# COUNT ZINZENDORF

AND THE

# MORAVIAN AND INDIAN OCCUPANCY OF THE WYOMING VALLEY, (PA)., 1742–1763.

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COUNT ZINZENDORF.

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# COUNT ZINZENDORF AND THE MORAVIAN AND INDIAN OCCUPANCY OF THE WYOMING VALLEY, 1742–1763.

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Treasurer of the Society.

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In reading the records of the Moravian Church, and the diaries of its intrepid missionaries, one is struck with the frequent references to Wyoming Valley. For a score of years prior to the advent of the first hardy pioneers from Connecticut, in 1762, Wyoming (in common with the valley of the Susquehanna above and below) had become familiar ground to the fearless evangelists from Bethlehem, in the neighboring county of Northampton, whose self-sacrificing heroism, in planting the banner of the cross on this hostile frontier, challenges admiration.

To follow in the footsteps of the Moravian missionaries as they went through our valley, is more than a mere local study. It is a part of the thrilling history of the American colonies, with the French and Indian wars as a central idea, and to make the most of such a study, the scope of vision would have to include much of the colonial history of that period.

The Moravian Church—United Brethren is its official name—has always been preëminently a missionary organization. No sooner had its pioneers from the old world, who had come to the New World in search of religious liberty, landed on our shores, than they longed to win the souls of the heathen savages to Christianity. Among these missionary attempts was the one which especially claims

attention in this paper—the evangelization of the Six Nations Indians, on whose extensive domain Wyoming was one of the fairest spots. They hoped, though the hope was never fully realized, to make Wyoming a chief base for their missionary labors among the Indians.

In nearly all of their itinerancies, whether to the forks of the Susquehanna on the south (present Sunbury) or to Onondaga,[1] the Iroquois capital (present Syracuse), on the north, their path lay through Wyoming. Their adventurous hardships, their joys and griefs, triumphs and defeats are told in faithful detail in the diaries which they assiduously kept from day to day, and which were deposited at Bethlehem in the archives of the mother church.

Some of these journals have appeared in part in the publications of the Moravian Historical Society and elsewhere. Others remain among the manuscript archives. I have seen these quaint old diaries of their wanderings, some in German, some in English, and have had made copies and translations of such diaries as describe journeys to Wyoming. I have also drawn freely on the Life of Zeisberger by Bishop de Schweinitz (who was a great-grandson of Zinzendorf), Reichel's Memorials of the Moravian Church, manuscript notes of John W. Jordan in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and on other historical publications too numerous to mention.

### MORAVIANS ARRIVE IN PENNSYLVANIA.

Driven by persecution in Germany to the new Western world, the Moravians had founded a settlement in Georgia

1. Onondaga was the seat of the warlike and powerful confederacy of the Six Nations. Deputies from the confederated tribes met from time to time at the "Great Council" fire to consider questions of peace or war. The region round about Onondaga was called the "Long House." The Six Nations—Onondagas, Senecas, Mohawks, Cayugas, Oneidas and Tuscaroras—held absolute supremacy over present New York and Pennsylvania, and they claimed authority over tribes to the west and south. Sometimes they formed alliances with the French and sometimes with the English. During the Revolution they were allies of the English, and cruelly ravaged the frontier settlements.

in 1735, but it was abandoned owing to the breaking out of war between England and Spain in 1739, and most of the colonists sought safety in the North. They arrived in Philadelphia in 1740 in the sloop of George Whitefield, the celebrated English evangelist of that day. He had been sent to Georgia by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, his associate in the work being John Wesley, afterwards the founder of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

The Moravians settled in what was then called the "Forks of the Delaware" (the present Lehigh being then considered a branch of the Delaware), and founded Bethlehem and Nazareth. Bethlehem received its name on Christmas Eve, 1741, at the hands of the distinguished Moravian leader, Count Nicholas Louis von Zinzendorf,[2] then on a visit to America from Saxony. The pious nobleman was at this time forty-two years of age. Bethlehem has ever since been the seat of the Moravian Church in America.

The histories say that Count Zinzendorf was the first white man to look upon Wyoming, but this is an error. The region had been penetrated by traders and probably by French explorers more than a century earlier.

Government messengers from Philadelphia had for sev-

2. Nicholas Louis, Count Zinzendorf, is the remarkable example of a man whose religion was so deep and vital as to inspire him to renounce the prospects of worldly distinction and devote his rank and fortune to the furtherance of the Gospel. He was born in Dresden, Germany, in 1700, and after receiving a university education, he resolved to embrace the ecclesiastical profession. Though himself a Lutheran, his sympathies were aroused for the United Brethren in Moravia.

As its adherents were undergoing persecution, he invited them to come to Saxony and take refuge on his estate, which some 500 of them were very glad to do in 1722 and the succeeding years.

In 1736 the intolerance from which the Moravians had fled extended to Saxony, and the Count was banished from his beloved Herrnhut, as his community was called. Driven from his home, he visited England and subsequently America. He returned to Europe in 1743, and subsequently the king of Saxony permitted him to return to Herrnhut, the government having meanwhile investigated the charges against the Moravians and proved them unfounded.

The Countess Zinzendorf dying in 1756, he took for his second wife Anna Nitschman who had accompanied him and his daughter in their travels in America. Many of the hymns sung by the Moravians were composed by Zinzendorf.

A lengthy poem on Zinzendorf was written by Mrs. Lucy H. Sigourney about 1835.

eral years passed up and down the Susquehanna bearing dispatches to and from the Six Nations, whose seat was in the lake region of New York. Certain it is that the valley of the Susquehanna was familiar ground to Conrad Weisser,[3] the government interpreter, whose journal records that he passed through Wyoming in 1737, while returning to Philadelphia from a journey to the Onondaga country. But while others penetrated these forest wilds previous to Zinzendorf, to him must be ascribed the credit of being the first to leave a permanent impression on the region. Other white men had passed through, but that was all.

Zinzendorf's visit to Wyoming Valley was followed by a missionary occupancy on the part of the Moravians, which never ceased until the Indians yielded to the encroachments of the whites and disappeared from the valley of the Susquehanna.

### INDIAN OCCUPATION OF WYOMING.

When the Moravians first visited Wyoming Valley in 1742, its Indian residents were Delawares, Monseys, Shawanese, Nanticokes, Mohicans and Wanamese, all of whom were vassals of the Iroquois by virtue of conquest. They were practically prisoners. They could not change their abode without consent, and they were liable to be sent else-

3. There is little doubt that a French traveler named Stephen Brule came down from Canada and explored the valley of the Susquehanna in 1615.

The Palatinates, who left the Mohawk Valley in 1723, and sought shelter in Pennsylvania, passed through Wyoming in their remarkable journey down the Susquehanna.

When Conrad Weisser passed through Wyoming in 1737 he found Dutch traders here.

A year before Zinzendorf's visit to Wyoming a Congregationalist missionary penetrated the region, though his stay was short. This was Rev. John Sergeant, who visited the Indians June 3, 1741. He was a graduate of Yale, and came from the Indian school at Stockbridge, Mass. In a letter dated June 23, 1741, he writes: "I am just returned from Susquahanna, where I have been to open the way for the propagation of the gospel among the Shawanoos." In opening his address to them he alluded to "the brothers who had seen so many mornings at Mukh-haw-waumuk." Sergeant was kindly received, but the Indians refused to embrace Christianity, and he returned discouraged, pitying their ignorance and praying God to open their eyes. June 7 he preached to the Indians on the Delaware.

David Brainard, a Presbyterian missionary, arrived at Wapwallopen. October 5, 1744, but did not go to Wyoming.

where whenever their imperious masters demanded. Probably the reason Wyoming was chosen as the abiding place of these vassal people, was that it lay on the great Iroquois highway between the north and the south, where they could be kept under constant supervision of their masters.

The earliest to occupy Wyoming Valley, so far as appears, were the Shawanese, whom Conrad Weiser found there in 1737, who were foes of the English. By permission of John Penn they had first located in Wyoming in 1701. Reichel believes that "they were placed at Wyoming by the Six Nations, who were confident that they could place no custodians more reliable than the ferocious Shawanese in charge of that lovely valley, which they designed to keep for themselves and their children forever." In 1728, when about 500 in number, the Six Nations had ordered them to move to the Ohio, and their empty cabins at Wyoming were taken by another contingent of Shawanese, who were transferred from near Lancaster. They had for their leader Kakowatchie (or Gachawatschiqua), and it was these Shawanese whom Zinzendorf found at Wyoming in 1742. Besides their village where Plymouth stands, the Shawanese had another between Plymouth and Kingston, back of what is called Ross Hill, present Blindtown. There were also Shawanese villages at Fishing Creek and Brier Creek.

The Delawares called themselves Lenni Lenape, signifying "original people." The Monsies (or Minsies) and the Wanamese belonged to them. The Delawares had their council fire at Minisink, near the Delaware Water Gap, fifty miles southeast of Wilkes-Barre, and their hunting grounds extended from Easton, Pa., to the sea. They had a village near Scranton as early as 1728. They were vassals of the Iroquois, by whom they were ordered away from the Forks of the Delaware and given the option of locating either at Shamokin or at Wyoming. Nearly all went to Wyoming, but some chose Shamokin. So it happened that they had

become occupants of the valley of the Susquehanna in the same year that Zinzendorf and his followers first visited the region in 1742.

The leader of the Delawares was Teedyuscung, who was born about 1700 near Trenton, N. J., a locality in which his ancestors had been seated from time immemorial. They were gradually pushed northwardly by the settlements, and about 1730 located in Pennsylvania above the confluence of the Delaware and Lehigh Rivers, and finding no white men, they wandered wherever they found good hunting or fishing. But in a very few years the wilderness in the Forks began to be encroached upon by Scotch-Irish immigrants.

The Delaware Indians had been defrauded of their hunting grounds in the Forks by means of such unscrupulous measures as the "walking purchase of 1737," and it was only by appealing to their masters, the Six Nations, to expel them, that the Penns could obtain possession. The Six Nations treated them in the most insulting manner, and aroused in the breasts of the Delawares an animosity that never slumbered.

Humiliated beyond measure, and nursing a revenge that was to be gratified in after years with frightful atrocities upon a defenceless frontier, Teedyuscung and his followers left their hunting grounds in the Forks of the Delaware and repaired to their new home in the Susquehanna Valley, to which their tyrannical masters had assigned them. They built a town just below Wilkes-Barre.

At Nescopeck, 30 miles below Wilkes-Barre, was an important Delaware town, on the east bank of the Susquehanna. On the same stream, a little above the mouth of the Lackawanna, was the Delaware town of Asserughney, and there was a Delaware village at Tunkhannock and another at Wyalusing.

The Wanamese occupied the elevated land two miles north of Wilkes-Barre, named Jacob's Plains, for their chief.

The Monseys occupied Lackawanna Valley and had a town where Scranton now stands. Their leader was Capouse.

The Mohicans came with the Delawares in 1742 and built a village near Forty Fort at the mouth of a stream which has ever since borne the name of their chief, Abraham. Rising in Dallas township, it crosses Kingston township, runs through Wyoming borough, and flows into the Susquehanna at Forty Fort.

The Nanticokes had their village on the east bank of the Susquehanna near present Nanticoke. The Nanticokes were a dependency of the Iroquois, living along Chesapeake Bay. Their name in the several languages signified tide-water or sea-shore people. They passed up to Wyoming in 1748, either under the orders of the Iroquois or by their permission. Zeisberger says they were averse to the Gospel, and surpassed all the other Indians in their heathenism and sorcery. However, several became Moravian converts. Smallpox and ardent spirits carried off the greater part of the Nanticokes, so that in 1785 in Ohio there were scarcely fifty of them. They sided with the British, and ultimately settled in Canada, alongside the Shawanese, who had invited them.

The Valley was occupied by the Indians in greater or less numbers until 1763, when, upon the death of Teedyuscung, the aborigines departed. However, a few of them continued to visit the fertile plains of Wyoming for some years later, as shown by references in the diary of the Moravian Indian village at Wyalusing (1765–1772). A little before the abandonment of the Wyalusing mission by the Moravians in 1772, the Connecticut migration had set in, and with it disappeared all Indians from the valley of the Susquehanna.

## ZINZENDORF'S VISIT.

Soon after the Moravians arrived in Pennsylvania, in 1740, they entered upon their project of evangelizing the Indians of Pennsylvania and New York. Zinzendorf believed the aborigines to be descendants of the Lost Tribes of Israel who had wandered across Asia, and reached the continent of America by Bering Strait.

Drawn, as he says, by a power which he could not resist, the Count had a strong desire to introduce the gospel among the Iroquois. But they were so savage and revengeful, and so under the influence of the French in Canada, that he concluded it would be wiser to operate through other tribes who were their vassals or allies.

With this in view he visited Wyoming in the autumn of 1742. But before going there he journeyed to the Indians in the Forks of the Delaware,[4] and to the Mohicans on the Hudson. He then went to the Indian town of Shamokin,[5] the residence of the king of the Delawares and of the vice-

4. The name then given to the lands lying within the confluence of the Delaware and Lehigh. At that time the Lehigh was called the west branch of the Delaware. The Indian name for the Lehigh river was Lechau-weki (the fork of the road), abbreviated by the Germans into Lecha, and corrupted by the English into Lehigh.

5. Shamokin, in consequence of its commanding position at the point where the two branches of the Susquehanna River unite, and where the great trails converged, was the most important Indian town in the province of Pennsylvania.

The Six Nations held this as a strategic point at an early day and made it the seat of a viceroy or governor, who ruled for them the tributary tribes along the Susquehanna. It was therefore the most important Indian town south of Tioga Point.

Here the Iroquois warriors, in their return from marauds against the Cherokees and Catawbas, would halt and hold carousals for the last time before reaching Onondaga. Conrad Weisser visited the town in 1737. Martin Mack, who was the first missionary sent here by the Moravians, 1746, describes the place as "the very seat of the Prince of Darkness," and he says they were in constant danger from the drunken savages. Zeisberger and Post labored here.

David Brainard, who visited it the same year, says it had about fifty huts and three hundred inhabitants. Mack, at the request of Shikellimy, had the Moravians establish a blacksmith shop there in 1747, much to the convenience of the Indians. Owing to the outbreak of the French war the mission was abandoned in 1755.

The following year the provincial authorities built Fort Augusta, for which see Meginness' History of the West Branch Valley. The site of old Shamokin is occupied by Sunbury, the county seat of Northumberland county. The Shamokin of modern times is an entirely different town some twenty miles to the southeast.

roy of the Oneidas, near the confluence of the two branches of the Susquehanna, accompanied by several of the brethren and sisters, all on horseback. His companions were Böhler, Mack and wife, Anna Nitschmann,[6] Leimbach, Weisser, David and Joshua.

They had for their guide up the West Branch, Shikellimy, the Oneida viceroy. They were compelled to ford streams, ride over lofty mountains and into deep valleys and marshes, and pass the nights in a tent which they carried with them.

After staying at Shamokin a short time he went to Otstonwakin, or French Town, where Madame Montour,[7] an Indianized French woman from Quebec, was living, now

6. Anna Nitschman was born in Moravia in 1715, her father having suffered martyrdom for the faith. At the age of ten she and her parents took refuge at Herrnhut, where she early became interested in religion. At the age of fifteen she occupied an official position in the congregation. At the age of twenty-one she and others accompanied Count Zinzendorf into banishment, and four years later she joined the Moravians at Bethlehem. She accompanied Zinzendorf on his journey to Wyoming Valley in 1742, and thus writes in her diary: "Our last journey was into the heart of the Indian country, where we sojourned 49 days, encamping under the open heavens, in a savage wilderness amid wild beasts and venomous snakes." In 1757 she became the second wife of Count Zinzendorf, and died three years later.

7. "Madame Montour," as she was called, the grandmother of the atrocious "Queen Esther" Montour, was born about 1684, the daughter of a Frenchman named Montour, who had emigrated to Canada and married an Indian woman. Of their children Jean became a captain in the English service. The daughter's name is unknown, and she was always spoken of as "Madame" Montour. She was captured by the Iroquois in childhood, and married Carondowanna, or Big Tree, an Oneida chief, who adopted Robert Hunter as his English name. Though married she retained the name of Montour, in accordance with the Iroquois custom of handing down the family name through the female line as well as through the male line.

She and Hunter were living on the West Branch as early as 1727. She was a familiar figure in Indian affairs along the Susquehanna, and was a great influence among the aborigines. She acted at times as interpreter for the Provincial authorities. Her husband was slain in battle with the Catawbas, and in this loss John and Thomas Penn sent her a message of sympathy.

Zeisberger and Spangenburg visited the aged queen at Otstonwakin on the West Branch in 1745. Montoursville, a few miles east of Williamsport, perpetuates her name and marks the site of her village, Otsonwakin. Her son, Andrew Montour (Sattelihu) was extensively engaged as an interpreter for the Provincial authorities.

She had a daughter, "French Margaret Montour," who was mother of the Indian fury, "Queen Esther." Esther's Montour ancestors and relatives were all friends of the whites and rendered valuable services, but she was always their implacable foe, and after the battle of Wyoming she tomahawked a dozen or more prisoners with her own hand.

Andrew Montour, known also as Sattelihu, was employed by the Pennsylvania Proprietaries as interpreter for some years, and his services were invaluable. He often

Montoursville, in Lycoming county. He tells us that he addressed them in French.

They then set out for Wyoming, traveling overland. Conrad Weisser, the government interpreter, was temporarily called away on business for the Province, and Andrew Montour acted as their guide until Weisser should rejoin them. The journey through the wilderness from river to river occupied four days, and was marked by many hardships, the region being entirely unoccupied by whites, and having no other road than an Indian path.

"Leaving Otstonwakin," says Mack, "our way lay through the forest, over rocks and frightful mountains, and across streams swollen by heavy rains. This was a fatiguing and dangerous journey, and on several occasions we imperiled our lives in fording the creeks which ran with impetuous current. On the fifth day we reached Wyoming, and pitched our tent not far from the Shawanese town."

The travelers probably followed the "Warrior's Path" from the "Great Island" (Lock Haven), which skirted the

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accompanied Conrad Weisser (who spoke Mohawk but not Delaware) and the Moravian missionaries in their negotiations with the Six Nations at Onondaga. During the war with the French he was captain of a company of Indians in the English service and rose to major. The French feared him to such an extent that they offered £100 for his death or capture.

Twenty years later he was the leader of Indian raids upon the white settlements. He was a son of Madame Montour and an uncle of "Queen Esther" Montour.

As to "French Margaret" Montour, Reichel gives the relationship in a slightly different manner. He makes her a niece and not a daughter of Madame Montour, and a cousin instead of a brother of Andrew Montour. Reichel says Mack met French Margaret and Andrew on the West Branch in 1745, that French Margaret was the wife of a Mohawk, and that she had banished liquor from her town. Her husband, Peter Quebec, had not drunk rum for six years when Mack was there. She treated the Moravian missionaries kindly. Reichel does not allude to Queen Esther being her daughter. French Margaret frequently acted as interpreter at treaties. She is said to have been an uncertain ally.

In July of 1754 French Margaret and her Mohawk husband and two grandchildren, traveling in semi-barbaric state, with an Irish groom and six relay and pack horses, passed through Bethlehem on their way to New York. During her stay she attended divine worship.

For details as to the Montours see W. H. Egle's "Notes and Queries," 3d series, vol. 1, p. 73; also an address by Sidney Roby Miner, "Queen Esther at Wyoming," in the transactions of the Wyoming Commemorative Association for 1894.

north bank of the West Branch (present Montoursville, a few miles east of Williamsport), some forty miles, and thence led due east through the present counties of Lycoming, Sullivan, Columbia and Luzerne, about seventy miles, to the Shawanese village in Wyoming Valley, on the west side of the Susquehanna, where is now Plymouth. Through the fastnesses of this primeval forest, says Reichel, never before traveled by white men save adventurous French traders like James Le Tort and Pierre Bizaillon, Andrew Montour guided these first evangelists to the heathen dwellers on the plains of Wyoming.

On reaching Wyoming Valley they were joined by the Brethren David Nitschmann, Anton Seiffert and Jacob Kohn, who had arrived from Bethlehem, by way of Shamokin, and thence up the Susquehanna by the Indian path to Wyoming. Kohn had just arrived from Europe bearing letters for Zinzendorf.

On their arrival at a point where is now Plymouth, Luzerne county, they encamped near the village of the Shawanese. Here Zinzendorf remained for three weeks, but the Indians gave little heed to his preaching. The only white men most of them had ever seen were traders, and Zinzendorf was naturally suspected of having business motives, too. The Indians were unfriendly in spite of the Count's generous distribution of presents, and their manner was threatening in the extreme.

One of his companions was John Martin Mack,[8] who has

8. John Martin Mack, for many years a missionary among the Indians, was born in Wurtemburg in 1715. He was at this time 29 years of age. He was one of the Moravian Brethren who endeavored to open a work in Georgia in 1735. When the Brethren were compelled to abandon the Georgia mission, Mack accompanied them to Pennsylvania.

In 1742 he married Jeannette, daughter of John Rau, a Palatinate farmer, and was assigned to Shecomeco mission. Her familiarity with the Mohawk language made her a valuable assistant. Both Mack and Jeannette accompanied Zinzendorf to Wyoming in 1742.

The hostility to the Moravians was so great, owing to the charges that they were in league with the French, that he was arrested and forbidden to preach. The Shecom-

left an interesting journal of the expedition. At the time it was written twenty years had elapsed, Zinzendorf was dead, and Mack affectionately refers to the Count as the Disciple, that being one of the favorite terms which they associated with his beloved name and memory. He says:

"The reception by the savages was unfriendly, although from the first their visits were frequent. Painted with red and black, each with a large knife in his hand, they came in crowds about the tent again and again. He lost no time, however, in informing the Shawanese chief, through Andrew Montour, the half-Indian interpreter, of the object of his mission. This the wily savage affected to regard as a mystery, and replied that such matters concerned the white man and not the Indian. * * * Our stock of provisions was by this time almost exhausted, and yet the Disciple shared with the Indians what little was left. The very clothes on his back were not spared. One shirt button after another was given away, until all were gone, and likewise his shoe-buckles, so that we were obliged to fasten his underclothes with strings.

"For ten days we lived on boiled beans, of which we partook sparingly, as the supply was scanty. The suspicious manner which the Shawanese manifested on our first arrival remained unchanged, and at times their deportment was such as to lead us to infer that it would be their greatest delight to make way with us.

"Notwithstanding this, the Disciple remained in the town and made repeated efforts to have the object of his visit brought before the consideration of the chiefs. They, however, evaded every approach, and their disappointment at

eco mission had to be abandoned in 1744, in consequence of acts passed against the Moravians by the New York Assembly.

In 1746 he was one of those who founded Gnadenhutten on the Mahoning, the Moravian mission that was destroyed by savages in 1755. He made frequent trips to the Indians of the West Branch, and in 1752 accompanied Zeisberger to Onondaga. In 1755 he made three visits to Wyoming. He was ultimately made a bishop, and died in the West Indies in 1784.

not receiving large presents gave unmistakable evidence of displeasure, so that we felt that the sooner we left the better it would be for us."

The whole world is familiar with Zinzendorf's adventure with the rattlesnakes, which occurred here. As the story is told in the histories, the savages were creeping up to the tent of Zinzendorf intending to kill him, when they saw a rattlesnake, startled by their approach, crawl over his body and disappear without harmimg him; that their superstitious natures prompted the idea that he was under the protection of the Great Spirit, and they abandoned their murderous design.

To his experience with the snakes the Count himself refers in one of his poems. For be it understood that while surrounded by the savages in the Wyoming Valley, and in danger of losing his life from their treachery, he was engaged with quiet courage and diligence in preparing a supplement to the collection of hymns then in use among the Moravian Brethren.

The story as related by Mack, who was an eye-witness, is quite different and much less picturesque. It is as follows:

"The tent was pitched on an eminence. One fine sunny day as the Disciple sat on the ground within, looking over his papers that lay scattered about him, and as the rest of us were outside, I observed two blow-snakes (blase-schlangen) basking at the edge of the tent. Fearing that they might crawl inside, I moved toward them, intending to dispatch them. They were, however, two quick for me, slipped into the tent, and gliding over the Disciple's thigh, disappeared among his papers.

"On examination we ascertained that he had been seated at the mouth of their den. Subsequently the Indians informed me that our tent was pitched on the site of an old burying-ground in which hundreds of Indians lay buried. They also told us that there was a deposit of silver ore in

the hill, and that we were charged by the Shawanese with having come for the silver and for nothing else.[9]

"This statement proved to be a fiction invented by the wily savages in order to afford them some grounds for an altercation with us, and to bring us into general disrepute; for we subsequently learned that the hill on which our tent had been pitched was not the locality of the precious ore.

"On the following day we moved higher up the Susquehanna, and here was the extreme limit of our journey. The words of the hymn, 'Der viert' ein unwegsame Spitz, Der Susquehanna quellen,' allude to this encampment. The Disciple, I have no doubt, was led to this point, in order to have an opportunity of reading his letters from Europe and Bethlehem undisturbed, and to be farther away from the Indians. We now returned to our second encampment, where the Disciple formally laid his proposition before the Shawanese chief. The latter, however, turned a deaf ear to our approaches, and grew vehement.

"Upon this the Disciple produced the string of wampum that the sachems of the Six Nations had given him at Tulpehocken,[10] when starting on the journey, but even its authoritative presence failed to move the savages in their determination or to mollify their murderous intentions.

"We were completely foiled, and saw that our mission was a failure. This might have been owing to misstate-

9. Spangenburg's Life of Zinzendorf, p. 310, says:

"The Five Nations, who imagine that great treasures and rich silver mines lie concealed in Wayomik, ceded that part of the country to the Shawanese in order by these means to prevent any Europeans from coming thither and discovering them."

This long current tradition never had any foundation in fact, though vast deposits of coal subsequently made the Wyoming Valley one of the richest localities in the world.

10. While on the way from Philadelphia to Bethlehem, Zinzendorf had felt drawn by some irresistible influence to go to Tulpehocken, where dwelt his interpreter and guide, Conrad Weisser, who was to accompany him to the Susquehanna. "He knew not *why* he should direct his steps thither, but he could not throw off the idea that duty called him to that place. Accordingly he sent most of his cavalcade directly to Bethlehem, while he turned towards the west through the present counties of Lehigh and Berks, and in three or four days found himself at Tulpehocken. Here

ments made by our interpreter[11] to the Shawanese, who, as we subsequently learned, had not been fully in our interests."

"One day Jeannette, on returning from the town from visiting the Indians, informed Zinzendorf that she had met with a Mohican woman in the upper town, who, to her unspeakable joy, had spoken to her of the Saviour. This intelligence deeply affected him. He rose up and bade us go with him in search of her, and in the interview that followed he magnified the love of Jesus to her in terms of the most persuasive tenderness.

"This woman now became our provider, furnishing us with corn and corn-bread, until we could secure other supplies. Hymns No. 1853 and 1854 in supplement XI of the Hymn-book contain allusions to her; and the Disciple's prayer in her behalf, expressed in the 18th stanza of the former, has been heard and answered.

"On another occasion, on informing him that I had seen Chikasi, he asked me to find him and bring him into his presence. To him also he extolled the Saviour's love. [Chikasi was a Catawba who had been brought a captive

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he met the deputies of the Six Nations, then on their return from their conference with Governor Thomas in regard to the Delawares remaining east of the Blue mountain; this tribe being at that period under the control of the powerful confederacy near the great lakes. The Count became acquainted with the chiefs, gained their good will, and ratified a covenant with them in behalf of the Brethren as their representative; and a belt of wampum was given him as a token of their friendship, which was used ever afterwards in the dealings of the Moravians with the Iroquois. By this treaty the count believed the way would be opened for the spread of the gospel among the Northern Indians, and this explained to his own mind the cause of the vivid impression that he ought to repair to the distant spot, where he unexpectedly met them. His hope of Christianizing the fierce warriors of the northern border was not realized, but the Moravians would never have been able to accomplish as much as they did among the Delawares and Mohicans if they had not secured by this interview the amity of those who held sway over the enfeebled clans near the sea coast."

11. This is how the interpreter, Andrew Montour, is described by Zinzendorf: "Andrew's cast of countenance is decidedly European, and I would have taken him for one had not his face been encircled with a broad band of paint applied with bear grease. He wore a brown broadcloth coat, a scarlet damasken lappel-waistcoat, breeches, over which his shirt hung, a black handkerchief, decked with silver bugles, shoes, stockings and hat. His ears were hung with pendants of brass and other wires plaited together."

to Wyoming by the Iroquois on their return from a maraud to the South.]

"One day, having convened the Indians in the upper town, he laid before them his object in coming to Wyoming, and expressed the desire to send people among them that would tell them words spoken by their Creator. Most of these were Mohicans, and not as ill disposed towards us as the Shawanese. Although they signified no decided opposition, they stated their inability to entertain any proposals without the consent of the Shawanese, according to whose decision they were compelled to shape their own. Should these assent, they said they would be satisfied. My Jeannette acted as interpreter of what passed during this meeting."

Not long after this the suspicious Shawanese laid a plot to murder Zinzendorf, but Conrad Weisser, now returned from Tulpehocken, reached the valley, alarmed at the Count's continued absence, and filled with a presentiment of the danger which threatened the Moravians.

The presence of Weisser, who was the government agent, and the bold authority with which he treated the Shawanese, held in check their wicked intention, though vagabond savages continued to swarm around their tent, by day and by night, in such a threatening manner, that Zinzendorf warned us to be on our guard and not even to accept provisions from them.

The Moravians accordingly returned to Bethlehem, Mack, Jeannette, Nitschmann and Andrew Montour going across the Wilkes-Barre and Pocono mountains, the Count and several others taking the path down the river to Shamokin.

Mack tells an adventure which illustrates the Count's patience and cheerful fortitude. "I once rode out with the Disciple and Anna Nitschmann. There was a creek in our way, in a swampy piece of ground. Anna and myself led in crossing, and with difficulty succeeded in crossing the further bank, which was steep and muddy. But the Disciple

was less fortunate, for in attempting to climb the bank his horse plunged, broke the girth, and his rider rolled off backwards into the swamp, and the saddle upon him. It required much effort on my part to extricate him, and when I had at last succeeded, he kissed me and said, 'My poor brother, I am an endless source of trouble.' (Du armer Brüder! Ich plage dich doch was rechtes!) Unfortunately we had no change of clothing and had to dry ourselves by the campfire. Adventures of this kind befell us more than once."

During this tour Zinzendorf was absent from Bethlehem seven weeks, and endured many hardships and severe labors in his efforts to observe the customs and character of the tribes with whom he came in contact, and to prepare the way for conveying to them the blessings of civilization and Christianity. He had no desire to be spoken of or addressed by his title, "the Count," and was called sometimes "Brother Lewis," as that was one of his given names, and "The Disciple" in later years.

This was the last visit Zinzendorf ever made to the Indians. After his return to the vicinity of Philadelphia he remained in this country about two months, and left New York for Europe January 20, 1743, having been in our state more than a year. His death occurred in 1760 at Herrnhut, Germany, the seat of the Moravian Church in Europe.

After Zinzendorf's return to Philadelphia from the Indian country he mapped out a plan of operations to be pursued by the Moravian Church in the mission among the Indians, and the draft in his writing is in the Bethlehem archives.

Five centres were selected: Bethlehem; Wyoming Valley; Otstonwakin (on the West Branch), near present Williamsport; Sheeomeco (Duchess county, N. Y.), between the western border of Connecticut and the Hudson; and New England.

Wyoming never realized the hope of Zinzendorf, but his

initiatory labors, though unsatisfactory in point of results, opened the valley of the Susquehanna for the entrance of other Moravian evangelists during the next score of years. Furthermore, as often as these missionaries passed up the Susquehanna to the Iroquois capital, Onondaga (or to the later station at Wyalusing), between 1765 and 1772, until the dispersion of the Indians, Wyoming was sure to be visited. As long as its mixed Indians remained in the Valley these Moravian itinerants scattered the seed of the word, down to the arrival of the first pioneer settlers from Connecticut in 1762.

To their German ears the Wyoming of the English sounded like Wajomik or Wayomick, and so the Moravian missionaries usually wrote it. Its earliest Indian name, so far as now appears, was Skehandowana of the Iroquois, who also called it Gahonta. The Delaware Indians called it M'cheu-wami. All these names are said to have signified "large plains."

The first allusion to Wyoming on record is in the minutes of a conference held with Indians from the Susquehanna, at Philadelphia, in 1728. Wyoming was called "Meehayomy, above which the Minisinks lived." At a council held in 1732 the Indians asked to be helped with horses on their homeward journey to Onondaga as far as "Meehayomy."

While Heckewelder says Wyoming is derived from M'cheu-wami, Delaware for "large plains," Reichel thinks it may be the English approximation to the Indian Meehayomy. The word M'cheu-wami does not occur in the records of transactions between the governor of Pennsylvania and the Indians.

Conrad Weisser[12] uses the Iroquois name Skehandowana,

12. Conrad Weisser was a conspicuous figure in the Provincial history of Pennsylvania. He was born in Wurtemburg, Germany, in 1696, and came to America with a company of Palatinates at the age of fourteen, under the auspices of the English Queen Anne. They settled in the Mohawk country in the Colony of New York, and while

in a narrative of a journey to Onondaga in February, 1737. On his return from the Iroquois capital he wrote:

"We reached Skehandowana, where a number of Indians, Shawanos and Mahickanders (Mohicans) reside. Found there two traders from New York, and three men from the Maqua (Mohawk) country, who were hunting land; their names are Ludwig Rasselman, Martin Dillenbach & Piet deNiger. Here there is a large body of land, the like of which is not to be found on the river."

Thus early did the fertile flats of Wyoming Valley attract attention.

Writing to the governor in December, 1755, Conrad Weisser reports that the Indians with whom he had conferred at John Harris's Ferry (present Harrisburg) had told him that the French were influencing the Delawares living at Nescopeck, half way from Shamokin to Skehandowana.

In a speech made by deputies of the Six Nations at a meeting with Sir William Johnson, in July, 1755, the speaker said: "The land which reaches down from Owego to Skehandowana we beg may not be settled by Christians."

The Six Nations continued to guard Wyoming Valley with jealous care until its evacuation in 1756 by a mixture of Indians who were residing there by permission of the Iroquois. Up to 1756 the Six Nations were determined that "these lands should not be settled, but reserved for a

there, though only a lad, he spent eight months with an Indian chief and acquired the Mohawk language, a piece of knowledge that served him well in after life. In 1723 the Palatinates migrated from the Colony of New York passing down the Susquehanna into Pennsylvania, and later he followed them.

He, therefore, is one of the very first white men who ever gazed upon Wyoming Valley. The wanderers took up land at Tulpehocken, in present Berks county, and engaged in farming. Weisser's fluency in the Mohawk tongue recommended him to the notice of the Proprietary government, and at the request of the Six Nations he was appointed official interpreter for the confederation. From that time he was largely identified with Indian affairs of the Province. He was held in high esteem by the Indians and received at their hands the name of Tarachawagon.

He was a warm friend of the Moravians and their missionary efforts among the Indians. He met Spangenburg in 1736, and it was his representations as to the wretched condition of the Indians that led to the Moravian movement. He acted as guide and interpreter and contributed of his means.

place of retreat to such as in this time of war between the French and English might be obliged to leave their habitations; and that there was no part of their lands so convenient as Wyoming."

In December, 1754, their viceroy, Shikellimy,[13] complained to Governor Morris "that some strangers from New York are coming like flocks of birds to disturb us in our possession."

Who were they? Nothing more is heard of them.

In February, 1756, an Indian scout reported to the government that there were three towns in the Valley—one inhabited by the Delawares, another by Shawanese, and a third by Chickasaws and Mohicans. At this time it was Teedyuscung's headquarters.

When the Indian war was ended one of Teedyuscung's conditions was that government should assist him and his people in making a settlement in Wyoming, instructing them

13. Shikellimy, an Oneida chief, was in 1728 acting representative of the Five Nations in business affairs with the Proprietary government. About 1745 he was appointed their vicegerent, and in this capacity administered their tributaries within the Province of Pennsyivania, with Shamokin for his seat. It was because of the large influence he in this way wielded that the English always sought his favor, and this they ever retained.

Few treaties (and these were of frequent occurrence between 1728 and 1748, respecting the purchase of lands) but Shikellimy was present, and by his moderate counsels aided in an amicable solution of the intricate questions with which these conferences were concerned. The acquaintance which Zinzendorf made with him was carefully followed up by the Brethren, and ripened into a friendship which ceased only with the death of the noble old chief, December 17, 1748. Zeisberger was with him when the end came.

Meginness says: Shikellimy was in some respects one of the most remarkable aborigines of whom we have any account. As he posssesed an executive mind and was recognized by his people as a man of more than ordinary ability, his counsel was eagerly sought by the government of the Six Nations; and as this section of their confederation was hard to govern, on account of the various tribes inhabiting it, and the conflicting interests which had to be regulated, he was early designated as leading Sachem or vicegerent. On account of his high standing and excellent judgment his influence was courted by the provincial authorities. So great was his love for truth and justice that he never violated his word or condoned a crime.

Shikellimy was succeeded by his son John (Tachnechtoris) as vicegerent, but he did not inherit his father's ability and his rule was a failure. Another of Shikellimy's sons was Logan, who became celebrated in the annals of border warfare by the famous speech attributed to him.

how to build houses, etc. (Prov. Records, vii, 678.) Commissioners were appointed "to construct a fort there, and build as many houses as shall be necessary for the present residence, security and protection of the Indians from their enemies."

In the spring of 1758 Teedyuscung's town was finished. It stood within the present limits of Wilkes-Barre, at the bend of the river, near Hillman Academy. Scull's map of 1759 notes it as Wioming. This was the last Indian settlement in the historic valley of the Six Nations. Here Teedyuscung was burnt in his lodge on the night of April 19, 1763, and thence the Indians fled in October of the same year, after having struck the last blow for possession of the Great Plains when, on October 15, 1763, the occasion of the first massacre, they fell upon the whites, who, a year previously, had come from Connecticut, and planted upon their "perpetual reserve." (Reichel.)

## THE FRONTIER WARS.

A dozen years after Zinzendorf visited Wyoming Valley the pious Moravians saw their work among the Indians imperiled by frontier hostilities in which some of their converts allied themselves with the French in the work of rapine, bloodshed and torture.

The time came when the question had to be settled as to whether the French or the English were to dominate the American continent. Both nations sought to secure the alliance of the Indian tribes. The French succeeded in winning the Shawanese and Delawares dwelling on the Susquehanna. The English, through the influence of Sir William Johnson, held the Mohawks, Oneidas and Tuscaroras, while most of the Onondagas, Cayugas and Senecas remained neutral, though some went to the French.

The French war burst out in all its fury, and the frontier of Pennsylvania was desolated with torch and tomahawk.

Intoxicated with victory over Braddock in 1755, the French and their Indian allies made havoc in every settlement. The French at Fort Du Quesne (now Pittsburg) immediately dispatched war parties against the defenceless settlements. The French commander at that post reported that he had six or seven war parties in the field at once, always accompanied by Frenchmen. "Thus far," he writes, "we have lost only two officers and a few soldiers, but the Indian villages are full of prisoners of every age and sex. The enemy has lost far more since the battle than on the day of his defeat."

As the loss in the battle was about 800, this French officer means that perhaps 1,000 had been killed or captured in the blood-thirsty attacks on the frontier settlements along the Susquehanna and elsewhere.

The Moravians, however, did not retire from the field, but they covenanted anew to be faithful to the Lord, and to press forward into the Indian country as long as it was possible, in spite of wars.

Added to the panic which prevailed, the Pennsylvania government, either through ignorance or indifference, was unequal to the emergency, and no adequate measures were taken to repel the invasion by the Indians, who, in small skulking parties, murdered and burned, almost unresisted in the north and west of the province.

Such Indians as were loyal to the English urged the Pennsylvania government to prompt and effective resistance, and the frontier settlers supplicated for protection. The Assembly was moved to action, and made an appropriation for the public defense, the funds to be raised by taxation on all estates, including those of the Penn Proprietaries. But the weak and vacillating governor vetoed the measure, on the ground that such taxation would embarrass the Proprietaries, whose creature by appointment he was.

The governor, however, entered into correspondence with the Proprietaries in London, and after several months had

been thus wasted, so far as protecting the settlements was concerned, he obtained a subscription of £5,000 from Thomas Penn for the defense fund, the Proprietary estates to be exempt from taxation. The Assembly then appropriated £55,000, and a very tardy campaign of resistance was begun. In the meantime the frontiers had been ravaged.

The Indians who resided in the province of Pennsylvania at this time were composite in character. Some of them were savages, some were half-civilized, and some were "back-sliders" from the Moravian mission. Conspicuous among those who had once publicly renounced the ways of wickedness, and been baptized as Gideon, but who had now relapsed into savagery and taken up the hatchet against the English, was Teedyuscung, who had been chosen King of the Delawares at Wyoming. Zinzendorf's visit to the Forks in 1742 had introduced the Brethren's missionaries into the homes of the Delawares, and under the influence of their preaching Teedyuscung had professed conversion and had been baptized with the Mohicans and Delawares at Gnadenhütten. The Moravians distrusted him and put him on probation, but he persisted in his purpose, and in 1750 Bishop Cammerhoff baptized him at the village on the Mahoning—a village that five years later was to be destroyed with all its inhabitants by bloodthirsty savages.

The Delaware town at Nescopeck, on the Susquehanna, thirty miles below Wilkes-Barre, was made the rendezvous. Here Teedyuscung assembled his Delawares, Mohicans and Shawanese and marked out a plan of campaign. From this center the Indians, led by Teedyuscung himself, sallied forth on their marauds striking consternation into the hearts of the settlers.

Mohican Abraham, the first convert of the Moravian mission, also turned renegade, and it was these two chieftains who had prevailed with seventy of the Gnadenhütten congregation to remove to Wyoming, in April of 1754, there to

live neutral or to array themselves under the French standard. Later, still others left Gnadenhütten and joined the hostiles on the Susquehanna at Nescopeck.

This double defection of Teedyuscung and Abraham caused great grief to the Moravians, for the evident purpose was to get the Gnadenhütten converts away from the restraining influences of their Moravian friends, who were seeking to keep them faithful. But even after the defection they were not abandoned by their shepherds, and Moravian teachers continued to visit them at Wyoming, even after the warriors had gone to the French.

Bishop Spangenburg sent Schmick and Fry to Wyoming, where they arrived November 10, 1755, with a message to Paxinosa, the Shawanese chief, who remained the friend of the English. Paxinosa was requested to send to Shamokin, then in great danger, and bring Kiefer, the missionary blacksmith there, to Wyoming, and then with Christian Frederick Post, who was stationed at Wyoming, all should return to Bethlehem.

During the winter of 1755 the Indians held a war council at Wyoming, and in December occurred the massacre at Gnadenhütten[14] on the Mahoning. By the Gnadenhütten massacre the calumnies that the Moravians were in the French interest were forever disproved. The attacking party was made up of Monseys. Part of the converts fled to Bethlehem and part to Wyoming. In Northampton county fifty houses were burned, one hundred persons killed and many carried into captivity. All this bloodshed was due to the

14. Gnadenhutten (meaning cabins of grace) was in Carbon county, near where the Mahoning empties into the Lehigh. It was established by the Moravians in 1746 as a temporary home for their Mohican Indian converts who had been driven out of Connecticut. It had been the purpose to locate them permanently on the Susquehanna, but the project was postponed from time to time, and thus the settlement grew and became a flourishing mission. It had a grist-mill, saw-mill, blacksmith shop and farm buildings. Its population comprised 137 Mohicans and Delawares, besides nearly a hundred converts residing at Wyoming, Nescopeck and other villages along the Susquehanna. It came to a violent end in 1755, when it was destroyed by a war party of Shawanese.

quarrel between the governor and the assembly in reference to levying on the Proprietary estates for a defence fund. To make the situation worse, such Indians as were friendly to the British interest were unsupported by the government, and were easily persuaded by presents to give their support to the French. Even John Shikellimy and his brother Logan yielded to the French blandishments. But Andrew Montour and some others remained true.

Paxinosa,[16] who remained faithful to the English, sent a message to the governor urging him to send presents and wampum to Wyoming for the purpose of holding the Indians to the English cause.

He endeavored, though in vain, to prevent the Delawares and his own Shawanese from joining the French, and in this he was so urgent that they threatened his life, and he and about thirty followers, including Abraham, retired to a village between Kingston and Plymouth (present Blindtown), where they remained until all the hostiles had departed.

About this time, Buckshanoath, the Shawanese chief at Wyoming, led an attack on the provincial troops, who had been sent under Benjamin Franklin to erect Fort Allen on the Lehigh. Andrew Montour passed through Wyoming in December, 1755, sent by the governor with a message to Sir William Johnson in the Iroquois country, and he reported that the Wyoming Indians were preparing for war and refused to receive the peace belt which he offered them.

"At the appointed time the paths between Wyoming and

15. Paxinosa was, in 1754, the chief man in Wyoming. He was a Shawanese, and affected loyalty to the English, but was suspected of intrigue in the French interest. He was always well inclined to the Moravians, and had been a friend to them in several outbreaks along the Susquehanna. His wife was a baptised convert. In 1758 he removed to the Ohio country, where he was the last Shawanese king west of the Alleghanies. His wife was the half-sister of Ben Nutimaes, and had lived with her husband thirty-eight years, to whom she had borne eight children, "a remarkable instance of the longevity of the marriage tie among Indians." Paxinosa said he was born on the Ohio. The Historian of Easton pronounces his one of the highest names in Indian history, and says that while women and children were falling under the murderous hatchet of Teedyuscung, the peaceful Delawares and Shawanese gathered around King Paxinosa in the primeval forests of the Wyoming Valley.

the Delaware, over which the missionaries had so often carried the white flag of peace and good-will, were crowded with hostile savages." Teedyuscung at the head of a scouting party penetrated into New Jersey, and even approached within a few miles of Easton, Pa. During the winter Teedyuscung captured a half dozen settlers in the Delaware region and passed through Wyoming with them on the way north. The captives were kept all winter at Tunkhannock, where were one hundred other prisoners. They were afterwards taken to Tioga and held until November, 1756, when a treaty was held at Easton and the captives were liberated. In order to check the atrocities the governor offered bounties for Indian scalps—men, women and children—against which the Moravians protested vigorously, but in vain.

About this time (1755) Zeisberger and Seidel visited Wyoming. Christian Frederick Post had established himself there to minister to the converts and entertain visiting missionaries. A famine was prevailing, and the first care of Zeisberger and Seidel was to relieve Post's wants and those of the Indians by going back to Shamokin for supplies. Then they began to preach the gospel to a tribe of Monseys on the Lackawanna.

The Indians in the French interest penetrated to within a few miles of the Susquehanna and perpetrated the bloody massacre at Penn's Creek, which was within six miles of Shamokin.

The last to leave Shamokin was the brave blacksmith, Kiefer, who stuck to his post until peremptorily recalled by Bishop Spangenburg. He was escorted up the river to Nescopeck by old Shikellimy's son John, the new viceroy, and passing through Wyoming he reached Bethlehem in safety.

With the burning of the buildings by the Indians the Moravian mission at Shamokin came to an end. The reign of

terror was complete, and it was a dozen years before any settlers dared venture upon the bloody ground.

In March, 1756, the government, finding itself unable to protect the frontiers against these Indian raids, determined to conciliate Teedyuscung, and after a conference at Easton in July a treaty was signed by which the warrior made peace with the whites. In bringing about this conference messages were taken from the governor to the Delawares at Wyoming and other Indians on the Susquehanna by the famous Indian scout, Newcastle, the Moravian Indian, George Rex, and two other Indians, as shown by the "Account of the Brethren with the Commissioners" in Reichel's Memorials.

"On these occasions Teedyuscung stood up as the champion of his people, fearlessly demanding restitution for their lands, and in addition the free exercise of the right to select, within the territory in dispute, a permanent home.

"Teedyuscung's imposing presence, his earnestness of appeal, and his impassioned oratory, as he plead the cause of his long-injured people. evoked the admiration of his enemies themselves. It would appear from the published minutes of the conferences that the English artifully attempted to conciliate him by fair speeches and uncertain promises, but the Indian king was astute and sagacious, and they yielded to the terms he laid down. These were: compensation for all lands unjustly taken, Wyoming to be their permanent home and a town to be built there for them at the expense of the government, all the Indians to remove from Tioga, and they to be supplied with missionaries and teachers."

The Nanticokes went to Lancaster to remove the bones of their dead to the North, while the Senecas, Delawares, Shawanese and Mohicans returned with their presents to Tioga. "Teedyuscung with his sons and warriors remained at Easton and Bethlehem to watch and oppose the movements of the French and hostile Indians from the Ohio who

were prowling on the frontiers. He also gave audience to wild embassies from the Indian country. Occasionally he would visit Philadelphia to confer with the governor. Thus the dark winter passed," says Reichel, "and when the swelling of maple buds and the whitening of the shadbush on the river's bank foretokened the event of spring, there were busy preparations for their long-expected removal to the Indian El Dorado on the flats of the winding Susquehanna. It was in the corn-planting month, 1758, when the Delaware king, his queen, and his warriors, led by the provincial commissioners and under escort of fifty soldiers, took up the line of march for Fort Allen, on the Lehigh, beyond there to strike the Indian trail that led over the mountains by way of Nescopeck to Wyoming Valley."

Thus, with Teedyuscung conciliated, the First Indian War, sometimes called the French War, was over, and the frontiers of Pennsylvania were exempt from serious hostilities for several years. The Moravians re-established their stations at Wyoming and other points, and there was every prospect of a lasting peace. But the hope was a vain one.

The Pennsylvania government, in compliance with the promise to Teedyuscung, built a village for him where is now Wilkes-Barre. These were the first houses ever built by white people in the Wyoming Valley. There he lived five years with such of the Indians as had not remove elsewhere, until the spring of 1763, when he was burned to death in his cabin. It is said he was in a drunken stupor, for his weakness was strong drink, and his cowardly assassination is attributed to the Iroquois, who hated him because he had opposed their lust of power. The killing of Teedyuscung was part of a new uprising—the Second Indian war. With the tragic death of the king of the Delawares, the Indian occupancy of the Wyoming Valley ceases, and with the abandonment of the region by his followers a few months later, there comes to an end the faithful missionary work of

the Moravians. The emigration from Connecticut to Wyoming had now set in.

The charge was circulated that it was the Connecticut people who had murdered Teedyuscung. Whether the Indians believed this groundless story or not is unknown, but they may have done so, for they swept down on the young settlement in the autumn of 1763 and exterminated it. But it was, perhaps, only an every day border raid. This was the first massacre of Wyoming.[16] Dr. William H. Egle, author of the History of Pennsylvania, says "the infamous transaction was carried out by those infernal red savages from New York, the Cayugas and Oneidas;" but Oscar J. Harvey has discovered in the Thomas Addis Emmett collection an autograph letter of Sir William Johnson stating that the attack on Wyoming was by Delawares, and was led by Captain Bull (a son of Teedyuscung), who was at that time ravaging the frontier in the French interest. The Johnson letter mentions that Captain Bull was subsequently captured by the English.

At this point we dismiss the Indian occupancy of Wyoming, so far as its general history is concerned, and enter upon a consideration of some of the missionary journeys which the Moravians from Bethlehem made to the Wyoming Indians.

The Moravian missionaries (says Reichel) prudently refrained from any effort to wean the Indians from their usages unless these were sinful. Thus while the converts were Indians, they continued to be Indians, following the pursuits and retaining many of the manners and customs in which their fathers before them had engaged. Accordingly the men preferred the hunt to the farm, and the women were choppers of wood and laborers in the field. The men

16. In the slaughter of 1763 perished Rev. William Marsh, a Baptist preacher, who was the first clergyman sent out with the Connecticut settlers.

often engaged in fishing, and the Wyalusing diary records that two thousand shad were caught in nets in a single night. The missionaries themselves adopted the Indian dress and manners so far as they could, and in numerous instances they learned the Indian language.

From the time of Zinzendorf's visit in 1742, two years elapsed before any recorded effort was made to establish a Moravian station at Wyoming. In April, 1744, John Martin Mack and Christian Froelich[17] set out from Bethlehem. Mack had been one of Zinzendorf's party. Their route was by way of the Lehigh Water Gap, above which they crossed the river, and near Lehighton struck the great Indian trail[18] leading northwest over Quakake, Buck and Nescopeck Mountains to the Indian town of Wapwallopen. The Moravian missionaries invariably write the latter word *Wambhallobank*, or *Hallobank*. Heckewelder translates it as "where the white hemp grows." They were a week making

17. Christian Froehlich was from Felsburg in Hesse, and came to America in 1741. He wus a con6ectioner by trade, and in that capacity he served for a tlme in the Zinzendorf family.

18. The Indian paths usually followed the streams. The one along the north branch of the Susquehanna River was a great highway or warpath, and was the one usually followed by the Six Nations in their marauds against the southern tribes. From Wyoming there led numerous paths:

Warrior's path, leaving the Valley by Solomon's Creek, crossing the mountain in the vicinity of Glen Summit, and striking the Lehigh at White Haven.

A path from Wyoming to the Delaware.

A path up Shickshinny Creek, then directly west to Muncy, fifty miles from Wilkes-Barre. This path was intersected by one coming from Wyalusing through Bradford and Sullivan counties.

A path from Wyoming passed up the east side of the Lackawanna to present Scranton, where stood a Monsey village. Here the path divided, one branch going north to Oquago, Windsor county, N. Y., the other going east to the Delaware at Cochecton. This was the route which the first settlers from Connecticut took in coming to Wyoming.

There was a path to Wyoming which started from Muncey, ran up Glade Run, then crossed Fishing Creek at Millville, thence to Nescopeck Gap and up the river to Wyoming.

One of the paths from Wyoming to Bethlehem was from the Susquehanna up Nescopeck Creek, passing Sugarloaf in Conyngham Valley, crossing the Buck Mountain west of Hazleton, near Audenreid, then across the Quakake Valley and over Mauch Chunk Mountain to Lehigh Gap.

their journey from Bethlehem to Wyoming, owing to almost constant snow storms. They spent four days at Wyoming, their entire absence from Bethlehem covering two weeks.

The journal here given has never before been published. It is copied from an English manuscript at Bethlehem, doubtless a translation of the original diary in German. As printed in these pages the diary is somewhat condensed, but enough is given to show how much of pious reflection was injected into these daily records of missionary life. The "watchword" to which they refer is the text for the day as arranged for each year by the Moravian authorities and published to the present time. Sometimes the watchword happened to fit the events of the day in a most striking manner. This is shown in the diary for April 6 and April 19.

### DIARY OF BR. JOHN MARTIN MACK'S AND CHRISTIAN FROELICH'S JOURNEY TO WAYOMICK AND HALLOBANCK.

1744. April 6.—We set out from our dearly beloved Mother from Bethlehem. The elders prayed over us and gave us their blessing for our journey. Our hearts were melted into tears under the grace we felt at our parting. The watchword was: "And I will make with them a covenant of peace, and will cause the evil beasts to cease out of the land; and they shall dwell safely in the wilderness and sleep in the woods." Ezek. 34: 25. We set forward happy and rejoiced over the grace that is felt in his church. In the evening we came to the stream Buckabuka.[19] The creek was very cold, but we got safely through, and found an old Indian cabin in which we lodged. We made a fire. Brother Christian was cook. We had a good night's lodging and thanked our Lord for it.

7th.—In the morning early it began to rain. We went

19. It is given on Scull's map of 1770 as Pocopoco, near site of Gnadenhutten. It empties into the Lehigh (east bank) near present Parryville and Weissport, Carbon county. Fort Allen stood near here, opposite mouth of the Mahoning.

our way nevertheless, but fearing the Lehigh might be too high for us to cross. There came an Indian to us who knew me. He was going the same way we were. He went on ahead of us and told us the way we should take. We came to a very deep creek, but we got safe through. After going a little farther we came to the Lehigh. We tried to wade it. It was so extremely cold that at first we thought it impossible for us to endure it. When we got about the middle, it was so deep and the stream so strong that I thought every minute it would bear me down, and my feet stuck between two great rocks. I could cheerfully tell our Savior that I was his, here in the water, and for Him and His kingdom's sake I went through this. I immediately got strength and courage, went on again, took Brother Christian by the coat and helped him through. We thanked the Lamb that he had so happily preserved us, as we were wet and cold and it rained very hard. We kept going, thinking thereby to warm ourselves. When we had gone about 12 miles we made a little fire, but could not make it burn because it snowed so hard. The cold pierced us a little because we were through and through wet. We cut wood all night long to prevent our being frozen to death. It snowed all night.

8th.—The snow lay on the ground a foot and a half deep, and before us we had great rocks and mountains to climb. One could see but little of the way, and in many places none at all. We warmed ourselves a little walking, but were very tired, the snow being so deep. After dinner we came to an old hut where some Indians were, who were going to Wyoming. We lodged with them. It was very cold this night. We spent our time in making fire and trying to keep warm.

9th.—We and the Indians set out together. It was very cold the whole day. We were obliged to wade two creeks. They were extremely cold. Brother Christian carried me

through one because it was deep and I was not very well. I felt the cold in my limbs much. We were very happy all this day, and we prayed the Lamb that he should make his wounds, which he had received for this poor nation, manifest in this place where he had now sent us to. In the evening we concluded we were about 6 miles from Hallobanck (Wapwallopen). We lay in the woods again. It was very cold. We spent most of the night in making fire.

10th.—Early in the morning we set forward and came to Hallobanck. We went into the king's house, but he was not very friendly. Nevertheless he would not bid us be gone. We were tired, and were sleepy and hungry. Our hearts lay before the Lamb and prayed for this poor people, that we might obtain the end for which He had sent us hither. We were soon visited by ten Indians, who were all painted but were very friendly towards us, and some of them gave us their hands. Brother Christian baked some little cakes made of Indian meal in the ashes, which we relished well. The Indians with whom we traveled and left behind this morning, came about two hours after us and brought three caggs [kegs] of rum. They soon began to prepare for dancing and drinking. There came also an old Indian with a cagg [keg] in the cabin where we were. The Indian with whom we had been a little acquainted on the way came to us and said there would be nothing but drinking and revelry all night in the cabin and we should be disturbed by it. If we wished we might lodge in his hut, about half a mile from thence. We accepted with many thanks. His wife is a clever woman and has a love for us also.

11th.—We were visited in the cabin by the drunken Indians, who looked very dangerous, and endeavored by many ways to trouble us. Our Indian host, though drunk himself, would not permit them to injure us. There was a great noise and disturbance among us all night long, and

they would take no rest until they had drunk all the rum which had been brought over the mountain.

12th.—Towards morning they all laid themselves down to sleep away their drunkenness, but we prepared for setting forward to Wayomick. Our hostess had baked a few cakes for us to take on our way. We had a most blessed journey. The Lamb was near to us. We could speak openheartedly together, and loved one another tenderly, rejoiced together in hope of the Indians' happiness in these parts; came in good time opposite to Wayomick, but could not cross the Susquehanna that night, because there was no canoe there. We had a sweet night's lodging under a great tree.

13th.—Early we crossed over to Wayomick.[20] We were received in a very friendly manner. We immediately found the Chikasaw Indian, Chickasi, with whom we had been acquainted two years ago when Brother Lewis [Zinzendorf] was there. He was very friendly toward us and gave us something to eat. He asked where Brother Lewis and his daughter were. I told him they were gone to Europe. He asked if they arrived safe there. I said yes. He was much rejoiced at that. He said he had thought much on him and his daughter. We lodged with his cousin, who received us in much love and friendship and gave us of the best he had. We found very few Indians there, and those who remained there looked much dejected. They were in number only seven men. There has been a surprising change in Wayomick since two years ago, at which time there were 30 or 40 cabins all full of Indians, whose great noise one could hear two or three miles off. Now one hardly hears anything stir there; about six or seven cabins are left, the others are all pulled to pieces. How often did I call to mind how Brother Lewis said at that time: "The Shawanese Indians will all remove in a short time, and our Savior

20. The trip which occupied them a week is now made by rail in three hours.

will bring another people here who shall be acquainted with His wounds, and they shall build a City of Grace there to the honor of the Lamb." How my heart rejoiceth now at the thoughts of it because I see that everything is preparing for it. We visited carefully all the places where our tent had been pitched two years ago, and where so many tears had been shed. The Lamb has numbered them all and put them in His bottle. We stayed there four days. The Indians loved us. Our walk and behavior preached amongst them and showed that we loved them. They could heartily believe and realize that we had not come amongst them for our own advantage, but out of love to them. We visited them often. I asked the Indian with whom we were acquainted, if they would like a brother whom they loved much to come and live amongst them some time or other, and tell them sometimes of our great God who loved mankind so much? They answered yes, they should be very glad, but they themselves could not decide it, because the land belonged to the Five Nations, and they only lived thereon by permission. The Indians who are still here are, as it were, prisoners. They dare not go far away.

The watchword when we came to Wayomick was very suitable: "I will have mercy upon the house of Judah, and will save them by the Lord their God, and will not save them by bow, nor by battle, by horses nor by horsemen."

16th.—We prepared for returning. The woman made us again some little cakes to take with us on the way. Our host prayed that if ever we should come this way again we should certainly lodge with him, saying he was an excellent huntsman and shot many deer and bears, and he would give us meat enough to eat. We took leave, and one of them set us over the river. After dinner we came again to Hallobanck and went to our old hosts again. Our hostess set victuals immediately before us, and we were hungry.

17th.—We visited all the Indians. They were very cool and shy toward us, because they have been told by the white people that we seek by cunning to draw the Indians on our side, which, when effected, we intend to make them slaves.

18th.—We visited them again. We visited the king also, thinking we might have opportunity to speak something with him concerning the end of our coming to him; but we found he had no ears and therefore desisted.

19th.—We got up early. Our hostess was very civil and showed us much love. We took leave of them and set forwards. The woods were on fire all around us, so that in many places it looked very terrible, and many times we scarce knew how to get through. The burning trees fell down all about. We could not easily get out of the way, because there are such high mountains on each side. After dinner we came between two great mountains, and the fire burnt all around us, and made a prodigious crackling. Before us there was sent such a great flame that we were a little afraid to go through it, and we could find no other way to escape it. Brother Christian went first through. The flame went quite over his head; it looked a little dismal. He got through but I did not know it, because I could not see him for the smoke. I called to him; he answered me immediately. I thought I would wait a little longer till it was burnt away a little more, but the fire grew still fiercer. He called again and prayed me to come through, saying our dear Savior had promised "When thou walkest through the fire thou shalt not be burnt, neither shall the flame kindle upon thee." I ventured and went cheerfully into the flame, and got safe through. We thanked the Lamb for it, that he had preserved us so in the fire. We went over two great mountains. We laid ourselves to rest, and had a happy night together, and thanked our Lamb with an humble heart that he had this day also led

and preserved us through water and fire, over rocks and mountains. We were very tired, but could nevertheless rest well. When we came to Bethlehem we found that the watchword for that day had been: "When thou passest through the waters I will be with thee; and through the rivers they shall not overflow thee; when thou walkest through the fire thou shalt not be burned, neither shall the flame kindle upon thee. Fire, hail, snow, vapor and stormy wind are servants of His will."

20th.—We set out early and soon came to the Lehigh, which we went through. The water did not seem as cold as it did the first time. We crossed two other creeks. We had still a great way to Bethlehem, and were very tired. In the evening we reached Bethlehem where the brethren and sisters were met together. Brother Spangenburg spoke on the watchword.

Your poor brethren, MARTIN & CHRISTIAN.

In 1745 the Moravians had established a Mohican mission at Shecomeko, in Duchess county, N. Y., on the edge of Connecticut, but it had been suppressed by the New York authorities (on account of unfounded suspicions that the Moravians were not loyal to the English but were secretly intriguing with the French), and a project was set on foot by the Moravian Church to transfer the harrassed Shecomeko converts to the Valley of Wyoming.

The harsh action of the authorities, afterwards recognized as wrong by those very authorities, necessitated negotiations with the Iroquois Confederacy, to whose dependencies Wyoming belonged.

A visit was accordingly made to Onondaga by Bishop Spangenburg, Zeisberger[21] and a converted Indian, Schebosh,

21. David Zeisberger was a missionary for 62 years among the Indians. Prompted by a spirit of adventure he left Herrnhut, Germany, when a youth of 17. He was born in 1721, and came to America in 1738 to escape religious persecution. He became a missionary at the age of 25, and never relinquished the task until his death in Ohio in

and Conrad Weisser, who had been commissioned by Pennsylvania to treat with the Six Nations. Having assembled at the Forks at Shamokin (Sunbury) they spent a week preaching to the Indians and to Madame Montour.

After being joined by Andrew Montour, and Shikellimy and one of his sons, they passed up the West Branch and thence to Onondaga. While on the march Spangenburg, Zeisberger and Schebosh were formally adopted into the Iroquois Confederacy and given Indian names.

They arrived at Onondaga June 17, and on the 20th the Council was held. Bishop Spangenburg proposed to renew the friendship established with the Six Nations by Count Zinzendorf and asked permission to begin a settlement for Christian Indians at Wyoming, which was granted.

The presence of Conrad Weisser, who accompanied Spangenburg, was most opportune. If he had arrived a week later, the sachems would have been in Canada listening to

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1808, at the age of 87. His record for long and faithful service, and for cheerful submission to deprivation, probably has no equals in missionary annals. He was able to speak ten Indian languages.

A striking painting in the archives of the Moravian Historical Society at Bethlehem, Pa., is entitled "The Power of the Gospel," and represents David Zeisberger preaching to the Indians. It has been made familiar to many by an admirable steel engraving by John Sartain. In order to facilitate the engraver in his work, the painter, Charles Schussele, furnished Mr. Sartain with the black and white study which had been the basis of the painting. Mr. Sartain kindly loaned the compiler of this pamphlet the black and white, and from it the illustration has been reproduced by half-tone process.

"The subject is one that might well inspire a Christian painter. It is David Zeisberger, one of the most devoted missionaries that ever lived, preaching to a group of Indians. The erect figure of the zealous Apostle of the Indians is seen in the attitude of proclaiming the Word of life to the untamed children of the forest in their native wilds, who listen attentively in picturesque groups around the fire which throws its light on the whole scene. The picture is a most suggestive object lesson on missionary work, to which Zeisberger devoted more than sixty years of his life. Nothing short of color can present any adequate impression of the original painting. The ruddy glow of the central fire—the strong light thrown upon the figures grouped immediately around it, and especially upon the great missionary himself, who stands with uplifted hands in the attitude of earnest pleading—the conflicting feelings visible on the faces of the chiefs and warriors, and the eager receptivity of some of the Indian women—the deep shadows that fall upon the outer circle of his listeners—and the dense darkness of the forest in which their nocturnal assemblage is gathered—all these are brought out by the painting as only genius handling color can portray them. By night and by day that scene must have taken place hundreds of times during Zeisberger's apostolic ministry to roving tribes of over sixty years."


ZEISBERGER PREACHING TO THE INDIANS.

the persuasions of the French. But now they were pledged to neutrality and the efforts of the French were of no avail.

While the mission of Spangenburg was successful to the extent of gaining the consent of the Six Nations to remove the Indian converts to Wyoming, the latter refused to go, stating "that Wajomick lay in the road of the Six Nations on their marauds southward in the country of the Catawbas; furthermore in a country abounding in savages where the women were so wanton as to seduce the men."

In 1746 the unfriendliness of the white settlers had increased to such an extent that the Shecomeco converts were removed, not to Wyoming, where they would be surrounded with restless Indians, but to Bethlehem, where they were given a temporary home. Within the limits of present Bethlehem they built a village called Friedenshütten, or Houses of Peace. A permanent home was shortly provided for them and called Gnadenhütten (Houses of Grace), in present Carbon county, at Mahoning Creek, on the Lehigh, near Lehighton. Between this new Christian Indian village and Wyoming there was constant inrercourse.

"Hungry savages," says Pearce, "in times of scarcity, flocked to Gnadenhütten, professing Christianity and filling themselves at the tables of the pious missionaries. When the season for hunting came, they would return to the wilderness in the pursuit of game, and with the profits of the chase would procure liquor from heartless traders.

"Some, however, were sincere in their professions and died in the faith. The Moravian missionaries were given Indian names, and proclaimed the Gospel on both branches of the Susquehanna, on the Lackawanna and throughout northeastern Pennsylvania wherever the smoke ascended from the rude bark wigwam."

During 1746 Bishop Spangenburg visited at Wyoming to preach, and also to establish a covenant of friendship with the Mohicans, to which nation most of the Moravian Indians

belonged. He was accompanied by two Mohican converts from Friedenshütten, near Bethlehem, and was well received by the Indians of Wyoming.

### GREAT FAMINE OF 1748.

Shamokin being an important town on the principal Indian trail to the south, it was considered a desirable point for the establishment of a Moravian mission. The plan was suggested by Conrad Weisser, it being to establish a blacksmith shop, at which fire-arms (recently introduced) might be repaired without requiring the Indians to go to the distant settlements. The step was a most politic one, and it became a strong bond of union between the missionaries and the friendly Indians. The latter had previously petitioned the colonial government to establish a smithy in Shamokin, and the Moravian suggestion was cordially acquiesced in, and the smithy was accordingly established in April, 1747, the Indians promising to remain friendly. Zeisberger was appointed to the work at Shamokin as assistant to Martin Mack. The two visited Wyoming in 1748. In July of that year they explored both branches of the Susquehanna. Zeisberger having now mastered the Mohawk language, had begun to prepare an Iroquois dictionary, with Shikellimy assisting. The Indians were found in a deplorable condition. The West Branch was desolate from smallpox in every village. They followed the North Branch as far as Wyoming and found a famine prevailing. The diary of this journey is to be found in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History*, January, 1893, page 430. Following are quotations:

"July 22, 1748. Early this morning we set out up the north branch of the Susquehanna. At noon lost path, as we took the one that leads to the woods, which the Indians take on their hunts. Towards evening recovered right trail. Lodged for the night near the river. It began to

rain hard, and the water swept down the hillside so strongly that we feared we would be washed into the Susquehanna. Had no hut and could get no bark.

"July 23. Proceeded through the rain and towards noon came to a Tudeler town, where we hoped to dry ourselves, but found all drunk. Continued on our way a few miles, when we built a fire and dried and warmed ourselves. By evening reached Nescopeck, and were taken over the river in a canoe. Found few at home, but were taken into a hut, where we dried ourselves, and supperless retired to rest.

"July 24. Our host cooked us some wild beans. We gave the old man in turn of our bread. He informed us that his people had gone among the whites to obtain food.

"July 25. Resumed our journey and came to Wapwallopen. Found only one family at home, which boiled the bark of trees for food. All the others had been driven by famine to the white settlements. At night we camped at the lower end of the flats of Wyomick.

"July 26. Arose early and proceeded up the flats. People decrepid and scarcely able to walk, and in danger of starvation. Lodged in one of the huts.

"July 27. Crossed the river and visited the Nanticokes, who moved here last spring from Chesapeake Bay, and found them clever, modest people. They, too, complained of the famine, and told us that their young people had been gone several weeks to the settlements to procure food. In the evening the Nanticokes set us over the river. Visited some old people; also an old man who fetched some wood to make a fire in his hut. He was so weak as to be compelled to crawl on hands and knees. Mack made the fire, much to the gratitude of the aged invalid.

"July 28. Found our host this morning busy painting himself. He painted his face all red and striped his shirt and moccasins with the same color. Set out on our return journey; passed Wapwallopen, and thence over the coun-

try, across Wolf mountain, to Gnadenhütten, which we reached July 30."

In October, 1748, Baron John de Watteville, a bishop of the Moravian Church, son-in-law and principal assistant of Count Zinzendorf, arrived from Europe on an official visit, and one of the first things he undertook was a visit to the Indian country. He was accompanied by Cammerhoff, Mack and Zeisberger, the latter as interpreter. Having visted Gnadenhütten, they proceeded along the great trail to Wyoming, which they reached four days later.

A year previous to this journey de Watteville married Benigna de Zinzendorf, daughter of the Count, now a young woman of 21, who had braved the perils of the wilderness with her father four years earlier when he made his missionary journey to Wyoming and other points. Benigna died at Herrnhut in 1789.

Reichel says of de Watteville's journey to Wyoming:

"Exploring the lovely valley which opened to their view, they found the plain of Skehantowano, where Zinzendorf's tent had first been pitched; the hill where God had delivered him from the fangs of the adder, and the spot where the Shawanese had watched him with murderous design. The very tree was still standing on which he had graven the initials of his Indian name.

"Among the inhabitants, however, many changes had taken place. The majority of the Shawanese had gone to the Ohio, and but few natives of any other tribe remained, with the exception of Nanticokes.

"Watteville faithfully proclaimed the Gospel, and on the the 7th of October was celebrated the Lord's Supper, the first time the holy sacrament was administered in the Wyoming Valley. The hymns of the little company swelled solemnly through the night, while the Indians stood listening in silent awe at the doors of their wigwams. And when

they heard the voice of the stranger lifted up in earnest intercession, as had been Zinzendorf's voice in that same region six years before, they felt that the white man was praying that they might learn to know his God."

From Wyoming the travelers passed down the Susquehanna on horseback to Shamokin, stopping on the way at Wapwallopen, Nescopeck and Skogari. The latter was in present Columbia county, and is described by de Schweinitz as being the only town on the whole continent inhabited by Tutelees or Tudelars, a degenerate remnant of thieves and drunkards.

A curious fact related in de Watteville's journal[22] is, that at an Indian town near Wilkes-Barre he found the governor a possessor of negro slaves. He also relates that on the fertile flat lands of Wyoming Valley the grass grew so tall that it was difficult to see over it, even when riding on his horse.

"October 6, 1748. From the top of a high mountain we had our first view of the beautiful and extensive flats of Wyoming, and the Susquehanna winding through them. It was the most charming prospect my eyes had ever seen. Beyond them stretched a line of blue mountains high up, back of which passes the road to Onondaga through the savage wilderness towards Tioga. We viewed the scene for several minutes in silent admiration, then descended the precipitous mountain side, past a spring, until we got into the valley.

"Up this we pursued our way and came to the first Indian huts of Wyoming, where formerly lived one Nicholas, a

22. The journal of de Watteville is furnished by John W. Jordan, and was never before printed. Mr. Jordan has written much on the subject of Moravian missions in Pennsylvania. Among his writings is a manuscript volume of sixty-seven pages, relating entirely to the Wyoming Valley. In it are extracts of diaries describing missionary journeys from 1745 to 1768, with numerous annotations. It is in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and has been much drawn upon for the present pamphlet. Mr. Jordan has also edited various diaries for The Moravian and for the Pennsylvania Magazine.

famous Indian conjurer and medicine man. Since his death the huts stand empty. Moving on we crossed a creek and soon came to the Susquehannah, up which we went a mile, to a point where we forded the stream to an island and crossed to the west bank. The river was low and all got through without difficulty. Came to some cabins inhabited by Tuscaroras, whose squaws only were at home, and thence into the great flats, striking the path which Zinzendorf had followed.

"Cammerhoff and myself kept in our saddles, the better to get a view of the flats. But the grass was so high at times as to overtop us, though mounted, and I never beheld such a beautiful expanse of land. We next came to the place where the old Shawanese king dwelt, which at that time, 1742, was a large town. Now there is only one cabin in which Shawanese reside.

"Farther on we came to ten huts, where the present captain, who is a Chickasaw Indian, lives. He was not at home, but was recently gone to war against the Catawbas, with six other warriors. His wife, who is a Shawanese, remembered the Count, and would have us take lodgings with her. Because of our horses we were compelled to decline her kind offer. We pitched our tents on the spot where Chickasi (in whom the Count had been so interested in 1742) lived. He, too, remembered the Count, and was very friendly.

"Chickasi is at present living with the Nanticokes across the river. Our hostess sent for him, as he spoke English. He came without delay, and I gave him a greeting from Johanon [the name given by the Indians to Zinzendorf].

"Meanwhile all Wyoming on our side of the river had congregated, some 16 persons, large and small, Chickasaws and Shawanese. They manifested great interest in our advent, and sincere friendship for us.

"October 7.—Rode to the spot which the Count had se-

lected for the site of a Moravian Indian town [it was to have been called Gnadenstadt], and then crossed the creek [into which the Count fell, see p. 17], and on which creek the proposed mill for the Moravian town was to be built. Next we came to the spot where the tent was pitched the first time. [Place of blowing adders.]

"Here in the bark of a tree we found the initial J [for Johanan, or Zinzendorf], and C [for Conrad Weisser]. I cut an A for Anna Nitschmann and also 1742 and 1748.

"Fording the river, we found a Mohican cabin at the end of an island, but no one excepting children were at home.

"Rode over the flats until we came to some Tuscarora huts. Re-crossing to our camp, we found Zeisberger had been called on by many Indians. They said some months ago a trader had wished to settle in Wyoming and had planted corn, but the Indians, finding him thievish, had expelled him, the Nanticokes having bought his improvements. Not far from the Count's third camping place we were pointed out the burial place of an ancient and wholly exterminated nation of Indians, and on the south side of the Susquehanna stood a respectable orchard of apple trees, near which some 70 to 80 Indians, who were swept off a few years ago by epidemic dysentery, lay buried.

"Captain's wife gave us four loaves of bread and two large watermelons. We gave them in return a pair of silver buckles. In the afternoon visited the Chickasaw town and saw a newly-carved god elevated on a pole. Visited from hut to hut and found an aged Shawanese couple who were almost centenarians six years ago. We next visited the Nanticokes who live on the island. Unable to get a canoe, we got our horses and forded the stream without saddle or bridle. Left our horses in care of a sick Chickasaw, who understood some English, and then visited the Count's Chickasaw, whose forehead is flattened back like a Catawba's. He

was gathering his little crop of tobacco, and had little interest in religious matters. Gave him a knife as a token.

"Came to the Nanticoke town of ten huts. Most of the men were on the hunt. One of the old men was very friendly. Gave him a pipe tube. Some of the Nanticokes asked if we were traders and wanted to barter. The Nanticokes appear to be more industrious than other Indians. They moved from Chesapeake Bay not long ago, by order of the Five Nations. They passed Shamokin last June and are settled here right comfortably. They expect others of their people. The Five Nations call them Skaniataratigroni, i. e., the people who dwell on the bay or lake. Recrossed river to our tent. This evening we were alone in our tent and closed the day with the celebration of the Lord's Supper.

"October 9.—Made preparations for return by path that keeps along the upper side of the Susquehanna down to Wamphallobank and thence to Shamokin.

"October 8.—Passed through the Chickasaw town and bade adieu to all our friends. Presented some of the women with needles and thread. They gave us pumpkins baked in the ashes. Moved down the beautiful flats.

"October 10.—Came to falls of Nescopeck. Shouted for a canoe. Nutimaes,[23] the governor, painted and decked with feathers, came to set us over. Gave him a silver buckle. The Governor's house was the most spacious I had ever seen among the Indians. The Governor, his five

23. Joseph Nutimus or Notamaes (Wenekaheman) was a Delaware Indian, known as "Old King Nutimus." He lived at the mouth of the Nescopeck Creek, north branch of Susquehanna, some thirty miles below Wilkes-Barre, from the time of Zinzendorf's visit in 1742 to 1763.

At one time he and his people symathized with the French, and Nescopeck was the rendezvous of those who were plotting against the English. Nutimus is charged with a large share of the responsibility for the slaughter of the Moravians at Gnadenhutten in 1755. It is said that he left for the Ohio about 1763. He had a son Isaac, who died at Tioga. (See Historical Record, Wilkes-Barre, vol. 2, p. 1.) John W. Jordan says that the old king of Nescopeck cannot fairly be accused of the massacre at Gnadenhutten. He was always a warm friend of the Moravians and frequently visited Bethlehem, where he was hospitably entertained, and whenever the Moravians visited Nescopeck he gladly reciprocated.

sons, with their wives and daughters, live together; and his other sons at their plantation, 1½ miles farther down. On taking leave we kept down the river, and were soon met by one of their cousins with a negro—for the Governor of Nescopeck has five slaves, a negress and four children. Negroes are regarded by the Indians as inferior creatures. Met the Governor and Isaac and Ben, his sons, who greet us cordially. He greeted us with Kehella! [This was the Delaware ejaculation of pleasure or approval.] Ben had just returned from the hunt. Gave him a pipe tube. Ben gave us a fine deer roast. We presented him with a silver buckle and needles and thread for his wife."

Arrived at Shamokin, de Watteville was greeted by Shikellimy, to whom Zinzendorf had sent a costly gift, and an affectionate message, entreating him to remember the Gospel. The bishop's visit impressed him deeply, and two months later he journeyed to Bethlehem to hear more of the Gospel. He was taken ill while returning and lived but a short time.

Being one of the most prominent sachems of the day, Shikillimy's death attracted marked attention. The Colonial government transmitted a message of condolence, and requested one of his sons to act as Iroquois deputy until a permanent appointment could be made by the Grand Council. The mission at Shamokin did not flourish long after Shikellimy's death, and Zeisberger was transferred to a new enterprise, namely, to establish a mission among the Onondaga Indians in the colony of New York. The embassy was entrusted to Cammerhoff and Zeisberger. Meanwhile the British Parliament had passed an act recognizing the Moravian Church, as "an ancient Protestant Episcopal Church," and exempting them from military service, thus freeing them from such hardships as they had had to undergo at

Shekomeko, when the petty legislators of New York had driven them from their province.

Now were these "Moravian priests," these "vagrant strolling preachers," recognized by the supreme authority of parliament and put on a parity with the Anglican Church.

1750.—In May this year Cammerhoff accompanied by Zeisberger journeyed to Onandaga. "May 20.—Came to Wajomick and went to the Nanticoke town, where we were cordially received. Pitched our tents on a knoll opposite the great flats."

After staying eight days at Wyoming they started northward by canoe to the country of the Iroquois, their guide being a Cayuga chief.

Bishop Cammerhoff in his journal calls the Lackawanna by the Iroquois name of Hatsarok. Somewhere about Gardner's Run, above Pittston, the Bishop came to an Indian settlement on the east side of the river, called Pehendarnetu-chquaminink. A few miles further up the river, on same side, was a fertile strip of land with an old peach orchard, evidently the site of a former Indian plantation.

The journey was one of the most romantic ever undertaken by Moravian missionaries. Great sufferings and wonderful escapes distinguished it. Whenever they came across any Indians they were received with kindness. Both had previously been adopted by the Six Nations—Zeisberger by Shikellimy in 1745, and named Ganousseracheri; Cammerhoff in 1748, and name Gallichwio. On their arrival at Onondaga, June 21 was fixed as the day for the council, but a delay was unavoidable, because most of the Indians were intoxicated. The days passed by without any signs of returning sobriety, and they accordingly deferred action here and paid a visit to the Senecas.

Their journey was marked by great hardship, owing to

the drunkenness which prevailed almost everywhere among the Indians. Finally the council convened at Onondaga. The visitors found it necessary to explain the purposes of the negotiations, as there were charges that they were emissaries of France, endeavoring to entice the Six Nations from their compact with the English. The envoys were even summoned to Philadelphia to explain the situation to the governor. The envoys asked permission for the brethren to live among the Indians in order to learn the language of the Iroquois, and sent a petition from the Nanticokes at Wyoming to have a blacksmith shop, under missionary auspices, as at Shamokin.

Permission for any two Moravians to live among the Six Nations and learn their language was granted, but the petition of the Nanticokes was refused, and they were told to frequent the smithy at Shamokin.

Having attained the chief object of their visit, Cammerhoff and Zeisberger returned by way of Wyoming. Cammerhoff speaks thus of passing through the Wyoming Valley:

"August 2. In the P. M. passed through the Shawanese town, but saw no one, and at 5 P. M. came to the Nanticoke town and were welcomed by the chief."

They reached Shamokin August 6, having traveled 1600 miles on horseback, on foot and in canoe. The hardships of the journey completely shattered Cammerhoff's health, and he did not long survive—his death occurring in the following April. Zeisberger had been sent to Saxony to report to Zinzendorf, and had returned with the appointment of perpetual missionary to the Indians.

1752.—In January, 1752, Zeisberger returned to his old post at Shamokin, but he was anxious to labor amongst the Six Nations. He was accordingly appointed to take up his abode at Onondaga, agreeably to the compact made

with the council. He first joined a party that went to Shamokin and Wyoming. In the course of this tour fifty bushels of wheat were distributed. This induced a body of 107 Nanticokes and Shawanese to visit Gnadenhütten and thank the board. They were hospitably and generously received and entertained both there and at Bethlehem; and returning to Wyoming they spread the fame of the Moravian teachers. A covenant of everlasting friendship had been established.

The Shawanese and Nanticokes of Wyoming Valley had long sought to establish such a covenant of friendship with the Mohicans of Gnadenhütten, and this was now happily accomplished. The much-desired covenant was ratified with due formality and an exchange of wampum. From a record of this event there is obtained the following names of chiefs then dwelling in Wyoming Valley:

Nanticokes—Sampeutigues, John Kossy, John Dutchman, Ioinopion, Robert White (interpreter).

Shawanese—Paxinosa, Patrick.

"In March of 1753 these tribes sent a deputation to Bethlehem urging upon the Moravians the removal of their converts from Gnadenhütten to Wyoming. This the Moravians would not entertain. In fact, they suspected evil in the suggestion, and the sequel showed that the Oneidas of the Six Nations, or perhaps the Six Nations themselves, had urged the step, in view of hostilities with the English—desirous of having all Indians out of the white settlements, safe in the Indian country. It is evident that the war of 1755 was already in contemplation at this time. So urgent were they for the removal of the Moravian Indians to Wyoming that they stated the Nanticokes would move higher up the river and leave their plantations at Wyoming for the new-comers. In this way the Nanticokes came to leave the Valley. This was in 1753. So persistently did the Six

Nations press the removal of the Moravian Indians from Gnadenhütten that in April of 1754 seventy of the latter (much against the wish and urgent dissuasions of their teachers) set out from that place for Wyoming. Among these were Teedyuscung and Abraham Shebash, the Mohican.

"A concern for the spiritual welfare of these seceders now led the Moravian preachers more frequently into the Valley than before, and they strove to keep them true to their professions. When the war broke out in 1755, some of those stray sheep returned to Bethlehem, while others lapsed into their old ways and cast in their lot with the savages. Thus some were lost to the missions."

1753.—In May, Rev. Christian Seidel of Bethlehem visited Wyoming. He was a man of 36. From his journal:

"March 21.—Dined not far from the old Nanticoke town, in the lower part of the Valley, on the east side of the Susquehanna. Found a canoe, in which we crossed to the Shawanese town. Met our convert, old Mohican Abraham, who has his hut here. Were cordially welcomed and shown to a hut, but were annoyed by some traders who came and lodged with us. Abraham and his wife Sarah told us that a great council would be held here in a few days, to which Indians from all parts of the Susquehanna were expected. Hence we resolved to go down to Shamokin, and return after the council. [He failed to return to Wyoming.] Paxinosa, the Shawanese king, and his wife Elizabeth called on us." * * *

In 1753 Zeisberger passed through Wyoming on his way from Bethlehem to Onondaga. At Shamokin he had heard of the invasion of the Ohio by the French, but determined to proceed with a single companion. Arriving by canoe at Wyoming, he found the remnant of the Nanticoke Indians preparing to emigrate northward, with the bones of their

dead, to the country of the Tuscaroras, in a fleet of five canoes. They were acting in compliance with an order from the Grand Council, which also wanted to transfer the Christian Indians of Gnadenhütten to Wyoming. The missionaries declined the invitation of the Nanticokes to join them, and pushed up the river alone. The country was almost depopulated. They reached Onondaga June 8th. It was a time of intense excitement on account of the threats of the French to pass through and open the way to the Ohio. Finding that war was imminent, the missionaries returned to Bethlehem in November.

In 1754 Mack and Roessler visited Wyoming. Mack's journal is of special interest, predicting, as it does, the Pennamite War:

June 24. Set out from Gnadenhütten. All the creeks were much swollen, and hence they did not enter the Valley till the 28th. The Susquehanna had overflowed its banks, so that where people usually dwelt and planted was now swept by a tearing stream. For a time they saw no living being, but afterwards saw a canoe and hailed it, whereupon an Indian came to the shore and set Mack and his companion over. They had many callers, among others Paxinosa's young son. Mohican Abraham was at this time living in the Shawanese town. There they met Abraham and his wife Sarah. At the son's request, Mack held a meeting in old Paxinosa's cabin. He was not at home. Abraham interpreted. Meanwhile the Delawares and Mohicans assembled and Mack preached to them. Then he had conversation with the old Gnadenhütten converts. Although Paxinosa was absent, many other Indians from up and down the Susquehanna had assembled at his town to take council with him in reference to a message to the Five Nations, who had sent them a belt of wampum. This crowd Mack also addressed, on request, after which he was

invited to dine in Paxinosa's cabin. Meanwhile more and more Indians arrived, and at last came Paxinosa. * * *

Mack thus observes in his journal:

First. Wyoming is in a critical condition. The New Englanders, in right of a royal charter, lay claim to Wyoming. The Pennsylvanians hold it is within the proprietary grant and wish the Indians to sell it to them. Thus the Indians are in a dilemma; for if they yield to the solicitations of the Pennsylvanians and oppose the New Englanders who desire to settle here, and who threaten to shoot their horses and cows (and the Pennsylvanians urge them to oppose them), they know there will be a war, as the New Englanders are a people who refuse to regard the Indians as lords of the soil, and who will subjugate them if they refuse to evacuate the Valley.

Second. Our convert Delawares and Mohicans have received a message from the Five Nations to send a deputation up to Onondaga to ask of them a district of their own somewhere on the river, and for permission to have religious teachers of their own.

Third. There is a general interest in religion among the Indians of the Valley. They desire the Moravians to send teachers to tell them the word of the true God.

Fourth. The recent floods have ruined all the plantations and destroyed the corn and beans.

In 1754 Bernhard Adam Grube[24] and Carl Gottfried Rundt journeyed from Gnadenhütten to Wyoming. Their diary

24. Bernhard Adam Grube was born in 1715 and was educated at the University of Jena. His first missionary station was Meniolagomeka in 1752. This village lay eight miles west of the Wind Gap, in Monroe county, Pa., at the intersection of the road to Wilkes-Barre. He acquired the Delaware language and translated into it a Harmony of the Gospels. In 1754 he visited Wyoming and spent fifteen months at Shamokin, where he says the Moravian blacksmith shop was on one occasion taken possession of by 30 warriors, who for eight days made it the scene of their drunken revels. There was constant danger from the savages. In 1755 he was in charge at Gnadenhutten, and barely escaped with his life in the memorable massacre of that year. After a long and eventful life of devoted service he died in 1806 at the age of 91. See Pennsylvania Magazine of History, April, 1901.

goes into considerable detail as to their stay among the Indians. They were cordially welcomed by Paxinosa, who was at this time king of the Shawanese at Wyoming. In this diary the name is written Pakschanoos. The old king and his entire family attended a baptism of an Indian woman, performed by the missionaries—the first time that sacrament had ever been administered in the historic valley. Rundt was at this time a man of 41 and Grube was two years younger.

"Diary of a journey made by the Brethren Grube and Rundt to Wajomik 1754."

"July 22.—Brother Rundt and I left our beloved Gnadenhütten, at noon, to go to (Wajomick) Wyoming. Our dear Brethren Mack and Sensemann accompanied us for a mile, and then, after they had sung a few verses for us, took an affectionate leave. It was very warm and the mountains were very high. Traveled 18 miles and camped for the night at the foot of the mountain, where Nutimus's hunting cabin formerly stood. Muschgetters (mosquitoes) tormented us all night.

"July 23.—Started early and reached Wapwallopen. It rained hard and we were drenched, so we passed Wapwallopen and spent the night near the Susquehanna, where we made ourselves quite comfortable.

"July 24.—We went up the Susquehanna to Thomas Lehmann, an Indian acquaintance. He gave us milk and was very friendly. He told us of a nearer route to Wyoming, this side of the Susquehanna, which led over the mountains. It consisted of a narrow foot-path which disappeared after awhile. We had to determine our course by notched trees; but these became scarce and soon none remained. We turned to the left towards a mountain from which, to our great surprise, we could overlook the plain. We pushed our way through the forest with much difficulty.

"Came to the Susquehanna where we had to cross a swampy creek; and then, traversing a plain this side of the river, we arrived at a former Nanticoke town. We followed a foot-path to the right, and were soon met by Joachim, Simon and another Indian, who greeted us in a friendly manner, and showed us a fallen tree on which to cross the creek. Towards evening we arrived at several plantations along the Susquehanna, where we found the aged Moses and his wife, and several sisters hoeing corn. They came and shook hands and greeted us. Then Moses took us across the Susquehanna to a Shawanese town.

"We greeted the Brethren and Sisters, who were glad to see us, especially Brother Abraham, who kissed us and gave us a place in the center of his hut. Our Brethren and Sisters were about the only ones in town, as the Shawanese had gone hunting. After an hour the aged Nathaniel returned from hunting and with him Joshua, the Delawaree from Gnadenhütten; likewise Marcus, Jacob's son, Elias, Andrew's son, and Appowagenant. They all took up their quarters in our hut. About 22 of us were assembled.

"July 25.—Gideon (Teedyuscung) and his son came from across the Susquehanna and said the visit of the Brethren pleased him very much, and he wished that we might live amongst them. Towards evening the wife of the old Shawanese chief Paxinosa returned home with her children. She greeted us very cordially. We also crossed the river and visited two Delaware huts. Isaac of Nescopeck, who was there, said he had been baptised by Mack at Gnadenhütten. I told him more about the Saviour, and then recrossed the river and entered the Shawanese town. Abraham had in the meantime called a meeting and the hut was quite full. Brother Nathaniel acted as interpreter. At the close of my address I asked them if they would like to hear more about the Saviour each night, and they all signified assent with "gohanna, gohanna." Retired with gladdened hearts.

"July 26.—Early this morning we continued our journey, accompanied by Abraham, Nathaniel and Moses, up the Susquehanna for 11 miles. On the way Abraham showed us the place where he intended to build his house, namely, half a mile farther on, where Zinzendorf's fifth resting place had been. The land is elevated and near a creek. The locality has a large spring, and is not to be surpassed. The land is level and fertile. Wood abounds. There is an outcropping of limestone several miles long and one-fourth mile distant from the Susquehanna.

"In the afternoon we came to the end of Wyoming, where we were taken across the river. We came to a Minisink town, which consisted of 11 houses. We called upon the chief, who had told Abraham that if the Brethren should come from Gnadenhütten, they should visit him. We were therefore heartily welcomed. They gave us food. Soon after the most of the Indians, as well as our Brethren, went into the "sweat house."[25]

"The chief made preparations for a meeting in an empty hut large enough for two fireplaces. The chief summoned all the people. The women sat around one fire and the men around the other. I then sang a few Delaware verses and Nathaniel translated them. I said that I was very glad that they had a desire to hear something about our God, and would therefore tell them words of life. We concluded by singing a few verses, and then retired to our stopping place. Brother Nathaniel, however, was called out and asked to tell again what I had said. This he did. We re-

25. For description of the medicine sweat, an aboriginal Turkish bath, see The Story of the Indians by George Bird Grinnell, also Heckewelder's Indian Nations, p. 219. It was built of earth and would hold from one to six persons. Stones were heated and placed into vessels containing decoctions of roots and plants. The Indians would crawl inside and sweat and smoke for an hour, after which they would dash out for a plunge in the nearest stream. Sweating seems to have been their chief medication, though bleeding was sometimes resorted to. For details as to Indian medicine see Loskiel, 112.

tired in the meantime, and thanked the Saviour for this open door to the hearts of the Minisink Indians.

"July 27.—Early in the morning we visited Anton's father, who spoke to us much about his spiritual affairs. After having partaken of a meal in our quarters, we bade farewell and were about to leave, but the chief asked us to remain a little longer, as he wished to summon his people again, for they desired to hear once more about our Saviour. They were soon assembled. I told them again about salvation through the blood of Christ. The people were attentive and quiet and responded to every sentence with a loud "kehella." Before the meeting a man had spoken with the Indian brethren Abraham and Nathaniel, saying he was a poor sinner, and wished to learn to know our God. We took leave of each one and continued on our way rejoicing. On the journey we heard that Joshua, the Mohican, from Gnadenhütten had come. We were surprised; but when we arrived home he had already gone, much to the regret of Abraham. We were gladdened by a note from our dear Joseph at Gnadenhütten. As the Shawanese chief Paxinosa had returned home with his sons, we went to visit him. He was very glad to see us. Abraham said Paxinosa desired to have a meeting to-night, because he would like to hear about the Saviour. About 30 Indians and the whole family of Paxinosa assembled. The men sat at one end of the hut and the women at the other, while we were in the middle. Then I preached the Gospel to them. Both before and after the address we sang a few Delaware verses. The youngest son of Paxinosa and another Shawanese came to us with two violins, and desired to hear our melodies. We played a little, at which they and our Brethren and Sisters were well pleased. It rained very hard during the night, and as the roof was very poor we became quite wet.

"July 28.—Old Nathaniel awakened us by singing a Mo-

hican verse. Paxinosa visited us, and I read several Delaware verses for him. He prepared his empty hut for us, so that we could speak in private with some of the brethren and sisters. Abraham and Sarah spoke very nicely. What grieved them the most was that they had to dispense with the Lord's Supper here. We also conversed with Nathaniel. He said: 'If only the Brethren at Gnadenhütten would again receive me.' We replied that as soon as he felt in his heart that he was forgiven by the Saviour, the Brethren at Gnadenhütten would willingly forgive him. He was very humble and penitent. We then spoke with Moses and Miriam, Adolph and Tabea, John and Debora, and also Joachim, who said: 'I know I am a wicked man, but I cannot help myself.'

"By this time the hut was quite well filled. The subject of my preaching was 'Jesus accepts sinners.' The unusual attention which was shown made my heart rejoice. In the afternoon we went out on the plain to see the old Mohican mother. She was anxious to be baptised, but was not yet decided. She said: 'About twelve years ago (1742) when Martin Mack's wife spoke to me, I felt something of the Saviour in my heart. Since then I could not forget it. A year ago I was at Gnadenhütten, and although I felt I was a sinner, I went three times and asked to be baptised. However, I was not baptised, but returned to Wajomic. Ever since that time I have had a longing for the Saviour. Mack promised that he would baptize me when he came in the fall.' I asked whether she considered it proper to be baptised now and she replied yes. I told her that the Saviour would baptise her to-day and receive her as his child, at which she greatly rejoiced. She grasped our hands and said: "Oneewe, oneewe!" When we made preparations for the baptism, Sarah clothed the candidate in a white dress. When the people had assembled she brought her in and seated her in the center of the hut upon

a pounding block. Upon another block in front of her, which was covered with a cloth, stood the water. There were present about thirty persons, baptised and unbaptised. Paxinosa was present with his whole family. We first sang in the Delaware tongue. Then I spoke about baptism as the Saviour gave me utterance. Then followed the singing of a verse, after which I offered prayer in behalf of the candidate. I then baptised her, giving her the name Marie. Not the least disturbance was made.

"July 29.—Conversed with our dear old Marie, and was told by her that she was happy in her baptism. We had a farewell meeting and commended all to the protection of the wounded Lamb of God. Abraham and Sara accompanied us as far as the plain. Having told us how they felt toward the Saviour and the congregation at Bethlehem, and having asked us to greet the latter, we took affectionate leave. We then crossed the plain till we arrived at the great [Nanticoke] fall, where we caught a mess of fish. At night we arrived this side of Thomas Lehman's place, and encamped on the banks of the Susquehanna for the night.

"July 30.—We rose early and had ourselves taken across the Susquehanna. With Thomas Lehman I entered into conversation, making use of the opportunity to tell him the motive of our concerning ourselves so much about the Indians. He understands English well, having had much to do with the whites. We passed Waphallobank, and as it began to rain hard, we built a hut of bark in which to pass the night.

"July 31.—We arrived at Nescopeck, where we lodged with old Nutimus. He and his son Pantes were very friendly. In the afternoon we crossed the Susquehanna and went a distance of four miles to visit our dear old Solomon, whom we also found at home with his son John Thomas. They were very glad to see us and have us lodge with them over night. At night I sung some Delaware verses for them.

"August 1.—Early in the morning we again started for Nescopeck. Solomon kissed us at parting, and asked us to greet the folks at home. We visited a few huts in Nescopeck, but had little opportunity to speak about our Saviour. At noon we continued our journey and arrived at this side of the Deer Mountain, encamping on the banks of a creek for the night.

"August 2.—We crossed the other mountains gladly and cheerfully, and at night arrived at our dear Gnadenhütten with glad hearts. We thanked the Saviour that he had so safely and signally led and guided us.

"BERNHARD ADAM GRUBE,

"Gnadenhutten. "CARL GOTTFRIED RUNDT."

Zeisberger and Post also visited Wyoming in 1754.

In 1755 Mack made three visits to Wyoming, in spite of the Indian war.

"Sept. 1.—Told Paxinosa I would go up to the Minsi town to preach, to which he gave consent. We started accompanied by Paxinosa, his wife (Elizabeth), who carried a basket of watermelons. At the Minsi town met Christian Frederick Post. In the evening I preached in a large cabin with three fire places.

"Sept. 2.—Preached again * * *

"Sept. 3.—Visited in different huts * * * "

In October Mack preached at the Minsi town at the mouth of the Lackawanna, but was disturbed by a great gathering of Indians who had come there from all quarters to celebrate the "Feast of the Harvest," which lasted for days, attended with dancing, carousals, etc., which so disturbed Mack that he saw fit to leave the place.

In June, 1758, Post[26] was sent by the Governor of Penn-

26. Christian Frederick Post, the most adventurous of Moravian missionaries, was born in Germany in 1710. Coming to America in the year of Zinzendorf's visit to Wyoming, he engaged in missionary work among the Indians. He was twice married to Indian women. He preached to the Indians in Wyoming. In 1758 the government sent him on a dangerous mission to the Ohio, which resulted in the evacuation of Fort du Quesne by the French and the restoration of peace.

sylvania with a message to King Teedyuscung at Wyoming (Quawomik). He writes:

"June 27.—Came to the town on this side of the river about two p. m. My Indian companions called out, on which a great number of Indians came out of their houses, many with painted faces, and upwards of forty strangers of different tribes. Teedyuscung's house was as full as it could hold. Found a captive woman, Cobus Decker's daughter, from the Jersey Minisinks, also a trader from Lancaster county, Lawrence Bork, who has been here during the whole war."

In 1762 Zeisberger visited Wyoming twice—in March and November. In March his errand was to deliver a message from the Governor to King Teedyuscung in reference to a treaty. While here he met ten Onondaga warriors on the way south to resume hostilities with the Cherokees, the prosecution of which had been interrupted by the French and Indian war of 1755.

Teedyuscung complained much of the cost at Wyoming of entertaining passing Indians—said that they ate him out of house and home, and that he thought of leaving and settling at Wapwallopen.

For this trying journey from Philadelphia to Wyoming and return Zeisberger received £5. He had to take an Indian guide, as the country was covered with snow and the weather most severe. He paid the guide £3 and expenses of his horse. Zeisberger hopes £5 for his own services "will not be thought too much, considering how many days it hath taken up and what danger I have been in." His bill for the journey is given in Doc. His. of New York, iv, 200. Some account is given also in Loskiel's History of the Moravian Missions, part 2, p. 197.

In November Zeisberger went to Wyoming purposely to

see old Abraham, who was dying, but arrived too late to see him alive.

Zeisberger speaks of two towns—one he calls a Mohican town, where Abraham and other converts from Gnadenhütten lived, and near which, at his request, Abraham was buried—and a second one, Teedyuscung's town, both of which were on the east side of the river.

Zeisberger records that in the Spring of 1765 two seals were shot in the Susquehanna near Wyoming by the Indians. These were what were called harbor seals, which at that time used to ascend the rivers of the United States for the purpose of bearing their young. They lived on fish. Owing to a prevailing famine the strange creatures were considered as having been sent by God and were eaten.

Bishop John Ettwein, who several times passed through Wyoming on his way from Bethlehem to the Indian town at Wyalusing, states in his journal of 1767:

"On descending the Wyoming Mountain into the Valley, my Indian guide pointed out a pile of stones, said to indicate the number of Indians who had already climbed the mountain; it being a custom for each one to add one to the heap on passing that way. At 2 p. m. I reached Mr. Ogden's, where I was hospitably entertained. The Shawanese have all left the Valley, and the only traces of them are their places of burial, in crevices and caves in the rocks, at whose entrances stand large stones painted."

His route was from Bethlehem, northwest over the Blue Mountain, through the Pine Swamp, across the headwaters of the Lehigh to Wyoming. His journal says: "Continued my journey to Wyalusing. Rode up the east bank of the Susquehanna through a large flat, nine miles to Lackawanna (Lechawah-hanneck), where there was an Indian town up to 1755, and where our missionaries occasionally preached. It is now totally deserted by Indians. Along-

side of the path is a graveyard and upwards of thirty graves can be seen."

Ettwein was born in Wurtemburg in 1721. He led the Moravian Church through the stormy times of the Revolution.

With the tragic death of Teedyuscung in 1763 the Indian occupancy of Wyoming Valley ceased, except as it was occasionally visited by Indians from the Moravian village of Friedenshütten up the Susquehanna in search of game or fish or hemp. With the abandonment of the Valley by Teedyuscung's handful of people there came to an end the faithful missionary effort which had been projected by Zinzendorf 21 years earlier.

The brave Moravians had done their work and done it well, but the savage heart was not receptive soil for the gospel seed. Though sometimes attended with gratifying success, there was not that widespread evangelization which the self-denying Moravians had toiled and struggled for. The red man was already disappearing under the ravages of destitution, drunkenness and disease (for much of which the avaricious and unprincipled white man was responsible), but the hopeful Moravian missionaries clung to him to the last and were faithful to the end. With the disappearance of the Indian and his Moravian teachers came our new civilization from Connecticut.

### FRIEDENSHUETTEN (WYALUSING) MISSION.

Though outside of Wyoming Valley, this mission deserves mention, as it was the last Moravian station of any importance within the boundaries of Pennsylvania. It was subsequent to the Wyoming occupancy by the Indians, and only ended when the Connecticut migration to Northeastern Pennsylvania began. The Friedenshütten (Houses of Peace) mission was made up of Minsi Indians, who, after having been temporarily housed in Philadelphia during the

Indian war of 1763, were compelled to remove from the white man's territory. They found a home at Wyalusing, whither they repaired in 1765, built a town and remained there until the emigration to the Ohio seven years later. In 1772 they abandoned Friedenshütten, one detachment going down the Susquehanna past Wyoming and thence up the north branch, where they met a detachment who had gone across the country to the mouth of Muncy Creek. As they passed Wilkes-Barre, the newly-founded town of the Connecticut people, the Moravians rang their chapel bell, which they carried in one of their boats. A diary of the mission has been published in the Moravian by John W. Jordan, and many interesting details are given by Reichel in the transactions of the Moravian Historical Society. The diary contains many interesting references to Wyoming, which was on the route to Bethlehem, and which was frequently resorted to for hunting or for the gathering of hemp. The Valley of Wyoming had been evacuated by its Indian occupants soon after the death of Teedyuscung in 1763, and was already being contested for by rival claimants under Pennsylvania and Connecticut, a contest that developed into the Pennamite wars. The encroachments of the contending whites led the Friedenshütten converts to seek a home in the Ohio country.

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