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# Oravians on the Cuyahoga.

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ADDRESS DELIVERED BEFORE

The Western Reserve Historical Society,

By P. H. KAISER, ESQ.,

OF THE CLEVELAND BAR.

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## THE MORAVIANS ON THE CUYAHOGA.

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MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN :

[Recently, in company with the President of this Society and others I visited the locality to which attention is to be especially directed at this time, and then chanced to mention to him the fact of my own Moravian parentage and ancestry, and to this circumstance, in part at least, I attribute the honor of being requested by him to prepare the paper which I now present.]

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To write strictly and literally of "The Moravians on the Cuyahoga," would be to limit this paper to a period of time so short, and to a people so few, that the subject might fail to enlist that attention to which it is justly entitled. Such a treatment of the topic would divest it of that historic setting which alone gives interest to places, people and events. Independent and isolated facts have little significance, and are utterly devoid of that didactic force which makes history the greatest teacher of mankind. Events can be intelligently and profitably studied only in connection with those antecedent occurrences which were, so to speak, their historic progenitors.

The Moravian Church is one of the products of that great struggle in Europe which culminated in that social and ecclesiastic upheaval known as "The Protestant Reformation" This venerable organization, however, antedates the Reformation by well-nigh a century. For it had its origin about the middle of the fifteenth century among the followers of the Bohemian reformer and martyr, John Huss. Their growth in numbers was, under the circumstances, little less than marvelous; for, notwithstanding the frequent and cruel persecutions to which they were subjected, they had, at the time of Luther, more than four

hundred churches in Bohemia and Moravia, numbering a membership of two hundred thousand persons. So that the "*Unitas Fratrum*," as the Moravians were originally called, are justly styled "Protestants *older* than Protestantism"—"Reformers *before* the Reformation."

"Poor, gospel-proof and peaceable," as another has designated them, the most conspicuous characteristic of the Moravians has ever been the zeal and self-sacrificing devotion with which they have carried on the work of Foreign Missions. There has been no clime so rigorous, no coast so inhospitable, no barbarism so cruel, no humanity so debased as to deter these pious missionaries from telling the simple gospel story wherever there was a human ear to hear or a human heart to feel.

Imbued with a spirit so unselfish and devout, impelled by a zeal so aggressive and ardent, it was but natural that their hearts should turn with pious yearnings toward the untaught red men of the American forests, and that out of such a missionary soil should have grown the greatest, most devoted and successful Indian missionary and teacher known to the annals of any church. David Zeisberger was his name. This man, who spent sixty-two years of his life among the North American Indians, and who has been appropriately styled one of the "Master Missionaries," of the world, sojourned for a little time upon the banks of the Cuyahoga. He was born in 1721, in eastern Moravia, educated at Herrnhut, Saxony and in Holland, through the liberality of Count Zinzendorf, the head of the Moravian Church, and came to America when 17 years of age. Here he joined his parents, who, with a band of Moravians had, some years earlier, fled from persecution in Saxony and found refuge in the colony of General Ogelthorpe in Georgia. The breaking out of war between England and Spain in 1739, forced them from this asylum; inasmuch as they were, from principle, opposed to bearing arms. After some wanderings and temporary settle-

ments they located at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, in 1741; and this place has, ever since that time, been the centre of Moravian influence in America.

Here, young Zeisberger's attention was called to the condition of the Indians around him, and he resolved to devote his life to Christian work among them. He began his labor, as he needs must, by studying the Indian languages, and in the prosecution of his studies, he not only took instruction from a competent teacher at Bethlehem but visited the tribes among whom he expected to labor, and took up his residence among them for many months at a time. His earlier labors were confined to the region east of the Alleghany mountains. Moravian Indian mission stations were established on the Housatonic river and its tributaries in western Massachusetts and Connecticut; on the banks of the Mahoney creek, the Lehigh and Susquehanna rivers, and in the Wyoming valley in eastern Pennsylvania; at Onondaga in western New York, the capital of the famous Iroquois Confederacy, and at Schekameko in southeastern New York, and later on the Alleghany and Beaver rivers in Western Pennsylvania, aggregating in all some 25 or 30 stations. Zeisberger's trend, like that of all previous history, was to the westward, and yet more than a quarter of a century of his missionary labor had passed before he crossed the Ohio line and entered the state which was to be the scene of his greatest achievements and within whose borders his revered ashes now repose. In March, 1771, upon special request of the Delaware chief, Netawatwes, Zeisberger came to Ohio and visited him at his capital, located near the present site of Newcomerstown, in Tuscarawas county, and preached in the chief's own house. Bishop De Schweinitz, the historian, claims that this was the first Protestant sermon ever heard in Ohio.

The Grand Council of Delawares held at Gekelemukpechuck, as Newcomerstown was then called, urgently invited the

Christian Indians and their teachers to settle among them; and their land having been sold to Pennsylvania by the Iroquois from whom it had originally been granted to them, and the Yankee and Penamite war raging in the Wyoming valley—all tending to unsettle affairs and to retard the mission work, the church at Bethlehem, in 1771, resolved to remove all its Indian missions to the Tuscarawas in Ohio. The mission board at the same meeting appointed John Heckewelder as Zeisberger's assistant. This man in the annals of Indian missions, ranks next to Zeisberger himself; and he and his wife were among those Moravians who tarried for a little while upon the Cuyahoga. His daughter, born upon the Tuscarawas, is believed to have been the first white woman born in Ohio.

Upon the Tuscarawas, then called the Muskingum, Zeisberger established three mission stations within the limits of the present county of Tuscarawas, namely: Schœnbrunn, Gnadenhuetten, still bearing the same name, and Salem, near the present village of Port Washington, and a fourth, called Lichtenau, on the Muskingum near the present village of Coshocton. At this latter station, Lichtenau, in 1776, an Englishman, named William Edwards, became Zeisberger's assistant, was with him upon the Cuyahoga, continued to be his co-laborer among the Indians for twenty-five years, and now rests by his side in the little graveyard at Goshen, in the valley of the Tuscarawas.

The ten years from 1772 to 1782 were devoted to the mission upon the Tuscarawas and Muskingum. The earlier years of this decade were years of great material prosperity as well as a time of successful missionary work. Chapels were erected at the different stations, comfortable dwellings were built, orchards planted, fields cultivated, and the Indians were not merely hunters, but husbandmen as well.

The Christian Indians, now numbering about 400, were held to be a constituent part of the Delaware nation, into which Zeis-

berger was formally adopted, becoming in fact, if not in name, a chief among them. Nor was the gospel preached to the Delawares alone. The Shawanese, Nanticokes, Mohicans and several other Indian tribes were represented in the mission. Such was the desire of many of the heathen Indians to attend religious services that their chapels were too small to admit all who wished to hear.

Here, too, Zeisberger devoted much time to literary work, translating into the Delaware language the litany of the church, parts of the Bible, and many hymns and sacred songs.

Within less than three years after the establishment of the mission at Schœnbrunn, the Revolutionary War began. In this war many leading Indian tribes espoused the cause of Great Britain, but the powerful Delaware nation, over whom Zeisberger then exercised a controlling influence, remained neutral. In this way he indirectly rendered the American colonies a most valuable service, without which their Independence must certainly have been delayed, and possibly might never have been achieved. The position of non-combatants assumed by the Christian Indians and their teachers, in those days of war and heated passion, caused them to be suspected by both of the contending parties, and to be heartily despised and hated by those Indian tribes who longed to participate actively in the war.

Neutrality came to be regarded by the British and their Indian allies as secret friendship for the American cause. To such an extent was this true, that in 1781, at a barbecue in a Shawanese town on the Scioto, a raid against the mission was planned in the presence and by the help of British officers and under the folds of the British flag. This expedition was under the control of Pomoacan, the half King of the Wyandotts, but with whom were associated other Indian tribes. By these savages the entire body of Christian Indians, on the eleventh day of September, 1781, together with their teachers, were forced to

leave their settlements upon the Tuscarawas, closely guarded by Indian warriors. They made a slow and toilsome journey of three weeks, attended by great insolence on the part of their captors. They traveled in two divisions, the one on foot, driving their large herd of cattle, and the other in canoes, going by way of the Tuscarawas, the Walhonding and Vernon rivers to the head waters of the Sandusky, in what is now Wyandot County, Ohio, then the home of their captor, Pomoacan, the half King.

Almost immediately upon their arrival at the Sandusky, the missionaries were summoned to Detroit, then in control of the British, and for which place they at once set out.

About the same time a party of the Christian Indians returned to the Tuscarawas to gather corn of which they had left some three hundred acres standing.

This band was captured by a company of American militia, who had come to the Tuscarawas Valley to carry the Christian Indians to Pittsburgh, not knowing that by order of the British they had previously been taken to the Sandusky.

News of this capture reached the missionaries while on their way to Detroit. At Detroit the missionaries were acquitted of all charges against them and were permitted to return to the Sandusky, having made a most favorable impression upon the British commandant by their frank and honest answers to all questions put to them.

In the following February—that is February of 1782—about one hundred and fifty of the Christian Indians returned to the Tuscarawas to procure a supply of corn, for they were actually starving and their cattle dying of hunger on the Sandusky. During their absence the missionaries were summoned again to Detroit by the British commandant who was kindly disposed towards them, for this order of his seems to have been made to protect the missionaries from violence at the hands of the savage Indians by whom they were surrounded. Some two weeks inter-

vened between the receipt of this second summons and the day fixed for their final departure, and during this interval the missionaries sent out runners in many directions to call home their scattered congregation in order that they might address to them a last word of Christian exhortation and bid them a final farewell. Messenger after messenger was dispatched to the Tuscarawas, but no tidings came. An ominous silence brooded over that region.

In Zeisberger's diary, under date of Friday, March 8, 1782, he wrote: "The son of Br. Mark and his wife, Susanna, born in in the bush, February 12, was baptised with the name, Jonathan."

At that very hour when the missionaries were engaged in the tender and beautiful ceremony of baptizing the babe of Christian Indians upon the Sandusky, a band of infuriated white men were burying their murderous tomahawks in the skulls of innocent Christian Indians at Gnadenhuetten on the Tuscarawas.

Even as late as March 7th, a report had reached the missionaries that all was well with their brethren on the Tuscarawas, and it was not until March 23rd, at Lower Sandusky, while on their second journey to Detroit that Zeisberger and his associates received reliable information that the charred remains of ninety-six of their faithful Indian followers lay smoldering in the smoking ruins of burned Gnadenhuetten.

Upon hearing of this dreadful calamity the missionaries paused upon their journey at Lower Sandusky (now Fremont), long enough to hold an appropriate funeral service in memory of their massacred brethren upon the Tuscarawas, and then, with hearts laden with a double sorrow, turned their feet toward Detroit. They arrived at Detroit, April 20th.

It is said that the religious state of our sister city was then at so low an ebb that justices of the peace officiated at funerals and administered the rite of baptism. Here it would seem our

missionaries might well have found a field for their pious labors ; but after tarrying in Detroit for three months they went up the Detroit River into Lake St. Clair, and thence up the Clinton River (then called Huron), and located in Clinton Township, Macomb County, Michigan, between Mt. Clemens and Frederick, upon a high plateau of land on the bank of the river, and from the base of which flowed springs of pure water. This place, in situation, much resembled Schœnbrunn, in Tuscarawas County, but the missionaries named it Gnadenhuetten. It was located on lands claimed and occupied by Chippewa Indians who granted the missionaries permission to occupy their lands at the solicitation of the British commandant. Here the missionaries sought to collect their scattered flock. It was but natural that the news of the unprovoked slaughter of their brethren at Gnadenhuetten should have produced a feeling of dread and consternation among the remnant of the Christian Indians upon the Sandusky. The fear of the whites was so great that many of them turned with distrust and animosity from even their faithful teachers and friends, and went back to <sup>a</sup>heathenism and barbarism, from which they were never reclaimed. But still, a few continued faithful. Slowly the scattered Indians came to their teachers upon the Clinton, so that at the end of their sojourn of four years at that place, about one-fourth of the congregation that had worshipped on the Tuscarawas were again united upon the banks of the Clinton.

Although the settlement here enjoyed peace and the mission a fair degree of prosperity, still there were causes at work that led to the abandonment of the Clinton in April, 1786. In the first place the Chippewas desired to re-occupy their lands that were now in the possession of the Christian Indians, claiming that their consent had been given for temporary occupancy only. Again, the question whether the Northwestern Territory was to be under British or American control, was unsettled. Also

the United States had by this time made definitive treaties with all the great Indian tribes whereby the boundaries of the lands to be occupied and controlled by the Indians were definitely fixed, and thus the Indian troubles were thought to be at an end; and finally on the twentieth of May, 1785, Congress adopted a resolution giving to the Moravian Christian Indians the three towns formerly occupied by them on the Tuscarawas with as much more land adjoining as the United States Geographer might choose to grant them. (My father now owns a farm which is a part of these lands.) These considerations induced the missionaries to dispose of such of their property upon the Clinton as they could not well take with them, and to start for the Tuscarawas, toward which their eyes had ever turned with that longing which links the heart to the burial place of departed kinsmen. Their route from the Clinton to the Tuscarawas, as planned, was by the way of Lake Erie and the Cuyahoga. In April, 1786, having tarried upon the Clinton four years, they sold their property to John Askin and Major Ancrum, the British commandant, for \$400. Mr. Askin was a warm friend of the missionaries and their work, and a Detroit merchant of evidently considerable financial resources. The friendship of Major Ancrum was equally warm and manifested itself in very practical ways.

On Saturday, April 15th, 1786, preparatory to their departure, the entire congregation partook of a love-feast. If the love-feast of that early day, was like those of which I have often partaken as a boy, in these later years, it consisted of a large mug of most delicious coffee, accompanied by a correspondingly large sweetened biscuit, the two, in combination, constituting a very substantial lunch. Upon Sunday, the 16th, at early dawn, it being Easter, the congregation repaired to their rude chapel where in the gray morning a portion of the litany for the day was read, and thence they took

their way to the cemetery where the reading was concluded. This beautiful Easter morning service is still in vogue among Moravians everywhere. Four days later, on Thursday the 20th, after holding a last early devotional service in their little chapel, they ~~loaded~~<sup>loaded</sup> their canoes with such property as they could remove, and in the afternoon the fleet of twenty-two large canoes floated down the Clinton River and Lake St. Clair to Detroit. A small party with the horses went by land, going through to the Tuscarawas, but returned later to the Cuyahoga upon learning that their brethren had arrived there intending to remain for the season. Upon reaching Detroit in their canoes, necessary provisions for the journey were furnished by Major Ancrum. At mid-day of the 28th they left that city—then a mere village—in two sloops, the “Beaver” and the “Mackinaw,” furnished by Mr. Askin. Towards evening of the following day, the boats came to what I suppose was Middle Bass Island. Here they were detained for three weeks by a most unusual storm and continued adverse winds. Their days were spent upon the land, their nights upon the boats. They found here ducks, pigeons, raccoons, fish, and an abundance of wild potatoes and onions with which they supplemented their scanty stock of provisions. Early in the morning of the twentieth of May, the wind being favorable, their boats ventured out into the lake and by 10 a. m. they came in sight of the Cuyahoga, when suddenly the wind veered to the east and they were compelled to put about and make again for the islands. They reached Middle Bass the same afternoon. But three days later they sailed down to Put-in-bay Island and took refuge in that safe harbor, to which, twenty-seven years later, Commodore Perry “put in” for shelter and safety. The Bay was then known as Hope’s Cove. From this point the Beaver, as it could be no longer spared, returned to Detroit, and as the Mackinaw could not bring both passengers and baggage to the Cuyahoga they landed the passengers in two companies at the

northernmost point of Catawba Island, now known as Ottawa City. From this point they came on their journey in two divisions, one led by Zeisberger on foot, the other, led by Heckewelder in canoes which they made; while Edwards and a few others came in the "Mackinaw" with the baggage. The footmen traveled near the shore of the lake and from the Ottawa Indians and a French trader boats were procured for the crossing of Sandusky Bay and the Huron River, the remaining rivers, the Vermillion, Black and Rocky, being crossed in the canoes of Heckewelder's party. The high banks west and east of Rocky River were a source of amazement and awe to our travelers. The bank of the lake they describe as being then undermined, and, doubtless, since that time the south shore has receded many feet. The "Mackinaw" arrived at the mouth of the Cuyahoga on June 6th, Heckewelder in his canoes on the morning of the 8th and Zeisberger's party of footmen in the afternoon of the same day. The footmen came along the line of the Lake Shore railroad seventy years before that road was built. Zeisberger and his Indians occupied eleven days in making the journey from Port Clinton to Cleveland, while we fly over the same distance in less than half that number of hours. Thus it appears that one hour in 1894 is as long, when measured by miles, as three days were in 1786.

Upon this long and tiresome journey, on foot from Ottawa City to Cleveland, was one devoted pedestrian whose name deserves especial mention, and that was Mrs. Zeisberger, who, carrying a bundle, as did all the others, walked almost the entire distance by her husband's side.

As to the condition of the mouth of the Cuyahoga at that time, Zeisberger, in his diary under date of June 8, 1786, says:

"Heckewelder had hardly got into the mouth of the river this morning when a wind sprung up and a canoe which lagged behind came to grief from the rocks and had to run ashore. It was broken up but all others were rescued. Our "Mackinaw," day

before yesterday, had already arrived in good, calm weather, at the mouth of the river, which was great good luck, for when they sounded and found on the bar not more than three feet of water there was no possibility of getting in. The channel was stopped up where last year this same sloop came in, having eight feet of water—there is this year dry land or a heap of sand thrown up by the lake. The captain was on the point of turning back to Detroit without landing the baggage but was finally persuaded by the words of Bros. Schebosh and Edwards to try it, and thus, with much trouble from the open lake, for it was a good mile from land, they brought everything ashore at last. Had it not been calm it could not have been done. The sloop had put back into the lake. After she was unloaded and lightened she made another trial and came into the harbor all right, though with trouble enough, that she might be out of danger from a storm.”

From this statement of an eye witness it appears, first, that the mouth of the Cuyahoga was then navigable by boats that drew eight feet of water; and second, that the channel was subject to very great changes in the short space of one year.

The following rudely sketched map, drawn by Heckewelder, was found among the papers of General Moses Cleaveland and presented to the Western Reserve Historical Society, of Cleveland, by his daughter. It accompanies, in Vol. 2 of the publication of that Society (Tract 64) a description by Rev. Heckewelder of the Western Reserve. This map, as will be seen, represents the Cuyahoga as running direct to Lake Erie without any curve to correspond with the present “Old River Bed,” so-called. Little importance can be attached to this fact for a mere casual inspection of that map shows that it was no part of the draftsman’s purpose to show the meanderings of the Cuyahoga in any detail or with any sort of accuracy, but was intended to be the merest

outline and probably was drawn from memory when not actually on the ground.

But let us return to the company of our Indians.

Having arrived upon June 8th, they encamped upon the banks of the river and remained here just one week. Not a white man did they find here when they arrived. Their stock of provisions was well nigh exhausted and they were suffering from hunger, so much so that in his diary of June 12th, Zeisberger says: "Hunger begins to fall sharply upon us." Had they not been restrained by conscientious scruples they might have supplied their needs, for on the bank of the river not far from its mouth there stood a building stored with flour intended for Detroit, and which seems not to have been very securely fastened, for the thievish Chippewa Indians who lived on and near Huron river "took away secretly many horse loads of flour from that stored in the house." This warehouse was the property of a Pittsburg firm, known as Duncan & Wilson, with whom the Moravians afterward carried on considerable trade. The location of this storehouse on the bank of the Cuyahoga, filled with flour intended for Detroit, is another evidence that the Detroit boats of that early day, like those of the present, entered our river and were loaded from a building standing upon its bank.

The Moravians spent their first week in Cleveland in manufacturing—not side-wheel steamers nor steel ships as we now do—but in constructing their fleet of bark canoes preparatory to a sail or rather a pull up the Cuyahoga, for they were anxious to learn how far up the creek, as they called the Cuyahoga, they could go. Besides, corn-planting time was now nearly gone and they knew not where the next winter's provisions were to come from unless they planted and sowed crops of their own. Accordingly on Thursday, June 15th, Heckewelder, with several families, started in their canoes up the river, followed the next day by Zeisberger with another party, which overtook the first on the

17th. "The first day," says Zeisberger, "we had still water and good traveling, but the second day bad, for the creek was full of falls, and the further we went the worse it was." A third and last party came with Edwards.

Under date of June 18, Zeisberger, in his diary, writes as follows: "We came to an old Ottawa town where we stopped to examine the neighborhood. We considered what would be best for us and found that we and our Indians could not hold out to keep up our journey as we had thought, namely, to come to Thuppekunk, where we had thought of planting yet. We saw that we should yet have several days' labor, that our people had nothing to eat, and we dared not then think of planting. We resolved, therefore, to stay here this summer, when our matters would become clearer, for at present we are confused and know not rightly how things are with us. We laid out our camp upon the east side of the creek upon a height, and the day after, Monday 19, we sowed the land on the west side where we wished to plant, and found good and, in part, quite clear land for this purpose, only it was very wild, the weeds standing as high as a man, which we had to cut down, thus having much trouble and labor."

On June 21st a caravan of one hundred pack-horses, in charge of white men, came by the village on their way from Pittsburg to the mouth of the river, laden with corn and provisions intended for Detroit and from whom the Moravians purchased a supply of flour. It would seem that this commerce between Pittsburg and Detroit, by way of the mouth of the Cuyahoga, could not have been of long standing prior to June, 1786, for the Moravian Indians were asked to act as guides to show the white men the way to the lake. If there had been a well-beaten path this would have been unnecessary. By June 24th, six days after locating their village, they had cleared away the weeds and brush and had finished planting their corn. A little late this would be to find our thrifty farmers in the Independence bottoms planting their corn now-a-

days. The precise location of the Moravian village has been ascertained with a good degree of certainty. Colonel Whittlesey, in his history of Cleveland, locates it at or near the mouth of Tinker's creek, in the Township of Independence. Zeisberger himself says that the village was on the east side of the "creek," as he called the river, and that their clearing and planting were done on the west side of the "creek." He also says that it consumed the 16th, 17th and part of the 18th of June in going by canoe from the mouth of the river to the place where they located. If they went up the river at as slow a rate of travel as they came to it from the west, that is five to seven miles per day, they would evidently have landed somewhere in the Township of Independence on the 18th.

Heckewelder, on his outline map already referred to, indicates where the Moravian village was by two small circles and the words, "Moravian Ind, Town in 1786." He also represents two streams as flowing into the Cuyahoga on its easterly side, the more southerly one considerably larger and longer than the other. Between these streams he locates the Moravian town, but gives no names either to the streams or the town. The larger and longer of these creeks is doubtless what is known as Tinker's Creek and the other is the stream next north of it.

The map drawn by Heckewelder locates the Indian village on the east side of the Cuyahoga and on the south bank of the smaller of the two creeks or runs shown on his map. At the mouth of this smaller run the Cuyahoga river bent formerly quite abruptly to the eastward, causing it to hug the high bluff at that point very closely. This conformation of river, run and bluff rendered that spot a most desirable one on which to locate an Indian town. Besides, from the foot of that bluff flowed springs of pure water.

A river, a high bluff and perennial springs, these constitute the ideal site for an Indian town, especially a Moravian Indian

town. Thus it was on the Susquehannah, the Alleghany, the Beaver, the Tuscarawas, the Clinton and the Cuyahoga. The course of the Cuyahoga at that point has been changed, so that now its bed is many rods west of where it ran in 1786. Possibly the change occurred when the Ohio canal was built, as it now lies between the bluff and the river.

The Indians gave no name to their village, but Laskiel, the historian, gave to it the name Pilgerruh, meaning Pilgrim's Rest.

The indefatigable President of this Society, Hon. C. C. Baldwin, while making investigations at Bethlehem, Pa., in the summer of 1892, discovered among the archives of the Moravian church there, a map of this village, showing not only the streets and buildings, but giving the names of the occupants of each house or hut. (See maps.)

The engraving is furnished by the courtesy of that Society, and will appear in one of its future publications.

It is quite probable that the land which they planted, then being on the west side of the river, it now on the east side by reason of the changed course of the stream.

The Indians at once set to work erecting huts, some of bark, others of logs and blocks, and also a house in which to hold their religious services. By November 10th their chapel was so far completed that they held their first service in it. Zeisberger had an intense desire to re-unite his scattered flock.

He longed for the companionship of the absent members of his Christian household. In September, 1786, from Pilgerruh he sent to the dispersed Indians who had been left upon the Sandusky the following tender appeal, sounding like the voice of an aged father echoing plaintively through the forest calling to his wandering children to come home. Thus it read :

ZEISBERGER'S LETTER.

*"To all our Scattered Brethren, this our Salutation :*

We have not forgotten you. We think of you constantly,

and wish that you could again be in fellowship with us, believing that you, on your part, have not forgotten the Word of God which we have taught you. Hence we desire to know your mind as to how you may again be brought to hear this Word and experience its divine influences. To this end we invite some of your understanding men to visit us that we may consult with them. Do not cast away your confidence or give up your hope, do not imagine that this effort to reclaim you will be in vain, that you have strayed too far away and sinned too grievously, to be gathered again as a congregation of the Lord. Do not say, 'The Savior and the brethren have cast us off!' Take courage. Turn to the Savior, who is merciful and gracious, full of compassion and truth, and Who will forgive your sins. As for us, we do not seek an opportunity to reprove you. We ask you to hold a conference with us that we may, together, determine how to relieve you from your present unhappy mode of life, and to bring you back to the Lord Jesus Christ, whose blood was shed for the worst of sinners."

But the iron of the Gnadenhuetten massacre had entered so deeply into their souls that few paid heed to the paternal invitation.

Their means of subsistence were somewhat precarious, and they evidently were often pinched with the gnawings of hunger. Their own store of provisions was substantially exhausted when they arrived at the mouth of the river, and from their own planting and sowing they realized but little until October. They eked out a scanty living by fishing in the river and lake, by hunting in the forests, by importing corn from the Petquoting or Huron river and the Sandusky, by supplies of honey from swarms of wild bees (of which there were many in the forests, says Zeisberger) from cows bought and driven in from Pittsburgh, and from flower bought from the pack-horse merchants and from Duncan & Wilson's agent at the mouth of the river. The path over which

the caravans of pack-horses came from Pittsburgh, to the mouth of our river crossed the river near the mouth of Tinker's creek, and this gave the Moravians facilities for purchasing flour as well as a means of sending letters to the church in the east via Pittsburgh. On one occasion the pack-horsemen finding no white people at the lake, stored seventy horse-loads of flour in a building in or near the Moravian village. The flour remained undisturbed from October 25th until December 14th, when seven Tawas and Chippewas came up from the lake, remained over night, and in the morning made some very suggestive inquiries about that flour (of which they had previously heard) and proceeded to take out three casks of it, and very generously gave one of them to the Moravians because they could not carry all three away with them. Says Zeisberger: "We, however, put the cask with the rest, and did not take it."

Are there any pale-faced Christians now residing on the banks of the Cuyahoga who pay a stricter heed to the eighth section of the Decalogue than did these dusky disciples in 1786? In those slow times honesty was thought to be an essential element of Christian character.

In Howe's "Historical Collections of Ohio," speaking of Col. James Hillman, then of Youngstown, and who was an employe of Duncan & Wilson, of Pittsburg, in transporting goods from that place to the mouth of our river, the author says on page 338, "During the summer of 1786 he made six trips, the caravan consisting of ten men and ninety horses. They usually crossed the Big Beaver four miles below the mouth of the Shenango, thence up the left bank of the Mahoning, crossing it about three miles above the village of Youngstown, thence by way of the Salt Springs, in the Township of Weathersfield, through Milton and Ravenna, crossing the Cuyahoga at the mouth of Breakneck, and again at the mouth of Tinker's creek in Bedford, and thence down the river to its mouth, where they erected a log hut for the safe

keeping of their goods, which was the first house built in Cleveland. At the mouth of Tinker's creek were a few houses built by the Moravian missionaries. They were then vacant, the Indians having occupied them one year only previous to their removal to the Tuscarawas river."

In this quotation there are at least three errors. If the Moravians had vacated their houses before Col. Hillman came to the mouth of our river, then he did not come in 1786, for they remained until April, 1787; second, when the Moravians left the Cuyahoga they did not go to the Tuscarawas river but to the Huron or Petquoting river, in Erie county, Ohio; and thirdly, the mouth of Tinker's creek was not in Bedford but in Independence township.

There was another source of discomfort to these Indians that occasioned them more solicitude than the question of their food supply. The massacre of their friends and kinsmen by white men in March, 1782, at Gnadenhuetten, on the Tuscarawas, had struck ineradicable terror and trepidation into the very depths of the souls of these Christian Indians. They were disturbed by every report of danger whether true or false. Every new or strange sound at night was, to their affrighted ears, the tramp of an army of white men coming to repeat the bloody scenes of Gnadenhuetten, and they would betake themselves in dead of night, like frightened deer, to the forest where they would remain in hiding, and whence they would timidly emerge only upon assurance that there was no immediate danger to be feared. Let Zeisberger relate in his own simple way one instance illustrative of the fear with which the Indians were constantly haunted. Under date of Sunday, October 22, he writes in his diary as follows:

"In the evening when it was already dark, we heard from afar a great uproar from white people and horses' bells. We supposed it was the pack-horses with flour, but to the Indians, with

all our persuasions, this was not trustworthy, but they believed it to be the army of which we had heard, which would surround us, and no one would venture out to see, but every soul of them fled to the bush and left us quite alone until at dawn Br. Schebosh went out and found it was the pack-horses, who, by good luck, had an Indian with them \* \* \* who told them that all they had heard was a lie. Then they were convinced and recovered from their fear and timidity. If the Indian had not been with them, they would never have believed the white people, so incredulous were they." Many other instances of fleeing to the "bush" does Zeisberger mention in his diary during the time they were lodging upon the bank of our river. They apprehended danger both from the whites and heathen Indians. The Gnadenhuetten and other atrocities on the part of white men, kept them in constant fear of danger from the pale faces.

On the other hand, in May, 1785, the American Congress had reserved to the Christian Indians their three towns, Schoenbrunn, Gnadenhuetten and Salem on the Tuscarawas, with so much additional land as the Government Geographer might see fit to give them. Besides this, on the 24th day of August, 1786, Congress passed a resolution expressive of that body's pleasure at hearing of the safe arrival of the Indians upon the Cuyahoga, assuring them of the friendship of the United States, granting them permission to return to their former settlements on the Muskingum, and ordering Lt. Col. Harmar to furnish them with provisions and utensils upon their arrival upon the Muskingum. The resolutions and Col. Harmar's letter forwarding it are as follows :

"By the United States, in Congress assembled, August 24, 1786:

*Resolved:* That the Secretary of War give orders to Lt. Col. Harmar that he signify to the Moravian Indians, lately come from the River Huron to Cuyahoga, that it affords pleasure to Congress to hear of their arrival, and that they have permission to return to their former settlement on the Muskingum, where

they may be assured of the friendship and protection of the United States; and that Lt. Col. Harmar supply the said Indians, after their arrival at Muskingum, with a quantity of Indian corn, not exceeding five hundred bushels, out of the public stores on the Ohio, and deliver the same to them at Fort McIntosh as soon after next Christmas as the same may be procured; and that he furnish the said Indians with twenty Indian axes, twenty corn hoes and one hundred blankets, and that the Board of Treasury and Secretary of War take order to carry the above into effect.”

*To the Moravian Indians at or near Cuyahoga :*

FT. HARMAR, At the Mouth of the Muskingum, Dec. 6, 1786.

BROTHERS :

The Honorable Congress have been pleased to pass the enclosed resolve in your favor. I have directed that the corn and other articles shall be sent down to this port, where they will be ready to be delivered to you. In obedience to the orders of Congress, I have to inform you that that honorable body are well pleased to hear of your arrival and have granted you permission to return to your former settlements on the Muskingum, where you may be assured of the friendship and protection of the United States.

I should wish to know the names of the principal men who have the direction of your affairs, and shall be happy in rendering you every assistance in my power.

I am, Brothers, your friend,

LIEUT. COL. JOS. HARMAR.

Lt. Col. Com'd of the troops in the service of the U. S.

In addition to these invitations Gen. Butler, Superintendent of Indian affairs, sent a friendly letter dissuading the Moravian Indians from paying heed to the requests of heathen chiefs. To such an extent had all these influences wrought upon the mind of Zeisberger that as late as March 11, 1787, he advised his

congregation to go to the Tuscarawas. The lot, by which the advice of the Savior was obtained in a crisis, was appealed to, and thus it was ascertained that the Savior was not opposed to their going to the Tuscarawas, but that there was no special haste in the matter.

Duncan & Wilson, who had given up their warehouse at the lake and who found these honest Moravians very safe custodians of their flour, as well as desirable patrons of their trade, with an eye to business advised the Indians that on the Cuyahoga was the safest place they could possibly find.

On the other hand, the heathen Indians used every means in their power to persuade, frighten and compel them to retrace their steps and take up their residence on the Petquoting.

At one time it was rumored that the whites had committed murders in the Stawnese country, that Congress had declared war against the Indian nations, that the Tuscarawas swarmed with white people ready to massacre them as in 1782. Added to this were positive orders from Capt. Pipe and several other chiefs, who claimed the right to control the movements of the Christian Indians, that they must not go to the Tuscarawas, but must go to the Huron river, in Erie county, this State. Last of all, open threats were made that if the Moravian Indians persisted in going to the Tuscarawas country the missionaries would be killed and the Indians carried away as captives.

In the face of such fierce opposition as this the Moravians reluctantly, for the time, abandoned their cherished purpose of returning to the Tuscarawas, the scene of their greatest prosperity and of their direst calamity, and began to prepare to bid adieu to the Valley of the Cuyahoga.

As to their numbers Colonel Charles Whittlesey, in his "Early History of Cleveland," speaking on page 137, of the Moravian community as it was in October, 1786, says: "whose number at this time I am unable to ascertain."

From Zeisberger's diary, however, to which the Colonel probably did not have access, their number is ascertainable with much accuracy. He states that on December 31st, 1786, there were 95 Indians on the Cuyahoga, whom he classifies as follows:

- 16 married couples.
- 1 "Individual woman."
- 2 single men.
- 2 widowers.
- 6 single women.
- 3 widows.
- 8 big boys.
- 7 big girls.
- 13 boys.
- 21 girls.

Besides these 95, 12 Indians had left from fear, in October and gone to the Petquoting, making, therefore in all, 107 Indians who constituted the settlement. In addition to the Indians there were Zeisberger and his wife, Heckewelder and his wife, Edwards and Schebosh, six; all of whom were whites, making a grand total of 113 persons.

But one death occurred while here, and this is the account of it in Zeisberger's own language, found in his diary under date of Friday, June 30, 1786:

"We early learned a sad circumstance. Thomas, who was scalped at Gnadenhuetten. March 8th, 1782, went down the creek fishing, day before yesterday, and when he remained out over night it was supposed he had gone down to the lake. This mornning Jacob went down the creek, where he shot a deer, and found his canoe, which had floated down, but not him. But when search was made he was found dead in the water. Since he was scalped he has often had fits, and this was doubtless the cause of his death for he was one of the best of swimmers."

Only one other Indian escaped at Gnadenhuetten, a lad named Jacob, and whether he was here upon our river I have been unable to ascertain with certainty. There was a Jacob among them, probably it was he. There having been but one death no graveyard was laid out by them.

On Thursday, April 19, 1787, they bade farewell to Pilger-ruh, loaded their canoes and turned their faces again to the westward, some with Edwards floating down the Cuyahoga in their canoes and rowing westward near the southern shore of the lake, while others, with Zeisberger and his wife, went by land, and Heckewelder, who had just returned from Bethlehem, coming on still a few days later. The company finding land in Lorain county, upon Black river, five miles from its mouth, quite to their liking, tarried there about a week intending to establish themselves there, but soon they were ordered by a Monsey chief to move on still farther west. Accordingly they proceeded to the Huron river where they located near the present site of Milan, in Erie county, and established a village known in their history as New Salem. Here they remained for four years, the mission meeting with a success that recalled to the minds of the missionaries the flourishing days at Schoenbrum, Gnadenhuetten and Lichtenau. But this happy condition of things could not long continue in those tumultuous and war-like times. The policy of the United States in respect to the title of the land occupied by the Indian tribes was, from the very first, highly unsatisfactory to the Indians and the treaties entered into, fixing the extent and boundaries of their occupation, were more the results of compulsion than of hearty acquiescence. Upon the close of the Revolution our Government took the ground that the effect of the war and the cession of territory by Great Britain, vested in the United States a complete and perfect title to all the lands ceded by England whether those lands were or were not claimed by Indians. Certainly this was not a very unnatural position to take

in view of the fact that many of the Indian tribes had been the active allies of England during the war. Although by treaty the boundary of rightful Indian occupation was the Cuyahoga and upper Tuscarawas the savage western tribes insisted upon pushing their occupation to the Ohio river. The issue thus raised could not be settled by argument or diplomacy, but was submitted to the arbitrament of rifle and tomahawk, sword and scalping knife and torch. A general Indian war ensued. The Christian Indians must fight or suffer massacre or flee. They felt that there was no place of safety within the limits of the United States. They were in fear of the war-like savages and were filled with unspeakable horror and dread at thought of the possible re-appearance of the American militia, whom, since the Gnadenhuetten massacre, they feared more than any combination of savage Indians. Permission was therefore obtained to settle in Canada on the Detroit river, near the present village of Amherstburgh in the Province of Ontario, to which place they removed in May, 1791. Not feeling entirely secure so near the theater of war they left this place in April of the following year and located on the west side of the Thames river, about eighty-five miles from its mouth, in the Province of Ontario. Here they built a village called then and still Fairfield, and where, until 1798, the community remained unbroken and the mission was fairly prosperous.

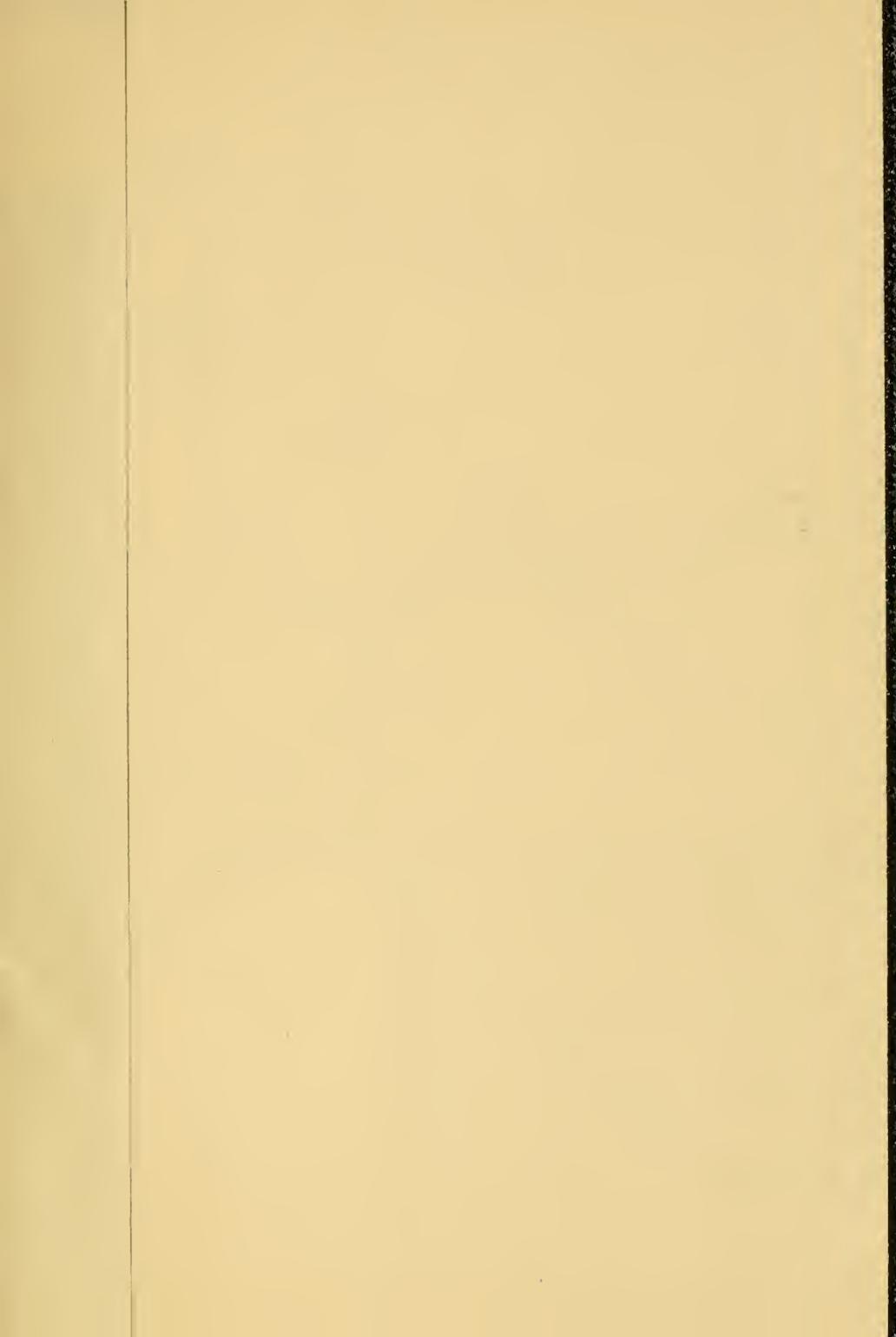
The Christian Indians having, in 1791, removed from the United States and transferred the mission to British soil, Thomas Jefferson, in November of that year, as Secretary of State, declared in his report "that the lands reserved for them still remain to the United States" Congress, however, by an act dated June 1st, 1796, renewed the grant, and President Adams, in the spring of 1797, issued the deed to the Society for Propagating the Gospel. This friendly action on the part of the United States Government turned the thoughts of Zeisberger and his co-laborers again to the valley of Tuscarawas, and thither a portion of them

resolved to go. Accordingly in the year 1798, Hecke<sup>w</sup>elder, Edwards, Mortimer, the Zeisbergers and thirty-three of the converts, left Fairfield for the Tuscarawas, coming by way of the Cuyahoga and the ruins of Pilgerruh. Twelve years of labor and journeyings had passed since they had first halted upon the banks of our river for a little time, hoping and much desiring to resume the journey to the Tuscarawas. This was not to be. But now after these years of delay their wishes are to be gratified and their canoes glide up our river for the last time and the Moravians vanish forever from the Cuyahoga.













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