Erie, one of which came to anchor here, in which also Col. McKee came here for the first time, since we are here, for since spring he has been at Tawa River. Br. David made him a visit, and on this occasion said to him that we wished to have patience until spring to stay here, but we desired to get away then, for we must live with our Indians alone, not so near white people, for if any harm were done them by savages, our Indians were charged with this; if wolves destroyed sheep or hogs, our Indians' dogs were blamed; on the other hand, we could not live among nor near the savages, for they corrupted our young people, killed our cattle, and we were plagued with drunkenness and stealing, and had to suffer all sorts of trouble from them, and therefore it was better we should live somewhere apart by ourselves. He understood it all, and said it was the

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<sup>1</sup> Who labored for peace with the Americans.

truth, that he was aware of it and well understood our circumstances, and had always been hoping to get an answer this autumn about our affairs. We learned also from him that there was ground for the report, and that they had trustworthy news, that an army was coming out this autumn, and was now soon expected.

Wednesday, 5. Many of our people went into the new settlement eastward on the lake, to help the settlers harvest their corn. They were invited, for they came hither and asked us for them, and in this way our Indians can earn corn, for some of them planted very little: others, or, rather, the men, make canoes, and thereby earn food and clothing.

Saturday, 8. For several days we harvest our fields. There is indeed no comparison with Pettquotting, but we are thankful for what we had not expected. The Zeisbergers got their house ready for winter, and made their arrangements, for hitherto we had always hope of getting away from here this autumn, if not all of us, yet, perhaps, half. The Indian brethren were also busy harvesting their corn.

Sunday, 9. We gave Br. Sensemann our good wishes for his birthday. Br. David preached and Br. Sensemann held the congregation meeting.

Monday, 10. Michaël held early service. There arose trouble again between our neighbor and our Indians, who had planted something in his field, and he wanted to have it taken away. He came here about our Indians, and wishes to use us to plague and enrage them, but we must needs be upon our guard to go the middle way, so that our brethren shall not lose heart in us, and our church thereby suffer.

Tuesday, 11. David held early service. At the Scripture-verse: When ye were but few, even a few and strangers in it, and when they went from nation to nation, and from one kingdom to another people, he suffered no man to do them wrong, it was mentioned that we were in like circumstances, had here no place and abode of our own, and knew not whither, but that we had not been for-

gotten nor forsaken by our Lord, and had no reason to doubt also that he would care for us, protect us, and help us through; only our greatest anxiety should be to remain with him, to live for his honor, not to forget the kindnesses he had done us, to be thankful to him therefor, and to commend ourselves farther to his care.

Thursday, 13. Brs. David, Sensemann, and Michael went on business to Detroit, where we likewise by the last ships sent letters to Bethlehem by way of Montreal. Before we went away from there, two ships from Ft. Erie came in, and on one of them also the deputies of the nations back from Quebec. What news they brought, we could not find out, except thus much we heard, that the nations would keep quiet if the States left them alone and sent no army out, but as Jos. Brandt had not yet arrived by land, all were waiting to hear from him exact and trustworthy news. Anna Rosina gave birth to a son.

Saturday, 15. The brothers came to-day, with a strong, favorable wind, in three hours from Detroit back home.

Sunday, 16. Michael preached, David conducted the communion quarter-hour, of which he gave notice for Saturday, and Br. Sensemann held the congregation meeting. Some of the deputies came here on their way to the Miami. In Quebec they had seen and spoken with a royal English and a French prince, before whom they laid their request and complaints. He listened to them, and promised to take these with him to England, to lay them before his father, the king, to which they should hope for an answer in the spring; they wished to make as boundaries of their land, the Cuyahoga and the Muskingum as far as the Ohio, and if they obtain this they will make peace with the Americans, if they will keep peace with the nations and send no army into their land.

Monday, 17. The deputies went away to the Miami, to whom we had to lend a couple of canoes to go in.

Wednesday, 19. At the early service Br. Sensemann baptized the little son of young Abraham and Anna Ros-



ina, born on the 13th Inst., into Jesus' death, with the name Jonas. A ship, that took in ballast here in front of our house, and went to Fort Erie, took our letters. We went on board.

Saturday, 22. The brethren having for several days been spoken to, the communicants had the most blessed enjoyment of the body and blood of the Lord in his supper. Mary Magdalene partook for the first time in this place, whose husband had falsely accused her, but whose innocence now came to light.

Sunday, 23. In the communion liturgy the brethren were exhorted to thankfulness towards the Saviour for the blessing received and enjoyed, to make good use of the strength of the food, and to do their work in intercourse with the Saviour, which he would bless, to think about our weak and sick, who had to do without the communion, to pray for them and to seek to make them whole again. Br. Edwards preached, Sensemann held the congregation meeting. On account of contrary winds, the commodore came to anchor here, in his ship that carries twelve guns, and is on its way to Fort Erie.

Monday, 24. David held early service from the text: And as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, so must the Son of Man be lifted up.

Tuesday, 25. Several went hunting, the sisters for nuts and chestnuts, others built houses for the winter. Care was also had for the widows, that they should find protection in the winter, for we can imagine that in this climate the winter will be severe.

Wednesday, 26. We had news that the American army,<sup>1</sup> five thousand strong, was come to Gigejunk, where, as is reported, they build a fort, that few Indians were there, but most of them scattered hunting. Last year the Shawanese boasted that they alone had beaten the army. This

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<sup>1</sup>"After the completion of Ft. Hamilton, the troops moved on forty-four miles further, and on the 12th of October commenced Ft. Jefferson, about six miles south of the town of Greenville, Darke Co., Ohio." Albach's Western Annals, p. 578. The army left Ft. Jefferson twelve days later.

vexed the other nations, and therefore they now wished to let the Shawanese fight alone, and said they should now convince themselves that alone they were able to beat the army.

Saturday, 29. Edwards held early service. Hearing that rum was sold in the neighborhood, Brs. Edwards and Michael went and warned the people, saying that so far as they sold the Indians rum, they would bring complaint against them before the authorities; we must keep the law, and according to this they had to expect a punishment which would not be slight. They promised not to do so in the future, and begged us to spare them this time. A ship from Fort Erie went by.

Sunday, 30. David preached and Michael held the congregation meeting.

Tuesday, Nov. 1. At early service we called to mind our communion with the church above, in the blessed hope of being sometime there present, of being incorporated therein, where the Lord is the Light and God the Head, with the redness of five wounds.

Wednesday, 2. Cold weather came on with snow-squalls, so that we had to put off the meeting.

Thursday, 3. Michael held early service. Our dear, old Abraham, the trusty, aged assistant in the church, departed this evening, after a sickness of fourteen days, into eternal rest, wherefor he had longed.

Saturday, 5. His remains were brought to rest this afternoon. He came in the year 1765, at the very beginning, when the Indian church went from the barracks in Philadelphia to Friedenshütten on the Susquehanna, to the church, where two years before, upon Br. David Zeisberger's visit, he had heard the word of life for salvation, an impression from which, always abode with him, and he could not forget it, as he said himself often. He was baptized Dec. 25 of the same year, by David Zeisberger; by the grace of the Saviour, which pervaded his heart, he made himself free altogether from Indian superstition and ideas, and gave himself entirely to the Saviour. This he proved in his own life, and the fruit of his belief was that

he remained through his whole life to the very end true to the church, and he is therefore a rare example. He was formerly one of the greatest drunkards and fighters, so that all had to flee before him, though, on the contrary, after his baptism, he was a foe to this. He had put off the old man with his works and had put on Christ, who lived in him. In the year '68 it was laid upon him to go to the Ohio with Brs. David Zeisberger and Sensemann, to found a mission there. He undertook this with joy, and there during all opposition, amidst reproach and persecution from the savages, he freely acknowledged Christ and praised him as the Redeemer and only Saviour of the heathen. He often ended his speeches made to the savages with these words: "Now, my friends, I have told you how ye will be happy and can attain to eternal life, and how ye shall do to get that. I have also told you what ye have to expect in case ye do not receive it. I have spoken every thing which one must know who wishes to be saved. It is dear to me and a comfort to have had this opportunity of saying this to you, so that ye cannot on that day accuse me, and say: 'We were with the believers, but they told us nothing of this.'" He held the office of overseer in the church, which for many years, day and night, unweariedly, in perfect fidelity, he cared for. He insisted upon the rules, and was sorry to his heart when they were violated, when then at times he showed himself very earnest against disorders and punished them, but if one was a conscious sinner, confessed his failings and repented, he could weep with him, and this from his heart. He was in Sept., 1772, a widower for the first time, and married Jan. 16, 1774, the widow Anna; was in Sept., '83, again a widower, and was united in Feb., 1784, with the widow, Martha, his present widow. He went through much with the Indian church, suffering much hardship and unpleasantness. His teachers, whom he certainly loved, were his support, and he was comforted, if only he had them, near him, though from without matters seemed never so dangerous. Since we came here we have lately observed in him that he

was weary and did not perform the duties of his office with his usual activity, but loved solitude more than before, until he was called, for he was sickly also. Two weeks ago to-day he enjoyed the communion with the church, in the chapel, to his great blessing, but soon after, he took a severe cold, which much exhausted him, and left him not to the end. When he was asked whether he thought he should depart, he replied that he did not know, but if it were the Saviour's will it was well for him and he should go to him with joy as a poor sinner; he had nothing good to show, but only his grace and bloody righteousness; that during his illness he still found much, about which he considered with the Saviour, seeking forgiveness from him, and he had comforted him, and now he only waited for him to come to get him. He was conscious to his last breath, and when the blessing of the Lord had been imparted to him, he gave thanks, and said: "Now, I am glad," and quietly departed at the age of seventy years. We have had but one Abraham, and at present have none at all. We shall miss him, but we do not begrudge him his blessed fate to rest upon Jesus' wounds, and we thank him for lending him to us so many years. May he be pleased farther to think of us, to send us more such true laborers, supplying them with grace, courage, and strength for his praise. Amen. A Frenchman asked to marry one of our girls, but we refused him.

Sunday, 6. Br. Sensemann preached about the words: Come, for all things are now ready. We had a conference about our future movements and place of abode, in which, however, we reached no conclusion, and all is still in darkness, but we had nothing now to ask the Saviour.

Monday, 7. Michael held early service. On a ship which goes to Ft. Erie and ran aground here, getting off by help of the anchor, a couple of deserters from the army of the States were sent to Canada, after first having been examined; they had confessed that the army, which Butler commanded, was five thousand men strong, and had eighteen cannon, and had come as far as Woapikannikunk, on White River, which falls into the Wabash, but they

did not know whither it would go.<sup>1</sup> The Chippewas and Tawas, however, give themselves no concern about this, but go off hunting, and say the Shawanese, who were always wishing to have war, may now alone fight with the army, they would take no part therein.

Wednesday, 9. At early service Br. David baptized into Jesus' death, with the name, Anna Benigna, the little daughter of Ignatius and Christina, born yesterday. Some brethren came back from the east settlement, where they have helped the people in the autumn harvest and have earned some corn. Every one wishes to get the work of our Indians, a help and benefit for them and for both sides.

Thursday, 10. Br. Sensemann held the early service, which was attended by some white people from the east settlement, from the text: If any man thirst, let him come unto me and drink.

Saturday, 12. Some white people came back from Detroit, who live on the lake, below us, and remained over night here. They brought news that on Tuesday, the 8th Inst., a battle occurred between the army and the Indians, but they could give us no certain information as to which side won, but that the Indians had captured several cannon and that Gen. Butler was said to be killed, which is not to be believed; that here on Tuesday on the lake they had heard cannon; that the battle must then have been this side of Gigejunk.<sup>2</sup> We looked for the Scripture-verse of the 8th, being much interested, which reads: God had brought the counsel of our enemies to nought, and the text: In your patience possess ye your souls.

Sunday, 13. Br. Michael preached, and then the brethren had a service in reference to this noteworthy day. By occasion of the text: I am the good Shepherd, something was brought to the brethren's mind about the object and circumstances of the day fifty years ago, that the Saviour,

<sup>1</sup> Gen'l Butler was in St. Clair's army, which did not go to White River. Probably reference is made to earlier expeditions of the same year. See p. 191.

<sup>2</sup> The battle was fought Nov. 4, south of Gigejunk, considerably more than a hundred miles from the lake. General Butler was killed.

since the time when he himself undertook to lead his flocks and to feed them, had especially made himself known to his church in all parts of the world, blessed and increased it, which blessing had extended to the heathen also, so that he had now got together many churches from the heathen, and given them increase, so that they praised and honored his name, and brought him thank-offerings for having told them of his martyr-form and for his revelation, which also in his mercy he had done for us poor sufferers, who were indeed common, poor, sinful men, full of faults and offenses, but yet he has revealed himself to us, upholds us, protects us, and watches over us in every need and trouble, in all the temptations of Satan, for which we should be grateful and thankful. We asked absolution for our sins and shortcomings, we commended ourselves anew to his grace to provide for his poor, despised Indian church in all circumstances, vowed to him new fidelity and obedience, and were comforted by him and aware of his peace.

Tuesday, 15. By a ship which came to anchor here, in which Capt. Elliot, Assistant of Indian Affairs, came, we heard the affecting news that the army of the States had again been beaten in Gige-yunk, that twelve hundred men were killed, and that they had lost two-thirds of their cannon, namely, six and two cannon,<sup>1</sup> that two generals had fallen, but how many Indians is not reported. May God in his mercy look upon us and help us through these evil times, may he wish to do it, the trustworthy and true, amen, and not bring to shame our hope in him.

Wednesday, 16. Michael held early service. We heard more accurate news about the battle of Gige-yunk. We

<sup>2</sup>The MS. first writes 8 cannon, then substitutes 6 for 8, and inserts two cannon. "Six or eight pieces of artillery fell into their hands," says a letter quoted in Drake's Book of Indians, v. 75. The Indians claimed to have captured seven guns. "The killed and missing numbered thirty-seven officers and five hundred and ninety-three privates; the wounded, thirty-one officers and two hundred and fifty-two privates."—St. Clair Papers, Vol. 1, p. 176. The Indians reported a loss of only sixty-five, but it was probably greater.—Chronicles of Border Warfare, p. 299.

had hoped that not the whole army was beaten, but only a part thereof, but it becomes plain that the whole army, with cannon, cattle, horses, tents, provisions, and ammunition, in short, all has been lost. Gen'l Butler with twelve hundred men killed, and the rest pursued, so that but few of them will get home.

Saturday, 19. From the Miami came a party of Mounsey warriors back, who had been present in the battle, all of whom confirmed what has already been told about it, and they said farther that they had made great booty, and that a strong party of Indians was following the fleeing, that women with children were taken also, who, in part, fell into the hands of the Indians. With these warriors came Nicholas also, who not long ago went to the Miami on business.

• Sunday, 20. Br. David, who for a week has not been very well, was better again, and preached. This evening he baptized a sick child, eight years old, son of Nicholas and Johanna, who asked for baptism, with the name Benjamin, and an hour after he died. With some of our Indians, who came by water from Detroit, came also Mrs. Dolson, to visit her two children, who are at school here with Br. Sensemann.

Monday, 21. A ship, the Nancy, ran in here from Ft. Erie, wherein Mrs. Dolson went, on the 22d, to Detroit. Gichtetenon, who lost his way while hunting, and ran about in the bush for nine days, as far as the Retrenche River, came home.

Wednesday, 23. Early, about nine o'clock, Br. Sensemann conducted the burial of the boy, Benjamin, who was baptized three days ago, and soon after died. He was naturally a lively, active lad, but in him nothing bad or false was ever seen, but he always seemed in good disposition. His parents, who some time ago went to the Miami on business, took him with them. They now relate of him that he did not like to be there, and often said to them: "Let us go home. I can't bear to be with the savages." Three days before he came here he got a headache, and said to his mother: "Let us go home. I don't like to die

among savages, for I shall never again be well, and forgiveness of my sins is necessary, and therefore I want to go home to our teachers; perhaps I can still be cleansed by the Saviour's blood. And thou, mother, needest forgiveness," [for a time it was not well in her heart], "seek and strive therefor, so that we may see each other again by the Saviour, for before that thou wilt not see me again." This impressed the mother. He was brought here, three days ago, sick, baptized the same day, and an hour after died. As a corpse he was beautiful, much more so than when living, so that the brethren looked at him with pleasure.

From Mr. Parke, who came here, we learned still more details about the battle, that Butler, Duncan, Gibson, Wilson, our acquaintance, and perhaps also Gen. St. Clair, were killed, that many women were brought in from the army, that thus the States, and especially white people, had never suffered such total overthrow from Indians as this. Perhaps for our good, for if it had fallen upon the Indians, apparently we should have to suffer for it, since our people had not helped, though they were not summoned to the battle.

Thursday, 24. By the Scripture-verses of yesterday and to-day, which we particularly applied to ourselves and the critical circumstances in which we are placed, namely, yesterday it read: Is the Lord's hand waxed short? He knows a thousand ways of rescuing from need, and to-day: This day is a day of good tidings. When God's hour strikes for relieving—Help breaks forth amazingly—And to shame our anxious grieving—It comes unexpectedly. We were in trouble from not knowing nor seeing the future before us, how, and in what way, we could, even in some degree, come to rest, for at present we see nothing before us, as indeed all the time since we are come here, all is hid from us. It is not, indeed, for our own persons that we have the least anxiety, but whither we shall go with our Indian church, which we would like to hide from the wicked, which is a stone of stumbling to Satan, who seeks to ruin it, and uses all his craft to bring it to nought. If



this is so, we find great comfort that we are not forgotten by our dear Lord, and by his and our dear Father in heaven; we seize new hope and courage that when his hour comes he will help us through with might and show himself in his majesty, so that we shall have reason enough to praise and glorify him. Yes, amen, but if only it were not so far away from us, for the time seems long to us!

Friday, 25. There was a severe storm last night, which unroofed our houses, and took the sand from the shore into the air and far in upon the land. During it a ship from Ft. Erie came to anchor here in the bay.

Saturday, 26. Most of the brethren who have been away hunting and at work came home.

Sunday, 27. Br. Edwards preached on this the first Sunday in Advent, and admonished the brethren to prepare their hearts and to be ready to regard with joyful souls our dear Lord and Saviour, his incarnation and birth, in blessed expectation of all the good he will bring us, and of his blessing us. Br. David conducted the communion quarter-hour, and gave notice of it for next Saturday. The assistants spoke with Andrew, who asked for readmission, likewise with Nicodemus and his wife, reconciling them.

Monday, 28. At the early service Br. David baptized, with the name Elias, into Jesus' death, the little son of Andrew and Anna Paulina, born Nov. 26th, day before yesterday. Then the assistants spoke with Peggy, to whom they gave notice that she cannot be in the church, having herself lost her share and right in the church.

Thursday, Dec. 1. Brs. Zeisberger and Sensemann and their wives spoke with the brethren in reference to the communion. The two last ships came back from Ft. Erie, and sailed by with a good wind for Detroit.

Friday, 2. We had a visit from Capt. Elliot and an American lieutenant, who was captured in the last battle, and is from Lower Maryland. John Henry brought us, from Grosse Isle, a package of letters and papers from Bethlehem, together with the Scripture-verses and texts

for the coming year, which Mr. McComb sent to us, to our no common joy; probably they came in his ship a few days ago. The latest letters were of Sept. last; the journals, 1st the Bethlehem Diary, from Oct., '90 to Aug., '91, inclusive, and the Weekly Journal of the U. A. C., from July 18, 1790, to June 4, 1791, inclusive. We learn from them that our letters, etc., of Aug. and Oct. were not yet come.

Br. David spoke with Capt. Elliot, and said to him: that since we lived here in so public a place, and should like to be more by ourselves, we should therefore, next spring, like to settle and cultivate according to our desire; he proposed again, as he had done last spring, that the government should lend us a tract of land, by which it would suffer no loss, but would be a gainer by the cultivation and improvement of their land, which was now a wilderness. He asked Elliot to propose this to Col. McKee. He replied that the best advice which he and Col. McKee could give us was this: we should seek out a suitable place and settle on it, no one would drive us from it. He meant to say that it was neglect on the part of the government that no answer was come, for also Lord Dorchester had gone from Quebec to England.

Saturday, 3. We had the holy communion, whereby two brothers, Nicodemus and Leonard, and Sister Henrietta were spectators.

Sunday, 4. After the communion liturgy Br. Sensemann preached about the coming of our Lord for judgment, which is pleasing for believers to hear, but frightful for unbelievers.

Monday, 5. David held early service. We laborers had a conference, and considered, since our night-quarters here come soon to an end, and are already past, that the assistants and we would like to know whither we have to turn, if we move farther; about which we looked to our dear Lord, and asked him, who pointed us to seek a place to the northward for our Indian church, since it is also proposed to us to go eastward.

Tuesday, 6. Several brothers went away hunting until

Christmas, but hunting here is of little consequence, and little to be earned by it for our brethren; on the other hand, they can earn more by working for the settlers, which they do, and the inhabitants like to have our Indians work for them.

Friday, 9. At the Scripture-verse: I know him that he will command his children and his household after him, and they shall keep the way of the Lord to do justice and judgment, Br. Zeisberger said it were heartily to be wished that the Saviour could give us the same witness not only that we walked in his ways, lived according to his word and for the honor of his name, but that we sought to bring up our children also in confession of Jesus Christ and in love toward him, so that they might be partakers in the salvation won for us by his blood, which would sometime be required of the parents, and then also that our dwellings and houses might be God's temples, where he might be magnified and glorified by our life and daily walk; thus would the blessing of Abraham come upon us abundantly.

Sunday, 11. Br. Michael preached. As few brethren were at home, being away and in the bush, there were no other services. We spoke with some young people, for instance, Joseph, who repented of the indifferent life he has lately been living, whom we encouraged to turn again to the Saviour, who receives sinners, and then with others.

Tuesday, 13. From the eastward settlement on the lake came some white people, Germans and English, who stayed here a couple of days and attended our meetings. They had come to grief upon the lake, their boat having been buried in ice on account of high wind. Some of them set out on the 14th by land for Detroit, the others borrowed a canoe here, and likewise set out thither. A German's wife is from Lanin's family in Yorktown [and was baptized by the brothers], where also her husband lived for a time. They complained about their pastor, who is a German from the States, with whom they made an agreement for preaching, but since they could not pay

enough, being poor, he gave the matter up, though they had built him a house and done other services for him, and besides this, they said, he was a hard drinker.

Wednesday, 14. Elliot came from Detroit. Edwards held early service. Samuel came home from the bush. He and Bill Henry had looked for sugar-places and had found them, too, though the way to them [seven or eight miles] is all swamp and water, for such is the country here.

Saturday, 17. Zeisberger held early service. In the afternoon the old widow, Gertrude, died right blessedly.

Sunday, 18. Br. Zeisberger preached about the joy of believers in the Lord, our Saviour, who became man that he might be a sacrifice for us, and thus has reconciled us with God. In the afternoon was the burial of the widow, Gertrude, who died yesterday. She came in Languntouteniük,<sup>1</sup> in the autumn of 1770, to the church from Gekelemukpechüük, where she had heard of the Indian church, and had a great impulse to belong thereto, but since she dared tell none of her friends of this, for fear she would not be allowed to go, she came secretly upon the way with her daughter, giving out she was going for chestnuts, and came to the church, earnestly asking for admission, which also she got. Her daughter turned back and never came to the church. Jan. 20, '71, she was baptized in Languntouteniük,<sup>1</sup> but, after her baptism, things were not so easy with her, until she learned to approach the Saviour with her trouble, and to hold fast to him, who receives sinners and saves them. So soon as she found the trace and this was clear in her heart, she was happy and content. Soon after her baptism a letter came, which a counsellor in Gekelemukpechüük had had written by a trader to the missionaries in hard terms, namely, they should deliver back to him his friend to come home, or he would himself come and get her, and then things would not go off well. Br. David Zeisberger, who then made a visit there and preached, took the letter

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<sup>1</sup> Friedensstadt, on Beaver River, Pa.

with him, read it out openly, and answered that we had neither called the person to us, nor after she had come to us of her own accord, had we had reason to send her away. The Indians were a free people and not slaves. We receive whoever asks. The person was now baptized, rightly belonged with us, and so much the less could we send her away. Upon this explanation, the then chief, Netawatwes, showed his displeasure at the hard expressions in the letter, and our Gertrude could remain quiet and blessedly pass her time in the church, which she did well use, too. In Languntout. Jan. 11, 1772, she came to enjoyment of the holy communion, and was a blessed widow in the church, over whom we could be glad. She loved the whole church, and was loved by them. She was amiable and meek in manner, cheerful and thankful, and recognized all the grace and mercy the Saviour showed her. In the spring of the year 1782, when the Indian church was scattered and by the war robbed of its teachers, she went among the savages, and when it was assembled again on Huron River, she was ready and upon her way to the church, but was held back by her friends, who told her she should wait awhile, and promised to help her and bring her to us, but this never happened, until last year, '90, she tore herself away, abandoned her plantation, and came to us Aug. 5th. She was readmitted Dec. 25, thereafter, to the Lord's supper, and was glad and thankful that the Saviour had again helped her to the church, and she was again the blessed widow we had known before. She had satisfaction not in this alone that she was in the church, a partaker of its grace, but her heart must live in the Saviour, and she must have and feel in her heart the peace of God. Her two grandchildren, whom she brought to the church, went away again, from whom she had to be altogether separated, for they had no mind for conversion. Last spring she came here in the ship, and often thanked the Saviour and the brothers that she had had so pleasant and swift a journey. At the Lord's supper, two weeks ago, she was present, sinner-like happy, and outwardly quite cheerful, but afterwards began to

grow sick, though we did not think she would die, until three days ago there was a change in her, and we saw that she approached her end. She was reconciled to the Saviour's will, and she went in faith and reliance on Jesus' merits to her rest, with the blessing of the church.

Monday, 19. Michael held early service. With the assistants and chapel-servants, we had a pleasing love-feast, in which it was called to their memory what their duties are and what belongs to an assistant, namely, to lead a good life, to govern his house well, and to bring up his children well; likewise the chapel-servants were told what their duty is. And since now two of this class, not long ago, William and Abraham, had been called home by our dear Lord, and we were thinking about an increase of their number, two couples of brethren were chosen and appointed assistants, Ignatius and Christina, Peter and Magdalene. The Saviour showed himself content therewith, to our comfort and thankfulness, and the peace of God prevailed in the company, which now consists of seven brothers and six sisters. Samuel and Bathsheba, the widow, are still of the old. The others are all newly chosen. Their names are the following: Samuel, Stephen, Bill Henry [al. Gelelemend], Joshua, Ignatius, and Peter, and Sisters Bathsheba, Sophia, Salome, Martha, Christina, and Magdalene.

Wednesday, 21. In the early service, which Br. Edwards held, he brought to the recollection of the brethren Thomas, who knew his Lord and God by the marks of the nails, and said that we indeed could not have the privilege of seeing him with our bodily eyes, but that we are saved by faith according to the word of the Saviour, and we have certain hope after this life of seeing him with his wounds, face to face, as Thomas did.

Saturday, 24. We began Christmas with a love-feast. We sang and considered the incarnation and birth of our Saviour, the Infant Jesus, in the manger, praised him with mouth and heart, rejoicing in God, our Saviour, who came down to us from the throne and majesty of his Father, saved the world from its sins, brought peace upon

earth, and is called Jesus, the Saviour. Therefor, and that he has let us know this, has revealed himself as the Saviour of the heathen, and through his Spirit has enlightened our dark hearts, we brought him our filial thank-offering, with the prayer that he would never let it leave our hearts, how much our redemption had cost him. At the end we gave wax candles to the children and young people, whereupon they all went home, cheerful and rejoicing in the Infant Jesus.

Sunday, 25. In the forenoon Br. Michael Jung preached. Elliot was present at the sermon. In the meeting in the afternoon, which Br. Sensemann held, he baptized an unmarried man, Nackquames, into Jesus' death, with the name Bartholomew. Br. David, who is quite unwell, has been unable to go out for several days.

Tuesday, 27. Now at last it comes to light who the thieves are, who have shot the swine of the white people in the neighborhood, with which they always wished to charge our Indians, and though we indeed well knew that they were innocent in the matter, for such a thing could not possibly happen without its becoming known among so many men, although an individual wished to keep it secret, and thus we could be comforted in this affair, yet we could not make the people so believe. Now it comes out that Frenchmen in the neighborhood and settlement have carried on this business a long time through the summer, and the Saviour has brought to light the innocence of our Indians. These wretches had worked hard at the cost of our Indians, knowing that they would be accused of it and not themselves.

Friday, 30. Though for some time the river has been closed and covered with ice, yet in milder weather it has all gone off, so that boats go to Detroit.

Saturday, 31. We made the end of the year in the night-watch, Br. Sensemann conducting the services with a love-feast. Br. David, from sickness, could not be present. We recalled thankfully the kindnesses, care, and oversight of our dear Lord and Father in heaven, which have been with us this year and through the summer. He

has watched over us, has held over us his mighty hand of grace, and has led us the way we should go. That he has been with us, in spite of all our transgressions and shortcomings, has graciously recognized us as his people, his possession, has blessed us and daily given us much good to enjoy, for this we filially thanked our dear Lord, asked forgiveness of our faults, and commended ourselves farther to his grace, to show himself as our Shepherd, so that his name through us may be made known, glorified and praised. For entrance into the new year the blessing of the Lord was sung and imparted to the church.

Other things about this year in the Indian church are noteworthy and deserve to be mentioned for the praise and glory of our dear Lord, so that the churches may have occasion to unite with us in praising the Lord and in glorifying him in all places, for this he deserves.

We made a blessed and joyous entrance into the past year with praising and thanking the Lord for all the goodness he had shown us, for his care, kindness and faithfulness, which had watched over us, and we committed ourselves farther to his gracious oversight, to be thoughtful in all circumstances for the welfare and success of the church, which also we have richly experienced. Since we saw that an Indian war would break out, and we had also secret news that the Delawares in Gigeyunk were seeking for reasons and an excuse to mishandle and plunder us, as we could afterwards plainly gather from a message they sent us, soon after the new year we sent word to the chiefs and brought ourselves to their attention, to think about this, where we could be concealed during war-times from storms. But when, after long waiting, we got no answer, the reason of which we are not yet able to understand, we turned to the English government and begged them, in case of need, to grant us night-quarters, for which, also, they were willing. On April 14, then, we left Salem, where for four years we had enjoyed much goodness and blessedness, and came here May 4, all well, without harm or loss. We saw after we were here how apparently the hand of the Lord led us, so that we got out of the way of the war-



riors, who shortly thereafter came in strong parties from the Chippewa land, marching towards the Miami, and had no trouble from them, wherefor also we were thankful to the Saviour from our hearts. But afterwards other weather came upon us; we had yet to learn something of the trials of war. We twice had messages from Gigejunk, and our Indians were summoned to come to the battle and to help fight, but both times the Saviour so arranged it that the message came too late, and we were spared. The first time it made the greatest disturbance among our young people, this being a new trial, such as we had not had before. The second effort had little effect. Thus in many a way and manner the Indian church is tried and purified, and what have we yet here to go through? Meanwhile these circumstances and the war have again given opportunity and occasion, that many, not wholly in sympathy with us, for the most part those unbaptized, who had leave to live in the church, have left us and gone their own way. Of the baptized are Cook's family and the three widows, Helen, Louisa, and Petty, with their children, these three now for the second time having left the church. The saddest is that the children, already grown up, in whom we have more joy and hope than in all the old, who have learned something in school, too, were led to perdition.

If now we look only at the troubles and the unpleasantness we have had to experience here, we cannot but thank the Saviour, who has thereby redeemed us and freed us from yet greater need, danger, and hardship. We cannot, without horror and amazement, think of what we should have had to suffer in Pettquotting; had there been a possibility of staying there we should have been, as it were, in hell, should at once have been given over to the Satanic warrior-folk, who would not have spared us, while here we have remained protected from all and have heard little of war-stories. And, although at present we are still living always in uncertainty, and have no abode, yet we hold to the name of the Lord, trust in him, look to him, who led us here and will farther lead us, so that we shall praise him therefor. We have held here our daily meetings, have let

the word of Christ live plentifully among us, have had baptisms and communions, and the most comforting and blessed thing, for which we heartily thank the Saviour, is that he has shown himself to his Indian church with all its shortcomings. We wish, indeed, always more and more that all were better. Our best, most steadfast, and experienced men, one after the other, the Saviour calls home to their rest, as this summer two of our assistants. What he does is right and well done. This we believe also, that he will fill their places, equipping others for them with spirit and grace.

We have had the pleasure also here, three times, of getting letters and papers, likewise the Scripture-verses and texts for the coming year, which we have never before received so early.

Baptized this year, five adults and twelve children; total, 17. Died, five adults and eleven children, who are buried in three places, one in Pettquotting, four at Sandusky Bay, and eleven here; total, 16. 158 persons are at present living with us, 54 less than at the end of last year.

## CHAPTER XII.

1792.

AT THE MOUTH OF DETROIT RIVER—FAIRFIELD ON THE THAMES, ONTARIO.

Sunday, Jan. 1. Br. Edwards preached, and then Br. Sensemann held the service for the baptized. The brethren and children came to give us New Year's greetings.

Monday, 2. Conference with the assistants, who made peace between Theodora's daughter and Charles, with good success.

Tuesday, 3. Br. David Zeisberger, who for five days has been ill with colic, so far recovered as to be able to confer with the assistants, from whom we heard how they were disposed in regard to our moving from here in the spring. We saw and found that they were not inclined to have any thing farther to do with the chiefs, nor to ask them for any thing, but to depend upon the English government, for they gave us no answer if we did look to them. They thought also that if we dwelt on Indian land we should have little quiet, for they would always have much to say to us, and would wish to force us into the war, which, on English ground and soil, we should not so much have to fear, for there they would have nothing to say to us. Thus we found it needful in the first place to confer with McKee about this, to hear what he will advise us, and whether he will accept our proposition. That the chiefs have given us no answer, we can readily pardon them, for they do not themselves know where to place us. On the south side of the lake there is no living for us during the war, and upon this side the Chippewas also have not much land near, and this they need themselves. On the Miami, where every thing is held by warlike people, they see themselves that there is no place

for us, though they have no objection to our being among them, only they have not the assurance to propose it to us, knowing we shall not accept. What should we do there? How could we live in the midst of warriors, who are every day going out and in with shouts and songs? We should be swallowed and devoured. Therefore we do not wish to trouble the chiefs, we might be working for our own harm, and compel them to place us somewhere to our ruin. They have now also no time to concern themselves with other affairs than war, and if they will only leave us alone, we can be content. We must seek to get along with the Saviour's help, whose hand is not too short to help, and who has many thousand ways of rescuing from trouble.

Wednesday, 4. We got news that the Indians had taken a fort on the Ohio, or in that neighborhood, and killed forty men, that two Indians at the fork of the Miami were said to have been slain and scalped, the blame for which is given to the Wawiachtanos,<sup>1</sup> of whom twenty men came out with the army and fought desperately, but most of them were killed, and two were taken prisoners. One of them was taken to Detroit to be burnt alive, but the commandant set him free.

Friday, 6. The Saviour made an especially blessed day (Epiphany). He showed himself right gracious and perceptible to his Indian church. At morning prayer we asked him to pour his blessing abundantly over us, to let his friendly face shine over us, and in all our meetings to let his near and mighty presence prevail. In the second service, after a discourse upon to-day's text: He is prepared before the face of all people, a light to lighten the Gentiles, Br. David baptized a single woman with the name Justina, Br. Michael Jung, a single man, or widower, with the name Amos, and Br. Sensemann, a child, Mark, into Jesus' death. In the afternoon was a love-feast, at which something was said and related about the history of the day, of the three wise men from the East;

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<sup>1</sup> See before, page 128.

that immediately upon the Saviour's birth, heathen came and worshipped him, and brought him gifts, that they had then already announced themselves, and wished to have part also in God's salvation, for he is a Saviour of all men, and thus of the heathen, too. As it was very cold we ended with the blessing of the church. The brethren were quite aroused. The peace of God and his near presence refreshed and made glad their hearts, so that they heartily rejoiced in the Lord. The brethren who have this as their baptismal day, of whom there are thirteen, came together in a love-feast in the evening, rejoiced in their election, and renewed their baptismal covenant and grace.

Saturday, 7. The river and lake froze so far as could be seen.

Sunday, 8. Br. Sensemann preached about this, that the Saviour, from his childhood to manhood, had left an example to us all, great and small, that we should follow his footsteps. David held the communion quarter-hour, and gave notice of the Lord's supper for next Saturday. The body of assistants married a couple of single people, Leonard and Johanetta.

Monday, 9. David held early service from the Scripture-verse: And to our God, for he will abundantly pardon. Judge Powell came back from the farthest settlement on the lake in a sledge. He called upon us, and we had a talk with him about our moving away from here in the spring, and told him our plans, namely: That the government should permit us to live at the extreme bounds of their land until we had better information and outlook; that this would do them no harm, but be of use to them, since their land would be improved and cultivated, if we lived on it a few years; we should not look upon it as our own property, but as soon as we got rest from the present war, we would give it up to them again gladly. Inasmuch as we had been comforted in the spring by the thought of getting our own land, and letters about this had been written to Canada, but no answer had been received, and since now before spring nothing could be done in the mat-

ter, the time being too short, we knew no other and better plan to propose than this. He approved the plan, for he saw himself that no better outcome was to be had. He advised us, therefore, to lay it before McKee in writing, who would bring it before the board. We heard from him that by an Act of Parliament this had been named a separate government, beginning on the 31st of last December, that this might very well be the reason why, in regard to us, no answer had been given, since also Lord Dorchester has gone to England.

Tuesday, 10. From the Miami we learned, by Indians, that many Indians there are dying, that Petty is dead, that many Indians wish to flee to us, since two Indians have been killed and scalped, and there are fears of an Indian war among the nations themselves.

Thursday, 13. Yesterday and to-day there was speaking with reference to the Lord's supper, to which the Saviour gave his blessing.

Saturday, 14. We had the supper of our Lord in his near presence, Br. Sensemann read the liturgy, Zeisberger serving among the sisters, the single brothers among the brethren.

Sunday, 15. After the communion liturgy, read by David, was the sermon by Br. Michael. Brs. David and Sensemann went to speak with McKee, who came last evening from the Fort, but had already set out for the Miami with his company, where a meeting of the Indians is said to be, and something to be again afoot. Soon afterward there came a message, with a piece of tobacco painted red, to our Indians, in these words, that they should arise and repair to the Miami, where the Indians were now assembling for an expedition; they should not think that they alone could sit so quiet, and see others go to war for them. The message, as we conjectured, was especially from a Shawano captain, who was now in Detroit, and had there been made general, and as soon as the messenger had deliveréd it, he made off. Thus it is here. The minds of whites and Indians are filled with war. We have hardly had two blessed days in succession

with our brethren, and have strengthened and refreshed ourselves with them in the holy communion, when war must again disturb us. God help us, look into this, and soon free us from all our need.

Tuesday, 17. We had a talk with the assistant brothers, seeking why it was that we were now troubled with such messages, which before had never come to us, and the like had not been asked of us. The assistants thought they had made a mistake the year before in regard to their conduct with the chiefs, in having addressed themselves at once to Pipe, the Wyandot chief, and the Tawa chief. Thereby this was now come, that none of the three wished to do or undertake any thing, each shunning the others, and thus we were left by them, but every one sought to perplex and torment us, and in particular the Shawanese, who were yet nothing to us. They thought, however, that if we committed the matter to Pipe, who understands us, and is a reasonable man, he would treat of the matter with the other nations, and there would be a cessation of so many messages to us, and we could refer them to our chief.

Wednesday, 18. Early before day Sabina, David's wife, was brought to bed with a son. There was a snow-squall and no early service.

Thursday, 19. David held early service from the text: He [the Father] has given him the heathen for his inheritance. The female assistants were charged to speak with two sisters.

Saturday, 21. Samuel and Stephen went to the Fort on business to get wampum.

Sunday, 22. David preached. Samuel came from the Fort, having bought wampum there, into whose hands, among other things, came a belt, which he bought, and which they had given last summer to the Wyandots with Pipe's speech to us, not to keep, but to give back again, but which they had squandered for drink. From this we see plainly enough that they had no regard for our discourse, and that it is useless to say any thing farther to them. By this circumstance when we conversed seriously with the assist-

ants about our affairs with the chiefs and our former negotiations with them, we found out, and came upon the ground, and behind the whole mystery, of what they had secretly contrived among themselves when we were still in Pettquotting, even before this war broke out, namely: If a war should again break out they would so long torment the believing Indians about going to war until they were weary and would submit, and if they accomplished nothing hereby they would then put their teachers out of the way, when they would have to submit again to become heathen. Pipe and the Big-Cat<sup>1</sup> indeed had not agreed with them, and the former had answered them that before this he had been guilty of excess towards the believers, and had reaped no honor thereby; he would never again make an attack on them, and would have no part in this. That they had something like this in view and still have it, is corroborated by a message from Gigejunk to us last year in Pettquotting, towards the end of winter, when they threatened to ill-treat us again as they had done on the Muskingum. Now last summer the Big-Cat had said to Thomas that the plan was not yet laid aside, that he did not see also how their project would be in vain, unless the English interfered. We can see now more and more that it is an appointment of the Saviour's that we have been received here upon English ground and soil, for this can bring their wicked schemes to nought. We turned to the chiefs last year and begged them to care for us and appoint us a place where we could dwell apart and in peace. Up to the present time we have received no answer, and yet as soon as we came here commotion began, and enough was said about our having settled upon English and not upon Indian land. For this they are themselves to blame; we had asked it of them, but got no hearing. We know very well that they would like to see us on the Miami, in the midst of them, surrounded by warriors on every side, and if we were there we have no doubt they would begin and carry through their project. Their secret plans are made

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<sup>1</sup>See ante p. 196.



plain of destroying and rooting out the Indian church; they should again relapse into heathenism. Yes, here they have to do with another man, who is called Jesus Christ, the Lord of hosts, and there is no other God beside. When they shall have brought him down from his throne, then first will the outlook for us be bad.

Monday, 23. The assistants came together and considered what they could and would say to the chiefs, and while they were deliberating they became all together of one mind to say nothing farther to them, since all they said and promised to us was lies and deceit, for their minds are busy and filled with war, and we, it is to be hoped, shall dwell for the present not upon their land. For when formerly we lived on Huron River (Michigan), we had nothing to do with them until we again came to their land. This was strange; at the very time they were together and considering about this, we laborers were then also together, having the same matter under consideration, and we wished that our assistants and brethren would let the chiefs alone for the present, who help us not at all, but strive to do us harm, and now they were done with their consideration and had put them all aside.

Tuesday, 24. In the early service Br. Sensemann baptized into Jesus' death, Benjamin, the little son of David and Salome, born on the 18th Inst.

Saturday, 28. Mr. Dolson came from Detroit with his wife for a visit, and remained over Sunday. In the evening was the betrothal of Joseph and Beata, Ignatius' daughter, both single people.

Sunday, 29. Br. Michael Jung preached from to-day's Scripture-verse: How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet, etc. In the evening, during the matrimonial service, the new couple, Joseph and Beata, were married.

Tuesday, 31. Yesterday and to-day the weather was stormy, and there was snow, which the wind from the lake drove in clouds to the land. The brethren, however, got wood for us. We sent off letters to Detroit by the express, by way of Niagara, Montreal, etc., for Bethlehem.

Friday, Feb. 3. Sensemann held morning service. The whole month there has been severe cold and windy, snowy weather, so that we had to omit the meetings for two days, we live so far apart, but mild, thawing weather sets in.

Sunday, 5. Sensemann preached. Few brethren are at home. They are away making preparations for sugar-boiling. Charles, whom we had sent yesterday with a letter for McKee to the Fort, in regard to our plans for moving away in the spring, came back, and was near having been very unfortunate in going over the ice. A man who wanted to go on with Elliot's horses and sledge had promised to go with him and did so. In the middle of the river they broke in. The horses drowned, though many men came to their help, but the men saved their lives. We thanked the Saviour that Charles had not come to harm, he having turned aside the calamity. Every year many men and cattle also are drowned, for they put themselves too much in danger on the ice. McKee sent word to us that he had now much to do, for the express for Niagara must be sent off, and he could not therefore answer at once, but would do so soon.

Monday, 6. Most of the brethren went off to the bush to make preparations for sugar-boiling.

Wednesday, 8. In the evening died the child which came into the world sick, Jan. 18, and was baptized on the 24th, Benjamin, son of David and Salome, which,

Friday, 10, was buried. There was a bad prospect for the recovery of the mother of the child, but now she gets better. Sisters went with baskets and brooms into the settlement to sell them for food.

Saturday, 11. Michael held early service. Parke, who came from the River Retrenche (Thames), told us it was a fine, pleasant country, that the land was good, and that it was an excellent place for us.

Sunday, 12. David preached from the Gospel about the sower, and a few brethren were present.

Monday, 13. Edwards held early service. Some brethren went with baskets into the settlement to trade for

corn, whence yesterday Christiana came back, bringing news that McKee was again going to the Miami, from where Elliot was gone to the battle-field.

Wednesday, 15. David held early service about the Word, which then in Bethlehem came into our flesh. We learned that a couple of messengers from the States were come to the Miami with the news that it was said that next summer an army would again come out.

Saturday, 18. The brethren were at home from the bush.

Sunday, 19. Edwards preached, *Esto mihi* Sunday,<sup>1</sup> when the Saviour entered upon his journey to Jerusalem to his passion, which he told his disciples, but they could not understand it. Br. Sensemann held the communion quarter-hour.

Tuesday, 21. David held early service from the text: He hath borne our griefs and carried our sorrows. The assistants spoke with the boy, Michael, and sent him away, since he only runs about and is disobedient, likewise with his sister, Anna Sabina.

Friday, 24. Yesterday and to-day was speaking, to which the Saviour gave his blessing.

Saturday, 25. As McKee had come from Detroit, the brothers, Zeisberger and Sensemann, went to him and spoke to him about our moving away from here in the spring, to hear what sort of propositions he would make us. He advised us to seek out a place on the Retrenche River, pleasing to us, and to give him notice of this, then he would take measures with the Chippewas about it, and make the matter right. He said they would all go away from there any way farther westward. In the evening the communicants had the Lord's supper in his blessed presence.

Sunday, 26. After the communion liturgy, read by Zeisberger, was a sermon by Br. Sensemann. In the afternoon we charged the assistants to consider about

<sup>1</sup>Quinquagesima Sunday is hereby indicated, *Esto mihi* being the first words of the *Introit* for that day. In the same way the first Sunday in Lent is called *Invocavit*, as is seen under Feb. 14, 1796.

sending some brethren to the Retrenche River, to get information and select a settlement for us, where we could move as soon as the weather permitted in the spring, and who should soon learn this.

Monday, 27. Zeisberger held early service. The assistants worked to-day in regulating their business about Retrenche River. They also sent away Johanetta, who was wicked and disobedient, and had left her husband.

Tuesday, 28. Edwards held morning service. Then the Indian, Samuel, with five young Indian brethren, set out for Retrenche River, to learn about the country, to examine the land, to seek out and determine upon a place where we can settle next spring, after they had first been prepared and instructed by us. As there was now severe winter weather, and the snow more than knee-deep, we had left it to them whether they would wait until the snow went off, but they thought best to go at once, for when a thaw sets in, it would be hard to get on from water.

Wednesday, 29. The assistants spoke with Moses and his wife. Both begged for readmission, for which they got leave upon probation. They came hither some time ago from the wilderness, where they had wandered about in error longer than a year.

Thursday, March 1. The brothers came back again, who had gone away to get information. After passing Detroit, they had met a man, Hasle by name, who came by land from Montreal, and told them he had spoken with the governor in our behalf, who would come here when the lake opened, when our business about the land would be put in order; that he had letters for Col. McKee, wherein every thing was set forth, and which would soon be told us; their going there would thus have little object and be of no use, as it was already quite well settled where we should dwell, and this was why they turned back. We heard also that the Monseys there, many of whom were here visiting last summer, had already made ready for us a place a day's journey from their town. These Monseys came from Niagara some years ago and remained there. As the weather was mild, the cold lessening, which

has lasted for two months without interruption, nearly all the brethren flew away to-day to the sugar-huts, and the town was quite deserted. A woman with two daughters, Zacchaeus' mother, came here. She was here a long time last summer, but went to none of the meetings, and did not wish to hear any thing about the Saviour. Now she says she would like to hear and to be converted.

Sunday, 4. Zeisberger preached about the healing of body and soul through the blood of Christ, from whom we have to seek and to find healing and cleansing from sin. Most of our brethren were away, dispersed in different places, only a few being at home.

Tuesday, 6. Mr. Parke came from the west side over the bay, partly on the ice, partly by water. Sensemann spoke with Hasle.

Thursday, 8. We had fine spring weather. River and lake were open, and now we hear a new kind of music, the roaring of the lake.

Friday, 9. Rain, the first this year.

Sunday, 11. Br. Sensemann preached from the text: Blessed are they that hear the word of God and keep it. For this some of the brethren had come in from the bush, and soon went back again.

Wednesday, 14. As a boat was going to Detroit, Br. Sensemann went in her to make arrangements with the agent about our departure, and to appoint time and place.

Friday, 16. He came back, having met on the way there Judge Powell, who compelled him to remain over night with him, which he did, with whom among other matters he spoke also about the Act of Parliament, concerning the brothers, nothing of which, he said, he could find in his books. When now Br. Sensemann helped him, giving him the year and date, he at last found it in one of his books quite in full, for which he was as glad as if some one had made him a great gift, saying he would now give every man who wished it a copy. He spoke in Detroit with the agent, McKee, about our moving farther this spring, as being the real object of his journey thither,

and told him that we knew a place on the River Retrenche, which the Indians living there recommended to us, and that they expected us; if, then, he had nothing against it, we thought of settling there, if only he would make arrangements with the Chippewas, so that hereafter we might have no trouble about it. He answered that we should so do; for the rest he would have care, and do his best for us. He said farther that Sir Johnson had also written to him about us, and told him that our business about land was now in the governor's hands, who, when he came, could make it right. This was for us a pleasant message, with which to-day's Scripture-verse agreed beautifully. It read: In returning and rest shall ye be saved. Trials must and will befall—But with humble faith to see—Love inscribed upon them all—This is happiness for me.

Sunday, 18. At the sermon, by Br. Edwards, some brothers and brethren were present, to whom afterwards, through the assistants, we gave notice that we had now the certainty of moving to the Retrenche River as soon as we could, and that we should break up from here soon after the Easter holidays, for which the brethren should prepare.

Thursday, 22. The Sensemanns had, on the birthday of their little son, Henry, an anniversary love-feast. Bill Henry came from the sugar-camp, and had a dispute with a white man about his step-daughter, Anna Sophia.

Friday, 23. Elliot, who came from Detroit, told us that the commandant would lend us a great boat or transport for the River Retrenche.

Sunday, 25. Br. Zeisberger preached from to-day's text: The Father sent the Son to be the Saviour of the world, in view of this important day (Annunciation), that God, our Creator, had come into the flesh, had taken upon himself human nature, that through his passion and death, and through the outpouring of his blood, he might bring to pass eternal redemption, that we, through his Son, Jesus Christ, are reconciled with God, and through him have the grace that God lives in us and we in him, and all this

by belief in his Son. Afterward the brethren again went to their sugar-huts and to their canoe-work, for the greater part must make canoes for their journey.

Tuesday, 27. Several sisters went to the settlement to get food. They got it, too, and came home on the 29th.

Friday, 30. We had a visit from Elliot, two ship-captains, and other gentlemen. They pitied our Indians that they were short of provisions, and some said it was no more than right if the government helped and supported them. They were very polite and friendly. Thus we must bear witness that most of the inhabitants in Detroit and in the country have shown themselves good friends to us, even our wicked neighbor is changed, has become our friend, and has employed our Indians nearly the whole winter.

Saturday, 31. Yesterday and to-day the brethren came home from all places, having ended their sugar-making, at which the brothers have also made canoes for their journey, and came home with them, joyful and content, for the holidays.

Sunday, April 1. Br. Sensemann preached about the Saviour's triumphant entrance into Jerusalem to his death of atonement for the whole human race, and Br. Zeisberger conducted the communion service. He told the brethren that this might well be the last communion here, and as we did not know how soon we could have it again, they should make right good use of it, strengthen themselves in the body and blood of the Lord in the holy sacrament. Br. Edwards went to McKee, who arrived yesterday on his way to the Miami, and took measures with him about our departure. He told him that he was going this spring to Canada, in the first ship, that Sir Johnson was going to England; if then we had letters to send, he would safely take charge of them. Br. Samuel went with a couple of brothers over the bay to visit our Wyandot, who lies sick unto death. He had sent here, begging the brethren to think of him, for he should not live, and his time here was nearly at an end.

Monday, 2. Samuel went to Detroit, and took there with him Dolson's two children.

Tuesday 3, and Wednesday, 4. There was speaking preparatory for the Lord's supper. We had then,

Thursday, 5, the most blessed enjoyment of the body and blood of the Lord in the holy communion, in the night when he was betrayed. Three brothers, Nicodemus, Leonard, and Joseph, and Sister Henrietta were partakers for the first time. First the history of this memorable day of our Saviour's atonement and agony on the Mount of Olives and of his captivity was read.

Friday, 6. Early was the communion liturgy, then the whole day was passed in reading the history of our Lord and Saviour's passion and suffering from head to foot, to the deep impress of our hearts. At Jesus' death we fell down and sang: O behold your Saviour wounded—Hanging on the accursed cross, etc. There hangs the Saviour of mankind—His visage marred, his head reclined. He let us especially and blessedly feel what great good lies in his passion.

A brother, Adam, who for some time had sinned grossly against the church, and followed his own lusts, although he had not openly been put away from the church, but yet saw that he was out of its communion, could no longer bear it, and with tears begged for forgiveness, which was first given him by the assistants and then by all the brethren, to his great comfort and refreshment, all the brethren assuring him of this with the kiss of peace.

Saturday, 7. A love-feast in the afternoon, and Quiet<sup>1</sup> Sabbath.

Sunday, 8. Early in our chapel we read the Easter litany, and asked for eternal communion with the five brethren and eight children who had died since last Easter. Br. Sensemann preached about the triumphant resurrection of our martyred Lord and Saviour for our justification. In the afternoon Br. Edwards went to Detroit to get a transport for our removal. We got news that

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<sup>1</sup> From Christ's rest in the grave.



three thousand Americans, from Kentucky, were come to the Miami towns, and that still more were expected.

Monday, 9. The brethren were told in the early service to hold themselves ready to set out in three days. Br. Edwards, who yesterday went to Detroit, came back, bringing a transport for our removal. The sick Wyandot, who is in the last stages of consumption, was, at his request, brought here by his mother and brother, and begged to be permitted to remain with us, saying he would move with us, and would like to die in the church.

[So far the diary sent to Bethlehem.]

Wednesday, 11. Edwards held early service. All were very busy preparing for departure and the assistants with making a division of the brethren, who should go by land with the cattle, and who by water, and they saw that all were helped. We laborers had for Br. Zeisberger's 72d birthday a love-feast, and wished him much good and pleasantness, and God's blessing for all his acts and plans, that the Saviour might strengthen him therefor, body and soul.

Thursday, 12. We assembled early for the last time here in our chapel, and after consideration of to-day's Scripture-verse: All flesh shall know that I the Lord am thy Saviour and thy Redeemer, the mighty one of Jacob, we thanked him after the collect in the Scripture-verse with heart, mouth, and hands for all the goodness he has shown us here, committed ourselves farther to his grace, to show himself henceforth among us as our Saviour and Shepherd, to be with us, and upon the way we shall go to be our protection and advice. The low rabble was sent away. Then the canoes were at once laden, and towards noon we went away, we whites making the start, and sailed with a good wind, but after we had gone half way this changed, so that we had to land upon Fighting Island<sup>1</sup> and remain over night. Nine canoes followed us here and stayed by us. Br. Michael Jung, who could not bear wind and cold, went with the brethren by land, whom we did not see again till we were at Retrenche.

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<sup>1</sup>In the river, six miles below Detroit.

Friday, 13. In the forenoon we came to Detroit, arranged our matters with the commandant, McKee, and Askin, and got ready for farther travel.

Saturday, 14. The wind was contrary and we had to lie to.

Sunday, 15. We started with a favorable wind, the ship captain, Mills, accompanying us in his hunting-boat a part of the way, taking leave, and turning back again. Several Indian brethren went with us, but could not keep up, for we sailed very fast, and on account of the high waves they had to land and encamp. In the afternoon, when we came into Lake St. Clair, the wind blowing hard, our mast broke and went overboard with sail and all. This was the first accident and it detained us a couple of hours, until we could rig another sail, and then we sailed on very fast till evening, when the wind shifted to the west, and in the darkness we came to the mouth of the Retrenche. As our boatmen, whom we had hired, either could not see the channel or did not know it well, we were in great danger of shipwreck, for we came into shallow water, and first ran into a tree lying in the water, but got away from it without damage, save that the waves came much over the boat, and we were wet through. Soon, however, we stuck fast, and now in the storm and cold we had to pass the night upon the rough lake, the waves all the time going over us, and we wished it were day, for the wind blew from the north-west and was very cold.

Sunday, 16. We saw the land, but could not go to it, yet we were aware that Chippewas lay there, whom we signaled to come aboard, which they did, and we sent the sisters ashore at once. Then we hired a couple of canoes from the Chippewas and unloaded our boat until we had her again afloat, and then came into the river, went then some distance, and stayed over night near a vacant house.

Tuesday, 17. We came to Sally Hand,<sup>1</sup> where were a hundred bushels of corn we had bought in Detroit for our

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<sup>1</sup>"A colony composed of English, German, and French settlers." De Schweinitz' Life of Zeisberger, p. 631.

Indians, who had nothing to eat, and we had to take it in this place. On this account the Zeisbergers remained here, and waited for our Indians, but the Sensemanns and Br. Edwards,

Wednesday, 18, went on with the boat as far as they could get in the strong current. Here we were in the settlement, lodged with a Mr. Row, who was last year steersman upon the ship that brought us from Sandusky. All the inhabitants here were very friendly to us, and were glad we were to be their neighbors, though we go far up the river.

Wednesday, 19. The Zeisbergers visited in the neighborhood those who invited them, most of whom knew us. In the evening Joshua arrived with his family, who set out the same day we did, and had waited for a time, that the wind might lessen, so that at last they got into the river.

Friday, 20, was very windy. We could expect none of our people.

Saturday, 21. Br. Michael Jung came with the brethren who had travelled by land with the cattle, when we learned that the brethren are still all encamped near Detroit, and from windy weather cannot get away. We must have patience. Meantime those with us were very busy earning something by their work, so that they got food. We met here old Wetterhold,<sup>1</sup> who came over here two years ago from the States, from whom we learned that the militia had a mind to come to Pettquotting, and wished to choose him captain.

Sunday, 22. In the forenoon Br. David preached from the Scripture-verse: All flesh is grass, etc. Many people from the neighborhood were present, but the men are ashamed to hear God's word, and keep away. The people here are like heathen, who say: "That may very well be good for the whites, but not for us," and the whites are

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<sup>1</sup>The only person of this name whom I find mentioned is said to have been murdered in 1763. De Schweinitz' Life of Zeisberger, p. 278.

the same. In the afternoon a whole war-party came through here. They went among the inhabitants from house to house, dancing their beggar-dance, when they do not go away till they get something.

Monday, 23. Most of our Indians arrived. The wind had hindered them for days from travelling upon the lake. We began at once to distribute the corn. We heard indeed of many bad things that had occurred.

Tuesday, 24. Still more came, but there are yet three canoes behind.

Wednesday, 25. We all went away together, and came, towards evening, to Br. Sensemann's camp, above the fork at the end of the settlement, and further on no white people live. Thus far they had come with the great boat, but had to stop here, the current being too swift, and to unload, that from here in canoes we may come to our appointed place. We held a conference here, and resolved, inasmuch as Bro. Sensemann had put up a good hut, and was under roof, that Br. Zeisberger should go on with the canoes to the end of the journey, and then send back canoes enough to bring Sensemann and Edwards with their baggage, which we held best. The inhabitants whom we addressed were everywhere very friendly and serviceable, and if we wished to buy bread or any provisions, they would take no pay, but preferred giving them to us, for they thought it mean to take pay from us. On the way we often had rain. The man who lives there was a well-read man in history.

Thursday, 26. The weather being dull and seeming rainy, we let the young people go out hunting, for all were meat-hungry.

Friday, 27. Zeisberger went away with the Indian brethren in some twenty canoes. coming at noon to the rapids, and in the afternoon had to advance against a strong current and very deep. We had to help get over those who had gone by land with the cattle. Along the river there is abundance of good and fine land, only in the spring it is flooded. We encamped betimes on a height, where we all came together. We were now again

in the bush, our own masters, and could do as we pleased. Here we saw the son carrying his old father out of and into the canoe. In the evening there was in camp a supper of turtles, taken on the way, to which all were asked.

Saturday, 28. In the forenoon we had to go through rough water, but in the afternoon it was better. Several sisters went for cranberries, and came to us in camp at night. We did not get a sight of those who went by land with the cattle to-day, but we saw their camp. We found out and saw that in the spring the river rises twenty feet or more, therefore all the bottoms are covered. Some canoes, being weak, stayed back.

Sunday, 29. We had to get by some bad places, and help the cattle get over the river again, when some would have drowned, had we not come to their aid with the canoes. Here again, after many years, we found an oil-spring on the bank of the creek, but the water being high, we could get none, for the stream swept it away at once. We encamped at night above a French trader's house, which, however, was vacant.

Monday, 30. As it rained in the morning, Br. Zeisberger went with a number of Indian brethren to see the great bend, which is six or seven miles in extent, but at the start hardly a half-mile over. They came back at noon, and as the weather had cleared we went on around the bend and encamped. To-day we examined two places, but found no site for a town.

Tuesday, May 1. In the forenoon we visited the country farther up and found enough good planting-land, though wild, but no place for a town, since the places either go under water or are very high hills on the river. Finding now no fit place for a settlement, we resolved to turn back and to take the first best. We halted near the trader's house, and Samuel and others went by land down the creek, but came back in the evening, after finding a place. As for fields there are enough, but town-sites are rare. In the evening a meeting.

Wednesday, 2. We went yet a bit of the way down

and took possession of a height, examined it well, and to-day staked out our town, and each one was busy getting his hut ready. The brethren prepared to go for Br. Sensemann. We had meeting in the evening.

Thursday, 3. In the forenoon the town-lots were distributed, and each one took possession. The brethren went away to get Sensemann. Those who remained looked about for fields and where it would be easiest to clear.

Friday, 4. Some began to clear land in the bottom, others prepared to build houses. Strange Indians from the Monsey town came down, who told us we should have gone farther up, where there was a good place for us to dwell, but this was too near them. We blessed the sisters for their festival to-day in the church. Nicholas and Andrew, who were not with us when we set out from the mouth on the lake, arrived, bringing news that Jacob, Joachim, Renatus, and Zachary would not come here, but remain in the lower settlement, having been wheedled by Callwell.<sup>1</sup>

Saturday, 5. The Sensemanns came with Br. Edwards, and now we were again all together. Thomas and Renatus came in sick. In the evening Br. Sensemann held the meeting from the text.

Sunday, 6. Michael preached. The brethren were exhorted to give their attention to planting. The brethren looked farther around for fields, and found, somewhat farther down the creek, a better and more suitable town-site, which,

Monday, 7, we visited, and found better, on account of the plantations, which we shall then have above and below us on both sides of the river, where we can be in the midst. We resolved, therefore, to move thither, though we have done much work at the first place, upon which we all turned our backs. In the evening David conducted the meeting.

Tuesday, 8. Most of the brethren moved to the new place. We remained behind until the next morning the

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<sup>1</sup> Probably the man who has hitherto been called Colvill.

canoes should come and get us, for it is about three miles down the creek. When we came there this morning the brethren had already built a hut for us, so that we might be under a roof. We heard early this morning that Thomas was dead, who even yesterday got into a canoe without help, and said he wanted yet to see the new place. We got news that eight thousand Americans had taken possession of the Miami, but nothing exact and trustworthy, save that they insisted upon this, that they would not give up the land; the Indians had brought in from them a couple of scalps. We can make out this much, that peace is not to be thought of. They had killed six messengers,<sup>1</sup> who had been sent out.

Thursday, 10. In the forenoon was Thomas' burial, for which purpose we had found and laid out a beautiful grave-yard upon a little height, and as it is sandy ground we are not forced, as was necessary in other places, to bury the dead in water. Br. Zeisberger on this occasion delivered an earnest discourse to the brethren, how necessary it is to remain with the Saviour, and not to go aside our own way, for no man knows how soon he may be called. Akerlemann came to us again, also another family, Ignatius' brother's, from the Miami, to live with us; moreover, a woman, his sister, who last year had leave to live with us, but when we moved stayed behind. She now insisted upon this. Upon our building-place the timber was cut down, which caused great confusion, the logs lying in every direction, for it is all hard wood. The brothers were busy dividing the fields, for which these great bottoms are needed, but it is such rich land as we have nowhere had, being like a dung-heap, and very easily cleared. In the evening Br. Sensemann held a meeting in the open air.

Friday, 11. We sowed garden seeds. All the brethren were industrious and busy in clearing land. Br. Edwards

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<sup>1</sup>“Mr. Freeman, Maj. Trueman, and Col. Hardin, who were dispatched from Fort Washington on different routes, in the spring of 1792, with flags of truce and presents, were all murdered by the Indians.” St. Clair Papers, Vol. I., p. 182.

held the evening meeting, and then we had a hard thunder-storm.

Saturday, 12. The assistants spoke with Ignatius' brother and his family, and received them to live here, also the aforesaid woman with her grandson. The brethren were busy, partly planting, partly building.

Sunday, 13. David preached in the forenoon, and Sensemann held evening service.

Monday, 14. The brethren went altogether and cleared our plantation, which they finished to-day. Edwards held the evening meeting.

Tuesday, 15, and Wednesday, 16. The brethren cleared, each for himself, built huts in town, and all had enough to do. Michael held evening service.

Thursday, 17. In the forenoon of Ascension Day, Br. Zeisberger held a service from the text, wherein the brethren were admonished to be eager to walk with the Saviour, at home and abroad, during their work, and at all times, for he is with us when we think of him. We have been hindered by rain, which we have had for three days. The creek rises fast, and we have been much put back in our work.

Friday, 18. The brethren were busy clearing land, for which they show real zeal, the land pleasing them, being the right sort for Indians, such as they like to have.

Saturday, 19. They planted our three fields, which they had cleared for us, two acres perhaps. This morning and yesterday we had frosts, and it was quite cold, as is usual here when the wind comes from the north. We see that we have come here at the right time. Edwards held the evening meeting.

Sunday, 20. In the forenoon Br. Sensemann preached from the Gospel: Howbeit, when he, the Spirit of Truth, is come, he will guide you into all truth, who will conduct the poor, anxious hearts, troubled about their salvation, to the source of salvation, the wounds of Jesus, and who will make us, in time and in eternity, sharers of the goods of salvation, won for us. David held the congregation meet-



ing from the Scripture-verse: I will lift up mine hand to the Gentiles.

Monday, 21. The brethren went on with their planting, for which they have shown great zeal, for they have hope that their labor will be well rewarded. Certainly this year more than a hundred acres will be cleared and planted. The hundred bushels of corn are of unspeakable use to them.

Wednesday, 23. Chippewas and a Gachnawage<sup>1</sup> Indians came through here by water. Few Indians come except such as come by water, for the way by land is far off. Brothers who came back from the Monsey towns, and had seen the country along the creek, have nowhere found a better nor so good a place for a town as we have here. Without doubt it is the best place for us on the creek. The Monsey town, they say, is no fine place, where the Indians, on account of swamp and marsh, are scattered about, and have to live in a couple of huts here and there.

Saturday, 26. This week in part we planted, in part made preparations for building houses. On account of other many and necessary works, we had to be content to live in huts under the green trees, until after the planting we could make us better dwellings. The insects, mosquitoes and flies, were in vast numbers, and we were much incommoded by them, day and night. Some deer and a bear were brought to town, but the brethren took little time for hunting, having other and more pressing work.

Sunday, 27. Br. Zeisberger delivered the Whitsunday sermon about the outpouring of the Holy Ghost, which all members of Jesus Christ received, and not only then received it, but still do receive it, and are taught by him and led here in all ways, and who yet holds them in the only right faith in Jesus Christ, etc. In conclusion we sang from the liturgy to the Holy Ghost, and sounded praise

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<sup>1</sup> In the Life of Heckewelder, p. 135, is found: "A number of Cochnowago Indians, from La Chine, above Montreal." Probably Zeisberger designates the same tribe.

and thanks to him with mouth and heart for his true care. Sensemann held the congregation meeting.

Monday, 28. The brethren, this week, went on clearing land and planting. We have had a few hot days, whereon followed thunder and rain, and then there were frosts this week, which shows a colder climate than we are accustomed to.

Wednesday, 30. A daughter was born to John and Amelia Henry. Their houses were blocked out for the Zeisbergers and Sensemanns, for which they hired Indians.

Saturday, June 2. A couple of Chippewas came about here with two pieces of tobacco to be sent to the Monsey and Chippewa towns, and to tell them to hold themselves ready for marching to meet the Americans, who were again in movement. A party of Mohawks went by for the war, whom, it is said, more will follow.

Sunday, 3. Trinity Sunday. Br. Sensemann preached about the new birth, without which no man can see the kingdom of God, nor come therein. Then he baptized into Jesus' death, with the name Rebecca, the child born May 30. From the Monsey town some brethren came back, who had bought corn there, and this is another mercy, that they can get it there. Thus the heavenly Father always cares for us. The hundred bushels we bought and distributed among them, were of great use to them, for they have been able to clear the land and plant, which is a great help, and now they can sooner and better look about for corn, and not lose time for planting, in which they show industry, having cleared and planted much land. Michael held the congregation meeting.

Monday, 4. The need for food increasing, for the hundred bushels were used up, which we bought for them, several brethren went to the Monsey town to buy corn, after finishing planting. From there a canoe, Wijan's,<sup>1</sup> came here with corn. There is a stir among our young people. We heard that some wanted to go with the war-

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<sup>1</sup>See under Aug. 4 next.

riors, who are soon expected to go through here from the Monsey town, which we labor to prevent.

Wednesday, 6. There was rain both yesterday and to-day. We could therefore have no services, which we have to hold in the open air, until the pressing work is somewhat over, and we can build a meeting-house. Meanwhile the assistants have the duty of speaking with some brethren, and to look to the right here and there. Fences were made in the upper and in the lower field.

Saturday, 9. Edwards held the evening service. Indian brethren came back from the Monsey town with corn. The Zeisbergers' house was roofed and the Sensemanns' almost. From the hard rains the river rose very much, so that it is generally very muddy. It is therefore a fine thing that we have a good spring near by, back of the town.

Sunday, 10. Br. Edwards preached from the Gospel about the rich man, and showed how necessary it is that here in the world we should concern ourselves principally, and above all things, to have part in the kingdom of God and his righteousness. Michael held the congregation meeting.

Monday, 11. At last the war-party came from the Monsey town down the river, of which we have already heard for some time, and from which we awaited new trouble, which was not long in coming, for they came with a war-cry, encamped on our bank, and in the evening had a war-dance. The captain of the party delivered a speech to his people in the evening, admonishing them to behave towards us in an orderly, respectful way, for we were their friends. We heard, however, the next morning, that he told them after the dance, that four were going with them from this place, but he did not name them, and we hoped things would not go so far. He told our people, some of whom liked to listen to him, that they would soon get a summons to come to the war. If some would now go with him, he would speak for us, so that we might get no further annoyance, for then he could say there were so many of us with him. We held our

evening meeting, undisturbed, from the Scripture-verse : The Lord will go before you and the God of Israel will be your reward.

Tuesday, 12. They remained here, towards noon going in procession through the town with their begging-dance, and although they committed no excesses, and did no harm, it was yet as if Satan had moved in among us. We had to have patience, and could change nothing in the thing. Meanwhile we spoke with such of our people as we knew to be weak, warning them and admonishing them to be on their guard, and not to let themselves be cajoled, asking also the assistants to speak with this one and with that. But to our great sorrow we had to see,

Wednesday, 13, ten of our young people go from here with the warriors, among whom were some boys, and for the most part bad subjects, with whom we had hitherto been troubled, and whom we had to endure. What made us saddest was that Nicholas and David were the chief men in the band, who had led others astray, the former secretly, the latter, however, more openly, with whom Br. David himself spoke, seeking to persuade him to turn aside from his undertaking, but it was in vain. It was easier for us after they left the town, though we bore it in sorrow. The captain said indeed that it was uncertain whether it would come to a battle or war, but they were summoned merely to be at hand, if there should be need. Yesterday, the Scripture-verse read : It is he that sitteth upon the circle of the earth, and the inhabitants thereof are as grasshoppers, and to-day it was : I will contend with him that contendeth with thee, and I will save thy children. Boaz had a talk yesterday with one of the war-party, saying : "No one is great and mighty save God, who is above us all and has created all. We are all like a little worm, if it be tapped with the finger it is no more," etc.

Thursday, 14. A Chippewa came here up the river, bringing us a packet of letters and journals of the last and the present year, Oct. and March, which Mr. Askin sent us, whereby we were quite revived and refreshed

after the sorrow we had gone through about our people, though we attach ourselves the more trustfully to those who remain, for Satan has swept them, separating the chaff from the wheat.

Saturday, 16. The Zeisbergers and Sensemanns moved into their new houses, built for the time being, destined to be stables finally, when we have opportunity and time to build dwellings. Michael held evening service.

Sunday, 17. Michael preached. We read the Bethlehem journal. The assistants met with the brethren to remind them of divers things, about keeping Sunday, about the discipline of the children, who carry about bows and arrows, etc. Br. Joseph's<sup>1</sup> letter, which we received in the packet, was read to the brethren, in place of the evening service, which they listened to with attention for the blessing of their hearts, of which we had many a proof and token.

Tuesday, 19. Yesterday the brethren hoed our plantation, and to-day they fished, for which they had made a bound,<sup>2</sup> but they caught few or none, for they had made a mistake.

Thursday, 21. Some of our people, Rénatus for instance, went to the Monsey town for corn, where there is plenty to be had at a dollar a bushel, from there came,

Friday, 22, Lohachkes, the Monsey chief, for a visit here, who had already visited us last year. Edwards held the meeting.

Saturday, 23. After long continued dry weather, we got a fine, much desired rain. We planted vegetables. Sensemann held evening service.

Sunday, 24. Sensemann preached. David was quite unwell. Michael held evening service.

Monday, 25. Lohachkes, the chief, went home. He attended no meetings, though he always gave out he wished to become a believer. We always see that it is very hard with them to be converted. They make a fine

<sup>1</sup>Augustus Gottlieb Spangenburg. See vol. i., p. 443.

<sup>2</sup>This word in the MS. is in English. Perhaps the same thing is meant as in Vol. I., p. 190.

outward show, but secretly they strive to do harm in the church. This man sent word by the warriors to our Leonard, for he is his uncle, and had him told he should go to the war with them. Leonard replied to them that before this he had been a warrior, but had put aside this business of war, and thought never to take it up again; his friends should not fancy that they had power over him to command him, in this he would not listen to them.

Tuesday, 26. By Indians from the Fort we learned that now no war or expedition is planned, but that there is a truce and a hope of peace, that our people also will come again as they went away, and we look and watch for what will come from this. Ekuschuwe is said to have told our Nicholas that we could not remain here, since the nations had promised to make over to the English all the land from Grand River to Lake Ontario, and if there should be peace, as they hoped, we could go again over the lake, but he knows not what we know, that we have nothing to do with the nations, but with the English. The governor is expected in Detroit in a couple of months. From the mouth of the river at Lake Erie, Rahel came and took away her children, whom she and her mother had left with our brethren, when we moved in the spring. Jacob and Christiana, both Joachims, and Renatus, the Mohican, Zachary, and Susanna with her children, remained there and have planted.

Wednesday, 27. The strange Indians set out on their way home. They attended our meetings, and were very friendly. Michael held evening meeting.

Thursday, 28. Samuel, Stephen, and Ignatius went to Detroit. David wrote to James Conner,<sup>1</sup> Sensemann to Detroit.

• Saturday, 30. There was great heat this week and dry weather, so that the brethren could hill their corn only mornings and evenings, for in the heat it does harm. Sensemann held evening service from the text: In whom

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<sup>1</sup> Probably the son of Richard Conner.

are hid all the treasures of wisdom. The brethren built a great shed to hold the meetings in, two rods square.

Sunday, July 1. Br. Zeisberger preached from the words of Jesus: For a good tree bringeth not forth corrupt fruit, neither doth a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit. Luke vi. We read the church journal out of the weekly of the U. A. C. In hearing how the work of the Lord thrives in blessing in other places, we have to feel shame that it goes so slowly with us, and instead of increasing, that we now decrease and become fewer, so that we might many times become discouraged. May the Saviour help us and put new life into our church! Among the savages no trace of hunger for God's word can be found, but all their aims and efforts are bent on war, and those who come here are content with this, that they are here. Michael held evening meeting.

Monday, 2. Mr. Parke came from Detroit with corn, salt, and some goods for our Indians, of all which things they have great want. We heard that there would be no war, but a truce, so that they hope for peace, but yet war-parties are always at times going out; but that, among the Indians, there was great want of food, so that, on the Miami and in that neighborhood, a handful of corn costs a dollar; that the nations are coming together for a council, whereto our people also, who have lately gone thither, are present, as we hear, or are hunting.

Wednesday, 4. Five Mohicans,<sup>1</sup> who live among the Oneidas in the territory of the States, came here and remained over night. They had a message from Congress for the Indians and proposals for peace, on which account, they have appointed a place for a meeting, where they will speak together and satisfy them. One of them was in Bethlehem this year, where he was well pleased, and he praised much the conduct of the brothers towards the Indians. They said they had no idea so far in the Indian land of meeting with Indians who had God's word among them, and they exhorted our people to stand fast

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<sup>1</sup> See Albach's Annals of the West, pp. 596, 597.

thereby. Being in haste on account of their commission, they continued,

Thursday, 5, their journey by water, and said they hoped to have opportunity on their way back to stay longer with us, to speak with the missionaries and to become better acquainted with us. At the same time they wished to see their land near Gigeyunk, which the nations gave them several years ago, the same to which our Mark always made pretensions and thought of taking possession of.

Friday, 6. Samuel, Stephen, and others came back from the Fort. During their stay there warriors came with scalps, but were not well received nor welcomed, and the Chippewas and Tawas were tired of going to war, saying whoever had a mind thereto might carry on war, but they wished no more to do with it.

Saturday, 7. The brethren made preparations to build a meeting-house for the time being, till we see farther and have time to build a proper one on the common lot in front.

Sunday, 8. Br. Sensemann preached and Zeisberger held the congregation meeting.

Monday, 9. All the brethren went to work on the meeting-house and kept at it all the week, and Thursday, 12, we had the first service in it from the text: Which was a prophet, mighty in deed and word before God and all the peoples.

Wednesday, 11. Chippewas, who lately went out with the warriors, came back and said the Monseys were all returning; there was no war, and that our people were gone to Pettquotting hunting.

Thursday, 12, and Friday, 13. Strangers came here from the Monsey town, remained a couple of days and went down to the settlement, some of whom attended our meetings. Our meeting-house was quite ready, with doors and benches, and the bell was hung up.

Sunday, 15. Edwards preached. Br. Zeisberger then conducted the communion quarter-hour, speaking earnestly about the backslidings and transgressions which had occurred among the brethren, and pointing out to them



how weak in faith they were. He admonished them not to lose their trust and confidence in the Saviour, but with all their wretchedness to draw nigh him, who will heal and comfort them. He gave notice of the Lord's supper for the 18th Inst. Sensemann held the congregation meeting.

Monday, 16, and Tuesday, 17. The brethren were spoken to.

Wednesday, 18. We had with the whole church a love-feast for paying our thanks that we again had a meeting-house, where we could hear God's word in regular way. At the end of the day the communicants had the most blessed enjoyment of the body and blood of the Lord in the holy sacrament, which was the first communion in this place. Our dear Lord blessed us indescribably, gave us the comfort of his grace and to feel in our hearts the forgiveness of our transgressions, committed since spring and the last communion. This gave new life among the brethren, and only two of those at home did not partake.

Thursday, 19. Br. Sensemann read in the morning the thanksgiving liturgy, admonishing the brethren to keep in their hearts the goodness and blessedness the Saviour had let them feel.

Friday, 20. At the Scripture-verse: Rejoice ye with Jerusalem and be glad with her all ye that love her, Br. Zeisberger said to the brethren, since from want of food they were compelled to go into the settlement to the white people to support themselves and theirs by labor in the harvest until their corn was ripe, that as long as we live in the world we are many times forced to have to do with the children of this world, but that we should not share in the deeds of the flesh; that a heart that loves the Saviour should depend on him and the church, should hasten as soon as the work was done to its home again and to the church, and rejoice to be in its own element as soon as possible, for in the world there is no pleasure to be found for us, for whoever finds pleasure in the things of the world and has inclination thereto, he is no true member of the church of Jesus. The assistants were authorized to

marry Abel and Salamis, who are disposed therefor, and this was done to-day.

Of our often-mentioned Wyandot, the son of the chief who lived on the east side of Detroit, but is now dead, who was always our friend, but died since we went to Pett-quotting, of this, his son, we heard that he was always longing to come to us. In the spring he wished to follow us, but since he could not of himself, for he is incurably sick and his brother has left him, this did not happen. The priests were already much about him, and asked him why he would leave them, fall away from his faith, and turn elsewhere. Hereupon he replied to them that for many years he had been with them, had been baptized by them, and heard them, but it was all like empty straw; he had found nothing with them which gave his heart rest and for which he especially sought, and this he had found among the believers, who had to move about from one place to another, being so much persecuted; that he had tasted something that did his heart good, and for this he wished to seek farther. We find, however, that he is much entangled with worldly affairs.

Saturday, 21. Very many, yes, most of our brethren, went into the settlement to the harvest.

Sunday, 22. Br. Zeisberger preached.

Tuesday, 24. From the south side of the lake, from Walnut Bottoms, in the neighborhood of Presque Isle, Monsey Indians went through here with a message, as they said, for Pipe and the Indians. They told us they had seen in Pittsburg and spoken with one of our brothers from Bethlehem, who would have liked to come out here. We conjectured it must have been John Leeth, for from Bethlehem no one would venture out through the Indian land. Moreover, at present, as regards war, the country is pretty quiet. McKee is not yet returned from Quebec, nor is the governor arrived.

Wednesday, 25. At the evening meeting, conducted by Br. Sensemann, were present Monsey Indians, who came to-day from the Monsey town on their way to the Fort. They remained therefore over night here, merely to attend a

meeting. The man who was in the company said he had never yet heard any thing, but had always believed we had something good, and knew the right way for reaching eternal life. Brothers and sisters conversed much with the people, and announced to them God's salvation, which Jesus Christ won for us by great suffering and bitter death. The man said he had retained three words in the meeting and had them yet in his heart, and this he related to all the brothers whom he met on his way down.

Thursday, 26. David held evening service from the Scripture-verse: Strengthen ye the weak hands and confirm the feeble knees, and showed how that must happen, namely, by approaching the source of salvation and following the Saviour's word, which he proclaimed in the temple at Jerusalem: If any man thirst let him come unto me and take the water of life freely.

Saturday, 28. Chippewas brought venison and exchanged it with our people for corn, milk, and butter, for none of our hunters are yet at home.

Sunday, 29. Br. Sensemann preached about false prophets.

Monday, 30. One of the Mohican Indians arrived, mention of whom is made under the 5th Inst., from whom we learned that McKee is returned from Quebec; about the governor's arrival we heard nothing; that our people who went from here with the warriors have all gone to Pett-quotting hunting; that the captain of the same company lay sick in the Fort, and that few Indians were at home on the Miami, but that all were away hunting. They are now waiting for Brant, what sort of news he will bring from Congress, and they hope for peace.

Tuesday, 31. When we had had no rain, sufficient to wet the ground through, for more than two months, the heavenly Father sent us a rainy day. In May and June the insects, mosquitoes and flies, were very troublesome, but now are quite gone since we have cleared a little about us, and there is no comparison with what we had to endure last year on the lake, when it was an old settle-

ment and all cleared. We have here the finest springs, so cold as hardly to be drinkable.

Wednesday, Aug. 1. Some of our people came home, who had helped harvest in the settlement, for instance, Joshua, Adam, with their families, having earned corn and flour.

Saturday, 4. We had a peculiar circumstance. The Monsey captain, Wijan by name, who, in June 12, or 13, went through here to the war, went as far as the Fort, where he fell sick and turned about, was brought here sick day before yesterday. On the way he bade his people hasten and merely to bring him to us, for he had no longing for home. In the spring, when we came here, he had already wished to come to us, but said to his wife at last that they would plant once more, and come in the autumn. After this he got a message to go to the war, and he went, and with him also our people. We thought at the time that he had persuaded our people thereto, but now we found that he was not to blame, but our people themselves, who were glad to have such a chance. On the way to us they wished to doctor him, but he would not permit it, saying he wished nothing except to get to us. When they came with him to our bounds, at the lowest plantation, without his knowledge and will, his people sent away in the night a couple of messengers to bring two Indian doctors, who came to-day from the Monsey town here, but said they would have nothing to do with him, but they left him to us, seeing he could not live. We considered together what we should and could do in this extraordinary case, and, after thoroughly considering all the circumstances, we agreed and held it best and most profitable to baptize him. This was done in the presence of the strangers and of our brethren, on the bank of the river in their camp, and Br. David baptized him in the name of the Holy Trinity, with the name Jacob, after an address to the strangers and the brethren. The Saviour showed himself gracious, and he filled the hearts of the brethren with comfort, joy, thankfulness, and good assurance that a brand was saved from the burning. He died the night

after, was in his senses but speechless when he was brought hither.

Sunday, 5. Br. Michael preached from the words: Go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them, etc. The strangers were present. Towards evening was the burial of Jacob, baptized yesterday, at which also the strangers were present and took good notice of every thing, but the wife, who already appeared in her widow's garb, and sat near the coffin, at the head of the corpse, went away into the bush during the burial.

Monday, 6. The strangers set out on their way home after seeing the captain buried here, and they gave the death-cry as they departed, for they had a scalp.

Wednesday, 8. Yesterday and to-day the brethren got home from the settlement, where they have earned something to eat until now soon they can live from their planting.

Thursday, 9. From the mouth of Detroit River came back Esther and Polly, and with them Christiana Schebosh, who, with her husband and some others, had remained there in the spring and planted, for they were yet making canoes. We found she had not yet gone so far as to leave the church, and in the autumn she will come to us, and likewise the others. We heard that a message and string were on their way from the the Tawa chief, to tell us there would be peace, and that we could go back again to Pettquotting, which land he had given the believers to dwell in. All are waiting for the Governor and Brant, and hope for peace.

Friday, 10. To a family of Chippewas, who brought venison here to sell, Boaz spoke, preaching to them God's salvation, which the Saviour has won for all Indians by his blood, and which is the only way to eternal life. He said they listened attentively. In the communion quarter-hour, Br. David gave notice of the Lord's supper for the 13th Inst., for the brethren, whom we could expect, were all here.

Sunday, 12. Br. Edwards preached, and David held

the congregation meeting from the Scripture-verse: I am sought of them that asked not for me.

Monday, 13. The brethren having been spoken with for several days lately, the noteworthiness of the day was first explained to them in a service, and they were reminded that they, by the preaching of the Gospel, which the brothers brought to them, and which they had received and believed, had by grace been incorporated in the church of Jesus Christ by holy baptism, and were now members of Jesus' body, and were one people with all believers upon the whole earth, that we, therefore, with the church, prayed the Saviour that communion might be among them, whereto we are called for the communion of the saints. We then kneeled, begging forgiveness of our shortcomings, and the rich comfort of his grace, of which we were assured by him, and were kindly looked upon. In conclusion of this commemorated day the communicants enjoyed his body and blood in the holy sacrament, which Br. Sensemann conducted, Christiana enjoyed it with us, and Anna Charity was a candidate.

Tuesday, 14. Early was the liturgy. Strange Indians came here, who attended our meetings.

Wednesday, 15. The strangers went away to the Monsey town, whither also went Theodora, to visit her sick husband.

Friday, 17. Brant's son went through here with six Mohawks with peace-propositions from Congress to the nations, who are now assembling upon the Miami. Brant could not himself come, being ill, but will soon follow. They stayed here a couple of hours and then went on. We had to lend them a canoe to go in, and now it will be decided whether the nations will accept the propositions. Christiana came back again, and will come to us as soon as possible. We sent by her a letter to Mr. Askin to be forwarded to Bethlehem. Esther and Polly went with her to get their things.

Sunday, 19. Br. Zeisberger preached from the Gospel about the Pharisees and tax-gatherers, and Br. Sensemann held the congregation meeting.

Monday, 20. Brothers went out hunting, Samuel, Bill

Henry, and others. Some went to the upper town for corn. They came,

Friday, 24, back from there, where we heard there had been a severe frost, and that some fields were quite ruined. May our dear Father in heaven yet give us a good harvest, for our corn is very backward! We very well see that we are farther north, for the nights are very cool, yes, cold, though it is now dog-days.

Upon Sister Sensemann's birthday, we had a pleasant love-feast, and we wished her much good and happiness, grace and blessing for her calling and business. The brethren were busy building, as many as were at home. We also made our buildings ready, Brs. Sensemann and Zeisberger their ad interim houses, designed for stables, for they cannot get farther on this year.

Sunday, 26. Br. Sensemann preached, and David held the congregation meeting.

Monday, 27. From the mouth of Detroit River Johanna came back, and with her, Anna Justina, daughter of Anna Maria, to remain. She remained behind with her mother in the spring, who will also soon come with her husband, Joachim. Andrew also came again, who lately went away with the warriors, when we heard that the others, who went with him, were hunting in Pett-quotting, and would soon come also. There was very rainy weather.

Wednesday, 29. We had with the unmarried brothers a pleasant love-feast for their festival, wishing and asking for them to enjoy much good and happiness from our dear Lord. The assistants spoke with Anna Justina and received her again.

Thursday, 30. The assistants were directed and instructed to speak with Andrew, to hear from him why he is come back, and to set before him his conduct in the church, but also to learn whether he intends to change and to become obedient; if not, to tell him he cannot remain in the church, and this they gave him to consider.

Saturday, Sept. 1. Yesterday and to-day, and indeed

all the week, we made our dwellings ready for winter: the Indians were busy building. Br. Edwards held service from the text: The bridegroom.

Sunday, 2. Michael preached from to-day's Gospel about the foremost commandment. Br. Zeisberger conducted the children's hour, wherein he had much to say in regard to their conduct.

Wednesday, 5. Nicholas and the boy, Michael, came back, also Esther and Polly, who had accompanied Christiana. By them we had a letter from Schweinitz and Reichel from Nazareth,<sup>1</sup> dated July 9. last.

Friday, 7. We had a blessed day with the married brethren upon their festival, at which the Saviour showed himself very gracious, 'let his friendly face shine over us and made us aware of his peace. Br. Sensemann held morning prayer and the love-feast. Br. Zeisberger conducted the festival service from to-day's text: He nourisheth and cherisheth the church. We labourers strengthened and refreshed ourselves at the end of the day with the body and blood of our Lord in the holy sacrament.

Saturday, 8. The assistants spoke with Nicholas, placing before him his wayward walk in the church for some time, and now the cause of the same. He confessed and acknowledged his transgressions, and begged for forgiveness. We found that he had been vexed and made confused, and upon this his bad conduct had arisen. As we could not but have compassion with him, we helped him right again and received him anew. By him we got to-day the message from Ekuschuwe, of which we had already heard, and which he himself had from him. First and foremost he told us that he had news that seven chiefs at the west, that is, seven nations, had united to work for peace, who had sent him a pipe of peace: as he was quite well convinced of the truth of this message, he wished to let his grandfather know it, that is, us. Now follows the message proper: "Grandfather, and ye believing Indians, I have given you Pettquotting and that

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<sup>1</sup> Seven miles north-west of Easton. Pa.



country to dwell in. This was indeed interrupted by the war. Ye had to retire for a time, but I abide by my word, and shall not change. Since now I believe quite certainly that as the nations assemble on the Miami peace will be concluded, I tell you beforehand, make ready to move again to Pettquotting, into your town, and to take possession of it. Thus shall I do too, and get ready, and then go to live not far from Sandusky Bay, where I shall be near you, and since I shall soon be coming back from the council, I will come myself and bring you farther news, which will be trustworthy." A string. The Scripture-verse to-day, when we had a message about peace read: Fear not for thou shalt not be ashamed; neither be thou confounded for thou shalt not be put to shame. When God's hour strikes for relieving—Help breaks forth amazingly.

Sunday, 9. Br. Zeisberger preached from the Gospel about the ten lepers. Br. Edwards held the congregation meeting from the Scripture-verse: Of the increase of his government and peace there shall be no end.

Monday, 10. The assistants spoke with Johanna, Nicholas' wife, who went from him and did not continue. She had transgressed by wicked discourse.

Tuesday, 11. We spoke with the boy Michael. He asked forgiveness of his disobedience, that he had followed his own way and gone from us. He begged to be received again and his request was granted. This morning Tobias was released from trouble and died. His remains were buried,

Wednesday, 12. He was, when a youth, April 8, 1787, baptized in Cuyahoga, and came to the holy communion March 7, 1789. His father was the assistant, Tobias, who perished in Gnadenhütten. He was a pleasant youth, of whom we always had good hope. He walked a fine way, and the Saviour showed in him much grace. He learned to read well, and had always much pleasure therein, but he came from his heart and lost his guileless and blessed feeling. This went so far that when his brother, Michael, perished on Beaver Creek, which he took much to heart,

he wished to take revenge and go to the war, but yet suffered himself to be held therefrom by admonition and to abandon his plan, but we were always in fear it might yet go so far with him. The election of grace, however, prevailed with him; the Saviour was pleased to watch over him and to secure him from temptation. In the winter last year, while out hunting, he took a severe cold, becoming so lame that he could not walk, and had always to lie down. In his sickness, which was tedious, he always had a book lying near him, written or printed, and passed much of his time reading and writing. Several days before his death, which was hastened by convulsions, he said he had always hoped to get well, but that now he gave up all hope, he wished the Saviour might blessedly take him to himself and forgive him all. Of this he was assured before his death by the laying on of hands, and he died happy. To-day young Joachim came up from the lake for a visit, with whom Br. Zeisberger spoke, reminding him of the grace the Saviour had shown in him, and encouraged him again to draw near him and to renew his covenant of grace. He was very much depressed, but said he would come to us in the autumn.

To-day the news came in that three of our people, namely, David, his brother, Samuel, and Jacob, Christina's husband, in company with savages from Pettquotting where they were hunting, had gone to the war, but chiefly to steal horses, that the white people set after them and had killed three of the band, and that two of these are our Indians, namely, David, the leader-astray, and his brother, Samuel. If this be true they have received their dues, for not only had we done our best to turn them from their resolution, but the chiefs also had forbidden them, and yet they have done it. Meanwhile we await farther news.

Sunday, 16. Br. Edwards preached and Br. Zeisberger held the communion service, inviting thereto the poor and thirsty. The assistants spoke with Tobias, Ruth's son, who also went away with the company of warriors, but yet had no mind to go to the war, but to go hunting, who

now came begging us to receive him again, which indeed we did, but yet gave him not at once a complete answer, but only upon probation. The three, namely, David, Samuel, and Jacob, with whom he was hunting, had been gone ten days to the war, when he came away hither, but he could say nothing more of them except that they wished to go above Wilünk (Wheeling) over the river.

Tuesday, 18. A white man, Julin by name, came back with John Henry from Niagara [as likewise yesterday one went through here, whom we helped with provisions]. They came away from there three weeks ago. We heard that the governor gives good encouragement that the land shall be settled and inhabited.

Wednesday, 19. Joseph came to us again, who went away with the warriors and was in Pettquotting hunting.

Friday, 21. There was speaking with reference to the Lord's supper. The assistants spoke with Joseph, who had heard nothing farther of his companions till he came to Detroit River, and just the same as already told, with the addition only that the whole party, ten in number, perished. He asked permission to be in the church and promised obedience. For two nights, last night and to-night, we had hard frosts, which have much injured our corn, that was not all ripe. We made a mistake in planting corn from Pettquotting, when we should have planted that grown here, which ripens sooner.

Saturday, 22. The communicants, in the near presence of our Lord, had the blessed enjoyment of his body and blood in the holy communion. One brother, Nicodemus, was readmitted, and a sister, Anna Charity, was present for the first time. A couple of Chippewas, who came from Detroit, brought us, shortly before communion, a packet of letters from Bethlehem, of May 3, and Jan. 1, last.

Sunday, 23. There was early the thanksgiving liturgy, and then Br. Sensemann preached. In the afternoon the assistants labored in speaking with the brethren, Ignatius and Joshua, about Joseph's marriage. Br. David held evening service from the text: Christ is our life. Dolson

had told us in a letter that he would like to build a house here and trade, about which we talked together and which we would by no means permit.

Monday, 24. Br. Edwards held early service, and then the assistants came together and reconciled Joseph and his wife, who had fallen out, and brought them together.

Tuesday, 25. Samuel and Stephen went to the Fort. Michael held early service.

Wednesday, 26. David held early service.

Thursday, 27. Sensemann held early service. We cut all the corn in our fields, which was still in the milk, on account of the night-frosts, and put it in shocks. The Indians have learned by experience, if frost comes too soon, the corn not being ripe, that if they treat it in this way it becomes ripe and hard.

Saturday, 29. Michael held early service about the work of the holy angels, which they joyfully perform for believers, for which, as well as for other kindnesses, we should thank the Saviour especially. At noon came the Mohawk, Brant, with some forty men of his people, through here on his way to the Miami. He said that the nations were laboring for peace, but that he had heard that the Shawanese and Twightwees would not receive peace; that Congress was unwilling to give up the land on the west side of the Ohio, having already bought it and paid for it twice, and if this were not enough they had rather pay for it again than to let it go; that they had promised the land on the Muskingum to the believing Indians, and therefore also could not let it go. He admitted himself that the nations could not justly claim the land, having been paid for it; if he came to the Miami and found the nations disinclined for peace, he should straightway turn back home.

Sunday, 30. Br. Michael preached, and as the brethren had very necessary labor in their harvest we let them make use of the time and good weather.

Monday, Oct. 1. The Scripture-verse: Lord, thou wilt ordain peace for us, we wished with our whole hearts soon

to see fulfilled, and on this account sent many a sigh to our dear Father in heaven.

Thursday, 4. To-day and for several days Chippewas have been going through here to their winter-hunt, where they remain out till spring. Among them was a family that had with them a lame Indian, whom they could not take by land, and they asked to leave him here with us, and also that from time to time we should give him somewhat to eat, that he might remain alive. The man in the family promised also to do what he could and to bring him meat from the hunt during the winter as often as possible. This request we granted gladly and thought: Who knows? Perhaps the Saviour sends them to us and gives us an opportunity to do them good. This was told the brethren, and they were urged to impart to them bodily and spiritual food. They were told, however, that we should much prefer to have them with us in town, where they would be at hand if they needed any thing.

Saturday, 6. Mingoës went through here for Detroit, who bought a canoe from our people.

Sunday, 7. Br. Edwards preached. The assistants spoke with Andrew, who showed sorrow for his bad life and conduct. He begged for forgiveness and readmission, which were granted him so long as he should behave according to his promise. In the evening Samuel and Stephen came back from Detroit. We have not yet heard what the nations have determined in council, for they are now just assembling.

Monday, 8. Mr. Dolson came here from Detroit with goods for our Indians. The Chippewas encamped here asked to bury a child of theirs that had died. In the evening they danced the death-dance. David had held early service from the text.

Wednesday, 10. Dolson returned home, having sold all he brought. Our brethren were busy at their harvest. Early frosts have much injured our corn by freezing it.

[So far the Diary sent to Bethlehem.]

Sunday, 14. Br. Sensemann preached and Michael held the congregation meeting. We wrote to Bethlehem.

Tuesday, 16. Brs. Sensemann and Michael went to the Fort. Samuel went to the lower settlement.

Thursday, 18. Chippewas came here, who were going hunting. Zeisberger held early service in Indian also.

Friday, 19. Our brethren were busy harvesting, but the yield has been little, there being damage from frost. In the forenoon Samuel came back, Anthony also. We heard nothing of David and Jacob.

Sunday, 21. David preached about the wedding-garment.

Monday, 22. Some went for their autumn-hunt. To the Chippewas encamped here, who have nothing to eat, we gave corn, etc.

Tuesday, 23. Mr. Parke came, and returned,

Wednesday, 24, home.

Thursday, 25. Brs. Sensemann and Jung came back from Detroit. The former had there visited the commandant, England,<sup>1</sup> who was glad to speak with some one of us. He inquired about our condition and the progress of our settlement, how far up the river we lived, and said it was a pity we were so far away, and he thought we should have done better if we had selected a place nearer Detroit. It was pleasant for us to hear this, for we had been rather afraid we might be too near the settlement of the white people. He asked farther how many Indian families were with us, and said a township would not be too much for us, that is, nine miles square, and we should have it on both sides the river, for the river divides the townships, which are surveyed below us on both sides. He is president of the Land Board, and said farther that if the Governor came here next spring he would help us carry out our affairs; as often as any one of us came to Detroit, he should call upon him. During the last war he was with Gen. Gage in Bethlehem, and also in the Wachau (in N. Carolina). The ships were all away and no letters had come for us. Ekuschuwe had Joshua called to him and said to him when he came: "I have something to tell you,

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<sup>1</sup> Col. Richard England, of 24th Regiment.

but I cannot now, for I have drunk something, but come to me to-morrow." This he did, and the other said to him he wished to tell us that at the council on the Miami nothing had been determined upon, except that next spring there would be a treaty in Kaskaskia, and then peace would be concluded; many were now gone to the war, but yet there should be peace.

Friday, 26. The assistants spoke with Anthony, who said he was going to leave the church, because he so much liked hunting.

Saturday, 27. Abraham absolved.

Sunday, 28. Michael preached. David held the communion service. Chippewas went through hunting. Nicholas came up from the lake. We had a house and farm conference.

Wednesday, 31. Christiana came here to stay, with all her things and children, likewise also Zacehaeus, who has wandered about during the summer. We suspect that her husband, Jacob, and David, and the rest are yet alive, who were thought to have perished.

Thursday, Nov. 1. In the early service we brought to mind our communion with the church above, and wished that each member of the church might make fast his call and election and let himself be prepared to be found worthy there, to belong and be admitted to the same.

Afterwards was the burial of Abraham, which Zeisberger conducted, who died in peace day before yesterday in the evening. He was born in Friedenshütten March 16, 1769, and baptized on the 19th by John Jacob Schmiek. He was admitted to the church in Pettquotting May 11, '88, and came to the Lord's supper March 7, 1789. He was married Feb. 14, 1790, to the single woman Anna Rosina. By nature he was a quiet man, of whom we had good hope, and he went a blessed way. For some time, however, he abstained of his own accord from the Lord's supper, was sickly also, and the death of his grandfather, Abraham, touched him to the heart, and he said many times that he no longer wished to be here, and would rather die. Several days before his death, he sent for Br. Zeisberger, with

whom he talked over the whole matter, saying he should die, that nothing more held him here; he desired but one thing, namely, that the brothers and the Saviour would forgive him all; he had himself wasted much time when he might have been saved, and this he was sorry for. This was granted him. He was absolved, waited with longing for the Saviour soon to take him, begged the brothers, who watched with him, to sing verses to him, which they did, and so he fell asleep unobserved in their presence, without giving a token of himself. His course through this time lasted twenty-three years, seven months, and nineteen days. He left behind him his widow and one child, Jonas. From the Monsey town came back brothers who had helped in the harvest and earned corn, likewise the old chief, Lokachkes.

Friday, 2. The assistants were charged to care for the young widow's support, thereby witness was borne against superstition; to speak with Zacchaeus, who asked for readmission and made good promises.

Saturday, 3. We had the holy communion, which Sensemann conducted, and Zeisberger served. French traders came here, also Mingoës, Brant's people, who went up the river.

Sunday, 4. David read the liturgy and held the congregation meeting. Edwards preached.

Monday, 5. Samuel went to the Monsey town. Adam and Ignatius went up the creek to help the French work. Zachary with his family came to us. A doctor of medicine came here from Niagara on his journey to Detroit, and stayed over night. Christiana and Cathrine came back from the Monsey town.

Tuesday, 6. Michael held early service. We got in our turnips and corn. This morning before day Christiana gave birth to a daughter.

Thursday, 8. In the early service, which Sensemann held, he baptized Christiana's little daughter, born two days ago, on the 6th, with the name Mary. Our men all went away to-day for the autumn hunt. In the evening came Joseph Brant back from the Miami with his suite of Mo-



hawks, and remained over night, when we heard that the treaty would be held in the spring at Sandusky, and thus that nothing is now arranged and concluded about war or peace, but that three hundred warriors are away to make incursions into the States.

Sunday, 11. Br. Zeisberger preached in Indian, and at the end read something from the church-litany.

Monday, 11. Gottlieb held an hour of singing.

Tuesday, 13. Br. Zeisberger held the service in Indian for the Elder's Day from the text: The bishop of our souls, and in conclusion he commended us in prayer to our Elder's grace anew, asked forgiveness of our faults and shortcomings and wherever we were guilty; also that he would blessedly lead and conduct us under the staff of his rule, to which we wished to be subject and obedient ever more and more, and begged for his peace.

Wednesday, 14. Samuel came back from the Monsey town. The brethren looked about for sugar-places, which they have here just at hand, as convenient as we have anywhere had.

Thursday, 15. The old and the young Joachim arrived; also Rénatus with his family and Peggy with her children, Zachary's family. Salome, Israel's wife, gave birth to a daughter.

Friday, 16. Peggy came to see us, asking for admission and promising amendment. We spoke with her plainly and earnestly.

Sunday, 18. Sensemann preached, and in the afternoon service, which Br. Zeisberger held, he baptized the little daughter of Br. Israel and Salome, born on the 15th Inst., with the name Eleonora. The whites had a conference about the brethren now come, who remained behind in the spring.

Monday, 19. As many of the assistants as were at home spoke with Rénatus and his wife, who said to be sure that they were come to be in the church, but could not say whether their whole thought was to live for the Saviour. They spoke also with the Joachims and with Peggy, of whom we have hope they will find themselves

again. Their remaining behind was folly. They have thereby come to misery, outwardly and inwardly.

Tuesday, 20. From the Miami three of the Mohicans came back, who went through here some time ago as messengers from Congress, with propositions for peace to the nations, but they had no answer or resolutions except that in the spring a meeting would be held at Sandusky. These Mohicans said they had not been pleased among the Indians on the Miami. There was nothing to be heard there but war-shouts, drinking, dancing, playing, etc. They said to this chief that he would probably look about, find out how many Indians lived there, and report to Congress, to which he replied that it was unnecessary; Congress knew long before how many of them there were; they made it known themselves every year, for when they went to the treaty with the English to get gifts, they were asked how many there were of them, and each chief or captain delivered as many little sticks as there were persons, from which the number of Indians could at once be known; the Americans and the English were brothers, lived together in peace, and whatever one heard and knew he told the other. To this they had nothing to reply. The Mohicans set out on their way home, leaving here one sick man till he should be better.

Wednesday, 21. Edwards held early service. The assistants spoke with Zachary and his wife. They declared themselves sinful, gave themselves all the blame of their unblest life during the summer, and took courage anew for drawing near the Saviour. Indians from the Monsey town, here over night, set out for the Fort, also Lockakes.

Thursday, 22. Sensemann held early service. It snowed quite the whole day.

Sunday, 25. Michael preached. The assistants spoke with Martha about forbidden medicine. We learned that a Monsey woman had stolen and taken away our swine.

Monday, 26. Sensemann held early service. David had a long conversation with Johanna about her and her

daughter, and had to speak with others the whole forenoon.

Thursday, 29. David held early service from the Scripture-verse, about the veil by which men are covered by nature, so that they cannot see the clear light, which veil, the Saviour, upon Mt. Golgotha, has torn and taken away.

Friday, 30. Sensemann held early service. From the sick Mohican we learned that the Indians have all left Stockbridge (in Massachusetts), and now live with the Oneidas, who have given them land, that Samuel, also from Pachgatgoch (near Kent, in Conn.), lived there, and it was reported that the Indians from the Jerseys will also move thither. They have an Indian preacher, who studied in college. We killed our hogs.

Sunday, Dec. 2. On the first Sunday in Advent, Br. Zeisberger preached about the coming of our Lord into our poor flesh and blood, and Br. Edwards held the congregation meeting from the text of the day.

Monday, 3. Sensemann held early service. We charged the assistants to speak with Sabina about her daughter's marriage, etc. The brethren who were at home set about making a road to the settlement. Towards evening warriors arrived with the death-hallow. They were of Brant's people, coming from the war with a scalp. Three hundred warriors from the Miami had gone against a fort<sup>1</sup> on the Ohio, where they attacked a convoy not far from the fort, captured and killed five men and lost two. They took many horses and much booty.

Wednesday, 5. The warriors went away.

Friday, 7. French traders came here, stayed over night, and went up the river. They had much rum with them, on which account we forbade them to sell any here, and they obeyed.

Saturday, 8. Monseys came here drunk, from up stream, who had been at the Fort, where they received presents,

<sup>1</sup> Probably the attack made Nov. 6, '92, near Fort St. Clair (Eaton, O.), where the Americans lost six men and many horses.

and they encamped below our town. We spoke with their head-man, asking him to keep his people in order, that they might cause no trouble here, which he promised to do and did.

Sunday, 9. Br. Edwards preached.

Monday, 10. Michael held early service.

Tuesday, 11. Sensemann held early service. Several came back home from hunting.

Wednesday, 12. David held early service from the text: God was manifest in the flesh. The Mohican who remained behind sick, went with another of his nation up to the Monsey town. Joshua, with whom he was, spoke much with him while he was here, and told him it was not enough to be baptized, to hear preaching, to be able to read the Bible, and to arrange one's life like the white people, but it depended chiefly upon this, if a man sought to be saved, to get from the Saviour forgiveness of his sins, and to get from God a new life in his heart, which we cannot do of ourselves, nor deserve in any way, but must call upon him for it, who gives us it from grace.

Thursday, 13. Bill Henry came home from hunting, who told Br. David that his son once came from hunting and said to him that he had come across two bucks with their horns interlocked, but that he looked very anxious. His father, who understood, asked him if he thought much about it or was in fear. He said yes, whereupon the father said he cared nothing for it, and no longer believed such things, as he did formerly, took his gun, went with him and shot the buck that was still alive, for the other was already dead. The Indians have the superstition that he who comes across a pair of bucks with their antlers interlocked, will not live very long, on which account the son would not shoot him.

Friday, 14. Michael held early service. It snowed, and for several days the river has run with ice, so as not to be travelled upon.

Saturday, 15. The Indian brethren came home from making the road to the settlement, but they are not yet done with it.

Sunday, 16. Br. Sensemann preached. It was cold, snowy weather, wherefore there was no other service.

Tuesday, 18. Br. David held the early service, and then the communion service. As the brothers had for the greater part come home, and a part would yet come, he gave notice of the Lord's supper for next Saturday, and he mentioned much whereby the brethren, by the deceit of Satan, who would like to deprive them of the communion, could lose this, and thus hereafter be not better, but worse.

Wednesday, 19. In the conference of assistants, Judith was spoken of, who last year went away from us, and now came again. We spoke with her, and told her we would observe her for a while, whether she would behave according to her promise. Mention was especially made of the conduct of the children and the bad oversight of the parents, wherefore, in the evening, the assistants got the parents together, talked to them and admonished them to take more regard for their children's welfare, to speak with them, and not to let them follow their own will and be Satan's prey, which admonition bore good fruit.

Friday, 21. The assistants spoke with James, who again wished to live here, and got leave so to do.

Saturday, 22. After having spoken to the brethren during the preceding days we had the holy communion in the near presence of our dear Lord, which Br. Zeisberger conducted. Sensemann served among the sisters, David and Edwards among the brothers.

Sunday, 23. Michael preached. Zeisberger conducted the children's hour, to whom he made a speech of exhortation, and Sensemann the congregation meeting. Peggy, a sinner, came, and with tears asked forgiveness of her sin. In the evening Frenchmen came here with rum, who stayed over night. They were forbidden to sell any here.

Monday, 24. David held early service from the Scripture-verse: The name of the Lord shall be feared. In the evening we had a blessed Christmas-watch, which we began with a love-feast. We thanked our God, who became man, for his holy incarnation and birth, sang the little

Jesus in the manger, adored him, and vowed to him to give anew our poor hearts to him, since we have nothing else, and asked him to look kindly upon us, and to bless us, which he did abundantly. In conclusion, wax candles were distributed among the children.

Tuesday, 25. Br. Sensemann preached from the Gospel about the shepherds to whom the angel brought word of the Saviour's birth. Among other things the translator said that the Infant Jesus had lain, or had to lie, in the manger, upon hay or straw left by the cattle. In the evening could be heard in the houses here and there Christmas-verses and songs sung. The brethren were all much interested and the Infant Jesus showed himself gracious and friendly among us and made himself known to us. To him be honor, thanks and praise!

Wednesday, 26. All the brethren went out to cut timber, to square it, and to split it into boards for a new school-house, with which labor they were to-day nearly done, and brought some here on sledges. To the young people it was joyful news, they went to work gladly, saying: "Now is there hope of our again having school." They were,

Saturday, 29, busy with blocking out even to the roof. Chippewas sent here to ask when New Year would be, for they wanted to come here to beg according to their custom, but we sent back word that we had ourselves little to eat, and many among us nothing at all.

Sunday, 30. Br. Zeisberger preached from the Epistle: But when the fulness of time was come, God sent forth his son, made of a woman, etc., and Br. Michael held the congregation meeting.

Monday, 31. At the end of the year we came together, about midnight, to a love-feast, and brought to our dear Lord our filial thanks and praise-offerings for all the kindnesses shown us through this year in body and soul, for his recognition of us, poor and wretched creatures, though instead of making glad his heart, we had so often grieved him, causing him labor and care by our sins, so that he always found that to correct which we had put wrong,

and this he did faithfully according to his endless pity, so that in the end Satan cannot boast, as if he had attained his purpose, but he must feel shame and see that he has gained nothing. We see plainly that he does not sleep, but is always awake, to cause harm among believers. The savages he can let go, about whom he does not much trouble himself, for them he has in his power any way; but he is most concerned about the believing Indians, lest they slip from his hands. Therefore we must learn from the Saviour to use patience and long-suffering towards our brethren, and seek to aid such as have strayed from the right way. We asked our merciful Lord for absolution from all our faults and sins, for his farther recognition of us, for his blessing upon all our deeds and plans, and we vowed to him new fidelity and obedience. In conclusion, the blessing of the Lord was imparted to the church, and therewith we passed over into the new year.

We still find cause to praise the Saviour; we came here in May and chose this place for a settlement, and according to appearances, and so far as the country on this river is known to us, it is the best and fittest for us in all respects, for we find every thing here which is requisite. It was a perfect wilderness, and the building-site thickly grown with heavy timber, and now already nearly thirty good houses stand here, among them many dressed block-houses. More than a hundred acres of land have been cleared and planted, and every one who comes here wonders how the much labor they see with their eyes could have been performed. Indeed, without the help and aid of the Saviour, all could not have been done. He has given us health, has imparted his blessing to our work, and has been with us. That by early frosts our corn was injured in the autumn, and much of it frozen, is a great calamity for us, but it has not come upon us alone, but upon the whole land, upon Indians and white people, and it will cause scarcity. On account of war we had again disturbance, which caused us for some time much care and anxiety, but at the end all has come to nought, just as among the brethren, at the outset all these things appeared danger-

ous and frightful. Those of our people who let themselves be led astray, come again, one after the other, ashamed and humble, and beg for forgiveness.

As for our settlement, we have from the beginning looked upon it as nothing certain and permanent, but thought if we could stay here a couple of years, safe and hidden from the excesses of Satan and the savages, we should attain our end and be thankful to the Saviour therefor; and nothing farther has occurred in this matter. We have, however, so much news, that the Governor has sent orders to the commandant not to have any more land surveyed, nor to give out what is already surveyed, for a good distance from our town, until he has himself spoken with the missionaries, in order not to lessen our settlement, and the commandant, who is president of the Land Board, told us we should have our land surveyed on both sides the river as we shall wish; this is also well enough known among the white people, who have so said to our Indians.

From strangers we have had no increase. In the spring two families came here to live, for which they had leave, but they went away again, and the heads thereof died soon after. Our people who in the spring remained on the lake below, have all come to us this autumn, except Susanna and her children, who are yet there. We have observed that the white people do much harm among our people, and were the cause of their staying there. Satan and the children of the world, white, black, brown, make attempts upon our people, and seek to lead them astray, while other savages are quiet towards them.

Baptized this year were 3 adults and 5 children. Admitted to the holy communion, 5.

One couple married. 5 have died, among them 1 child. There are in all 151 inhabitants here, among them two unbaptized adults.



## CHAPTER XIII.

1793.

FAIRFIELD, ON THE THAMES, ONTARIO.

Tuesday, Jan. 1. Br. Michael preached about the name of Jesus, who is called Saviour, in that he saves his people from their sins. Br. Zeisberger conducted the children's hour and Sensemann the service for the baptized. He exhorted the brethren to give themselves anew to the Saviour as his property alone; to let themselves be led, ruled, and made ready by his spirit for the praise and joy of our beloved Lord. There have lately been strangers present, who have attended the services, and to-day many came down here from the upper town.

Friday, 4. Sabina, Thomas' widow, brought forth a daughter.

Saturday, 5. Mr. Parke came here. We heard there was a poor prospect for peace; that the nations made a point of having the Ohio the boundary of their land, which causes us much care and anxiety.

Sunday, 6. We celebrated a blessed feast for the conversion of the heathen (Epiphany), and the Saviour of the heathen showed himself gracious and apparent to us and made us aware of his presence in all our services. Br. Zeisberger conducted morning prayer. Sensemann preached from the Gospel about the three wise men from the east, to whom the star appeared, which they followed till they found the Child. In the afternoon was a love-feast, at which Br. Zeisberger presided, and in the concluding service he baptized into Jesus' death, with the name Lea, the child born day before yesterday. The brethren were much aroused, touched, and overcome by the mercy and presence of the heathen's Saviour, so that they gave themselves again to him, renewed their baptismal covenant,

and, as it were, lived afresh. Many who were drowsy awakened, took courage again to draw near to him, and sought forgiveness and rest for their souls. We observed also that among strangers there was movement to be seen, and we have hope that from the Monsey town the Saviour will also yet get together people for the reward of his suffering.

Monday, 7. Michael held early service. The brothers went to work on the school-house, already under roof, to complete it.

Tuesday, 8. Edwards held early service from the Scripture-verse: Yea, in the way of thy judgments, O Lord, have we waited for thee; that if we wait for Jesus, he will send us the power, for his glory, to enter into his kingdom.

Wednesday, 9. Mr. Parke went back, and with him some of our brethren to the settlement to get corn. A family of strangers, who were here during the holidays and till now, went home. The man thinks of moving here in the spring, on which account he has here several times spoken with his wife and asked her whether she was willing, and she will be glad to come to us.

Thursday, 10. Several brethren went to the Monsey town. Here the Indian brethren had quite finished the school-house. Moses came, asking for readmission to live here.

Sunday, 13. Br. Edwards preached, Sensemann conducted the children's hour, and David held the congregation meeting.

Monday, 14. Samuel and several others went for corn up to the Monsey town, and the brethren came back from the settlement, having, however, got but little, for the settlers are new beginners, and have themselves but little.

Tuesday, 15. Some went bear-hunting, others to the Monsey town for corn. Thus far the winter has been very mild. The snow which has fallen is for the most part melted, for it thaws every day and freezes at night.

Wednesday, 16. Michael held early service, who for several days had been kept indoors by trouble with his

leg. The assistants spoke with Tobias, reminding him of his promise, and showing him he did not behave accordingly. Br. David had already said to him that in this way he could not be here, and this so unsettled him that he could not sleep at night. He acknowledged and confessed, begging forgiveness; wherefore we still had patience with him.

Thursday, 17. Zeisberger held early service. French traders came here and remained over night, who last autumn built a house twenty miles above us, and trade there.

Saturday, 19. Samuel and other brethren came back from the Monsey town with corn. He had preached the Saviour to the Indians there and had devout hearers. When he came away Indians called out to him two miles from town. He asked what they wanted. They asked if he would not soon come back again, for they had heard that he preached the night before in town, and wished him soon to come back again, for they also wanted to hear something. They met there white people from Niagara, who had been sent out to examine the land. They had orders also from the Governor to look at our town and the country about it, but as they had a long journey and their time was used up, they had to give up for the present going farther than they were.

Old David, who lives there, an old lost sheep, since our captivity, whom the brethren often visited last summer and talked with, sent his greetings to Br. David and the message, that where he was he had nothing for his heart, all was dead and lifeless; that next spring he wished to come here to the church, but as he was old and helpless—though he can still very well take care of himself—he begged the brothers to be so good as to help him in this.

Sunday, 20. Br. Zeisberger preached from the Epistle, Rom., xii., 7, about a godly walk, especially about brotherly love, which is the fruit of the spirit that dwells in the children of God. As there was fine spring-like weather, which the brethren wished to make use of, we dismissed them, and visited some brethren in the neighborhood.

Wednesday, 23. The assistants spoke with Joseph, reminding him of his promise in baptism, and showing him that his walk was not in accordance therewith. He promised to give himself anew to the Saviour and to be obedient.

Thursday, 24. Br. Zeisberger had a long conversation with Tobias, who called upon him. He led him to the acknowledgment of his wretchedness and thus with it to approach the Physician of our souls, who would free him therefrom, heal, and cure him. Different brethren went to the Monsey town for corn.

Sunday, 27. Michael preached. Sensemann held the communion quarter-hour, giving notice of it for Saturday. An Indian came here from the Monsey town, bringing news to friends here that old Lokachkes was near dying, whom our brethren would have liked to bring to the Saviour on the cross, if they could, but he would not, when he was here not long ago.

Monday, 28. Nicodemus went to see him, pointed out to him the Saviour, who receives and saves sinners, and who alone can save all those who in their perplexity call upon him. The former came,

Wednesday, 30, home from there. His uncle expressed his thanks that the brothers, the teachers, had thought of him, but the next day he had forgotten what had been said to him, and Nicodemus had to say it all over again to him, and he answered: "Ah, if God would only be gracious to me, and take me just as I am!"

Friday, Feb. 1. To-day and yesterday there was speaking with reference to the Lord's supper: Samuel's daughters, who came here and began to make trouble on every hand, we sent away.

Saturday, 2. We had the holy communion, which Br. Sensemann directed, whereby the near presence of God mightily showed itself.

Sunday, 3. Br. Zeisberger read the liturgy. Br. Sensemann preached. The assistants met with the brothers to see about paying the common debt.

Monday, 4. Many went to the Monsey town to get corn. From Niagara Mr. Caldwell went through here, on

his way to Detroit, where he lives. We heard somewhat about the affecting circumstances in France,<sup>1</sup> and that there would be peace between the Indian nations and the States, which we heartily desire.

Wednesday, 6. David came here, having been away since last summer.

Thursday, 7. An express, with a couple of Indians, went through here for Niagara.

Sunday, 10. Br. Edwards preached at the approach of passion-time, about the Saviour's entrance into Jerusalem to his suffering. The assistants, who had come home from the sugar-huts, spoke with David to learn whence and wherefore he was come. They heard from him that he would like again to be in the church, to which, however, they gave no reply. In a service for the married, the widower, Luke, was married to the single woman, Cornelia, which marriage has been long in making.

Monday, 11. Michael held early service. The assistants sent Tobias away, with whom for several years we have had much patience on account of Ruth, his old mother, who yet needs help, but as he caused harm to the church, we could no longer suffer him, and he went forth to-day.

Wednesday, 13. Our people were busy in the sugar-huts. French traders were here over night.

Friday, 15. A white man arrived, who brought us news that the Governor<sup>2</sup> was coming over land from Niagara, and had passed the night not far from here.

Saturday, 16. He arrived in the forenoon with some eight Mohawks and six English captains, but stayed only a couple of hours, and then continued his journey to Detroit. He looked at every thing, went into our meeting-house and the school-house, where we had fires in two chimneys; we entertained them at breakfast as well as we

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<sup>1</sup> Probably the imprisonment of the royal family in the Temple, and the preceding circumstances.

<sup>2</sup> John Graves Simcoe, the first governor of Upper Canada, now Ontario, which had been made into a separate province, 1791. See p. 244.

could, and it tasted right good to them. He had nothing to remark against our settling here, but said that our town stood on Chippewa land, for on the north side of the river the land has not been bought farther than eight or ten miles from here; on the other hand, upon the south side, the river is the boundary up above the Monsey town, and thus towards Niagara; the Chippewas would not drive us away; it had been arranged with them that they should let us live here, and upon the south side we could have as much land from the government as we should consider needful. He said, however, that no one could be or act in the land as a minister without taking the oath of allegiance to the king. We showed him the Brothers' Act of Parliament,<sup>1</sup> and replied that none of us missionaries had either renounced our allegiance to the king or sworn it to the States, whercupon indeed he said that, this being so, the Act of Parliament was still in force with us, but he wished that our principal correspondence should be with England, and that we should get from them our instructions, directions, and books, for they wished to have as little to do with the States as possible. We replied that this, our mission, was begun under the direction of the church and its bishops in Bethlehem, and had now been conducted more than fifty years, whence we every year received our books, as he expressed it, and writings, and if any thing also was sent to us from Europe, it first went to our bishops in Bethlehem, and through them to us; therefore it would be hard for us if the correspondence with our mother should be broken off. He said his meaning was not that we should not correspond at all with Bethlehem, but that our chief correspondence should go directly to England.

Sunday, 17. Br. Zeisberger preached. As there was fine, spring weather, we dismissed the brethren to their sugar-huts. At a love-feast we congratulated Sister Susanna upon her birthday.

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<sup>1</sup>See De Schweinitz' Life of Zeisberger, p. 154. Among other matters, a "solemn affirmation" could be made instead of an oath.

Monday, 18. Tobias, who came here again, asked earnestly for pardon and readmission, that we might have patience with him, saying he had indeed thought that he would go far away, but he could not, and from pure unrest of heart he was come again to make trial. Towards evening we heard cannon fired in Detroit, from which we could infer that the Governor was arrived there. A sledge-party from the settlement went out to meet them as far up the river as they could, which had hastened the time of their journey.

Tuesday, 19. Many of our people went to the settlement to earn food by work. On the other hand, others went,

Thursday, 21, up to the Monsey town for corn, for many are quite out of it, the autumn frost having done much damage.

Saturday, 23. In the morning after nine o'clock we heard cannon discharged in Detroit, from which we could conclude that the Governor was setting out on his way back. Yet it is reckoned forty miles to the lake from here over land, and by water much more, fifty at least, and then thirty miles over Lake St. Clair to Detroit, which we have lying west-south-west from us. Frenchmen came here with rum and remained over night. We took charge of it till they went farther the next morning.

Sunday, 24. Michael preached, and then the brethren returned to their sugar-camp. We spoke with several brethren.

Monday, 25. In the afternoon came back his excellency the Governor from Detroit with his suite, and passed the night with us. He examined very carefully the bank of the river and the country, which pleased him. After they had dined we gave him an address in the name of the missionaries, which he well and graciously received. We took this opportunity to speak farther with him, since before his time was too short.

1st. About our correspondence, that it would be hard and long for us if we could not send our reports directly to Bethlehem, but to England, whence they must first

write to Bethlehem and get an answer before giving us a resolution about a thing. He perceived this, and replied that it was not positively forbidden to write to the States, but an Act of Parliament had been passed that from His Britannic Majesty's lands no intercourse on the part of the aristocracy and the clergy, especially of the bishops, should be held with the States which we could report home, and they could themselves ask farther about this in London. When we heard this we were concerned, for we had no letter last autumn, and have had none since, that perchance they are lost.

2d. About the land whereon we live, he had informed himself more carefully, and found that it was included in the purchase, that the government was well disposed towards us, and would give us land in consideration of our having suffered great losses, but he thought that a township, fronting on the river, took away from them too much land, since they intended to settle it thickly, and we could not make use of so much land. We told him that on the Muskingum we had three towns, but during the war had much decreased in number, for a third part had been murdered, another third scattered among the savages, and a third now remained therefrom [which indeed was not unknown to him, as he gave us to understand], but that we hope, especially if there should be peace, to grow again. The conclusion was that if the land should be surveyed and laid out, and it should be found necessary, one of us should be called to Niagara and there we should be well considered and advised. We asked farther if a deed for the land would be given, and when he said yes, we said at once we should like to have it made out in the name of the Society's trustees in England, which he not only approved, having nothing to say against it, but was pleased with.

3d. We said to him that our Indians did not go to war, that we taught them according to the Scripture to live at peace with all men, as for as possible, for experience had shown us that if they went to war our mission was ruined and our labor vain. This he agreed to and confirmed, but



said that on this very account the Indians were not well-disposed to our Indians, as also some of the whites in Detroit, which is well known to us, and we know the persons, too, who do not approve our principles.

Tuesday, 26. In the morning we spoke farther with him, setting before him the want of our Indians in the necessaries of life, that this had not come from laziness, as is usually the case with Indians, but that failure of the crops and early frosts in the autumn were the causes of it, and we asked him, if it were possible, to come to their aid. Last year in the spring we had bought them at our own cost a hundred bushels of corn, and thus put them in condition to clear their land and to plant, but from failure of the crops they were now in the same circumstances. When he found difficulty, and could not of himself do this, and we had proposed to him that if we could have advanced to us two hundred bushels of corn, we would return it as soon as we could, he was disposed for this, and said, yes, this he would and could do, and at once ordered his commissary to draw an order upon the commandant in Detroit to deliver us so much from the king's store so soon as we could take it away. His excellency asked to attend our worship and early service. It so happened that most of the brethren were at home, and he came with his officers, took good notice of every thing, especially of the brethren's singing, which pleased him well. Afterwards he bade us, when the Indians came together again, to express to them his satisfaction at their devout worship, and to say to them that he had been much edified to see Indians worshipping God so devoutly and humbly; they should continue therein, to grow and increase to God's glory and as an example to other Indians. Then he went to the Zeisbergers house, where he was alone, wrote an answer to our address, and gave it to us with these words, that he hoped to have occasion to show his favor and inclination towards us more by deeds than by what was therein expressed. He took leave of us in a friendly and polite way, and continued his journey towards Niagara.

This afternoon died our dear Cornelius, old and full of years, right blessedly. His remains were,

Wednesday, 27, committed to the earth. He was baptized by a Lutheran pastor in Walbeck, in Jersey, and thoroughly aroused, but as he afterwards went to the Susquehanna and Wajomik (Wyoming, Pa.), and had no farther instruction, he remained as he was until in the year '65 the church came to Friedenshütten, where he came to it, and has so remained steadfast to the end. He was taken into the church Jan. 6, '68, and was admitted to the holy communion May 30, '67. In 1772 he went with the Indian church to the Muskingum, where he became a national assistant. He showed by word of mouth and by his conduct that he believed in Jesus Christ and in his bloody merits; he was a comfort and edification to the brethren, and did not cease, so long as weakness and age did not prevent, to exhort and encourage them to remain with the Saviour, who gives so much that is good and lets those enjoy it who hunger and thirst therefor. He loved and was beloved, and his testimony and word found access among the brethren, being confirmed by his conduct. When, after the dispersion, he came again to the church on Huron River (Michigan), he was very humble and like a repentant sinner, and said as he came: "I come very poor and wretched, for happy I am not, but take me just as I am. I will give myself anew to the Saviour. Perhaps he will be gracious to me and send me a joyful heart." This too the Saviour did for him, so that he could rejoice in God, his Saviour. In the year '86 or '87 he lost his sight, so that he was quite blind, and as he had been busy and industrious all his life and never willingly idle, so did he when he was blind, and worked as much as he could. Since last autumn he has had noticeably less strength. On the 2d of this month he was present at the Lord's supper in the chapel, and from that time it could be seen that his mortal life was near its end. He was old and tired of living and often longed to go to the Saviour, for which he was waiting. Sickness was not the occasion of this, for he felt no pain, but weakness. Many

of the brethren believed, as he said himself, that he was over a hundred years old. He fell asleep quietly and happily amid the blessing of the church.

Friday, March 1. We had a sad occurrence. Three white people, who had accompanied the Governor, with horses, came back and went through here. One of them met Samuel not far from town, who was coming from the sugar-camp, and who owed him a small sum. He followed him and struck him, so that he broke<sup>1</sup> his arm and suffered great pain. As they passed the night in the sugar-huts, we sent some Indians out about midnight, who brought him in, so that he could see what he had done, and upon inquiring why, he could give no reason except that he had drunk too much, and asked us not to complain of him in the Fort; promised also to help Samuel, so far as lay in his power, that he should get well again, and so we let him go.

Sunday, 3. Br. Zeisberger preached in Indian, and most of the brethren were present. As many Indian brothers were at home, they set about putting Samuel's arm right, since hitherto all they had done had been in vain, and were lucky enough to bring it right again, and he was freed from pain, wherever all the brethren thankfully rejoiced and went back comforted to their sugar-camp.

Monday, 4. In the evening Tobias and Abel came home from the Frenchman's drunk, causing disorder. The former had to be bound. The day after,

Tuesday, 5, the assistants came together, sent him away, and informed his mother, Ruth, that if she could not do without her son, she must go with him, but she bethought herself and begged them yet to have patience with her.

Thursday, 7. As we had a severe thunder-storm two days ago, whereupon there followed yesterday the finest spring-weather, and the sugar-trees ran strong day and night, so that the brethren could hardly attend to them,

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<sup>1</sup> Probably a dislocation.

so now cold, snowy weather sets in, the like of which we have not had this winter. Frenchmen came here with rum, and remained over night, of which we took charge.

Sunday, 10. Br. Sensemann preached from the Scripture-verse: He was wounded for our transgressions; he was bruised for our iniquities; the chastisement of our peace was upon him, and with his stripes we are healed. Then the brethren went to their sugar-huts, having much labor before them.

Tuesday, 12. The ice in the river broke up. The express from Niagara came back, who met the Governor not far from home.

Thursday, 14. Young Daniel Dolson came here. The brethren in the sugar-camp had much labor. They say that in no place where they have been have the sugar-trees run so strong.

Saturday, 16. For two days it has rained. The river rises very high.

Sunday, 17. Br. Zeisberger preached from Heb., ix., about the perfect sacrifice of Jesus for our sins and those of the whole world, whereby alone we are justified in faith, and saved. Whoever does not receive it or despises it, is lost. Thereupon the brethren went away again to their sugar-camp, where they have much work before them, for the trees run strong.

Tuesday, 19. The river has so been rising for several days that it has overflowed the lowland and many fields. The brethren were busy in the sugar-camp.

Friday, 22. Tobias came from the Monsey town, bringing a wife with him, as we had advised, since we could not concern ourselves about his marriage. She came to ask for reception. She is a person who has already long wished to be with us, and said she would like to hear how she should and could be saved, but that she was dull and stupid, and knew not how to do any thing.

Saturday, 23. Adam came from the Monsey town with a request from old David there that the brothers would help him come to the church, as he was old and helpless.

Sunday, 24. Br. Edwards preached, Br. Zeisberger read

the communion service, of which he gave the brethren notice, and read to them what the apostle Paul wrote to the church about it, I. Cor., xi., 23. The assistants spoke with the woman who lately came, and heard her. They told her our laws, how she would have to live if she wished to be in the church, and received her; at the same time also with Tobias, with whom, upon his ceaseless entreaty, we were willing again to make trial. We learned to-day that Jacob, Christiana's husband, had taken a Tawa wife in Pettquotting, and thus we cannot expect that he will come to us. Thus it is if one goes his own way apart from the church, little by little he gets so far away that he is quite ready for perdition.

Tuesday, 26. Br. Zeisberger and his wife spoke with the brethren, and found in their hearts tokens of the grace and working of God's spirit.

Wednesday, 27. The communicants, in two divisions, had the washing of feet, whereof the history was read, and,

Thursday, 28, after the history had first been read in a public meeting, the communicants had the Lord's supper in the night of his betrayal. Leonard and Johannette were readmitted.

Friday, 29. We began the day with the reading and consideration of the passion-history of our Lord and Saviour, and, at the consideration of his many sufferings and sorrows for us, many tears were given him from shame and humiliation that God should have taken upon himself and endured our punishment, and have reconciled us to God by his perfect sacrifice upon the cross, and have discharged our debt and done away with our sins. This made us sigh in heart: "Take us altogether to be thine own, a recompense for thy woes!"

Saturday, 30. We kept Quiet Sabbath, and had a love-feast in the afternoon, singing: In the tomb the Saviour lay, etc.

Sunday, 31. Early in the morning we prayed, partly in our chapel, partly in the grave-yard, the Easter litany, thinking at the proper place of those who had departed since last year, five brothers, whose bodies are buried here.

Then Br. Michael Jung preached about the glorious resurrection of our Lord for our justification. In a service which followed this, held by Br. Sensemann, he baptized the old widow, Akerlemann, Boaz' mother, with the name Erdmuth, into the death of Jesus. And in the service for the baptized, which Br. Zeisberger held, he absolved John Thomas in the name of Jesus Christ; he had laid before Br. Zeisberger, in a written letter, the state of his heart and his repentance for his transgressions, and brought it himself, but for tears could say nothing. Both the service for the baptized, which three white people attended, and also this, were especially blessed by the Lord.

Monday, April 1. The brethren went all again to their sugar-camp, after first having contributed sugar for the love-feasts, 170 pounds. Nicholas and young Joachim, with their families, who had already separated themselves from the others in the sugar-camp—of them we heard they were making ready to go from the church—Br. Zeisberger had a straightforward talk with them, but they did not follow his advice.

Tuesday, 2. Some went to the Monsey town for corn. Tobias' wife's mother came from there, who thanked the Zeisbergers that her daughter had leave to live in the church. The brethren ended sugar-making. Many hundred pounds have been made, by which they have paid their debts and bought corn and provisions. In no place yet where we have been has the yield been so great.

Thursday, 4. Christiana, Renatus, and several others, went down to the lake to get their corn, and others to the settlement for provisions, Samuel, etc.

Sunday, 7. Sensemann preached. We wrote to Bethlehem.

Tuesday, 9. Brs. Sensemann and Michael went to the Fort on business with the commandant, at the same time, if possible, to forward our letters to Bethlehem.

Thursday, 11. Boaz, who said he was going hunting, was asked who went with him. He replied: "No one, except the dear Saviour. Boaz and the Saviour go together. I hear always that in all places he is with us, and

I believe it, and when I am alone in the bush I talk with him, as if my eyes saw him." The whites had a love-feast on Br. Zeisberger's seventy-third birthday.

Friday, 12. Johanna visited the Zeisbergers, with whom they had a long and thorough conversation, for she had wished to leave the church for the sake of her wicked daughter, and as we saw she could not part from her daughter, we did not wish to persuade her to stay, but left it to her to consider.

Sunday, 14. Br. Edwards preached about the good Shepherd who knows his sheep and calls them by name, and who know him, hearing and understanding his voice.

Monday, 15. Br. Zeisberger held early service. Johanna and Anna Mary came and begged again to be permitted to remain anew in the church. No one had sent them away, but they had themselves wished to go. The latter's daughter has married a savage, and as he has resolved to live in the church, we wish to make a trial with him. He said he could not now promise to live as did the believers, knowing nothing of them, how it was among us, and he had never heard any thing either, but if we would have patience with him he would make a trial. This we promised him and bade them come together to town.

Wednesday, 17. Bill Henry came last evening from the settlement, and as he had there been overcome with drink, in despair he wished to go away from us. We sent Joshua after him, who overtook him seven miles from here and brought him back again, when Br. Zeisberger helped him right again, and said to him that this was not the right way, but if he was sorry, he should turn to the Saviour and seek forgiveness from him.

Thursday, 18, Br. Sensemann, and Friday, 19, Br. Michael, came back from Detroit with the Indian brothers, Peter and Adam. The former had accomplished with the commandant,<sup>1</sup> that we should get here the two hundred bushels of corn from a French trader, for which he

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<sup>1</sup> Col. Richard England.

brought back an order, and thus we shall not have the trouble of bringing it from Detroit, a long journey and dangerous for canoes upon the lake. The commandant was very friendly. Br. Sensemann must dine with him. He asked many questions about the church, for he had been in Bethlehem, and he said that whenever any of us came to Detroit we should visit him. At his request we put in a memorial about the land we should get, he being president of the Land Board, so as to submit something to him, which he well approved.

Saturday, 20. David held early service. This week we sowed our garden vegetables. The Indian brethren were busy getting their fields ready, and clearing land also.

Sunday, 21. At the sermon, which Br. Zeisberger preached, white people were present, a man with his wife, and her sister, devout hearers. Michael held the congregation meeting.

Tuesday, 23. The French trader brought us the above-mentioned corn, as much as he had, and promised to deliver the rest. We gave him a receipt, and thus our brethren were helped for the year, so that they could plant.

Thursday, 25. Mr. Dolson came here with a couple of white people, and remained over night. He told us he had sent our letters by way of Montreal in the first ship to New York. From the mouth of the river on lake Erie came back Christiana, Peggy, and others, who had brought the corn they left there, and had with them Susanna and her children. She came the next day and asked for admission, for we had told her to leave us, when we came away from there. The assistants spoke with her,

Saturday, 27, and received her again, to her great comfort and thankfulness.

Sunday, 28. Michael preached. In the afternoon the assistants had to speak with Renatus and the wife he had taken, also with Joseph on account of bad conduct, and his wife.

Monday, 29. Early Anna Elizabeth was delivered of a daughter. From the settlement Mr. Parke came here



with goods, flour, and corn, to trade with the Indians. He brought the Indians seed-corn and potatoes for planting. He will settle next to our township, when the township adjacent to us has been surveyed. He went,

Thursday, May 2, away with a heavy lading of pelts and sugar, over 1500 pounds, having had a good trade, so that one must wonder where he comes from. We also reckoned and settled with him.

Saturday, 4. Br. Sensemann held early service about the love of Christ, which enters, masters, and overcomes the heart, so that we love him in return and hate all that is called sin in the world and is displeasing to him. The surveyor arrived in his boat and encamped with his people by the river, in order first to survey the township below us, all of which has not yet been surveyed, and then to measure off our land, especially all in one piece, and not to lay it out in lots. Therefore he must first see how the river runs.

Sunday, 5. Br. Sensemann preached, and the surveyor, McNeff, with his people, was present. Then the communion service, of which Br. Zeisberger gave notice for next Saturday, and in the congregation meeting towards night he baptized the little daughter of Zachary and Elizabeth, born on the 29th of last month, with the name Margaret. Johannette was delivered of a son.

Tuesday, 7. After the surveyor had first examined the country, he laid out to-day the third township below us, and found that the boundaries of it would fall a mile and a half from here. As this is too near, it will be lessened, and some lots in the upper part be made over to us [a lot is three hundred acres], so that we shall have room. It is found that we have the best and greatest piece of land, in one body, upon the river.

Wednesday, 8. In the early service Br. Sensemann baptized the little son of Leonard and Johannette, born on the 5th Inst., with the name, George. Abigail was delivered of a daughter. The surveyor surveyed our town in order to make a draught of it, and then went with his people farther up the river.

Thursday, 9. Ascension Day. We prayed to our dear Lord, who for us is ascended into heaven, after fulfilling the work of our redemption, there also to prepare a place for us, so that we may be with him forever; until then we begged to enjoy daily his unseen presence.

Friday, 10. A Frenchman, who came up here with rum, caused us great anguish and perplexity, for some bad people of ours drank and made an uproar in town.

Saturday, 11. After the brethren had been spoken to, the communicants enjoyed the body and blood of the Lord in the holy sacrament, at which Br. Sensemann presided.

Sunday, 12. After the communion liturgy, in which Br. Zeisberger called upon the communion-church to oppose with united hearts the evil spirit, by whom some were so possessed that they openly and wantonly sinned, and no longer had respect for the church; that they should ask the Saviour to be pleased to stand by us and quench the evil spirit. Br. Edwards preached and in the congregation meeting, which Br. Sensemann held, he baptized the little daughter of Boaz and Abigail, who was born on the 3d Inst., with the name, Marianne.

Monday, 13. The assistants spoke with David, Andrew, and Joseph about their wanton behavior, and ordered them to leave our town, and this they promised to do.

Wednesday, 15. The surveyor, McNeff, who had been up as far as the Monsey town, came back, having partly surveyed the country, partly examined it, in order to establish the bounds of our township, about which, however, he must first confer with the commandant, president of the Land Board. He said he had found our township to be the best on the river, containing the most good land, that is, the greatest bottoms.

Thursday, 16. The Mohawk, Brant, got here early with eight or more canoes of his people, but did not stay long, for they were in a hurry to get to the treaty on the Miami. They brought news that the Americans had come with boats to Presque Isle by the portage, but with what object they knew not, that they had crossed the lake by Long

Point, where it is only thirty miles wide, and had gone back again. Both yesterday and to-day in the morning there were frosts, so that much was frozen.

Friday, 17. Monseys from the upper town went through here on their way to the treaty.

Sunday, 19. Br. Sensemann 'preached about the out-pouring of the Holy Ghost, and in the afternoon Br. David held a service for the communion brethren. We brought to God, the worthy Holy Ghost, our thank-offerings for his faithful care, and gave ourselves over to his guidance and direction, and vowed to him fidelity and obedience.

Monday, 20. Tobias' wife's mother came here, wishing to take away her daughter, who did not care to go, on which account we had trouble for a time, which at last ended well.

Wednesday, 22. The Frenchman brought the rest of the corn which was yet lacking to make up the two hundred bushels. Joseph was sent away.

Friday, 24. Brs. Sensemann and Michael went to the settlement to get provisions and flour for us. The brethren made a fish-dam here and got so many that the whole town for a time had enough to eat and more.

Sunday, 26. Br. Zeisberger preached about this on Trinity Sunday, that the Holy Trinity has brought about the work of our redemption in that the Son of God has reconciled us to God by his blood, and that we now are with him in grace and have communion with him. In the afternoon there was a conference with the assistants. We spoke in their presence with some people, for instance, Abel and Sabina, who, by their disobedience, had incurred want and trouble, and now sought help and advice from us to make good their faults. Brs. Sensemann and Michael came back from the settlement with provisions. The assistants spoke with Boaz.

Tuesday, 28. Br. Sensemann held the early service, as did Michael yesterday. Rainy weather both days. We planted vegetables, tobacco.

Wednesday, 29. Tobias' wife's mother and her sister came here and called upon the Zeisbergers. He preached

the Saviour to them and pointed out to them the way to him. They listened attentively, and when they went away they said, one to the other: "To-day we have heard what we had never heard before." They are not unfit for the kingdom of God.

Friday, 31. To-day Tobias at last went away from the church, whom we have often sent away, with his wife, a savage woman, for here it was too narrow for him.

Saturday, June 1. David held early service. Six canoes, with Mohawks, Brant's people, went through here to the treaty. They stayed here a couple of hours and were fed.

Sunday, 2. Michael preached. In the afternoon our statutes and church-ordinances were made known to all the inhabitants, and the brethren were admonished to obey them, so that they might not only have the name of Christian Indians, but might show it by their behaviour. If, however, these ordinances did not please them, or were too severe, the door was always open for them to go, yes, he who had no mind so to live would do better to go and not to plague himself in vain, for the land was given to the Christian Indians alone to live on, and not to the savages.

Wednesday, 5. The brethren hoed our and the common plantations, for which they had shot a couple of bucks. Thus the brethren did throughout the week, and helped hoe one field after the other, and thus the sick and weak are assisted.

Friday, 7. A little house was built for old Joachim, whom the brethren honor and love. Besides, he has served the church in translating, and is respected for his fidelity.

Sunday, 9. Michael preached. David held the children's hour, then there was a conference of assistants.

Monday, 10. The brethren built a house for Christiana, whose husband left her over a year ago, and lives by hunting near Pettquotting.

Wednesday, 12. After the early service, which Michael held, there was a conference of assistants. They spoke with Renatus, the Mohican, and his wife, and reconciled them; also with Tobias' wife's mother, a savage, advising

her to take her daughter away with her, who came here yesterday with her husband, for they cannot stay here, and this she promised to do.

Saturday, 15. We had the unexpected pleasure of seeing Br. Heckewelder<sup>1</sup> among us [by way of Niagara to Detroit]. By him we were heartily refreshed by letters and papers, both from Europe and Bethlehem, and with the Scripture-verses also. We had received nothing for longer than a year. On his way he had found some packets here and there, and had brought them with him, so that we were comforted and revived, for we had believed that correspondence between the States and this government here had been stopped, and our letters lost.

Sunday, 16. Br. Heckewelder preached about this, that the Saviour came to seek and save the lost. Sensemann read the communion service, of which he gave the brethren notice for next Saturday. We laborers were refreshed by reading the letters and journals received. Br. Edwards held the congregation meeting.

Monday, 17. Br. Heckewelder held early service from the Scripture-verse: Declare his glory among the heathen: His marvellous works among all nations.

Tuesday, 18. Some white people came over-land from Niagara, who think of settling on this river, to look at the country.

Thursday, 20. Mohawks arrived from Niagara and went to Sandusky to the treaty. The head-man asked our Indians if they were not going to the treaty, and whether Brant and the others had not admitted them, to which they replied, no. "So then I will not bid you go, unless you want to go."

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<sup>1</sup> Mr. Heckewelder had come west with the American Commissioners to treat with the Indians. In his journal of June 15th, he writes: "From here (Daniel Dolson's) I proceeded on horseback, taking one of the brethren along as guide, and arrived at our station at six p. m.; finding all our white and Indian brethren and sisters busy at work in their corn-fields and clearings. . . . The Moravian town is situated on the bank of the river. The houses, about thirty in number, are principally of logs."

Saturday, 22. We had in the near presence of our Lord the holy communion, at which Zeisberger presided.

Sunday, 23. Brs. Sensemann and John Heckewelder, with some Indian brethren, set out early for Detroit, the former to go from there by ship to Niagara to the Governor, who is expecting some one of us, and the second on business, to the treaty at Sandusky. We accompanied them with our blessing and hearty good wishes. Br. Edwards preached. Zeisberger read the liturgy and held the congregation meeting.

Tuesday, 25. By some Mohawk Indians and a negro of Brant's who came from the Miami, we learned that the Indians were still on the Miami, upon the point of going to Sandusky, but that many who had come had gone back home again. David held early service.

[Thus far to Bethlehem.]

Wednesday, 26. Edwards held early service about the light that enlightens all, which is the Saviour himself.

Thursday, 27. Michael held early service. The Indian Peter's hive of bees, which he brought here from Pett-quotting, swarmed to-day for the second time. There are none here in the bush in the whole neighborhood.

Note. Br. Joseph Spang(enberg's) death not to be forgotten.

Friday, 28. From Detroit came back Samuel and the brethren who had accompanied Brs. Sensemann and Heckewelder, from whom we learned that Sensemann, the very morning after their arrival, went by ship to Niagara, but that in regard to the treaty to be held matters looked dubious, and that many lies had been spread abroad to hinder it. The six Quakers,<sup>1</sup> to whose ears the need and

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<sup>1</sup> These six Quakers were Wm. Savery, John Parrish, John Elliot, and Jacob Lindley, from Pennsylvania; Joseph Moore and Wm. Hartshorne, from New Jersey. They accompanied the American Peace-Commissioners. "The Quakers were rejoiced to see some of our Indian brethren (in Detroit), and finding, upon inquiry, that they were almost in a starving condition, resolved to give \$100 to their chief, which was accordingly laid out in provisions and forwarded to them; and the Indian congregation afterwards sent their benefactors

want of our Indians had come, and who had themselves spoken with our Indians, took compassion upon them, and gave Dolsen an order for a hundred dollars' worth of provisions for them at their cost, a part of which they brought thence with them, with a written message to the Indian church, which hereby follows, and was communicated to the church.

Sunday, 30. Br. Michael preached, and towards evening Br. Zeisberger held the congregation meeting. Afterwards, in the marriage service, two couples were married, namely, the unmarried Bartholomew and the unmarried Justina, and John Adam and the unmarried Anna Sophia, by Brs. Zeisberger and Edwards. From the lower settlement Mr. Parke came here on business with the Indians.

Monday, July 1. Br. Edwards held early service from the Scripture-verse: Whither thou goest I will go, and where thou lodgest I will lodge. The brethren divided among themselves the provisions, so much as they had brought, which they got from the Quakers.

Tuesday, 2. Michael held early service. The assistants spoke with Johanna about her daughter's conduct; that she should think about keeping her elsewhere, but should herself get rid of her, who has no inclination either to live in the church or to be converted, but loves the world and heathenism. Many went away to-day to the settlement to earn something by working. Mr. Parke also went back.

Thursday, 4. Indians, from the Monsey town, came through here on their way to the Fort, and we heard that the Indians would all go thither, having nothing to eat and having drunk up all their property.

Friday, 5. Salome, David's wife, became suddenly so ill that her death was expected. She had inward convulsions, and all remedies failed. Among other things was given her a vermifuge, whereupon she passed an extraordinary strange sort of worm, such as is found in horses,

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a letter of thanks, written by Mr. Zeisberger." Life of Heckewelder, pp. 130, 132. Our MS. does not contain the Quakers' message.

wherefrom so many die in this country, and then she grew better.

Saturday, 6. We sent an express with a packet of letters into the settlement to Parke, who is going to Detroit, to take to Br. Heckewelder. We sent at the same time an answer and our thanks, in the name of the Christian Indians, to the Quakers, for their gift of one hundred dollars to our Indians. Br. Michael held early service.

Sunday, 7. Br. Zeisberger preached from the Epistle: Know ye not that so many of us as were baptized into Jesus Christ were baptized into his death. We read the Bethlehem journal of December last, January and February.

Tuesday, 9. Many of our Indians went to the settlement to work. Those who were at home cleared land for sowing turnips and made hay.

Thursday, 11. A Shawano from below came up here for a visit; also from the same place Tobias, with his wife and her mother.

Sunday, 14. Michael preached about the perfect giving up of the heart to the Saviour. Br. Zeisberger held the congregation meeting from the day's text: I have given them thy word and the world hath hated them, for they are not of the world.

Monday, 15. Brs. Samuel, Stephen, and others went up the river in two canoes to get the corn the Quakers gave. A Shawano, who has been here several days, went up to the Monsey town, who said here the agent sent the Indians to the war, and it looks as if there would be no treaty.

Wednesday, 17. By brethren, who came from the settlement, we learned not much that was good about our people there in the harvest, also that the commissioners were not yet come to the treaty. We live in an anxious time of expectation.

Thursday, 18. Samuel and the brethren came back, bringing nineteen bushels of corn; they could get no more, yet this was something for those at home, so that they get food.

Saturday, 20. Br. Edwards held early service, as did



Br. Michael yesterday. Joshua came from the settlement, when we learned from Detroit that there would be no treaty, and that Brant with his people was again gone home.

Sunday, 21. Zeisberger preached from the Epistle, Rom., viii., 12, about the blessed walk with Christ Jesus, which is the fruit of the Spirit. Michael held the congregation meeting. Samuel and Stephen went to Detroit, to bring Br. Sensemann here, whom we expect there from Niagara.

Monday, 22. From Detroit, by a Mohawk, David Kenedy, and soon afterward by an Indian, we had letters from Br. Heckewelder, from which we saw that Brant and fifty chiefs of different nations had gone from the Miami to Niagara, to speak with the commissioners there, and to ask them beforehand if they have full power to give up the land as far as the Ohio, if not, then to prepare to go home again without coming to a treaty.

Wednesday, 24. By Mohawks, who passed through here, we learned that a ship from Ft. Erie had come to Detroit on which Brant came, and that he had gone to the Miami, that the honorable commissioners would not go to the Miami, a token that there will be no treaty.

Saturday, 27. The brethren at home made fences over the river. French traders came here and went up the river.

Sunday, 28. Edwards preached. William Henry and his family came here from the settlement, where they had been working. The brethren at home resolved among themselves to build a house for the Zeisbergers this week. The laborers read the journal, the celebration of the Jubilee<sup>1</sup> in Bethlehem in June last year.

Monday, 29. The Indian brethren went in a body to cut timber for the Zeisbergers' house, which they accomplished on the 30th, and on the 31st made preparations to bring in the blocks. Ignatius arrived with his family.

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<sup>1</sup> The church in Bethlehem having been organized fifty years before, 1742.

Thursday, Aug. 1. Br. Edwards held early service about this, that through Jesus Christ we must enter into eternal life, who is the Way, the Truth, and the Life. The brethren brought in timber.

Friday, 2. Br. Sensemann arrived early, well, and safe from Niagara. He got there at just the right time, for the council was sitting, to which he submitted our plans and reasons, whereupon it was concluded and established that we should have land six miles in length, fronting on the river on both sides; how many miles inland could not be determined, since the boundary line of the purchased land had not yet been run on the north side. We have gained thus much, that the white people who settle thickly on the river cannot press close upon us. He was also there present at the meeting of the chiefs of the nations with the commissioners, and while hitherto there has been little hope of a treaty, much less of peace, yet there is now some likelihood for it, since the chiefs spoke to the commissioners and invited them to the treaty, who, moreover, came at the same time with Br. Sensemann from Ft. Erie. Farther about this matter, especially about his journey, can be seen in his report. Br. Heckewelder, who has been in Detroit for some time, is now with the commissioners at the mouth of the river, at the Watch-Tower [Warte<sup>1</sup>].

Saturday, 3. David held early service. The speech of the nations to the commissioners and their reply were made known to the brethren.

Sunday, 4. Br. Sensemann preached and Zeisberger held the congregation meeting.

Monday, 5. Br. Michael held early service. To-day the brethren finished blocking out the Zeisbergers' house and began to work at Sensemann's. One of our neighbors, an Englishman, came here on business, bringing with him an unmarried woman, his wife's sister, who stayed a couple of days with the Sensemanns.

Thursday, 8. Our people, who have been away, came

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<sup>1</sup> This is, I think, the first time Zeisberger has so named the site of his former settlement, at the mouth of Detroit River.

home one after the other, for at home now they find something to eat, but most of them come not without having suffered great harm in their hearts, which is ever grievous to us.

Friday, 9. We got a letter from Br. Heckewelder from the Watch-Tower, wherein he says that he and the commissioners are still detained there, and that although they had been invited to a treaty, and had come there from Niagara and were waiting, there was yet doubt whether there would be a treaty.

Sunday, 11. Br. Edwards preached. We read the church journal, and had a conference with the assistants. There was a communion quarter-hour, and Br. Zeisberger spoke earnestly about the needfulness and use of the Lord's supper, of which he gave the brethren notice for the 13th.

Monday, 12. The Indian brethren continued working on Brs. Zeisberger's and Sensemann's houses in the middle of the town.

Tuesday, 13. After the brethren had been spoken to yesterday and to-day, which brought about a fundamental examination, the communicants enjoyed the body and blood of the Lord in the holy communion. He blessed us perceptibly, so that it could be observed in the brethren that they had experienced something out of the usual course of things. Boaz was readmitted, but many stayed away.

Thursday, 15. A party of Monsey Indians, who came from Tawa River, said that nothing had yet been done in regard to a treaty; the English would like to have the land north of the Ohio, and should this happen there would soon be peace. This was hitherto a mystery, but now no longer so.

Saturday, 17. Zeisberger held early service. Andrew came here again, who was sent away several weeks ago.

Sunday, 18. Zeisberger preached from the Epistle, Cor. ii., about this, that the ground of our salvation is the Holy Spirit's work of grace, that we are made fit therefor, and

every thing was sent us from grace, since naturally we can think nothing good. In the afternoon there was a conference of assistants and reading of the European news. The assistants spoke with Andrew and Samuel; the latter had been absent longer than a year, and also with the widow, Sabina. We got word from Heckewelder that probably there will be no treaty, and that they think soon of going back home.

Monday, 19. To-day Zeisberger's house was roofed, and on the 20th Sensemann's.

Wednesday, 21. Edwards held early service, and,

Thursday, 22, Zeisberger. Mr. Parke arrived, remained over night, and went on the next morning to Niagara. We got nothing trustworthy about the treaty.

Saturday, 24. Michael held early service from the day's text: Behold, I have set before thee an open door, and spoke very earnestly about the words: Thou hast kept my word and hast not denied my name. He reminded the brethren how often this had happened, that they had not regarded his word and had denied him.

Sunday, 25. Sensemann preached, and Zeisberger held the congregation meeting from the Scripture-verse and text: For thou art my lamp, O Lord, etc., and neither do men light a candle and put it under a bushel, that we should walk in the light and be a light to the world, that it shall see our good works, and glorify our Father in heaven, and this is the fruit of the Spirit.

Tuesday, 27. Br. Edwards held early service about the Lord's prayer to our Father in heaven, which he taught us, and which contains all we have to ask from him for ourselves and for others.

Thursday, 29. Zeisberger held early service from the Scripture-verse: Ye shall be holy: for I, the Lord, your God, am holy, that we have our consecration from the wounds of Jesus, who consecrated himself for us, expiated and abolished our sins. With the unmarried brothers we had a love-feast, and wished them much kindness from our dear Lord.

Saturday, 31. To-day and lately Mohawks have come,

Brant's people, from the Miami on their way home, all saying there would be no peace, since the Shawanese, Twightwees, and some Delawares do not wish to accept peace. Thus it is, as it ever has been, some wish it much, others, on the other hand, do not. A woman of the lower settlement, who is from Philadelphia, is here, and had spoken with the Quakers. She brought from them a letter of recommendation to the missionaries, but we could by no means admit her.

Sunday, Sept. 1. Michael preached, Zeisberger held the congregation meeting. More Indians came from the Miami.

Tuesday, 3. Yesterday and to-day came nearly a hundred Indians, Mohawks, Gachnawage, Chippewas, Mochicans, and remained over night. We had a chance to hear all truthfully,<sup>1</sup> how things had gone, and what was the main reason of there being no treaty, and that no peace could be made. The nations were divided, but the majority was for peace, and the last message to the commissioners was given in a hidden way, of which but very few knew. As they saw, from the last answer of the commissioners, that they, namely, those who were for peace, had been deceived and betrayed, they broke up, each going to his own home, and they said at their departure, to the Shawanese, Wyandots, and Twightwees [for they were

<sup>1</sup>The American commissioners sent from the mouth of Detroit River. Aug. 16, 1793, their final answer:

"To the chiefs and warriors of the Indian nations, assembled at the foot of the Maumee Rapids:

"Brothers: We have just received your answer to our speech which we delivered to your deputies at this place. You say it was interpreted to all your nations; and we presume it was well understood. We therein explicitly declared to you that it was now impossible to make the River Ohio the boundary between your lands and the lands of the United States; your answer amounts to a declaration that you will agree to no other boundary than the Ohio. The negotiation is therefore at an end. We sincerely regret that peace is not the result, but knowing the upright and liberal views of the United States, which, so far as you gave us an opportunity, we have explained to you, we trust that impartial judges will not attribute the continuance of the war to them." Quoted in Albach's *Annals of the West*, p. 631.

the three who wished to have war], that they should soon do what they had in mind, hold themselves brave, and show themselves men, but they wanted to go home and leave them alone. This means: "Ye may now fight alone, and see how ye come out." Here also we will give an Indian story, which Capt. Pipe brought to the memory of the Mohican captain, Henry, who was here, and had told it himself, namely, to him Capt. Pipe said: "Thou hast brought me the Shawano who was a blind, little boy, and hast given him to me, with these words: 'Have pity upon this child, that it may remain alive, he can yet bring thee water, and, when he is larger, can now and then shoot a squirrel for thee, and do little services.' Out of compassion I adopted him as my grandchild, for he was forsaken and thrown away, and I kept him near me. He was always with me, and I brought him up, but when he grew and waxed greater, he began to be disobedient, and, although I admonished and punished him, he always kept on doing ill, yes, he did always worse, so that in the end he would give heed neither to me, who brought him up, nor to any one else, and now it has gone so far that he obeys no man, but his aim and endeavor are only to do evil. Therefore I believe God made him not, but the devil."

Friday, 6. Yesterday and to-day more Indians have come, among them some Onondagas, acquaintances of Br. Zeisberger, who then, when he was in Onondaga, were young people, in part boys, but were now quite old men, but they knew him well, and were quite attached to him. However, they no longer live in Onandaga, where there are now only twelve or thirteen families, but over the lake at Buffalo Creek, not far from Ft. Erie. We treated them well and furnished them provisions for the way. They complained that they had got little in Detroit, not belonging to the war-party. We gave them a canoe to take their sick in. They said there would yet be peace, they had been betrayed, and knew nothing of the last speech to the commissioners.

Saturday, 7. The Indians, Mingoës, all went away, after taking leave in a friendly manner. We had a day of

blessing with our people. Br. Sensemann held morning prayer, Br. Zeisberger the first service from the text, and conducted the love-feast. Here he brought to mind with the Scripture-verse: The people shall dwell alone, etc., that we had wandered about for many years, having no abiding place, but that the Saviour had held his hand over us; when once it seemed that the church would be utterly blotted out, he had assembled and re-established it, mercifully thought about us, as he had thought upon Noah in the ark, and had now given us an abode, whence we could not be driven. The quiet, which the Saviour sent us, we should now make good use of, be thankful to him for it, go and edify ourselves, and increase and grow in grace to the honor of God, the Father. Of his recognition of us and of the grace he let prevail among us in our services, we got yet many a token and witness, which we heard from the brethren in the evening, who came and opened their hearts to us, many with tears for their falling away from the Saviour. We laborers had the Lord's supper, and bound ourselves to new fidelity.

Sunday, 8. Br. Edwards preached from the Gospel: No man can serve two masters, etc. We spent the afternoon with the assistants, who afterwards had to speak with brethren to reconcile them and make peace among them, whereto the Saviour gave his blessing, so that all was arranged in peace and love. They spoke also with some who have been drinking here, who humbly confessed, and asked pardon. So they had,

Monday, 9, still to be speaking with some young people, for instance, Michael, Paul, and others.

Tuesday, 10. Stephen and several others went to Detroit to buy apples. A Wonpano<sup>1</sup> Indian from Montreal, who came here sick from the Miami, and did not go away with his companions, remained here. He was to-day very low and died in the evening. Some hours before his death

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<sup>1</sup>"In some of his unpublished notes Mr. Heckewelder identifies the Wampanos, who lived in Connecticut, along the shore of Long Island Sound, and whose council-fire was where New Haven now stands, as Mohegans." Brinton's *The Lenâpé*, etc., p. 21.

he talked with Joshua, and said it was so with him that he wished to live altogether with us, and if he got well not to go home. He was buried Wednesday, 11.

Saturday, 14. Sensemann held early service. This week the brethren began gradually to harvest their corn, which this year has all thriven as well as was to be wished.

Sunday, 15. Br. David preached and Br. Michael held the congregation meeting from the text: Ye are the salt of the earth, etc.

Tuesday, 17. Stephen and others came back from Detroit. The first brought us communion wine from there.

Wednesday, 18. Chippewas came and encamped here for several days, since they thus support themselves from our fields. Though we gave them food, they stocked themselves with provisions for their journey.

Friday, 20. This morning before daybreak died little Rebecca, the daughter of the Indian, John Henry, fifteen months fifteen days old. Another daughter of Nicodemus and Henrietta came into the world still-born. Both were buried on the 22d.

Sunday, 22. Br. Sensemann preached, Zeisberger held the communion quarter-hour, giving notice of it for next Saturday, and attended towards evening the burial of the two dead children, two wee corpses.

Monday, 23. Michael held early service. The brothers built huts for the widows, Amelia and Susanna. A white man from Lake Erie came here and stayed over night. He got his horse here, which a Chippewa had sold to our Joshua.

Thursday, 26. Michael held early service. The brethren harvested our fields for us. This year we have a good, rich harvest. Every thing, thanks be to God, has thriven, our corn as good and perfect as possible; nothing has been injured by frost. We have learned that here always, if it be a leap-year, the frosts<sup>1</sup> always come earlier than is otherwise usual.

Friday, 27. Zeisberger held early service. He and the

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<sup>1</sup> Hence the failure of the corn crop the year before.



Sensemans spoke with the brethren about the Lord's supper.

Saturday, 28. Br. Sensemann held early service, and in the evening the communicants had the sacrament of the body and blood of the Lord, who blessed us unspeakably. Anna Sophia, a young sister, and half-white, looked on as candidate, and thereby shed many tears. Br. Zeisberger presided.

Sunday, 29. Br. Sensemann read the thanksgiving liturgy, and Michael preached. Tobias, with his wife, whom he married in the Monsey town, came here last evening, and asked for readmission. The assistants spoke with them and received them upon probation. They spoke also with Peggy, against whom charges had been made, but she cleared herself.

Thursday, Oct. 3. Indians came here from the Monsey town. Our people found hardly half a mile from town on the bank of the creek a salt-spring, of which no one knew, at a place where the bank is so steep that cattle could not get to it, otherwise it would have been found before.

Saturday, 5. During the week the brethren were busy harvesting their fields, which yield richly this year.

Sunday, 6. Zeisberger preached from the Epistle about putting off the old man and putting on the new man who is patterned after God. In the afternoon was a conference of assistants. They spoke with Jacob, and asked what his intention was, but he was not resolved to stay here; also with Michael, who promised obedience.

Monday, 7. In the forenoon departed blind Ephriam, after a short illness of a few days, whose remains were buried on the 8th..

Wednesday, 9. Early in the morning the brethren brought in our corn. We congratulated Br. Sensemann by a home love-feast upon his forty-ninth birthday, wishing him, and asking for him, the Saviour's blessing for all his doings in his service.

Saturday, 12. Michael held early service. A couple of white people, John Cornwall, came here. They will settle below us. Samuel, who with Stephen went to Detroit

on the 7th Inst., came back from there. All were this week busy in the harvest.

Sunday, 13. Br. Sensemann preached from the text: Behold, I stand at the door and knock; if any man hear my voice and open the door, I will come to him and will sup with him and he with me. David held the congregation meeting and spoke about the Scripture-verse.

Monday, 14. The brethren covered the school-house with clapboards. Jacob went away according to his custom. Edwards held early service after having been kept in-door ten days by his bad leg.<sup>1</sup>

Tuesday, 15. Mr. Parke came here, and another, too, Willcox.

Thursday, 17. To-day and yesterday Parke disposed of most of his wares to our Indians, and with five of them set out for Niagara to get cattle.

Friday, 18. Br. Edwards held early service. The Zeisbergers moved into their new house facing the street.

Sunday, 20. Edwards preached from the Gospel. As the brethren found it very necessary to get in their corn, we let them attend to it in the afternoon, and there came in an immense quantity, for the whole town was busy and lively, and so also was it,

Monday, 21, kept up, after Br. Zeisberger held early service.

Thursday, 24. Br. Zeisberger baptized Susanna's sick child, with the name, Jonas, who died the following night. This morning Salamis was delivered of a daughter.

Friday, 25. There was unpleasantness among the sister-assistants in town.

Saturday, 26. After the early service was the burial of the child, Jonas, who died yesterday. There was harvesting all the week, and the brethren were very busy; all has thriven well and gives a rich return.

Sunday, 27. Br. Sensemann preached from Peter's words: Ye know ye were not redeemed with corruptible things, as silver and gold; but with the precious blood of

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<sup>1</sup> Conjectured in part.

Christ, etc., and then baptized, with the name, Louisa, the little daughter of Abel and Salamis, born on the 24th.

Wednesday, 30. Zeisberger held early service. A white man came here from Detroit, who left Philadelphia seven weeks ago, when the honorable commissioners arrived there. Christiana came home from the settlement below us, where she had left her sick husband, who had been thrown from his horse and had broken two ribs. For him this is a *nota bene*, for he wanted to go back to Pett-quotting.

Thursday, 31. French traders came up the river in two boats. The Sensemanns moved into their new house.

Saturday, Nov. 2. A number of sisters went down to the settlement for apples. This week we got in all our field crops. The weather was raw and cold, but again became mild, so that there was a thunder-storm.

Sunday, 3. Michael preached from the Epistle: Mark them which walk so, etc., and Zeisberger held the congregation meeting.

Tuesday, 5. Yesterday and to-day nearly all our Indians went away hunting to get skins for shoes, for the hunt brings in little, and our Indians must rely on farming.

Wednesday, 6. From the many rains of the last few days the river has risen very high. The wolves begin to kill our young cattle, from which hitherto we have been free.

Thursday, 7. Chippewas arrived, who are going up the river hunting. They remained over night, but came to no meeting.

Sunday, 10. Br. Zeisberger preached, and strange Indians were present to hear. Sensemann held the early service, inviting the poor and thirsty to refresh themselves upon the body and blood of the Lord. Young Dolson came here from the settlement, by whom we heard that the Detroiters are in fear from the States, and think an invasion probable; that the commandant has issued a proclamation, and ordered the militia to hold themselves ready in case of an attack, and if this should come he

will burn down the town, since otherwise he cannot defend the fort. They feared Gen. Wayne, whom they expected with a strong army, but whence they got this news is unknown to us.

Wednesday, 13. In the morning we appeared before our dear Lord, the Shepherd of his sheep, and, guilty creatures, brought to him, our Elder, honor and humble thanks for his faithful care and attention, that he daily feeds our hearts upon his meritorious sufferings and death, and daily gives us much good to enjoy. We asked forgiveness of our shortcomings, faults, and transgressions, and though we had not always observed his commands and rules, which he has given to his church, begged him still to have his house and dwell with us and to walk with us. He made himself known to us, and gave us the comfort that he will so do. We heard to-day through John Henry, the Indian, who came back from the settlement, and who well understands English, that Gen. Wayne had come from the States with an army into the Indian land,<sup>1</sup> and in the very place where formerly the battle occurred there had been a conflict with the Indians, in which the latter were defeated, losing one hundred and thirty men killed, and many prisoners and wounded; that they made two attacks, but the last time had taken flight, whereupon the army had fortified its position.

Saturday, 16. After the brethren had been spoken to for several days, whereto the Saviour gave his blessing, so that much was put an end to and made right, we had a blessed communion under the gracious recognition of our dear Lord; at this one brother, John Thomas, was re-admitted. Sensemann conducted it.

Sunday, 17. In the morning Br. Zeisberger read the liturgy and Br. Sensemann preached. From a Chippewa we heard this much, that a great army was coming out, but that the Indians had no disposition to fight.

Monday, 18. Zeisberger held morning prayer, and by occasion of the text: And into whatever house ye enter

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<sup>1</sup> Thus far the report was true.

first say, Peace be unto this house, said that we should not be ashamed of bearing witness about Jesus' death and atonement and of what he thereby had done for our souls; that we should not bury our talent like that unprofitable servant from whom was taken what he had and thrown away. The brethren contributed corn for poor old brethren and for the church, which they do joyfully and with willing hearts.

Tuesday, 19. Michael held early service. Samuel and Stephen went up to the Monsey town to get old David, who wishes to come to us. The sisters boiled sugar, for the weather was mild, with a south wind.

Friday, 22. A white man from the settlement came here and stayed over night. We heard from him that the Indians had fallen upon a convoy with provisions in the States and plundered it, but one seldom hears the truth.<sup>1</sup> The sisters made a good amount of sugar this week.

Sunday, 24. Br. Edwards preached from the Gospel about the coming of the Saviour for judgment, and Br. Sensemann held the congregation meeting.

Tuesday, 26. Br. Sensemann went down to the settlement, returning,

Thursday, 28. He brought news that Gen. Wayne was already come with an army as far as the forks of the Miami; that the Indians skirmished with them certainly, but had no real disposition to fight; that McKee had sent from the Miami to the commandant for troops to help him, but that he had replied that he had no troops to send him, and moreover had no orders therefor; the Indians had had a good opportunity to make peace; favorable offers had been made them, but they had not accepted them, and now they must fight it out, for they had themselves so chosen. The fighting Indians are said to be no more than five hundred men, for the Chippewas, Ottawas, Potawatomes, and Mingoes will not help them.

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<sup>1</sup> This occurred about seven miles north of Ft. St. Clair, twenty wagons of grain and one with other supplies being captured, with the loss of fifteen men, Oct. 17.

Sunday, Dec. 1. Br. Michael preached the first Sunday in Advent, and exhorted the brethren joyfully to look forward to the coming of our Lord into the flesh, who is born to bless and save the world. Br. Sensemann held the congregation meeting. We heard to-day that war is again desired and the hatchet sharpened against the States, so as to be in order in the spring, but whether all will take it remains to be seen.

Tuesday, 3. The assistant, Samuel, who returned from the Monsey town, brought thence old David to stay here, who, since our dispersion, that is, more than eleven years, has wandered about among the savages and in error. Samuel pointed out to several there God's salvation; to some not without fruit and blessing, who received it humbly, among them a blind man, who liked to listen, and some wished to come here at Christmas for a visit. A couple of old men, however, put themselves forward to dispute with Samuel and to say something to him, expecting he could not answer them, but when they found that Samuel was more than equal to them, they applauded him and said: "Thou art right. We believe thou speakest the truth," but merely that he might leave them in peace.

Thursday, 5. Many of our people came from the settlement home, most of them defiled. A party of Chippewas robbed a trader on this river of his rum, and they came to blows, so that the people had to flee.

Friday, 6. We learned from some of our people, who came from the Fort, that the army of the States was on the Miami, but that there had yet been no battle, that the agent had retired to an island, but would soon leave the place. It was reported among our people that they would soon get a message to appear there, and even if they would not fight, they should yet be there. What will come from this, time must teach. We shall not get through without trouble. The Shawanese send to the Chippewas one message after the other to come and help them fight, but get for answer that they should themselves fight, and be strong like men.

Saturday, 7. It rained all day. Mr. Matthew Dolson came here from Detroit with goods for our Indians, for which he takes in payment corn and skins. We heard by this occasion that the plague<sup>1</sup> is said to be in Philadelphia, and already ten thousand men have died of it, among whom was Col. Pickering,<sup>2</sup> one of the commissioners here in Detroit in the summer. The army,<sup>3</sup> we now correctly hear, was at the place where the battle took place before, where they are intrenched.

Sunday, 8. Zeisberger preached. It snowed, and there was no other service. Dolson's boat arrived. We had sent Indians to meet him, to help get it up in the high water. There came also a gentleman to see this country and our town, who is from Chester Co., below Philadelphia. He has travelled much about the country, and lived several years in Kentucky, whence upon request, he had undertaken in this neighborhood to release a girl who had been captured by the Indians, and to bring her back to her friends. In this the commandant in Detroit promised to help him wherever possible. The army is only six miles this side of Ft. Jefferson.<sup>4</sup>

Monday, 9. Br. Sensemann held early service, which Mr. Dolson and the gentleman, Isaac Taylor, attended. To the latter it was something quite strange and unusual to see Indians so devout and attentive, and he wondered not a little at it. He is a man who takes notice of all he hears and sees, and makes observations upon it. For example, he measured Niagara Falls, for he is a surveyor, and found their height 205<sup>5</sup> feet. He has been far up the

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<sup>1</sup>The epidemic of yellow fever lasted from August to November in Philadelphia, and five thousand people are said to have died of it.

<sup>2</sup>The report of Pickering's death was false. July 4th, 1823, he was the reader of the Declaration of Independence in Salem, Mass., where he died in 1823, in advanced old age.

<sup>3</sup>Gen. Wayne was at Ft. Greenville, Ohio. Just before Christmas a detachment buried the remains of those slain in St. Clair's defeat.

<sup>4</sup>Six miles south of the town of Greenville, Danby Co., Ohio.—Albach's Western Annals, p. 578.

<sup>5</sup>American 162 ft., Canadian 149 ft., really.

Mississippi, and gives information that all these lakes have their source in Lake Bourbon,<sup>1</sup> which flows into Lake of the Woods, also out of the same lake is a discharge into Hudson's Bay. He knew also about the Welch Indians,<sup>2</sup> that they live up the Missouri River five hundred miles, and that they are a warlike people, and very numerous. Old David visited us. He was humble and like a repentant sinner.

Tuesday, 10. Michael held early service. Yesterday and to-day it has been here like a yearly market. Mr. Dolson displayed his goods and the whole town traded, buying from him for cattle, corn, and skins.

Friday, 13. Mr. Dolson sent away yesterday his boat and a couple of canoes, laden with corn, etc., for the drift-ice begins to run strong, and to-day he departed. From the upper town an Indian family came here for a visit during the holidays, as they had promised Samuel when he was up there for a visit.

Sunday, 15. Sensemann preached from the text: The poor have the Gospel preached to them. Afterwards was the service for all baptized, in which Br. Zeisberger earnestly discoursed about the disorders, wrangling, and strife among the women, to cease therefrom, and the assistants

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<sup>1</sup>This was probably the French name of Lake Winnipeg, Nelson River being called Bourbon, a fort on a small island between Cedar Lake and Mud Lake being named Ft. Bourbon. Of course it is the Lake of the Woods that flows into Lake Winnipeg. Carver in his travels, Dublin, 1779, p. 101, says: "Lake Bourbon is composed of the waters of the Bourbon River. This lake is about 80 miles in length, north and south, and is nearly circular. Its latitude is between 52° and 54° north" Edward Umfreville in his Present State of Hudson's Bay, p. 146, writes: "I passed the winters of 1784-5-6-7 on a large river which empties itself by many branches into that lake, which is laid down in maps by the name of Lake Bourbon. This lake was improperly so called by the French when in possession of Canada, but its real name is Cedar Lake, and it is thus named by the Indians on account of that kind of wood being found thereon."

Harmon in his Journal, published in Andover, 1820, says that Lake Bourbon lies nearly north-west from Encampment Island, in "Little Lake Winipick."

<sup>2</sup>The Mandans.



were publicly charged to investigate, to establish peace and unity, and to send off a couple of whores, who had long ago been told to go, but who came back again. This they did, and peace and unity were again established by God's help and blessing.

Tuesday, 17. To the strange Indian, already mentioned as Samuel's visitor, he preached God's help for our eternal salvation over half the night, setting perfectly before him the way to happiness, so that now it is only a question of his accepting it, for many Indians like first to hear every thing it depends upon, with which they are content and go their own way.

Thursday, 19. Sensemann held early service. The Indian brothers began to cut timber to-day for a meeting-house. Tobias' wife came and begged for baptism, as she has often done. She is concerned about her salvation and perplexed, whom we referred to the Saviour, the Physician of our souls.

Saturday, 21. Br. Edwards held early service from the text: Reach hither thy finger and behold my hands; and reach hither thy hand and thrust it into my side; and be not faithless, but believing, and said that no one should be content merely with hearing, but that each one should make a trial with his own heart, and speak out to the Saviour its circumstances, and become acquainted with him.

Sunday, 22. Edwards preached from the Epistle: Rejoice in the Lord alway. Then Zeisberger held the communion quarter-hour, and a conference of assistants. Mingo came from Detroit, who went to Montreal, where they live. We heard that the nations no longer wish to carry on the war, unless the English help them.

Tuesday, 24. In the evening we assembled for the Christmas festival, which we began with a love-feast, singing the little Jesus in his manger and in the stall. After reading of the history, Br. Sensemann discoursed about the text: Before Abraham was I am, whereupon kneeling, we brought him our filial, sinful thanks and praise for his great condescension that he, the eternal God, put on our

poor flesh and blood, by his blood redeemed us from future wrath, and by his sacrifice of expiation brought us into grace with God. At the end tapers were given the children, and at the same time they were told why, and all went joyfully home.

Wednesday, 25. Br. Michael preached in the forenoon from the Gospel: Behold, I bring you good tidings of great joy, and in the afternoon service from the text: Even as the Son of man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, etc., a woman was baptized by Br. Zeisberger, and a grown boy by Br. Sensemann, into Jesus' death, the former with the name, Anna Helena, the other Benjamin, and one Anna Susanna was taken into the church. This meeting, as also the night-watch yesterday and the sermon to-day, was attended by strangers, who were here for a visit. Many tears were shed. It was a joy for us to see and hear that God's spirit was busy among our people, for many came and acknowledged with tears their transgressions against the Saviour, seeking forgiveness and comfort.

Saturday, 28. For several days the brethren have been spoken to, and to-day we had the holy communion, at which old Erdmuth looked on as candidate. It was celebrated in the Zeisbergers' house on account of their illness. A malady extends about the whole country, and few remain free from it. To-day arrived Mr. Parke from Niagara.

Sunday, 29. Br. Sensemann read the liturgy and Michael preached. Mr. Parke started for home.

Tuesday, 31. For the close of the year we came together towards midnight for a love-feast, bringing to our good Lord our proper, filial thanks for all the grace, goodness, and faithfulness shown us this year, for all the benefits enjoyed without and within. We asked forgiveness of our faults, that instead of giving him joy we had so often grieved him, but that he would continue to walk among us, to comfort and make us glad by his dear nearness and presence, and that he would not cease to impart

his blessing to all our acts and plans. This we did and prayed for upon our knees, and thereto we said, amen, yes it shall be, so that, comforted and joyful, we passed over into the new year.

There live here now 159 Indian souls, eight more than at the close of last year.

## CHAPTER XIV.

1794.

FAIRFIELD, ON THE THAMES, ONTARIO.

Wednesday, Jan. 1. Br. Sensemann preached, and in the afternoon held the service for thé baptized, in which, at his request, absolution was given to old David, and besides he was admitted to the church, which gave the brethren much joy. Br. Zeisberger, who has been ill and indisposed for a week, had to stay in-door. Many strangers were here during the holidays, and attended the services. The brethren, who had this for their baptismal day, of whom there were eight, had a love-feast together, and sang so that the place resounded therewith. Chippewas went about the place begging, according to their custom. An old man said: "We are poor men. We know nothing of that which ye know."

Friday, 3. Strangers from the upper town, who have been here during the holidays, went home again. It is to be hoped that many have not heard in vain.

Sunday, 5. Br. Edwards preached, and Michael held the congregation meeting.

Monday, 6. Br. Zeisberger again, for the first time, held morning prayer early, recommended to the Saviour of the heathen his Indian church, especially on this day (Epiphany) for his blessing, to our dear heavenly Father for his protection and oversight, and to the Holy Ghost for his fostering care. We thought also of the other churches among the heathen in North and South America, and of all churches among the heathen, and commended them all to his grace and blessing. In the sermon from to-day's Gospel, about the three wise men from the East, who came to adore him and brought him gifts, Br. Sensemann baptized into Jesus' death, with the name, Rebecca,

the little daughter of Luke and Cornelia, born on the 1st Inst. In the next service, for the baptized, absolution was given to Susanna by the Zeisbergers, after he had first discoursed about to-day's Scripture-verse: For the eyes of the Lord run to and fro throughout the whole earth. In the afternoon was a love-feast, at which something was said of the call and work of the brothers among the heathen, whereon the Saviour put his blessing, so that it went among thousands, and we are but a fraction thereof, but that we should not forget to be thankful to him that he has made known to us God's scheme for salvation, which we should highly and worthily esteem. This was an especial day of blessing, and there remained but few who were not mightily seized by God's spirit, which awakened in us, joy, praise, and thankfulness.

Tuesday, 7. The surveyor came from Detroit, Mr. McNeff, to survey our township. In the river he lost ten of his people, soldiers, who broke through the ice and were drowned. We heard, too, that Elliot died in Detroit.<sup>1</sup>

Wednesday, 8. Michael held early service from the day's text: I am the good Shepherd, etc., and towards evening died the child, Rebecca, born on the 1st Inst., who was buried on the 10th.

Thursday, 9. David held early service. The surveyor with his people surveyed to-day our township below as far as the town. He has orders from the Governor to give us six lots from the adjacent township, and to bid those who have already settled on them to go away, so that thus our town comes quite in the middle of the township. A township has twenty-five lots, but ours thirty-two, since it lies on both sides of the river, namely, sixteen on each side.

Sunday, 12. Zeisberger preached from the words of the Saviour: Wist ye not that I must be about my Father's business? and Sensemann conducted the children's hour.

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<sup>1</sup> Butterfield, in his *Crawford's Campaign*, p. 178, says that Elliot took part in the War of 1812, but probably died soon afterward.

Levi, who had remained behind in Pettquotting, when we came away, now came again, asking for reception. The assistants spoke with him and gave him leave, for which he was glad and thankful.

Tuesday, 14. Since yesterday the surveyor finished surveying the upper part of our township, Br. Sensemann went with some Indian brethren up there, and blazed the line on both sides the river. There are thus above us, up the river, nine lots, and below us eight, and the lot whereon our town stands, he has also given, so that in all eighteen lots on each side of the river are ours, that is, thirty-six. On the north side of the river we are probably the last on the purchased land. The assistant, Samuel, went up to the Monsey town.

Thursday, 16. The weather being now fine, a part of the brethren went to their sugar-huts to make preparations and others hunting. At home we had to speak with Br. Zacchaeus and his wife, as daily happens.

Saturday, 18. We gave notice to a German, who settled in the autumn not far from us, and had built a house, that his lot stood in our township, and that he must go to some other place; this the surveyor bade us do. An Indian from the Monsey town came and said that sickness prevailed among them, on which account they wanted to make a sacrifice, so that the sickness might lessen; for this he wished to get rum and have an Indian from us as intrepeter, but this was refused, and he was told that we had nothing to do with their sacrifices, which besides would be of no help to them.

Sunday, 19. Br. Sensemann preached, and the aforesaid white man was present. In the evening we were disturbed by strangers drunk, who came out of the settlement with some of our Indians, and had enticed our people too, but they went away in the evening.

Wednesday, 22. In the early service, which Br. Sensemann held, he baptized into Jesus' death, with the name, Lydia, the little daughter of John Henry and Anna Maria, born on the 19th Inst. The surveyor, McNeff,

came back, who had laid out two townships on the south of the river above us. With his people he went,

Thursday, 23, back to Detroit. Our people again set about cutting timber for the meeting-house. Our brothers blazed the lower line of the township. We had to let Levi go, who was received again on the 12th, for not behaving in accordance with his promise.

Sunday, 26. Michael preached. We then had many visits from the brethren, with whom we had much to say.

Monday, 27. After early service mention was made of the visiting by the young people in different houses. They were asked to put an end to it, for harm comes therefrom.

Tuesday, 28. Chippewas, who have been encamped near by for more than a month already, wanted to boil sugar here, and as it seemed, drove our brethren away from there. We had them spoken with and awaited the outcome. The reason we do not wish to have them for neighbors is that they get drunk as often as they have a chance.

Friday, 31. A white man from Niagara passed through here, and from Brant's town, in the same neighborhood, some Indians, as messengers for Detroit, to give notice there that now in the winter there can be no treaty with the Indians, but in the spring; yet not, as before, on the Miami, but the Chippewas wish to have it in Mackinaw, for on the Miami no peace can be made. Mr. Dolson came from Detroit, on business affairs with our Indians.

Saturday, Feb. 1. The child, Lydia, baptized on the 22d Ult., died very suddenly. A dream which the mother had the day before. Frenchmen who came here with rum, and remained over night, were themselves taken in charge until they went farther.

Sunday, 2. Br. Sensemann preached. Mr. Dolson went back early. It is an advantage for us that the Detroiters cannot come here in sledges, for the river from its strong current does not freeze over, otherwise we should be all the time overrun with all sorts of people. Lewis' Esther was delivered of a son.

Monday, 3. Samuel and many brethren went to the settlement, most of them to get kettles for sugar-boiling.

Tuesday, 4. In the early service, which Br. Zeisberger held, from the text: The Son of Man hath power on earth to forgive sins, he baptized into Jesus' death, with the name, Abraham, the little son of Lewis and Esther, born day before yesterday.

Thursday, 6. Sensemann held early service. We had a conference with the assistants about marriage circumstances.

Friday, 7. From the settlement near Detroit seven Baptists came here, Germans, on business, and from Detroit an express, Hasle, on his way to Niagara. By him Sensemann sent a letter to Bethlehem. With him went also a German to Pittsburg, but we dared send no letter by him. We had news to the effect that the Delawares, Wyandots, Twightwees, and Shawanese had gone to the Americans at the fort<sup>1</sup> where the battle was, to make peace, but now we hear that they went thither to get by exchange two Shawanese prisoners, whom the Americans had taken.

Sunday, 9. Br. Edwards preached, whereupon Br. Zeisberger held the communion quarter-hour, giving notice thereof for next Saturday. Then we had a blessed love-feast with the assistants and chapel-servants, to whom was brought to mind and explained what their duty and business should be, above all things to lead good lives and to go before the others with a good example, to seek to avoid harm in the church, and at times to give notice if any thing will not rightly come about, so that it may be bettered. Adam was added to the number of assistants. Bill Henry, who is an assistant, was, with his wife, chosen to to serve, Stephen and Adam to attend strangers, also as overseers of the children and young people in town; Joshua, together with Samuel, to look after outward matters in labor, especially among the brethren, as likewise

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<sup>1</sup> Probably at Ft. Recovery, built on the site of St. Clair's defeat, Darke Co., O.



Sophia, his wife, together with Magdalene, among the sisters.

Monday, 10. Instead of the morning service, the above was made known to the church, and one thing and another were said about order in the town. One sister, Sabina, Adam's wife, had been chosen, with her husband, to be an assistant, but she could not at once resolve to say yes, for she knew what the assistants had many times to endure from the disobedience of others, and that they must put up with much when judgment was pronounced upon them. She heard a word yesterday in the communion service which brought her upon the right way, so that she reflected: "I gave myself up to the Saviour in my baptism to be his, never to say no if he would have any thing from me. He has made me a partaker of his flesh and blood in the holy communion. I have become a chapel-servant, and he has blessedly held me therein and let me enjoy much goodness. Shall I now begin to refuse to do something for him in his church, whose life was not too dear for him to give up to death for me? No, that I will not do; I will be and remain his, body and soul." Thus she was added to the assistants.

Wednesday, 12. The assistants put together in marriage the widower, Amos, and Mary Elizabeth, whom for several years, once and again, we have sent away, but she could not stay away from us, but ever came back, and so we will make another trial, for no one will stay away from us who has once been with us.

Saturday, 15. After the brethren had been lately spoken with, we had the holy communion in the near presence of our dear Lord.

Sunday, 16. Br. Michael preached—but Zeisberger first read the liturgy—about the laborers in the vineyard.

Monday, 17. Joseph, who was sent away last year, came again to-day from Pettquotting, by whom we heard all sorts of things, for example, that the Delawares, Twightwees, Shawanos, etc., had gone to the Americans to the fort to treat about peace.

Tuesday, 18. Early before day Abel's house took fire,

which was not discovered till it was all in flames, and no longer to be extinguished, though there were men enough there, but they could only look on and take care for the nearest houses on each side. The greatest loss this family has suffered is twenty bushels of corn. We consider this no matter of chance, for he was disobedient, acting contrary to the rules of the church, and kept a bad house, where the young people met in the evening, contrary to orders, and did no good.

Wednesday, 19. Samuel went up to the Monsey town. A woman from there, Moses' mother, who already wished to come to the church in Friedenshütten, but was hindered by her husband, who had no such thoughts, now said, being a widow, that she had always a call to come to the church, and thought of coming to us, being distressed about her salvation.

Friday, 21. By occasion of Br. Zeisberger's informing himself from Bill Henry about certain circumstances in Lichtenau, he now learned that Netawatwes had really wished to establish the brothers and their teachers among the Indians, and had left this as his last will to Bill Henry and ——<sup>1</sup> to carry out, but that White Eyes had always labored to bring in English ministers to establish their religion, but had been able to accomplish nothing.

Saturday, 22. A fine snow having fallen, though the weather was very cold, yesterday and to-day the brothers and sisters brought in timber for the meeting-house on sledges, getting done to-day. We now intend to build a regular meeting-house, such as we had, for example, in Schönbrunn, since which time we have got along with Indian houses. From the settlement a couple of white people came here, one of whom offered to build a mill for us, having heard that we had a good mill-site on our land, but we told him that for the present we had no thought of building any. At the same time he offered to be our miller.

Sunday, 23. Br. Zeisberger preached from the Gospel about the sower, and white people from the settlement

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<sup>1</sup>The name is not given, but should probably be White Eyes.

were present. It was very raw weather, with snow and icy frost.

Monday, 24. French traders from above went through our settlement for rum, to whom we said they should not come with it to our town when they came back, but go straight by, and this they promised to do. The two assistants and stranger-servers, Stephen and Adam, labored with people who do not live here, and bade them go away—a bad set.

Tuesday, 25. Samuel, with Zacchaeus and Michael, came back from the Monsey town.

Thursday, 27. In the early service Br. Zeisberger said something about the fire on the 18th of this month, and advised the brethren to assist the afflicted family by a contribution of corn, that they might not suffer too great need, and this was done to-day.

Sunday, March 2. Br. Sensemann preached at the entrance to passion-time, and admonished the brethren to feed their hearts constantly upon Jesus' death and sufferings, since so bitterly he had gained won and for us, our eternal welfare. In the afternoon the assistants spoke with Joseph and his wife and her friends, to bring them again together.

Monday, 3. From Zonesschio (near Geneseo, N. Y.) came here Nathan Allen, with a doctor besides, on their journey to Detroit, the former with a message from Congress to the nations, which he had to deliver to McKee, at the same time also to examine the country. He said he had it in mind to settle on the river, for he was entitled to have two thousand acres of land. He had all sorts of projects, wanted to put his children in school with us, to settle them on our land, and to be helpful to us in all kinds of ways, for instance, to build school-houses and meeting-houses, mills, for which we gave him no hope that it would happen, but told him that in our mission it was a fixed rule to admit no white people. He told us he had been in Bethlehem last year with the Mingoos, who went to Philadelphia, and he praised their good reception and

treatment there, also the children's singing. They set out the next day,

Tuesday, 4, upon their journey to Detroit, and we gave them an Indian and a horse to go with them as far as the settlement.

Wednesday, 5. Mr. Parke came here with two other white people on business with our Indians; one of these was a man who for four years had traded on Lake Superior and the rivers flowing into Hudson's Bay. He said the Chippewas were very numerous there, those here were nothing in comparison. A pound of tobacco at Ft. Mary,<sup>1</sup> on Lake Superior, costs twenty shillings, as it is sold among white people, but of course the Indians must pay more. A blanket or stroud sells for five great beaver skins.

Friday, 7. An Indian came here two days ago, the uncle of Anna Helen, whom he strongly attacks and wishes to persuade to go away with him, but he must take her away by craft. He first made her all sorts of inquiries; how it was with her and how she felt since her baptism. She replied: "Better and more blessed than ever when I was with you. I wish only that ye had experience of it, but I pity you for your blindness and that ye know not how ye may be saved." He answered: "I also know what is good." Answer: "If thou knowest, why dost thou it not?" He said: "The way thou goest I will not go, for thou wilt be sold, led away, and put to death. Thy teachers, who betray thee, make indeed pretense of goodness, but thou wilt have a bad end." She replied: "I shall be saved; therefore am I here, and if I get salvation I have enough here, and how it shall be with me after this life I leave to the Saviour, to whom I belong, and who is Lord over life and death." He said: "If thy teachers have so good a thing, why do they not preach it to the other Indians?" Answer: "If any one is interested in this and would like to hear, he can come hither. Ye live not far away, but ye might not listen, and when

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<sup>1</sup> Probably Saulte de St. Marie.

ye at times come here ye go not even once to the meetings, and every one is welcome to go there." She came to the Zeisbergers and complained of her trouble, for she was afraid of his taking her away by force. We sent a couple of the assistants to him, who asked him what his business here was and why he was come, but this he did not like to say, making all kinds of evasions, and would enter into no conversation with them, whereupon he soon made off and away.

Sunday, 9. Br. Michael preached from the Gospel: Jesus was tempted, and white people were present. In the afternoon was a conference of assistants, who were charged to speak with two families from the Moussey town, who had come here and wished to live here. This they did, and after explaining to them our rules [they got leave], to which they agreed. One of them said, when our rules were made known to him, how they had to behave and what they had to observe: "All this does not frighten me; if only the Saviour is merciful to me and has pity upon me, through his help I will observe all that." The woman, however, who was here before her husband, and had brought him, said: "I am quite stupid and know nothing, not even what one should speak and say, who would like to live here and become a believer; but how I shall do, thereof I know nothing." She was told that she would hear this every day in the meetings. Another was a half-Mingo, who had often been here, and now came away from his friends, many of whom wished to come here. Late in the evening came the aforesaid Allen back from Detroit, bringing news that there would be no peace with the Indians.

Monday, 10. Allen set forth on his way to Niagara, having hired an Indian and a horse for as far as the Moussey town. At Detroit he bought a farm, and will move there this spring.

Tuesday, 11. As the weather yesterday and to-day was fine and spring-like, our Indian brethren went for the most part to their sugar-huts. In the evening the express came back from Niagara, and with him Judge Powell's

son and a white couple, and stayed over night. We heard the news of the beheading of the Queen of France; also that the States were required to unite in the war either with England or with France. We have regard for this, in which our mission is concerned, and we pray: "Take us to thy grace. Be good against all harm," for in this way there can be no peace.

Wednesday, 12. Parke went farther to the Monsey town and our people to the sugar-huts, leaving the town empty.

Thursday, 13. Anna Helen went away to her mother.

Saturday, 15. The ice broke up in the river. At the beginning of this month was the severest cold of the winter, the thermometer standing at 19,<sup>1</sup> and to-day already at 70.

Sunday, 16. Br. Zeisberger preached. The brethren were mostly at home. Then the corn for the family lately come was collected, who had nothing to eat. Thus it commonly is with Indians when they first come to us. They are poor in body and soul, bringing nothing with them save their bodies, so that it can well be said that they run away from the devil bare and naked and flee to the church.

Tuesday, 18. The river ran strong with ice, coming from far up, and has risen very high.

Wednesday, 19. Mr. Parke came back from the Monsey town and set out for home.

Thursday, 20. A white man arrived from Niagara and went to Detroit.

Saturday, 22. Samuel came by water from the settlement and most of the brethren from their sugar-huts, there being little or nothing to do there. This year there is a poor sugar-harvest, such as we have never had, for first it was furiously cold, and then all at once came such warm weather that it was soon over.

Sunday, 23. Br. Sensemann preached, and our neigh-

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<sup>1</sup> Perhaps 19° is meant.

bor, Bach, and another were present. Br. David held the congregation meeting.

Tuesday, 25. For the feast of the Incarnation of our Saviour we had a service, at which all the brethren were present, and at consideration of our Saviour's becoming man our eyes became moist for thankfulness for the boundless love of God towards us, in sending us his only Son, so that through him we might have life eternal.

Thursday, 27. A white man arrived, sent by the commandant to ask whether we would let him have a lot upon our land, but we absolutely declined, writing to the commandant that we could not and would not do this.

Friday, 28. Samuel went up to the Monsey town about his business.

Saturday, 29. Most of the brethren came home, having done with making sugar, which has yielded little this year, and the most any one made was not over a hundred pounds.

Sunday, 30. Edwards preached, and in the afternoon the assistants had labor in investigating lies, which to our comfort were so found.

Monday, 31. Towards evening his excellency, Gov. Simcoe arrived with a suite of officers and soldiers, and with eight Mohawks, from Niagara by water, and remained over night. He at once asked for our school-house as a lodging, for it was cold and during the day had snowed, but he was much pleased when Br. Sensemann offered his house, where he then lodged together with his officers, two of whom had been here with him last year. Our sisters entertained them. The soldiers lay close by in the school-house, but the Mohawks were divided between two Indian houses, whom also our Indian brethren abundantly supplied with food. He was glad to see so many houses built since he was here, also that our Indians had cleared much land, and he praised their industry and labor. Still more, he wondered at seeing in the place such a great pile of timber, and when he learned that it was destined for a meeting-house, and also that the Indian brothers and sisters had brought it in on sledges

without horses, he said: "Would that I could have seen this."

Tuesday, April 1. After friendly leave-taking he set out for Detroit with four canoes.

Wednesday, 2. Samuel came back from the Monsey town.

Saturday, 5. An Indian, who came last winter from Oswego to the Monsey town, our Abigail's father, and who came here for a visit day before yesterday, said to Joshua that he had often heard of us from other Indians, but nothing good; he was therefore come himself to see and to hear, and now he found that all was not true which he had heard, but he believed we had something good, and the right thing, of which he and the other Indians knew nothing. He said: "I care nothing for what I hear, but I speak of what I have seen with my own eyes." He added that the Mohawks in Niagara, Brant's people, had also meetings, wished to be Christians, that they had been baptized also, but that no difference was to be seen between them and the savage Indians; they got drunk, they stabbed one another dead with knives, they went to war and did as the savages also; of all this nothing was to be seen among us; these were Indians from whose faces something good shone out, and therefore he believed that among us something good must be found; he believed there was a God who had made every thing, and had many times already thought about this, and wished to know what he would have him do, that would please him, for he sought something good for the present and for the future life, and this he had never yet found. Joshua praised to him the great love of God towards us, poor men, who came into the world and became man, such as ourselves, and who came to save sinners. He told him he would hear daily in our meetings what he sought, where he and all who came and wished to hear, were welcome. He was pleased at hearing this, reflected, and said that now he wished to go to the meetings, and this he did too.

In the evening, when it was already dark, we learned



that a trader was in camp on the other side of the river, who went up the river and had rum to sell. We sent some assistants there to get information, who brought the rum to town and took charge of it until he went away, so that there might be no drinking. The man at first defended himself, but he had to give in, but was afterwards glad when he heard he would get it again untouched.

Sunday, 6. Michael preached, whites and Frenchmen being present.

Monday, 7. The brethren fenced in the grave-yard and were done with it.

Tuesday, 8. Frenchman in two boats and canoes came here, stayed over night, and went to Detroit. By a letter from the settlement we learned that there would be war between England and the States.

Wednesday, 9. The brethren in several canoes took corn down to Dolson. An unbaptized Indian, a Tutelce, who lived with us when a boy, and is now sick, sent a request to us to come for him. He was brought here today and had trust in the Saviour that he would have mercy upon him before his death, wash away his sins with his blood, and make him happy.

Friday, 11. At a love-feast with our home-church we heartily congratulated Br. Zeisberger upon his seventy-fourth birthday, and wished the Saviour to strengthen him, body and soul, and guard him in his service.

Saturday, 12. By Indian brethren, who came from the settlement, we heard that the honorable Governor had gone with officers and soldiers to the Miami, there to lay out a fort.<sup>1</sup>

Sunday, 13. Br. Sensemann preached about the Saviour's entrance into Jerusalem for his passion, and Br. Zeisberger held the communion-service. He urged the brethren

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<sup>1</sup> "But the conduct of England in sending, as she did, Governor Simcoe in the month of April, 1794, to the rapids of the Maumee, then within the acknowledged territories of the United States, to erect a fort, was the strongest assurance that could have been given to the north-western tribes that she would espouse their quarrel." Albach's *Annals of the West*, p. 634.

ren to give up their hearts, and especially in these days, to feed upon Jesus' sufferings, and gave notice of the Lord's supper for Thursday. The assistants spoke with some people, Andrew and Pauline, Nicodemus and Theodora, Pauline, Amelia's daughter, Abel, etc.

Wednesday, 16. After speaking to the brethren yesterday and the day before, the communicants had the washing of feet, whereby the history thereof was read, and our dear Lord let his presence very perceptibly be perceived, purifying and washing away from us all dust and stain, and comforting our hearts in all their shortcomings and transgressions. Old David had the mercy of being present after many years, and to be a partaker of the body and blood of Jesus in the holy communion. Also, the widow, Sabina, was readmitted.

Thursday, 17. In the evening was read the account of our Saviour's agony and bloody sweat upon the Mount of Olives and of his captivity, at hearing which our hearts broke out into tears for thankfulness and love towards our dear Lord. Thereupon the communicants enjoyed his body, for us given over to death, and his blood, with hearts full of shame and humility. Sensemann conducted it.

Friday, 18. After the thanksgiving-liturgy, was read the story in four parts of the great martyrdom of our Saviour, in consideration of which we passed the day. This the brethren listened to eagerly and attentively, and the Spirit of God was thereby very busy, making plain in our hearts the sufferings of our God. At the death of Jesus we recited the liturgy upon our knees, and at the opening of his side was sung: Lamb of God, thy precious blood—Healing wounds and bitter death; and O sacred head, now wounded, etc. At the end of the blessed day: Be with him my members dead—Be his sepulchre my bed. A messenger went by to-day to summon the Indians to the war: Our Indians said they had to-day no time to hear him, whereupon he went his way.

Saturday, 19. Great Sabbath, was a love-feast, at which Sensemann presided, when we thankfully called to mind

and comforted ourselves with the thought that for us our dear Saviour had lain in the grave and sanctified our place of rest, so that we shall follow him and in his time be like him.

Sunday, 20. Early at daybreak we assembled in the chapel, and after the brethren had been greeted with the words: The Lord is arisen, we read the greater part of the Easter litany, it being rainy weather, and the last part in the grave-yard, praying for eternal communion with the brother and the four children who had died since last Easter. Thereupon was a reading about the resurrection of our Lord, and in the sermon, which Br. Sensemann preached, he baptized into Jesus' death a grown girl with the name, Deborah. In the service for the baptized in the afternoon, which Br. Zeisberger conducted, there were absolved by the laying-on of hands two sisters, Cathrine and Anna Maria, Joachim's wife, and one brother, David, the younger. Both this and the baptismal service were accompanied by the near presence of God, and the brethren were overwhelmed with blessing. During the day he has shown himself especially gracious to his Indian church, small as it is, and indeed no one has remained unbled. To him be praise, glory, and honor!

Tuesday, 22. Mr. Parke, who came with the boat, went away, with about a thousand bushels of corn he bought here, to Detroit, and Mr. Dolson has taken away quite as much.

Wednesday, 23. Our people were busy in the fields, making preparations for planting.

Thursday, 24. Abigail's father went to get his things, and will come again. His words:

Saturday, 26. The Indian brothers who had taken corn down came back. We got news that very soon we must expect warriors, who go to the Miami against the States, when we may again await trouble.

Sunday, 27. Michael preached. Zeisberger held the congregation meeting. With the assistants we had a conference about regulating the plantations and about the

warriors whom we have to expect, to prevent evil, so that they may cause no damage here. We heard threats again that if our Indians did not go to the war, they would come and shoot all our cattle; whoever defended himself, to him the like would be done, and we should not be treated so mercifully as upon the Muskingum. It is the old story, to which we are wonted.

Wednesday, 30. Michael held early service. The brethren are this week very busy in their fields, and begin to plant, which they do this year earlier than is usual.

Thursday, May 1. We learned from Detroit that on the Miami a fort<sup>1</sup> had been planned, that the Governor is gone back to Niagara by way of Pettquotting and Cuyahoga.

Sunday, 4. Zeisberger preached from the Gospel about the good Shepherd, and Sensemann held the congregation meeting. A couple of Chippewas brought here two strings of wampum and three pieces of tobacco, one of these for our Indians, the others to be taken elsewhere, with the words: "All the Indians should assemble at the Miami to go to war against the States or their troops, no one should stay behind, and if a wife was unwilling to let her husband go, she should go with him, so that he remain not back." This again caused much reflection, trouble, and perplexity among our brethren, who said: "How often have we explained publicly and in a straightforward manner to the chiefs and Indians that we wish to have nothing to do with war, how many messages, belts, and strings of wampum have we sent to them, but all in vain? They do not leave us in peace, they are always making attempts upon us. What can or shall we do farther, that we may have rest from the wicked world? We can think of nothing farther. We are at the end." We told them we thought it best to listen to such messages and to consider them, that they were sent not alone to us, but to all Indians, and thus we too must hear them, but that they

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<sup>1</sup> See note, p. 351.

should be quiet in the matter; and they could yet do what they wished and what their hearts told them; such events we must reckon among those of which the Saviour has said to us: In the world ye shall have tribulation, from which he has not set us free, but we must suffer and feel somewhat also of the trouble of the world; but that he had told us we should be comforted, for he had overcome the world; we should therefore look to him alone in the confidence of faith; he would help us to get through and not abandon us. This gave the brethren courage, and to be rid of the piece of tobacco they resolved that the assistant, Samuel, who approved, should go with the message to the Monsey town, and explain, in our name, that we had nothing to do with war, as was known to all nations; this also your father well knows, to whom ye can tell it likewise, and to send the tobacco back. We indeed told them that if the matter were ours we would throw it into the fire, but this they feared to do.

Tuesday, 6. Samuel with other brothers went to the Monsey town, a part by land, a part by water, to bring down here for pay the corn which traders had bought there, and when they get it down to the settlement on this river they receive two shillings a bushel. A Mingo woman, with three children, came here from the Miami sick, her people and friends, as she said, having all died there, leaving her alone. We gave them food and provisions, for they had nothing at all. The brethren planted our fields to-day together, and also the common field.

Saturday, 10. This week the brethren were mostly done planting.

Sunday, 11. Br. Edwards preached about the peace and hope of believers, sinners for whom expiation has been made by Christ's blood, of sometime seeing with their bodily eyes the Saviour, in whom they have here believed. Some white people were here visiting. Br. Sensemann conducted the children's hour.

Tuesday, 13. Samuel with the brothers came back from the Monsey town, in six canoes, with corn for Dolson. He spoke there with the chief people, saying we

had got a piece of tobacco to come to the war, but that we had nothing to do with it, and concerned not ourselves about it. He told them also the reason why, that we no longer lived as before, but, since it was pleasing to God, liked to live in peace with every one. He wished to give them the tobacco to take with them thither where it came from, but they wished to have a string of wampum besides, to show something from us, and thus it remains until they come down here.

Wednesday, 14. Jacob, John Henry, Michael, and Joseph went over the lake, each on his own business. Six Mohawks, Mohicans, messengers from Brant to Detroit, were here over night. From them we learned that efforts are still making for peace, that an ambassador from Congress has been in Niagara, bringing new propositions, which, however, were not accepted, and that he then wrote back to Congress, for whose answer they were now waiting. Upon this it now depends whether there shall be peace or whether a new war shall begin, for which all preparations are made.

Saturday, 17. A war-party of Chippewas on their way to the Miami, whither they are summoned, arrived and encamped on the river-bank. The brethren brought them food in abundance, tobacco also. When they had eaten, they made ready for their beggar-dance, according to their custom, when they dance from house to house, until something is given them. They smear themselves over the whole body with white clay and in the face with black, so that they are ugly, yea, frightful, to look at. Some assistants went to them and told them we should be glad to have them omit this, they would make our children uneasy and anxious; if they wanted any thing, they should just tell us, and if we could, we would give it them without their dancing. Hereupon they asked for a hog, which they got, and thus they gave up their dance, but only for to-day; in the evening they had their dance in their camp.

Sunday, 18. Br. Sensemann preached from the Gospel: I go unto him that sent me. The Chippewa warriors assembled in bands and listened quietly, but in the evening,

after the services were over, they set about their beggar-dance through the whole town, from house to house, and the next morning at daybreak went away. An unbaptized Indian, who had already leave to live here, a half-Mingo, went with them. We heard also that a great multitude of Chippewas from the upper lakes was come to Detroit, and that more were arriving daily, but what they intend to do no one knows. These circumstances among the weaker hearts of our brethren arouse again a certain fear that the savage Indians are coming to destroy the church, to drive away their teachers, or to kill them together with themselves, because they go not to the war. Therefore we do not cease, privately and in the services, industriously to exhort them to rely upon the Saviour, to abide by him and his promise: Because thou hast kept the word of my patience, I also will keep thee from the hour of temptation, that they should believe they were a people purchased with his dear blood, and that he will not forsake them, but rejoice over them, if he sees their faith.

Monday, 19. A company of Monsey warriors, thirty men, arrived. They had hardly encamped below the town, when they also came and danced their beggar-dance through the whole town. They remained here the following day, causing us and the assistants much concern and anxiety, since they wished to take with them some one from here, especially Nicholas. Thereupon we said we would send no one, that we might have no blame if they were unsuccessful and came to harm; whoever wished might go. The tobacco, which they would not take with them, we said to them we would ourselves bring where it belonged. Moses' child, that was brought here sick and quite wasted away, at the request of its parents, was to-day baptized with the name, Sara, and died half an hour after, as if it had only waited for this, for at the baptism it was quite lively.

Wednesday, 21. Early the warriors again danced their beggar-dance, and there was again trouble. There were some warriors who had lost relatives in the war, when Broadhead (in 1779) had made a campaign up the Alle-

ghany, who accused Br. Bill Henry of being the one who did it, but he is innocent, and it is uncertain whether the man was an Indian or a white, but since he took part in the campaign and was a captain, he is held responsible for it. In order to be rid of them this time he had to give them an ox [and day before yesterday he gave them a hog], until the matter is arranged. When these ceremonies were over, there was the burial of the child, Sara, who died yesterday. Many strangers were present at this.

Thursday, 22. In the forenoon the warriors went away with a war-cry, and fired off all their guns, after having caused us trouble and anxiety enough, mostly about our people, to whom the temptation is great. Indeed, upright, faithful hearts let not themselves so easily be persuaded, but there are ever weak spirits, who have little experience of the Saviour in their hearts, who are the most set upon, being easily recognized, and they must submit to it. Thus, three of our baptized people and three unbaptized, one of them quite an old man, who came to us in the spring, went away with them, whom we told not to come back here again. Then followed great stillness in town, and our King of Peace, to whom we are so gladly subject, came again to his rule.

Saturday, 24. Dr. Freeman, a man from the States, came here, whom our Indians brought from the settlement here to take charge of a sister and of a girl, who have chronic troubles and vomitings, to whom he gave medicine.

Sunday, 25. Michael preached about this, how we should address and pray to our dear Father in the name of Jesus Christ, which the Holy Ghost teaches us, and disposes of our prayer and of the answer so that we hear it. Br. Sensemann held the communion quarter-hour, and the assistants had labor. Dr. Freeman went home.

Monday, 26. By a Chippewa Indian, who came back from the Fort, we heard that the warriors are all coming back, also that all the Chippewas from the upper lakes are going home. Although we cannot learn the cause, nor the connection of events, it was comforting news for us,



and gave us hope that circumstances would change to the better.

Wednesday, 28. Sensemann held early service from the Scripture-verse about this, that the Saviour had reconciled us to God by his blood, and made us willing to serve and capable of serving him in holiness and righteousness. To-day the brethren hoed our fields and the common fields.

Thursday, 29. On Ascension Day Br. Zeisberger early held service, and discoursed from the text: It is expedient for you that I go away. He said that when our dear Lord and Saviour had brought about our redemption and made atonement for us by his blood and death, and when after his resurrection he had been forty days here below, and through his apostles had left behind him what was needful for us, he had ascended into heaven, sits now at the right hand of God with his wounds and makes intercessions for us. He admonished the brethren to be eager for walking with the Saviour, whom indeed we see not, but who is not far from each one of us. In conclusion we prayed to him and read the liturgy upon our knees from the English version.

Saturday, 31. We had in the near presence of our dear Lord the holy communion, whereby Anna Sophia was a partaker for the first time and young Sophia came again. David Zeisberger administered it.

Sunday, June 1. David read the liturgy, Edwards preached, and Sensemann held the congregation meeting.

Tuesday, 3. From Detroit came Nicholas, who went thither to show himself, all Indians having been summoned there, but McKee told him he could go home again, for they had no need of us. Thus was the trouble over for this time. Meanwhile these events have caused much harm among our people, and it is a wonder that any remain. We heard that they wish to besiege the Americans' fort.<sup>1</sup>

Friday, 6. By Mr. Parke we got from Detroit a packet, containing a letter and the Scripture-verses and texts

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<sup>1</sup> Ft. Recovery, on the site of St. Clair's defeat.

for this year, together with a writing from Br. Ettwein. The letter is dated Oct. 20th last. We heard that the Indians had fallen upon and beaten a convoy with provisions, killing forty men,<sup>1</sup> that in the fort the Americans suffered from want of food, and that the Indians had cut off all access to them.

Sunday, 8. The sermon, at which a couple of our nearest neighbors from the settlement were present, was delivered by Br. Sensemann about the office and work of God, the Holy Ghost, who punishes the world for its unbelief, but especially how he is busy in the hearts of his believers, comforting, leading, conducting, and blessing them, body and soul. In the afternoon, at a love-feast, we brought to him praise and thanks, and sang to him songs of praise for his faithful care of us, poor wretches. After a discourse from the text: Now he which stablisheth us with you in Christ is God,—and given the earnest of the Spirit in our hearts, who is given us for aid and help, the grown girl, Elizabeth, daughter of Adam and Sophia, was admitted to the church. Towards evening an express came from Detroit on his way to Niagara to the Governor, to whom we had to give an Indian from here as escort, at the request of the commandant, which we did. By him we learned, for only four days ago he came from the Miami, that the army of the States had left the fort and was marching in full numbers to the Miami; a party of Indians had attacked a party of light cavalry and killed thirty men, but had to take flight, with loss of four Indians.

Wednesday, 11. White people came through here from Niagara with cattle for Detroit.

Thursday, 12. Anna Helen, who went away some time ago, and indeed from her husband, having herself taken another, came and begged to live again in the church, but we could not comply with her request. Anthony's Esther was delivered of a daughter.

Friday, 13. She (Anna Helen) came again and asked

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<sup>1</sup>I find no corroboration of this report.

leave to live here, but we could not grant her request, for we could not perceive that it would be well. There came Indian women back from the Fort, who told us much about a fight, that Pachgantschihillas<sup>1</sup> was dead.

Saturday, 14. Samuel came back from the Fort, from whom we heard the real truth about the fight that occurred, namely, eighteen whites and thirty-one Indians were killed, also that one hundred Chippewas had come from the upper lakes, who had been summoned. They said, however, that they could not remain long from home; that they had themselves war with the Indians back of them, who had fallen upon them this spring and killed many. The chief said to the commandant and agent, that they set on the Indians and the States, one against the other, like two dogs, and that they merely looked on and did nothing; their father had deceived them, who had sent word to them, that if they came to Detroit, they would find there only women, children, and old men, for all that could go, had gone to the war, and now he saw the redcoats idly going about town; he could not stay long there, but must soon go home.

Sunday, 15. Zeisberger preached about the regeneration of the heart, that the Holy Trinity has contrived and brought about the redemption of mankind by Jesus Christ, through whose blood we are cleansed of sin and born again. The assistants had to speak with Luke and Mary Elizabeth. Mr. Parke arrived.

Tuesday, 17. Mr. Parke went home.

Thursday, 19. The brethren hilled our corn early, and then the whole day was rainy. Late in the evening Israel came from the Fort, who got here without a blanket even, on account of Chippewas, and had to leave his gun and all in the lurch, for, as he said, they were after his life, and they fell upon him as he was passing by.

Friday, 20. Anna Sophia was delivered of a son.

Saturday, 21. By a Chippewa Indian from Detroit we heard many lies, whereby our Indian brethren were made

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<sup>1</sup> A Delaware captain. The report of his death was false.

fearful, for he said that the Delawares and those who were always for war, and would not accept peace, would be fallen upon. We learned also that commissioners from the States were again come to Detroit. We got our hay in.

Sunday, 22. Br. Michael preached from the Gospel about the rich man. In the afternoon service from to-day's Scripture-verse, Br. Zeisberger baptized two children, the one born on the 12th Inst. with the name, Lydia, the other, born day before yesterday, with the name, Lewis. Then there was a conference of assistants, considering about Anna Helen and Israel.

Monday, 23. Motey, Anna Helen's mother, came to Samuel late at night and related her perplexity, that she had a call to the church, but on account of her children and friends could not make up her mind; that yet she did not know how long she should live, yea, not even whether she should be alive the next morning. Samuel told her she was her own mistress. She could do as she thought best; she should think of her soul's salvation, and not be held therefrom by her friends, who could not help her, but she might be lost with them.

Wednesday, 25. Bartholomew came back by way of Detroit from Niagara, whither he went by water on the 8th Inst. with an express as escort. The Governor asked him if he was one of the Moravian Indians, and when he said yes, offered him a glass of rum, but he declined, saying he could not drink it. We learned that all was quiet, nothing to be heard about war.

Saturday, 28. We learned that the Indian captain who had urged on the warriors against our Indians, and told them not to go away from Samuel's house until he promised that at least three should go from here to the war, likewise if they saw cattle near Bill Henry's house and knew they belonged to him, to shoot them—that when he got to the Miami soon died. And if others had not stopped him, he would have been a real torment to us.

Sunday 29. Sensemann preached about the great feast, whereto Jesus by his servants bids mankind who, how-

ever, always know how to excuse themselves. The assistants considered about the building of the meeting-house. Zeisberger held the congregation meeting.

Tuesday, July 1. After the brethren had taken away yesterday the old meeting-house, and put it up in another place, as it was in the way, to-day the ground was made ready for the new. We assembled on the ground about it, and after some verses and a short discourse, Br. Zeisberger made a fervent prayer to our dear Lord, entreating for his recognition, for his blessing and presence; that as often as we should assemble there we might be fed upon the words of his death and passion, and that to all those who came from far and near to hear, it should be shown in them as God's strength. Besides we commended ourselves to the protection and guard of our dear Father and of the dear angels, that his blessing should accompany our labor. Thereupon the work was at once begun in comfort and cheerfulness.

Wednesday, 2. From Niagara came a white man and a half-breed here, and told us that Brant had gone to Walnut Bottoms<sup>1</sup> to bid the white people go away from there, and that Allen was on his way hither.

Friday, 4. By way of Niagara and Detroit we got letters of April 29th last from Bethlehem and European news, to our great joy.

Sunday, 6. Br. Edwards preached. In the communion quarter-hour, which Br. Zeisberger conducted, giving notice thereof, he greeted the brethren from the churches, and assured them that they were lovingly remembered by them. Br. Sensemann held the congregation meeting from the Scripture-verse: The Lord is slow to anger and of great power. We refreshed ourselves by reading the papers received.

Wednesday, 9. An express went through from Detroit, giving news that Indians and whites had attacked the fort, but had accomplished nothing, and that some twenty

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<sup>1</sup> Near Presque Isle. See before p. 272.

Indians perished, and one Frenchman also. We were busy to-day blocking out the new meeting-house.

Friday, 11. Indians came from the Miami, last from Detroit, by whom we heard that Pipe was dead.<sup>1</sup> Here the Indian brothers cut the first block of planks from wild-cherry timber, and all are eager to learn how. The Indian brothers set about plank-splitting. The surveyor, McNeff, sent us from Detroit the draught of our township. In the evening Br. Zeisberger baptized the sick Indian, the Tutelee, who was brought here April 5th, sick with consumption, into Jesus' death with the name, Clemens.

Saturday, 12. Chippewa warriors came back from the Miami very hungry, having nothing to eat. The brethren brought them food and gave them also provisions for their journey. They confirmed the news about the fight<sup>2</sup> with the Americans, but that thirty Indians had fallen, instead of twenty; how many whites, they knew not, except one. As they lost a man, a scalp was given them in his place, which they brought with them. In the evening the communicants enjoyed the body and blood of the Lord in the holy sacrament. Joachim was again a partaker, and Sensemann conducted it.

Sunday, 13. Br. Zeisberger read early the thanksgiving-liturgy, and thereupon preached from the Gospel: Be ye therefore merciful as your Father also is merciful, applying it to the brethren. Our neighbor Bach was present. We read the Bethlehem journal.

Wednesday, 16. Another war-party of Chippewas arrived who had been in the fight. They gave news that forty Indians had died, and that the Chippewas from the upper lakes had lost most heavily, that the Americans had with them Tuckashaw<sup>3</sup> Indians, two of whom were killed.

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<sup>1</sup> According to Butterfield, Crawford's Campaign, p. 172, Pipe died a few days before Aug. 20th, the date of Wayne's victory.

<sup>2</sup> Here and also under Wednesday, 7, reference is made to a skirmish under the walls of Ft. Recovery, where several hundred Indians fell upon one hundred and forty American soldiers. The fight was severe, but the Indians were repelled.

<sup>3</sup> See before p. 128.

Saturday, 19. Warriors came back from the Monsey town.

Sunday, 20. Br. Sensemann preached; Zeisberger held the congregation meeting. Chippewa warriors came back. We read the Bethlehem journal.

Monday, 21. Chippewas arrived. In the morning before daybreak died, right blessedly, Clemens, baptized on the 11th Inst.

Tuesday, 22. He was buried after the early service, Br. Sensemann conducting the funeral. He came with his mother to Huron River (Michigan) in 1784 to the church, when a boy, and when she died, in the spring of 1791, on her way from New Salem to Detroit, in Sandusky, he showed her much faithfulness during her sickness, and was thoughtful for her, but in his heart little life or feeling could be observed, though he had once applied for baptism. At the Watch-Tower he went away with the warriors, and then came with them to the river to the Monsey town, where he got the consumption, of which his mother had died, and when he wasted away more and more and could not recover, he sent to us and begged us to bring him here, which was done April 9 last, but his wife, by whom he had a child, left him, coming not with him. He still hoped for recovery, but when he saw that his strength was ever getting less and less, he turned to the Saviour, gave himself entirely to his will, came of his own accord and asked for baptism, saying it was his only care to be cleansed from his sins by Jesus' blood, and then to go to him. This mercy he obtained on the 11th Inst. on his bed of sickness, in the presence of a number of brethren, amidst a blessed, gracious feeling of the presence of our Lord. The grace the Saviour did showed itself mighty in his heart. He was now quite comforted that he was in grace with God, that his sins were forgiven, and he found joy in soon coming to the Saviour. He spoke now of nothing but his death and that he should soon see him. "There is in the world," he said, "nothing more to keep me. There is no pleasure for me. My joy is the Saviour, who has forgiven my sins, adopted me as his child and saved me, for now I feel quite

differently from what I felt before. Now I have no fear of him, but I love him dearly." To a young brother who visited him he said: "We were always good comrades together, loved each other too, but now we are brothers and love the Saviour above all, and hold each other dearer than before." Last night when brothers watched with him he entertained them with talk about death, how he rejoiced to see brothers and brethren who are with the Saviour, whom he called by name. After midnight, when he heard the cocks crow, he said: "Now the Saviour comes for me, now I shall go," turned himself over, folded his hands, and died quietly and happily as a sinner redeemed by Jesus' blood.

Thursday, 24. Br. Sensemann went down to the settlement on business, returning on the 26th. AnnaHelen, who went to the Monsey town to bring here her cattle and children, brought back her mother to stay. Some white people visited us and examined our place.

Friday, 25. Warriors came, Abel also. We are ever hearing more about the loss of the Indians in the fight. One hundred and thirty were killed in the battle, and many who were wounded have since died. The Indians stabbed the sentinel in the Fort. There is some secret excitement among the Indians.

Sunday, 27. Michael preached. A party of men and women came here from the settlement, fifteen miles from here, to see our place. Sensemann held the congregation meeting.

Monday, 28. Brethren went to the settlement. Motey announced her wish to live here. She had a long discussion with her friends about it, who told her she would here perish with the believers, for they would all be put to death. This comes from the fact that the Indians on the Miami are considering about taking us away into captivity.

Tuesday, 29. More warriors came back, Monseys. All agree that the Indians have lost many men; also that the



Delawares on the Miami are planning to call us away from here. We shall await the time.

Thursday, 31. Sensemann held early service. Mr. Allen, who was here in the winter, came here by boat by way of Detroit to settle forty miles up the river. He stayed over night and went on the next day.

Friday, Aug. 1. Joshua and many brethren came up from the lake, where they got meadow-grass. We were now compelled to send Israel away, and he went to-day. For some time the weather has been very hot and dry, so that many vegetables and fruits have wilted. The dry earth longs for rain and we likewise, for the corn begins to wither. The thermometer for several days has been at 96°, which it never was before.

Sunday, 3. Br. Edwards preached. Michael held the congregation meeting. We took counsel with the assistants about building houses for a couple of widows and their children, that they might at once have a place for their corn, for now the brethren have time for this, there being no pressing work. We read the journal. Towards evening we got a much desired rain.

Monday, 4. White people went through here for Detroit with cattle, who have begun a settlement forty or fifty miles up this river, thirty families strong, having lately come over from Europe. The land will be very thickly settled, and grows perceptibly. We should have gained nothing then if we had settled as far again up the river. A child, whose parents are strangers, left here by them, fell into the water and was taken out for dead, giving no token that life was in him. They brought him to a house, covered the body warmly, when, after half an hour, it began to get breath, and after a good quantity of water and slime had come out of his mouth he was well again.

Tuesday, 5. Mr. Parke arrived, who in the spring gave us hope he would go to the States and visit Bethlehem, for whom we have been waiting, thinking to send letters by him, but now he does not do this, and we are disappointed. Israel came back again, as he gave out, because

he does not dare to go anywhere alone. Sensemann began the children's school again.

Thursday, 7. Michael held early service. The assistants spoke with Israel, who gave as reason for his return that he did not dare to go anywhere alone. It thus appears that he has no good conscience, and must consequently be afraid of the Chippewas.

Friday, 8. Zeisberger held early service. It rained all day.

Sunday, 10. Sensemann preached. Zeisberger held the communion quarter-hour and the congregation meeting. We got news by an express going to Niagara that uneasiness prevailed; that Gen. Wayne was come as far as the fork of the Miami, where they were building a fort.<sup>1</sup> It is said the Indians flee, leaving the fields in the lurch.

Tuesday, 12. By Indians from Detroit we heard that the Indians are again summoned to go to war, and this will again make disturbance among us. Some brought rum, of which, of course, we took charge.

Wednesday, 13. The brethren have lately been spoken to, and the communicants enjoyed in the near presence of our dear Lord his body and blood in the sacrament of the holy communion, whereby he blessed us unspeakably.

From the upper towns Indians came. A Mohican, the son of Joseph (Snow-shoe),<sup>2</sup> who had lived in the Brothers' house in Bethlehem, came here several days ago, and said of his own accord that his wife, who had been away from him more than two years, had also come to him here; that here they had been reconciled and were of accord in wishing to live here and become believers. God strengthen them in their intention! It seems they belong to us.

Thursday, 14. A Monsey captain, the near friend of Anna Helen and her mother, after taking much pains to persuade them and to turn them from the church, since they have been here, when he saw that he could do

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<sup>1</sup> Ft. Defiance.

<sup>2</sup> See before, p. 144.

nothing with them, and that they were firmly resolved to remain with the church, said to them at last: "Now I see ye remain thereby, and it is your full intention to stay with the believers, I have nothing farther to say against it. I am glad that ye are so disposed. One thing, however, I will say to you, hold fast to your resolution, by no means ever go away from the church, wherefrom ye will be unhappy. Ye see yourselves how it is with those who leave the church. They are worse than the savages, and are unholy men, therefore I exhort you, remain fast with the church." This was his last advice to them. He left them and went home.

[Thus far to Bethlehem.]

Friday, 15. Samuel went with Boaz to Detroit about Bill Henry's affair, to bring to rest that of which he was accused, that he had killed an Indian, the friend of the Monseys here above us.

Sunday, 17. Michael preached and Zeisberger held the congregation meeting. Anna Helen's mother, Motey, was spoken with by the assistants, and as she has numerous relatives who yearly make sacrifices, thereby to be protected from sickness and misfortune, she was told if she came to the church and wished to enjoy a blessed and pleasant life, she must keep away therefrom, and from all heathenish life and works, and if her friends made sacrifices and came to invite her thereto, she should always bear in mind that she no longer believed in them, but in the sacrifice of Jesus Christ, who, with a sacrifice for us all, had done enough, and nothing farther was needed, yea, it was a horror to God.

Monday, 18. Br. Edwards held early service. After this Mrs. Sensemann and Jung set out for Detroit, whom many brethren, going to the settlement, followed. An express for Niagara went through.

Tuesday, 19. Zeisberger held early service. White people from the new settlement fifty miles above us went to Detroit. Chippewas brought meat here to exchange for corn and produce of the fields. A Chippewa messenger

brought a string of wampum, together with a pipe filled with tobacco for all the Indians up the river, with the words: "My friends, as soon as ye have taken a couple of whiffs of tobacco, arise, for the Americans are near to take your land. Come, I will go with you against them and send them back again." This message we had to send farther, for the messenger had only come thus far, not having hurried, for he had been five days in coming from Detroit, the Chippewas not liking to go to war.

Wednesday, 20. Allen came here from his settlement, and remained over night with some of his people.

Thursday, 21. Mr. Allen was at the early service, which Br. Zeisberger held. In the afternoon came back Brs. Sensemann and Jung, having done nothing, not having been quite to the mouth of the river, for as soon as they came to the settlement, they heard and saw that all was in great confusion and alarm, for Gen'l Wayne, with his army, was already at the Miami, and so, too, they heard, was it in Detroit, the gates being fast shut and no free passage. The shops are closed, the merchants have gone to the Miami against the foe, and all the militia and men in the country must go thither. In such critical circumstances, seeing certainly that they would not accomplish their purpose, if they went on, they turned about again. We heard also that the militia and Indians from Niagara have all gone thither by water.

Friday, 22. We learned that Gen'l Wayne had broken up at the Miami Fork and marched down the river, and had posted himself.<sup>1</sup>

Sunday, 24. Zeisberger preached. For Sister Sensemann's birthday we had together at home a blessed love-feast, and forgot the wretched and burdensome life, wherein we now are, and know not what to ask from the Saviour, but will leave it entirely to him, and say: Lord, thy will be done, for never yet has he neglected any thing in his government, but in his grace thinks of us. Br. Michael held the congregation meeting. How good it is

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<sup>1</sup>At Ft. Deposit.

that we are here so quiet, out of the way of the trouble that harasses this land, as little children, who are carefully protected on earth. I know not where we could have found such a place.

Monday, 25. Edwards held early service from the Scripture-verse: I, even I, am he who comforteth you; who art thou that thus shouldst be afraid of a man that shall die? The Indians went to work at the meeting-house, upon which, for a while, they had ceased working, and as they were eating, there came an express through here for Niagara to the Governor, who, with his troops on his way to Detroit, is expected, and will also march through here. We heard that Wayne was posted in sight of the English fort. An express soon after came back from Niagara, who said there had been a skirmish, and that many French and Indians had been killed. This was the first of three hundred Indians, who knew nothing of the Americans, and attacked them at once. Wayne then offered the Indians peace, but they dared accept none. The Indians and French are always urged to attack Wayne, but have no courage.

Tuesday, 26. The warriors came down here from above, encamping somewhat apart from the town, where they had their war-dance and ceremonies, of which we took little notice. Otherwise they were quite orderly and caused no further disturbance, except that, as usually, they held their beggar-dance, though we had abundantly provided them with food. They must have a hog. They remained,

Wednesday, 27, and early on Thursday, 28, went away. A couple of hours later Joseph followed them secretly with John and James, without saying any thing about it to any one. To-day also many Chippewas went down by here.

Friday, 29. Br. Edwards held the early service. We congratulated the unmarried brothers upon their festival-day to-day at a love-feast, having hearty sympathy with them, and we blessed them, to pass all their days with the In-

dian church joyfully and with pleasure, for we now live in critical times, and cannot know what awaits us.

Sunday, 31. Sensemann preached from the Gospel about Pharisees and tax-gatherers, and Michael held the congregation meeting.

Monday, Sept. 1. We got news again about a fight between Wayne and the Indians; wherein the latter lost many. Wayne has gone by the fort, and on Reeson River<sup>1</sup> has attacked a party of Indians, who were killed to a man.

Tuesday, 2. By an express from Detroit for Niagara we learned that there had been a fight in sight of the English fort on the Miami, in which again many Indians were killed, and thirty men of the Americans, who remained masters of the field and buried the dead, but the Indians afterwards opened the graves to see how many were killed, but found they had themselves lost more; that soon after the battle the army had again marched back, but for what reason is not known; that before the English fort they spoke with them, saying they were going back from lack of supplies.<sup>2</sup> The Scripture-verse today was: Fear not, for I have redeemed thee, I have called thee by thy name, thou art mine.

Wednesday, 3. Mr. Allen, who came last evening from Detroit, and remained over night, set out for home today. Chippewa warriors, on their way home, said that Ekuschuwe had been mortally wounded in the head and body, that the Indians were angry with McKee, and said he was the cause of the death of so many Indians; also that not a single Shawano was in the fight, though they were always instigating the Indians to go to war.

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<sup>1</sup> Raisin River, Michigan, but Wayne did not go there.

<sup>2</sup> This battle, at the Rapids of the Maumee, was fought Aug. 20, 1794. The Americans are said to have been less than a thousand, the Indians double this number. The savages soon fled, and the battle ended in sight of the British fort. The American loss in killed was thirty-nine, the Indian at least eighty. After remaining a few days near the British fort, Gen'l Wayne returned to Ft. Defiance. Burnet's Notes, Chap. VIII.

Saturday, 6. The brethren worked at the meeting-house this week. Monsey warriors came back, who, however, had been no farther than Detroit. Mohawks came from Brant's town,<sup>1</sup> on their way to the war, and remained over night. They asked some of our Indians why they did not go to the war. They answered: "We do not go to the war, for it stands not in Holy Writ that believers shall go to war; in olden times it indeed happened, but in the new time no longer, for then it ceased." They said it stood in their book that they should go to war; this was the English Book of Common Prayer, with some heads from the Old and the New Testament. They further said they had heard the ministers would not let them go to war. Answer: "The Indians are free people. Who wants to go, can go. It is true they are not ordered to go, but whoever goes, goes upon his own responsibility; war was not for believers."

Sunday, 7. Zeisberger held morning prayer, entreating the Lord for his blessing and presence this day, and for his recognition of us in all our services. Then Br. Sensemann held the festival services (for the married), Michael preached, and Zeisberger conducted the love-feast. The peace of God was in all services, and his near presence could be traced, his comforting nearness.

Monday, 8. Edwards held early service. More warriors arrived, going home, but stayed over night here, and, Tuesday, 9, went farther.

Wednesday, 10. Zeisberger held early service from the text: That good thing which was committed unto thee, keep by the Holy Ghost. O, Lord, protect from strange doctrines,<sup>2</sup> etc., and said he did not doubt but that the brethren believed they had the true ground and proper instruction for salvation, that they would seek no other way to salvation than that they had heard, only many indifferent persons were opposed. The thing was to them an old story, and it was a great loss to such that they did

<sup>1</sup> Probably at or near the present Brantford, on Grand River, Ontario.

<sup>2</sup> This last sentence is from the collect.

not stand in full enjoyment thereof. At noon came Brant with a company of Mohawks from Grand River (Ontario). They saluted the town with a salvo from their guns, and were answered in like manner. They stayed here a good while, and then set out on their way to the Miami through Detroit. Brant said he went to the war unwillingly, but he was compelled, and must go, for war was contrived merely for this, to exterminate the Indians, and our Indians did well and right in not going to war. He bought a canoe for his sick and weak. Among these Mohawks was a half-breed, who understood German well. He told us he had heard that in our town there was no drinking, dancing, playing, whoring allowed, whether it was so. We replied yes, for he who wishes to live in such sins cannot be here. "Yes," said he, "that is perfectly right, and so should it be with us also. These Mohawks were also Christians, went to Church, and had a school-house, but with all this, drinking and whoring were in full swing. At times they got together in the school-house, played, danced, and drank, and had already smashed nearly all the windows, and thus they live, no better than the savage Indians." Such Christianity, he thought, was not pleasing to God. After the uproar was now somewhat over, Brs. Sensemann and Michael Jung went to Detroit, together with other affairs, to forward a packet to England. Many brethren went to the settlement.

Thursday, 11. There came about sixty warriors from Brant's town, encamping a little out of town, where food was taken them. They behaved in so quiet and orderly a way that nothing savage or unbecoming was seen or heard the whole night, the Monseys here making much more uproar, and being quite unrestrained. Their captain with a party of his people attended early service, held by Br. Edwards, Thursday, 11, listening devoutly, and then quietly withdrew.

Sunday, 14. Br. Edwards preached. Zeisberger held the congregation meeting. Chippewas went through here, who related that McKee was gone to Niagara, and that he and Bawbee did not dare go to the Fort. We heard



also that the Indians had fled from the Miami, part of them to Detroit for the deep creek,<sup>1</sup> where they bade us live, a part to the Spaniards, among them some of our people.

Monday, 15. The brethren went out hunting to get meat for those working on the meeting-house. On the 16th, they brought in three deer and several turkeys. In the bush they came upon a woman from the northern nations almost dead from hunger, whom they brought with them.

Wednesday, 17. Still more Mohawks arrived on their way to the Miami, likewise Chippewas, all of whom we fed. To-day the brethren began to make sledges.

Thursday, 18. Two families of Chippewas, who had been here and were going hunting, came to ask for corn for the hunt to take with them. They said they had been summoned to the war, and had gone; that their cattle had eaten up all their corn in the fields; they had spoken to McKee, but got nothing; they had asked him for an order on the believing Indians here for corn, but since he refused this, too, they now begged us themselves for support. This we gave them, each family contributing a basket full of corn on the cob. Their women also helped ours in the harvest, thereby earning some corn.

Friday, 19. From the settlement came Peter Skank, with another white man, and they stayed over night.

Saturday, 20. Israel and Paul arrived.

Sunday, 21. David preached and held the communion-service, of which he gave notice for next Saturday. The assistants spoke with Israel and Paul; neither had disposition to be in the church.

Monday, 22. Brs. Sensemann and Jung came back from Detroit, whence they sent our letters to England and Bethlehem, and besides attended to many affairs. N. B.—Br. Sensemann baptized two children in the settlement here. In regard to the army from the States, matters were now quiet, for it is gone back to the nearest fort, but is again

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<sup>1</sup> See ante, p. 158.

expected. The Delawares are going to the Mississippi from suspicion. They say they lose their land any way, whether the States win or not, either through them or the English, and their young people besides, and thus it is better for them to leave their land and go away, not to mention having nothing to eat, and the danger of starving here, for all their fields are laid waste. For this they now blame their father (the English), who is the cause of all their calamity, for they dared not make peace. Their loss in men is greater than was at first reported. White men, also, who were in the battle, perished.

Tuesday, 23. Polly was delivered of a son.

Wednesday, 24. By Indians from Detroit we learned that Gen'l Wayne had again offered the nations peace, if they would have it. In these circumstances we now see how well and blessedly the Lord has led us at the right time, taking us away from the troubles of the world, and making us secure here before the disquiet began, for which we cannot be thankful enough. As little children we are carefully watched upon earth. Some time ago we heard that the Delawares had held a council on the Miami about calling us away from here, and now they must themselves be fugitives and have no settled place or abode.

Friday, 26. Cathrine was delivered of a daughter.

Saturday, 27. In the early service Br. Zeisberger baptized, with the name, Nathaniel, the little son of Samuel and Polly, born the 23d Inst. We have lately heard that some of the Indians who fled to the Mississippi, would come hither to call away their friends; this seems now more probable, for Sabina's sister, who came here the other day, will now make preparation and take with her the grown daughter of the former. The communicants celebrated the Lord's supper in his dear nearness. Andrew also came back to-day.

Sunday, 28. Br. Zeisberger read the communion liturgy, reminding the brethren to be thankful for the blessing enjoyed, carefully to guard it, and then to think of the sick and weak and to pray for them, that the Saviour

and his Spirit may bless them by making them sharers of the like blessing. Br. Michael preached from the Gospel: No man can serve two masters, etc., and in the afternoon service, which Br. Sensemann conducted, he baptized into Jesus' death, with the name, Gertrude, the little daughter of Br. John Thomas and his wife, Cathrine, born two days ago.

Monday, 29. In the early service, which Br. Zeisberger held, the dear angels were mentioned, whom and the Saviour we have to thank for their service given to believers, in that they turn from us many a misfortune and danger. Moreover, we had news to-day that the Indians now wish to make peace with the States, seeing now that if they longer carry on war they must go to destruction. It happens also that the agent is away, having gone to Montreal. They no longer ask their father whether they shall or not, but it is reported that they will adopt Congress as their father.

Wednesday, Oct. 1. Chippewas, who were encamped here, and drummed, all went off hunting, a pleasant event for us. Our people were industrious about the meeting-house. To-day they finished the roof and also the little tower, and the bell was hung up. The sisters, for their part, are busy harvesting.

Thursday, 2. A white man arrived from Niagara, with a couple of Indians, going to the war. We heard by him that the Governor had gone by ship with McKee to the Miami.

Sunday, 5. Br. Sensemann preached. A couple of Chippewa families, who have been in camp here for many days, went away hunting. The reason of their being here so long was that they much wanted to marry some of our young women to their sons, and they asked our Indians for their young women, but no hope was given them.

Tuesday, 7. The brethren worked at the meeting-house and laid the lower floor. The assistants spoke with Andrew's brothers and sisters.

Thursday, 9. We congratulated Br. Sensemann upon his fiftieth birthday and blessed him. To-day came from

the Miami John Henry and Jacob, Christiana's husband, John Cook's son. Among the Indians matters seem very confused, some wish to make peace, others not. They have got together and must be supported. The Delawares have their eyes upon us. They are not pleased that we are here, and they wish to call us away, but know not themselves whither. They would like to have Bill Henry for chief.<sup>1</sup>

Saturday, 11. Yesterday and to-day the brethren harvested our fields. Frenchmen went through with rum, whom a party from here followed and got drunk.

Sunday, 12. Zeisberger spoke earnestly about certain people who cause disorder and disturbance in town, and said it was better they went away and lived after their wicked thoughts, for they would have in the church a hard life, and hereafter everlasting damnation.

Monday, 13. The brethren went earnestly to work upon the meeting-house to get it done this week, and all were busy, sisters as well as brothers.

Wednesday, 15. Chippewa and Delaware Indians arrived from the Miami. There are general disturbances among the Indians and want of unity. The Delawares fully intend to leave this part of America, and to flee to the south and New Spain, but are not all agreed about this, but some go away secretly and come here. They have spoken the truth straight out to their father, namely: "Thou hast always hitherto urged us to go to war against the States. We have followed thee to our great loss. Look at the graves on the Miami, look farther on, where the bones of the young folk lie, on whom the beasts have fed. Thou art the cause of their death. Thou hast always preached to us and said: 'Behold, the States are taking away your land. Be brave, act like men. Let not your land be taken from you. Fight for your land.' But now we have got at the truth. The States have struck thee to the ground and overcome thee. Therefore hast thou

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<sup>1</sup> It will be remembered that he was the grandson of Netawatwes, and before his conversion was called Gelelemend. See Vol. 1, p. 419.

given them our land in order to have peace from them, but thou tellest us to fight for it, so that we may all be blotted out. See, this is the truth. Thou urgest us to war, but sittest still thyself, and mayest not raise thy hand. So hast thou deceived us for many years. Therefore will we up and away. Thou mayest carry on war alone. We will no longer be deceived by thee."

Saturday, 18. Our new meeting-house was done, so that,

Sunday, 19, we dedicated it to the Lord in the first service, which Br. Zeisberger held, and asked him in a prayer from the heart for his presence and recognition, that as often as we assemble there in his name to hear his sweet Gospel he would lend us his blessing, yes, if strangers came to hear, that they might not go away empty; also that he would give grace to his servants to bear witness of his death and atonement for all men, with the strength of God, that it may accomplish that for which he sent it. Br. Sensemann preached from the text: In all places where I record my name I will come unto thee and I will bless thee. In the afternoon was a love-feast, which Zeisberger conducted. He thanked the brethren for their industry and good-will in the work, whereby none was injured. In conclusion Michael held the service from the Scripture-verse: Turn us again, O Lord God of hosts, cause thy face to shine and we shall be saved. Thus we had joy, and ended with the blessing of the church. Several strangers were also here, who all attended the services, and not in vain, as they expressed themselves.

Monday, 20. The brethren brought our corn in from the fields.

Tuesday, 21. Sensemann held early service. Mr. Parke came here from Detroit with goods for our Indians. To our joy he brought us letters from Bethlehem of Feb. 9 and Sept. 6 last, with the Scripture-verses and texts for the half of next year, '95. From the Miami came many Mohawks, of Brant's people, who stayed here over night, with a couple of whites, who said war would soon break out between England and the States, which was told to the

Indians also, that they might prepare and set out anew for the war.

Thursday, 23. Yesterday and to-day Mr. Parke gave out his goods, for which he takes corn in payment next spring. Most of the brethren went hunting. White people and Mingoes from Niagara were present at the early service, which Zeisberger held, and again went homeward.

Friday, 24. Early in the morning we had the first snow of this autumn. A runaway negro from Detroit came here, whom Mr. Parke, who went thither to-day, took back with him.

Sunday, 26. Br. Edwards preached. There came also strange Indians from the Miami, where now they are scattered, and each man must see where he will stay, for they are restless and disposed for flight, having nothing to live on, and yet when they wish to come to us they have to steal away, for the others forbid them, and thus perhaps some will be gained for the Saviour. Sabina was delivered of a son.

Monday, 27. The brethren were busy getting in their corn-harvest, and so continued through the week.

Tuesday, 28. Brethren off hunting. With Joachim, who did the same, David spoke, asking him how it was that nothing would succeed with him. He replied that the war was the reason.

Thursday, 30. In the early service, which Br. Sensemann held, he baptized into Jesus' death, with the name of Adolphus, the little son of Adam and Sabina, born the 26th.

Saturday, Nov. 1. In the early service, held by Br. Zeisberger, our communion with the church above was brought to mind, to which we have been chosen from grace to belong.

Sunday, 2. Zeisberger preached about the wedding-garment, Christ's blood and righteousness, wherewith our nakedness and sins are covered. The Indian and assistant, Bill Henry, sent word to the Delaware chief, Chinkpussis, who had invited him to come to be their chief: "Thou knowest very well what kind of a will our chief,

Netawatwes, left. He said to us shortly before his death: 'I have received the word of God, and it is my earnest will and wish that our young people and children should follow it, and thus we can become a fortunate people. Now, however, I am going from you, for I shall not live longer. I therefore leave it to you to admonish our young folk to receive the word of God, which will be preached us, to live in accordance with it, and to give heed to the teachers, and thus it will be well with them.' See, this has our chief told us in his last will. Had we followed his advice, perchance we should not have been where we now are. We are ourselves the cause that the believing Indians, with their teachers, have had to wander about for so many years and suffer so much. It does not please you that we are here, and ye wish to have us away from here, and ye are they who have driven us hither. If thou wouldst like to see me and to come to me, it will please me, but I shall not go where thou art. We learn that the Six Nations have taken off from the Delaware nation the woman's garment, and wish to make them men again; have thrown the garment among the bushes, and whoever wishes to put it on shall die. This has reference to the creatures who are in it. This is because the Delawares wish to go away and forsake their land."<sup>1</sup>

Wednesday, 5. A trader came here from Detroit, who wished to pass the winter here, buying and selling, and when we would not permit him, he wanted to build a house near by to stay in, but as this would have much worse results, we took him into town until he shall dispose of his goods, and then he can go again.

Friday, 7. Yesterday and to-day was hard work in speaking, for there was much to be made clear, but the Saviour graciously helped us, so that none remained away.

Saturday, 8. The communicants had the most blessed enjoyment of the body and blood of the Lord in the holy communion, which we received with true hearts, contrite sinners as we were.

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<sup>1</sup> See under June 15, 1795.

Sunday, 9. Br. Michael preached from the Epistle: Be strong in the Lord and in the power of his might. There was then a conference of assistants about the bad behavior of Widow Sabina and her children. Br. Zeisberger held the congregation meeting. Whites were present at the services.

Tuesday, 11. The trader, Mackenzie, went to Detroit. He said to one of our Indians, when for the first time he came to our meeting and heard, that just so he thought: "Yes, that is really a religion. I believe as they preach here." Mr. Allen came here from Detroit, stayed two nights, and went home in his boat, fifty miles up the river.

Thursday, 13. In the early service we brought to our High Priest and Elder praise and thanks for all the fidelity, goodness, and mercy vouchsafed us and for his blessed government in the church, bought by his dear blood, which he has assembled from among the heathen, and like the good shepherd feeds upon the pastures of his suffering. We begged forgiveness of our sins and faults, and commended ourselves in the future to his grace, oversight, and faithful care.

Saturday, 15. Yesterday and to-day many Indians came here, who were without plans and in flight, knowing not whither to turn, for their fields and dwellings are laid waste and they have nothing to live on, who are in the greatest poverty too. Those who come here, we feed and support as long as they stay, having hope that the Saviour will get some as the reward for his woes.

Sunday, 16. Sensemann preached, strangers being present. As we had now received the letters we had expected, we laborers chose a name for our place and township, namely, Fairfield, that is, Schönfeld.

Tuesday, 18. The brethren cut some wood for us. Most of the brothers went away for the autumn-hunt.

Wednesday, 19. The trader, Mackenzie, who came back from Detroit yesterday, spoke with us, and wished to live here with us, concerned, as he said, for his salvation. But we told him we could receive no white people, we had not come here on their account, but for the Indians, to bring



them to a knowledge of Christ Jesus, our Saviour. If white people wished to hear the Gospel for their salvation, they would everywhere find opportunity therefor, but not the Indians. He promised to conform to all our rules and regulations, and to claim nothing more than the Indians. Br. Zeisberger refused him decidedly, advising him to give up all thought of living here, for we could not permit him this, and if we did so, more would soon come to insinuate themselves among us, and at last drive us from our town. Several have already tried this here. Mohawks went through with two American prisoners.

Friday, 21. White people came from Niagara with cattle, and passed the night. We learned there would be peace both abroad and here with the Indians.

Saturday, 22. A man was here over night, who came down with a raft of timber, though drift-ice is already running.

Sunday, 23. Zeisberger preached and Edwards held the congregation meeting from the Scripture-verse.

Monday, 24. Sensemann began school again.

Tuesday, 25. Strange Indians from the Miami came here, who now do nothing but drift about in search of something to live on, as many have already come here, and are still here.

Thursday, 27. From the settlement here on the river we learned by our Indians, who came from there, that at the fork below us, some thirty miles, a fort will be built, a piece of land which they propose to lay out as a town.

Saturday, 29. Zeisberger held early service. The servants arranged some matters about the chapel, a lock, window-shutters, and on the turret a covering against rain. For a month it has been very cold, with much snow, which all went off with a south wind and rain, and the weather was warm.

Sunday, 30. First in Advent. Br. Sensemann preached about the incarnation of our Lord and Saviour, which we look forward to with joyful minds, and have to dispose our hearts to receive him with love; to this sermon came two white people from the settlement. In the evening

Mr. Parke arrived, who went back the next day. We heard that there would be peace, that commissioners were coming over from England, and that next spring the boundaries would be settled with the States.

Wednesday, Dec. 3. Fresh snow having fallen, the brothers went out hunting. Christiana came back from a visit to her husband.

Thursday, 4. To John Henry was born a son, and,

Friday, 5, to Nicodemus, a daughter.

Sunday, 7. Br. Edwards preached about the end of the world, when great and awful things would happen; we should therefore follow the Saviour's advice, be watchful, and pray to escape from all the trouble, and to be able to rejoice in his coming. In the afternoon meeting the son born to John Henry, on the 4th, was baptized by Br. Zeisberger, with the name, William.

Monday, 8. In the early service Br. Sensemann baptized into Jesus' death, with the name, Anna Salome, the little daughter born to Nicodemus on the 5th.

Wednesday, 10. Jacob came and knows not what he will, nor whither to go, for it is not well with him in the church.

Saturday, 13. As we had very fine weather this week, after having had last month nothing but snow and rain, one after the other, the brethren made a good quantity of the finest sugar.

Sunday, 14. Michael preached, strangers being present. Zeisberger held the communion quarter-hour, giving notice of it for next Saturday.

Monday, 15. The brethren contributed corn to pay the common debts. Mr. Dolson came here from Detroit to receive corn.

Wednesday, 17. A dozen brothers helped our neighbor, Tiefsler, block out a house, whom we earnestly advised to keep our Indians sober, since on such occasions there is much drinking, and he kept them sober.

Friday, 19. There was speaking to the brethren yesterday and to-day with reference to the communion, but since,

Saturday, 20, such bad and rainy weather came on, the communion had to be postponed until,

Sunday, 21, when Br. Zeisberger at the usual time preached about the joy of the children of God in their Lord and Saviour, who became flesh and our brother. At the communion the widow, Erdmuth, and Cornelia, Luke's wife, were partakers for the first time. Br. Sensemann conducted it.

Monday, 22. Br. Zeisberger read the liturgy early. The brethren then cut wood for us.

Tuesday, 23. An Indian with his wife and child fled here some time ago from the Miami to be out of the way of war. They have lived in the neighborhood, and have diligently attended the meetings. They made known their wish to live here. The man said: "I know indeed nothing. I am ignorant and stupid. I know indeed that there is a God who has made me and all, but I am not acquainted with him, nor do I know where he is, but if only I knew what he would have me do, I should like to do every thing to please him. It is a comfort to me that with you I can hear what I shall do to be saved, and therefore my prayer and request are, to be permitted to live with you, and since I now know that my wife is of the same mind, I speak to tell you of my desire." She is daughter of the Boaz who perished in Schönbrunn, a dearly beloved brother. Both are unbaptized, and it was the more pleasing to us that one of his children came again to the church, inasmuch as the mother had taken them all away from the church. Leave was given them by the assistants to live with us, and a place shown them where they could be.

In the evening there was a general council in which many matters were brought forward, about giving up unseemly things in the church whence no good arose, for example, 1st, when labor is to be done in common, that some withdraw from it and do not lift their hands, thereby showing how their hearts are; 2d, that servants and assistants are appointed in the church, who have to provide for good

order, with whom the brethren should not be angry, giving unseemly answers and words, if they are admonished of something, for it is done for their good and that of the church; 3d, that now in the winter-time, when the brethren have fires night and day, they should be careful and keep the chimneys clean, for we had an example last winter of a house burning down; 4th, about the drummings among our young people, to stop them; 5th, to put an end to the children and young people's running about and begging at Christmas and New Year, which had crept in unobserved, and to employ such great days to better service, all which had the result wished for.

Wednesday, 24. The assistants spoke with Levi, who came here with his wife likewise in the autumn, and now wished to be a resident here. He has been absent from the church since its dispersion (in 1781), when he was still unmarried, and his wife has not been baptized. They got leave to live here.

Christmas Eve, which we began with a love-feast, we sang the Infant Jesus with glad and thankful hearts, rejoiced in his holy birth, that to us a Saviour was born, who brought us peace and reconciled us to God by his blood and death. That he has taught us when we lived in blindness and were far from God, and that we now stand in grace with God through our Saviour, Jesus Christ, for this we thanked him, adored him, and glorified his holy name upon our knees. At the end we gave the children wax candles. Many strangers being present, our chapel was as full as it would hold, for they come here eagerly for holidays. Among others, some Chippewas also came here, who asked permission to come at Christmas, which we gladly granted them. When, however, the strangers' servant came to them, bringing them answer, and saw them painted, plumes upon their heads, and all kinds of adornment hung about them, he said to them: "Yes, ye can go to the chapel, but not until ye have washed yourselves and taken all that stuff off, for none of us goes in such gear to the meetings." They replied: "O yes; that we shall be glad to do," and they did it at once, and in the chapel

were very attentive and devout, kneeling with us and adoring the Infant Jesus, though ignorant, and not very well understanding Delaware.

Thursday, 25. In the forenoon Br. Sensemann delivered the sermon, at which several white people were present. Among them was a woman who, when food was offered her, said that she and her husband, who, however, was not present, had made a vow, which they wished to keep as long as they lived, namely, at the Christmas holidays, New Year's Day, and Easter to fast, which they promised when at sea near destruction. They are Germans. Br. Michael held a children's service in the afternoon, and Zeisberger one for the baptized. These holidays, too, were accompanied by the Lord's presence and blessing, of which we had sufficient evidence. The name of the Lord be praised!

Sunday, 28. Michael preached. A couple of white married people brought their child here for baptism, which Br. Sensemann attended to. We passed the afternoon with the assistants, to bring about peace in Renatus' house, and this was brought about, but first of all to bring back unity among the assistants themselves, for many things had occurred, and to this the Saviour gave his blessing. We left it to them, after we had first expressed our feelings and wishes, to talk it out together, and after this was done and all had come to an understanding, of their own accord, they collectively told us that they were reconciled one to another, and came to fulfil and confirm their reconciliation in our presence, when, after a short address, we kissed them, as they also kissed one another, sang a couple of verses with them, and dismissed them in peace. This was a short matter, accompanied with the tears of the brethren and the peace of God, who perceptibly came down to us, so that we laborers were abundantly comforted.

Tuesday, 30. A party of Chippewas was here, not, however, to hear God's word, but to go about begging on New Year's Day, a custom they learned from the French. The brother of the Indian mentioned on the 23d

of this month visited him, and said he had somewhat to say to him. He replied: "Speak, then," but as he was not alone, but in Stephen's home, where he lived, he did not wish to speak, and said he must be alone with him, and had him called to him by himself. Then he said he had come to get him, for their relatives had a work to do, to arrange a murder committed by himself upon his wife, and to propitiate the offended party and get together wampum for him, whereby he must also be. He answered: "I am now a dweller here with the believers, and this because I wish to be saved and not to be lost. I pronounce myself free from you, and will hereafter have nothing to do with your ways. Ye can do and live as ye will. I will do as I will and be saved." His brother replied: "Thus thou wilt not live long, if thou abstainest from our old customs and sacrifices and pronouncest thyself free therefrom, which we perform to turn from us calamity, so that we may live long." The reply was: "I seek not temporal but eternal life, which none but God can give. We must all die, but if I attain to life eternal, I have no fear of death." And thus they parted. This is the Indian way of managing. First, they use craft, and if they accomplish nothing by this, they threaten, for the words: "Thou wilt not live long," means much with them, and is equivalent to: "Thou wilt lose thy life by witchcraft," of which the Indians are much afraid.

Wednesday, 31. We ended the year with a love-feast, which Br. Sensemann conducted, remembered the manifold benefits we have this year enjoyed from the mild hand of our dear heavenly Father, for outwardly he has richly blessed us and cared for our maintenance, and inwardly he has made us daily participants of the salvation won for us by his only beloved Son, our Saviour; that also he has sent us outward peace, when last summer till late in the autumn there was great disturbance among the whites and Indians, and the last suffered sore, for they lost more than ever hitherto, so that they like not to speak of it, and whites in Detroit, who were present in the battle, say that if the Americans had wished, not a man

would have escaped, but they spared them. Thus has he watched over us and protected us as his children. He has let the angels sing: They shall be unharmed. And when the Indians were summoned to the field, as were also the whites, he so turned events that our Indians remained uninjured, either by Indians or by whites, and we were left in peace, save that some young people from curiosity went out to see the battle, which one nearly paid for by his life, whereby he came to great anxiety and turned about; that we by the help and blessing of the Saviour have again a regular meeting-house, when for many years we have made use of huts—for all this and yet more we brought him our filial and deserved thanks, asked forgiveness also of our transgressions and shortcomings, and that in the future he would be pleased to continue to make his grace prevail among us, to feed our hearts with the word of his merits and passion, to make us fruitful plants for the glory of his majestic name. There were many strange Indians present, Chippewas, too, and the chapel was quite full.

Baptized this year, 2 adults and 11 children.

Admitted to the church, 1.

Admitted to the communion, 3.

Died, 1 adult and 3 children.

At present there are living in Fairfield 165 Indian souls, six more than last year.

## CHAPTER XV.

1795.

FAIRFIELD, ON THE THAMES, ONTARIO.

Thursday, Jan. 1. Br. Edwards preached, and then Br. Zeisberger held the service for the baptized from to-day's text: I am come that they might have life, and that they might have it more abundantly. He admonished the brethren to make their calling and election sure, and to let themselves be made full partakers of Jesus' merits, to renew their covenant of baptism, and whoever has fallen back should begin to give himself anew to the Saviour, to be his, body and soul, and thus on his part he would let none suffer from want of his blessing. Different brethren celebrated the day of their baptism with love-feasts, singing and encouraging one another.

Sunday, 4. Zeisberger preached, and Sensemann held the congregation meeting. Then we had to speak with brethren. The assistants were authorized to marry a couple of unmarried people, and so did.

Monday, 5. The Indian, Atschelis, came to Br. Zeisberger, and talked to him, when it came out that he had an idol he is unwilling to give up, it has cost him so much—thirty dollars.

Tuesday, 6. Early at morning-prayer, Br. Zeisberger asked for us the Saviour's presence and blessing, as the Saviour of the heathen, to bless us from his bloody fulness, to let his friendly face shine over us, who have nothing to give him but our poor hearts, who disclosed to him our souls with our many failings and transgressions, and asked for his peace. In the service for the baptized, which Br. Sensemann held from the Scripture-verse: Ye shall be unto me a kingdom of priests and an holy nation, a sister, Beata, was taken into the church. In the afternoon at



the love-feast somewhat was said about God's promise made to the heathen and announced by the prophets; that it is quite false, when the Indians say that the preaching and promulgation of the Gospel are not for them, but for the white people; and then the history was read. In the evening we had a lovely hour of song, and ended with the blessing of the church. The heathen's Saviour showed himself gracious very perceptibly to us, and the peace of God and his Spirit prevailed among us and made the day one of marked blessedness for every heart in particular. We could say: "We see with our seeing eyes that the Lord is with us."

Thursday, 8. From Detroit came an express, a Frenchman with a couple of Tawas, who are going to Niagara with letters from the commandant, and Indian messages accompanied with wampum, the Frenchman, who knows all the Indians on the Miami, having distributed provisions to them, which they get weekly to live upon, for they have lost every thing, told us that they wanted to come here to live with us, among whom were the counsellors, Chinquipoussis<sup>1</sup> and Petrilind; that the former said the Indians would not take his advice, nor give heed to him, but wished for his destruction, and therefore he wished to turn to the believers and associate himself with them. [We have never heard of either, that he was opposed to the brothers]; the Indians lived wretchedly, and he had never so seen them, that of late forty-two had died, many days, two, three, or more.

At the same time came an Indian from Niagara on his way to Detroit, bringing news that in Zonnesschio the States had held a treaty with the Six Nations, and now there would be peace; that the States will now give up the land as far as the Ohio, which news we also heard from Detroit.

Saturday, 10. Yesterday and to-day the brethren paid Mr. Parke in corn for their debts of last autumn for winter-clothing. The brethren paid Mr. Parke the common

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<sup>1</sup> Probably the same person who was mentioned before, p. 380.

debt, for which they contributed corn, seven dollars worth.

Sunday, 11. Sensemann preached, and Zeisberger held a children's service for the boys' festival. Mackenzie came back from Detroit, whom we refused to let live with us, who now wishes to take a lot or two along our upper line, and will live thereon.

Monday 12. The thermometer stood half a degree above zero, the coldest day.

Tuesday, 13. There was a conference of assistants, who were charged to investigate Tobias' case, and so did.

Wednesday, 14. White people from Niagara and from the settlement below came here.

Thursday, 15. Mr. Parke has been receiving corn for several days. We had to speak with him about much, about ill reports of us we had heard of from him.

Sunday, 18. Michael preached, Zeisberger held the congregation meeting. Mr. Parke, who has been here the whole week, went back home. To-day was the coldest of the winter, the thermometer standing at 1°.

Monday, 19. The same.

Tuesday, 20. Still cold. The thermometer at one above zero. In the night Abel and Joseph came drunk to town.

Wednesday, 21. Thermometer at 8°. An Indian, Simeon's brother, who a long time since, even in the autumn, came here, and has since remained, diligently attending the meetings, was at his request spoken to by the assistants, and received here to live, after first announcing his desire to Br. Zeisberger. Another, a woman, who was here with her husband and omitted no meeting, also wished to live here, but her husband did not so wish, and came to no meeting, and at last persuaded her to go with him just to the settlement, where he weaned her from the customs here.

Thursday, 22. Zeisberger held the early service from the text. Br. Sensemann went down to the settlement.

Friday, 23. Edwards held early service. Mohawks from Brant's town went through for Detroit. They brought us one of their books, sent by Brant. It is the

English book of Common Prayer, in which Mark's Gospel<sup>1</sup> and some chapters from the Old Testament are translated into their tongue, and printed in 1768 in London.

Sunday, 25. Zeisberger preached from the words: Lord, if thou wilt, thou canst make me clean, and Jesus' answer: I will; be thou clean. Br. Michael held the congregation meeting from the text: I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, because thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent and hast revealed them unto babes. Br. Sensemann came back from the settlement, where he baptized three children and had other affairs.

Monday, 26. Samuel went to the Fort.

Wednesday, 28. The brethren got wood for us and brought it in. Levi, who went to Detroit, came back, bringing here his three children.

Thursday, 29. A thaw, with rain began after the month of very severe weather.

Sunday, Feb. 1. Sensemann preached from the text and Scripture-verse: Neither know we what to do; but our eyes are upon thee. Zeisberger held the communion service from the text: My sheep hear my voice.

Monday, 2. Samuel came back from Detroit. The Shawanese now begin to expostulate with their father (i. e. the English), saying: "For ten years now hast thou been saying that if we made peace with the States we should be unlucky; we should fall into great poverty. Thou hast not even let the commissioners come to us, who came to make peace, so that we could speak with them. Thou hast barred their way to us, and the last thou didst write to them we have not asked thee to write, for we told thee to write quite otherwise. Thou hast betrayed and deceived us. What hath it availed us to have been so long obedient to thee? This we have. With our wives and children we suffer hunger and want, living in the direst poverty, and we shall yet all perish. Therefore will we no longer give heed to thee, but to the Americans, and

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<sup>1</sup> Very likely translated by Brant himself.

seek to make peace." This happened in Detroit; whereupon they arose and went away. All this, however, was in vain. They dared not make peace. McKee, however, set out after them the next day to the Miami.

Friday, 6. To Frenchmen, who have carried rum through here all winter, we said, if they did not stop this, and it was forbidden, they would see that we would smash their casks, and then they could go and complain. Yesterday and to-day was speaking with reference to the communion.

Saturday, 7. We had a blessed communion, when our dear Lord blessed us unspeakably in the enjoyment of his body and blood in the holy sacrament. John Henry was readmitted and Lewis and Zacchaeus were again partakers, who for a time had been cut off from it. Zeisberger administered it.

Sunday, 8. Sensemann read the liturgy. Edwards preached. A Wyandot woman, whose brother would have liked to be in the church, but could not be from sickness and inability to help himself, and his friends did not help him—she said that her brother spoke about this to the last, and had borne witness to them that among the believers was preached the true and saving word of God. Therefore the woman wanted to attend a meeting, and this she did,

Monday, 9, and in hearing, shed many tears. Probably her brother's last words occurred to her.

Wednesday, 11. Mackenzie came from Detroit. Mohawks, and also an express from there for Niagara, came through here. The Mohawks said the Indians were much divided, some being for peace, others not; they trust neither the English nor the States. In a letter from the surveyor to Br. Sensemann it was mentioned that the government was disposed to buy from the Indians the land above us on the north side of the river. An express from Niagara came back, with whom seventeen Indians from Oswego Lake came to the Monsey town, whence the Indians came to this neighborhood.

Thursday, 12. Boaz asked a Chippewa whether he did

not want to go to the meetings and hear something about God. He replied that he was too poor for this, unable to pay the pastor so much; the white people paid their wise men much money for preaching to them and supported them; that they could do it, being rich, but he was poor and could not do it. Boaz answered him: "But here thou canst hear for nothing how to be happy and blessed forever. We get our preaching for nothing, and pay not therefor, and all who come are welcome to hear, for it is for all." It was, however, only an excuse of his.

Sunday, 15. Br. Michael preached the sermon at the entrance into passion-time. He exhorted the brethren to feed their hearts on Jesus' wounds, and to enter into consideration of them, whereby they could withstand the solicitations of Satan and of sin. Sensemann held an hour of singing.

Monday, 16. Zeisberger held early service from the text: I am the good Shepherd, etc. This morning the thermometer was again a  $-1^{\circ}$ . Nathan Allen came here on his way to Detroit.

Tuesday, 17. Sensemann held early service about this, that the strength of God is shown most majestically in those who are themselves poor and weak. We congratulated Sister Susanna upon her birthday at a love-feast.

Wednesday, 18. Michael held early service from the text: As Moses in the wilderness, etc. From the settlement came a white man. Many cattle are dying among the settlers, but as yet we have lost none. Chippewas begged for corn, the man in the family being lame from having cut his leg, and we gave it them.

Saturday, 21. Sensemann held early service. Frenchmen went by with rum, who, after we had warned them and told them that if they came into town again with rum they would see their casks broken up, now go around the town, and do not come in.

Sunday, 22. Sensemann preached from the Gospel: When Jesus was tempted of the devil, that his temptations are serviceable to us, and whoever now holds fast to him in faith must not give in, but he can conquer. We

learned to-day, by Indians who came from the Miami, that John Cook died some time ago in Pettquotting, who was always thinking of coming back to us again, also Peter Sapan and old Helena are nearly dead, or quite so. We heard also that the Indians are going in large number to the Americans, and the head-man of the Shawanese goes also.

Wednesday, 25. Many Chippewas came together in this neighborhood for an entertainment, at the end of which is usually hard drinking, when almost always there is a murder, and the French, who are very busy in such affairs, sent them rum enough.

Thursday, 26. Some white people passed the night here. It has been colder than before this winter, the thermometer standing this morning at  $-6^{\circ}$ . In the evening the Chippewas had their dance, not far away.

Friday, 27. The Chippewa chief came here, upon whose land we lived on Huron River, who informed our Indians that the nations had arranged together and decided to make peace with the States, that they were now making this known to all Indians, to be present at the Miami Fork, near the American Fort, and whoever did not appear, namely, chiefs, captains, or deputies, would be looked upon as a foe of the Americans and friend of their father. We gave the chief six fathoms of white wampum as a contribution for peace, and thus they cannot say that we have contributed nothing therefor, and for this he gave us an opportunity himself. The page is turned, and the Indians are all very much prejudiced and incensed against their father, so that their agent is not safe, this we heard both from Indians and whites. Now may God prevent the sword from coming to this country, though it has long needed it, and it would be righteous punishment.

Saturday, 28. The chief with his people set out for Saginaw, where he lives, whence, immediately after his arrival there, he will go to the Americans.

Sunday, March 1. Br. Zeisberger preached, some Chippewas being present. In the afternoon, to our great joy, we got letters from Bethlehem of Dec. 3d last. Sense-

mann held the congregation meeting. Frenchmen went through with rum, and caused drinking.

Monday, 2. A somewhat aged Chippewa, with whom already, several years ago, Boaz had talked,<sup>1</sup> and found he had inclination to hear God's word, came here lately, went constantly to the meetings, and talked with Joshua, at whose house he lodged, laying before him his whole heart, as well as he could; namely, that he believed that God came from heaven into the world, whom indeed he did not know, but would yet like to have for a friend and learn to know; he knew and believed that the Chippewas were poor, blind men, and all their feasts and sacrifices helped them not a bit, and of God they knew nothing at all. He believed that he heard here from his grandfather the words of eternal life, on which account he would like to be and to remain with his grandfather [the Chippewas call the Delawares their grandfather, and the latter call them grandchildren].<sup>2</sup> He wished now to go and make known to his daughters and friends what he purposed, who lived half a day's journey from here, and in a few days come back and speak his mind, when we should hear him. When he went away to-day he gave us his hand, sought for Joshua, whom he found with the assembled assistants, to all of whom he gave his hand, and said he would soon come again. His son, who is with him, understands Monsey very well. This evening, after he had gone, two Chippewas came, of those who last winter encamped on our land, and since the cattle had eaten up their fields, they got their subsistence among us, for we collected corn for them several times. They said that the old Chippewa came to their camp and made known to them his resolution to live here with his grandfather, so as to hear the words of life and learn to know God; for they, the Chippewas, were poor people, and knew nothing of the good which their grandfather knew, namely, after this life, life eternal. Both the Chippewas said that no one replied to

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<sup>1</sup>See before p. 275.

<sup>2</sup>And most of the believing Indians were Delawares.

the old man, but all were amazed at what he said; that one of the two said at last: "If the old man gets leave to live with our grandfather, perhaps, I also can be received, but I have nothing to give that I shall be received; I will go hunting, and by spring I can catch a good number of raccoons, etc., which I will bring to the minister that he may speak to me about God." The other said he would do the same. The Indian brothers told them they must not think they had to pay any thing for this. It was preached to the Indians for nothing, and all was told them necessary for salvation. With the French priests it was indeed so, but with us not. Indians, of whatever nation they were, could here have the word of God for nothing, and they were indeed most welcome to hear it.

Tuesday, 3. David, who continued his former work of seduction in the church, after having been received again last year, was told to leave our place, likewise his brother, Samuel, and to-day Sabina was advised to seek an abode elsewhere, on account of her wicked children, whose part she takes.

Wednesday, 4. Zeisberger held early service. The weather being fine, the brethren went to their sugar-huts.

Thursday, 5. This morning before day, little Lewis died, John Adam's son, and was buried Friday, the 6th, early. Whites from the settlement came here and passed the night.

Saturday, 7. Jacob, Christiana's husband, came back here from the winter-hunt. Many lies were brought here by Chippewas.

Sunday, 8. Michael preached. The weather was again very cold. The brethren went to the sugar-huts.

Monday, 9. At the sugar-huts David and his company drank and behaved vilely. The old Chippewa came back again, but since all are now in the sugar-huts, he went away to stay with his sister until sugar-making should be over, and we could give him farther advice.

Thursday, 12. By an express from Niagara we got news that the posts on the lakes would be made over to the States and evacuated by the English in fourteen or



fifteen months. What the Lord of all lords will, and what he has resolved, that must happen in spite of all opposition.

Sunday, 25. The brethren were present at the sermon by Br. Sensemann, and some strangers.

Tuesday, 17. Chippewas came here to beg something to eat, for what they get by hunting they waste in drinking, and then beg for food. They brought lying stories among our people that the teachers, one and all, would be killed.

Thursday, 19. The old Chippewa came visiting, and as almost no Indian was at home, he came to us and was very friendly. We gave him tobacco and some corn, for his people were all away hunting and he had nothing to eat.

Sunday, 22. Br. Zeisberger preached about the perfect sacrifice of Jesus, whereby we are reconciled to God and now stand in grace with him by faith in his dear son, that therefore all sacrifices made by men to accomplish something are a horror to God, since they despise the sacrifice of Jesus. Strangers were present.

Monday, 23. On account of the rain that fell last night the river broke up, when before there has been continued cold.

Wednesday, 25. We had the first thunder-storm of this spring, whereupon the river rose very much, and the days after there was cold weather again. Sugar-making again this year goes on poorly, from the bad weather.

Sunday, 29. Michael preached from to-day's Gospel about the entrance of Christ into Jerusalem to his passion, when he became a sacrifice for the sins of the world and a curse for us.<sup>1</sup> Then Br. Zeisberger held the service for the communion brethren, whom he reminded that our dear Saviour, before his passion, was yet thoughtful for his children, and left to them as a legacy and memorial spiritual food and drink, his body and blood, which we enjoy in the holy communion, which the brethren should now sufficiently prize and thankfully enjoy, for the

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<sup>1</sup>Gal., iii., 13.

strengthening of their faith. Sabina came and confessed her fault, in cleaving so closely to her children, especially to Abel. We had told her some time ago that with her children she could not be in the church, since she took their part, and maintained evil in her house.

Tuesday, 31. The Zeisbergers and Sensemanns spoke with the brethren in reference to the Lord's supper, whom we found repentant and distressed over their shortcomings.

Wednesday, April 1. The communion brethren came home from their sugar-huts. In the evening we had the washing of feet, the story about which was read.

Thursday, 2. After the reading of the history had occurred in the presence of all, we had with the communicants the so blessed enjoyment of his body and blood in the holy sacrament. Two sisters, Sara Nanticoke and Christina, who had long been excluded, were readmitted.

Friday, 3, we passed in the reading and consideration of the great martyr-story of our God and Saviour in all his sufferings, body and soul, from head to foot; how for us he was tortured, buffeted, smitten, and martyred even unto death upon the cross, gaining and meriting for us grace and salvation from God. At the death of Jesus we read the liturgy, kneeling, and at the opening of Jesus' side was sung the song of praise: For ever here my rest shall be,—Close to thy pierced side;—This all my hope and all my plea,—For me the Saviour died.

Saturday, 4. At noon was a love-feast, at which something was said about his rest in the grave, whereby he has hallowed our graves, so that now we can rest in our graves until he awakens us.

Sunday, 5. Early in the morning we read the Easter litany, in part in the chapel, and in part in the graveyard, which the brethren had decorated yesterday. At the proper place we were mindful of one brother, Clemens by name, and four children, who have died since last Easter, and we asked for everlasting communion with the perfected church of the just. Afterwards the history of the resurrection was read, whereupon Br. Sensemann

preached. In the afternoon a number of the brethren, who keep this as their day of baptism, had a love-feast together, singing, praising the Lord, and exhorting one another. But as the brethren had had much delay and loss in sugar-making, we dismissed them to their labor, for it comes but once in the year and the time must be made use of, and, as at this very time the trees were running strong, we wished to let the brethren have the Sabbath free, so as not to lose too much, but this they would not, but wished to celebrate the great day when Jesus rested from his passion, to his honor, from love and gratitude towards him.

Tuesday, 7. Chippewas came here to buy corn for sugar. An express from Detroit for Niagara went through. We learned that the States had asked the Indian nations to a treaty on June 1st, but where, we could not find out.

Wednesday, 8. From the trader, Mackenzie, who came here, we heard that his uncle<sup>1</sup> had made a journey by land to the north-west as far as the sea, being two years about it, and is now come to Detroit. He took with him Indians from one nation to another, and he thinks he came to the sea [where he made many marks on the trees] northwards from California, for he met with much ice. The distant Indians had never seen a white man, were clad in skins, had bows and arrows as weap-

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<sup>1</sup> This was the famous Sir Alexander Mackenzie, a native of Scotland. His second journey to the North Pacific is here referred to. He reached the sea in July, 1793. It must be borne in mind that California was, a century ago, a very indefinite geographical term. Capt. Cook was killed in February, 1779, but as the Esquimaux' "eight or ten winters" in the following extract is rather vague, Zeisberger may have been correct in his supposition. In June, 1793, Mackenzie writes: "The Esquimaux informed them that they saw large canoes full of white men to the westward eight or ten winters ago, from whom they obtained iron in exchange for leather." In July, 1793, he observes: "We saw great numbers of the animals we had taken for sea-otters, but I am now disposed to think that a great part of them at least must have been seals."

ons for the chase, and for cooking-ware earthen pots, which they made themselves. As rarities, among other things, he had otter-skins, whose body without the tail is six feet long and black, which the Indians gave him. The Indians who live along the sea told him that a few years ago they had seen a great machine going on the sea. Perhaps it was Capt. Cook sailing along the coast.

Thursday, 9. After thunder-storms severe cold and frost set in again.

Friday, 10. Our Indians helped Mackenzie block out a house on his lot, which they finished Saturday, 11th. A boat with Frenchmen arrived, who got the corn they had bought here. For Br. Zeisberger's birthday (the 75th) we had a pleasant love-feast at home.

Sunday, 12. Mackenzie and Bach were present at the sermon, which Br. Zeisberger preached from the Gospel: He showed unto them his hands and his side. Then were the disciples glad when they saw the Lord.

Tuesday, 14. White people from down the river, and others from Niagara arrived. For the Monsey Indians who have lived near Brant's town, a district of land here above has been surveyed, where now they are all coming together, but life is wretched there on account of hard drinking there prevailing.

Friday, 17. Our brethren begin to come in and attend to sugar-making, about which they have been very busy this week, with much better success than last year. The old Chippewa came again, but said nothing about living here, but he begged something to eat.

Sunday, 19. Br. Michael preached and Br. Zeisberger held a service for the communion brethren from to-day's text: I am the vine, ye are the branches, mentioning the sisters this year admitted to the Lord's supper, Anna Sophia, Erdmuth, and Cornelia. We wished that they as branches would cling fast to him, the Vine, and would thus find their daily strength and food.

Sunday, 20. The Indian brothers got a dozen canoes into the water, which they have lately made near here, but still more elsewhere, most of them of walnut wood.

Tuesday, 21. The Indian brethren went with ten canoes laden with corn down the river. This the traders had bought. Many strange Indians from above came down here, also Chippewas, who encamped here for several days.

Wednesday, 22. Agnes, eleven years old, died very gladly.

Friday, 24. Her remains were buried, strangers and Chippewas being present.

Sunday, 26. Br. Edwards preached and Zeisberger held the congregation meeting. The brothers wished to speak with the old Chippewa, but, from misunderstanding, nothing came of it.

Sunday, 27. We got Mackenzie for interpreter when we conversed with him, and said we had heard he would like to live with us; was this so? and when he affirmed this, we said to him that whoever of the Indians wished to hear God's word, to become acquainted with him and be saved, to him the door was open; only whoever wished to live with us must refrain from drinking, whoring, and stealing, and renounce heathenism. Whereupon he replied that he wanted to do this, but he wished to speak only for himself personally; if perchance his son or his friends wished to come hither, they must speak for themselves, he could not speak for them. And when we farther asked him how he intended to support himself here, and he wanted to plant, we told him we would help him therein, and also to a dwelling. We all gave him our hands and permission to live with us.

Wednesday, 29. Mr. Dolson came here to get his corn, and,

Thursday, 30, went away again.

Friday, May 1. A boat arrived which took in corn. Several assistants spoke with Chippewas, encamped on the river-bank, and told them they must not dance and drum here; that we had no pleasure therein. They replied that they did it to please a woman, who had a bad arm, and then they thought we liked it. They stopped it after this.

Saturday, 2. For a poor English family, which is moving up the river, at their request, Br. Sensemann baptized two children. Br. Zeisberger spoke earnestly with Joshua about his bad behaviour, who thereupon went away without saying why or whither, but at night he came again.

Sunday, 3. Br. David preached in Indian from to-day's Gospel. Sensemann held the children's service, Bill Henry translating.

Monday, 4. Zeisberger held early service in Indian. There arrived still more Chippewas, for whom those already here, because they had a man sick, killed a dog and made a feast of it, so that the patient should recover, at the same time singing and drumming. It can be seen that these Indians live in the midst of dark heathenism, care to know nothing, and are buried in superstition to the neck.

Tuesday, 5. Sensemann held early service, old Joachim translating. We had much to set right among the brethren, on account of lies told, but the Saviour helped us, so that all came right and for the best.

Wednesday, 6. Michael held early service. The old Chippewa gave notice that he was going to the Fort. We shall perceive now what will happen to him and whether he can get rid of his friends, who besides have already tried to dissuade him. Frenchmen came here on business, who are worse than the Chippewas and cause more evil.

Thursday, 7. The Chippewas who have been here moved away, and the old man with them. Mr. Parke came here from below to get his corn.

Friday, 8. The sheriff, constable, and others, from Niagara, who had arrested a couple here in the settlement, went back. We heard it was certain the forts would be made over to the States. The brethren planted our fields.

Sunday, 10. Sensemann preached and Zeisberger held the communion service, speaking and bearing witness against the slanders among the brethren, whereby they cause harm and are an injury to themselves.

Monday, 11. Christina was delivered of a daughter.

Tuesday, 12. Mr. Parke and many of our people went

down with corn, likewise some strangers, who have lived here through the winter, went away. Upon the plantation there was drinking.

Wednesday, 13. Sensemann baptized Christina's daughter, Agnes.

Thursday, 14. Ascension Day. We had a service from the text: Lo, I am with you alway even unto the end of the world. We had a melancholy feeling about many of the brethren who do ill against the Lord. But he blessed us, assembled in his name, with his nearness and recognition.

Friday, 15. There arrived Philippina, a widow, a sheep who has wandered in error since our captivity, to remain here. She had long desired to come to us, but could not, being herself unable to manage a canoe, and kept back by her son. When once she was already on the way and wished to leave him, he followed her and persuaded her yet to remain away, promising to bring her hither as soon as peace should be made, but soon afterwards he was killed by Indians in a drunken brawl, whereupon she found a woman, who came with her and helped her hither. She was glad and very thankful to the Saviour for helping her again to the church. She was very kind to the teachers in their captivity when they suffered need and hunger, sharing with them the little she had, and this we can not forget. Once when she came to Sandusky she charged her husband in our presence to think of his teachers as often as he shot any thing, and to share with them, and this he did, and when she came back she inquired whether he had kept his word.

Saturday, 16. After the brethren had been spoken to, we had, like repentant sinners, the Lord's supper, from which many remained absent, some from drinking, others from quarrelling. Our dear Lord blessed us in the holy sacrament very comfortingly.

Sunday, 17. Sensemann read the liturgy early. Michael preached. From the settlement came for a visit Baker, to see the place and the meeting-house. Strange Indians also arrived.

Monday, 18. Br. Sensemann went with a couple of Indians to the Fort, for many purposes, and with the letters for Bethlehem.

Tuesday, 19. Mr. Parke arrived. The brethren were much hindered in planting by rainy weather and water.

Wednesday, 20. Johanna went to her rest. Her remains,

Friday, 22, were buried. She was baptized in Friedenshütten by Br. Schmick, Sept. 11, 1768, came in the year '72 to Gnadenhütten on the Muskiugum, in which place she was admitted to the Lord's supper, Oct. 29, '74, and where her husband died, Sept. 20, 1778. Still a widow when the Indian church was dispersed at Sandusky, in the year '82, she went among the savages, until, in the spring of 1788, she came back to the church in Pettquotting with her second husband, Nicholas, and soon also was readmitted to the Lord's supper, happy, content, and thankful that she was again in the church. This, however, did not last long, for, on account of her children, especially her daughter, who grew up, on whom her heart hung, and who had desires for the world, she fell away and lost her communion-privileges, and as her daughter did not stay in the church, nor could she be there, she herself was not altogether in the church, but always of disposition to leave it, though she was sickly. The hidden hand of the Lord held her, however, so that it came to nothing, till she was so weak, having the consumption, that she could do nothing more. For two weeks it could be seen that she was nearing the end, of which she was herself aware. Therefore she had Br. David Zeisberger called, acknowledged and confessed that for her daughter's sake she had wasted her time, but said that now she wished to be quite free from her, asking only that the brethren and the Saviour would forgive her all, whom she had often grieved. On the 20th, day before yesterday, she received absolution in the presence of several brethren, for which she repeatedly gave thanks, saying, to the brethren who visited her afterwards: "Now it is well with me. I have gained contentment." To the inquiry: "Has the Saviour also forgiven



thee?" she replied: "Yes, he has forgiven me. My heart feels it and tells me so." Thus she departed a few hours after. She was a person about whom we were often anxious and in despair, but we have also been comforted over her.

Saturday, 23. A Chippewa chief came here with a message of a singular sort.<sup>1</sup>

Sunday, 24. Zeisberger preached the Whitsunday sermon, and then held a service for the baptized, bringing to God, the Holy Ghost, praise and thanks for his unwearied fidelity and care. We begged forgiveness of all our failings and disobedience, when we had given no heed to his admonition and voice, vowed to him anew obedience, and commended ourselves again to him that he would remain with us and not be weary in making us ready for the glory of him who had redeemed us by his dear blood.

Tuesday, 26. Beata, Joseph's, wife was delivered of a son.

Wednesday, 27. By occasion of the Scripture-verse: And I will give them one heart, and I will put a new spirit within you, Br. Zeisberger said to the brethren that they had received the Spirit of Truth, who lead them to all truth, if they wished to give him good obedience and to observe his voice, who would hold them in the truth and the right and not leave them in darkness, for a lying spirit was gone forth to lead astray and to sift those who were of impure and false heart—they should be upon their guard that Satan, who is the father of lies, should not ensnare them with his lies and lead them away from the truth, for hours come when those who are righteous become known. At noon Br. Sensemann came back from the Fort. With him came a German from the States, named Frederick Weinland, to see the country, if not to settle here. The papers which Br. Sensemann brought with him confirm the news about the surrender of the forts to the States, and about a good understanding with England.

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<sup>1</sup> We are not told this mysterious message.

Thursday, 28. Young Joachim with his wife left the church, also an unbaptized family, Atschelis',<sup>1</sup> who have been here through the winter, moreover a woman with several Indians, who have encamped here the whole spring, and have done no good among our Indians. We observe that when we advise people to go away from us, they do not go and will not, and then the Saviour takes occasion, and many times sweeps away and removes from us, without our help, impure, yes, shameful people. Every spring since we have been here, Joachim has wished to leave the church, but now he had so offended that at last he was ready.

Friday, 29. Hearing, from strange Indians, who are moving from this neighborhood, all sorts of stories, that we could not remain here, since it would be unsafe, whereby with many of our Indians disquiet arose, which indeed we looked upon as lies the wicked Indians had brought, and we had paid no attention to them, we began, notwithstanding, to be thoughtful about this, for it is the Indian custom, when any thing bad is doing, or propositions for war are made, to call away their friends in a secret way, and so it appears here also to be the case, though we do not see in what way any such thing could happen, unless the Indians have some secret designs against the government, for we have observed somewhat of this in the Chipewas.

Sunday, 31. Trinity Sunday, Sensemann preached, and in the afternoon service Br. Zeisberger baptized, with the name, Ephraim, the child born on the 26th of this month.

[Thus far sent to Bethlehem.]

Monday, June, 1. When we wished to deliver the corn, which the government advanced to us two years ago, and which we had stored together, we found that it would injure our farming, so that we could not then deliver it. We therefore resolved to deliver it next year, on which account we wrote to the commandant. Soon after we heard

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<sup>1</sup> See page 390, under Jan. 5th last.

that the transport the commandant had sent to get it, had been wrecked on the lake.

Wednesday, 3. We heard that Atschelis' child, born here a couple of months ago, had died here at the mouth of the river.

Saturday, 6. By the above-mentioned Weinland, who to-day set out from here down into the States, we sent a packet to Bethlehem.

Sunday, 7. Two of our neighbors from the settlement were present as hearers of Br. Michael's sermon.

Monday, 8. From Detroit, Allen came back, and many with him. There all is quiet, and few Indians are to be seen, having all gone to the States. The brethren hoed our plantations.

Wednesday, 10. Strange Indians came here. Johanna's daughter, who has not been here since her mother's death, arrived, and when she heard what her mother had said to her children before her death, bidding them remain with the church, she said: "Now I will do that. I will receive the word." She came also and asked for readmission, promising henceforth to cease from her sinful life, and to give herself to the Saviour. Her mother was the cause of her falling into a bad life, and so we could have compassion with her, and seek her rescue.

Thursday, 11. Ignatius went to Detroit, and with him Mrs. Kessler.

Saturday, 13. Zeisberger held early service. For several days, off and on, there has been rainy weather, so that the brethren have been hindered in their field-work.

Sunday, 14. Br. Edwards preached from the Gospel about the great feast, to which the Saviour, through his servants, invites all mankind. Adam had a fraternal talk with us, and confessed his sins.

Monday, 15. Capt. Brant came through here with his suite in six canoes, encouraged us, and went on to the treaty in the States. That the Six Nations had now made the Delawares men is correct, and the ceremonies, usual thereby, have been performed. They had, among other ceremonies, shorn an Indian's head, leaving only a little

hair at the top, adorned him with white feathers, as the warriors are accustomed to do, and painted him. They left him no clothing, except a breech-clout, and put a war beetle into his hands, and then presented him to the Delawares with these words: <sup>1</sup> "Cousin, beforetimes we put on thee a woman's garment; hung at thy side a calabash, with oil to anoint thy head; put into thy hand a grubbing axe and a pestle, to plant corn and to grind it, together with other house-gear, and told thee to support thyself by agriculture, together with thy children, and to trouble thyself about nothing else. Now we cut in two the band wherewith the garment is bound, and throw it among these thick, dark bushes, whence no man shall bring it again or he must die. Thou art thus no longer in thy former form, but thy form is like this Indian's, whom we now present to thee, that thou mayest see who thou now art, and instead of grubbing axe and corn-pestle we put into thy hand a war-beetle and feathers upon thy head. Thou goest about now like a man." Thus they have made the Delaware nation not only into men, but into warriors. What this means and forbodes time must teach, more about which hereafter. Afterwards they have conferred together and reached the conclusion: "Peace shall be made. What use have we for the deadly musket in our house? We have no use for it, except we use it against our uncles,<sup>2</sup> who have already often deserved it of us."

Tuesday, 16. Sensemann held early service. Some Onondagas,<sup>3</sup> acquaintances of Zeisberger, went through to join Brant; whether they go to the treaty they know not themselves.

Thursday, 18. Still more Indians went through, Monseys, from above.

Friday, 19. David held early service. We heard many

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<sup>1</sup> Daniel G. Brinton, in *The Lenâpé and their Legends*, Philadelphia, 1885, has exhaustively treated upon the subject of the Lenâpé (Delawares) as women, in Chap. V., p. 109. All authorities on the subject will there be found quoted.

<sup>2</sup> That is, the Iroquois, who had made them into women.

<sup>3</sup> Into whose tribe Zeisberger had been adopted in 1745.

lying rumors, which the Indians hatch out, that the Indians here are entrapped by the white people, and will not be let go until they have all been sold as slaves.

Sunday, 21. Sensemann preached about the prodigal son, and Zeisberger conducted the communion quarter-hour, notice of which he gave to the brethren.

Monday, 22. The brethren hilled our corn-fields.

Tuesday, 23. White people came here with all sorts of things to sell. Some also went through here to look for land farther up.

Wednesday, 24. By occasion of to-day's text: Let little children come unto me, etc., Br. Zeisberger reminded the brethren to be more thoughtful about bringing up their children, to speak with them at home, to tell them the great history that God became man, reconciled us to God by his blood and has bought us, and to sing with them songs of praise; thus should we have joy in them and pleasure in living with them, for by the conduct of the children can be estimated the position of the parents, how they stand in their hearts.

Friday, 26. Mr. Parke came here and went back home the next morning. We got in our hay. Speaking with the brethren in regard to the Lord's supper. One said, when spoken with, that while hoeing corn lately he had shed many tears for his shortcomings and faults, and kept on hoeing.

Saturday, 27. The dear Saviour blessed us in the enjoyment of his body and blood in the holy sacrament very mercifully, and let us have the joy of again having as fellow-partakers those who had long been absent, such as the elder Sabina, Joshua, John Henry, and others. Sensemann conducted it.

Sunday, 28. Early, Zeisberger read the liturgy, and exhorted the brethren to bring the Lord praise and thanks for the goodness and kindness he had shown us for the blessed enjoyment, to be glad in him alway and reckon all else as dross. To the sermon, which Br. Michael delivered, praying for the king and the authorities of the land, some white people from the settlement had come.

In the service for the baptized, in the afternoon, the widow, Philippina, was absolved by the laying on of hands by the Zeisbergers, and admitted to the church, whereby she shed many tears and made us and the brethren glad.

Wednesday, July 1. White people went through with horses for Niagara, one of whom did nothing but joke about the conversion of the Indians, saying not a single one among them was converted. Others went through by water, who caused drinking here.

Thursday, 2. Joseph came from Pettquoting, where he has been hunting, and where all the houses save two have been burnt down. The Indians are all going to the treaty, and the Wyandots, it is said, wish to have a fort built by the States in Sandusky for their safety, for which seventy men are promised them. On the other hand, Cornplanter's<sup>1</sup> people have murdered people and taken prisoners on Beaver Creek. Horse-stealing still goes on, though peace is labored for.

Friday, 3. White people on their way up the river by water were here over night. The Indian sisters have this week gone industriously for whortleberries.

Sunday, 5. At the sermon preached by Br. Sensemann white people from the settlement were present.

Tuesday, 7. The assistant, Samuel, spoke with two families, Leonard's and Bartholomew's, where there was dissension among the women, and made peace, and thus it is often hard, each one holding his own opinion right.

Wednesday, 8. Indians came here from the Monsey town, where they hunger, having nothing to eat, for they have consumed every thing in drink.

Thursday, 9. Our old Chippewa came again who went hunting.

Saturday, 11. A boat with white people went through for Detroit.

Sunday, 12. Zeisberger preached, our neighbors being

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<sup>1</sup> A Seneca chief friendly to the States, and this rumor was probably false.

present. We had to speak with Joshua's family and set them right.

Tuesday, 14. Some brethren went to Huron River, above Lake St. Clair. Here the brothers built a hut for Bathsheba. From John Bininger<sup>1</sup> and his father, Br. Zeisberger had a letter from Kenty Bay (Quinte).

Wednesday, 15. Yesterday and to-day Mohawks, Brant's people, went through, coming back from the Wyandot village, who, like these, do not go to the treaty, and it seems as if there was discord among the nations, which may make trouble in the negotiations for peace.

Thursday, 16. The Indian brothers went to make a deer-fence<sup>2</sup> from here to the lake, from which they expect much advantage and good hunting.

Friday, 17. Brant came back with his suite, and set forth on his way home. Since the Wyandots, who live near Detroit, do not go to the treaty, he did not go, but he still thinks there will be peace. Meanwhile the merchants in Detroit buy up fallow land around Detroit from the Chippewas for the States. The old Chippewa came here again begging, others also, but we could not help them, for our own people have nothing.

Sunday, 19. Br. Edwards preached. We had to speak with Joshua and his family, and to investigate an extraordinary circumstance. Br. Zeisberger held the congregation meeting.

Tuesday, 21. Strange Indians arrived, and among them Regina, who had been baptized, whose head is already white. They caused uproar and drinking. The Indian brothers again set about their deer-fence.

Wednesday, 22. Dwellings were got ready for Philippina and Bathsheba. For several days the weather has been hot, the thermometer at 92°, and after quite dry weather

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<sup>1</sup>Within a few miles of Kingston we passed the Bay of Cante. Here a number of Mohawks lived. They have a schoolmaster, a Mr. John Bininger, son of Abraham Bininger."—Life of Heckewelder, p. 137.

<sup>2</sup>A picture of a deer-fence is given in some editions of Drake's Book of Indians after Book I.

we got a thunder-storm and hard rain, which refreshed the ground and made it fruitful.

Thursday, 23. On account of the great heat the brethren came home from fence-making. They went about seven miles.

Friday, 24. French traders came here and passed the night, whom we earnestly charged to sell no rum here, and they complied.

Sunday, 26. Br. Michael preached, and Br. Zeisberger held a service for the married brethren, reminding them of their old customs, to abstain therefrom.

Monday, 27. Sensemann held early service. Chipewas came here begging, to whom we gave some corn, for as they do not live from planting, but from hunting and fishing, they often suffer bitter hunger.

Wednesday, 29. Many went down to the settlement, and here was building.

Thursday, 30. Went away, Jacob and several others, Sophia also, with her daughter and son, she with the view of leaving her husband, and thus the church also. The reason of this was hitherto concealed from us, but is now clear enough, a circumstance which among the Indians has never before occurred, and has given us much consideration and anxiety, for we could not gainsay the truth.<sup>1</sup>

Saturday, Aug. 1. Sensemann held morning service. Mr. Parke arrived, and in the evening Allen's brother and also another, with whom Parke went to Niagara. We gave them an Indian as guide, and they went away the next morning.

Sunday, 2. Br. Sensemann went away early to the settlement to attend a wedding, and Br. Zeisberger delivered the sermon, at which a couple of white people was present.

Tuesday, 4. Br. Sensemann came back from the settlement, and from the same place young Sophia and Johanna. Br. Sensemann had seen many of our people there

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<sup>1</sup> Here again we are told nothing farther.



in the harvest, and had told the white people not to give them strong drink. Samuel went down.

Wednesday, 5, and Thursday, 6. Many strange Indians came here from above, went up and down the town, and sought something to eat, for they had nothing, and therefore they go among the white people. They went away the next day.

Friday, 7. Samuel and others came from the settlement.

Sunday, 9. Sensemann preached from the Gospel: Jesus wept over Jerusalem. Br. Zeisberger held the communion quarter-hour, and in the evening the congregation meeting.

Monday, 10. The young people went away in a body, hunting, to get meat. Samuel, the assistant, and several brethren, had a pleasant love-feast on their day of baptism, rejoicing together over their election with thankfulness to the Saviour, who has thus far kept them with him and in the church, and let them enjoy so much goodness.

Wednesday, 12. Both yesterday and to-day the brethren were spoken to, and thereby through the Saviour's grace much was taken out of the way.

Thursday, 13. From Detroit came a couple of gentle-people, who were from Montreal, and were going back there, and they passed the night here. In the evening, under the blessed recognition of our dear Lord, we had the holy communion, of which the Indian, Nicholas, was again a partaker, who for several years had been shut out therefrom, until now, when his wife had died.

Friday, 14. Zeisberger read the liturgy. The gentle-people, whom we had to help with a pair of horses and an Indian, as guide, set out for Niagara.

Sunday, 16. Edwards preached and Sensemann held the congregation meeting.

Since it concerns our mission, we will not leave unmentioned, now that we have obtained information and certainty in the matter, that in the spring we often heard through the Chippewas and Delawares that we should not be safe here and so could not remain, which, among some

brethren, caused fear and anxiety, on which account, in the spring, all the unbaptized who lived here, and one baptized family, went away. It is not over yet, but still infects our weaker souls, who expect it. It was a mystery to us, and we could not learn its cause, for if we asked for reasons, the reply was either: "The English will hem in the Indians on this river and not let them go till they have sold them all for slaves," or: "The Mohawks and Chippewas would come and clear us all away." We held both these answers for lies, though the latter, without our knowledge, came somewhat near the truth, namely, it has already been said that the Six Nations, and especially the Mohawks on the English territory, have not only made the Delaware Nation into men, but into warriors, to encourage them to continue war against the States and take it up anew, so that if they reached their end and the Delawares began war anew against the States, they would accuse them to the States, and say: "These are they who are fractious and will not have peace. Let us all fall upon them and root them out." That this was their purpose is to be seen from what follows: The Mohawks have thereupon, for the third time, sent to the Chippewas a finger's length from a war-belt fathoms long, and offered them the Delaware Nation, or permitted them to make broth thereof.<sup>1</sup> This, indeed, they kept secret, but since the nations are now assembled in the States it came to light, for which they wished to make Brant answer when he should come, as the author of it, but when he heard of this on the Miami, that they were waiting for him, he did not go to the treaty, as he had intended, towards which he had gone thus far.

Now it is to be hoped the whole plan is come to nought, but had they attained their end, or should it yet be done, misfortune would overtake our mission, even should it not be the first object of attack, for only a finger is named, and all the propositions of the Indians are sent abroad so obscurely that their meaning can only be conjectured.

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<sup>1</sup>See this expression, Vol. 1, p. 25.

Probably the matter will come up at the present treaty, as far as it is understood, or can it not be so understood? Satan, the contriver of this, will stir up war against the nation, in order, that the little band of believing Indians shall be made away with at the same time, but in this the Saviour will not let him succeed.

Monday, 17. Zeisberger held early service from the text: It is not the will of your father which is in heaven that one of these little ones should perish, and said he had sufficiently shown us this in giving us his dearly beloved Son, who, by his bitter passion and death, had gained for us eternal redemption and life.

Wednesday, 19. Michael held early service from the Scripture-verse: I will appoint a place for my people Israel and will plant them. Some brethren went out hunting, and the sisters for whortleberries, which they dry and keep. An Indian in the Monsey town has had a vision and revelation that the world will last four years more, and then be destroyed.

Thursday, 20. Joseph came back, who went away with Sophia. Br. Zeisberger spoke with him, and admonished him not always to wish to serve two masters, to let his everlasting salvation be the main thing of his care, and this he promised to do.

Saturday, 22. By some young people, who came from Pettquotting, where they had been hunting, we learned that the nations have concluded peace with the States,<sup>1</sup> but it seems as if among the Indians themselves strife and quarrels would arise, for, as we have already said, the Mohawks have already sent three war-belts to the Chippewas, to urge them to war against the Delawares, which they at the treaty delivered to the States, and when the Mohawks learned this they became very angry and threat-

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<sup>1</sup> This treaty was conducted at Greenville, Ohio, in the months of June and July, 1795, concluded July 30th, engrossed and signed Aug. 3d, and finally acted upon Aug. 7th. "It was laid before the Senate Dec. 9th, and ratified Dec. 22d. So closed the old Indian wars of the West." Albach's Annals of the West, p. 661.

ened the Delawares with death. This is the reason why all the Delawares wish to go away from this neighborhood and move over the lakes, and thus it will not pass over us without trouble.

Sunday, 23. Michael preached. Sophia, with her daughters, came here, but encamped on the plantations.

Wednesday, 26. Strange Indians, who came up here from below, and have already been here a couple of days, began to get drunk in the night, so that we had to send them away. In the settlement on Lake Erie three whites have been murdered by Chippewas and plundered, for which one of them is in prison.

Thursday, 27. Mr. Allen arrived, who had been present at the treaty with the Indians, from whom we learned that this is over and that peace has been made, to which indeed they were not forced, but as they found themselves too weak and helpless to continue the war with the States, they have chosen to make peace, but to this the Mohawks from Canada have not come. We likewise heard that the Delawares assembled on the Wabash after the treaty was over, and took counsel about moving to the Illinois, to establish themselves and to die there.

Friday, 28. By a couple of gentle-people, who came from Niagara, we got into our hands a printed copy of the treaty of peace and commerce between the States and England.

Saturday, 29. Inasmuch as we had last night drinking here in town, caused by strange Indians, who came from Detroit, wherein many of our people were involved, and caused disturbance, we had the brothers and sisters come together, and made preparations for hindering it in the future, for we had to await yet more of the same, and they were all found willing to aid in the matter. We had a love-feast with the unmarried brothers at their house.

Sunday, 30. Br. Sensemann preached, and in the afternoon Br. Zeisberger held a service for all who had been baptized, from the Scripture-verse: I will for their sakes remember the covenant of their ancestors, in that I might be their God; I am the Lord, and said that the Saviour,

more than fifty years ago, had called them from heathenism and chosen them to be his people, and had made a covenant with them, and they with him, which he had kept to the present hour, protecting them from all outward and inward dangers to the present time, though many times it had seemed as if they would all be scattered, and the Saviour's work among them brought to naught, and so it had been to the present day, and since the Saviour had made us a place where we have peace and quiet from without, the foe, to whom the Indian church was an especial hate, sought to disturb them in their blessed enjoyment and to cause trouble in the church, for which purpose he made use of some people among us, who let themselves serve as tools of Satan to seduce others and to cause harm and vexation in the church. He exhorted them, therefore, to stand fast, to oppose Satan and his following, and not to suffer disorder and the wicked to get the upper hand. The Saviour, who is with us, would help us and save us from such people, whom, moreover, we had already sent away, but they would not go, wishing to make trouble here.

Monday, 31. The strangers, who have caused us harm and anxiety, moved away. An Indian, Waniken, who has been known to us many years, went around the street in drunkenness, called to our Indians, and said they did not own a foot of land here, for the land on which they lived belonged to David (Zeisberger), who would make himself rich from it. No answer was given him, and he went away.

Wednesday, Sept. 2. A Mingo Indian, from the Cayuga nation, came here from the late treaty, who told us that the Indians had indeed made peace with the States, but that even while the treaty was going; on five families had been murdered on the west side of the Ohio, and every thing had been burnt. Of this Brant's people were suspected, for they came not to the treaty.

Friday, 4. The Indians in the Monsey town, who live up the river, wish to go away from there, a part of them this autumn and a part next spring, and move over the

lake. They labor also to get our Indians away from here, saying it would be sad here and impossible to stay here; it were better for them to get out of the way, where they could live in safety.

Saturday, 5. We got a letter from Br. Wollin from London, with news of some things sent to us, but which we have not yet received.

Sunday, 6. Br. Zeisberger preached from the Epistle about the works of the flesh, which he named and set forth to them.

Monday, 7. At morning prayer Br. Sensemann commended our little band of Indians to our dear Lord's grace, and in particular to bless the married brethren on this their festival, to let his friendly face shine over them, and to enliven them with new mercy. In the second service the instruction for the married brethren from the heathen was plainly read to them. We find and perceive that they are yet much lacking in knowledge and comprehension of this, and have no proper conception of matrimony, but the Saviour will help us by his grace that they advance therein. For this we depend upon him. In the afternoon was a love-feast for the whole church. We could still rejoice at his recognition of us, in the firm hope that he would still farther show himself gracious among us, and form us according to his mind and heart. We laborers strengthened ourselves with the body and blood of our Saviour in the holy sacrament, and bound ourselves together in new fidelity, unity, and love.

Tuesday, 8. Michael held early service. Chippewas came here with meat, which they sold to our brethren. From Sophia we had bad accounts again.

Thursday, 10. Zeisberger held early service from the text: Repent ye, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand. Our old Chippewa came again with meat, whom Boaz asked whether he was not yet ready to be converted. Our brethren were busy on their plantations, beginning to get ready for harvest.

Saturday, 12. John Askin came from Niagara on his way home, whom we had to help towards Detroit with

horses, whither he set out the next day. We heard that the treaty with England had been signed by the States.

Sunday, 13. Michael preached from the Gospel: No man can serve two masters, etc., and Zeisberger held the congregation meeting from the Scripture-verse: The Lord did not set his love upon you, nor choose you because you were more in number than any people, but because the Lord loved you.

Monday, 14. Sensemann held early service. The Indian brothers made fences to keep the cattle in. We mowed our after-grass.

Wednesday, 16. Abel came here again, who was sent away some time ago on account of his bad conduct and disobedience.

Thursday, 17. By way of Detroit Br. Sensemann had a letter from Lancaster from Br. Reincke, from which we learned the death of Sister Marshall,<sup>1</sup> in the Wachau, and of Mrs. Werning in Bethlehem.

Saturday, 19. This week the brethren have been busy harvesting their fields.

Sunday, 20. Sensemann preached from the Gospel about the youth in Nain, and Zeisberger held the communion quarter-hour about steadfastness in clinging to the Saviour, the Vine, as his branches. The assistants spoke with Johanetta and Leonard, who had quarrelled, but they could accomplish nothing.

Tuesday, 22. A couple of white people arrived from Niagara, and remained over night.

Thursday, 24, and Friday, 25. There was speaking to the brethren with reference to the communion. By Indians from the Miami we heard that the Delawares who wished to go farther south came back again, for the nations there will not suffer them, for they exterminate their game, wherever they come; on this account they have already lost nine men while hunting.

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<sup>1</sup> She was the wife of Frederick de Marshall, who was at the head of the Southern District of the American Church. Mrs. de Marshall was Elizabeth Hedwig, daughter of Abraham von Schweinitz. She died at Salem, N. C., March 22, 1795.

Saturday, 26. At the holy communion, which we celebrated in the near presence of our Saviour and with his recognition of us, two brethren were readmitted, namely, the widow, Philippina, who has been absent from it fourteen years—in Guadenhütten on the Muskingum—and John Thomas.

Sunday, 27. Br. Zeisberger read the liturgy, and Br. Edwards preached. Zeisberger held the congregation meeting, and spoke about our young people and boys playing, that instead of this they should rather do something useful, and not give themselves up to idleness, from which comes nothing but ill. It had the desired effect.

Tuesday, 29. In the early service Br. Zeisberger brought to the remembrance of the brethren the dear angels, whom the Saviour sends to turn from us much evil and danger, and who are ever busy among his believers, which we should recognize with thankfulness towards the Saviour. Our young people went out in a body hunting, to get meat for the harvesting of their teachers' fields. They came back home the next day with four deer.

Thursday, Oct. 1. They went to work in a body, and were done harvesting for us on the 3d.

Friday, 2. White people arrive almost daily. The road to Niagara is much used, for it costs much by water over the lake. On the 3d were twenty such, one of whom asked to be married.

Sunday, 4. Sensemann preached. It rained all day long, and so there was no other service.

Tuesday, 6. Early there was the burial of the child, William, who died yesterday, John Henry's boy, nine months and two days old. Zeisberger conducted it.

Wednesday, 7. Br. Sensemann, who went down to the settlement day before yesterday, where he married a couple, came back.

Saturday, 10. Our brethren were busy with the harvest all the week. Strange Indians arrived, but not to hear.

Sunday, 11. Zeisberger preached about the conduct of believers, that it is not enough to bear the name and be



looked upon as such, but to show it by conduct, and thereby to glorify God.

Monday, 12. After the early service, which Br. Sensemann held, he went on business to Detroit with Samuel and Bartholomew.

Thursday, 15. There was severe wind, which began with a thunder-storm, and lasted the whole day. It unroofed houses, and in the fields much damaged the corn, and in the bush around the town made great devastation, yet no one was injured, though many of those on the plantations were near suffering.

Friday, 16. There was early the burial of the grown girl, Deborah, who died day before yesterday, daughter of Renatus, the Mohican. She had been sick for some time, and full of ulcers, so that all remedies were of no avail, but she wasted quite away. When we visited her she always showed a wish to go to the Saviour. She was baptized last year at Easter, April 20. Since that time she has always grown weaker and weaker, but in her heart content. She said to her mother, when she was awaiting death, not to weep for her, she was glad to go to the Saviour, and wished to live no longer. She often asked the sisters who were with her to sing verses to her, and they did so. She departed in peace with the blessing of the church.

Sunday, 18. Michael preached, and as it has been rainy the whole week, so that the river was unusually high, and the corn of several brethren was under water, they helped one another to save it, whereby all were busy who were able, and so they continued to do the next day, for the water was all the time rising. Since we have been here we have never had so wet and stormy an autumn as the present.

Tuesday, 20. There being many chestnuts, which the wind has lately shaken down, most of the sisters went out to gather them, bringing home great quantities of them, which are very useful in their house-keeping.

Thursday, 22. Br. Sensemann came back from Detroit, having been much hindered on the lake by rain and storm. We had hoped for letters from Bethlehem by the

last ships, but in vain. Meanwhile, our things from London arrived in good order while he was there. He learned in Detroit that Weinland, by whom, in June, we sent letters and the diary to Bethlehem, had had trouble among the Wyandots, who took every thing away from him, our letters included, but yet afterwards he got them again. With him came Mr. Askin's clerk, to whom we had to give an Indian as guide to Grand River. Old Erdmuth, to whom the Chippewas, when they come here, always go, since she understands their speech, came and complained that the Chippewas had stolen her kettle, spoons, etc., and had gone away. She asked what she should do. Answer: She should follow after them, and seek to get the things again. She asked farther whether she should still hold them dear, and give them to eat when they came to her. Answer: O, yes, she should still hold them dear, and do them good, but she should tell them she was glad to give them food when they came, only they should not steal. She replied that she would do so.

Saturday, 24. Sensemann held early service. We heard from the Monsey town that in the high water their corn-fields had been quite overflowed, and had been much injured, and that in the storm a child had been killed by a tree.

Sunday, 25. Edwards preached and Zeisberger held the communion service, to which he invited the brethren, as poor and needy creatures, to the enjoyment of the body and blood of Jesus, so that they might think of his death, and not let it leave their minds how much our redemption had cost him, which is the best safeguard against the wiles of Satan.

Monday, 26. Zeisberger spoke with Bartholomew and his wife, Justina, and reconciled them.

Tuesday, 27. Early, Br. Sensemann attended the burial of the child, Nathaniel, who died yesterday, after being here below, thirteen months and three days. Our neighbor, Kessler, ploughed for some Indians, and sowed wheat for them, as Bill Henry and his sons had worked in the harvest above us this summer. The weather being fine, the

brethren were very busy getting in from the fields our corn and their own. We have again a good harvest, and a burden of corn. The heavenly Father has blessed us. Br. Zeisberger has spoken lately several times with Nicholas, who has now fully resolved to give himself up to the Saviour, holding fast to him and the church.

Friday, 30. Yesterday and to-day there was speaking with the brethren with reference to the Lord's supper, which,

Saturday, 31, in the near presence of our dear Lord, and with his gracious recognition of us, we celebrated. [Br. Sensemann sowed wheat, likewise Michael.] To him who filled our hearts with comfort and joy we brought,

Sunday, Nov. 1, our filial thanks, honor, and worship. Amen. Then Br. Sensemann preached.

Monday, 2. We called to mind our communion with the church, which is with him, and we stand in expectation of being incorporated therein sometime, and to be then near him forever.

Thursday, 5. French and Indian traders arrived from Detroit, who went up the river with goods, but every thing is unusually dear. Our brethren, especially the sisters, nearly all went out to gather chestnuts, of which there are many, this year especially, and also walnuts in the bush, very useful to the Indians in their house-keeping.

Sunday, 8. Br. Michael preached, and towards evening in a meeting took place the marriage of the widower, Nicholas, with the widow, Martha, formerly William's wife. They were betrothed several days ago. From Grand River came back Joshua with Mr. Askin's clerk, whom he had escorted thither and back. He visited there his sister, a Mohican woman, named Ruth, who was baptized by the brothers, and has lived in Bethlehem, and she has not yet forgotten what she enjoyed there; she would have liked to visit us, but is now too old and helpless, but she has charged Joshua to take her grandchildren to the church when he hears that she has passed from time.

Monday, 9. Michael went early with a couple of In-

dian brothers down the river to get our things, which have come from England, if they have got there, otherwise to go to Detroit.

Tuesday, 10. Joshua, over whom comes one trouble after another, in spite of all our pains and admonitions, went away to-day in his confusion, and left every thing as it was. This causes us much concern, but we were still more amazed when, two days after,

Thursday, 12, he came back. Samuel, to whom he went, received him out of pity. We advised him to go off hunting for a time, and this he did.

Friday, 13. We came before our Elder and High Priest of his churches, presented ourselves to him as a poor, sinful little band, but yet brought to him upon our knees our thanks and adoration for his long-suffering, patience, and mercy, for his recognition of us with all our faults and shortcomings, asked for his gracious absolution and farther proof of his mercy to us, and vowed to him anew submission, obedience, and fidelity.

Br. Michael Jung came early from the settlement with the things sent us from England. Upon examination, however, we found that not a little had been stolen, which happened at the portages, and is also not uncommon. All inquiry is in vain, and much less is any reimbursement to be hoped for.

Sunday, 15. Br. Zeisberger preached. As it rained hard, and few were at home anyway, being away hunting, there was no other service.

Tuesday, 17. From Niagara, or rather from the States by way of Fort Erie, came white people here with cattle, who the next day went on to Detroit.

Wednesday, 18. Strange Indians arrived from the Miami. They came regularly to the meetings, but this is much, for most of those who come here, do nothing of the sort, and care not to hear. Now that there is again peace, may God let a living wind blow among them, so that they may turn to him, who now are dead in their sin.

Saturday, 21. The Indian, Adam, came to Br. Zeisberger and told him he was thinking of leaving the church,

for he saw he was of no use here. Zeisberger took occasion to show him the reason of his unpleasant life and of his shortcomings in regard to the Saviour and the church, yes, to the teachers also, namely, his pride which has tripped him and brought him down. He spoke plainly with him, and told him all he thought of him, but, at the same time, that on this account he did not reject him, but to show him that he had reason enough to bend before the Saviour and become a repentant sinner; if he did this, he would be to him the same gracious and merciful Saviour as at first. He complained about the hardness of his heart, about his distrust of the Saviour, and want of faith, for which he had no heart, but before he went away it could be seen plainly that his heart was breaking.

Sunday, 22. Edwards preached. Rénatus, the Mohican, was absolved.

Monday, 23. Elizabeth was delivered of a son.

Tuesday, 24. Mr. Askin's clerk arrived from Detroit with goods to sell for corn, to be delivered in the spring. Sabina, Adam's wife, who has transgressed with her wicked speeches, began to acknowledge her fault and become repentant.

Thursday, 26. The hunters for the most part came home. Their hunting was of little value.

Friday, 27. Early before day Rénatus, the Mohican, died, whose remains were buried,

Saturday, 28. Rénatus was baptized in Gnadenhütten on the Mahony (Pa.), Sept. 28, 1749, by Br. Cammerhoff.<sup>1</sup> In the first Indian war, in '63, on account of a murder

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<sup>1</sup>John Christoph Frederick Cammerhoff was born near Magdeburg, July 28, 1721. In 1738 he entered the University of Jena, where he became acquainted with Count Christian Zinzendorf and his tutor, John Nitschmann, by whom his natural inclination to a religious life was much fostered. He was married in July, 1746, consecrated bishop in September of the same year, in London, and sailed for America soon afterward. Here he was Bishop Spangenberg's assistant. In the spring of 1750 he went to Onondaga, having Zeisberger as companion and intrepeter. He died at Bethlehem, in 1751, at the early age of thirty. DeSchweinitz' *Some of the Fathers of the Am. Moravian Church.*

committed by the savages, he was accused and imprisoned until he was set free by a jury chosen for him. He then went with the Indian church to Friedenshütten on the Susquehanna, where he married, his first wife being dead, but he left this wife, went from the church, and wandered about among the savages, until, in 1783, he came with his family to the church on Huron River, and also remained. For a time he walked a beautiful way, was blessed and content, a partaker also of the holy communion, but he misused his time, so that he was not quite glad of the grace of being in the church, although he well knew from experience that nowhere else would he be so well, and therefore he never longed for another place. He understood very well discoursing how one should live and be in the church, nor was there much to blame in his conduct, only we could always have wished that he had more life and feeling in his heart. It was observed that he still busied himself with Indian ways and superstitions, which he had learned among the savages, and did not quite free himself therefrom, but for two years there has not been so much of this. Already for a year he had been sickly. It became always more evident that he was nearing the end. He could no longer work. A short time ago he was still of much use to his son in hunting, and wanted to go with him, but he was so bad that he had to take to his bed, when he said himself that this time he should die. Six days ago he called Mrs. Zeisberger and Sensemann, whose forgiveness he asked for all in which he had grieved them, likewise that of the whole church. He confessed himself a sinner, giving himself the whole blame of his repeatedly unblest position in the church. He was forgiven and absolved, whereupon his heart was easy and trustful in the Saviour, but he soon became speechless, and so remained till his death. He was an example of God's patience and mercy, who bore with him, attended to him, and helped him.

White people with boats came up the river, who needed help. Joshua wrote a letter to us. Allen came from the States, bringing us no letters.

Sunday, 29. First in Advent. Michael preached about the coming of our Lord into the flesh. In the afternoon service Br. Sensemann baptized, with the name, Jeremy, the little son of Tobias and Elizabeth, born the 23d Inst.

Monday, 30. We advised the Indian, Joshua, whose wife had left him and remained near by, where she thought of passing the winter, to go to her and to remain until they were reconciled, if this were possible; and if this did happen, and they wanted to be in the church, they could come and ask.

Thursday, Dec. 3. As hardly any traders have come here this year to trade, and the one who was here lately could by no means supply the wants of our Indians, different ones went down the river to the lake to get clothing for the winter.

Saturday, 5. Strange Indians came here, who attended the meetings also, a rare thing here, for they come here seldom, still seldomer to the meetings.

Sunday, 6. Sensemann preached and Zeisberger conducted the communion quarter-hour, notice of which he gave to the brethren for Saturday. From the neighborhood came Mrs. Kessler for a visit. We learned to-day, by people from the States, that the plague prevails again, not only in Philadelphia but also in the country, and this may be the reason of our getting no letters.

Monday, 7. Bill Henry and others came with wheat and corn they have had ground, from the mill, seven miles from here.

Thursday, 10. In the early service Br. Zeisberger spoke from to-day's text, about God's gift, who gave us his only beloved Son, that through him we should have eternal life and salvation. White people went through for Niagara.

Friday, 11. Yesterday and to-day there was speaking to the brethren. An express from Niagara for Detroit, with a couple of Mohawks went through. We learned from these that the plague is not in Philadelphia, but in

New York,<sup>1</sup> at the same time also that France has war with the States.

Saturday, 12. A girl, fourteen years old, who from bleeding at the nose was much reduced and very weak, had the brothers called to her, and said to them that perhaps she should not get well, and as she reflected that she had not been obedient to the brothers, her teachers, and had often grieved them, she asked them therefore to forgive her all, for she could not go from time in peace otherwise. We told her we would do this gladly, but she should also call upon the dear Saviour and beg his forgiveness, who would not bring her to shame, much less repulse her, for she belonged to him, having been bought by his dear blood. By this she was much comforted, and said afterwards that she no longer feared death. Since the flowing of blood could be checked by none of the means employed, we tried letting a little blood from a vein, and this had the result wished for. She slept the night after and became well. In the evening the communicants had the most blessed enjoyment of the body and blood of the Lord in the holy communion, which Br. Sensemann conducted.

Sunday, 13. Zeisberger read the liturgy and preached about this, that the Saviour, even to the present day, makes the blind see and those dead in sin alive; on this account he came into the world to seek the lost and save all who from their hearts believe this.

Monday, 14. Since we heard of old Sophia that she had become of another mind and will again turn about, we sent to her two assistants, Bill Henry and Stephen, to listen to her, whereupon the assistants together,

Wednesday, 16, went to her again to talk the whole matter out with her, and after she had become reconciled to her husband, they permitted her to come to town again. The assistants also spoke with Luke and his

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<sup>1</sup>"In 1795 it (yellow fever) again made its appearance about the first of August (in New York), and raged with violence the remainder of the season, carrying off seven hundred and thirty-five of the citizens."  
—Mary L. Booth's Hist. of City of New York, p. 612.



wife. Some people, disposed to be Baptists, came through here from Lake Erie, who offered to take letters for us, it being their intention to travel into the country below.

Saturday, 19. A neighbor, Kessler, came here and accused our Indians of theft, just as last summer many times he had accused them of much trouble which had befallen him, that they were the cause of it. As we had always found, and it came to light, that they were guiltless, so now we could not but affirm their innocence. Sophia was brought here to town with her corn, goods, and property by the brethren, when Joshua's house, which for a time had been vacant, was again occupied. They both,

Sunday, 20, came to us to express their thankfulness, that they were again out of error and in the church. We wished and advised them to acknowledge to the Saviour their transgressions, to seek forgiveness, to confess their guilt, so that they might better employ their time than hitherto. Br. Edwards preached.

Monday, 21. At the early service Br. Sensemann preached about not seeing and yet believing, which is the blessedness of our time; hereafter the time will come to see him in whom we have believed. Samuel and Joshua went to the mill.

Wednesday, 23. An express with a couple of Mohawks, who lately, on the 11th Inst., went through here on their way from Niagara to Detroit, came back. We learned from them that the government has received orders to lay out a fort at the mouth of Detroit River on the east side, which shows that Detroit will be transferred to the States next summer, as is reported.

Thursday, 24. Two Germans went through here early for Long Point, and as one of them thought of travelling into the States, either to Lancaster or Bethlehem, we gave him letters. We began Christmas with a love-feast and with praising and thanking the Infant Jesus in his manger for his holy incarnation and birth, which brought peace to the world, who is called Jesus, because he saves. Two Frenchmen, who are passing the winter for trading, a day's journey from here, came here expressly for Christ-

mas, and asked to be permitted to attend our celebration of it, whereby they were very attentive, and said afterward they had never imagined they should see such devotion and respect from Indians in the worship of God.

Friday, 25. Br. Michael delivered the sermon, at which the Frenchmen were present. Sensemann held the children's hour and Zeisberger the service for the baptized, in which one sister, Polly, was taken into the church, who, at the request of her mother, in the year '82, was baptized in Sandusky, when she was eleven years old, but she was now unwilling that this baptism should stand for the baptism of an adult, saying she had then no longing in her heart, but her mother would so have it, since we were then taken from them, and she feared she might die unbaptized; now, however, she felt that something was lacking, namely, being a member of the church and a partaker of grace. When this was granted her, it became a real blessing, and there was a blessed feeling thereby.

Sunday, 27. Zeisberger preached from the Gospel about Simeon, who in the temple took the Child, Jesus, into his arms, and joyfully praised God for having seen his salvation. A party of Chippewas was here, but they came for no other reason than to beg.

Monday, 28. The Chippewas went away, after getting that for which they came. The assistants spoke with Lewis, who began to trade here, and thereby fell into a bad course of life, and they reached a good result.

Thursday, 31. We ended the year with a love-feast, praising and thanking the Lord for all the kindnesses and goodness he had shown us in body and in spirit through the year, for our dear Father had blessed us outwardly by providing daily what was needful for our wants and support, which we thankfully acknowledged to have received from his mild hand as our dear heavenly Father. We thanked our dear Saviour and Lord that he daily let us find food and pasture for our hearts and souls, and like the good Shepherd has fed us upon his merits and passion, as his flock. We thanked God, the Holy Ghost, for his

faithful care, who has held us with Jesus Christ by faith in his name. We confessed ourselves before him as sinners, and acknowledged our faults and digressions from him, having often been no honor to him, but a shame, and many among us had sinned against him and the church. We recognized it as a mercy from the Saviour that he had made known and brought to light every concealment, which was worthless and dishonorable to him, which was dissolved by the light and put aside, which shows that he dwells among us and will put all evil away from us. We acknowledged also our faults in regard to the assistants. We begged with repentant hearts forgiveness of all our sins and transgressions, and he gave us the comfort in our hearts that he heard our entreaty and had granted our requests for the sake of his bloody merits. In conclusion, the blessing was imparted to the church.

Baptized this year, three children. Admitted to the church, two. Married, one couple. Died, four adults and three children.

In Fairfield there now live 158 Indian souls, great and small, seven less than last year.

## CHAPTER XVI.

1796.

FAIRFIELD, ON THE THAMES, ONTARIO.

Friday, Jan. 1. Br. Sensemann preached and Br. Zeisberger held the service for the baptized, in which, after a discourse about the Scripture-verse: I am the Lord that healeth thee, a brother, Zachary, and a sister, Peggy, received, kneeling, absolution in the name of the Saviour, which ceremony was attended with his near presence. Many came and bewailed their turning-away from the Saviour. Different brothers and sisters celebrated their day of baptism with a love-feast, to which they generally invited guests, called to mind God's mercy towards them, and thanked him for their call and election. Chippewas, who came here for the purpose, went about town begging, and late in the evening came yet more of them.

Sunday, 3. Br. Edwards preached from the Gospel about the Saviour's flight into Egypt. A Chippewa, who claimed to be a chief, and came here to beg, spoke ill against our Indians, but was softened when he was granted that for which he came, and went away contented.

Wednesday, 6. At morning prayer Zeisberger asked for the presence and blessing of our dear Lord, which he vouchsafed to impart to us in full measure for the day. Thereupon Sensemann held the service for the baptized, in which a grown girl, Mary, was taken into the church. At the love-feast the story was read and attentively listened to, and something was said. We ended with a blessed hour of song and the blessing of the church.

Saturday, 9. The weather being fine, the brethren have lately made sugar. The (Indian) brothers went out to cut timber for a better school-house.

Sunday, 10. Michael preached and Zeisberger held the

congregation meeting. A couple from the neighborhood came here and had their child baptized. Now the Indian, Joseph, at last went away, who is a slave of sin, and that willingly. Old Sophia came and disclosed her heart, began to confess her faults and error, and to become a repentant sinner, wherein she had been wanting.

Wednesday, 13. Mr. Dolson came here from Detroit, and stayed a couple of days. It is now known that in the spring the States will take possession of Detroit, for which preparation has been made of late by laying out a fort on the east side of the river.

Friday, 15. Mr. Dolson went up the river to the upper settlement. Here sugar was boiled, the weather being fine, and the brethren paid their debts with corn.

Sunday, 17. David preached and Sensemann held the communion quarter-hour, notice of which he gave to the brethren for Saturday.

Monday, 18. Dolson came back, bringing with him a white man. He received payment for his debts, and,

Wednesday, 20, returned home. The brethren contributed to pay the common debt, among other things, to pay for a calf, killed by a felled tree, which caused complaint among the brethren. The river froze.

Friday, 22. Yesterday and to-day, a little snow having fallen, they brought in the school-house timber.

Saturday, 23. After the brethren had been spoken to for several days lately the communicants received the body of the Lord, given up to death for us, and his blood shed for us, in the holy sacrament. Ignatius was again present. Zeisberger administered it.

Sunday, 24. Br. Sensemann read the liturgy and preached. The assistants spoke with Abel, with whom lately Zeisberger has held a searching correspondence and exchange of letters concerning the condition of his heart, and this had the result desired, and, it is to be hoped, will redound to his eternal welfare, for he has disclosed his heart completely, which he can better do in writing than by word of mouth. Thus several of our young people can better express themselves in writing than by speaking, and

all this in Indian. They often come, bringing the letter themselves, sit down and get their answer by word of mouth.

Tuesday, 26. Martha, Nicholas, Peggy, and others went to the Miami, the first to get her cattle, which her sister had taken last spring. The brethren brought us wood.

Wednesday, 27. The thermometer to-day marked a degree below zero, colder than it had before been this winter. Chippewas arrived who had rum with them. We told them if they abstained from this as long as they were here, they could stay here; if not, they must go farther. They promised not to drink here, stayed and kept their word, but afterward they said to Boaz, who is their interpreter when they come here, that the Wyandots and Mohawks were indeed Christians, as we are, but they drink their fill as often as they get a chance, like other Indians; why then was it not so here? Answer: Because it is a sin to get drunk, from which arise all sorts of ill, whoring, murder, and slaughter, which they knew well enough themselves and saw among them, therefore it was not permitted among us. The Chippewas have more witchcraft and jugglery than other nations. For example, they say that at a festival they have all manner of sport, an otter-skin goes about the fire and their pouches give out a sound of their own accord; snake-skins, which they have about their necks, show life, and so on. Boaz, who has seen all this, says Satan must have his share therein.

Saturday, 30. A merchant, with a couple of Frenchmen from Detroit, was here over night, and then went away in the morning.

Sunday, 31. Michael preached, and in the afternoon service Br. Sensemann baptized Abel's child, lately born, with the name, Maria Cathrine.

Monday, Feb. 1. We learned from Indians that Indians from Gigejunk (Ft. Wayne) had stolen horses in the States, whom the owners followed as far as their town, found their horses there, and spoke with the head-man about helping them get their horses again. He spoke with

those who had them, and told them they should give them up, but they did not wish to, and the men had to go home without them. However, they soon came back again to the town with a stronger force, unexpectedly, when the head-man, with all the Indians who were there, took to flight, and left in the lurch all they had. Thereupon they took away their horses, all the cattle they found, and all house-utensils, plundered the town, and then went away, having, however, hurt no one personally.

Wednesday, 3. Yesterday and to-day white people arrived. Our people began to go to their sugar-places.

Saturday, 6. Br. Sensemann went down to the settlement. The express from Niagara went through, Bartholomew with him.

Sunday, 7. Edwards preached. A white man arrived.

Tuesday, 9. Sensemann came back from the settlement, where he baptized several children.

Friday, 12. Adam visited us, whom Br. Zeisberger showed the reason of his transgressions, advising him to become a repentant sinner, and to draw near the Physician of his soul.

Sunday, 14. Zeisberger preached from the Gospel, *Invocavit*,<sup>1</sup> about the seductions of Satan, who blinds with his lies the Indians, whose king he is, and holds them in his power; that he seeks especially to entice the believers from Christ and to lead them to destruction; that we therefore, according to his word and advice, should hold fast to him, who will overcome Satan, whereby we shall escape his seductions and be made safe through Christ.

Monday, 15. A New Englander came here for a visit to see the ministers and their Indians, to attend the meetings, and to hear what is here preached. He stayed a couple of days.

Tuesday, 16. The brethren prepared for sugar-making, which will now begin as soon as the weather is mild.

Friday, 19. A white couple from the settlement came

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<sup>1</sup> See before, p. 249.

here to get Br. Sensemann to attend a wedding, whence he came back the day after.

Saturday, 20. Michael went to the settlement, seven miles away, to deliver a sermon which had been requested.

Sunday, 21. Br. Sensemann preached and Zeisberger held the congregation meeting. Michael returned from the settlement, where he had preached, seven miles from here, having a fine audience. He was asked also to come again. Here Martha came with her cattle from the Miami, who, in the spring, without our knowledge, when Joachim and her sister went away from here, causing trouble and anxiety, had sent with them her cattle and household goods, to which she was induced by lies, for she was secretly informed we would all move away from here, only it was not yet made known. On this account she sent her property with them, thinking to get away then more easily. She has often been sorry for this, that she behaved so foolishly, and had not once made inquiries of us. All arises from the secret plotting of the Mohawks. Meanwhile Martha was the cause that the Joachims have turned about and come with her to the church, for when she reached them they both wept from shame and joy, and said if only they knew they would again be received and not sent away, they would like to go again to the church, for they were not well where they were, having an unpleasant life. Martha told them they had not been sent away, they had left of their own accord, and if they would like to be again in the church and conduct themselves by its rules, no one would send them away, and this gave them courage to come again.

Monday, 22. Our young people, who go to school, and are so set upon it that they make it their chief business, and prefer it to every thing, got together, and went and cut wood for Br. Sensemann at his sugar-hut, so that he might not be hindered by work from keeping school. Many of them can write a good English hand, better than many clerks with the merchants in Detroit.

Thursday, 25. For a week it had been quite cold, but



now mild weather begins, and the brethren go to their sugar-places to get ready for work.

Saturday, 27. There was rain, and the snow went off.

Sunday, 28. Michael preached, and then the brethren were dismissed to their work.

Monday, 29. Zeisberger held early service; to him came Joseph, very angry that his house had been torn down from mischief.

Tuesday, March 1. We learned that matters are not very peaceful among the Indians, for the Shawanese had killed a Chippewa counsellor, whereover the Chippewas were very angry, and the Senecas had followed a party of Potawatomies, who had stolen horses, until they came to a little Delaware town, where they killed all, for the trace led them there, and they thought they had caught the thieves. Meantime McKee invited the Shawanese to come over here and settle in this country. A lawyer from the States, who bought land in Detroit, went through here back home, to whom we gave an Indian as guide, whom he paid.

Friday, 4. Allen went through here to the States. The weather was cold, and nothing to be done in sugar-making.

Saturday, 5. Sensemann held early service. Elizabeth, Adam's daughter, died.

Sunday, 6. Edwards preached. Christiana was delivered of a daughter. A man came here from the settlement, who wished to build a mill on our land, to prepare every thing for it himself and to have a share in it, but we declined. We heard of great disorders in England.<sup>1</sup>

Monday, 7. Br. Zeisberger attended the funeral of the maiden, Elizabeth, Adam's daughter, who died day before yesterday. She was seventeen years old less two months. For two years she had the palsy and could not walk. She was born in Schönbrunn, May 5, 1779, baptized on the 13th, by Zeisberger, and admitted to the church here June

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<sup>1</sup> Probably the attack of the London mob upon the carriage of George III., Oct. 29, 1795, and the riots before and after this event.

8, 1794. She was sympathetic in heart, and distinguished herself beyond others of her age. She was eager to be saved, and was much pleased when any one visited her and spoke to her about the Saviour. She was, therefore, always glad to see sisters with her, and longed to be with the Saviour, and often said she had no longer any pleasure in the world. For a week before her death she thought over every thing wherein she had vexed any one, and had made it up. When she was near death she said to her mother: "Now I am going to the Saviour, now I leave thee," thus she departed, after first having received the blessing of the church.

Thursday, 10. Yesterday and to-day white people came here, who passed the night.

Sunday, 13. Zeisberger preached about the perfect sacrifice of Jesus for the sins of the whole world. We passed the afternoon in speaking to some brethren.

Monday, 14. The river broke up, which has been frozen up to date, and only two hours before people crossed it.

Tuesday, 15. Thunder, with rain, and the next night snow.

Friday, 18. During the whole week was cold weather with snow, and thus little to be done in sugar-making.

Sunday, 20. Sensemann preached at the entrance into Passion Week, and Zeisberger held the service for the communion brethren, admonishing them to value this great good and worthily to enjoy it.

Tuesday, 22. Yesterday and to-day the Zeisbergers spoke with the brethren, and found them prepared for the holidays, and in expectation of the great good.

Wednesday, 23. The communicants had the washing of feet, after receiving absolution, and,

Thursday, 24, after the story for the day had first been read, the communicants had the Lord's supper, to which a brother, Zachary, and a sister, Ruth, were readmitted, and Polly was a candidate.

Friday, 25. During the whole day was a reading of the history, in four parts, of the great martyrdom of our Lord, which the brethren eagerly listened to, and with touched

hearts, and this could be read upon their faces, and the spirit of God was thereby shown, of which we heard and saw proof among those of whom it was not expected, so that we were comforted and thankful to the Saviour. At his death we read the litany, and also at the piercing of his side. Mr. Dolson came with his son, and attended some meetings.

Saturday, 26. At noon was a love-feast, when we sang Jesus' body in the grave with entirely new songs and verses, which to the brethren were very impressive and affecting.

Sunday, 27. We early prayed the Easter litany, a part in the chapel, and then we went to the grave-yard, and thought of the three adult brethren and the two children who had died since last Easter, and we prayed for eternal communion with the church above. Then followed the reading of the story of the resurrection, and during the sermon, which Br. Sensemann delivered, he baptized into Jesus' death, with the name, Rebecca, the little daughter of Jacob and Christiana, born on the 6th Inst., and then we dismissed the brethren to their sugar-huts. A person who was told it would be better for her to go elsewhere, for she did not get along well in the church, said: "I am always hearing that the Saviour receives sinners, and I am one; therefore I do not give this up, and I will not leave the church."

Monday, 28. Some brethren went down to the settlement with corn. Here the brethren found, when they went back to their sugar-huts, that the Chippewas, during the holidays, had stolen every thing in them, who now roam about, knowing that the brethren are now all at home, and they steal whatever they find. The brethren contributed sugar for the love-feasts.

Thursday, 31. White people came up the river, who spoke with us, likewise yesterday, some on their way to Niagara, and spoke with Br. Sensemann in the sugar-camp, where our brethren are all now very busy.

Friday, April 1. Frenchman loaded corn here, and went with it to Detroit.

Sunday, 3. At the sermon, by Br. Michael, were present our brethren and Kessler from the neighborhood. He had a dispute with Bill Henry about a tree for a canoe, which the latter had cut before the land was surveyed, but yet it was not upon the man's land, and he had no right to it, but, to have peace, we advised Bill Henry to give up the tree, and he was willing. And thus then there is much trouble with the white people. They come, borrow canoes from the Indians, promising to pay for them, then lose them and do not pay for them, for they do with the Indians what they will, knowing there is no law for Indians.

Tuesday, 5. Nearly all the men went down the river with corn.

Thursday, 7. An Indian, Beata's husband, came and asked leave to live here.

Friday, 8. The brethren ended sugar-making, which has this year been profitable, but they have already sold much of it.

Saturday, 9. Anna Sophia was delivered of a daughter.

Sunday, 10. During the sermon by Br. Zeisberger he baptized, with the name, Levi, the little son of Boaz and Abigail, born on the 5th Inst. Br. Michael went early to the next township and preached to the people assembled there, and in the afternoon came back home.

Monday, 11. Br. Sensemann came back from the lower settlement, where he preached yesterday, and baptized eleven children. The people live like Indians, hear no word of God, and have little longing therefor.

Tuesday, 12. Askin's clerk came here from Detroit, and to our no common joy brought us letters from Bethlehem, which came by way of Montreal, of July 10 and 17 of last year. Here there were sixteen canoes with Chippewas, who came down from upstream and encamped here several days. One night there was outcry among them, for there were some who wandered around in the bush, trying to kill one of those encamped here. They were

seen by those in the camp one night and shot at. The Chippewas warned our Indians not to go out of town at night, so that they might not come to harm.

Wednesday, 13. Ten canoes went away with corn for Mr. Askin. The assistants spoke with David, John, and Beata, together with her unbaptized husband, who wants to live here.

Thursday, 14. Br. Sensemann, after holding early service, set out for Detroit with Askin's clerk, who had a good transport in the river. We said to some Chippewas, who are encamped here upon the river-bank, and in the evening begin to drum, that if they wished to have their camp here, they must give up the like, or, if they could not do this, they should pitch their camp elsewhere, and so they gave it up.

Sunday, 17. Br. Edwards preached, and in the afternoon service Br. Zeisberger baptized into Jesus' death, with the name, Keturah, the little daughter of John Adams and Anna Sophia, born on the 9th Inst. Chippewas were present, both at the service and at the baptism.

Monday, 18. Br. Zeisberger baptized, in the presence of the assistants, Beata's sick daughter, a half-Chippewa, with the name, Patience. Many Chippewas were encamped here, who are now leaving this river, having sold the land. At the early service Br. Zeisberger told the brethren that since during the past winter all sorts of people had come here, whom we did not like to send away as long as the winter lasted, but as it was now spring, we wished to rid our town of people who did not belong to us and had no disposition to be converted, that now each one of these would be spoken with, likewise those who lived in the church, but did not behave in accordance with our regulations. This was done, and this evening the assistants made a beginning. This discourse of Br. Zeisberger had a thoroughly good effect, for strangers and inhabitants during the whole week came and asked either for pardon or for reception.

Tuesday, 19. The Chippewas went away to their home

on the next river northwards, Sneycarty.<sup>1</sup> Our people sowed much wheat.

Thursday, 21. As there were many fish, which at this time of the year come up the river, our people, both children and the old, caught a great quantity of them. The sisters began work on the plantations.

Friday, 22. Br. Sensemann came back from the Fort, where the soldiers are evacuating Detroit and going to the east side of the river.

Saturday, 23. The assistants were almost done speaking, and there was a great awakening among our people. We thought we should be rid of some with whom we have had much trouble, but none wished to go away. Not only strangers who do not belong to us, but also inhabitants, asked pardon and admission, promising amendment. Satan and the world try in every way to seduce our people. A couple of savages had led astray a couple of our young women and married them. We wished to be rid of them, but as the savages asked for admission, we made then a trial with them, for if Satan's wicked schemes have such result that they are brought to naught, and good arises from them, and more are rescued, we can rejoice, and this will be his greatest vexation to Satan.

Sunday, 24. Br. Sensemann preached and Zeisberger held the congregation meeting. Br. Michael Jung preached to the people in the settlement, whence he came home. The assistants had still to speak.

Wednesday, 27. A Chippewa captain came here and made a speech with a string of wampum, stating that they had arranged to sell all their land in this neighborhood to the English, etc. In conclusion he begged for corn, which he got.

Thursday, 28. The Indian brothers came back, having

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<sup>1</sup> "There is no river Sneycarty, but that is the name of one of the channels forming the northern delta of Lake St. Clair. The true and original name was, in French, Le Cheval Ecarté, and this was easily metamorphosed by Englishmen into Sneycarty. Sneycarty Channel is the name appearing on some maps. The Lake Survey map gives the true name." Letter from Hon. James V. Campbell, of Detroit.

delivered the corn at the mouth of the river, and taken a receipt. We are glad to be done with this matter at last. We heard that Brant's secret plot against the Delawares makes a stir. When he saw that it had become known, he sent to the Six Nations and had them told that they were accused of having delivered man's flesh [meaning Delaware man's flesh] to make broth of; they should consider who had spread this evil report, and the matter could be again set right. The Six Nations made an investigation among themselves to find out the instigator, and as they found nothing of the sort among themselves, so it is settled upon Brant that he is the instigator of it, and as his conscience is not clear in the matter, he has sent a solemn embassy to the Chippewas, and asked them to take the matter into consideration and to make it straight. They have referred him to the Six Nations to find out the cause of this, but he cannot accept this, knowing well enough that they hold him responsible.

Friday, 29. Many Monseys from above, on their way to Detroit, encamped here a couple of days. There were cold snow-squalls, after we had had a week of fine, dry spring-like weather.

Sunday, May 1. Michael preached and Sensemann conducted the communion quarter-hour. We passed the whole afternoon with the assistants, whom we charged to speak with the brethren and people, for as it is spring and planting-time, we wish to sweep away at once what does not belong to us, and what knows not why it is here, may leave. None, however, are found who wish to go from the church, but they ask for patience.

Tuesday, 3. A hat-maker from the settlement came here with hats to sell, almost all of which he disposed of. The brethren were busy in the fields.

Thursday, May 5. Ascension Day. We prayed to our dear Lord in the liturgy, and asked for his walking with us, and his unseen, but not unfelt, nearness, to hold us to him in faith till we have sight.

Saturday, 7. The brethren planted our fields in the forenoon. At the Lord's supper, which the communicants

enjoyed under the blessed recognition of our dear Lord, Polly was a partaker for the first time, and three sisters were readmitted, Christiana, Anna Elizabeth, and Anna Pauline, who had been shut out for several years—since Pettquotting. This awakened much interest among the brethren.

Sunday, 8. Early was the liturgy, whereupon Br. Edwards preached. Thankful to our dear Saviour, we recalled to-day that it is four years since we came here. Who would have thought that in so short a time out of a wilderness such a pleasant place would be, and that so much would have been done?

Tuesday, 10. Our Indian brethren were hard at work planting. An Indian, who had rum with him, and lay here, did not go away until he had caused us trouble.

Thursday, 12. The assistants were charged to speak with some, and we sent Nancy away.

Friday, 13. Sophia was delivered of a son, and Saturday, 14, Elizabeth of a daughter.

Sunday, 15. Before the sermon, which Br. Sensemann delivered, the hymn was sung in Indian: Come Holy Ghost, come Lord, our God, and so we made known God, the worthy Holy Ghost, as our Teacher, Guide, and Comforter upon the way of our salvation, and in conclusion he baptized into Jesus' death with the name, Arnold, the little boy born on the 13th, and with the name, Frederica, the little girl. Afteward Br. Zeisberger held a service for the baptized, and sang with them at the end the song of praise to the Holy Ghost in adoration. Some brethren celebrated their day of baptism with a love-feast.

Monday, 16. When the brothers were hunting in a body, unluckily, Peter was shot by a boy through the leg, whom in the evening they brought home on a litter, suffering great pain.

Tuesday, 17. The Indian trader, Tuppenitsches, went away, who has encamped here several days. He had much rum with him, but gave us no trouble.

Wednesday, 18. We learned by a white man that the



Americans lie on Reeson River,<sup>1</sup> and are awaiting to take possession of Detroit—not true.

Thursday, 19. A white couple came here to be married by Br. Sensemann. Mohawks from Detroit were here over night.

Sunday, 22. Trinity Sunday. Br. Zeisberger preached from the Gospel about the new birth, which the Holy Trinity won for us through Christ. Br. Michael preached in the neighborhood to a fine audience.

Tuesday, 24. Samuel, the assistant, went with a couple of brothers to Oswege<sup>2</sup> to see a woman, who was acquainted with him, and several times, more than a year ago, had sent word to him, and begged him to take her away and bring her to the church, not being able to come alone. She had sent word that she not only very much wished to be in the church, but that she had already, in Schechsichuanünk (near Shesequin, Pa.), twice heard God's word, and had not yet forgotten it, and wished to hear more.

Wednesday, 25. The hat-maker, Chotes, came here to sell hats.

Saturday, 28. The brethren were busy in their fields.

Sunday, 29. As it rained hard, and poured all the forenoon, there was no sermon, until in the afternoon Michael held the congregation meeting from the text.

Tuesday, 31. Indians from the Monsey town came here. They wish to have there a great festival, since all their fields went under water last year and their corn was ruined. Therefore, they wish to have a sacrificial feast, so that such calamity may be turned from them. The apparition of a boy has given occasion for this, who reproached them for having omitted to do this, and admonished them soon to make it good.

Wednesday, June 1. White people from the settlement came here for seed-corn, their own, which they planted, not having come up.

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<sup>1</sup> Raisin River, Michigan.

<sup>2</sup> Oswego, N. Y., probably.

Friday, 3. From Grand River, or Swege, Samuel came back, after making a useless journey, for the woman whom he wished to bring hither had already planted. The Six Nations had a meeting there to confer about the death of the Cayuga chief, T'gaaju,<sup>1</sup> and choosing another.

Saturday, 4. A man named Francis Glaser came here from the States, by way of Bethlehem, who brought us letters of March last, to our joy.

Sunday, 5. Br. Sensemann preached about the great supper, and then went into the settlement to marry a couple. Edwards held the congregation meeting.

Monday, 6. A house was put up for Joachim, Sr. Salome, Joshua's daughter, was sent away.

Tuesday, 7. Sabina took her daughter, Mary, to the settlement, to have her cured, at a woman's house there.

Friday, 10. The brethren hoed our plantations.

Saturday, 11. A pair of expresses for Niagara passed the night here. They brought news that Gen. Wayne was on the march for Detroit, and already at the fork of the Miami. A captain, with six light cavalry, were the fore-runners to announce him.

Sunday, 12. In the sermon, which Br. Zeisberger delivered about the lost sheep, he baptized the little son of Leonard and Johanetta, born on the 8th Inst., into Jesus' death, with the name, Cornelius. Thereupon Br. Sensemann held the communion service. Br. Michael came back from the settlement, where he had preached. Here the assistants had to speak and to admonish.

Monday, 13. In the early service, from the Scripture-verse, which Br. Zeisberger held, much was said about the gadding about of the young people and of the old at night, whence evil arose; the children should be well washed and combed when they came to the chapel, and not appear so bare, and the good effect of this was to be seen the next few days, when they were all dressed. Sensemann went to the settlement. From Detroit Indians came here, who stayed over night, with whom Salome went.

<sup>1</sup> Tgaaju is spoken of as a *village* in De Schweinitz' Life of Zeisberger.

Tuesday, 14. Salome and Sophia, Joshua's daughters, went to the Monsey town. Sensemann returned from the settlement.

Thursday, 16, and Friday, 17. We spoke with the brethren, whom we found hungry and longing for Jesus' body and blood in the holy sacrament.

Saturday, 18. As Indians yesterday arrived from Detroit, who had rum with them, the assistants went to them to take it in charge, but they hid it, and said they had but little, and this they would not give up. Afterward, in the night, they caused drunkenness, but yet very quietly. The communicants strengthened themselves with the body and blood of the Lord in his supper, which Sensemann conducted.

Sunday, 19. David read the liturgy. Michael preached. Zeisberger held the congregation meeting from the text: Watch ye therefore: for ye know not when the master of the house cometh.

Tuesday, 21. A white man arrived, whom our Indians suspected of stealing a canoe here from the plantation, but it was found that a strange Indian had sold it to him, who gave out that he belonged here, and the poor man had to pay for the canoe a second time.

Thursday, 23. Yesterday and to-day many of our brethren went to Detroit, whence we heard that the Indians, especially the Shawanese, had behaved badly, yes, hostilely, towards the messengers of the States, and had danced the war-dance, so that they deemed it prudent to turn back to the army, and the commandant gave them a guard for protection.

Friday, 24. After the early service, Br. Sensemann conducted the funeral of the still-born daughter of John Henry and Anna Maria. Sensemann, who had been to the next township, came back, bringing a letter from John Bininger, who corresponds with us from Kenty Bay, on Lake Ontario, who is an awakened man, according to his letter, and seeks the good.

Sunday, 26. Edwards preached here, and in the settlement Michael Jung.

Monday, 27. We advised a strange Indian, of whom we had made trial, without success, to go away. We made hay.

Wednesday, 29. A tailor, whom we had sent for to make us needful clothing, came yesterday, took our measure, and went home again. By Indians from Detroit we heard that the troops of the States, five hundred men, were come to the Fort on the Miami, where daily yet more were coming; that it is not true that the Indians are hostile to them.

Saturday, July 2. Our Indians came back from the Fort, by whom we had bad news about the assistant, Samuel, who is said to have got drunk, which cut us to the heart.

Sunday, 3. Br. Sensemann preached and Zeisberger held the congregation meeting. We spoke with some brethren, who were lacking in love one for another, and reconciled them.

Monday, 4. The brethren hilled our corn.

Tuesday, 5. Edwards held early service from the Scripture-verse.

Wednesday, 6. In the early service, which Br. Zeisberger held from the text: Whosoever shall confess me before men, etc., he admonished the brethren, when they came among the savages, not to meddle in their works, but under all circumstances to conduct themselves as children of God, and to show that they are not of the world, but believe in the Saviour. The brethren gave heed to this, for we heard afterwards that they talked much together about it.

Friday, 8. Some of the Monseys, who live above us on the river here, came back from Detroit, having strong drink with them, whom we forbade to sell any of it here, either to strangers or to the inhabitants, for in this matter we cannot be too cautious. Often when they have made fine promises, they do not keep them, and cause us vexation. They are always on the alert to do us harm, and often they go not away until they have accomplished their

purpose, and then they go quietly away, well knowing that they have not done right.

Sunday, 10. Zeisberger preached from the text, Rom. vi. 19: For as ye have yielded your members servants to uncleanness and to iniquity unto iniquity, so now yield your members servants to righteousness unto holiness. At this a white man was present. Samuel came back from Pettquotting with five Indian brothers, where they had got whetstones, and where now all the houses are burnt down. They saw only a couple of Indians there.

Monday, 11. A woman in the settlement, who had cancer, sent word to our Indians and asked them to take her for treatment, which one of our Indians undertook to do. Other white people, who were going up the river and were too heavily laden, hired a canoe and a man to help them along, and yet another hired an Indian to accompany him to Grand River, by whom we sent a letter to Bethlehem, by way of Pittsburg.

Wednesday, 13. We heard that the States are expected every day to enter Detroit. The Indians, Wyandots, Delawares, Tawas, Chippewas, are all hunting in the territory of the States in the Tuscarawas, on Sugar Creek, and near White Eyes' town. At the last two places many have planted, and traders go to and fro. Merchants in Detroit have bad trade, for the Indians all trade with the States.

Tuesday, 15. By white people from the settlement, who went through here on their way to Grand River, we heard that the troops of the States, with beating of drums and discharge of cannon, made their entry into Detroit a week ago and took possession of it, which had also been heard here in the settlement;<sup>1</sup> also that Gov. Simcoe has gone to England.

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<sup>1</sup> A detachment of American troops, consisting of sixty-five men, under the command of Capt. Moses Porter, took possession of the evacuated fort at Detroit about the 12th of July. In September, Winthrop Sargent, Secretary of the North-western Territory, proceeded to Detroit, and organized the county of Wayne and established the civil authority in that quarter. Albach's Annals of the West, p. 734.

Saturday, 16. We sowed turnips.

Sunday, 17. Br. Michael preached from the Epistle, that we are bound not to live according to the will of the flesh, which brings death, having been redeemed from slavery by the blood of Jesus Christ and set free, adopted as children of God and heirs of life eternal.

Monday, 18. Samuel went with his family down to the lake, whom others followed the succeeding days, some to get meadow-grass, others to earn somewhat among the white people.

Tuesday, 19. At the text in the early service, which Br. Edwards held: What things soever ye desire when ye pray, believe that ye receive them, and ye shall have them, some of the brethren were impressed that their prayers were not of the right kind.

Friday, 22. At the text: The foxes have holes, and the birds of the air have nests; but the Son of Man hath not where to lay his head, the frightful pride was mentioned, which men, and especially the blind heathen, have naturally, so that they oppose their Creator, who for our sake so humbled himself that he had nothing of his own in the world, whereby he has left us an example and model for following him, and he says: Learn of me, for I am meek and lowly in heart, which is the exact opposite of Satan's works and ways among the children of unbelief, and this yet prevails with many brethren, who cannot leave their sinful state, and without this they are still in danger of falling.

Sunday, 24. Br. Edwards preached about disobedience of the Saviour and his word, whereby we often come to trouble and hardship. Br. Michael, who had preached in the next township, came back from there.

Monday, 25. Several of our people went down to the lake. Sensemann, for the second time, had strong fever.

Tuesday, 26. From Niagara, people went through here with cattle, moving to the river, from whom we heard that we have been disappointed, for we wished to send a packet of letters to Bethlehem by a man, Schäfer, but he has changed his mind and will not go.

Thursday, 28. Nicholas came back from Swege (Oswego), bringing news that every thing is peaceful among the Indians, that they go to Tioga<sup>1</sup> and Wajomik<sup>2</sup> among the white people, to and fro.

Friday, 29. Strange Indians, on their way down, brought meat here to sell to our people.

Sunday, 31. Sensemann preached from the Gospel: Jesus wept over Jerusalem, as he is now sad over men who will not receive his grace, and who, of their own will, go to eternal destruction.

Tuesday, Aug. 2. We began to reap. The brethren came back from the settlement, where the whites have themselves hard work to live, and they are waiting for the harvest, for many of our people are out of corn.

Thursday, 4. More came back from the settlement, and it is not without profit that they have suffered and come home like timorous pigeons and are ashamed of their wicked conduct, and thus was it now the case with some. It makes us sorry that they do themselves harm and cause the Saviour and us trouble, for the Indians are of this sort, etc.

Saturday, 6. Frenchmen, on their way up the river on business, were here over night. We heard that in the settlement one of the cattle had been shot, of which they were inclined to accuse our Indians, but we knew that to-day only Adam had gone down, but without having with him gun or knife. Yesterday he and his wife sold an ox to a man, which he took away in the night and hid in the bush, but in the morning said it had run back home, and in this way wanted to steal away from the Indians and cheat them, but they searched for it and found it, tied in the bush.

Sunday, 7. Br. Zeisberger preached from the Gospel about the Pharisees and tax-gatherers, and said, although he should not think there was any one among them who considered himself righteous, for each one would have nothing good to show, knowing that they had been heathen, but if they carefully reflected they could find

<sup>1</sup> Tioga, in Bradford Co., Pa.

<sup>2</sup> Wajomik, Wyoming.

that they did think themselves righteous, for example, if they had done wrong, instead of becoming repentant sinners, they looked about upon others to see if they were not worse than themselves, and forgot themselves, seeking to recognize their own righteousness, and the Saviour came to call sinners, for the righteous need not his help; in short, the humble and those of contrite heart were in grace with God.

Monday, 8. A house that stood near the chapel was moved, in place of which comes the new school-house.

Tuesday, 9. Indians came here, who were going to Brant with a scalp. Indians from the south had killed a party of Shawanese. They were followed and one of them taken, and now Brant shall advise what is to be done, whether they shall have war with the nation or not. There is something of concern in this, they do not speak right out. It is still, as it appears, the Mohawk plot against the Delaware nation, and this was a Delaware scalp.

Thursday, 11. We finished reaping. The crop has thriven and yielded well.

Friday, 12. We spoke with the brethren with reference to the next communion, and found them longing for the great good, which to them is beyond every thing in the world. With some there was much to be set right.

Saturday, 13. In the near presence of our dear Lord we had his holy supper in communion with our beloved church, and he blessed us by the enjoyment of his body and blood, so that hearts and eyes overflowed from joy and thankfulness. This time only one stayed away.

Sunday, 14. After the thanksgiving liturgy Br. Sensemann preached, at which were present two of our neighbors from the nearest township, one of whom was Francis Cornwall, from Connecticut government, in whose house Br. Michael Jung has preached every other week; a man who loves the good and arouses his neighbors to hear the preaching of the Gospel. If there is no sermon he reads something to them. He came here to visit us and to get acquainted with us.



Monday, 15. The assistants spoke with some sisters and made peace among them, but two would not.

Wednesday, 17. Chippewas brought meat here to sell for corn and other things. David held early service from the text: It is not the will of your father which is in heaven that one of these little ones should perish.

Thursday, 18. Sensemann held early service. Some Indians went to the mill with grain.

Sunday, 21. Edwards preached here and Zeisberger held the congregation meeting. Michael, who came from the settlement, where he had preached, brought a packet of the weekly journal of the U. A. C., together with the Scripture-verses and texts for the present year and a letter from Br. Gregor,<sup>1</sup> to our hearty joy, which Br. Wollin sent us, of March 28 last year, and from Br. Wollin of Aug. 11.

Tuesday, 23. Our Indians were very busy cutting their summer wheat and bringing it into their barns, the like of which has never been seen in any of the places we have been, and all are following the example and wish to raise wheat, but yet do not give up raising corn, without which they could not well live.

Wednesday, 24. On Sister Anna Sensemann's fiftieth birthday we laborers had a pleasant love-feast, and our hearts blessed her.

Friday, 26. We charged the assistants to investigate a report among our people in regard to gadding about at night, and to oppose the lies that are told. The savage Indians tell many lies about our assistants, accusing them of all kinds of sin. They can lie in the most shameful way.

Sunday, 28. Michael preached and Sensemann held the congregation meeting. The assistants spoke with Zachaeus and Susanna. The Mohawks came back from Brant's town, who went through here on the 9th Inst., with still more, nine in number. They stayed here over night. They are earnestly working to kindle war again, saying

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<sup>1</sup> Christian Gregor was a distinguished bishop and hymnologist of the Moravian Church in Germany, who visited America in 1770, and died at Herrnhut in 1801.—Letter from Bishop de Schweinitz.

quite openly that there should be a new war with the States, and they seek to arouse the Canada Indians.

Tuesday, 30. With Indians from Miami Bay came Abigail, daughter of the late Abraham, to remain. In Pettquotting she came to us with her unbaptized husband, and both had leave to live with us, but first they wished to harvest their fields. However, as her husband had no disposition for the church, they did not come. Two years ago he died in battle, and she being now free and having a call to the church, let her fields go and came here. The assistants spoke with old Sophia about her corrupt daughter, who, however, showed herself very obstreperous to the assistants.

Thursday, Sept. 1. A number of strange Indians, who had come from Detroit and encamped here a couple of days, went home.

Friday, 2. The assistants spoke with Abigail, lately come, to whom they gave leave to live here. At a service in the evening we discoursed about sicknesses and how the savages deal with them, it being reported that such a one was bewitched, and a doctor must come and cure him; that the doctors, however, were liars and deceivers, but that they believed in the Saviour, and should hold all such things folly, and have no faith in them; no one could injure them in life and health without the will of our dear Father in heaven, for the Saviour's words were nothing but truth when he says: Not one hair shall fall from the head of any of you without the will of your Father in heaven. Br. Zeisberger told them that he had no fear of Indian witchcraft hurting him, and still he was only a man like themselves; he granted that if they believed in it, it could hurt them, but they had only themselves to blame if they believed in lies, and not in the Saviour; they should believe that he alone had death and life in his hands, and they should not let themselves be again deceived by heathenism. We have always found it needful to be on our guard that Indian superstition shall not crop out and be again established when we have peace from without.

Sunday, 4. David preached from the Gospel: No man

can serve two masters, etc., and said, there were many who would indeed like to be saved and live for the Saviour, but would also like to hold somewhat to heathenism, and this was trying to serve two masters, and as men usually care only for their body in the world, but were not concerned about their soul, the Saviour says: Take no thought for your life what ye shall eat and drink, nor wherewithal ye shall be clothed. Since, however, there were others who were lazy and did not wish to work, this was as bad and wicked as the other, for idleness was the source of much evil; we had examples enough that such could not thrive in the church as long as they persisted therein. Edwards held the congregation meeting.

Wednesday, 7. The married brethren had a blessed feast, to whom the Saviour showed himself very gracious, and this extended over the whole flock, and he blessed us from his fulness. Br. Sensemann held morning prayer, asking for his presence and blessing. Br. Zeisberger then delivered the festival discourse from the text: This is a great mystery; but I speak concerning Christ and the church, and at the love-feast in the afternoon all the inhabitants were present. In the evening Br. Sensemann conducted a pleasant singing-hour, and ended with the blessing of the church.

[So far sent to Bethlehem.]

Thursday, 8. Samuel went to Detroit with Stephen on business, but first the assistants spoke with Abel.

Sunday, 11. Michael delivered the sermon, at which Cornwell was present with a couple of his neighbors and their wives, and as he was going to New York State we put in his charge a packet of letters to be forwarded to Bethlehem by way of New York.

Tuesday, 13. The Indians went hunting and brought home meat.

Wednesday, 14. Work was begun upon the school-house, which will stand near the chapel, where a site has been vacated and the ground made ready.

Thursday, 15. Polly was delivered of a son.

Saturday, 17. Samuel and Stephen came from Detroit

and brought window-glass and nails for the school-house, which is already blocked out as far as the roof. There are said to be there 1500 Indians of all nations, who draw their rations every day, and our Indians drew them, too, which has never happened before. Boaz, brought a sick Chippewa home.

Sunday, 18. Sensemann preached here and Michael in the settlement. Zeisberger conducted the communion quarter-hour, giving notice of it for Saturday.

Wednesday, 21. Sensemann, who held early service, baptized with the name, Paul, the son of Samuel and Polly, born on the 15th.

Thursday, 22. We had with the assistants to make investigation among the brethren about heathenish doctoring, about which we had to use earnestness and severity, for if that gets footing here, murder and deadly fights will arise.

Friday, 23. Both yesterday and to-day the Zeisbergers and Sensemanns spoke with the brethren about the communion.

Saturday, 24. At the Lord's supper, which we enjoyed under his blessed recognition, Zacchaeus was again a partaker, after having been excluded for a long time.

Sunday, 25. Br. Edwards preached. Zeisberger read the liturgy and held the congregation meeting. We had to take measures with the assistants about building the school-house; to stop work on it for a time, there being so much other work at hand.

Tuesday, 27. Yesterday and to-day most of the sisters went to Detroit to sell baskets in exchange for apples.

Thursday, 29. Chippewas and Monseys, some of whom go hunting, others to Detroit, encamped here several days. In the early service Br. Edwards mentioned the dear angels who are constantly near us. We sowed our winter grain.

Friday, 30. We ended the month with praise and thanks to the Lord, who is God over all and our Redeemer, that he has happily led us through this summer, and has outwardly protected us from sickness, though we hear

that in the settlement, among the white people, very many are down with it.

Sunday, Oct. 2. Zeisberger preached about the forgiveness of sins, so necessary for all men, for we are all sinners, and where there is forgiveness of sins there are also life and salvation. Michael preached in the next township, and Br. Sensemann in the afternoon, with the sisters, visited a couple of our nearest neighbors, where they were welcome.

Monday, 3. We harvested our potatoes and pumpkins.

Wednesday, 5. The Indians began to be industrious in harvesting their fields. This is a year quite apart by itself, so long as we have been here. It was a late spring, a cool summer, and early autumn. There were early frosts, which have kept on, but since we made good use of planting-time, the corn ripened in good season. With game, too, it has been unusual. Raccoons, squirrels, bears, wolves, and wild turkeys came in great number, and did great harm to the fields, here indeed not so much, for the Indians scared them away, but among the white people they ruined whole fields. Besides all sorts of vermin came from the south, tried to get over the river, and were drowned, whole heaps of which could be seen.

Saturday, 8. Both yesterday and to-day our brethren came back from the settlement, bringing canoes full of apples, which they paid for with baskets.

In the early service Br. Edwards discoursed about disobedience and opposition to God, the Holy Ghost, what sad results it would have, if he should turn from us, for man would become the prey of Satan and the slave of sin more than ever before, which made a deep impression upon Br. Nicholas. He came and laid bare his heart, saying this was just the case with him, for he had not given obedience to God's Spirit, and thus was come to great wretchedness, and knew not how to get help. He was directed to the Saviour, who never repels a sinner, to get courage and to trust in him, where alone he could find help and comfort. It is a comfort to us when we see that they have ears to hear.

Sunday, 9. Michael preached, and Sensemann held the congregation meeting, on whose 52d birthday we had a pleasant love-feast at home.

Monday, 10. The brethren went out hunting, to get meat for our corn-harvest.

Tuesday, 11. They came home with three bears and two deer.

Wednesday, 12. Br. Sensemann started early for Detroit. Bill Henry spoke with us about his son, who was sent away for bad conduct, and as he said it grieved him, and we told him that so it often was, not with us alone, but that it happened also in the church,<sup>1</sup> and parents had to send away their children. He replied that this was not so dangerous as here with us, for they were yet under law, if they were not in the church, but here they were sent out to heathenism, where they met not only their spiritual but their bodily death, for among the Indians nobody was sure of his life; that thus they were always in danger of being lost. In this we had to approve what he said, and for this reason we often endure with people, especially with our children, as long as we can, seeing that they would be given over to Satan as his prize.

Saturday, 15. This week the brethren harvested our corn.

Sunday, 16. Br. Edwards preached. The weather being rainy, there were no further services.

Tuesday, 18. Michael went to mill with wheat. The brethren were very busy harvesting their corn.

Wednesday, 19. Again many strangers came here, which has not happened for some time.

Saturday, 22. The chief men from the Monsey town came here, and went down to the lake to McKee, who is now there, since the States have occupied Detroit, to ask for his advice and help, for the Chippewas wish to have them away from here, and are always telling them it is not their land, they should go to their own land. Just so they did with us when we lived on Huron River, but this they cannot now do with us, for we do not live on their land.

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<sup>1</sup>i. e., as distinguished from a mission station.

Br. Sensemann came back from Detroit, where, among other things, he spoke with Gen. Wayne, who invited him to dinner, and, besides other matters, inquired about our mission and its progress, and he had a very friendly conversation with him. When Gen. Wayne marched in with his troops, the English commandant went away with the garrison by water, and, when Wayne got to the city, the English commandant discharged his cannon from the ship, and was saluted in return, in like manner, from guns great and small, whereupon the new owners moved in, with music, undisturbed. In the settlement the inhabitants wanted to choose Br. Sensemann to the Assembly, but he declined.

Sunday, 23. Br. Sensemann preached, and Zeisberger held the congregation meeting. Michael preached in the settlement, where he took occasion to speak directly and plainly to his hearers, from his heart, whereby he was right well.

Monday, 24. Br. Edwards held early service from the text: Obey them that have the rule over you. Some Frenchmen went through here by water, who looked at our meeting-house and had it shown them. We began to get in our turnips.

Wednesday, 26. The surveyor came and stayed over night, on his way up the river to survey land. He knew about Bethlehem and the places round about it.

Saturday, 29. The brethren were busy the whole week harvesting their corn. Our dear heavenly Father has again blessed us by giving us a good harvest. In the summer the storm had prostrated the corn completely, and it looked as if it would yield little, but, contrary to our expectation, that which was down turned out as well as that which stood, and became perfectly ripe. The squirrels also have not done so much damage here as in the settlement, where they have laid waste whole fields.

Sunday, 30. Michael preached, and David held the congregation meeting, both treating of the Apostle Paul, who could know nothing higher or greater than the cross of Christ.

Monday, 31. Br. Sensemann went down to the settlement, whence,

Tuesday, Nov. 1, he came back. The brethren brought in our corn yesterday and to-day. It was already very cold. The early service treated of communion with the church above.

Thursday, 3. An express from Niagara went through to Detroit, bringing news that an attack upon Canada was expected from the French, who were in the St. Lawrence River, with seven or nine ships, and had captured Newfoundland.

Sunday, 6. Zeisberger preached about the communion with God we have through Christ, God having given us his dearly beloved Son, who gained us every good. Sensemann conducted the communion quarter-hour, and then we had to speak with the assistants, to whom we gave work to do.

Monday, 7. Edwards held early service. Sensemann went to the mill. We sent a couple of the assistants to Chippewas, who were in camp on our plantation, to admonish them not to have a dance here. This they promised, and they soon wished to go away. A canoe overturned, laden with corn, but as it was bound with cord it swam on the water, when they put it right again, and nothing was lost.

Wednesday, 9. Many Chippewas came and encamped for several days on the shore.

Thursday, 10. Sensemann came from the settlement and brought news that Parke had died in New York, who used to trade with our Indians, and that in Canada there was excitement among the French, so that they had to be put down by force of arms, that Quebec was blockaded by the French, and no ships could go out or in.

Friday, 11. Both yesterday and to-day there was speaking with reference to the Lord's supper. At the early service, which Sensemann held, an Indian from the Monsey town, totally blind, was present. We observe that usually during communion week unpleasantness and discord arise among the brethren, to keep them from the communion. Satan envies them this and will keep them from it, and therefore



we have to be watchful for this, that he attain not his end, for if they stay away they are thereby not only made no better, but things are much worse with them.

Saturday, 12. Zeisberger, who held early service, gave notice of to-morrow, Nov. 13th, and invited those who had gone astray to turn again to their Shepherd to seek grace and forgiveness from him. The communicants enjoyed the Lord's supper. Mr. Askin's clerk came here from Detroit with goods for our Indians, and went back again the next day.

Sunday, 13. At morning prayer Br. Zeisberger begged for the presence and recognition of our High Priest and Elder of his churches, to let his friendly face shine over us, and to acknowledge us as his people and property, to forgive and bless us. This he graciously heard, giving us to feel in our hearts the assurance and experience thereof, and he filled the hearts of the church with comfort, joy, and thankfulness, so that we did him homage anew, and considered ourselves most happy and blessed to be under his rule. Br. Sensemann then preached, treating of the same matter, and in the service for the baptized the widow, Abigail, lately come to the church, was absolved by the laying on of hands, and again received, and so we ended this blessed day with praise and thanks.

Wednesday, 16. Chippewas and Monseys came back from Detroit, where they got many gifts from the English agent, when a captain among them said to our Indians that if their teachers went there they would also get gifts for them as they themselves did, for McKee is reported to have said to them that if the ministers desired it, it would be so, but we did not think indeed of acting upon this, but we were thoughtful;<sup>1</sup> of this, however, they have no knowledge, but they wish to set our Indians against us, who better knew why they got no gifts.

Friday, 18. As Br. Michael Jung was spoken to yesterday and asked to conduct the funeral of a dead Baptist, he went there and preached to a goodly number of hearers.

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<sup>1</sup> This line is in part conjectured.

Sunday, 20. Zeisberger preached about the coming of our Lord as Judge of the world. Br. Michael Jung preached in the settlement, where, at the same time he arranged about many matters with his hearers. A couple of white people were here over night from the new upper settlement, who said they had it in mind to build a church next year, in the hope that, now and then at least, they would be served by us with the preaching of the Gospel; whereupon we replied that we indeed were of service to our neighbors here, but were not here to preach to whites, but to Indians, and that they were too far away from us.

Tuesday, 22. The first snow fell. Hitherto we have had fine weather all the time.

Thursday, 24. Snowy weather still holds, and many of our Indians have not yet harvested all their crops, and now that all is frozen fast, this cannot be done, but this trouble comes not to us alone, but yet much more to the white settlers on the river.

Friday, 25. At a suitable time we let some of our people know that we were not ignorant that they were the cause and had given occasion that our brother, Bill Henry,<sup>1</sup> two years ago, was ill treated by warriors, since they spread among the savages false reports that he had killed one of their Indians in war, which we censured at the time, for they thought we either did not know of it or had forgotten it, and this caused a ferment.

Saturday, 26. White people were here over night, one a ranger, who talked much about his exploits.

Sunday, 27. First Advent. Br. Michael preached about our Saviour's coming into the flesh, and Br. Zeisberger held the congregation meeting about the same matter, and sang it with the church in pleasing verses. The office of chapel-servant was given to Charles Henry and his wife, Anna Charity, which they humbly received, and which pleased the brethren, awakening praise and thanks that the Saviour makes use of their young people, when

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<sup>1</sup> See before, Vol. I., p. 419, and Vol. II., p. 358.

some of the old, by their unexemplary conduct, have forfeited their privileges.

Tuesday, 29. The river froze above and below us, and we have continued cold weather. We must have the old and the weak provided with fire-wood by the brethren.

Thursday, Dec. 1. French traders came, who had been frozen in with their boat. They hired here Indians and horses to carry their goods by land farther up, where they winter.

Friday, 2. Esther was delivered of a son, who came two months too soon. He was at once in the night baptized with the name, John.

Saturday, 3. There comes much meat to town, for the hunters are lucky this year, shooting many deer and bears.

Sunday, 4. Br. Edwards preached and Zeisberger held the congregation meeting.

Monday, 5. A Chippewa chief was here with his people over night, who said the English were uneasy about the French, and were therefore very kind to the Indians, and made them presents, as they had never done before; also the Cherokees and Spaniards had war with the States, and here things were not quite in order.

Tuesday, 6. In the evening service were married Christian Henry and Anna Susanna, David's daughter, both single.

Wednesday, 7. The surveyor came by land, with his people, back from the bush, having been frozen in.

Sunday, 11. Br. Sensemann preached and Zeisberger held the congregation meeting.- Br. Michael Jung preached in the settlement, where he took measures with the people, it being now winter time and often very hard to get there, to postpone the preaching, for the neighbors also, on account of bad weather, cannot always come together, but this they did not like and begged him to continue, wanted to buy him a horse, so that he should not have to go afoot, but he declined this and proposed to hire one

when he had to go down, and this they approved and wished.

Tuesday, 13. Boaz talked with a Chippewa, and asked him how it was that he had no disposition at all to receive God's word; if they were hungry and wanted any thing they did not hesitate to ask their grandfather for food, guns for shooting, powder and lead, and many other things beside, and if we could, we were always glad to help them; they had also often deceived their grandfather and stolen from him; if, however, we spoke to them about God, who gives us not only bodily support, but life everlasting, and whose will it is that none should perish, of him they will hear nothing; indeed now they believed not what we told them, but they would some time see it and be sorry that they had not believed and accepted our word. The Indian replied that he would like to live with us and to hear us, but nothing came of it, for no one wished to be the first; they feared their chiefs, who, as we observe, are opposed, as is usual with the Indians.

Wednesday, 14. The brethren contributed corn for a couple of old widows, Bathsheba and David's, who cannot help themselves in any thing, and we must now also provide clothing for them.

Friday, 16. Deep snow fell and winter weather began. White people were here over night; Mr. Shelton, who could write a book about his good and his bad deeds in this war, both among Indians and whites.

Sunday, 18. Zeisberger preached about the joy of the children of God in our Lord and Saviour, of which the world knows nothing, for it sees and knows him not. Old Sophia came and complained of her unhappy condition for a year, being in confusion, whereby she was still self-righteous, not justified, nor could she be a repentant sinner. Last night she was aroused by a thunder-storm and brought to self-knowledge, for as this is somewhat unusual at this time of year, it occurred to her and she thought: "Perhaps the Saviour is coming. How will it look with me? I do not stand well with him; I am lost."

Br. Zeisberger said to her: "Thou hast been in the church many years, hast enjoyed much good, but thou lackest one thing, and that the chief. Thou hast not learned how to become a repentant sinner, but if thou hast done any thing wrong, thou seest not the fault in thyself, but elsewhere. How then wilt thou stand with the Saviour? Thou hast almost daily heard that he came into the world to save sinners, and not the upright, for they have no need of it. Learn to understand that, and when thou findest the right way, with all thy misery and transgression, thou wilt be happy." She recognized this, confessed it, and said: "Yes, thus it is with me, but now I acknowledge myself guilty, and I have nothing to show except my great wretchedness, and I comfort myself with his grace, and would liked to be saved by grace."

Monday, 19. Three merchants from the States [New York] came here by way of Niagara, on their way to Detroit, who offered to buy all our corn here for cash or goods. An Indian woman in the upper town, who has often visited here, and at her request had permission to live here, but had been kept from it by her daughter, of her we heard, when she was already dead, that in her last illness she had begged her friends, of whom there were many, for eleven days, that they should bring her to us, where she would be glad to be cleansed of her sins with Jesus' blood, in order to go from time in peace, but they gave no heed. To her daughter she said: "And thou art the cause that I now die here, for I did not like to leave thee." When she had long asked in vain, she said they should yet do this for her and send some one down to us and let us know. But this was not done, either, and thus she died. We have many such examples with the Monseys, that if any one will come to us, and they learn it, they try by every art to keep him from it, make a feast and invite him thereto, to bring him to other thoughts, so that he shall forget, whereby they reach their purpose only too often.

Tuesday, 20. The brethren got wood for us.

Thursday, 22, and Friday, 23. There was speaking with

reference to the communion, to which the Saviour gave his blessing. John, born on the 2d Inst., died. A Chippewa chief came here, expressing a wish to attend our Christmas services, which was allowed him, who was glad to see and hear, having heard something about it from his people.

Saturday, 24. We had a blessed Christmas Eve, when the Infant Jesus, our Saviour, who became man, showed himself quite near to us, and let himself be felt among us, so that the brethren were much touched with grace and joy at his birth. We brought him our humble praise and thank-offerings with the shepherds, that he had made known to us the great wonder, and we adored him in the manger. Moreover it was a pleasure to us to have a Chippewa chief present with some of his people, adoring likewise the Infant Jesus. O, may he reveal himself to these brethren, still ignorant and blind, as their Redeemer and Saviour! At the end, after a short explanation, wax-candles were given to the children. Then the communicants had the Lord's supper, receiving his body and blood as a seal of his incarnation and birth so serviceable to us. Two sisters, Sophia and Anna Maria, who had been excluded longer than a year, were readmitted, after receiving absolution, which among the brethren awakened joy, praise, and thankfulness.

Sunday, 25. Br. Edwards preached here and Michael in the settlement, where he had many hearers. In the afternoon was the burial of little John, born and baptized on the 2d of the month, who died day before yesterday. Some brethren celebrated their day of baptism with a love-feast, rejoicing together and thanking the Saviour for their election.

Tuesday, 27. The Indian, Metewonpi, Joseph's brother, a Mobician, who already since we have been here has wished to come to us, but had always been hindered by his friends, from whom at last he made himself free, came and again asked to live here. The assistants spoke with him, and received him. Joseph who lived in Bethlehem

in the brothers' house [his Indian name was Snow-shoe] was his father.

Thursdays, 29. Chippewas and Monseys came here. Among our people we observed the working of the Holy Ghost, since some of them had long lived in discord and with offense to one another, and others had gone astray in other ways; some of whom began to be repentant sinners, and to seek the blame within themselves, at the same time also longing for peace and quiet in their hearts. We regard the church as a hospital. They are always doing unrighteousness, making themselves unhappy and discontented by their blindness and folly. The Saviour, on the other hand, out of his great mercy, always makes them well again, heals, comforts, and forgives them, and sets things aright with them. O, what a good Saviour! When his hour comes, for which we wait, in a short time he puts away every stain, so that we are astonished thereover and adore, and glorify him therefor.

Saturday, 31. We assembled towards midnight, at the end of the year, and began with a love-feast. We brought him our filial and proper thanks for all the kindnesses shown us this year in body and soul, for the blessing of our dear Father in heaven, which he has abundantly provided for us, and whom we have felt every where in divers ways. We asked forgiveness of our manifold sins and transgressions, whereby we found still farther reason to praise him and glorify him for his boundless goodness, fidelity, and mercy; we were richly aware of his comfort and grace, and ended with the blessing of the church.

In this year baptized, 10 children, 5 boys and 5 girls. Admitted to the church, 1. Married, one couple. Died, one adult and one child. In Fairfield live 169 Indian souls.

## CHAPTER XVII.

1797.

FAIRFIELD, ON THE THAMES, ONTARIO.

Sunday, Jan. 1. In the forenoon Br. Michael preached and Zeisberger held the service for the baptized, admonishing the brethren to leave behind them all that was un-Jesus-like and unblest, and to renew their wish to live for the Saviour; to let abide with us this year the peace of God, shown to us in to-day's text, in every heart, individually, and as a whole. We gave ourselves anew to be altogether his property, and we commended ourselves to him for the days and hours to come, farther to bless us according to his great love and mercy, and to look upon us as the people of his possession.

Monday, 2. Chippewas and Delawares, who were here visiting, went home. The Monseys above us here, although they have no disposition to be converted, yet can not keep away from us. Now and then they have to come to see us, and then they always hear the word of life, and when they are dying, something which they have heard among us occurs to them, and they long to come to us, when usually they can no longer attain thereto.

Wednesday, 4. There was severe cold weather. We had to help the widows and the old to see that the brethren got their fire-wood, so that they might not freeze, for this is an especially cold winter.

Friday, 6. The dear Lord, the heathen's Saviour, made a day of blessing. He showed himself gracious and mighty to us, and let his friendly face shine over us. Br. Michael conducted morning prayer, asking for us, and for all churches among the heathen, his near and blessed presence for the day. In the next service we had, after



two years, a baptism, the first in our new chapel, where the Saviour blessed us in an especial way. The Mohican, Metewonpi, was baptized with the name, Jephtha, which caused a marked awakening of grace among the brethren. In the afternoon was a love-feast. The story of the three wise men was read to them. More than twenty brethren celebrated their day of baptism in the evening with a love-feast. Many strangers also were present at the services. Br. Sensemann was ill.

Saturday, 7. Both at Christmas and to-day the thermometer was at ten below zero. Every thing in the house froze, even near the fire.

Sunday, 8. Br. Sensemann preached about imitation of Jesus, who has left us a model for every occasion as it presents itself, and Zeisberger conducted the children's hour, whom he reminded of the boy Jesus, and said they should make it their chief concern to learn obedience, as he was obedient even unto death upon the cross, which was their greatest need.

Monday, 9. The severe cold continued, and to-day the mercury was at 12° below zero, lower than since we have been here. A ship from Niagara that was frozen in, and had sprung aleak, had to be unloaded on sledges. Two men who were coming ashore on the ice, were frost-bitten before they arrived.

Tuesday, 10. The brothers got timber in on the snow for Widow Amelia's house.

Thursday, 12. At the early service Br. Zeisberger reminded the church, especially the brethren, if work is to be done in common, to stand together, and not to hold aloof without reason; the young should always be foremost, and not let the old men work while they look on, still less keep away altogether.

Friday, 13. The brethren got timber together over the snow for a bridge over a deep ravine and brook at the east end of the town, wherever it is almost impossible to get, especially in winter, on account of ice and the steep banks, where the water from severe showers, has already done much damage. The assistant, Samuel, went down to Lake

Erie, whence his brother had sent him word to come to get him and his family in the spring, who for several years already had been wishing to come to us. This nation, the Nanticoke, has moved farther south, and has already so melted away that the number of families can be counted on the fingers of one hand, which before this war, when they lived on the Susquehanna, was still quite strong.

Saturday, 14. In the forenoon died the lad, John Renatus, eight years, four months, and ten days old.

Sunday, 15. Br. Sensemann preached and baptized with the name, Samuel, the little son of Michael and Peggy, born on the 8th Inst. In the afternoon Zeisberger attended the funeral of little John Renatus, eight years, four months, and ten days old. In the autumn he fell from a tree and suffered from some trouble in the chest, which evidently hastened his death. He was a boy of good hope, and loved the Saviour, and liked to go to meeting.

Wednesday, 18. A number of white people came here in sledges, on their journey to Niagara, in bad, snowy weather, the snow being already knee-deep, among them one named Allen, on his way to the States, to whom we gave a letter for Bethlehem.

Friday, 20. A man came from the settlement in a sleigh to get Michael Jung to attend the funeral of a woman, who died from cancer, who made it her last request, and begged we might conduct her funeral. Wherefore Michael,

Saturday, 21, went thither.

Sunday, 22. Zeisberger preached from the text: Lord, if thou wilt, thou canst make me clean, and Sensemann held the congregation meeting. An Indian, half Mohawk and half Mohican, came and asked for leave to live here, who two years ago went through here with warriors and attended our meetings. Br. Zeisberger talked with him, and learned that his parents, who died in Schohari (Schoharie Co., N. Y.), had been baptized, as he was himself when a child, and named Moses, like his father. He said he was weary of moving about among the savages. Michael

came from the settlement, where he conducted a funeral yesterday and had preached to-day, after which some of the neighbors brought a law case for Br. Michael to decide, but he declined, and yet urged them to bring their matters right among themselves, and if they could not do this, to take them before a justice.

Monday, 23. The brethren got wood for us.

Tuesday, 24. Chippewas came here begging, for whom we got together some corn, namely, the brethren.

Wednesday, 25. The Indian, Moses, who for several years has wandered in error, came here and asked to be readmitted, to be in the church, manifesting repentance and sorrow for having left the church, and thereby falling into the greatest wretchedness, so that his friends among the savages had driven him away.

Friday, 27. Samuel came back from Lake Erie, where he had been much hindered by deep snow, for he tried to come home the nearest way through the bush, but had to turn about, the snow being above his waist, as was told him beforehand, that also the snow was deeper every where than here with us. He had to betake himself to the river to the ice, yet he got through, though it was a long, round-about way. He found his brother just beginning to recover from a severe illness, who in the autumn, on his way to us in the first place, was frozen in, with his family, and then became sick, and therefore he had sent word to Samuel to aid him in getting here this spring. On this account Samuel made the journey, to speak with him himself, and to learn by word of mouth what his wishes were. He found him also resolved to come to the church, only he needs help when the lake opens.

Sunday, 29. Edwards preached. Zeisberger held the communion quarter-hour, and told the brethren how God had blessed us in Christ, his Son, with manifold spiritual and heavenly goods, that he had especially blessed us in the enjoyment of his body and blood in the holy sacrament, that we might remain with him and not forget his death. The assistants had to speak with some brethren about disorders in the church.

Monday, 30, and Tuesday, 31. The brethren got timber for the bridge.

Wednesday, Feb. 1. Rainy weather came on, and the snow for the most part went off. Frenchmen on business were here.

Thursday, 2, and Friday, 3. There was speaking with reference to the Lord's supper. We found the brethren awaiting and longing for Jesus' body and blood, which we,

Saturday, 4, blessedly enjoyed, and at which the sick Mary, Adam's daughter, was a candidate, a grown girl, who has the consumption.

Sunday, 5. Zeisberger read early the communion liturgy. Sensemann preached about the weeds in the field, and Zeisberger held the congregation meeting. Michael Jung had preached in the settlement.

Monday, 6. In the early service Br. Zeisberger baptized Beata's daughter, born yesterday, with the name, Deborah, and wished the parents of the child better thriving in the church. From Detroit the Chief Judge<sup>1</sup> came through here on his way to Niagara, staying here a couple of hours.

Tuesday, 7. We ordered a Chippewa, who has been here for some time, and began to carry on heathenish things here, for which, near town, he made an enclosure, where he conjured spirits, to cease doing such things here.

Wednesday, 8. Since now the weather was mild and warm, the brethren began to make preparations for sugar-boiling in their places, and some was made this week, and never since we have been here has any been made so early.

Saturday, 11. After early service was the betrothal of Jephtha and Beata.

Sunday, 12. Michael preached, and in the evening Br. Zeisberger married Jephtha and Beata, daughter of the departed Johanna.

Tuesday, 14. Gentle-people went through here from Niagara for Detroit, who spoke with us. We learned that

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<sup>1</sup> Perhaps this was Judge Osgood.

Gen. Wayne<sup>1</sup> had passed from time at Presque Isle. These had a misfortune, a Mohawk Indian was shot.

Wednesday, 15. Br. Sensemann went down to the settlement, returning on the 17th. On Sister Susanna's birthday we had a pleasant love-feast at home.

Sunday, 19. Zeisberger preached, whereupon we dismissed the brethren to their sugar-camp, the weather being fine and the trees running strong.

Tuesday, 21. A mill-builder was here from the upper settlement, who told us he had discovered, at Niagara, a fire-spring, on the river from the rocks; that if a pipe was placed there you could cook by it, though no fire was to be seen, except that then the flames came out of the pipe; that many people flocked thither to see the wonder.<sup>2</sup>

Thursday, 23. After having had such fine weather that we could think it was spring, and after the brethren had already made much sugar, winter weather again came on and snow, the old snow having melted here with us, though not elsewhere.

Friday, 24. There were many Chippewas in town and in the sugar-camp, for they are always hungry, and have nothing to eat, except what they find in the bush, and only go about begging among our people, and if they can steal any thing they lose not the chance.

Sunday, 26. Br. Sensemann preached the sermon at the entrance to passion-time, at which were present our nearest neighbors, men and women, and baptized into Jesus' death the little son of John Thomas and Cathrine, born on the 23d, three days ago, with the name, Nathaniel. By a Chippewa, who came back from Philadelphia, we

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<sup>1</sup> He was on his way from Detroit to Philadelphia, when he died on the lake of gout in the stomach, and was buried at Presque Isle. Afterwards his remains were transferred by his son to Radnor, Delaware Co., Pa.

<sup>2</sup> This burning-spring is half a mile north of Lundy's Lane, and within a few feet of the rapids. The water is charged with sulphureted-hydrogen gas. This is collected, as it arises, in a receptacle, and discharged through a tube, and can be lighted as it flows out of the tube.

learned that the Cherokees, Choctaws, Tuckashaws, Moskos,<sup>1</sup> of each nation ten men; moreover, Shawanese, Chippewas, and others had been there, when they had negotiated with Congress and had been well received, and that there was peace with and among all nations. At the same time we heard, not only from him, but also from Detroit, that England is at war with Spain,<sup>2</sup> and that the States join with the former to help her.

Tuesday, 28. We sent away the Chippewa's wife, who had left her husband.

Friday, March 3. The grown girl, Mary, died, who has been sick with consumption longer than a year. She was born Sept. 20, 1781, when the Indian church was carried away to Sandusky, where she was baptized Oct. 12. She was taken into the church Jan. 6 of last year, and was present as candidate at the last communion, when her end was not thought to be so near. Something out of the common course was always observed in her. She loved the Saviour, and the brothers, her teachers, and was not shy in their presence, especially since a year ago, when her sister, likewise a grown girl, died in peace [before her], when already tokens of consumption were observed in her. As long as she could she went constantly to the chapel and visited us. She was especially attached to Sister Susanna (Mrs. Zeisberger), and when she became too weak to go out, she often sent for the Zeisbergers, who then talked with her and sang her verses. When she was asked whether she was going to die, she answered: "The sooner the better, if the Saviour comes soon and takes me." She said she had no longer pleasure in the world, nothing now opposed her going to the Saviour. When she had looked on at the last communion she came the next day and said how well it had been with her, but yet, she said, she would have liked to enjoy with us the Saviour's flesh and blood. After this her strength rapidly failed, so that she had to lie in bed

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<sup>1</sup>See before, p. 128.

<sup>2</sup>In August a treaty of alliance was entered into between France and Spain, and in October following Spain declared war against England.

altogether, and to the sisters with her she spoke only of her departure, to whom she once said she could not (recall) some verses Br. Zeisberger had sung, and she was sorry for this, that she could not sing them when she came to the Saviour, and when the sisters replied that she could at once sing there, and sing better than here, she was content. Then she lay, in firm expectation of her release, which followed on the day mentioned, and she died happy, with the blessing of the church, after passing here below fifteen years five months and eleven days.

Sunday, 5. Br. Edwards preached, and Br. Sensemann in the afternoon attended the funeral of the grown girl, Mary, who died day before yesterday.

Tuesday, 7. There was a severe thunder-storm in the night, which lasted a long time, whereupon,

Wednesday, 8, cold weather followed. It blew hard from the north-west, unroofing houses, and the brethren in their sugar-huts had, many of them, to flee home, for the wind struck down the trees, and they were in danger. Such a strong wind is usual every spring, and especially about this time.

Friday, 10. By Mr. Abiah Parke,<sup>1</sup> who came overland from Niagara, we had the great joy of receiving a packet of letters from Bethlehem, together with much news from there by word of mouth, by which we were quite refreshed. All the Indians were glad to see him again, as if a brother from Bethlehem were come, for they saw how honorably and uprightly he dealt with them.

Sunday, 12. Zeisberger preached and Sensemann held the communion quarter-hour. We had pleasure in reading the Bethlehem Diary. The assistants spoke with a couple [Israel's] whom we received on probation, which was yet a great comfort to them, for twice already they had been refused, but they again persisted and gave us no peace.

Thursday, 16. The Zeisbergers spoke with the breth-

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<sup>1</sup> This is probably the Parke so often mentioned already, and whose death was reported.

ren with reference to the communion, and to our joy found them in a blessed condition, in intercourse with the Saviour. The river broke up from the thaw and rain, and rose very high.

Friday, 17. On account of the high water many pine-timber saw-blocks came down the river, many of which our Indians secured.

Saturday, 18. We had the holy communion, with the blessed nearness and recognition of our Lord. Rafts were here.

Sunday, 19. Zeisberger read the liturgy, Sensemann preached, and Edwards held the congregation meeting. Michael preached in the settlement and baptized a child.

Wednesday, 22. To-day and through the whole week the brethren have been in the sugar-huts very busy, for the weather has been fine and spring-like, and much sugar has been made.

Sunday, 26. Michael preached, whereupon, in view of yesterday, the 25th (Annunciation), when the brethren were not at home; Br. Zeisberger held a service, having read to them the story, reminding the brethren that God from eternity, the Maker of all things and Lord of lords, had put on our poor flesh and blood, had redeemed us through the sacrifice of himself, and reconciled us (with God), for we should all have been lost had he not had compassion upon us; for this we gave him thanks and honor.

Wednesday, 29. White people, who were going up the river in a boat, hired a couple of Indians here to help them on. Here Sister Sensemann was taken suddenly very ill, becoming very dizzy, but after she was bled she became somewhat better.

Friday, 31. After the high river had fallen, the snow having melted, hard rains came on, and it rose again.

Sunday, April 2. Br. Edwards preached, and in the afternoon we read the church litany with the baptized and admitted brethren, whereby a blessed feeling of grace prevailed, and many tears were shed. Afterwards the assistants had to hold an investigation about an ox, belonging



to Adam, which had eaten itself dead with corn, but they believed it had been killed.

Monday, 3. Sugar-making being now ended, the Indians began to be busy in the fields, getting them ready for planting. Many sowed summer wheat, others made canoes.

Wednesday, 5. Chippewas who have been encamped on the outskirts of the town, and commonly are a long time in camp there, do little good, for there are always young people who get into trouble with them, and they kill our cattle too.

Friday, 7. Mr. Parke arrived to arrange matters with some of our people, his debtors.

Sunday, 9. Br. Sensemann preached, thereupon Zeisberger read the litany and held the service for the communion brethren, telling them how the services would be held during the week.

Tuesday, 11. Yesterday and to-day there was speaking with the brethren, who were rejoicing beforehand, and hoping in these days an especial blessing from the Saviour. We, the communicants, had on Wednesday, the 12th, the washing of feet in his near presence, and,

Thursday, 13, the holy communion, after first the wonderful history of our Saviour's anguish of soul and sufferings on the Mount of Olives, and of his being taken captive, had been read with intermingled choral songs for the whole church, and listened to with eager and melted hearts. Two sisters, who had been a long time excluded, were again partakers.

Friday, 14. The history of the martyrdom of our Lord was read in four parts through the day, and listened to with the greatest attention, no one omitting a service, and it could be seen that the Holy Ghost did not neglect to make clear to our hearts the sufferings and passion of Jesus, and we fed upon his woes and wounds, all of which he endured for us. At Jesus' death we read a liturgy upon our knees, and at the opening of his side we sang, Lamb of God, thy precious blood,—Healing wounds and

bitter death, of the blessed feeling then prevailing, the tears upon the cheeks of the brethren, bore witness.

Saturday, 15. We kept the Quiet Sabbath, and in the afternoon we had a love-feast, singing and considering the body of Jesus in the grave, who hallowed also our place of rest, so that now we can rest in peace. During these days many rafts of pine-lumber went by, which came down from far above, from the Pinery.

Sunday, 16. We read the Easter litany early, partly in the chapel, and then we went to the grave-yard, and asked for everlasting communion with the two children and one grown girl who have gone from us since last Easter, in the church which is near him. After listening to the story of the resurrection, Br. Edwards preached, and in the afternoon service Br. Zeisberger baptized, into Jesus' death, with the name, Gabriel, a little boy, born day before yesterday. Ten brethren, among them Bill Henry, celebrated their day of baptism with a love-feast.

Monday, 17. By Mr. Askin's clerk we received, to our no common joy, a letter from Br. Ettwein, dated in New York, April 27th of last year, and now we received it with the greater thankfulness from having given it up for lost. By this we heard a somewhat more exact but affecting account of the distress and danger which had overtaken the brethren in Neuwied,<sup>1</sup> with whom we had heartfelt sympathy.

[Thus far sent to Bethlehem.]

Wednesday, 19. Mr. Askin's clerk, who was here several days, took in corn, which he received in trade from our Indians. Our daily services we put off till evening, beginning to-day, and there was a number of whites present, who were here over night. Samuel went to the Watch Tower to get his brother.

Friday, 21. Many of our Indians went down to Askin's transport with corn, and some to Detroit, but this we like not, on account of drinking, for they seldom escape it, but we could not help ourselves.

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<sup>1</sup> On the Rhine, when bombarded by the French, in 1795.

Saturday, 22. The traders, Askin's clerk and Parke, went away, and there was stillness in town.

Sunday, 23. Zeisberger preached from the Gospel about Thomas, especially about the words: Blessed are they that have not seen and yet have believed, and showed what faith in the Saviour can do, whom indeed we see not, but with whom we have blessed days and hours of intercourse.

Monday, 24. On Edwards' birthday we had a pleasant love-feast.

Tuesday, 25. Anna Helen came back from the Monsey town, who, under the 12th of last month, was mentioned as a repentant sinner, who got her cattle and things. Her uncle took away from her most of her property when she came here, saying to her: "Now thy teachers are thy god and thy father." During his life he would be no Gendowa.<sup>1</sup>

Thursday, 27. White people were here, two families of whom are settling above our line. Henrietta bore a daughter.

Friday 28. Instead of the evening service we made a beginning of the holidays by singing a liturgy, and began with the song: Christ, my Redeemer, Lord and God.

Saturday, 29. Br. Sensemann went to the settlement to a sick man who had sent for him. As the fish are now coming up the river in schools, the children and those older were busy catching a great quantity, so that through the week the whole town eat nothing but fish.

Sunday, 30. In the sermon, which Br. Sensemann preached about the good Shepherd, he baptized, with the name, Sarah, the little daughter of Nicodemus and Henrietta, born on the 27th. Michael preached in the settlement, and baptized a child.

Monday, May 1. We and the brethren began work on the plantations, to get them ready.

Wednesday, 3. Rafts came down. We bought some pine boards.

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<sup>1</sup> See under July 4, 1790, Vol. II, p. 113.

Friday, 5. Samuel came back from the mouth of Detroit River, whom his brother again deceived, for he made a journey to him in the winter, and arranged with him to bring him away in the spring, and now when Samuel got there, he was not ready, for he had to get from the Miami and bury the bones of some who were dead, according to the custom of the Nanticokes. Meanwhile he wanted to give Samuel some of his things as a token that he would yet come after the feast for the dead was over, but he would not take them, having no faith in him. At the same time our people came back from Detroit, many of whom had been drunk and had sinned, most of all Jephtha, who was lately baptized, which was a real heart's woe to us. In the evening twenty-four canoes with Chippewas came down stream. They encamped here, and begged for food and tobacco, which we gave them, and a couple of chapel-servants collected corn from house to house.

From McKee, to whom Sensemann wrote, Samuel brought some clothing for our old, helpless Indians, with his promise to do more in the autumn, for at present he was short of goods. In the evening we sang: One view, Lord Jesus, of thy passion—Will make the fainting spirit glad.

Sunday, 7. Michael preached, Zeisberger read the church litany, and Sensemann held the congregation meeting.

Monday, 8. White traders came here, who bought corn and sugar. Edwards held the evening service.

Tuesday, 9. We sent Jephtha to get his wife, who on account of false reports had gone away. Thus one deceitful piece after another is played.

Thursday, 11. All were busy in the fields. Severe frosts at night have thus far continued, but now there is pleasant, springlike weather, therefore we have put off planting till now.

Saturday, 13. The brethren planted our fields. White people from the States went through, bound for Niagara.

Sunday, 14. Sensemann preached. In the afternoon Zeisberger read the church litany and held the congregation meeting.

Monday, 15. The brethren were busy planting. Nicholas and Joachim, who in the autumn went to Pettquoting hunting, and of whom since we had learned nothing—of them we heard a rumor that they had perished. They were then to be gone only four weeks, and we were therefore anxious about them.

Tuesday, 16. Sensemann went down to the mill. White people went by here, and some came here. Hardly a day passes that some or more do not come here.

Friday, 19. Br. Sensemann, who came from the settlement, had there baptized several children. In the evening we sang: Behold the Saviour of mankind—Nailed to the shameful tree.

Sunday, 21. Zeisberger preached from the Gospel: Whatsoever ye shall ask the Father in my name, he will give it you. Strangers, white men, were present. Then he held a communion service. Jephtha, who had gone for his wife, came back without her, neither meeting her nor being able to hear any thing of her. We heard that new rumors of war are abroad. Spanish Indians have already come as far as the Miami, and have murdered several, both Indians and whites, and thus make every thing insecure. Sensemann held the congregation meeting. He baptized to-day a child of white parents, who brought it here.

Tuesday, 23. In the evening Br. Edwards discoursed from the text about the happiness of being in God's church, where our Saviour, the good Shepherd of his sheep, whom he knows and who follow him, daily feeds them on his wounds.

Thursday, 25. Ascension Day of our dear Lord, we brought to our High Priest, who for us ascended into heaven, and now sits at the right hand of God and makes intercession for us, adoration, honor, and thanks, kneeling, and asked for ourselves his unseen but perceptible nearness and his walking among us.

Saturday, 27. After we had spoken with the brethren, when indeed we could rejoice over most of them, but yet found reason to be sad about some, the communicants enjoyed Jesus' body and blood in the holy sacrament, from which none stayed away, and one sister, Jacobina, was readmitted.

Sunday, 28. Zeisberger read the liturgy, just as yesterday he conducted the communion, and Br. Sensemann preached. In the afternoon the former held the children's hour, with whom he sang at the end the song: Thou, gracious Saviour, for my good—Wast pleased a child to be. Edwards held the congregation meeting, and Michael had preached in the settlement.

Monday, 29. Inasmuch as the frosts lasted so long this year, and the corn which was already planted rotting in the ground, did not come up, all had to be planted over again, for it is an extraordinarily late spring.

Wednesday, 31. Mr. Parke came here on business with our Indians, and also other whites, who got seed-corn here, whom we helped with all sorts of things.

Friday, June 2. In a common council much was said about order in the church, and the brethren were admonished to hold to this.

Sunday, 4. Br. Sensemann preached about the workings of the Holy Spirit in bringing men to their Saviour and Redeemer and making them partakers of his merits. Afterwards, in the service for the baptized, which Zeisberger held, we brought to God, the Holy Spirit, our Guide and Comforter, honor, adoration, and thanks upon our knees for his faithful pains in leading us to our Saviour, who for us gave himself up to death, and by his dear blood has won for us eternal life and salvation; who has held us in communion with him, and always directs us to our crucified Redeemer. We begged absolution and communion with him, and vowed to him new fidelity and obedience, having first sung the song of praise to the Holy Ghost.

Tuesday, 6. By way of Pittsburg we had letters from

Bethlehem and Litiz, to our no common joy, which J. H.<sup>1</sup> and those brothers had brought with them, who had come to survey the land for the mission on the Muskingum, from which we saw that they would be glad to have one of us with them, but this could not be in our circumstances, and also from the shortness of the time.

Thursday, 8. With Indians who are going to Detroit, Br. Sensemann went on business.

Friday, 9. We sang: Behold the Saviour of mankind.

Sunday, 11. Br. Edwards preached and Zeisberger read the litany and held the congregation meeting. Michael had preached in the settlement.

Tuesday, 13. At the evening service one thing and another were mentioned, for instance, about making fences, etc.

Wednesday, 14. Mr. Parke came here and some Indians, back from Detroit.

Thursday, 15. The trouble begins again which we are always having with the white people, that if they lose cattle, or these are killed or torn to pieces by wolves, they always accuse our Indians of it. We heard to-day that the people in the lower township unite and wish to hand in a petition about this, though they know well enough, and it is as plain as day, that they themselves kill, steal, and slaughter the cattle of one another, and that sometimes the Chippewas do it, and this is then put to the account of our Indians. If they could drive us away from here, so as to take possession of our land, they would do so gladly. Are our Indians the only ones here? Are there not others? Why then do they not concern themselves about others? Must they then blame only the innocent? There is also trouble when we dwell among the savages. We have had sufficient experience of both, but this last is easier to be borne than the false accusation of so-called Christians. In the world ye shall have tribulation.

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<sup>1</sup>“In the year 1797 Mr. H[eckewelder] travelled in company with William Henry, Esq., and others from Bethlehem to Gnadenhütten, on the Muskingum, for the purpose of surveying some land.”—Life of Heckewelder, p. 140.

Friday, 16. There was so strong a wind from the north-west, with thunder, lightning, and rain, that few houses remained uninjured, and in the fields also much damage was done, and great devastation caused. We had no services.

Saturday, 17. Br. Sensemann came back from Detroit, who brought us a packet of the news of the U. A. C., together with the Scripture-verses for this year from Br. Wollin,<sup>1</sup> sent to us, which Mr. Askin had received open, and would therefore send it by no man until some of us went thither, and he could deliver it to us in person. Br. Sensemann knew nothing about the storm until he was within three miles of here, and found the road blocked with trees, so that he could hardly get through on foot, and this as far as our town.

Sunday, 18. Br. Sensemann preached. David read the litany and held the congregation meeting. A Quaker came to see us and the Indians during worship, who was from the States, and he was much pleased.

Monday, 19. We all had work in the fields in clearing up what the storm had scattered about, which had carried a good piece through the air trees, fences, and roofs, some rare instances of which could be seen. The matter of greatest anxiety with all is that we see no prospect of having corn this year, but this we leave to our dear heavenly Father and to his care.

Tuesday, 20, and Wednesday, 21. The brothers went out hunting to get meat to use while hoeing our corn, but they got only one deer.

Thursday, 22. They hoed our fields in common. Hungry Chippewas were here, whom we fed.

Friday, 23. In the evening service we sang: O head so full of bruises,—So full of pain and scorn, for the first time in Indian.

Saturday, 24. In the evening service, which Br. Sensemann held, he gave both parents and children instruction and admonition, telling the children to what they are

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<sup>1</sup> Agent of the church in London.



called, to grow and thrive in the church for the honor of the Saviour; to the parents, how to bring up their children for him, which would sometime be required of them.

Sunday, 25. Zeisberger preached here, and Michael in the settlement. Edwards held the congregation meeting.

Tuesday, 27. Early in the morning died Jacobina, Simon's wife, Luke's daughter, who had been sick with consumption longer than a year. Her remains were,

Wednesday, 28, buried. She was baptized on the Muskingum, Feb. 4, '76, then a grown girl, and came to the enjoyment of the holy communion March 11, 1786. As to what can be said of her walk at this time, we had indeed always hoped to have more satisfaction in her than in any of her brothers and sisters, for her sister, Pauline, who was half-eaten by the wolf, had yet the good fortune, in the year '90, in March, in Pettquotting, to go from time in peace. Two of her brothers wander about in the wilderness, and the one who is still in the church is good for nothing, being but a rotten log. Trouble also remained not away from her when she came to years, and though she had no thought for the world, nor pleasure in it, yet she wasted her time and that of others in the church, and suffered herself to be blinded by Satan. In the year '86 she married a savage, came with him to the church, and for a time it was well with her. In her youth she was a quiet child, but when she came to years she changed all that with wicked haste, for then she began every manner of mischief among the sisters, and caused discontent. Hereby she always intended to be in the right, thinking the others wrong; she sought to find the blame with others; she forgot herself. She lost the enjoyment of the communion, yes, it went so far that it could be thought that through vexation and contempt she got the consumption, for she was always of strong constitution, and by her strength could endure any thing, and this disease has been seen in her upwards of a year. At last she had to take to her bed, and could no longer do any thing. Under these circumstances she once was visited by Sister Zeisberger, who conversed with her and exhorted her to give up all her opposition to

certain sisters, to turn to the Saviour as a repentant sinner, surrendering all to him, to seek rest for her heart, and peace with God for her soul, for she knew not how long she would yet be here below. She came then of her own accord, and talked with us about her heart, and showed that she would be glad to be rid of all which had hitherto made her discontented and unhappy, acknowledged her guilt, and longed for a heart reconciled with God. Now she forgot others, seeking and finding the fault within herself. At the communion, on the 27th of last month, after receiving absolution, she was again a partaker thereof with the church, when indeed it was not thought that this would be the last. Since then she has been lively and cheerful, but always showed how gladly she would go the Saviour. She conversed upon her sick-bed, for soon afterward she neared the end, a couple of days with the Saviour. For example: "Dear Saviour, so much time have I wasted that I had a hard, unhappy life. I have been afraid of thee, and could not pray to thee. I got out of the way of my teachers. I was afraid of them, and could not visit them and talk with them from my heart. Yet why was I so? Thou wilt know it, show it me, for I cannot understand it, but thou knowest it better." When now she had so talked with the Saviour, it came upon her like a flood, and she began to talk about her life since her baptism, speaking straight out all her deeds without concealment, but hereby she often repeated: "Dear Saviour, thou knowest all, but forgive me, for thou hast poured out thy blood for all my sins." She asked forgiveness from the sisters who visited her and watched with her. She asked her husband to pardon all her offences, saying to him: "I have often treated thee not as I should have done. Forgive me, and bear it not against me." Both he and the sisters assured her that they had gladly from their hearts forgiven her, and begged her not to tire herself by much speaking, but to rest. However, she did not suffer herself to be disturbed till she was done, whereupon she lay still, lost her power of speech, but was yet conscious, though she could no longer talk, and when

verses were sung to her, she very well showed that she understood. Thus she remained till the day mentioned, when she died in peace, with the blessing of the church.

Wednesday, 28. Br. Sensemann mowed his meadow.

Thursday, 29. Two whites were present at the evening service, which Br. Edwards held.

Friday, 30. In the evening hour we sang: One view, Lord Jesus, of thy passion.

Saturday, July 1. The Sensemanns got in their hay. In the evening and night a hard rain.

Sunday, 2. Michael preached from the Gospel about the lost sheep. Zeisberger held the communion service, notice of which he gave for Saturday. From the settlement came a number of men and women, with a child to be baptized, which Br. Sensemann baptized.

Monday, 3. David's meadow was mown.

Tuesday, 4. Anna Helen came, bringing her "bason," a fetish of Guinea negroes, which her mother, now dead, had bought for her at a high price, and about which she could not be at rest, and the Indians know not what to do to be rid of it, for they are fearful of some harm if they destroy it. Br. Zeisberger threw it into the fire before her eyes, telling her it was nothing but the delusion and deceit of Satan; to keep such a thing might do her harm, but no good, for in the church she could not thrive with it.

Wednesday, 5. The Zeisbergers got in their hay.

Friday, 7. Both yesterday and to-day there was speaking to the brethren with reference to the communion. White people came through with cattle from the States, from Wajomik (Wyoming, Pa.) We sent away Salome and Beata, who were here with Chippewas.

Saturday, 8. We had the holy communion, whereby our dear Lord graciously made himself known to us, and blessed us in the happy enjoyment of his body and blood.

Sunday, 9. Zeisberger read the liturgy. Sensemann preached. A white man was present, with whom Samuel

went to the Monsey town. Zeisberger held the congregation meeting.

Monday, 10. The brethren hilled our corn. The assistants spoke with Zacchaeus and his wife, Susanna, who lived in discord, and wished to separate, but they accomplished nothing with them, for the first said he was not going to be lost for an Indian's sake. This sort of thing often happens with Indians, so that at times patience will fail us to listen.

Wednesday, 12. Mr. Parke arrived, who hired some of our Indians to build a house for him on his lot.

Friday, 14. Some new houses were blocked out here this week.

Sunday, 16. Zeisberger preached, and discoursed earnestly and plainly against disorderly conduct and scandal in the church, and admonished the brethren who intended to be honorable and upright with the Saviour to set themselves against these with earnestness, so that head might be made against evil in the church. He then read the litany, and Br. Sensemann held the congregation meeting.

Wednesday, 19. By occasion of the text: Ye are the light of the world, Br. Zeisberger discoursed earnestly against bad conduct; that in place of this the brethren should be a light and example to others; otherwise they gave themselves vexation and scandal, and to the Saviour were weakness and dishonor.

Friday, 21. In the evening we sang: O world! behold upon the tree—Thy life is hanging now for thee.

Sunday, 23. Sensemann preached. Zeisberger read the litany. Michael preached in the settlement, and brought a letter from Br. Meder from Philadelphia to Br. Sensemann.

Tuesday, 25. The brethren set to work at the bridge at the east end of the town, where the water during severe rains has already torn away much of the steep bank. In this Br. Sensemann directed them, but he had,

Friday, 28, the ill-luck, by a misstep, to fall from the bridge, so that for a time he lay senseless, but soon came

to himself and could walk home, when he was let blood. His chest, however, which was most affected, was inwardly hurt, and he suffered great pain. In the evening service we sang: One view, Lord Jesus, of thy passion.

Sunday, 30. A couple of our nearest neighbors were present at the sermon, preached by Br. Edwards, about the bread of life, which is the Saviour himself, who came down from heaven into the world, giving the world life eternal. Br. Zeisberger conducted the children's hour, admonishing them not to forget nor to cease praising the Lord, singing to him in their homes songs of praise and thanksgiving for his great love, which he shows us by having become man and being born a child, for us and for all the world, and he has brought about our everlasting redemption. Anna Maria, John Henry's wife, was delivered of a daughter.

Tuesday, Aug. 1. The brothers finished the bridge, a needful and useful piece of work, of which, also, the inhabitants of the land will have the use, for the road to Niagara goes through here. Four years ago, the Governor and his suite, on account of ice in the winter, got over with much trouble. At the evening service Br. Zeisberger baptized, with the name, Anna Rosina, John Henry's little daughter, born day before yesterday.

Friday, 4. Many strange Indians were here on their way down to the settlement, being out of food. Some of them attended our meetings. We heard that Brant's scheme against the Delawares is not yet put aside, and that he is always plotting with the Chippewas about this. It is thought there will yet result a war among the Indians themselves. The Chippewas have war with the north-western Indians. They brought into Mackinaw a hundred prisoners, a part of whom they sold to the whites, and eighty scalps. This is a nation with which they have waged war for many years.

Sunday, 6. Zeisberger preached and held the communion quarter-hour, Sensemann, the congregation meeting again for the first time, since he is so far recovered.

Michael had preached in the settlement, and baptized a child.

Monday, 7. Some of our people went to Detroit with corn.

Thursday, 10. Early before day, died the child Cornelius, fourteen months old, who was buried the next day. In his sickness he often pointed and extended his hands towards heaven, and with his fingers showed on his hands the marks of the nails on the Saviour's hands.

Saturday, 12. Br. Sensemann baptized, with the name Tobe, Anna Justina's sick child, two years, five months old. The mother is Anna Maria's daughter.

Sunday 13. Br. Sensemann preached. Somewhat was told the brethren about the beginning of the present church of the brothers,<sup>1</sup> how through the blessed enjoyment of Jesus' body and blood in the holy communion, it had been baptized to a body and spirit, and the love of God had been poured upon them by the Holy Ghost; that since that time the blessing had not remained with the church alone, but had spread over Christian and heathen, had also extended to us, so that now by grace we are called thereto, and we are chosen to be the people of his possession; now the Saviour requires of us, and has given us this commandment to love one another, to let unity of the spirit and love prevail among us, which would destroy in the church all the wickedly planned schemes of Satan, and not to let any thing arise which could be injurious to us, yes, we would in intercourse with the Saviour, who was crucified for us, always meet with new blessings. We asked this for ourselves at the communion especially and gracious absolution for all our faults and shortcomings, whereupon he blessed us in the enjoyment of his body and blood in the holy communion unspeakably.

Moreover to-day came the Indians, Nicholas, Joachim, and Joseph, from the territory of the States and Pittsburgh, where they had been absent nearly a year.

Monday, 14. Early Br. Sensemann read the liturgy,

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<sup>1</sup> See Vol. 1, p. 199.

who received a letter by the Indians mentioned, from Kampe, in Pittsburg, of April 3. We learned that the Mingoes had robbed and murdered traders from the States.

Wednesday, 16. Several of our Indians went to Detroit with corn, where now there is much demand for it at a dollar the bushel.

Thursday, 17. At the beginning of this week we had a light frost, whereon followed thunder-storms and rain-pours.

Sunday, 20. Edwards preached, Zeisberger read the litany, and Br. Sensemann held the congregation meeting. The assistants were charged to speak with Nicholas and his wife, Martha. Michael had preached in the neighborhood, and baptized a child.

Monday, 21. Several of our brethren went with corn to the settlement to sell.

Thursday, 24. On Sister Sensemann's birthday, we had a pleasant love-feast at home, her fifty-first, and wished her much blessing from the bloody fulness of Jesus. Chippewas who came here, attended the services.

Sunday, 27. Michael preached, Zeisberger read the litany and held the congregation meeting. Our people came back from Detroit.

Tuesday, 29. With our unmarried brothers on their anniversary we had a home love-feast, and our hearts blessed them for their brotherly covenant. We wished them much blessing and grace for their course through time.

Thursday, 31. Mr. Parke arrived, to set his affairs right, and the next day went home.

Saturday, Sept. 2. Mr. Parke drove cattle down from here, which he had bought. The Indians repaired the bridge, for the water from the heavy rain had damaged it.

Sunday, 3. Zeisberger preached; Edwards held the congregation meeting, Michael in the settlement. Susanna was very ill, and Br. Sensemann not well.

Monday, 4. Br. Sensemann baptized a couple of chil-

dren of a family from the settlement, who passed the night here.

Tuesday, 5. By way of New York and Niagara, we had a packet of letters and papers from Bethlehem of February last, to our no common joy.

Thursday, 7. We had a blessed marriage festival, and though we were aroused to speak earnestly and plainly with the brethren, yet it was a blessing, and the Saviour made himself known. We showed them how it happened that discontent and discord arose among married people, namely, that they did not abide with the Saviour as the Vine; thence it came about that the old, heathenish, sinful customs, which they had since renounced, and from which the Saviour had set them free, again crept in among them, for they then still committed the fault of seeking the guilt, not in themselves, but in others, having in matrimony an unhallowed life. They were therefore admonished to draw near the Saviour with their troubles and helplessness, to hold faithfully to him, to get strength and power from Jesus' merits, and thus nothing would be impossible for them. At morning prayer Br. Sensemann asked for our dear Lord's near presence and blessing for the day. Zeisberger then conducted the service for the married, and afterwards the love-feast for all, and in the evening Br. Sensemann made an end with a pleasant hour of song. We laborers strengthened ourselves from the body and blood of Jesus in the holy sacrament, and bound us to new fidelity and faith in our calling.

[Thus far sent to Bethlehem.]

Sunday, 10. Br. Sensemann preached about the foremost and greatest commandment, for keeping which a new heart is required. Zeisberger read the litany and Edwards held the congregation meeting. We read the journal.

Monday, 11. We had a hard, troublesome day. Strange Indians, who came from Detroit, got our people to drinking, though we took every care to prevent it.

Tuesday, 12. The brothers made peace between Boaz and his wife. The strange Indians moved off, after having done us harm.



Friday, 15. We got in our aftermath. In the evening we sang the passion-song: One view, Lord Jesus, of thy passion.

Sunday, 17. Zeisberger preached from the Gospel about the ten lepers, saying to the brethren that it occurs among us only too often that people, to whom the Saviour has shown grace and mercy, forgiving their sins, and cleansing them with his blood, become sooner or later not only unthankful, cold, and indifferent to the Saviour, but also give themselves again to be slaves of sin, slightly estimating the grace they have received, whereby they fall into the greatest wretchedness. The Saviour therefore says: He that abideth in me and I in him, . . . for without me ye can do nothing. Sensemann conducted the children's hour, and Michael held the congregation meeting.

Tuesday, 19. From the Chippewas, not far from here, we heard that they fear the Mohawks, believing them to have evil intentions towards them, and they say, that they, the Mohawks, swarm about their town at night.

Wednesday, 20. Parke's people came here to get corn. White people also from Wajomik, who went through here with cattle lately, passed the night here on their way back.

Friday, 22. We sang: Christ, my Redeemer, Lord and God.

Sunday, 24. Sensemann preached. Zeisberger held the communion service and congregation meeting. Mr. Parke came here, and at once set out for Albany. We sent by him a packet to Bethlehem. Michael preached in the settlement and baptized a child.

Wednesday, 27. A surveyor came here and stayed three days, when he went up the river to survey land.

Friday, 29. In the evening service the dear angels were mentioned whom God sends for the service of those who are heirs of righteousness, wherefore we do not worship them indeed, but we owe thanks to the Saviour for their service. We sang to him, therefore, songs of praise and thanksgiving.

Saturday, 30. Our dear Lord blessed us by the enjoyment of his body and blood in the holy communion in the

most blessed way. Some brethren had to remain away, to our pain and sorrow.

Sunday, Oct. 1. In the thanksgiving liturgy Br. Zeisberger told the brethren that it was mournful and sad to us that in this meeting the benches upon the brothers' side were so empty, brethren having lost the enjoyment of the Lord's supper, whereby commonly they became not better, but cold and dry in heart, and this had sad results. Michael preached from the Gospel about the youth in Nain, and Zeisberger held the congregation meeting from the text: The Son of man is come to seek and to save that which was lost.

Tuesday, 3. Samuel and Stephen went down to Lake Erie to Mr. Elliot, who in the spring had promised to give some clothing, etc., to our old people, to get the same.

Thursday, 5. The brothers went to work again upon the new school-house, and set the rafters to-day, and were very eager at it and industrious.

Saturday, 7. From the Miami we learned through Abel, who came from there, where he had visited his friends, that the chief, Tedpachxit,<sup>1</sup> had the wish that the brothers would come to them and preach Christ's Gospel, which was pleasant news for us, which for a long time we should have been glad to hear, and we thought about soon sending a deputation to him.

Sunday, 8. Sensemann preached, Zeisberger read the liturgy and held the congregation meeting. Michael preached in the settlement.

Monday, 9. On Br. Sensemann's birthday we had a pleasant love-feast for encouragement to be faithful and industrious in the work of the Lord.

Tuesday, 10. The Indian brothers worked at the school-house and got it under roof this week, for which they had to make lathes, rafters, and clapboards.

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<sup>1</sup>A Delaware chief. His wish was gratified in 1801, when two Moravian missionaries settled on White River, Ind.

Thursday, 12. From the Watch-Tower came Samuel and Stephen, bringing some goods and clothing from Col. McKee for our old and needy Indians, and some powder and lead for our hunters, which were divided among them.

Friday, 13. We sang: One view, Lord Jesus, of thy passion.

Saturday, 14. By one of our neighbors, who journeyed to Pittsburg, Br. Sensemann wrote to Meder in Philadelphia.

Sunday, 15. Zeisberger preached about the greatest commandment: Thou shalt love the Lord, thy God, with all thy heart. We read the journal of the U. A. C., and Michael held the congregation meeting.

Monday, 16. Having had news from the Miami as if the Indians there were longing to hear the word of God, we sent thither Bill Henry, with a couple of young men, for a visit to get more exact information about this. They set out thither to-day by water with our blessing.

Wednesday, 18. The Indian brothers went out for a couple of days' hunt in common to get meat for the harvest, whereupon,

Friday, 20, they began to harvest our fields, but during the following days were hindered by rain. Strange Indians from up the river came here, some of whom attended the meetings.

Sunday, 22. Sensemann preached, Zeisberger read the litany, and in the evening held the congregation meeting from the text: My Father which gave them me is greater than all, and no man is able to pluck them out of my Father's hand. Michael had preached in the settlement.

Monday, 23. The brethren were busy harvesting their corn, and so kept on through the week, but much of it, which was planted late, has not ripened, but has been frost-bitten. Moreover, blackbirds were there in flocks, and caused much damage.

Wednesday, 25. Our people sowed wheat, some of them hiring white people to plough their lands, others had got ploughs for themselves.

Thursday, 26. The surveyor came down from up stream, having laid out some townships on this river forty or fifty miles from here, and thus this river will be thickly settled. Nicodemus with his family came back from visiting his friends at Grosse Isle (in Detroit River).

Sunday, 29. Edwards preached. Zeisberger read the litany and Sensemann held the congregation meeting. We read the weekly journal of the U. A. Conf.

Tuesday 31. Esther, Lewis' wife, was delivered of a daughter, and,

Wednesday, Nov. 1, Anna Susanna likewise of a daughter.

Friday, 3. Anna Sophia brought a son into the world. A great number of the sisters went for chestnuts, and brought many bushels of them home.

Saturday, 4. Sensemann went to the lower settlement on this river. A boy, John Adam's brother, came to Br. Zeisberger, and asked for the baptism of his brother's boy, born yesterday, the father himself not being at home. There was rain both yesterday and to-day and no meeting.

Sunday, 5. In the sermon Br. Zeisberger baptized into Jesus' death the three children born this week, with the names, Antoinette, Jean, and Gottfried. He then held the communion quarter-hour, recommending uprightness of heart. Last night died old David, the Indian, eighty-one years of age, right blessedly.

Monday, 6. In the afternoon was the burial of the Indian, David. Forty-four years ago, March 16, 1753, he was baptized in Gnadenhütten (Carbon Co., Pa.) at a synod. He was own brother of the departed national assistant, Anthony, who died in peace in Schönbrunn. In the first Indian war, in the autumn of 1755, when the attack on the Mahony was made, he left the church, but came again as soon as the way was open, and remained too, for his heart hung upon the Saviour and the church, where he happily passed his time until in the spring of the year '82 the missionaries were all taken away to Detroit, and the Indian church was dispersed, when he also was separated from

the church, and came at last to this river with the one,<sup>1</sup> who had said that if his forefathers had gone to the devil, he also wished to go to him. He died soon afterward, and David remained solitary and alone on this river until the Indian church came hither. At this time, four years ago, at his request and prayer, he was brought here, when he was still in condition to support himself by planting and by the labor of his hands, which he still did for two years with the help of the brethren. The last two years, however, from his age and weakness, he had to be supported by the church. He was thankful for all that was done for him, and received it with gratitude. Especially it was to him a matter of no common grace and mercy of the Saviour that he was again in the church, and he knew how to appreciate this. He soon again became a partaker of the Lord's supper, which was to him great and important above all else. He and old Joachim, two honorable old fathers, who were loved by all, often sat together and conversed about the salvation of their souls, about God's great love and mercy towards them and all mankind, and all this so loud, for they did not hear well, that the whole town could hear, and all were edified. But for two weeks he could no longer go out, but as long as possible he omitted no meeting. He complained of no sickness or pain, but said: "I am now old and weak." Thus he died in peace with the blessing of the church, full of honor, as a heart that abides in its first love, with the text: If a man have an hundred sheep and one of them be gone astray, doth he not leave the ninety and nine and goeth into the mountains and seeketh that which is gone astray? So mayest thou find thyself, dear soul, and flee to the salvation of Jesus' wounds. There are still hours of grace, and this was fulfilled and seen in our old David. His life lasted eighty-one years.

From the settlement Br. Sensemann came back. We had heard from a gentleman in Detroit, who had been on the

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<sup>1</sup> See Vol. 1, p. 296.

Little Miami at the fort<sup>1</sup> on the Ohio that he had seen there a packet of letters for us, which he should have been glad to bring to us, which, however, they would not let him have, the man wishing to bring it himself.

Thursday, 9, and Friday, 10. There was speaking with reference to the communion. Otherwise the brethren were busy getting in their corn, having been much hindered by snow and rain.

Saturday, 11. At the Lord's supper Adam was again a partaker, after two years, to our joy and that of the church. Soon afterward we had the pleasure of seeing come to us in good health Br. Bill Henry, with his son, John, and one other, John Thomas, from the Miami. Of their visit they spoke as follows: After having been detained upon the lake by successive days of bad weather, they arrived there and went to the chief's, Tedpachxit, where they were kindly received. Bill Henry, who was spokesman, set forth to him that they were come not only to see them, but having somewhat to say to them. He soon made preparations, calling the chief men together, and when this was done, Bill Henry said: My dear friends, it is a pleasure after many years to see you once again by God's guidance. The reason of our leaving our home and coming to you is this. We heard some time ago that you would be glad to have God's word heard and preached among you, that there are many who long therefor, that there are also some of our own baptized brethren who are waiting for this, and wish they had opportunity to hear God's word, being unable to come to us, from our living so far away from them. This is the reason we have undertaken the journey hither, and no other, for if we hear that any one longs for God's word, the word of life, to hear it, we are ready to serve him therein, since we like to see our fellow-men and friends having a share in this good and getting salvation. We are therefore come to see and to learn from you how ye are disposed and how the matter stands, so that we may bring trustworthy news to them who have sent us, and as

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<sup>1</sup> This was Ft. Washington, now Cincinnati.

soon as we have heard you, we intend to return whence we came.

It happened that also the captain, Pachgantschihillas, was present, who has always been a great foe to the preaching of the Gospel among the Indians. He asked us who had brought us the news. He was told one of our people, who had come back from there some time ago. He replied that we should not listen to such messages, for if they wished to send us a message we would see something with it, namely, a belt or string, but of this message they knew nothing. Now the truth was, the chief, Tedpachxit, had so spoken with our Abel, but he dared not admit it before the great captain. This fact is established by the following, which this very captain related to Br. Bill Henry, namely, that some time before he had charged a certain Indian, who was going to us at Fairfield, to speak with our Indians, and to propose to them to come back again over the lake; that the Indian had come back, bringing answer that we had no disposition for this, being so well established here. He asked whether the thing was really so. The answer was that the same Indian had been with us many days, but had expressed not a word about this to any one, and we knew nothing about it. Thus it appears that the captain would be glad to have us over the lake again, but will have nothing to do with the preaching of the Gospel. If then we only have an opportunity, we shall not ask the chiefs. They must yet accommodate themselves thereto. They farther said to the brothers that the Quakers in Philadelphia had made them an offer and advised them to move together, not to live so scattered about; that they would send people to build them houses and teach them agriculture; they would send mechanics to teach them their work and to make them a civilized folk, for which they had much money ready to expend. If the proposition pleased them, they should come to Philadelphia, namely, the Delawares; they would speak with them and set the thing going. And, as it seems, they are not disinclined, for they said they thought of going thither in the spring. Thus the brethren came

back. It is to be hoped their journey was not in vain, and they will without doubt think about the matter. They have also seen and spoken to Indians, who would like to come to us, and an old baptized widow is now on her way hither to remain. But what farther is to be said of the Delaware nation; it is scattered at present from Canada to the Mississippi, and their present chief has little weight and authority.

Sunday, 12. In the liturgy was the after-communion with the three brothers, whereafter Br. Sensemann preached and Michael in the settlement. Br. Edwards held the congregation meeting.

Monday, 13. After consideration of the text we brought to our Elder of his churches honor, adoration, and thanks for his blessed acknowledgment of us, poor and wretched creatures, under whose rule we find ourselves so happy and are fortunately protected. We asked forgiveness of our faults and shortcomings, and that he would farther show himself to us as our good Shepherd, and we vowed to him fidelity and to be obedient children. He blessed us sensibly, graciously and kindly condescending to us, so that heart and eyes overflowed.

Thursday, 16. Already for several days we have had steady snowy weather, which this year began very early, so that our Indians and the whites also in the settlement could not harvest all their corn by any means, and much that was planted late was frozen. Yet all were industriously at work, though it was already very cold, and the drift-ice in the river ran strong.

Sunday, 19. Michael preached from the text: Lord, to whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of eternal life. Zeisberger read the liturgy and Sensemann held the congregation meeting.

Monday, 20. Brs. Sensemann and Michael went to the settlement on business, coming home in the evening. The settlers are in greater trouble about harvesting their crops than we are in here, on account of the early winter.

Wednesday, 22. Many Chippewas came here, bringing meat, bear's fat, etc., to sell. Salome, Joshua's daughter,



who married a Chippewa, was delivered of a son, which is also a great reason for the confusion in the family.

Thursday, 23. Indian brothers wished to go to mill, but on account of drift-ice could not get over, it being dangerous.

Friday, 24. In the evening service we sang: One view, Lord Jesus, of thy passion—Will make the fainting spirit glad.

Saturday, 25. From the lower settlement on the river came Mr. Dolson and his two sons with goods.

Sunday, 26. Zeisberger preached from yesterday's Scripture-verse, and in the evening Sensemann held the congregation meeting.

Monday, 27. Mr. Dolson displayed his goods, and then it was like a fair, and by evening he had disposed of every thing he brought; yes, he could have sold as much more, for many who would have liked to buy clothing for the winter got nothing.

Wednesday, 29. Dolson went home, having bought cattle, corn, etc.

Friday, Dec. 1. Many of the Monsey Indians came here. A strange Indian, who came here sick, wished to be doctored<sup>1</sup> here in town, but we would not permit it, telling him that if he wished to be doctored he should go from our neighborhood, for then he could do as he pleased. So he gave it up. In the evening we sang: Christ, my Redeemer, Lord, and God.

Saturday, 2. Francis Cornwall<sup>2</sup> came from the neighborhood, and from the States two men by way of Long Point,<sup>3</sup> who lost their way in the bush and suffered much cold and hunger for several days, their provisions having given out. We gave them food.

Sunday, 3. First of Advent, Br. Sensemann preached, Zeisberger read the litany, and Michael in the settlement. With all those who have ever been assistants we had an

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<sup>1</sup> That is, in the Indian way.

<sup>2</sup> A settler from Connecticut. Life D. Z., p. 644.

<sup>3</sup> Island off Canadian shore of Lake Erie.

interview, and set forth to them the reason why they could no longer be assistants, since they had caused vexation and scandal in the church; it was therefore well and needful for them before all to become repentant sinners, to confess and lament their falling away from the Saviour, and to seek forgiveness from him, so that others might imitate them and do likewise. Most of them confessed and acknowledged their transgressions, many with tears, but others were silent.

Tuesday, 5. Many Monsey Indians came here, of those who live up above us, who are always seeking to cause us trouble. An Indian, who came here sick several days ago, could go no farther, and always became weaker—he was doctored by them here in town at night, and witchcraft was used over him, whereupon early the next morning they made off in all haste for fear they might be sent off, a token that they knew well enough they were not doing right. From all this, however, the Indian was not better, but worse, who had expressed a wish to live here if he got well, which may well have been said from fear of death, for among the Indians this is great.

Thursday, 7. Some brethren took down cattle which Dolson had bought here. Cold, snow, and severe winter weather continue.

Saturday, 9. Inasmuch as on the 3d of this month we had an interview with the assistants, who, however, are now discharged, since they caused vexation and scandal in the church, but whom we now required to make a beginning among themselves of confessing and repenting their transgressions, and of acknowledging themselves guilty before the church, and of making an apology, which they received in good part, declaring themselves willing, whereupon many had already waited to have an opportunity to do this, and we were on the alert to find them such—to-day a new trouble was added to this, which has never before happened to us, namely, that an Indian, Jonas, while drunk down in the settlement, had stabbed Amos with a knife, though not mortally. This caused us anxiety and

sorrow, but among our people was a subject for reflection. Thereupon we had,

Sunday, 10, after the sermon by Michael, the whole church come together, little children excepted, and now they were almost all at home, when Br. Zeisberger delivered to them an earnest and straightforward discourse with grieved heart. He laid before them their sinful life in the church, displeasing to the Saviour, admonished them to desist from their wicked ways, which they had always secretly followed, and not to turn back again to heathenism. He told them that in their baptism they had renounced Satan and all his works, which the Saviour had forgiven them, cleansing them from sin by his blood and relieving them thereof; they should not give themselves over to be again the slaves of sin and to fall into everlasting damnation. They should no longer say: "Our assistants do the same, wherefore then not we?" There were no longer any assistants; they were all sinners together, one like another, and the assistants were no longer such. He named to them every thing which had crept into the church, also that some indeed had had witchcraft used over them by Indian doctors, and he showed them that such gave themselves to the devil, body and soul; that consequently the fiery pit, which burns with fire and brimstone, prepared for the devil and not for them, would be their portion; they should turn about, again approach the Saviour, have repentance and sorrow, so that he would again be gracious to them, forgive them, and again receive and acknowledge them as his own; for, if they went on as they had done, they would cease to be a church of the Saviour's. Thereto he admonished them altogether, without exception. To the large boys and girls, he said they were there to hear what was right or wrong in the church, what was pleasing or displeasing to the Saviour; since they saw among their elders much that was bad, they should imitate the good and not the bad; it had indeed been told them to be obedient to their parents, but if they required evil from them they should not comply. We left them with the admonition that they should now hear and

encourage one another, acknowledge themselves sinners, and begin anew to live for the honor of the Saviour, for which he would give them his blessing. This, indeed, was done at once by some of the old with many tears. They wept aloud, so as to be heard in the street. But, since it required too long a time for each one to make his confession, and the weather was cold, they separated, and the following days came together in companies, when each one confessed his sins and showed his heart and mind, to live anew for the Saviour. Each one acknowledged his guilt, and most of them said that Br. David had not said too much, but only the truth. Thus, after our sorrow, the Saviour again sent us comfort and hope for our people, wherefor we thanked him from our hearts.

Thursday, 14. The Indian brothers were done with speaking to the brethren, whereby much that was secret and hidden came to light, and for the most part among those who had held themselves forth as better than the others, of whom it would not have been suspected, so that each one, without exception, found cause enough to become a repentant sinner, which caused a thorough working. We recognized this as a kindness and mercy, and thanked the Saviour for having disclosed what was hidden, so that it was purified by the light and evil was put out of the church. It went so far that one from fear would not betray another.

Saturday, 16. Br. Zeisberger delivered a discourse to the brethren from to-day's text: Remember, therefore, from whence thou art fallen, and repent and do the first works, saying to them that by this the Saviour wished to say to them and remind them to repent of their falling away from him, to seek forgiveness from him, and to call upon him that he would send us willing hearts to receive his words, which he daily makes known to us. He said to them that since now all, except a few who did not think it possible for them to keep their promise, had taken anew heart and courage for the Saviour, and had declared that they would again begin to live for the Saviour, we thanked the Saviour and also the Holy Ghost, who had

turned their hearts to him; we would now, however, all call upon him in common to send us fulfilment, for we had no power of ourselves, to forgive us all, to bury us in his death, to show himself anew to us, and to bless us. He then fell upon his knees, the church with him, asking for the new aspect of his grace and for absolution, and this amidst the tears of the church, and this so loud and common that we had to pause and finally break off, and concluded with the blessing of the church, amidst which we exchanged the kiss of peace.

Sunday, 17. Br. Sensemann preached, Br. Edwards held the congregation meeting, and Zeisberger held the communion service, recommending to the brethren open-heartedness, and not to come to the enjoyment of the Lord's supper with hearts full of secret sin, which would end at last in an open outbreak of sin, so that they would be disclosed before the whole church, and covered with shame.

Tuesday, 19. Justina, Bartholomew's wife, died, who has been sick for a year. She met with an accident about a year ago in clearing land for the plantations, whereupon consumption followed, and all remedies used were of no avail. She was baptized Jan. 6, '92, and afterwards, June 30, 1792, married to Bartholomew, a single man, but at first they lived not very unitedly and peacefully together, causing us anxiety and care. Of this her mother-in-law, Theodora, was the main cause, as is usually the case among Indians that they do not love their daughters-in-law. This, changed, however, and afterwards they loved each other so that upon her sick-bed he tended her as he would a child, which we had never before seen an Indian husband do. But since he wished to have her well again, and to leave nothing untried by which he thought she could be cured, secretly, and against her will indeed, he had her doctored by a savage Indian, and witchcraft used for her, for which we reprov'd him sharply, saying that if she should die thus, she could not be buried in our graveyard. She, however, was uneasy about this, could not be content, and said she could not thus go from time before

she had been absolved and had assurance from the Saviour that he had forgiven her all. This was then done in the presence of several brethren, amidst a blessed feeling of Jesus' recognition, who now richly comforted her and assured her of his grace, and then she was prepared to die. To her husband she said: "Be not sorrowful about me. I am going to the Saviour, and if thou givest thyself to him, and standest by him, thou wilt see me again, but if thou continuest as hitherto, thou canst not go to him nor see me again." She prayed to the Saviour: "Dear Saviour, have mercy upon me, take me soon to thyself. I long for thee," until her breath was still, and she departed in peace. Her remains were buried on the 21st.

Saturday, 23. We had the holy communion, which Sensemann conducted, with repentant hearts. The brethren generally acknowledged themselves sinners, and received Jesus' body and blood with believing hearts, and he blessed us exceedingly.

Sunday, 24. Edwards preached, and two whites were present. Zeisberger read the litany. In the evening, at a love-feast, we considered and sang with joyful and thankful hearts our Saviour's birth, adored the Infant in the manger, as God from eternity, the Almighty, who revealed himself to us in human form, and is our Saviour and Redeemer. He was friendly and gracious to us, blessing us, so that the brethren, old and young, were touched with grace.

Monday, 25. Br. Michael preached from the text: For the grace of God that bringeth salvation hath appeared to all men, and Zeisberger held a service for the children exhorting them to praise and thank the Infant Jesus in his manger, to rejoice in his birth, that he had become our Saviour; they should keep in mind the little child—often sing to him songs of praise, which then he did with them.

Wednesday, 27. Early in the morning, died the child, Jenny, daughter of Christian Gottlieb and Anna Susanna, born two months ago, less ten days. Instead of the evening service, there was a common council where one thing and another were brought up.

Thursday, 28. Many Chippewas assembled from the whole country roundabout for a feast and dance, a couple of miles from here, for which they came to beg corn, but since what they thus got was not enough, they bought much. About the Saviour, however, they would hear nothing. They are sunk much deeper in heathenism and the works of Satan than the Delawares, and it is impossible to come at them with the Gospel.

Friday, 29, was the burial of the child that died yesterday.

Sunday, 31. Br. Sensemann preached, and Zeisberger read the litany in the afternoon. Michael preached in the settlement. Towards midnight we assembled for the close of the year, beginning with a love-feast. We brought to him praise, honor, glory, and adoration for all the goodness and the kindnesses we had enjoyed from his hand in body and in soul. We confessed to him also our manifold faults and transgressions, for during this year often we have not only been no honor to him, but a disgrace. We asked for forgiveness and comfort, for his farther recognition of us, and for his walk among us. We ended the year in the comfort of his grace with praise and thanks, and entered upon the new year with the blessing of the church.

We this year baptized one adult, and two children. Died, five adults and three children. At present, at the end of the year there are living in Fairfield, 172 Indian souls.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

1798.

FAIRFIELD, ON THE THAMES, ONTARIO.

Monday, Jan. 1. Br. Michael preached, and afterward Zeisberger held the service for the baptized, and reminded them at the name of Jesus, which he was named a week after his birth, that he had this name from being our Redeemer and Saviour, for they also were baptized in his name and into his death, and were heirs of his merits; that their names, according to his word, were written in heaven in the book of life; thus should the name of Jesus be written in their hearts, so that they should have him and his death in their thoughts and before their eyes until they saw him (face to face). For a number of brethren, who celebrated their day of baptism, he conducted a love-feast, and exhorted them heartily to bear in mind constantly the grace they had received in baptism, and not to let the first love leave their hearts until their blessed death, that they might not lose confidence in the Saviour and comfort in his death.

Tuesday, 2. Late in the evening there were three shots in a Chippewa camp not far from here. Some of our Indians hurried there to see what the matter was, and heard that a messenger was come with the news that in the settlement below three Chippewas and a white man had been killed, which was said to have happened yesterday, New Year's Day. The Chippewas were off early the next morning, and went down to find out and investigate, and wanted to have some of our Indians with them to interpret, as they said, but we would not allow this, for it is not well for us to be involved in this, and hereby our Indians might get into trouble, and even be injured.

As the townships below us have laid out and cleared the



road as far as our township, and it is now our turn to make the road through our land, our Indians set to work, beginning to-day below our town. They kept at it all the week and finished it.

Saturday, 6. We celebrated a blessed feast for the conversion of the heathen (Epiphany) and our dear Lord, who is the heathen's Saviour also, showed himself gracious to us, let his near presence be strongly felt and blessed us, all which Br. Zeisberger asked for us at morning prayer. Br. Sensemann then held the festival service, and the former the love-feast, and concluding service with the blessing of the church. In all services could be seen the peace of God and his Spirit blessedly among us.

Sunday, 7. Michael preached and Zeisberger conducted the children's hour, whom he reminded of the boy, Jesus, to take him for the model and guiding star throughout their lives. Br. Edwards held the congregation meeting.

Tuesday, 9. The Indian brothers cleared away the trees from the road in our town, and now they have a better road than the settlers in the other townships have made.

Thursday, 11. Several of our Indians went to the settlement, whom we admonished to be on their guard against temptation. The Indians threshed wheat for love-feasts.

Friday, 12. Br. Sensemann went to the lower township. Amos, who was dangerously ill and had longed for absolution of his sins, was absolved by Br. Zeisberger on his sick-bed.

Sunday, 14. Zeisberger preached from 1st Corinthians, iii., 11: For other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ, and in the afternoon he read the litany. The weather being rainy, there were no other services.

Monday, 15. Towards noon Amos died, comforted and believing in the merits of Jesus. His remains were buried on the 16th. He came to the church at Pettquotting, 1790. By nature he was of quiet disposition, but inclined to do evil, and could not resolve to give himself up to the Saviour. Therefore he went away and stayed for a time, but returned again, and the Saviour came to his heart, so that

he found pleasure in living for him and in saying good night to the world. He was baptized Jan. 6, '92, at the Watch-Tower, went with us to Fairfield, but his heart was not entirely with the Saviour, nor again altogether with the world; he swayed between the two. He had no pleasure among the savages, and he was not happy in the church. For a year, however, it seemed as if the Saviour had the advantage, for he did not wish to leave the church, though he was advised to go where he would be better pleased. Thus he remained, but he was much given to drink, and this brought about his death, for, while drunk, he was stabbed in the side, and was kept in bed four weeks. Both he and we thought at the outset that he would recover, for the wound soon healed, but an ulcer broke out on his breast, with bad results, and he had to die. In his sickness he reflected about himself since his baptism, and found how unfaithful he had been to the Saviour, how he had grieved the brothers and given no heed to admonition. In his trouble and helplessness he turned to the Saviour and begged forgiveness. He received him and showed him grace. Two days before his death he was absolved amidst a repentant, blessed feeling of God's peace, whereupon he was much comforted and cheered, longing for release and to go to the Saviour, praying to the Saviour to take him soon to himself, and he died with faith in Jesus and in his merits. The text read: Your sorrow shall be turned into joy. In his funeral discourse the brethren were admonished to learn somewhat from this example, such things serving for warning and amendment. A savage Indian, Ignatius' brother, who came here, told his friends to be peacefully disposed, and not to requite ill with ill. Thus is the Indian church tested in manifold ways, and what in the end will the accuser<sup>1</sup> (have) won!

Tuesday, 16. The surveyor, who has surveyed from here as far as the lake, about twelve miles, came here and passed the night.

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<sup>1</sup> That is, the devil, but this sentence is in part conjectured.

Wednesday, 17. Sensemann came back from the lower settlement, where he preached and baptized several children. The brethren, whom we use as assistants without naming them such, spoke with Bill Henry and David, with their wives, about their married children, who were discontented. We had spoken with them, and found that the trouble lay with the old people, as is usual among the Indians. They made between them peace and unity.

Thursday, 19. We spoke with James' friends, saying to them that he could not be in the church, and charged them to send him away, which they did. In the evening we sang a passion-song: O world, behold upon the tree. Many came back from the settlement. Amos' death and our admonition have had a wholesome effect upon them, so that now they are learning to abstain from drink. There had to be an example, for things had gone too far, and our exhortations were of no avail.

Sunday, 21. Sensemann preached, Zeisberger read the litany, and Michael held the congregation meeting. James went away.

Monday, 22. We spoke with Jephtha and his wife, and with Christian Gottlieb and his wife, bringing about concord, with the help of the assistants.

Wednesday, 24. Salome, Joshua's daughter, was advised to withdraw from the church, having already caused much evil, on which account Zeisberger had already had an earnest conversation with her mother, and had shown her that she had contributed much to her daughter's trouble, and had suffered harm in her own soul and could not get rest.

Thursday, 25. A couple of our neighbors came here.

Sunday, 28. Michael preached. Edwards held the congregation meeting. Sensemann had preached in the settlement at Cornwall's.

Tuesday, 20. The surveyor, with his people, came here again, who, in accordance with their business, went to the upper settlement; others also went through, passing the night here. A trader, Mackenzie, caused drunkenness,

whom we sharply reprov'd. He had sold one of our Indians [David] rum, which he had to get from below in the settlement, for he dared not bring it here. The result was that the Indian came to town drunk, but we at once spilled the rum, which is with us the regular rule, against which nobody can say any thing. For two days and nights, however, the Indian had no peace; he could neither sleep nor eat until he had talked the matter out with his teachers, asked forgiveness and been comforted, when he promised, by the Saviour's grace, to make himself quite free from this. We are getting much better acquainted with the Indians here, who are exposed to so manifold temptations, which they cannot well withstand, and it is as if at times Satan earnestly beset them, until he brought about their downfall.

Thursday, Feb. 1. Anna Amelia's daughter, John's wife, was delivered of a daughter.

Saturday, 3. As there has been fine, thawing weather for several days, the brethren made some sugar, which has never before, since we have been here, been done so early in the year.

Sunday, 4. In the sermon, which Br. Sensemann delivered, he baptized a child, Amelia's granddaughter, with the name, Ribiana. Zeisberger then conducted the communion quarter-hour and the congregation meeting in the evening.

Tuesday, 6. The sheriff went through to Niagara as express. The brethren were busy in their sugar-huts.

Monday, 8, and Friday, 9. There was speaking with the brethren with reference to the Lord's supper. We had a peculiar case with the Indian, David, who for several years had led a bad life, thereby injuring and seducing others. He had often been advised, since all admonitions were of no avail, to go where he could live according to the pleasure and lust of his wicked heart, and sin his fill, but this he did not wish to do, and made good promises, but in a short time he would always again go astray, especially in drinking, always falling in with those who were like himself. We therefore advised his wife to

go away with him, in order to be rid of him, but this would not work. She was a communion sister, always sickly, and could not and would not leave the church. We knew not what was to be done, but left the matter to the Saviour, until he took hold and gave wholesome help, and in an unusual manner, too, for in the midst of sin he was seized by the Saviour. Although a short time before with the whole church in the presence of the Saviour he had promised to be converted from his heart, he did not keep his word. He arranged with a trader, who came here on business, so that he gave him an order to get in the settlement upon his account a quantity of rum. This he got, and came back to town drunk. As this rum, however, was at once poured out in the street, which is a rule with us, he gave no farther trouble. But now uneasiness began with him. He came to himself awhile, began to see into and understand his foulness and his wicked heart, and for a week he had no rest day or night, could neither sleep nor eat, seeking advice and comfort, to see whether any help could yet be found, on which account he came to his teachers every day, not once alone, but several times, and said that if we thought mercy and grace were yet to be found for him from the Saviour, he would henceforth with his whole heart be converted to the Saviour, give himself entirely to him, and if he freed him from slavery to sin he would be entirely his, body and soul. He asked also that we should pray for him, that he would again have compassion upon him, show him grace, and receive him; he would all his life be on his guard against such anxiety of soul. We showed him that if he would like to be freed, and sin were really a burden to him, there was good hope for him; he should only turn to the Saviour, who had bought him with his dear blood, and redeemed him, who receives and saves sinners; hitherto he had not really felt and known what sin was; the Spirit of God had now shown him this and revealed to him that he should turn to the Saviour, who rejects no sinner; that he should ask him for help and forgiveness, and rest for his heart; he should only do this, and he

would be helped. "Now," said he, "since I hear that there is yet hope for me, and the Saviour will be gracious to me, I will henceforth give myself entirely to him, live for him alone, and say good night to sin and the works of Satan. In this, brothers, help me ask his blessing." This also we promised to do for him. He now took courage, new heart, and confidence in the Saviour, and he became like a new man, and though hitherto he has always been shy and reserved towards us, he now became trustful, reflected upon his course of life since his baptism, brought it all up, and talked with his teachers about it. We advised him now to go to his comrades, his brothers in drinking, and to tell them how heavy his heart had been, how the burden of sin had oppressed him, so that he had despaired of himself, and to exhort them also to enter into themselves, and to be converted from their hearts. This he did, and with good result. When now the time for the Lord's supper drew near, he came and said he knew what he had formerly enjoyed in the holy communion, but that he had lost this by his own fault; that he was also unworthy of it, but yet had great need of it, for he was a poor man, but yet believed that the enjoyment of Jesus' body and blood would impart to him from God strength and new life, for whence should he get the power to withstand the temptations of Satan? It was said to him: "Thou desirest something great, but if thou dost not remain faithful, and thy heart is not honorable and upright, it may be a harm to thee." He replied: "I have uttered my whole heart and kept nothing back. May the Saviour help me, and send me accomplishment, for I should like to be thoroughly helped and cured. I give myself entirely to the Saviour and the brothers. Do with me what ye think good. I will be obedient and do what ye tell me." Although we were not without hesitation, others being concerned, about fulfilling his request, by proposing him for the Lord's supper, since a short time before he had given offense, yet we could not altogether give up the idea, hoping it would be a great blessing for him, and we asked about him, and the Saviour

permitted him to enjoy with us his supper. When he was told this, he shed tears of gratitude and repentance. Thus he was absolved amid many tears, both his own and of those present, after the communion-church had first been told the circumstances, and what had occurred to him, and after some questions had been asked him, which he answered in tears in the presence of the church, and the kiss of peace had been given him, whereby prevailed a blessed feeling of the presence and peace of God. Afterwards, on the 10th, we enjoyed the holy communion. The next day he came, showing his thankfulness and comforted heart. He said he felt himself quite another person, like a new man; the heavy burden had been taken from his heart, and his heart was now easy and cheerful, thankful for the grace the Saviour had shown him. Thus has he turned our mourning into joy according to the text of 15th of last month at Amos' burial. To him be honor and glory therefor, and may he continue thus farther.

Sunday, 11. Br. Sensemann read the liturgy. Zeisberger preached here and Michael in the settlement.

Wednesday, 14. Sensemann went to the settlement. Here all were in the sugar-camp. White people pass through here daily and stay over night.

Friday, 16. We sang: O head, so full of bruises.

Saturday, 17. On Sister Susanna's birthday we laborers had a pleasant love-feast, blessing her for her calling. Salome was sent away.

Sunday, 18. Sensemann preached. In the litany, which Zeisberger read, the Indian, Andrew, at his prayer and desire, was absolved in presence of the church. He is the man who was followed in the battle by the light-horsemen, for whom now the Saviour was too strong, mastering him, so that for many days, from perplexity, he could neither eat nor sleep, and became quite sick in body.

Monday, 19. After having fine weather last month and the present one, without snow, the ground being bare, to-day winter set in, and severe, snowy weather. The In-

dian, David, complained that his former companions no longer visited him.

Tuesday, 20. Br. Zeisberger asked Andrew, who came for a visit, how it happened that he looked so bad, and whether he was ill. He said that for more than a week, from anxiety and despair about himself, he could neither eat nor sleep, and had become quite weak in body; now, however, his heart and body too were well; he could now eat and sleep, and his heart was well and thankful for the mercy the Saviour had let him feel, and from thankfulness he must now tell his companions how it had been with him, and how he now was.

Friday, 23. We sang: Christ, my Redeemer, Lord and God.

Saturday, 24. Through the whole week the brethren waited for sugar-weather, and made preparations, but in vain. The weather was snowy. Mr. Dolson arrived.

Sunday, 25. Zeisberger preached from the Gospel: Jesus was tempted of the devil, and read the litany. Sensemann held the congregation meeting, Michael in the settlement.

Tuesday, 24. Dolson went home. Here the brethren made some sugar, but the weather was too cold for this.

Monday, 28. Several went to the mill and to the smith, whence we heard that drinking went on. It therefore always causes us anxiety and care when our brethren are compelled to go thither. As we cannot forbid them this we admonish them the more earnestly to be on their guard and to look out for their souls, for this is a godless people on this river, and if they can lead our Indians astray they do so gladly.

Thursday, March 1. Sensemann held the evening service from the text about the grain of mustard seed. White people from the settlement and from Niagara arrived.

Friday, 2. In the evening service we sang: One view, Lord Jesus, of thy passion. This is always a matter of importance to the brethren.

Sunday, 4. Michael preached from the Gospel about the Canaanite woman, and showed how we should cling



to the Saviour, and not cease to pray until he showed us grace and forgave us our sins and we had the peace of God in our hearts. Zeisberger then read the liturgy and Edwards held the congregation meeting, treating of the same matter as the sermon had treated of. Chippewas came here, telling lies on every hand, which they deliver to the Indians as the truth, that a war is preparing against them to break out this spring. Thus it is among the Indians every spring. They are a restless, and, consequently, timorous folk, always uneasy about their life, and the most common lie can make them anxious, so that they cannot sleep quietly at night. The Chippewas can lie, too, in a reckless way, without shame, and stupidly.

Tuesday, 6. A trader came here from Detroit, who bought corn. Our Indians have now all gone to the sugar-camp, where we have always, when the time comes, much to regulate and to look to, that all may go on with order and propriety, for at such times sins will occur and disorders.

Thursday, 8. Edwards held the evening service from the text: Now come I to thee, and these things I speak in the world that they might have my joy fulfilled in themselves.

Saturday, 10. Zeisberger spoke with Martha, Nic's wife, warning her to have an eye upon her sister's improper walk and behaviour, whereby she had often let herself be imposed upon to her bodily and spiritual harm, and he told her that we teachers could not always say to them what they would like to hear, but the truth.

Sunday, 11. Sensemann preached from the Epistle: Be ye therefore followers of God, as dear children, and walk in love, and said that was a necessary admonition for us to remain in him, not to leave the first love, for thence it came about, and we had examples, that such as are unfaithful to the Saviour, fall again under the yoke of sin, which is their punishment, for they have left the Saviour and again loved sin. There being wild snow-squalls, there were no other services.

Monday, 12. Zeisberger spoke with Andrew. He is yet labored with by the Holy Ghost.

Monday, 12, and Tuesday, 13. Still more snow, and at daybreak a thaw. Zeisberger had a fraternal conversation with Joshua, warning him of the deceit of sin, and said to him that Satan was upon him, to catch him in his net.

Wednesday, 14. By way of Niagara and Detroit, to our hearty joy, we got a letter from Br. Ettwein, probably from New York, of Feb. 23d. From this we had much for consideration.

Thursday, 15. A gentleman from the States came here with two others. He was acquainted, in Philadelphia, as he said, with Br. Bagge,<sup>1</sup> from the Wachau, in whose praise he had much to say. They went to Detroit.

Friday, 16. Sensemann baptized a sick Chippewa child, and named it Ursula, who died on the 18th, and was buried on the 19th. At the burial Br. Zeisberger said that since by grace we had all been chosen and assembled from heathenism, and the Saviour had placed us here to be a light that our neighbors might profit therefrom and come to knowledge of the truth, he had also brought this child, which was a stranger, to the church, cleansed it from sin by his blood, and placed it among his people; we wished, therefore, that he would soon let their hour strike, and assemble more Chippewas to the church, with us to praise the Lord for his goodness. Yes, Lord Jesus, think of the Chippewas, who have cost thee thy blood.

Sunday, 18. Zeisberger preached from: Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the law, and read the litany. Michael held the congregation meeting.

Tuesday, 20. Salamis was delivered of a son.

Wednesday, 21. White people were with us over night. Still snow.

Saturday, 24. During the whole week the brethren were out in the sugar-huts. The services were, therefore, for

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<sup>1</sup> In a little book, "Moravians in North Carolina," I find, p. 179, the name of Traugott Bagge, who came to N. Carolina in 1768, and died in Salem in 1800. In the same book, p. 169, Lawrence Bagge is named as minister in Bethlehem from 1773 to 1784, having before been in Salem, 1764-1769.

the most part given up, but to-day most of the brethren were at home.

Sunday, 25. Sensemann preached about the perfect sacrifice of Jesus for our sins and those of the whole world. In the afternoon service this noteworthy day (Annunciation) was commemorated, when our Saviour became man, and a discourse was delivered from the text: The word was made flesh and dwelt among us, from which we can all profit, young and old, children and adults, and become partakers of his salvation, if only we do God's will and believe in his name. The story was read and sang. Nicodemus came, bringing news of Tobias, who had come to him and complained of his trouble in falliag out with his wife, for which he blamed himself. We sent Nicodemus to them, giving him instructions, and he made peace between them. Some time ago we said to the brethren that there were no longer any assistants, but since we often needed help, and could not do every thing alone, we would meanwhile appoint brothers and sisters, who had never been assistants [which now also we do], yes, we wished they were all assistants, and that each would be thoughtful for the best interests of the church and brethren.

Tuesday, 27. The river broke up with warm weather and high water.

Wednesday, 28. A party of whites went up to the Pinery to send timber-rafts down. One of them offered to become smith here in town for our Indians, but we refused his offer.

Friday, 30, and Saturday, 31. There was extraordinarily high water with drift-ice. Sugar-making was checked, the weather being too warm for it.

Sunday, April 1. Br. Sensemann preached at the entrance into Passion-Week, exhorting the brethren to be ready, and in expectation of a new blessing from the Saviour, in contemplation of his great sufferings. He baptized Salamis' child, born on the 23d, with the name, William.

Tuesday, 3. Yesterday and to-day there was speaking to the brethren with reference to the Lord's supper. The

water is higher than it has ever been since we have been here, and we hear that the snow above us only three days ago was yet knee-deep, and therefore, the river will still rise, when it has already come up more than twenty feet.

Wednesday, 4. In the evening we had the washing of feet in the sensible presence of the Saviour, and,

Thursday, 5, after there had first been a common service, in which the history of our Saviour's anguish of soul and bloody sweat [for our sins] on the Mount of Olives was read, the communicants had the Lord's supper to which one brother, Nicholas, and one sister, Helen, a widow, were readmitted.

On Good Friday was early the thanksgiving liturgy, and then through the day the reading of the Passion-history, which was listened to with the greatest attention, and whereby the Holy Ghost left himself not without witness in the hearts of the brethren, of which tears also were a proof.

Saturday, 7. On Great Sabbath was a love-feast, at which mention was made of the Saviour's rest in the grave after his great suffering, whereby he hallowed our resting-place.

Sunday, 8. We read the Easter litany partly in the chapel, partly in the grave-yard, and we thought of the four adults who have left us since last Easter, two brothers and two sisters, and of the three children. In the service for the baptized in the afternoon, two brothers, Simon and Israel, were absolved by the laying on of hands. Soon after, died Sarah, Samuel's wife, after a long consumption. Her remains were buried Monday, April 9. She was by birth a Carib, and with her mother, who was also baptized, and who died in the church, was brought from the West India islands by the Nanticokes and adopted into their nation. She knew the speech of the Caribs, which has no connection with the language of the Indians here. She came to the church on the Susquehanna in Schechschi-quanüink, was baptized Jan. 26, 1772, in Friedenshütten, came to the enjoyment of the holy communion, April 13, 1775, in Schönbrunn. She was of quiet nature, loving

peace, walked a good walk, had the gift of getting along with sisters, and was loved too. Once when Samuel was off hunting for several days, her mother had persuaded her to go to their friends on the Susquehanna, but when he came home and could not bear to have all his children taken away from the church, he followed after them and took the children away, but left their mother to do as she pleased, who soon came to her senses, and went after them and thus he brought them all back. Since her mother's death she has been in the church with her whole heart, and has been happy. For several years she was assistant. In her last illness we could have wished to see that she had more communion with the Saviour, and we often told her so, but she was too busy in thinking about recovery from illness, and too much taken up with her children, often too, she was not quite right in mind. She had had thirteen children, four of whom are yet alive. All the others died in the church.

Wednesday, 11. Many of our people went down the river with corn. Upon Br. Zeisberger's birthday (the 78th) we laborers had a pleasant love-feast.

Friday, 13. A doctor arrived, whom we had asked to see our sick. He is from the States, and gave them medicine.

Saturday, 14. The Indians brought a boy of Dolson's here to go to school to Br. Sensemann.

Sunday, 15. Michael preached. Zeisberger read the litany and held the congregation meeting in the evening. We sent away Sabina's three daughters, two of whom came here a few days ago.

Monday, 16. Very cold weather and snow, as at Christmas and on New Year's Day.

Tuesday, 17. The Indians who took down corn came back. It was still cold, and there was hard freezing. Sensemann held evening service.

Wednesday, 18. Somewhat milder. The Indians made sugar again after it had again frozen.

Friday, 20. In the evening lightning and down-pours of rain.

Saturday, 21. Yesterday and to-day timber and plank rafts went by.

Sunday, 22. Sensemann preached about the Good Shepherd. Zeisberger held the children's hour, and Edwards held the congregation meeting in the evening. Mr. Dolson arrived, and from the lake Nicholas' sister, named Susanna, who had often been with us in Schönbrunn, and was now in flight, being in danger of her life, as she said.

Tuesday, 24. Many went down with the corn Dolson had bought here. Upon Edwards' birthday we had a love-feast. Askin's clerk arrived, from whom we learned that a packet of journals had been lost.

Wednesday, 25. The surveyor, Perin Law,<sup>1</sup> came down.

Thursday, 26. Timber rafts came down.

Saturday, 28. Our people came home from below, whence we again had bad news that two had been burnt with powder.

Sunday, 29. Michael preached. Zeisberger read the litany, and then there was a meeting, where many things were talked over, for example, that no one should be permitted to plant here who did not belong here, many having passed the winter here; about the young people, that they should not run about in idleness, but be at work. The parents were told that they were to blame for this, they let their children grow up wild and follow their own will; when then they grew up and married, they were worse and more vicious than cattle, and not to be kept under.

In presence of a number of brothers and sisters we spoke with Widow Sabina about the ill conduct of her children, some of whom were already grown. We told her since they were here on her account, and we, on her account, had to endure their disorderly life in the church, which we could not allow, we advised her, with her children, to leave the church and to go with them, since she

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<sup>1</sup>This name is written Per in Law.

could not be separated from them. This had the result that she sent away her children.

Monday, 30. From the Monsey town came some of the old men, friends of James and Amos, and made satisfaction together by some thirty fathoms of wampum and some goods for the loss of the dead, according to Indian usage, which upon occasion would be taken over the lake to the other friends. Against this we had no objections to make, since it conduces to mutual reconciliation.

Tuesday, May 1. With Indians who went through here and were in camp several days, came three casks of rum, of which we took charge until they moved away.

Wednesday, 2. James came asking again for reception to live here in the church, which, however, we could not permit him. Thus there are many who force their way into the church, and when once there, cannot be got rid of, but wish here to continue their life of sin.

Thursday, 3. The strange Indians went away, but got drunk as soon as they were beyond our bounds.

Friday, 4. We began to get our fields ready for planting, clearing them of fallen timber.

Sunday, 6. In the sermon, which Br. Sensemann preached, he baptized with the name, Lewis, the little son of Tobias and Elizabeth, born May 4. Zeisberger read the litany and held the congregation meeting.

Wednesday, 9. Our fields were planted, which was done somewhat earlier this year than last, and generally the weather has been finer.

Friday, 11. Our Indians were earnest and industrious in planting. Widow Sabina spoke with us, whom we on the 29th of last month had sent away on account of some of her children. She acknowledged that she was guilty, that she was the cause of her children turning out so bad, having always taken their part; that she had herself suffered harm, and for over a year had not been well in heart, but now she wished to be rid of them and to care for her own welfare, and for the sake of her children she could not abandon the church, she wished to be saved.

Thus many times they have to be aroused by severity, though we do not like to use it, and brought to reflection.

Saturday, 12. The surveyor with some men arrived, and took Br. Sensemann with them to a neighbor, who had complained of him that he had not dealt fairly in surveying, but this was found to be false, all these being witnesses.

Sunday, 13. Br. Sensemann delivered the sermon, at which a number of white people were present. He afterwards baptized a child of white parents. Zeisberger then conducted the communion quarter-hour, inviting the hungry and thirsty to the fountain of life. Michael held the congregation meeting.

Monday, 14. We had a sad scene in town. Adam and Leonard came here drunk with strange Indians, and caused us vexation, but the strangers soon went away.

Wednesday, 16. Adam now came and said he was going from the church, against which we had nothing to say, but we bade him go.

Friday, 18. Both yesterday and to-day there was speaking with reference to the Lord's supper, when there was much to be made right, for which the Saviour gave us his blessing.

Saturday, 19. In the near presence and with the recognition of Jesus we had the holy communion. Were this not so, did he not comfort us with his blessed nearness, we should often be cast down, but on such occasions we are mightily uplifted and strengthened anew, since we are aware that he is with us and among us. Andrew was candidate.

Sunday, 20. Zeisberger read the liturgy. Sensemann preached, and the former held the congregation meeting. Michael preached in the settlement. The Indian brothers spoke with Zachary, Leonard, and James. Our Henrietta's mother came here from Lake Erie, fleeing from her husband, who has treated her so badly that she can no longer endure it, and she has left all her children.

Tuesday, 22. We had the very especial joy of seeing come to us our dear brothers, John Heckewelder and



Benjamin Mortimer,<sup>1</sup> from Bethlehem by way of Niagara, through the bush. They came so unexpectedly, for we had not thought of their coming before June or July, that we rejoiced the more, like children, on both sides, they too, for they had come a very hard way until they reached our bounds. In the evening service Br. Zeisberger made announcement of this with many hearty greetings from the church, at the same time also that Br. Benjamin Mortimer was come not alone for a visit, but to remain with us, which gave them much pleasure. We refreshed ourselves by reading the letters and papers received, both today and the following days, and the brethren all came and greeted the brothers.

Wednesday, 23. We had pleasure in hearing news from the church by word of mouth, and in the evening Br. Benjamin Mortimer held the service, and showed the brethren the love he bore them, which had moved him to his calling.

Thursday, 24. We had a conference, read and considered the letters from the church, reflected upon our circumstances, and resolved: 1st. That some Indian brethren should now go with Br. John Heckewelder to the Muskingum, wherefore we proposed some; also that Br. Edwards should go with them, which he was glad and willing to accede to. 2d. That the Zeisbergers, sometime in July or August, should follow them thither with some Indian families. The Scripture-verse read: I am with thee to save thee, and the text: Watch ye, stand fast in the faith, quit you like men, be strong. This was announced early on the 25th to a chosen number of brothers and sisters, and that now indeed a few brothers only would go with Brs. John and Edwards, but that in a couple of

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<sup>1</sup> In the year 1798, Mr. H. accompanied one of the missionaries, Br. Benjamin Mortimer, to the establishment at Fairfield on the Thames. From Fairfield he set out to the Muskingum River, with a view to take measures for renewing the mission if possible, in that quarter. *Life of Heckewelder*, p. 140.

Mortimer was by birth an Englishman. Before his death, 1834, he was pastor of the Brethren's church in New York.

months the Zeisbergers with Br. Benjamin Mortimer would follow with some Indian families.

Saturday, 26. We made preparations for John Heckewelder's departure, to get ready what was needful, and to select brothers for his company.

Sunday, 27. In the forenoon Br. Mortimer preached, we first singing: Come, Holy Ghost, come Lord, our God. He said that what the prophets foretold had been fulfilled, when the Holy Ghost was poured upon the apostles, that they by God's strength had preached God's salvation for the happiness of mankind, having converted thousands to Christ. He showed what unspeakable good, God, the worthy Holy Ghost, since that time had done and was still doing; what he had done in so many of us, blind heathen, bringing us to Christ, for which we should properly thank and praise him. Afterwards, at a love-feast, Br. Zeisberger read to them Br. Ettwein's letter to the church, with some explanations, and announced to the brethren the approaching change, and set them right in the matter, it having already caused much consideration. Afterwards Br. Zeisberger conducted yet one more love-feast for the brethren who celebrated their day of baptism, who had asked it of him, since, as they said, it would be the last. Michael then held the congregation meeting. We laborers strengthened and refreshed ourselves finally with the two brothers in the body and blood of Jesus, in the holy sacrament, binding ourselves to new fidelity in his service, for which we asked his blessing.

[Thus far sent to Bethlehem.]

THE END.

## INDEX.

In this Index the Fixed Festivals of the Christian Church, and those days, Memorial and other, peculiar to the Moravians, mentioned in section VI, p. xxx, of the Introduction, are omitted, but can be found in the Diary under their respective dates.

*Easter* will be given, and from it the preceding days of Passion-Week can be found.

The removals and general history of the Mission will be found under the head, David Zeisberger.

- Abbot, Mr., ii, 10, 25.  
Abraham, i, 51, 73, 101, 107; ii, 224.  
Ackerlemann, i, 356; ii, 167.  
Albach's Annals of the West, i, 251;  
ii, 88, 132, 199, 223, 269, 333, 351,  
451.  
Allen, Mr., ii, 345, 367, 372, 395, 418.  
Alum, i, 335.  
American Army, i, 234, 365; ii, 130,  
132, 134, 193, 195, 199, 205, 216,  
223, 255, 261, 332, 360.  
Amochol, i, 375, 388, 390.  
Ancrum, Maj., i, 258, 261, 435.  
Anderson, i, 262, 265, 268.  
Anohockquage, ii, 24.  
Ascension Day, i, 150, 191, 225, 271,  
345, 408; ii, 35, 103, 262, 312, 359,  
405, 445, 483.  
Askin, Mr., i, 117, 144, 261, 353; ii,  
420.  
Askin, John, Jr., ii, 65.  
Assistants, i, xxviii, 47, 171, 230, 333,  
339, 413, 447; ii, 42, 144, 195, 203,  
236, 328, 342, 504, 521.  
Assunünk, ii, 186.  
Astechretschi, i, 349.  
Atschelis, ii, 390, 408.  
Bach, ii, 349, 402.  
Badger, the, i, 171.  
Bagge, ii, 520.  
Baptism, doubtful cases of, i, 391; ii,  
12, 213, 432.  
Baptists, ii, 342.  
Bawbee, i, 43, 93, 145, 200, 204; ii,  
374.  
Beaver Creek, Great, i, 327.  
Bees, i, 294, 310; ii, 316.  
Beson, ii, 20.  
Biankashaws, i, 378.  
Big-Cat, i, 456; ii, 196, 246.  
Binninger, ii, 413, 449.  
Blickensderfer, i, 458.  
Bourbon Lake, ii, 334.  
Bradstreet, i, 277.  
Brainard, ii, 100, 144.  
Brant, Jos., i, 303, 441; ii, 7, 17, 198,  
214, 276, 282, 286, 312, 374, 392,  
409.  
Bread, price of, i, 197.  
Brinton, D. G., ii, 410.  
Brodhead, Col., i, xx, 58; ii, 357.  
Brucker, i, 208.  
Burnet's Notes, ii, 372.  
Butler, Gen. Richard, i, 313, 325; ii,  
226, 227, 229.  
Butterfield, C. W., i, 21, 26, 68, 299,  
460; ii, 339, 364.  
Caldwell, ii, 298.  
Callwell, ii, 260.  
Cammerhoff, i, xii; ii, 427.  
Campbell, James V., ii, 444.  
Carib, ii, 522.  
Carver's Travels, ii, 207.  
Cassedy, i, 136, 243.  
Catholic Priests, i, 90, 98, 102.  
Cathrine, the French, i, 391.  
Cattle, ii, 65.  
Cayashote, i, 321.  
Cayuga, ii, 419.  
Cedar Point, ii, 178.  
Census (1781), i, 34, ('83) 177, ('84)  
212, ('85) 253, ('86) 316, ('87) 386,  
('88) 464, ('89); ii, 74, ('90) 146,  
('91) 240, ('92) 294, ('93) 337, ('94)  
389, ('95) 433, ('96) 469, ('97) 509.  
Cherokees, i, xxvii, xxxii, 233; ii, 476.  
Chiloway, Job, ii, 19.  
Chinkpussis, ii, 380, 391.  
Chippewas, i, xxvii, 25, 87, 90, 128,  
135, 145, 193, 206, 256, 370, 433; ii,  
7, 182, 323, 396, 416, 441, 442, 479,  
482, 491, 510, 520.

- Indians, Repentant, etc.—*Continued.*  
 Ignatius, i, 119; a Monsey, 133, children, 149, Renatus, 150, 172; Thomas, 152; Daniel, 170; Abraham's daughter, 198; Samuel's brother, 240, 241; Anton, 291; Cathrine, 319; Mamasu (Jeremy), 322, 339, 394; a brother, 330; Mamasu's brother (Mark), 347; Luke, 347, 352; son of Astechretsch, 349; Abraham's son, 354, 356, 357, 358, 359; a young man, 356, 358; Mary Magdelene, 363; Amochol, 390; Beata, 395; Abigail, 397; Leonard, 398, 402, 428; Jeremy's second brother (John Martin), 398, 400; John Cook, 401; Abigail's, sister, 405; a savage, proud Indian, 411; Gelelemend (William Henry), 420, 433, 441; Levi, 421; one having done nothing wrong in his life, 397, 424; a Chippewa, 447. Jacob Cook's wife, ii, 2; an Indian, 5; Henry, 18; Paul, 19; a Mohican woman, 45; John Cook's son, 45; an Indian, 56; Boaz' brother, 68, 79; Zacchaeus, 76; a big boy, 77; Joachim, Sr., 82; Gabriel, 85; Titanachkam's son, 87; people, 104; Jephtha, 111; a Chippewa woman, 113; Indians, 118; Mariane, 133, 194; Mary, 137; Boaz' half-brother, 160; Henry Cook, 162; a perfectly strange Indian, 170; Adam, 254, 426, 437; a Wyandot, 272; Wijan (Jacob), 274; Michael, a boy, 279; Tobias, 297, 298, 301; his wife, 335; Gelelemend (Bill Henry) 309; a Monsey, 347; Motey, 362; an Indian, with wife and child, 385; an aged Chippewa, 397, 403; Philippina, 405; one, 411; a girl of fourteen, 430; Abel, by letter, 435; a Chippewa, 466; old Sophia, 466; Moses, 473; Anna Helen, 481; David, 514; Andrew, 517, 518; Sabina, 525; the whole church, 504-507.
- Indians, Christian, Obituaries of. Priscilla, i, 49; Nathaniel, 54; Anna, 163; Agnes, 168; Rebecca (a child), 170; Zipporah, 188; Anna Sophia, 209; Thomas, 281; Christiana Schebosh, 367; Jonathan, 416; Lea, 418; Joseph, 431; Anna Charity, ii, 13; Paul, 21; A. Maria, 34; Benjamin, 36; Adolphus, 42; Matthew (a child), 46; Beata, 85; Verona, 92; Pauline, 94; a little boy, 99; Anna Margaret, 121; Lydia, 208; William, 217; Abraham, 224; Benjamin (a boy), 229; Gertrude, 234; Tobias, 279; Abraham (grandson of A.), 285; Cornelius, 304; Clemens, 365; Johanna, 406; Deborah, 423; Renatus, 427; Elizabeth, 439; Samuel (a boy), 472; Mary, 476; Jacobina, 487; Cornelius, fourteen months old, 492; David, 498; Justina, 507; Amos, 511; Sarah, 522.
- Israel, first child baptized on the Ohio, ii, 9.
- Jefferson, Ft., ii, 333.
- John, Martin, i, 11.
- Johnny, Capt. (Israel), i, 24.
- Johnson, Sir John, i, 116.
- Johnson, Sir Wm., i, 453; ii, 217.
- Johnston's Narrative, i, 353.
- Jones, Rev. Mr., i, xvii.
- Jorde, i, 289.
- Julin, ii, 231.
- Jung, Michael, Life, i, xxiv; at Salem, i, 2; made captive, 12; goes to Bethlehem, 162, 165; rejoins the mission, 338; goes to Pittsburg, 415; returns, 423; in Detroit, ii, 188.
- Jungmann, John George, Life, i, xxiii; at Schönbrunn, 2; made captive, 12; goes to Bethlehem, 226.
- Jungmann, Mrs., sixtieth birthday, i, 112.
- Kanawha, i, 251.
- Kaschajem, i, 234.
- Kaskaskunk, ii, 200.
- Kenedy, David, ii, 319.
- Kente (Quinte) Bay, ii, 413, 449.
- Kessler, ii, 424, 431, 442.
- Kiefer, ii, 56.
- Klingsohr, John Augustus, ii, 117.
- Kuhn (Coon), Abraham, i, 295; ii, 126.
- La Mot., Capt., ii, 173, 174, 191.
- Lamst, ii, 20.
- Lane, Ebenezer, i, vii.
- Langgard, i, 377.
- Languntoutenünk, i, 163; ii, 13.
- Lanin, ii, 233.
- La Trobe, i, 116.
- Law, Perin, ii, 524.
- Layritz, Paul Eugene, ii, 156.
- Lecron, Susan. See Mrs. Zeisberger.
- Leeth, Elizabeth, i, 299, 460; ii, 38.
- Leeth, John, i, 299, 339, 460; ii, 137, 272.
- Lennachgo, i, 148.
- Lichtenau, i, 15, 148.

- Licking Creek, i, 260.  
 Lokachkes, ii, 267, 298.  
 Long Point, ii, 431.  
 Longus, i, 342, 408, 413; ii, 130.  
 Loskiel, ii, 100, 129.  
 Lot, consulting the Saviour by, i, xxviii, 6, 21, 72, 100, 121, 161, 206, 231, 239, 285, 301, 320, 328, 347, 436; ii, 26, 92, 142, 166, 516.  
 Love-feasts, i, 348, 414; ii, 50, 70, 143, 252, 271, 308, 528.  
 Loveless, i, 189, 421; ii, 34.  
 Mack, John Martin, i, xii, 168.  
 Mackenzie, ii, 382, 392, 403, 513.  
 Mackenzie, Sir Alexander, ii, 401.  
 Mahoning, i, 303.  
 Mahony, i, xiii, 168, 172.  
 Mamasu (Jeremy), i, 322, 339, 394.  
 Manitto, ii, 39, 130.  
 Manuscript, Zeisberger, i, vii.  
 Mark, i, 113, 114, 127, 138, 146, 170.  
 Marriage of whites, i, 258.  
 Maumee (Miami), i, 24, 30.  
 McComb, ii, 232.  
 McCormick, i, 4, 47, 50, 59, 63, 75, 152, 260.  
 McIntosh, Ft., i, 251.  
 McKee, Alexander, i, 23, 26, 44, 94, 182, 218, 245, 247; ii, 40, 84, 96, 119, 125, 154, 165, 220, 249.  
 McNeff, ii, 311, 339.  
 Meder, Br., ii, 490, 497.  
 Memkasink, i, 18.  
 Mennonites, ii, 62.  
 Miami. See Maumee.  
 Michigan, Hist. Sketches of, ii, 207.  
 Michilimackinac, i, 89, 154.  
 Milk River, i, 179.  
 Mingoës, i, xxvii, 52; ii, 10, 286, 493.  
 Missemè, ii, 107, 186.  
 Mitchell, Col. Jos., i, 417, 423.  
 Mohawks, ii, 276, 323, 350, 374, 436.  
 Mohicans, i, xxvii; ii, 288, 323.  
 Monseys, i, 18, 22, 27.  
 Montour, ii, 148.  
 Moor, Sam., i, 365.  
 Morgan, Geo., ii, 88.  
 Mortimer, Benjamin, ii, 527.  
 Moschkos, ii, 128, 476.  
 Mosquitoes, i, 103, 106, 111, 194, 233; ii, 263, 273.  
 Muskingum, i, 33; ii, 61.  
 Nacquames, ii, 237.  
 Nanticokes, i, xxvii; ii, 482.  
 Neal, i, 286, 289.  
 Negroes, ii, 117, 142, 316.  
 Negro, runaway returned, ii, 330.  
 Nctawatwes, i, 153, 167, 452; ii, 29, 151, 344, 381.  
 Neuwied, ii, 480.  
 New Shore, i, 1.  
 Niagara, i, 153; ii, 333, 475.  
 Oil-spring, ii, 259.  
 Onondagas, i, 321; ii, 324.  
 Oswego, i, 160.  
 Ottawas, i, xxvii, 25, 87, 287.  
 Ottawa River, i, 32.  
 Pachgantschihillas, ii, 361, 501.  
 Pachgatgoch, ii, 289.  
 Packanke, i, 409; ii, 151.  
 Paint Creek, ii, 157, 159.  
 Parke, Mr., i, 454; ii, 127, 134, 138, 230, 353, 391, 462, 477, 490.  
 Pemitschischen, ii, 10, 77.  
 Peter, Simon, i, 191.  
 Pettquotting, i, 234, 275.  
 Peyster, de, Col., i, 33, 88; letter, 130, 156; leaves Detroit, 192, 219; ii, 202.  
 Pfeiffer, i, 289.  
 Pickering, Col., ii, 333.  
 Pile, Isaac, i, 409.  
 Pipe, Capt., i, 3, 29, 36; at Detroit council, 37, 52, 57, 70, 129, 298; ii, 8, 81, 82, 126, 143, 364.  
 Pittsburgers, i, 287.  
 Pomoacan (Half-King), i, 3, 4, 17, 20, 25, 53, 64, 68, 233, 373, 421.  
 Potawatomies, i, xxvii, 87, 287.  
 Potts, Capt., i, 116.  
 Powell, Judge, ii, 207, 243, 251.  
 Presents to Indians, i, 28, 32, 44.  
 Presque Isle (Erie), i, 44.  
 Providence, Divine, i, 196.  
 Put-in-Bay (Pudding), i, 268.  
 Quakers, ii, 316, 318, 323, 501.  
 Quetindis, ii, 104.  
 Recovery, Ft., ii, 342.  
 Reeson River (Raisin), ii, 372, 447.  
 Reichel, John Frederick, i, 2, 248.  
 Reinke, Br., i, 423; ii, 421.  
 Retrenche River. See Thames.  
 Robins (Robbins, Robbinson), i, 50, 63, 82, 360, 365; ii, 3, 6, 30, 140.  
 Rocky Point, ii, 178.  
 Row, ii, 257.  
 Rum, i, 374, 412, ii, 43, 60, 77, 126, 130, 137, 140, 224, 312, 351, 378, 394, 514, 515.  
 Rush-grass, i, 211.  
 Rush River (Rouge), i, 32.  
 Sakunk, ii, 122, 167.  
 Sajipihillen, ii, 48.  
 Salem, i, 2, 302.  
 Salem, New, ii, 105.  
 Sally Hand, ii, 256.  
 Salt Lick, i, 302.  
 Salt Spring, i, 244; ii, 327.  
 Sandusky, Lower, i, 21, 61, 63, 69.  
 Sandusky River, i, 20.  
 Sandusky, Upper, i, 21, 82, 440.

- Satan, devices of, i, 108, 244, 305, 355, 358; ii, 6, 92, 132, 291, 417, 419.
- Scapp, i, 373.
- Schäfer, ii, 452.
- Schebosh, John Joseph, i, xi, 21; captured, 44; goes to Bethlehem, 64; to Clinton River, 155, 184; loses his wife, 367; dies, 442; obituary, 443.
- Schebosh, Joseph, Jr., i, 64; murdered at Gnadenhütten, 87.
- Schechschiquanünk, ii, 447.
- Schellachpis, ii, 201.
- Schmick, John Jacob, i, 431.
- Schmidt, Elias, baptized, i, 96.
- Schönbrunn (New), i, xviii, 2, 16, 29, 31, 120, 302.
- School, i, 388, 451, 455, 461; ii, 4, 38, 152, 292, 438.
- Schweinitz, Edmund de, i, 26, 75, 80, 115, 156, 166, 172; ii, 24, 149, 156, 180, 256, 257, 360, 448, 455.
- Schweinitz, John C. A., de, i, 261, 288.
- Schummis, ii, 98.
- Scioto, i, 49.
- Seidel, i, xii, 54, 157.
- Senecas, i, 321; ii, 439.
- Sensemänn, Anna, i, 8, 13.
- Sensemänn, Christian David, born, i, 8; 75, 226.
- Sensemänn, Gottlobb, i, xvi; life, xxiii; at Gnadenhütten, 2; made captive, 11; goes to Detroit, 29, 169, 193, 207; to Bethlehem, 226; on the way from Pittsburg, ii, 134; arrives at New Salem, 137; departs, 169; in Detroit, 188; ill, 217; goes to Niagara, 316; returns, 320; birthday, 377; ill, 452; visits Detroit, 485; accident, 490.
- Sensemänn, Sara Ohneberg, ii, 455; birthday, 493.
- Shalachzink, i, 187.
- Shawanese, i, xxvii, 19, 51, 124, 259, 408; ii, 393.
- Shewkirk, Br., i, 160, 173.
- Shikellimy, i, 115.
- Simcoe, Gov. John G., ii, 299, 301, 349.
- Sinclair (St. Clair), Gov. (Eng.), i, 89, 103.
- Six Nations, i, 25, 287, 351, 417; ii, 381, 409, 416, 445.
- Ska, ii, 190, 201.
- Skank, Peter, ii, 375.
- Slosser, Ft., i, 232.
- Smallmann, i, 203.
- Smaan, Nicholas, i, 456; ii, 20.
- Smith, Maj. D. W., ii, 137.
- Snakes, i, 106.
- Snycarty, ii, 444.
- Snowshoe, Joseph, ii, 157, 368, 469.
- Spangenberg (Br. Joseph), i, 223, 443.
- Squirrel (a Frenchman), ii, 68, 114, 131, 135.
- St. Clair's Defeat, ii, 227, 228, 229, 230.
- St. Clair, Gen., i, 381; ii, 122.
- St. Clair, Lake, i, 103.
- St. Clair Papers, ii, 228, 261.
- Steiner, Abraham, ii, 35.
- Stockbridge (Mass), ii, 23, 289.
- Stone Creek, i, 333.
- Sugar-making, i, 63, 66, 137, 186, 224, 324; ii, 96, 305, 311, 349, 384, 442, 478, 514.
- Suns, four, ii, 10.
- Sydrick, Daniel, ii, 62, 116.
- Tackenos, i, 361.
- Tafelmeger, i, 189.
- Tawa. See Ottawa.
- Taylor's Hist. of Ohio, i, 215, 277.
- Tedpachxit, ii, 196, 496, 500.
- Temsitusünk (a creek), ii, 91, 124.
- T'gaaju, ii, 448.
- Thames River, ii, 190, 248, 250.
- Thomas, lad scalped at Gnadenhütten, i, 80, 81, 281.
- Thorne, Capt., i, 417.
- Thuppekünk. See Schönbrunn, i, 120.
- Tiefler, ii, 384.
- Titawachkam, i, 301, 335, 342, 410; ii, 87, 97.
- Tobacco, i, 370; ii, 313, 346.
- Tschakeleunos, ii, 169.
- Tschinque (a creek), i, 349; ii, 54.
- Tscholens, i, 410.
- Tscholi, ii, 7.
- Tschuwisch or Sem, ii, 54.
- Tuckashaws, i, 361; ii, 128, 364, 476.
- Tucker, Mr., i, 145, 203, 218, 256.
- Tulpenejundam, ii, 118.
- Turner, Chas., i, 216.
- Tuscarawas, i, 235.
- Tutelees, i, 115.
- Twightwees, i, xxvii, 199, 429; ii, 41, 123.
- Tybout, Mr., i, 34.
- Wachau (in N. C.), i, 89.
- Wahweeahntenon, ii, 199.
- Wajomik (Wyoming), ii, 200, 453.
- Walhonding, i, 17, 229.
- Walker, ii, 142.
- Wallace, Geo., i, 432.
- Walnut Bottoms, ii, 272, 363.
- Waniken, ii, 419.
- Watch-Tower (Warte), ii, 180, 320, 497.

- Watteville, John de, i, 166, 217, 222, 293.  
 Wawiachtenos, ii, 128, 242.  
 Wayne, Gen., ii, 330, 331, 368, 370, 371, 372, 376, 448, 475.  
 Wechquetauk, i, 367.  
 Weigand, John, i, 155, 160, 162, 281, 338, 352.  
 Weiland, Frederick, ii, 407, 424.  
 Welandawecken, i, 335, 379, 430, 452.  
 Weldpachtschiechen, ii, 16, 151.  
 Wenginund, i, 23, 24, 29; ii, 217.  
 Weschnat, i, 51.  
 Weschnasch or Wis. (Frederick), i, 242, 280, 294, 340, 446.  
 Weskoehk, i, 389.  
 Wetterhold, ii, 257.  
 Wheeling (Wilünk), i, 4, 360, 365, 366.  
 White Eyes, i, 366; ii, 344.  
 White River (Ind.), ii, 496.  
 Wijan (Jacob), ii, 264, 274.  
 Willcock, ii, 206.  
 Willeox, ii, 328.  
 Williams, Isaac, i, 136, 162, 281, 301, 351; ii, 153.  
 Williams, Nathan, i, 189, 218.  
 Wilson, i, 207, 216, 235, 248, 308.  
 Wilünk. See Wheeling.  
 Wit, Mr., ii, 48.  
 Wittiger, i, 413, 417.  
 Wittigo, i, 287.  
 Woapikannikunk, ii, 326.  
 Wojanwes, ii, 60, 101, 108.  
 Wollin, John G., i, 117; ii, 420, 455, 486.  
 Wolves, i, 198, 216, 333; ii, 329.  
 Wonpanos, ii, 325.  
 Wunanktis, ii, 53.  
 Wyandots, i, xxvii, 10, 19, 20, 25, 227; on Detroit River, 33; ii, 103, 184, 199, 413, 436.  
 Yankee Hall, in Detroit, i, 94, 109.  
 Zahm, i, 377.  
 Zeisberger, David, Life, i, ix; returns to Schönbrunn, 2; answers, Pomoacan, 5; Monsey adoption spoken of, 10; made captive, 10; goes to Detroit, 29; interview with de Peyster, 33; tried, 37; returns to Sandusky, 45; summoned to Detroit, 68; leaves Sandusky, 74; in Detroit, 88; moves to Clinton River, 103; visits Detroit, 109, 115, 144; welcomes new families, 147; visits Detroit, 154, 155, 162, 188; leaves Clinton River, 265; in Detroit, 266; detained on Lake Erie, 271; lands near Sandusky, 273; on the Cuyahoga, 280; starts for Pettquotting, 333; arrives, 343; ill, ii, 7, 58; leaves New Salem (Pettquotting), 172; on the lake, 173; in Sandusky Bay, 174; sails, 177; at mouth of Detroit River, 179; visits Detroit, 222; ill, 241; departs for Fairfield, 255; in Detroit, 256; at Fairfield, 261; rebukes the assistants, 505.  
 Zeisberger, Mrs. (Sister Susanna), i, xiv; made captive, 12, 19; thirty-ninth birthday, 66; journey to Cuyahoga, 276; ill, 415; ii, 49, 125, 493.  
 Zinzendorf, Count, i, 94.  
 Zonesschio, i, 345, 391.











