

1998

## "Struck in their hearts": David Zeisberger's Moravian mission to the Delaware Indians in Ohio, 1767-1808

Maia Turner Conrad  
*College of William & Mary - Arts & Sciences*

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholarworks.wm.edu/etd>



Part of the [Ethnic Studies Commons](#), [Religion Commons](#), and the [United States History Commons](#)

---

### Recommended Citation

Conrad, Maia Turner, "'Struck in their hearts': David Zeisberger's Moravian mission to the Delaware Indians in Ohio, 1767-1808" (1998). *Dissertations, Theses, and Masters Projects*. Paper 1539623926. <https://dx.doi.org/doi:10.21220/s2-t007-rg66>

This Dissertation is brought to you for free and open access by the Theses, Dissertations, & Master Projects at W&M ScholarWorks. It has been accepted for inclusion in Dissertations, Theses, and Masters Projects by an authorized administrator of W&M ScholarWorks. For more information, please contact [scholarworks@wm.edu](mailto:scholarworks@wm.edu).

## INFORMATION TO USERS

This manuscript has been reproduced from the microfilm master. UMI films the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of computer printer.

**The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.** Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. Each original is also photographed in one exposure and is included in reduced form at the back of the book.

Photographs included in the original manuscript have been reproduced xerographically in this copy. Higher quality 6" x 9" black and white photographic prints are available for any photographs or illustrations appearing in this copy for an additional charge. Contact UMI directly to order.

# UMI

A Bell & Howell Information Company  
300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor MI 48106-1346 USA  
313/761-4700 800/521-0600



**"STRUCK IN THEIR HEARTS": DAVID ZEISBERGER'S MORAVIAN MISSION TO  
THE DELAWARE INDIANS IN OHIO, 1767-1808**

---

**A Dissertation**

**Presented to**

**The Faculty of the Department of History  
The College of William and Mary in Virginia**

**In Partial Fulfillment**

**Of the Requirements for the Degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy**

---

**by**

**Maia Turner Conrad**

**1998**

**UMI Number: 9920297**

**Copyright 1999 by  
Conrad, Maia Turner**

**All rights reserved.**

---

**UMI Microform 9920297  
Copyright 1999, by UMI Company. All rights reserved.**

**This microform edition is protected against unauthorized  
copying under Title 17, United States Code.**

---

**UMI**  
**300 North Zeeb Road**  
**Ann Arbor, MI 48103**

APPROVAL SHEET

This dissertation is submitted in partial fulfillment of  
the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

  
Maia Turner Conrad

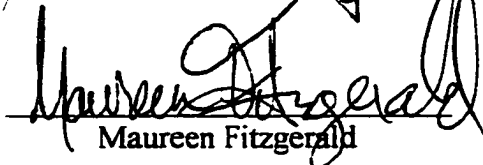
Approved,



---

James Axtell

  
James Whittenburg

  
Maureen Fitzgerald

  
David Holmes

  
Jon Sensbach

## **DEDICATION**

**For John, my light.**

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<b>Page</b>
<b>Acknowledgements</b>	<b>v</b>
<b>List of Figures</b>	<b>vii</b>
<b>List of Abbreviations</b>	<b>viii</b>
<b>Abstract</b>	<b>x</b>
<b>Introduction</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>1. Our Beliefs Are Our Lives: The Moravian Church and Society</b>	<b>15</b>
<b>2. Delaware Beliefs and Social Structure</b>	<b>46</b>
<b>3. The Art of Faith</b>	<b>68</b>
<b>4. The Art of Survival</b>	<b>110</b>
<b>5. The Art of Diplomacy</b>	<b>138</b>
<b>6. "Struck in their Hearts:" The Converts</b>	<b>174</b>
<b>Conclusion</b>	<b>211</b>
<b>Appendix</b>	<b>218</b>
<b>Bibliography</b>	<b>227</b>
<b>Vita</b>	<b>235</b>



## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This project would not have been possible without the invaluable assistance of numerous people. James Axtell has been a most generous and helpful advisor, always expecting the best I can produce while allowing me to work at my own pace. His faith in my ability and my determination to complete this dissertation has made working with him a wonderful and beneficial experience.

The translation of the required manuscripts was made possible with the training I received at the Moravian Archives in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, under Vernon Nelson.. Susan Dreydoppel, director of the Moravian Historical Society, was always able to find copies of the Transactions I needed, even when decades old, and I always received them in exemplary time. The reference staff at the Earl Gregg Swem Library at The College of William and Mary were always helpful and efficient when I needed their assistance, especially when the one critical microfilm reading machine frequently broke. I am grateful for James Morris's editorial expertise; my use of *fanboys* has greatly improved my punctuation.

My parents have always been an inspiration to my work, for their love of learning and history has inspired mine. My greatest appreciation goes to my husband, John Burton,

**and our children, Jordan and Felisa. They have always reminded me of the truly important things in life and have made this long journey worthwhile.**

## LIST OF FIGURES

<b>Figure</b>		<b>Page</b>
1.	<b>Total Mission Population</b>	226
2.	<b>Baptized and Unbaptized Residents</b>	227
3.	<b>Communicant and Baptized Residents</b>	228
4.	<b>Adult and Juvenile Residents</b>	229

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

DeSchweinitz, Life and Times.

Edmund DeSchweinitz, The Life and Times of David Zeisberger, The Western Pioneer and Apostle of the Indians. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1870. Reprint, Arno Press, 1971.

Diary of David Zeisberger.

The Diary of David Zeisberger, 1767-1772. trans. Tilde Marx. Merle H. Deardorff Collection, Warren County Historical Society, Warren Pennsylvania.

Hamilton, History of the Church.

J. Taylor Hamilton, A History of the Church Known as the Moravian Church, or the Unitas Fratrum, or the Unity of the Brethren, during the 18th and 19th Centuries. Bethlehem, Pennsylvania: Times Publishing Company, 1900. Reprint, New York: AMS Press, 1971.

Hamilton, History of the Moravian Church.

J. Taylor Hamilton and Kenneth G. Hamilton, History of the Moravian Church: The Renewed Unitas Fratrum, 1722-1957. Bethlehem, Pennsylvania: Moravian Church in America, 1967.

Heckewelder, History.

John Heckewelder, History, Manners, and Customs of the Indian Nations Who Once Inhabited Pennsylvania and the Neighbouring States. Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. vol. 12. Philadelphia, 1881.

Heckewelder, Thirty Thousand Miles.

Thirty Thousand Miles with John Heckewelder. ed. Paul A. W. Wallace. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1958.

Henry, Sketches.

James Henry, Sketches of Moravian Life and Character: comprising A General view of the History, Life, Character, and Religious and Educational Institutions of the Unitas Fratrum. Philadelphia: J. B.

Lippincott, 1859.

Hulbert, Moravian Records.

The Moravian Records, vol. 2. The Diaries of Zeisberger Relating to the First Missions in the Ohio Basin. eds. Archer Butler Hulbert and Wm. Nathaniel Schwarze. Ohio Archeological and Historical Publications vol. 21. Columbus: 1912.

MMR

Moravian Mission Records among the North American Indians from the Archives of the Moravian Church, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. New Haven: Research Publications., [1978?] 40 microform reels. For those records which remain in German, the translations are mine.

Weslager, Delaware Westward Migration.

C. A. Weslager, The Delaware Indian Westward Migration: With the Texts of Two Manuscripts (1821-22) Responding to General Lewis Cass's Inquiries About Lenape Culture and Language. Wallingford, PA: Middle Atlantic Press, 1978.

Zeisberger, Diary.

Diary of David Zeisberger A Moravian Missionary Among the Indians of Ohio. ed. and trans. Eugene Bliss. 2 vols. Cincinnati: Historical Philosophical Society of Ohio, 1885.

Zeisberger's History.

David Zeisberger's History of the Northern American Indians. ed. Archer Butler Hulbert and William Nathaniel Schwarze. Columbus: Ohio State Archeological and Historical Society, 1910.

Zinzendorf, Nine Public Lectures.

Nicholas Ludwig Count von Zinzendorf, Nine Public Lectures on Important Subjects in Religion, Preached in Fetter Lane Chapel in London in the Year 1746. ed. and trans. George W. Forell. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1973.

## ABSTRACT

In 1767 David Zeisberger began his Moravian mission to the Delaware Indians in Ohio. He led this mission until his death in 1808. While Zeisberger and his assistants required conformity in matters religious (marriage, services, belief, church organization) they were quite tolerant in all other areas of mission life; the Delaware converts did not have to alter their traditional economic, medical, housing, and diplomatic practices. In religion, the Delaware converts did not have to make enormous changes in their traditional beliefs. While some traditional Delaware religious practices had to be abandoned, many individuals had little difficulty doing so.

The goal of this study is to understand why hundreds of Delawares chose to convert, and why as many more chose to live at the mission. Many Delawares hoped to return to the peaceful life they had enjoyed under their previous status as peacemakers. Many chiefs joined the mission. These men and their wives maintained their influence within the mission structure as "national assistants" and with their people. Many Indians followed these important men to the mission, believing that the latter must "know something right." Others joined the mission because family members had converted. Many came to live at the mission to escape the destruction and danger of the revolutionary war, while others came to find an escape from the increasing disruption of drunkenness and witchcraft.

Previous studies have failed either to study the full chronological scope of the mission or have made serious errors in their conclusions. This study covers the mission from its beginning in 1767 until Zeisberger's death in 1808. Unlike previous studies, it analyzes the structure and operations of the mission and the changes that were required of the converts.

Zeisberger's success lay not only in the numbers of converts he gained (some 400 at the mission's height), but also in the relationships he forged with the Delaware and other Indian nations of Ohio. Even in the worst of circumstances, the Delaware converts chose to remain with or rejoin the mission. Their devotion and commitment to their new religion and to Zeisberger is impressive. At all times Zeisberger managed to maintain friendly relations with most nations, even during times of war. With all the stresses of living on a turbulent frontier between desperate Indian nations and land-hungry colonists, Zeisberger maintained the mission's independence and integrity. Because of his leadership and tolerance, the converts continued to identify themselves as Delaware Indians; altering their religion did not remove their primary identity nor their sense of loyalty to their people. The converts, although now Moravian in faith, remained Delawares.

**"STRUCK IN THEIR HEARTS": DAVID ZEISBERGER'S MORAVIAN MISSION  
TO THE DELAWARE INDIANS IN OHIO, 1767-1808**

## INTRODUCTION

This study examines one of the most successful Christian missions in colonial North America, the Ohio mission of David Zeisberger. It encompasses the lives of hundreds of Indians and a handful of Moravian missionaries who created a new community on the Ohio frontier in the late eighteenth century. Central to this investigation are the Indian converts and their reasons for choosing a new religion and society. The mission operated during one of the most stressful eras in the Ohio country, the decades before, during, and after the American revolutionary war. The characters involved in this dramatic adventure were the products of centuries of change and persecution. The Delaware nation and the Moravians shared a history of dislocation and persecution, the former for being Indians, the latter for their religious beliefs.

The Moravian Church has a long history of turmoil and difficulty which they have survived and, in some ways, from which they have benefitted. From 1456, when the *Unitas Fratrum*, United Brethren or Moravian Church, was founded in Kunwald, Moravia by Gregory the Patriarch to the late nineteenth century, the Moravians were a distinct and often unwelcome minority wherever they lived. In the seventeenth century, after terrible persecutions in Moravia, they temporarily joined with the Reformed Church in Poland,



hoping that association would provide them much needed protection.<sup>1</sup>

In 1722 this "hidden seed" of the Moravian Church received a welcome reprieve when Nicholas Ludwig Count von Zinzendorf invited them to establish a protected, independent community on his land in Saxony. This "renewed church" gratefully founded a new town, Herrnhut, on Zinzendorf's lands. Christian David, the founder of the Renewed Unitas Fratrum, led ninety refugees to their new home and reestablished an independent church.<sup>2</sup>

It was not long before the Moravian Church, safe under the protection of their new benefactor, began discussing the importance of creating a mission enterprise. The primary reason for the founding of missions was to establish new Moravian settlements free of persecution. The mission to North America was one of the first, arriving in Georgia in 1734. The enterprise in Georgia was short-lived, however, because the Moravians refused to bear arms against the Spanish. In 1739, at the invitation of George Whitfield, they moved to Pennsylvania and established Bethlehem, a religious community.<sup>3</sup>

Although Count Zinzendorf began his work with the Moravians as their physical protector, by 1741 he had become their spiritual leader as well. The American and European brethren were subject to the same rules and plans and were controlled by one

---

<sup>1</sup>Jacob John Sessler, Communal Pietism Among Early American Moravians (New York: Henry Holt, 1933), 4-5.

<sup>2</sup>Sessler, Communal Pietism, 6; Hamilton, History of the Moravian Church, 13, 28.

<sup>3</sup>Sessler, Communal Pietism, 15, 17, 72-73.

government. The American Moravian Church operated within an European organization.<sup>4</sup>

To their dismay, the Moravians in America soon discovered that they were not free from prejudice in their new home. In 1744 the New York Assembly declared the Moravians "vagrant preachers" and "disguised Papists." Three years later the Moravians were spared from legal persecution when the British Parliament extended to all foreign Protestant churches the same exceptions previously granted to the Quakers. The American Moravians could now live their religious lives without legal inequity. In 1749 Parliament further extended protection to the Moravians by granting them indemnity from bearing arms and taking oaths, two practices abhorrent to Moravian sensibilities.<sup>5</sup>

Shortly after their establishment in North America, the Moravians further expanded their missionary enterprise to include North American Indian nations. In the 1740s and 1750s Zinzendorf and Bishop Cammerhof traveled to New York to discuss possible missionary activities among the Iroquois and they established a mission in Shekomeko, New York, gaining numerous Mahican converts.

While the Moravians had been enduring persecution and displacement, the Delaware Indians had been suffering a similar fate. Originally located in the coastal areas from modern Delaware to New Jersey, the Delawares had been repeatedly displaced by foreign encroachment into their lands. In small groups they moved further inland away from the difficulties created by close contact with Europeans. As early as the 1680s the Delawares

---

<sup>4</sup>Sessler, Communal Pietism, 156-57.

<sup>5</sup>Zinzendorf, Nine Public Lectures, xxix; Glenn Weaver, "The Moravians During the French and Indian War," Church History 24 (1955) :239-56.

were moving into Ohio, and by 1750 this migration was virtually complete. Almost the entire Delaware nation had relocated to the area around the Muskingum (Tuscarawas) River.<sup>6</sup>

By 1725 the Delawares had accepted the designation of peacemakers, refusing to join in war. This designation was not a disgrace for the Delawares but provided them with a special, respected status. Their efforts to prevent constant warfare between the Iroquois and the Ohio nations was the only means of preventing ultimate annihilation. Their neighbors called them "grandfather," a respected title, and the Iroquois called them "cousins."<sup>7</sup>

But the Delawares' role as peacemakers did not last. In 1737 they signed a treaty with James Logan, an officer of the Pennsylvania Provincial Council. This treaty, also known as the Walking Purchase, deprived the Delawares of 1,200 square miles of land. The Delawares accused the Americans of committing fraud; they had improperly conducted their walk, using runners instead of traveling in traditional Indian style. Although the Delawares complained to the colonial authorities and to the Iroquois, they were unable to reclaim their stolen land. The Delawares were obliged to move even further west, settling on Iroquois

---

<sup>6</sup>Michael N. McConnell, A Country Between: The Upper Ohio Valley and Its Peoples, 1724-1774 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992), 14; William W. Newcomb, Jr., The Culture and Acculturation of the Delaware Indians, Anthropological Papers, Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan, No. 10 (Ann Arbor: 1956; reprint 1970), 84-85.

<sup>7</sup>Regula Trenkwalder Schonenberger, Lenape Women, Matriliney and the Colonial Encounter: Resistance and Erosion of Power (c. 1600-1876) An Excursus in Feminist Anthropology (Bern: Peter Lang, 1991), 238-42; John Heckewelder, History, Manners, and Customs of the Indian Nations Who Once Inhabited Pennsylvania and the Neighbouring States, Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 2 vols., (Philadelphia: Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1881), 2: 56-58.

land under their sufferance. Even this new settlement was not allowed to remain for long. In July 1742 the Iroquois signed a treaty with Pennsylvania requiring the Delawares to leave Iroquois lands. Once again dispossessed, the Delawares moved to Ohio where they were welcomed by the Miamis.<sup>8</sup>

Bridging the geographic and cultural gap between the Moravian and Delaware worlds was David Zeisberger. Born in Moravia in 1721, he moved to Herrnhut under Zinzendorf's protection in 1726. When he was seventeen years old, he moved to Georgia with his parents to assist in the building of the new American community and with the rest of the Moravians to Pennsylvania in 1740. Only five years later, at twenty-four, he travelled to the Mohawk Valley to perfect his knowledge of the Mohawk language. Later that same year he joined the Onondaga Iroquois, lived with them for more than a year to learn their language, and was adopted into their tribe, receiving the name Ganousseracheri. Zeisberger's next assignment was as an assistant at the mission settlement in Shamokin and served as an interpreter for his bishops who visited the Iroquois.<sup>9</sup>

In 1756 Zeisberger left his missionary post and served as a messenger of the Moravian Mission Board, visiting various settlements and attending treaty negotiations between the Iroquois and Pennsylvania. He returned to preaching to the Indians in 1762 at mission settlements near Bethlehem. In 1767 the Moravian Church decided to undertake

---

<sup>8</sup>Weslager, Delaware Westward Migration, 18; Anthony F. C. Wallace, King of the Delawares: Teedyuscung, 1700-1763 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1949), 20-28, 35-39; Anthony F. C. Wallace, "New Religions Among the Delaware Indians, 1600-1900," Southwestern Journal of Anthropology 12 (1956): 1-21.

<sup>9</sup>DeSchweinitz, Life and Times, 13, 15, 19, 23, 121, 132-34, 144-53.

a mission to the Delaware Indians of Ohio, and Zeisberger was the best choice to lead the enterprise. In September 1767 he set out with a handful of converts and arrived in Goschgoschunk in Ohio country on 16 October 1767.<sup>10</sup>

This inquiry is not the first to study the Delaware mission led by David Zeisberger. Others have attempted to depict mission life and to analyze the converts' reasons for joining the Moravian community. All previous studies of this topic, however, have exhibited various problems with their techniques or with their conclusions. The earliest book to tackle this lengthy subject was Elma Gray's Wilderness Christians. Gray relied upon Edmund DeSchweinitz's excellent biography and Eugene Bliss's translation of Zeisberger's diaries from 1781 to 1798. Gray did not use the records that remain in German, nor did she review the records of the mission after 1798. Perhaps Gray's most notable failing was her dismissal of the mission's activities after 1782. She concluded that after the displacement of 1781 and the massacre at Gnadenhutten in 1782 the mission steadily declined and became increasingly unimportant. This study will demonstrate that the mission remained a viable and strong undertaking to the end of Zeisberger's life in 1808.<sup>11</sup>

A more recent work, Blackcoats Among the Delaware: David Zeisberger on the Ohio Frontier, was written by Earl Olmstead. Like Gray, Olmstead did not use the German records that cover the revolutionary period. In addition, he began his study in 1772, five years after Zeisberger arrived in Ohio. He made significant mistakes in his description of

---

<sup>10</sup>DeSchweinitz, Life and Times, 242, 254, 324, 329.

<sup>11</sup>Elma E. Gray, Wilderness Christians: The Moravian Mission to the Delaware Indians (New York: Russell & Russell, 1956).

traditional Delaware life, misrepresenting Delaware lineage and how it works. Olmstead claimed that there is a direct descent in the chiefships, although the women of the clan chose the best candidate for the job; there was no guarantee that any individual would receive the post. In addition, he claimed that the Delawares moved their villages every year to plant corn, ignoring the many years the Delaware settlements remained in one location. Most of his narration focuses on the political and military events of the mission, with virtually no examination of the mission itself and its structure. In those few places where Olmstead attempted to assess the reasons Indians chose to convert to Moravian Christianity, he again misrepresents the material. He claimed that the Indians were attracted by the mission's "security from hunger," ignoring Zeisberger's annual comments that his converts were hungry and did not have enough food. Zeisberger frequently reported that his converts dug for wild onions and wild potatoes, the only food available. Olmstead clearly failed to read the primary sources carefully, which contributes to several flawed conclusions.<sup>12</sup>

In her anthropological study of Delaware customs, Regula Schonenberger also seriously misunderstood Zeisberger's mission and Delaware history. She claimed that the mission towns provided an alternative to migration and therefore attracted converts. The problem with this conclusion is that the mission settlements frequently relocated, sometimes as often as every two to three years. Clearly, the Moravian towns did not offer an alternative to migration and relocation. Like Olmstead, Schonenberger asserted that the mission provided economic security to the converts, ignoring the annual lack of food. Her greatest

---

<sup>12</sup>Earl P. Olmstead, Blackcoats among the Delaware: David Zeisberger on the Ohio Frontier (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1991), 1, 10, 15, 126.

error, however, was her claim that conversion to Moravian Christianity required "a total change in the way of life, an adaptation to European social customs and conduct...a total alienation from...native tradition." As this study demonstrates, the Delaware converts were able to retain most of their traditional practices and social constructs; conversion did not mean Europeanization.<sup>13</sup>

Dissertations on Zeisberger's mission have also failed to examine the mission thoroughly. Ralph Radloff's dissertation, completed in 1973 at the University of Iowa, presented a basic narrative of Zeisberger's mission. His project failed to evaluate the mission and its converts in relation to Delaware religious and social practices and provided only a sketchy picture of the converts' roles within the mission structure. Amy Schutt's dissertation repeated Gray's error, ending her study in 1782 and ignoring the remaining twenty-six years of Zeisberger's efforts.<sup>14</sup>

Virtually all of the literature on mission endeavors during the late colonial and early republic era focuses on the original thirteen colonies and the Indian nations living there. The accepted paradigm of mission activity is the missionaries' dual motives of Christian evangelization and political subjugation of the Indians. In the eastern United States, the missionaries were part of an unorganized national effort to "reduce" and "civilize" the Indians and to bring them within the political, economic, and religious spheres of American

---

<sup>13</sup>Schonenberger, Lenape Women, 252-53.

<sup>14</sup>Ralph, M. Radloff, "Moravian Mission Methods Among the Indians of Ohio," Ph.D. diss., University of Iowa, 1973; Amy C. Schutt, "Forging Identities: Native Americans and Moravian Missionaries in Pennsylvania and Ohio, 1765-1782," Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 1995.

culture. Alden Vaughan described the Puritan missions as wanting to destroy Indian culture. As part of the Puritan campaign to create their pure "city on the hill," the Puritans believed it essential that the Indians be subjected to the colonists. Robert Berkhofer made the same argument for the Protestant missions of the early American republic, concluding that the missionaries believed they had to incorporate the Indians into "civilized," white American culture. William McLoughlin concluded that the missionaries of the early American republic who went to Christianize the Cherokees continued this tradition and attempted to bring the Cherokees wholly within the American religious, political, and economic cultures. Their refusal to ordain Cherokee ministers until 1829 exemplifies their desire to incorporate the Indians into the white world, eliminating their Indian identity and culture.<sup>15</sup>

Mission studies of colonial New France also present the missionaries as agents of the larger effort of conquest. Bruce Trigger claimed that the Jesuits took advantage of the Hurons' dependence on French traders, thereby bringing the Hurons under their economic and political control, as well as exerting a strong religious influence. James Axtell argued that the Jesuit missionaries' ability to pacify the Indians through conversion contributed to the colonists' efforts to civilize the continent, bringing all of the known territory under their political and economic domination.<sup>16</sup>

---

<sup>15</sup>Alden T. Vaughan, New England Frontier: Puritans and Indians, 1620-1675 (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1979); Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr., Salvation and the Savage: An Analysis of Protestant Missions and American Indian Response, 1787-1862 (University of Kentucky Press, 1965); William G. McLoughlin, Cherokees and Missionaries, 1789-1839 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984).

<sup>16</sup>Bruce G. Trigger, Natives and Newcomers: Canada's "Heroic Age" Reconsidered (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1985); James Axtell, The Invasion Within: The Contest of Cultures in Colonial North America (New York: Oxford



David Zeisberger's Moravian mission stands in stark contrast to these respected studies. Zeisberger was not attempting to evangelize Indians within the political or economic framework of colonial settlement. His mission was located in western Ohio, hundreds of miles from the nearest American or Canadian white settlements. For the first twenty-five years of his mission, the only white people the Ohio Indians saw were itinerant traders, mostly French, who came to buy Indian deer skins and maize. Zeisberger was conscientious about reassuring the Ohio nations that his church was not interested in acquiring the Indians' land nor in subjecting them to any form of political control. His sole purpose for traveling to Ohio was to preach the gospel. During his forty-one years of preaching to the Delawares and other Ohio natives, he respected their political processes and followed Indian protocol in all diplomatic concerns. His converts survived by using traditional Indian economic techniques in planting, harvesting, hunting, and trading. He respected traditional Indian leadership based upon influence, using former chiefs as his "national helpers" in managing the mission and its residents.

The Moravian Church was not interested in gaining political or economic dominance over any other people. Not only was it not large enough to accomplish such a conquest, but it had no desire to do so. The Moravians' own history of subjugation and oppression made them wary of attempting to persecute or dominate other peoples. Their only interest was to bring individuals to Jesus and to save their souls. In this respect, Zeisberger was the exemplary missionary. He respected the Indians and much of their culture. His disparaging and critical remarks were reserved for those religious practices he believed to be the work

---

University Press, 1985).

of Satan. Even so, he focused his energies on bringing individuals to salvation and never attempted to convert entire villages or nations. The Moravian mission in Ohio was a completely different enterprise from the other Christian missions of the colonial and early republican eras in North America. The Moravians' refusal to operate on behalf of or in conjunction with the political and economic aims of the European and American societies was the hallmark of their unique efforts. Unlike his evangelizing counterparts, Zeisberger respected the Indians, finding much to praise and appreciate in their cultures. He had no desire to conquer them; his only aspiration was to bring them eternal life, as he envisioned it.

In this study, there are some choices of terminology that should be explained. When discussing "traditional" Delaware society, I am not referring only to those practices and customs that preceded European contact. By the time Zeisberger arrived in Ohio in 1767, many European technologies, beliefs, and practices had been thoroughly incorporated into Delaware culture. Tradition, the inherited patterns of thought and action, included the use of guns, growing peach trees, raising cattle, and building houses with plank-wood siding, all well-established practices by the mid-eighteenth century. Because of their long-term use and because the Delawares of the mid-eighteenth century knew no other means of living, these practices and others discussed in Chapter 4 are considered traditional.

A term fraught with difficulty and sometimes scholarly argument is "nation." While the Indian communities of the Americas may not fit the standard definition of nation, based upon the model of the early modern nation-state, I have chosen to use this term in describing the Indians mentioned in this study. These Indian "communities" were independent

political, economic, social, and religious entities. Each operated according to its particular interests. They formed and broke political alliances as desired and as necessity prompted them. As independent political structures who engaged in peace and war, and governed themselves by an established code of conduct and custom, they can rightly be referred to as nations. The term tribe, as much as the scholarly community may wish to refute it, does contain prejudicial baggage which implies that the referenced people were uncivilized and lacked law and political order. I prefer to avoid any of those biased and unfounded assumptions.

The standard historical practice is to maintain an image of distance from the people and events historians write about. This ideology has led historians to refer to their individual subjects by their last names; use of the first name implies a certain familiarity. For two reasons I have chosen to violate this cardinal rule and refer to David Zeisberger in the body of this study simply as David. David Zeisberger always referenced himself as David and never used his last name in any of the entries of his congregational diaries. All of his missionary assistants were called by their last names. Even when he handed this time-consuming task to his assistant in 1798, his assistant, Benjamin Mortimer, maintained this practice, always referring to Zeisberger as Brother David. Mortimer subsequently referred to himself by his last name. In addition, the congregants of Zeisberger's mission knew him by his first name. As they were called by their baptismal name, so was he, though they probably pronounced it "Dapid." Because of his preference and the practice of the mission residents, and because over the last seven years I have come to know this missionary as simply David, I have chosen to use his first name almost exclusively throughout this study.

**Regardless of this familiarity, I have tried to remained disinterested in my analysis of his work, ideas, and actions.**

## CHAPTER I

### OUR BELIEFS ARE OUR LIVES: THE MORAVIAN CHURCH AND SOCIETY

Many years before Martin Luther's protests began the Protestant Reformation in Europe, a small group of Christians rejected the Roman Catholic Church and its pope. These Christians were the Unitas Fratrum, the United Brethren or the Moravians. In 1456 this independent church began in Kunwald under the guidance of Gregory the Patriarch. The Moravians quickly attracted followers and had established four hundred places of worship with 200,000 members by the time of Luther's Reformation. The Moravian Church underwent much persecution and difficulty until 1722 when, under the protection and encouragement of Nicholas Ludwig Count von Zinzendorf, it was renewed and religious unity was achieved at Herrnhut.<sup>1</sup>

Only ten years after the Moravians settled at Herrnhut they decided to begin missionary work in foreign lands. They believed that these missions would provide the means of forming settlements free of persecution from their German neighbors. The first missionaries were dispatched in August 1732. Most of their missions were established in the mid-eighteenth century; the mission to North America began in 1734. The first Moravians

---

<sup>1</sup>Sessler, Communal Pietism, 4, 6; Hamilton, History of the Moravian Church, 13, 34.

who came to America settled in Georgia. Others soon followed in 1739, settling in Pennsylvania with George Whitefield, a Methodist preacher.<sup>2</sup>

Moravian missions followed most of the practices and beliefs of the white church. The Moravian emphasis on Jesus's crucifixion and resurrection remained the core beliefs at David Zeisberger's mission in Ohio. Marriage, education for children, daily services, special services for choir groups, and holiday services were all replicated at the mission settlements. Other Moravian practices, such as choir divisions and the lot, were simplified, employed less often, or eliminated to meet the cultural preferences of the Indian converts.

From 1743 to 1750, known as the "Sifting Period," Zinzendorf exercised maximal control over the church. While the settlement at Bethlehem in Pennsylvania was not quite as preoccupied with religion as Herrnhut was, ignoring the "day-to-day affairs of the world," Zinzendorf's influence was strongly felt. The American Moravian community was subject to the same rules and plans as Herrnhut. They were controlled by one government, a central board; the American mission existed within the Moravian Church's European organization.<sup>3</sup>

One of the most notable developments of the Sifting Period and of Zinzendorf's influence was the creation in 1744 of the General Economy. The General Economy was designed to organize church members into a communal economic and religious enterprise. A person's time, talents, and labor were at the disposal of the church; there were no private

---

<sup>2</sup>Sessler, Communal Pietism, 15, 17, 72, 73; Hamilton, History of the Moravian Church, 41; S. Baudert, "Zinzendorf's Thought on Missions Related to His Views of the World," International Review of Missions 21 (1932): 391.

<sup>3</sup>Sessler, 79, 156-157; Zinzendorf, Nine Public Lectures, xxx; Gillian Lindt Gollin, Moravians in Two Worlds: A Study of Changing Communities (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967), 93.

enterprises. Church members were to form a community of labor, and the congregation was divided into 'choirs' which divided the community on the basis of marriage, gender, and age.<sup>4</sup>

A unique feature of the Moravian Church was the organization of its members into choirs. This division began in 1743 and initially applied only to the single men and women. But the system quickly expanded to include all members of the congregation whose choirs served religious, economic, and social roles. This organization simplified food, clothing, and housing requirements and allowed religious ministrations to be tailored to each group's particular needs. Within their choirs, congregants were to fulfill their primary duty and goal of serving and praising God.<sup>5</sup>

Membership in a choir changed as a congregant matured, married, and was widowed. Children left their parents' home and care when they were between one and three years old and moved into the children's nursery house. At the age of six, boys and girls were graduated to separate choirs and began their formal education. Formal education did not include attempts at conversion. Zinzendorf believed that children were to "remain as they are." In time Jesus would make them aware that they are sinners. At twelve, they were promoted to the older children's choirs where they began their apprenticeships in various crafts and skills. Upon reaching adulthood, which the Moravians reckoned at age seventeen, the members

---

<sup>4</sup> Hamilton, History of the Moravian Church, 137.

<sup>5</sup>Hamilton, History of the Moravian Church, 98; Gollin, Moravians in Two Worlds, 67-69; Sessler, Communal Pietism, 93-94.

joined the single men and women's choirs. When a couple married, they joined the married people's choir; finally, they moved to a new choir upon the death of a spouse.<sup>6</sup>

Education of Moravian children was divided into two parts: theological and traditional. Both boys and girls attended school. Teachers lived with their students, who were divided into their respective gendered choirs. The goal of Moravian education was to teach children how to learn, not to make the children learned. Subjects of instruction included writing, history, geometry, and science. Children also learned how to play an instrument, most commonly the piano. Girls were given special instruction in the skills necessary to run a household. Perhaps the most important reason for an intensive educational requirement was the Moravian religious requirement to proselytize to the ignorant. An effective missionary force had to be educated.<sup>7</sup>

The choirs functioned as a part of the General Economy. Individual members fulfilled their economic requirements within their choirs, and the proceeds went to the central administration, which then distributed the products to each member as needed. Each choir performed tasks suited to their age and gender. Women did the traditional work of spinning, weaving, sewing; men did most of the agricultural labor as well as specialized craft work. Segregation for social and economic functions did not work well for the married choirs. These choirs were used primarily for their religious duties and services. Most married

---

<sup>6</sup>Gollin, Moravians in Two Worlds, 81-83; Henry, Sketches, 126-27.

<sup>7</sup> Henry, Sketches, 170-193; Baudert, "Zinzendorf's Thought," 394.



people continued to live in their own homes or with a few other couples, making the social component of the choir system more difficult to enforce.<sup>8</sup>

The main emphasis of the choir system was its function as a religious unit. Each choir had a supervisor and several assistants who were responsible for the spiritual welfare of its members, and each choir kept its own diary. Choir members attended religious services as a group and frequently held their own services. Choirs were themselves subdivided into bands, which met for prayer, song, and testimony. Bands were organized on the basis of personal similarities. One band was comprised of mothers who had small children still at home. These members met together at specific times for their own special religious needs.<sup>9</sup>

While the general Sunday services were attended by all church members, many services were segregated by choir, each choir having its own services: married men, married women, single men, single women, boys and girls. The boys were taught by a male tutor and the girls by a female tutor. The emphasis in the separate choir meetings was on the belief that Jesus's merits of his life from birth to death could be understood and attained by humans. Jesus's merits could also be applied to the different stages of a person's life. Children were instructed on Jesus's childhood and the model he set forth for all young Christian children. Jesus was a model for the married couple in his capacity as the husband

---

<sup>8</sup> Gollin, Moravians in Two Worlds, 77-78, 84-85.

<sup>9</sup> Sessler, Communal Pietism, 98; Augustus Gottlieb Spangenberg, An Account of the Manner in which the Protestant Church of the Unitas Fratrum, or United Brethren, Preach The Gospel, and Carry on their Missions among the Heathen, (London: H. Trapp, 1788), 92; Gollin, Moravians in Two Worlds, 75.

of their souls. Widows were instructed that Jesus was their bridegroom, and that it was, therefore, adultery to marry without his permission. Widowers were comforted by the belief that their departed wives were now with Jesus and the understanding that Jesus was himself a widower who died for his "dove" who had strayed.<sup>10</sup>

In addition to separate religious services, each choir had its own festival days and "speakings" (individual meetings) before communion. Before participating in these special occasions, choir members were individually interviewed by their supervisor or a choir helper to determine the state of their souls and to receive any necessary admonitions. These speakings were a time of self-examination and an opportunity to receive spiritual guidance. This conversation was a mutual exchange between two people, not a confession; each person spoke of a personal Christian experience with the supervisor, who tried to aid the individual in their spiritual life and understanding. In addition to the separate choir festivals, a general festival of all the choirs was held once a year.<sup>11</sup>

As the population of Bethlehem grew, problems developed within the choir system. Most of the choirs became too large for them to retain the intimacy of a small group. This led to further subdivision of the choirs, but with time they also became too large for the intimate socialization desired. Eventually, the choir system declined. With the decline and disbanding of the General Economy, many Moravians developed their own businesses and independent livelihoods, removing themselves from the economic functions of the choirs.

---

<sup>10</sup>Wallace, King of the Delawares, 33; Benjamin Franklin, The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin (New York: Macmillan, 1962), 140; Sessler, Communal Pietism, 112, 118-19.

<sup>11</sup>Sessler, Communal Pietism, 99; Henry, Sketches, 125-28.

With this new independence, married couples demanded more privacy and more involvement in raising their children. With the increase in economic success, more Moravians were able to support themselves, build and maintain their own homes, and care for their children. By the 1770s the married choirs were disbanded as social and economic groups, and the housing for the single choirs had been turned into housing for lodgers. Widow and widower choirs became pension societies. The dismantling of the choir system was most evident in the Elders' Conference recommendation in May 1773 that small rural congregations should drop all references to choirs and other organizational divisions they did not need. However, the religious distinctions and functions of the choirs remained for a much longer time. The single Brethren's choir was not completely disbanded until 1817, while the single Sisters' choir survived until 1841.<sup>12</sup>

For Moravians, marriage was an institution filled with religious consequences and symbolism. However, since marriage had religious goals, for some people remaining single was acceptable, although celibacy was viewed as having few benefits. Unlike in other Protestant churches, marriage was a sacrament. But marriage was more than a personal relationship; it allowed for an extension of a person's field of religious service. Only in this instance could Moravians minister to the opposite gender. A wife was her husband's helpmeet, sharing his duties, whether as an Elder or a missionary. Marriage also changed an individual's relationship with Jesus; Jesus now became the husband of the couple's souls. While some people had the option to remain single, married couples were preferred for

---

<sup>12</sup>Gollin, Moravians in Two Worlds, 88-89, 95-99; Edwin W. Kortz, "The Liturgical Development of the American Moravian Church," Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society 18 (1962) Part 2: 275.

certain occupations, especially as missionaries. (Ironically, David Zeisberger did not marry until he was ordered to do so in his sixties) One significant problem that faced the Bethlehem Moravian community was a chronic shortage of marriageable women. As in other areas of Moravian life and religion, the church's control of marriage declined after Zinzendorf's death. Increasingly in the 1770s, non-Moravians married into the community, accelerating the decline in religious exclusivism.<sup>13</sup>

With the advent of the war, the Moravian community in Bethlehem became more exposed to and involved with the outside world. The Moravians supported the colonists' quest for independence from Great Britain. While they did not actively participate in the fighting, they supported the revolutionary cause by providing supplies and housing. The traditional emphasis on church and community was gradually replaced by nationalism. Participation in the war introduced a new level of accommodation to the broader American world. Contributing to this attitudinal change was the lack of communication between Bethlehem and Herrnhut, which provided the Bethlehem Moravians the opportunity to make many of their own decisions and the changes they deemed necessary. This increased independence from Herrnhut contributed to the Moravians' growing sense of themselves as Americans as well as Moravians. They were now becoming a permanent American community rather than a mission outpost of Herrnhut.<sup>14</sup>

---

<sup>13</sup>Gollin, Moravians in Two Worlds, 110-14, 117, 120; Henry, Sketches, 296-97; Franklin, Autobiography, 140.

<sup>14</sup>Gollin, Moravians in Two Worlds, 47-48, 99.

Although the intellectual and administrative ties between Bethlehem and Herrnhut were irrevocably loosened in the late 1770s, official ties were not broken until 1845 when Bethlehem officially ended its political affiliation with Herrnhut. This was not a sudden and drastic event, but merely an acknowledgement of the changes that had taken place during and after the Revolution. The war especially accelerated the falling away of younger Moravians. Even church leaders in Herrnhut recognized the difficulty of requiring congregations to follow strictly all the requirements of the church. In 1782 the Herrnhut synod ruled that all town and country congregations were to conform as much as possible, although some individuality of worship and practice was allowed. At the same time the synod ruled that some practices were not open for debate. The lot was still mandatory for marriage and for applicants who wished to be received as communicants. Increasingly, the entire Bethlehem community questioned many of the traditions. The lot was ended in 1818 for marriage and was completely abolished in 1889. In 1825 local communities were allowed to decide whether they would retain or eliminate the single men and women's choirs. Seemingly small but significant changes occurred in other areas. The traditional kiss of peace (a kiss on the cheek between same gender congregants) was replaced by the right hand of fellowship (a handshake). Fewer lovefeasts were celebrated. In 1856 traditional Moravian exclusivism was ended when non-Moravians were allowed to settle in Moravian communities. The church and the settlement were now formally separated.<sup>15</sup>

---

<sup>15</sup>Gollin, Moravians in Two Worlds, 48; Hamilton, History of the Moravian Church, 230; Sessler, Communal Pietism, 199-208.

Although the relationship between the Moravian Church and the community changed over the years since their first arrival in America, their theology, rituals, and basic religious practices remained constant. Their faith never faltered nor was it significantly challenged by the outside world. Accommodation to the American community and way of life affected only their external economic and political practices: their religion and faith endured.

The Moravian Church was very tolerant in its views of religious orthodoxy and in its attitudes towards members of other Christian denominations. Zinzendorf insisted that Moravians tolerate individual religious sentiments as well as denominational differences. He believed that it was "not evangelical to prescribe or to demand that souls must conform to methods and states of feeling or to desire a uniform make-up of souls." What mattered was whether a person was a believing and practicing Christian, not the individual's specific beliefs on dogma or ritual. Zinzendorf wanted the Brethren to seek new members, even from other churches, but he refused to require that they renounce their membership in their old church. He greatly opposed interdenominational feuding, saying it betrayed a "vulgar, mean disposition of mind" when one religious group "took pleasure" in opposing another or when they showed hatred or intolerance toward each other. Tolerance was necessary because membership in a particular Christian denomination did not grant any preference in salvation: God did not make those kinds of distinctions. Even while he preached tolerance and accepted members of other denominations into the Moravian Church, Zinzendorf did hold some elitist beliefs. He believed that the Moravian Church and its members had an elect

status in relation to other Christian churches; Moravians' beliefs and works brought them closer to salvation.<sup>16</sup>

However, Zinzendorf did not allow his elitist belief to impede his efforts to bring the Moravian Church and other churches, especially the Lutheran and Reformed Churches, closer together. In 1736 Zinzendorf created the Trope Plan which was to provide the means by which members of other churches could join the *Unitas Fratrum* without giving up their special church traditions and beliefs. The ordination of Lutheran and Reformed ministers was to be accepted by the *Unitas Fratrum* without re-ordination, and those ministers would retain in the Moravian Church the same rank they had held in their former church. His Trope Plan also allowed Moravian congregants to worship at local Lutheran or Reformed congregations without any personal conflict or disquiet.<sup>17</sup>

Zinzendorf continued his attempts to bring the Moravian Church and other Protestant churches together. He proposed holding joint synods with other denominations in Pennsylvania. Seven synods were held throughout the 1730s, the last one in June 1742. These synods brought together the Moravians, Lutherans, Ephrata Mystics, Sabbatarians, and the Scottish Church. However, this was one arena in which Zinzendorf's idealistic goals failed. These synods were never able to bridge the differences between the denominations, and the Moravians eventually had to accept that they would have to hold their own synods.<sup>18</sup>

---

<sup>16</sup>Baudert, "Zinzendorf's Thought," 394; Kortz, "Liturgical Development," 268; Zinzendorf, Nine Public Lectures, 75-76; Gollin, Moravians in Two Worlds, 14-15.

<sup>17</sup>Sessler, Communal Pietism, 24-25, 62.

<sup>18</sup>Sessler, Communal Pietism, 30-42, 53, 61.

Unlike most other Christian churches, the Moravian Church was not generally concerned with theological creeds or positions. The Moravians were not interested in differences over religious doctrine but were most concerned in creating a fellowship of church members based on a personal relationship with Jesus Christ. While it was important that church members adhered to the essentials of Christian faith – the crucifixion of Jesus and its meaning – individual beliefs and interpretations of other issues were tolerated. Moravians believed that it was important to have "in essentials unity, in non-essentials liberty, in all things charity."<sup>19</sup>

Moravian beliefs changed very little through the nineteenth century. A Christian fellowship of members who had a personal living relationship with the crucified Savior and who believed in the forgiveness of sins was the center of Moravian life. While the church synods confirmed some fundamental truths, differences of religious opinions were accepted within a positive and living unity. The Old and New Testaments were the "sole norm of faith;" belief in the Father, the Holy Ghost, and the Son was mandatory. Original sin was defined, as was all sin, as the alienation of a soul from God. Like most other Protestants, Moravians believed in justification by faith alone, but a personal religious experience, a spiritual regeneration, was a necessity. The church emphasized prayer and other public and private means for the development of a spiritual life. Like most Protestant churches, baptism and communion were the two required sacraments, and baptism of children was allowed. In addition, Moravians believed in the immortality of the soul, the resurrection of the body,

---

<sup>19</sup>Kortz, "Liturgical Development," 278; Sessler, Communal Pietism, 138; Gray, Wilderness Christians, 23.



and Jesus's second coming. The synod of 1775 declared five beliefs to be essential to the faith and fellowship of the Moravian Church: the universal depravity of humans; the divinity of Jesus Christ; the atonement made for humans by Jesus Christ; the Holy Spirit; and the fruits of faith. Everything else was open for personal debate and opinion.<sup>20</sup>

As with most religious aspects of the Moravian Church, Zinzendorf had a great deal of influence in theological thought and interpretation. He stressed the supreme place of Jesus's regenerating grace in the Christian life; grace was "a divine influence received passively by man." It was this personal soul relationship between believer and Jesus that Zinzendorf emphasized most often. Jesus's life, his suffering and death, was absolutely central to the ideas of personal redemption and regeneration; one's sins were forgiven through the shedding of Jesus's blood. Faith in Jesus's atonement for one's sins led to the assurance of God's acceptance for the believer, and therefore to his or her regeneration. The fact of personal redemption was more important than its manner; just as the person of Jesus the Redeemer, not his attributes, was central to Moravian thought.<sup>21</sup>

Zinzendorf created a new way to understand and relate to God, Jesus, and the Holy Spirit. God was infinite and absolute, "one spirit and one body with Jesus [the] son." Jesus was God's revelation of himself to mankind in a way that was understandable to humans. Jesus "made God accessible to man," and comprised the attributes of both God and man. While this interpretation is fairly basic to most Christian faiths, Zinzendorf went further.

---

<sup>20</sup>Gollin, Moravians in Two Worlds, 15; Hamilton, History of the Church, 592-99; Hamilton, History of the Moravian Church, 170.

<sup>21</sup>Hamilton, History of the Moravian Church, 80, 155-59; Sessler, Communal Pietism, 139.

Jesus was a father to believers and unbelievers alike, while God was a father of believers only, and only by adoption. Jesus was also the husband of all human souls, and the wound in his side was the birthplace of all souls. Therefore, Jesus was both husband and mother, and God was both father-in-law and grandfather of all souls. While God was the father, the Holy Spirit was the mother, and Jesus was the son, the church was Jesus Christ's bride, which had been born in the wound in Jesus's side, betrothed on the cross, and married in the communion. Therefore, the church was the daughter-in-law of God and the Holy Spirit, while God was also the grandfather. Upon a person's regeneration in God, a person should be so radically changed that other church members should not see him or her as a fellow congregant "but rather as a consort, as a playmate for the marriage-bed of the blessed Creator and eternal Husband of the human soul."<sup>22</sup>

Zinzendorf also equated Jesus with Jehovah in the Old Testament. Jesus, therefore, was the creator, the controller and sustainer of the world. God (the father) and the Holy Spirit (the mother) were designated as assistants to their son, Jesus.<sup>23</sup>

Zinzendorf expanded Jesus's role as creator by crediting him with inventing spiritual redemption. Zinzendorf claimed that it was not scriptural that God the father had invented the "work of redemption and then ordered His Son to go into the world to ransom it." Jesus himself was the inventor; Jesus said that no one takes his life, "but that is in my power to do

---

<sup>22</sup>Sessler, Communal Pietism, 144-45, 150; Zinzendorf, Nine Public Lectures, 8-9, 86; Gollin, Moravians in Two Worlds, 10-11, 14.

<sup>23</sup>Sessler, Communal Pietism, 147-49.

as I will." Therefore, the redemption and salvation which resulted from Jesus's crucifixion were the creations of Jesus himself.<sup>24</sup>

Moravian Christian religion was centered on the adoration of Jesus's wounds suffered on the cross. During Zinzendorf's tenure this theme became virtually an obsession bordering on the grotesque. Zinzendorf and the church developed a preoccupation with Jesus's wounds to the extent that the wounds became "mystical entities deserving man's adoration in and of themselves;" they were no longer symbolic representations of Jesus's suffering for mankind's salvation. Increasingly, the Moravian image of Jesus became identified with his sufferings, blood, and wounds. Visual contemplation of these wounds became more important than verbal communion with Jesus. Zinzendorf stated that belief in Jesus and his wounds would "immediately set free [a person] from the guilt and punishment of his sins." Jesus's wounds became so critical that a "soul most tenderly in love with the Savior may be ignorant of a hundred truths and only concentrate most simply on Jesus' [sic] wounds and death;" that by itself would be sufficient.<sup>25</sup>

Zinzendorf repeatedly used the imagery of blood and death in his speeches and hymns. His use of this graphic representation was more extreme than that of other religious leaders and represents his personal obsession with Jesus's wounds and sufferings. Zinzendorf preached that those who have accepted Jesus as their Savior became "cleansed from all sins through the merit of His blood, that they stand before Him bathed clean in the bloody grace." Even the personal relationship to Jesus of the believer as a bride was depicted with this

---

<sup>24</sup>Zinzendorf, Nine Public Lectures, 7-8.

<sup>25</sup>Gollin, Moravians in Two Worlds, 11-13; Zinzendorf, Nine Public Lectures, 31, 46.

imagery: "Christ's own blood and righteousness is the well-known wedding dress." Zinzendorf described the sacrament of communion saying: "His flesh is true food, and His blood is true drink. His holy corpse and its real mixture with our spirit, body, and soul must constitute the truth of the matter." He believed that a true believer, when asked about his religion, would answer that he saw the "slaughtered sheep, Jesus Christ." A true believer should "admire this man, the son of God...should have wanted to die on the cross for His poor human beings, that He obtained His bride with His blood." He firmly stated that whenever a minister should preach of Jesus, he should do so with a physical description of Jesus on the cross including his wounds, his hands, his side, and other signs of the crucifixion.<sup>26</sup>

Jesus's atonement meant that humans did not have to suffer eternal penitence; they were now "free to love and adore God." Salvation was earned by a belief in Jesus Christ and God and by having a love for both. "Love thus becomes the fulfillment of the law, love institutes the very life and soul of belief, love is the spiritus universalis of a true religion." It was from love that Jesus gave his life for humanity, to save people from sinking "into the bottom of hell," which Jesus Christ extinguished for his believers.<sup>27</sup>

While theology was critical, Zinzendorf was also very concerned with religious ethics. He came to regard the "virtues of diligence, frugality, punctuality, and conscientious attention to detail" as essential to the life of a Christian. These virtues were expressed in one's actions, especially through one's work. All work was defined as religious work; it was

---

<sup>26</sup>Zinzendorf, Nine Public Lectures, 5, 27-28, 30-31, 52.

<sup>27</sup>Zinzendorf, Nine Public Lectures, 40; Gollin, Moravians in Two Worlds, 11.

necessary for the salvation of the soul. Good works were also required. Work was to be performed to the best of a person's ability and was to be done with "loyalty, sincerity, and love" using Jesus's life as guidance. Children were taught about Jesus's childhood and his "innocence, meekness and obedience to His parents." Single men and women were to learn from Jesus's celibacy and his "dedicated work." Married couples, widowers, and widows were to take guidance from Jesus as the "husband of all souls." Jesus's actions in his life set the standards of conduct for all church members. Since all believers were part of God's family and the church was Jesus's bride, religion became the basis for a communal life. Therefore, religious experience was a social act, not an individual act.<sup>28</sup>

An inseparable friendship was the foundation of a Moravian's relationship with Jesus, a friendship based in spiritual needs and fulfillment, not worldly concerns. Moravians gave their worldly concerns to Jesus, so that should everyone and everything be gone, they would still be "happy, content with spiritual life as at our first experience of grace."<sup>29</sup>

The emphasis of Zinzendorf's spirituality was placed upon the heart as the "seat of religious experience." Christian religion was not "a wisdom rooted in their heads." Zinzendorf differentiated between those who were a "Christianly religious people" and those who were Christians. A Christianly religious person followed the principles of Jesus and knew his teachings. But a true Christian was "christened in his heart" and was one with the spirit and body of Jesus Christ. Therefore, a true believer or disciple of Jesus was "kind and obliging; he is a comfort to all men and burdensome to none; he never asks much of anyone,

---

<sup>28</sup>Gollin, Moravians in Two Worlds, 13, 17-19, 144.

<sup>29</sup>Gollin, Moravians in Two Worlds, 12; Zinzendorf, Nine Public Lectures, 99-100.

but he rejoices when he can do much for another." Moravians were to be generous, tolerant, and self-sufficient. While it was possible for any person to become a true Christian, for some it was almost natural while others had to struggle. Zinzendorf believed that a person's heart was "elected beforehand," that one's soul was predestined. But this was not predestination in the fatalistic sense of Calvin. What Zinzendorf preached was that some people were born to love God from the very beginning, while others needed to undergo a battle with Satan before God saved them. For some believers, the struggle for faith and salvation was difficult and intense. A soulful christening was for many believers a process of failure and triumph.<sup>30</sup>

While conversion to a belief in Jesus as one's personal Savior could be fraught with difficulty, Zinzendorf by no means believed that one could gain spiritual conversion any faster with extreme measures of self-denial. Believers were to shun mortification, even ridicule it. Christians gained nothing from mortification and self-denial: "No purification precedes perfect love." The only spiritual or physical cleansing necessary was love for the Savior, his sacrifice, and his wounds and belief in Jesus's undying love for the Christian. Mortification and self-denial were also pointless because there was no such thing as perfection in this life. Anyone who attempted to become perfect was guilty of denying Jesus because the only perfection was in Jesus Christ. Perfection lay in one's "faith in the blood of Christ." Christians were perfect in their Savior but never in themselves. Since perfection was impossible, all people were sinners, even "the best men are most miserable sinners, even unto death." Anyone who claimed to be free of sin was either lying or had been led astray

---

<sup>30</sup>Gollin, Moravians in Two Worlds, 10; Zinzendorf, Nine Public Lectures, 14-15, 21, 77-78.

by Satan. If all people were equally sinful, they were also equally capable of achieving salvation. Wealth and power did not grant a person either freedom from sin nor privileged access to salvation. Moravians believed in the inherent equality of all Christians before God; all were equally capable of loving Jesus Christ and of attaining salvation. However, all people were also equally capable of sinful behavior, of pride, and of being deceived by Satan. Within the family of God and Jesus Christ, all were equal.<sup>31</sup>

The Moravian religious experience was sensual and vivid. Visual imagery as well as one's imagination played an important role in the contemplation and experience of Jesus's body, corpse, blood, wounds, and sweat. Moravian religion in colonial America was emotional, anti-rationalistic, revivalist, and introverted. Moravian Christians were to have a personal relationship with Jesus and God based upon the emotional and spiritual salvation of the soul. This relationship with Jesus provided Moravians with the ability to take the joy of religion and "make every spiritual motive identical with pleasure, the pleasure of the soul." Moravians were not interested in logical arguments for Jesus's actions or their doctrinal meanings, they were concerned only with the experience of personal spiritual salvation created by each of their intimate friendships with Jesus. They were focused on a personal revival of the spirit, a revival of a person's heartfelt redemption through Jesus's death. Perhaps most important, redemption, salvation, and rejuvenation were to be accomplished on a personal basis. Those who were unfortunate enough not to have the requisite religious experience were carefully nurtured and prayed for by the Moravian community. Performance of ritual alone and good intentions were not enough to insure one's

---

<sup>31</sup>Zinzendorf, Nine Public Lectures, xvii-xix, 26.

salvation and redemption. Each person had to come to an understanding and acceptance of Jesus's sacrifice and love and establish a personal knowledge and intimate relationship with Jesus.<sup>32</sup>

As with issues of theological detail, forms of worship were not a central concern in the Moravian Church. What was most important was that the spirit of Jesus Christ be present in all worship. Alterations made to accommodate changing needs and desires of the community were acceptable as long as they remained true to the spirit of Jesus. Individual ministers could make changes in minor details, but basic changes were still the prerogative of the central church in Herrnhut. Prayer was to be orderly, which was better than free prayer, but the requirements and structure were not to be excessively rigid.<sup>33</sup>

The structure of services was quite typical of other Protestant denominations. Services were held every Sunday and special services were held for Easter and Christmas. Sunday services consisted of four parts. The early morning service was a sermon of prophetic scriptures, followed by a meeting where the Gospel texts were used. The next service was on the Epistles, and the evening service was a reading of Scripture with remarks of instruction on the day's passage.<sup>34</sup>

Easter was a week-long observance comprised of readings about Jesus's passion and music. This was a solemn time for Moravians. The evening services Monday through

---

<sup>32</sup>Sessler, Communal Pietism, 105-07; Edwin Albert Sawyer, "The Religious Experience of the Colonial American Moravians," Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society 18 (1961) part 1: 205; Henry, Sketches, 135.

<sup>33</sup>Kortz, "Liturgical Development," 279-80, 282.

<sup>34</sup>Kortz, "Liturgical Development," 283.



Wednesday included readings of sacred history, Thursday through Saturday meetings were held in the afternoon, and a lovefeast for the entire congregation was held Saturday afternoon. A choral performance was given for Saturday evening's service. Sunday morning the entire congregation gathered at the cemetery for a sunrise service.<sup>35</sup>

Christmas celebrations began on Christmas eve. This service was festive with music and a lovefeast. Usually the second chapter of Luke was read and the children were given special lighted candles. Households were decorated and special yellow, red, and blue candles were lit. The week between Christmas and New Year's was a continuation of this celebration. New Year's Eve services were held until past midnight in the church. It was customary for the person in charge of the community diary to include a special entry for the last day of the year. This entry gave a listing of the congregation membership, detailing births, deaths, arrivals and leavings, marriages, as well as baptisms and admittances to communion.<sup>36</sup>

While communion was an important ritual, it was not held frequently. It was to be held at least four times per year but preferably once each month, with some additional celebrations on festival days. Before the service, the church elders and helpers spoke with the communicants in turn to insure that they were prepared and in a right mind for the sacrament. The general theme of the communion service was Jesus as the husband and redeemer of souls who comes to embrace and kiss the believers, thereby revealing his love and agony. The service began with a confession and absolution for those who had committed

---

<sup>35</sup>Henry, Sketches, 163-67.

<sup>36</sup>Henry, Sketches, 155-62.

errors. Then the corpse of Jesus was adored and praised. The central part of the service was the partaking of the "Lord's corpse" and the "Blessed Cup". The "Lord's corpse" was supposed to inspire a memory of the last embrace of a lover and loved. The wine, as blood, of the "Blessed Cup" was adored as a means of salvation. After partaking of the sacrament the communicants were to feel as though they were the bride holding the bridegroom in his glory waiting for their wedding day. Zinzendorf viewed the sacrament of communion as the uniting of the communicant with the divine nature, which "foreshadows something of the resurrection." At the communion service, members often gave the kiss of peace which symbolized the kiss of the groom Jesus Christ for his bride.<sup>37</sup>

Lovefeasts were frequently celebrated, usually with sweet cakes and coffee. This informal service was a means of expressing and reinforcing religious solidarity and community harmony. Lovefeasts were held for the entire congregation, for individual choirs on their festival days, for workers at the beginning or end of a special economic task, and for communicant members before their communion service. Lovefeasts were also held at Christmas, Easter, special festivals, funeral services, and as a reception for a special visitor.<sup>38</sup>

Vocal and instrumental music was very important in Moravian worship. Music was not only part of every service but was also incorporated into all aspects of daily life. Songs were sung going to and from work and at lovefeasts for burials and births. Moravian spiritual life was expressed in their hymns. "Hymns surely ought to be supposed a faithful, if not the

---

<sup>37</sup>Kortz, "Liturgical Development," 286; Sessler, Communal Pietism, 127-33; Zinzendorf, Nine Public Lectures, 20-21. Hamilton, History of the Moravian Church, 38.

<sup>38</sup>Gollin, Moravians in Two Worlds, 20; Sessler, Communal Pietism, 101; Henry, Sketches, 138, 152-53.

faithfulest [sic], picture and conveyance of the heart." Hymn verses were combined with the use of the Daily Scripture Texts. There were even special Song-Services where the entire religious service was sung. Led by a single person, the congregation followed his lead as he chose particular sections from a variety of hymns. Hymn-Sermons were special services where selected stanzas from many hymns were interspersed with prayer, testimony, or address. Since work was considered a religious effort, hymns were composed for each occupation, most of which were composed by the workers themselves. On some occasions, there was musical accompaniment while working, especially as a processional to and recessional from the occupation at hand. Special hymns were composed for each of the choirs. The hymns for the older boys' choir emphasized the brotherhood of Jesus, his circumcision as a covenant wound symbolizing Jesus's oneness with them. Those composed for the older girls' choir reflected Jesus's love for them, and reminded the girls that he did not despise "his poor handmaids of low estate." The girls were to gain the "virgin's crown," a heart warmed by Jesus's coming. The single sisters' choir sang hymns describing Jesus as the bridegroom and spouse of virgins who sought his protection; Jesus's virginal conception was reflected in their virgin physical state. The hymns for the single brethren reminded them of the example of Jesus's unreproachful single state and the merits of a perfect life in the flesh. The married choir rejoiced in the merits of Jesus as the husband of all souls and the blessing given by Jesus to the married state.<sup>39</sup>

---

<sup>39</sup>Sessler, Communal Pietism, 99-100, 103-104, 108-109, 114-15; Henry, Sketches, 136, 138, 140.

While the missionaries faithfully replicated most of the white church's practices and customs, not all could be successfully incorporated into Indian societies. Some practices had to be restricted in their application or eliminated, following Zinzendorf's injunction to require only the essentials. All important decisions in the white church required asking Jesus for his guidance and approval by the lot, a means of learning God's wishes. Pieces of paper or wood, labeled with a "yes," "no," "blank," or "maybe," were placed in a container. Then the question was asked and the piece of paper chosen from the container represented God's answer. The lot had two purposes. First, it was a means to assign people to positions within the community and its status structure. Second, it helped to "determine issues of communal piety." Immigrants into the community were accepted only upon approval by lot. Approval for baptism, communion, acceptance into a choir, movement from one choir to another, marriage, choice of occupation, even election to political office – all required a positive answer by lot. The lot was necessary for an appointment as a missionary or helper at a mission settlement. However, there was no uniform procedure determining the use of the lot. When the lot was consulted was determined greatly by community elders. In addition, the decision of the lot could be affected by the choices laid before it. In any particular case there was not always only the standard choices of "no," "yes," and "blank." Sometimes, the option of "no" was eliminated or there was more than one "blank," thereby abetting a particular outcome. After the revolutionary war, the lot began to lose some of its influence and was used less frequently. In 1782 the use of the lot was ended for questions

about property, and in 1818 it was discarded in questions of marriage except for ministers and missionaries.<sup>40</sup>

The General Economy at Bethlehem was an exception and not replicated at David Zeisberger's mission. The Bethlehem General Economy operated under the "General Plan" from 1744 until 1762. A central organization was in charge of the general establishment, with a local government formed of committees. Six farms were established at Nazareth, only a few miles from Bethlehem. Although much was communalized and organized under Moravian ideas, the purpose of the General Plan was not to make everything Moravian: they made no rules concerning the social order. The compensation Moravian members received from their participation in the General Economy was food, shelter, and clothing. Private possessions remained private. Members were allowed to deposit their money in the church treasury without earning interest, but they could withdraw their savings at any time. All land, buildings, and industries belonged to the United Brethren.<sup>41</sup>

But with success came tensions. By the mid-1750s the Moravian community was quite self-sufficient, even affluent. Church members no longer felt as dependent on the Economy and demanded a private family life. With Zinzendorf's death in 1760, his ideas and programs lost some of their appeal and influence. In 1762 the General Economy was officially dissolved but was not fully eliminated in Bethlehem until 1771. Farms were now leased on a share basis, and contracts were made with artisans who worked for the church.

---

<sup>40</sup>Sessler, Communal Pietism, 143; Gollin, Moravians in Two Worlds, 50-56, 59, 62-63.

<sup>41</sup>Sessler, Communal Pietism, 19, 80-87; Gollin, Moravians in Two Worlds, 158; Hamilton, History of the Moravian Church, 225.

Separate houses became more available for married couples. Unlike the white Moravian communities, converts in the mission settlements worked their own land for their own use. While each family contributed to the general mission supplies for lovefeasts and labor, each family ran its own economy.<sup>42</sup>

The central purpose of the Moravian Church was always to be a mission to the world; it was incumbent upon Moravians to bring the Word of God to the ignorant. Moravians considered each of their settlements as missions and each minister a missionary, even if only among his own people. Missionaries were the most important occupational group in Moravian society, comprising 36 percent of the male work force in 1759. While Zinzendorf was head of the church, he oversaw the operations of the field missions. After his death, mission oversight passed to a council of Elders and eventually to the Brethren's Society for the furtherance of the Gospel among the Heathen. The Brethren's Society maintained correspondence with the field missionaries and managed their finances. Members of the Moravian Church made contributions to the Society, as each person chose, and from these funds the Society provided aid to all their missions around the world. All mission lands were kept in trust for the converts by the Brethren's Society. Members of the Society or local church leaders conducted regular visitations to each of the missions to check on doctrine and modes of teaching, the physical and spiritual conditions of the Brethren and Sisters, to become familiar with the congregation and its members, and to evaluate the mission's relationship with its neighbors. Missionaries did not receive salaries but were to support

---

<sup>42</sup>Sessler, Communal Pietism, 188, 192-97, 154; Gollin, Moravians in Two Worlds, 45, 94; Hamilton, History of the Moravian Church, 144.

themselves by physical labor and from the mission as a common household. While the missionaries did not have a steady cash income, they had access to funds through the Society for supplies and necessities in case of emergency or extreme hardship. These funds were to be used for the mission itself and the missionaries, not for the general congregation.<sup>43</sup>

Moravians were very deliberate about where they began a mission effort. They were not interested in competing with other Christian missions or discrediting the latter's efforts or theology. Moravian missionaries who lived near other Christian magistrates obeyed them. Moravian field missionaries were to preach only to unmissionized peoples; peoples who had been preached to by other Christian groups were to be avoided. Therefore, Moravian missions were established in areas where no Christian efforts had been made; Moravians were missionary pioneers into the wilderness.<sup>44</sup>

The Moravians had no grandiose ideas about their missionary work; they did not have extensive plans or intentions for their efforts. The most important work a missionary would do first was to learn the language of the people with whom he was living and working. All missionaries who were the first in their location were to write a grammar and a dictionary while they learned the language to provide a teaching tool for future missionaries. Until the missionary became fluent in the language, he was to teach by example. Moravians were cautious in their use of presents and economic or political services when first beginning a mission because they did not want the Indians to gain the incorrect

---

<sup>43</sup>Spangenberg, Account, 53-55, 58, 106-107, 122-24; Gollin, Moravians in Two Worlds, 159.

<sup>44</sup>Spangenberg, Account, 38-40, 93.

impression that the missionaries were trying to buy converts. Missionaries were also enjoined to be brave and resilient. They were not to give up easily or give way to despair. The "inhuman wickedness prevailing among the heathen" was not to deter a good missionary from his obligations. Moravian missionaries were never to refuse a call to the "heathens," even if the situation were dangerous. On many occasions the lives of David Zeisberger and his assistants were in danger, but they never left their settlements or their people.<sup>45</sup>

More than providing an example for their converts, Moravian missionaries were to be concerned especially with the souls of their adherents. It was not enough that the residents and converts of the mission settlement behaved properly according to the laws of Jesus. Missionaries were to "take a special care of the souls in private." Patience was of extreme importance for missionaries, especially when it came to Indian behavior. Understanding Indian actions and motives was very important because conjecture was dangerous. Missionaries not only had to understand Indian motives, but needed to "discriminate between emotions of the mind, and incentives to action" which frequently appeared contradictory. Missionaries also had to be careful of judging Indians only by their behavior and concluding that Indians were already decent people. A person's motives were more important than his or her actions; good deeds motivated by evil ends were immoral.<sup>46</sup>

While the presence and efforts of the Moravian missionaries were of primary importance to the functioning and success of any mission, the Moravians also believed it

---

<sup>45</sup>Spangenberg, Account, 33, 36-37, 45, 50.

<sup>46</sup>Spangenberg, Account, 46, 75; William C. Reichel, Memorials of the Moravian Church (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1870), 90.



was critical for Indians to be ministered to by their own people. One of Zinzendorf's chief concerns was the reality that wherever white people went, "the heathen [would] remain for ever subject to the Europeans." The Moravians were not interested in conquering Indians or any other peoples; they were interested only in saving individual souls, not converting entire nations. One of the early requirements of any mission was to train the first converts so they could preach and minister to their own people, both those who came to live at the mission as well as those who lived nearby. Through the actions and preaching of these converts, others would be influenced "by reflection through their own people."<sup>47</sup>

Moravian missionaries were to learn everything they could about the customs and beliefs of the peoples among whom they were living. They were to become familiar with Indian ideas so that they would be able to argue against Indian beliefs that were in direct conflict with Christian ones. But not everything Indians believed or did was laden with sin. Many Indian ideas and practices were sensible and therefore unobjectionable, however different from Moravian ways they might have been. Missionary efforts were not an assault on Indian personalities or distinctiveness; the purpose was to bring the Indians to a Christian life. It was very important that Indian converts continued to be respected and accepted by their own people. Zinzendorf believed it was essential that a convert was still "considered an honest man among his own people." Just as the Moravians were not to rewrite every detail of a convert's life, so were they not to allow one ethnic group of converts to dominate another. The converts of each nation should live together, keep their own language, and

---

<sup>47</sup>Baudert, "Zinzendorf's Thought," 395; Gray, Wilderness Christians, 31; MMR, Reel 19, Box 171, Folder 6: 41-42.

continue their own distinctive practices. The mission helpers were not to "attempt to remold other peoples according to their pattern." Preferably, each nation of converts would have its own helpers rather than be ministered to by others.<sup>48</sup>

Since the primary goal of a Moravian mission was "to gather together people who have felt the Holy Spirit," each settlement was to build a church or meeting house as soon as possible. Services were to be provided in the Indian language either by a fluent missionary or through an interpreter. Mission preaching was to concentrate on the same issues and themes as the services for the white Brethren. The life, sufferings, death, and personality of Jesus were to be emphasized. All preaching of the Gospel was to center on Jesus as Christ, relating his crucifixion, the shedding of his blood for the sins of the people, his role as the Savior, and his incarnation as a man so he could be crucified. Once an Indian declared him or herself a believer, baptism confirmed this transformation of the convert's soul. The only requirement for baptism was the individual's declaration that he "know and acknowledge himself to be a lost creature by reason of his sins," a firm belief that Jesus would save him from this wretchedness, and a declaration to live according to the ways of Jesus. Missionaries were not to delay baptism by expecting large amounts of learning in their neophytes; baptism was to be granted to all those in whom it was evident that the Holy Spirit now resided. Further education was to be acquired later.

Just as individuals were accepted into the congregation or as residents of the mission, so could they also be expelled. Expulsion usually followed a series of efforts by the

---

<sup>48</sup>Baudert, "Zinzendorf's Thought," 395; Spangenberg, Account, 44; Heckewelder, Thirty Thousand Miles, 31; Zinzendorf, Nine Public Lectures, 3.

missionaries and their helpers to assist the offending person to correct improper behavior and attitudes. If, however, it became apparent that the offending person was recalcitrant, that individual was expelled from the mission. If the offender was also a congregant, membership in the congregation was concurrently revoked. Absolution and readmission was possible, following a series of discussions with the missionary and helpers. The request for and receiving of absolution was made in public.<sup>49</sup>

Unlike most of its contemporary counterparts, the Moravian Church was focused on the state of an individual's soul, not on the "correctness" of his or her doctrinal beliefs. While they were flexible in the details of their theology, Moravians created a strict social and economic structure during the mid-eighteenth century. Although the extreme forms of Zinzendorf's choir system were eventually replaced by a more familial organization, many of the fundamental attitudes about men and women, as well as the celebration of choir festivals, continued.

The flexibility of the Moravian Church's theology and practice, as well as its primary concern with the salvation of the individual, provided it with an excellent foundation for the beginning of its mission work among American Indians. Confronted by peoples and cultures different from their own, the missionaries were able to create new communities which, while certainly Moravian in character, retained much of their converts' Indian culture and practices.

---

<sup>49</sup>Baudert, "Zinzendorf's Thought," 399; Henry, Sketches, 278; Spangenberg, Account, 63, 74, 76, 88, 94-95.

## CHAPTER 2

### HOW THEY LIVED: DELAWARE RELIGION AND SOCIETY

Although by 1767 the Delawares had been in contact with Europeans for more than a century, most of the ideas and practices that David Zeisberger encountered in Ohio had been traditional or had become so by the time David entered the Ohio country. The use of guns, drinking alcohol, and the use of European goods for clothing and personal decoration had been indigenous to Delaware society for generations. Their religious ideologies, although exposed to European theology, had not been significantly affected, and their familial institutions had remained constant. The most significant consequence of the European encroachment upon their land had been the almost continuous migration of the Delawares westward, away from their ancient homelands. Therefore, traditional Delaware society of the eighteenth century was characterized by a more fluid, decentralized organization and philosophy. Flexibility and the ability to adapt quickly to changing circumstances were by then hallmarks of Delaware culture. From the earliest years of contact with Europeans, the Delawares had established a pattern of initial friendly interaction with, followed by migration west away from, the ever-encroaching foreigners. This paradigm of association and withdrawal allowed the Delawares to maintain much of

their cultural independence while confronting an ever-changing world. They by no means escaped completely from the influence of the European world, but their frequent self-removal from white pressure delayed their eventual subjugation to American society and government.

Delaware religion provided one vital tool for confronting the stresses and crises of the world; it proved to be a resilient force in a challenged Delaware society. Their religious theology accommodated individual needs and idiosyncrasies while fulfilling the requirements of the community. Delaware religion was not a complicated set of otherworldly doctrines, cosmologies, and ideologies; rather it focused on those spiritual ideas that most directly affected an individual's life. Part of this focus on the individual was its emphasis on the encompassing spirituality of the world, represented by the Great Spirit. The Great Spirit created the world and provided the "creative energy of all things." The Delawares prayed and made offerings to the Great Spirit, or Creator, in gratitude for past favors and to request the continuation of divine good will. The Creator had several attendants, spirit beings who took care of and maintained the earth. These agents of the Great Spirit included the sun, moon, seven thunders, four directions, and earth mother. In appreciation for the blessings of the Great Spirit and to "solicit the continuation of his good will," the Delawares held the Big House Ceremony. This twelve-day religious festival, held once a year, brought together all of the Delaware communities. It served as an annual thanksgiving for the harvest and all other benefits from the Creator.<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Newcomb, Culture and Acculturation, 59, 64-67; Schonemberger, Lenape Women, 185-86; Heckewelder, History, 100, 212-14; Herbert C. Kraft, The Lenape: Archeology, History, and Ethnography (Newark: New Jersey Historical Society, 1986),

Although the Creator was of great importance, the primary focus of Delaware religion was an individual's personal relationship with his or her guardian spirit. This spirit was a guiding force in a person's life, "to assist and make him prosper, to aid and comfort when in distress." Both men and women were able to have guardian spirits, although men were believed to have a greater need for them to ensure their success in hunting and war. Women's visions provided them with less spiritual power than those acquired by men, but women's guardians gave them superior skills at making and administering medicines. The primary method for discovering and acquiring a guardian spirit was through a vision quest, the first one usually performed at puberty. Spiritual guardians often took the shape of animals but could also appear as spirit beings, ghosts, or objects. Once an individual had received a guardian spirit, he or she was required to create a medicine bundle to be carried at all times. This little sack, usually worn around the neck, contained articles which had been collected according to the directions of the spiritual guardian. The objects in the bundle were designed to protect the owner, and the bundle was an individual's most cherished possession. Its medicine was spiritual protection. While visions and their accompanying spiritual power were deeply personal, the importance of having received a vision was believed to be so great that it was of interest and benefit to the community to hear of it. At special ceremonies, especially the Big House Ceremony, individuals recited their vision experiences as a means of sharing their gift and its benefits. If an individual

---

162-63, 174.

benefitted from a guardian spirit, the whole society also gained by a kind of spiritual correlation.<sup>2</sup>

In consequence of the importance Delawares placed on visions and guardian spirits, an individual, especially a man, who did not receive a vision was unfortunate and "considered himself forsaken" with "no hope of any assistance." Without the assistance and spiritual benefits of a guardian, life and its requirements would be much more difficult. For men, especially, it would be very difficult to succeed in hunting or war, two occupations critical to a man's social position and his ability to contribute to his family's survival. Women who did not receive a vision did not suffer as great a disadvantage since their ability to provide for their family's welfare and their social status were less dependent upon the benefits granted by a guardian spirit.<sup>3</sup>

One of the benefits of a powerful vision was the spiritual authority it granted to its recipient. Men and women could receive spiritual authority that endowed them with the authority of diviners and prophets, able to "dream of the future." These distinguished men and women were sought for their advice, their knowledge of the proper way of performing rituals, and their judicial opinions in cases of misconduct. Diviners and prophets also served as interpreters of dreams and visions and treated illnesses with their knowledge of herbs and medicines. An individual's particular talents and skills were dependent upon his or her

---

<sup>2</sup>Wallace, "New Religions," 3; Kraft, Lenape, 176-78, 184; Newcomb, Delaware Culture and Acculturation, 60-62; Gladys Tantaquidgeon, A Study of Delaware Indian Medicine Practice and Folk Beliefs (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania Historical Commission, 1942), 21-22.

<sup>3</sup>Zeisberger's History, 132-33; Wallace, King of the Delawares, 44.

guardian's gifts and particular spiritual associations and, therefore, could vary in strength and specialty.<sup>4</sup>

Spiritual power could be used for good or evil. Those with the most spiritual power were witches. It is unclear whether the Delawares developed the belief in witchcraft independently or whether it was imported from other Indian cultures. Zeisberger said the Delawares learned about witchcraft from the Nanticokes. Witches had the strongest spiritual powers; their spells were virtually unbreakable. Witches could "bring about the death of anyone...in the short space of twenty-four hours." In other cases the victim was "afflicted with disease, from which there is no recovery for years." Therefore, virtually all illnesses and death were blamed on witches. Their powers were so hazardous that if witches were not careful, this dangerous medicine would turn on them, causing death. During the first thirty years of David's mission, witchcraft was not a significant issue in Delaware society. It was not until the 1790s that witch hunting and witch paranoia became a primary concern among many Delaware communities. Before the exodus to White River, Indiana, witchcraft accusations were few and insignificant. After this self-imposed exile by most of the non-mission Delawares, witchcraft accusations soared. Dozens of people, including one Moravian Delaware, were burned to death as punishment for allegedly practicing witchcraft.<sup>5</sup>

---

<sup>4</sup>Schonenberger, Lenape Women, 195-96.

<sup>5</sup>Kraft, Lenape, 185-86; Tantaquidgeon, Delaware Medicine, 38; Schonenberger, Lenape Women, 264-65; Zeisberger's History, 125.



While witches were believed to be the cause of most illness and much death, failure to observe properly a ritual by an individual or a family could cause the spirits to punish the offender with illness; a sick person could be responsible for his or her own fate. Breaking taboos or an unfortunate encounter with an evil spirit could also lead to sickness. Healing, therefore, was "a battle" between the worlds of the spirits and the living; curing was a form of "rebirth" or "regeneration."<sup>6</sup>

Treatment of illness depended upon the cause. Common practices included sweat baths, herbal remedies taken both internally and externally, blood-letting, and cupping. Blood-letting was quite "in vogue." The Delawares used flint or imported glass as well as practices similar to European ones of cutting open the main artery on the arm and allowing the blood to drain out. This practice was used most often for violent pains. Cupping was a procedure where blood was drawn to the body's surface by using a heated glass vessel. While it is unclear whether blood-letting was an original Delaware practice or was imported from the Europeans, Zeisberger notes that it was very popular during the eighteenth century.<sup>7</sup>

Two groups of people were qualified to diagnose and treat illness. The largest group was comprised of specialists in herbal medicine. These "physicians" were "the medium through whom the Creator send his healing power." Most of these herbalists were women, who specialized in general curing and healing as well as in preventing illness. Especially important was the herbalist's knowledge of women's health: menses, pregnancy, and

---

<sup>6</sup>Kraft, Lenape, 179-80; Schonenberger, Lenape Women, 188, 221.

<sup>7</sup>Heckewelder, History, 224-26; Newcomb, Delaware Culture and Acculturation, 25; Wallace, King of the Delawares, 121; Zeisberger's History, 27.

childbirth. Treating women's unique medical conditions was forbidden to men. Of special import for the herbalists was the proper collection and preparation of medicinal plants. Each plant had to be harvested in a particular manner, dependent on the time of year and its medicinal purpose. Herbalists offered prayers before gathering their plants, before making any medicine, and at the time of administering medicine to a sick person. With the exception of women's special medical needs, women herbalists operated equally with their male counterparts.<sup>8</sup>

The second group of healers were people who had received special spiritual powers granting them the ability to use supernatural abilities to heal the sick. These "doctors" were usually consulted to neutralize witchcraft spells or "expel evil spirits." While there were women "doctors," most of these healers were men, primarily because they had received stronger spiritual medicine through their visions and guardian spirit and therefore possessed a higher status than the herbalists. Both men and women healers were entitled to a share of any game brought into the village and received gifts as payment for their services.<sup>9</sup>

Spiritual authority did not guarantee any special rewards, however. Spiritual rewards were granted in the afterlife to those whose behavior in the present was admirable. Although Delaware religion clearly contained a belief in an afterlife, this belief was

---

<sup>8</sup>Schonenberger, Lenape Women, 190, 197, 217; Tantaquidgeon, Delaware Medicine, 7-10, 14; Kraft, Lenape, 181-82.

<sup>9</sup>Schonenberger, Lenape Women, 188-89, 197; Kraft, Lenape, 180-81; Heckewelder, History, 231-32; Robert Steven Grumet, "Sunksquaws, Shamans, and Tradeswomen: Middle Atlantic Coastal Algonkian Women During the 17th and 18th Centuries," in Women and Colonization: Anthropological Perspectives, Mona Etienne and Eleanor Leacock, eds. (New York: Praeger, 1980), 53-54.

formulated only in vague terms. The afterlife was a place where one's ancestors and spirits resided. Whoever lived a "virtuous life, refrains from stealing, murder and immorality, would at death go to some good place where conditions would be better than here." The souls of those who committed grave misdeeds during their lives were "left on this earth to wander to and fro and are unhappy." The Delaware afterlife closely resembled life on earth but lacked the periodic hardships of famine, disease, war, and death.<sup>10</sup>

While the spiritual realm gave strength to the individual's soul, the extended matrilineal family provided a safe and stable unit for the body, forming the core unit of membership in Delaware society. Matrilineal kinship, tracing descent through the mother's lineage, determined to which clan an individual belonged. "Sachems and counsellors" inherited their rank through their matrilineal clan. Since the opinions and preferences of the women held special importance, most matters were addressed within the clan or village. The larger sociopolitical organization of the nation was restricted to affairs of major economic relationships, diplomacy, and warfare where the men held their positions of influence and authority.<sup>11</sup>

The immediate family, however, formed the most important relationships within a person's life. Most Delaware homes contained more than a single nuclear family with multiple generations or families of siblings living together. Every two years, usually in the

---

<sup>10</sup>Schonenberger, Lenape Women, 210; Zeisberger's History, 128-29; Weslager, Delaware Westward Migration, 114.

<sup>11</sup>Henry Warner Bowden, American Indians and Christian Missions: Studies in Cultural Conflict (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1981), 151; Grumet, "Sunksquaws, Shamans," 46-47.

autumn, each family offered a sacrifice which all relatives were invited to attend. These festivities occurred often enough that most people attended at least two every year. Creating these individual families was a relatively informal matter. If two people wanted to marry, their mothers approved or disapproved of the prospective marriage and, if they agreed, "negotiated" the match. This new family unit created a strong bond of friendship between the two families; they exchanged gifts until the couple actually began living together. Once the couple established their household, the marriage was completed and recognized. Polygyny was practiced, but it was uncommon and was utilized only by a few civil leaders. These chiefs used their multiple marriages as a means to create strong relationships with other clans. A chief's first wife, however, always remained the most important spouse. Marriage lasted only as long as both the man and woman were happy, and either partner could choose to end the marriage with divorce. If a couple divorced, the children remained with their mother until they were old enough to choose for themselves with whom they wished to live.<sup>12</sup>

Most Delaware families had several children, and all children were cared for, even those deemed malformed in some way or born out of wedlock. There was no stigma attached to these children. Evil spirits were blamed for malformed babies; these spirits were angry at the parents for not fulfilling their ritual obligations. Sometimes, however, the Creator chose "the weakest person...to be powerful in mind...as a matter of pity." Therefore, malformed children were not deemed a misfortune. Once they were old enough to

---

<sup>12</sup>Schonenberger, Lenape Women, 150-51, 168, 213-14; Heckewelder, History, 154, 161, 259; Newcomb, Delaware Culture and Acculturation, 34-39; Grumet, "Sunksquaws, Shamans," 48.

distinguish right from wrong, Delaware children were educated by the "demonstration and example" of family and community. Punishments were few, and discipline was maintained largely by appealing to the child's pride, praising good behavior, and expressing verbal disappointment for bad behavior. This system of discipline was effective, most observers noted, because of the generally "civil" and responsible behavior of the Delaware people.<sup>13</sup>

Children were named upon birth, and receiving a name was one of the most important events in a person's life and could take place more than once. A child's first name was given by the mother "after some peculiar mark or character in it." Another name was received by both men and women upon their transition from childhood to adulthood. Other possible occasions for receiving a new name were "distinguished conduct," a special act, or a particular event. Delawares had no family names; no connections between family members were distinguished by a special name. All of the commonly used names, however, were only nicknames, names with no religious significance and not recognized by the Creator.<sup>14</sup>

A Delaware's most important name was his or her spiritual name, the name by which the Creator and other spirits knew him or her. This name distinguished a person as a separate "physical and spiritual entity from other people." This special name was not given to a child at birth; the uncertainty of survival made it wise to wait. When it was obvious the child was

---

<sup>13</sup>Heckewelder, History, 113-27, 221-22; Newcomb, Delaware Culture and Acculturation, 31-34; Tantaquidgeon, Delaware Medicine, 2.

<sup>14</sup>Schonenberger, Lenape Women, 206-07; Heckewelder, History, 141; Herbert C. Kraft, A Delaware Indian Symposium (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1974), 141; Zeisberger's History, 80.

meant to survive, often at the age of three to four years, a parent, a relative, or a spiritual leader bestowed this special name. An individual was reluctant to disclose his or her real name to anyone outside of the immediate family. Knowledge of a person's spiritual name could be dangerous because if a witch or conjuror knew a person's real name, his or her power over that person increased and could have dire or fatal consequences. These spiritual names were unique; with few exceptions no two people possessed the same one.<sup>15</sup>

Once an individual completed his or her present life, the person's final moments were treated with great respect. Death and burial of a family member was a community event. It was important to pay close attention to the last words of a person on his or her deathbed; "the dying one" was "in close communication with the souls of the departed" who might relay important messages to the living. Among the Delawares it was "unbecoming" for a man to have any part in the burial preparations of a close friend or relative. Other members of the community performed "all necessary rites, for which there are presented" large portion of the deceased's household goods. The remaining portions of the deceased's personal property were distributed to the unrelated community members who attended the funeral. The immediate family kept only the house and livestock, incorporated during the previous two hundred years.<sup>16</sup>

The deceased's body was kept by the family for three to seven days and was specially dressed and painted for burial. The family placed the deceased's important personal tools

---

<sup>15</sup>Kraft, Symposium, 137-40; Zeisberger's History, 80.

<sup>16</sup>Tantaquidgeon, Delaware Medicine, 16; MMR, Reel 12, Box 161, Folder 5: 30-31.

and ornaments, as well as food and wampum, in the grave alongside the corpse. "At the head of the corpse a tall post is erected" indicating the status, gender, and economic role of the deceased. The official mourning period was one year. At the end of that year, the surviving spouse's in-laws gave the widow or widower and her or his children new clothes and suggested a new spouse for the survivor. If the widow or widower married before the year elapsed, the in-laws' obligations were cancelled. The deceased and his or her grave received attention annually. The family held a feast at the gravesite each year and cared for the sacred spot by trimming the grass and removing any debris that had accumulated there.<sup>17</sup>

Equally important as the spiritual world was the ability of Delaware families to produce enough food for their own consumption plus a little extra for barter and trade. Of primary importance to the Delawares was the growing of maize, but they also grew beans, squash, and tobacco. Additionally, the Delawares in some areas cultivated potatoes, cucumbers, melons, cabbage, and turnips. They used hoes to work the land since they did not adopt the use of the plow until the early nineteenth century. They also produced large numbers of peaches in their Ohio orchards; according to Heckewelder, they had had peach trees before the Europeans' arrival in the Mid-Atlantic area. By the middle of the eighteenth century, the Delawares were protecting their crops primarily from foraging cattle with fences built around their lands.<sup>18</sup>

---

<sup>17</sup>Schonenberger, Lenape Women, 210-11; Newcomb, Delaware Culture and Acculturation, 39-42; Kraft, Lenape, 187-92; Zeisberger's History, 89.

<sup>18</sup>Newcomb, Delaware Culture and Acculturation, 13-14, 90; Heckewelder, History, 193, 337; Heckewelder, Thirty Thousand Miles, 44. According to Alfred Crosby, Ecological Imperialism (1986), 156-57, the Spanish and French introduced peach trees into Florida in the sixteenth century. The peach trees flourished, becoming

Hunting was also crucial to the survival of Delaware families, especially during the late winter months, when stores of maize and beans ran low or out. Hunger was a common problem during these months before the first spring harvest, especially if there were dislocations or raids due to war. Hunting was both a communal and individual activity. During the spring, summer, and autumn when the village was gathered together for the planting and harvesting of crops, the men joined together for hunting, frequently going out in large parties. In the winter, when each family moved to its winter hunting ground, hunters usually worked by themselves or only with immediate family members. While farming and hunting obligations were divided according to gender, tasks requiring substantial amounts of labor were performed jointly by men and women, such as large deer drives that required setting deer traps, building houses, fishing, and gathering wild plants. Domestic animals also provided sustenance to Delaware families, and by the middle of the eighteenth century they had significant numbers of them. They not only possessed horses but also kept dogs, pigs, and cattle. While the pigs were used for meat, the cattle were kept for their production of butter and milk. Apparently the Delawares did not like the taste of beef; they preferred the stronger taste of venison and bear's meat.<sup>19</sup>

While each family produced and procured its own food supplies, the sharing of goods was part of the village economy. The elderly who could no longer provide for

---

naturalized, spread northward, where the American Indians were able to produce more varieties than the English. In this manner, the Delawares acquired peach trees before the arrival of Europeans in their territory.

<sup>19</sup>Heckewelder, History, 198; Newcomb, Delaware Culture and Acculturation, 15, 91; Grumet, "Sunksquaws, Shamans," 56; Wallace, King of the Delawares, 63.



themselves were taken care of by other members of their family or by the community. Meat, maize, and other goods were shared by those who had plenty with those who had little or none. The Delawares believed that nature's bounty had been created for "the common good," not to benefit the few. Therefore, hospitality was a duty and not a virtue. All strangers had a claim on hospitality: they were far from their homes and honored their hosts by their visit. And the sick and poor had a right to be helped. This "mutual assistance" included not only food but also clothes, blankets, and tools. Survival for the Delawares, as for the Moravians, was dependent on the cooperation of all members of the community and on the generosity of strangers.<sup>20</sup>

Although women performed most of the agricultural work and men performed most of the hunting, the importance of their respective labors was equal. Survival depended upon the fruits of both farming and hunting. Even in these areas, however, distinctions were sometimes blurred. Women worked the fields, but the men cleared the fields for the initial planting. The men hunted deer and bears, but women processed the skins. Women did all the cooking, usually two meals each day, but the bowls for eating were made by men. These occupational distinctions lost almost all relevance as men and women aged. With increasing age, men and women performed the traditional tasks of either gender; distinctions were no longer important. Men worked in the fields, women made bowls.<sup>21</sup>

---

<sup>20</sup>Schonenberger, Lenape Women, 160-61; Heckewelder, History, 101-102.

<sup>21</sup>Newcomb, Delaware Culture and Acculturation, 21; Heckewelder, History, 193; Grumet, "Sunksquaws, Shamans," 55-56; Schonenberger, Lenape Women, 152-53.

Even more telling was the assigned ownership of the fruits from these labors. The crops women produced and the maple sugar they made every February belonged to the men. In turn, the game, skins, and furs procured by men belonged to the women. Each gender was responsible for processing, distributing, and trading the other's contribution. Because women were responsible for the disposal of the skins and furs, they were instrumental in all trading relationships. While men bartered the maize grown by women, the women bartered the skins and furs captured by the men. Ownership of the other gender's production extended to the ritual cycle. Sacrifices were made at specific times of the year to the maize spirit and to the hunting spirit. The form of these sacrifices, however, reflected this exchange of ownership. Meat was used for the maize spirit's sacrifice, and the hunting spirit received offerings of maize. Even in the spiritual world, mutual dependence and exchange were important.<sup>22</sup>

The communal nature of social and economic organization extended to the political realm. As with the rest of Delaware society, there was little centralization and coercion in governmental matters. There were two main groups of leaders or chiefs; the most important were the civil chiefs or sachems, who were appointed by the female leader of each clan. Women were the clan leaders, and the foremost woman of each clan was the "chiefmaker," who had the authority to appoint and remove the clan's chief. Clan leaders were also responsible for maintaining peace. Some women even held positions of leadership as sachems. It was a man's membership in a clan that initially qualified him for appointment

---

<sup>22</sup>Schonenberger, Lenape Women, 146-48, 211-13; Newcomb, Delaware Culture and Acculturation, 21; Heckewelder, History, 158.

as a clan chief. The clan's women leaders then chose the man most qualified and suitable for the position. The civil chief's primary function was to keep the peace by overseeing the community's diplomatic concerns, but he could not "rule over the people." These civil chiefs did not govern as independent leaders but worked in conjunction with councils comprised of other notable men. The chiefs were responsible for the distribution of goods, especially gifts from foreigners. They exacted fines and "blood money" (payment by a murderer's family to the victim's family) for violations of Delaware law and mediated all disputes. They made important decisions at regular council sessions and implemented these decisions "directly through the council and indirectly through informal pressure." Lineages commonly joined together into a single community. While each lineage retained its own chief, a single representative chief was chosen for the entire community. These community sachems also performed their duties with the advice and consent of a council comprised of the clan chiefs, war chiefs, and other important individuals.<sup>23</sup>

The other community leaders were the war chiefs, or captains, who were subject to the civil chief in peacetime. From the moment war was declared, however, the captains assumed all governmental authority and civil chiefs became subject to the war chiefs. Unlike the civil chiefs who were appointed by the clan mothers, war chiefs gained their status through their accomplishments as warriors and leaders. Young and neophyte warriors sought

---

<sup>23</sup>Newcomb, Delaware Culture and Acculturation, 49, 53; Wallace, King of the Delawares, 8-9; Schonemberger, Lenape Women, 169-74; Grumet, "Sunksquaws, Shamans," 48; Heckewelder, History, 107-09; Zeisberger's History, 93.

leadership from those men who had proven themselves in battle. Only skill and bravery mattered; lineage was unimportant.<sup>24</sup>

Delaware women also exercised additional political authority. Women were responsible for the internal affairs of their village and nation (domestic concerns and peace), while the men were responsible for external affairs (military concerns and international politics). While the women were responsible for appointing the clan chiefs, the men possessed authority in international affairs. These male chiefs determined land sales, declared war, and negotiated and agreed upon treaties with other nations.<sup>25</sup>

Whether a man was a local or tribal chief, he rarely did his own speaking at important councils and meetings. An orator customarily spoke on behalf of a chief, using ritualistic and formal language. Orators were men who possessed a talent and skill of public speaking and the ability to use the Delaware language with "force and expression...which is impossible to translate." Delaware speeches were filled with metaphors and descriptive language. At councils with English or American representatives, even if the chief could speak English passably well, he would use an interpreter. It was important that the chief's message be delivered in a dignified and powerful manner, and this included proper grammar.<sup>26</sup>

---

<sup>24</sup>Weslager, Delaware Westward Migration, 43; Newcomb, Delaware Culture and Acculturation, 52-53.

<sup>25</sup>Jay Miller, "The Delaware as Women: a Symbolic Solution," American Ethnologist 1 (1974): 511.

<sup>26</sup>Heckewelder, History, 107-109, 132, 137, 331-32; Wallace, King of the Delawares, 56-57.

Ambassadors were another important group of men who were chosen by the civil and war chiefs and represented them in diplomatic situations. The Delawares considered the person of an ambassador to be inviolate and sacred. All ambassadors were entitled to respect, hospitality, and protection. It was an unpardonable crime to injure or kill an ambassador, who was "under the special protection of the Great Spirit." In the continuous violence and disharmony of the eighteenth century, however, this protection was no longer guaranteed. The Delawares blamed the Europeans for interfering in Indian politics, the murders of Indian messengers and ambassadors, and attacks against and murders of "peaceable Indian villages." The sacred body of the ambassador, whether Indian or European, had lost his protected status.<sup>27</sup>

Delaware society changed much during the eighteenth century. Increased European migration westward and the subsequent encroachment upon Delaware lands and hunting territories created economic problems. Warfare sparked by these settler invasions and the resulting migrations of entire Delaware villages and communities meant that the Delawares were less able to produce adequate amounts of food for survival. Crops were frequently left unharvested in the fields or important caches of corn were left buried, abandoned during a hasty flight to safety. In addition to those losses were the deprivations caused by the requirements of the fur trade. Delaware hunters spent more time hunting animals for trade and less time hunting for food. Animals previously deemed unimportant for Delaware consumption, such as the beaver, were hunted for the European fur market. The Delaware

---

<sup>27</sup>Heckewelder, History, 181-84.

economy began to shift away from production for group consumption and increasingly became one of an individual barter economy for European products.<sup>28</sup>

Women also were involved in the European barter economy by buying and selling rum. Frequently, Delaware women were the providers of alcohol to their people, although men participated in this business as well. Women's participation in this trade was an extension of another traditional practice of Delaware women, especially older women, who sold supernatural power with their production and sale of beson, Indian medicine. In the century after first contact, however, women lost most of their influence as traders. Europeans preferred trading with individual men, not with groups of men and women as the Delawares did. While the Delawares believed that the skins and furs of the hunt belonged to the hunter's wife, the Europeans judged these items as the man's property and his to dispose of as he chose. Women were, therefore, partially removed from the trading process by being prevented from trading goods that were rightfully theirs. In addition, the men maintained their possession of the women's produce to trade with the Europeans. By the middle of the eighteenth century, virtually all trading was controlled by Delaware men; the women had lost significant influence.<sup>29</sup>

Political organization was also affected during the eighteenth century, primarily due to European preferences and pressures. European political structures preferred the authority of a single male leader who conducted business on behalf of his people. Delaware government, however, was more communal and consensual than authoritarian. European

---

<sup>28</sup>Newcomb, Delaware Culture and Acculturation, 83, 91.

<sup>29</sup>Grumet, "Sunksquaws, Shamans," 56-57; Schonberger, Lenape Women, 235.

demands for repeatedly consulting and bargaining with one man led to the increase in power of individual men, usually the war chiefs, and the Europeans had a particular preference for a man who could be designated as a national chief, someone who would speak and bargain on behalf of all Delawares. The European preference for a single national leader reduced the power and influence of the clan and village chiefs, diminishing the consensual and communal aspect of Delaware government. This reduction in the influence and power of the local clan chiefs reduced some of the social controls necessary to a civil society. As the eighteenth century wore on, the Delawares experienced a marked decline in general order and respect for the aged and an increase in divorce and theft, all symptoms of a loss of authority and control.<sup>30</sup>

With the continued dislocations and stresses on the Delawares in the eighteenth century, their national power structures began to change. At the local level, the number of clans increased, which resulted in a rise in the number of clan chiefs. The forced migrations west led to a consolidation of the Delawares into larger single communities and the development of tribal leaders who had authority over more than one community. These new tribal leaders gained authority and influence in all external affairs, especially in their relations with European governments and representatives. This development of a national chief was a Delaware response to European influences and their preference for dealing with one leader rather than with a group of different leaders, each of whom had different

---

<sup>30</sup>Newcomb, Delaware Culture and Acculturation, 93.

preferences and agendas. There may have also been internal developments within the Delaware nation that contributed to this new national political identity.<sup>31</sup>

Delaware women were doubly affected by colonization. Women lost much of their economic power and political authority. Women appointed the civil chiefs but not the war chiefs, and they certainly had no influence over the naming of a national chief. They were affected as Indians and as women. In a sense, Delaware women faced "domestication" by European influences and demands, increasingly restricted to familial and social functions, and removed from their traditional positions of political authority. While the transformation was never complete, the impact upon Delaware women was significant.<sup>32</sup>

Although faced with many important and distressing changes and influences in their world, the Delawares retained most of their culture and social organization, their religious beliefs and practices, and their clan-based family units throughout most of the eighteenth century. When David Zeisberger in 1767 first went to ask permission to live among the Delawares in Ohio, he encountered a proud and resilient nation. David was a witness to the unfortunate and tragic events that followed over the next forty years, which led to the virtual disintegration of the Delaware nation as well as of many other Indian nations. David and his missionary assistants managed to create in this time and place of virtual chaos a relatively stable and peaceful community of Moravian Indians and other un-baptized Indians. Together they faced their share of distress, unhappiness, and tragedy. David created a community that successfully blended Moravian religion with traditional Delaware social,

---

<sup>31</sup>Newcomb, Delaware Culture and Acculturation, 52-53, 86.

<sup>32</sup>Schonenberger, Lenape Women, 2-3, 113, 247-49.



economic, and political customs. He allowed the converts and unbaptized residents of the mission settlements to retain most of their indigenous culture, including much of their religious ideology. A courageous man, he followed the Moravian principle of "in essentials unity, in all else charity." His respect and tolerance for Indians earned him their respect and admiration.

## CHAPTER 3

### THE ART AND PRACTICE OF RELIGIOUS LIFE

The most important religious function performed by David was to preach the Christian gospel to the Indians, convert and traditional alike. It was through the spoken word that David performed most of his mission to bring all Indians to the belief in Jesus as their redeemer and Savior. His knowledge of the Delaware language, his charismatic and commanding presence, and his general approach gave him much success. But there was more to his success than personal attributes. David's adherence to Zinzendorf's ideology of requiring essentials in belief but charity in all else resulted in the creation of an Indian-centered mission. His mission in Ohio became primarily a Delaware community of Moravian Indians. Most practices, religious and secular, were the same as or equivalent to traditional Delaware forms. Even in his efforts to create a Moravian religious community David's efforts produced a mission that operated significantly along Indian lines. His willingness to allow his converts to remain Indians in most of their practices was the most important contributing factor in his success.

David desired not only that the converts be good Moravians but that they be able to maintain their faith and practice without a missionary presence, if necessary. The authority and autonomy he granted his converts resulted in a number of important practices. His desire that his Indian brethren be able to learn Scripture for themselves led him to establish

a school at virtually every mission site. Perhaps of primary importance was his use of respected converts as his "national assistants" to help run the mission on a daily basis and to tackle the myriad personal and diplomatic problems that arose in the mission. The devoted efforts of these men and women made it possible for David to maintain his mission through numerous displacements and disasters.

The most important religious function David performed was to preach. Preaching took a variety of forms, including formal speeches, personal interviews, and group interviews. Most of this work was done in his daily sermons and talks on Scripture or in his daily readings. He also took the opportunity to preach during special meetings of the baptized, communicants, married couples, children, or any other special assembly.<sup>1</sup>

David and the missionaries working for him were also flexible enough to change their subject matter as circumstances and prudence demanded. After the horrendous slaughter in March 1782 of ninety Moravian Indians by an American militia unit, David and the other missionaries were faced with the difficulty of explaining this event. The missionaries believed that it was important to remove from their preaching the gospel which says that God knows everything that will happen and if God chooses he can "guard them from all bodily harm." The removal of this idea from their preaching was confirmed at a mission conference in Goshen in 1803. The missionaries decided it was not necessary to include this concept as it would only bring fear and uneasiness to the congregants. Flexibility in preaching was necessary to adapt to Indian understandings and sensibilities.<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Sawyer, "Religious Experience," 191.

<sup>2</sup>MMR, Reel 20, Box 174, Folder 4: 16.

Of utmost importance was preaching to the Indians in their own languages. Zinzendorf had emphasized the importance of missionaries learning Indian languages. David was fluent in Delaware and Onondaga and had a working knowledge of at least two other languages, Shawnee and Mahican. Benjamin Mortimer, David's assistant, declared that both the Delaware and the Mahican languages were "well calculated for the propagation of the gospel" because most Indians east of the Mississippi River understood those languages. Apparently, however, the missionaries' problem of using Indian languages for preaching was never completely resolved. In 1803 at the mission conference held in Goshen, Ohio, the missionaries noted that there were not enough interpreters at all the mission stations and too few to transfer to other stations that needed assistance. Fairfield Mission in Ontario, Canada was in the direst straits. None of the missionaries there could speak Delaware adequately to preach in the language. Brother Oppelt, the head missionary at Fairfield, requested that David write a paper, apparently in Delaware, on the problem of preaching for the Fairfield missionaries to read when a significant problem arose. After almost forty years, the missionaries still had to wrestle with mastering the language of their converts.<sup>3</sup>

When the missionaries dealt with the issue of translation, especially of spiritual concepts not found in one of the languages concerned, they had to confront the issue of how well Christian religious notions were explained and characterized in the Delaware language. Because there were many European religious terms not found in Delaware, substitutions had

---

<sup>3</sup>Kenneth Gardiner Hamilton, John Ettwein and the Moravian Church During the Revolutionary Period (Bethlehem, Pa: Times Publishing Co., 1940), 110-11; MMR, Reel 19, Box 171, Folder 13: 6, Reel 20, Box 174, Folder 4: 22-23.

to be made. There was no word for "holy" in Delaware, so it was translated as "quite clean" or "without sin." Both of these translations are basically acceptable renditions of "holy," but they leave out certain aspects of divinity Europeans usually associate with holiness. John Heckewelder, one of David's American assistants, recognized this problem. While he admitted that it was not always possible to express Christian ideas using the same words or grammatical forms, he believed they were able to impart the important ideas quite clearly.<sup>4</sup>

David did not attempt to eradicate every traditional religious belief held by Delaware converts, therefore, he ignored entire sections of Christian religious dogma. For Moravians the only truly important religious issue was God's incarnation as Jesus and his subsequent crucifixion which redeemed all believers from sin and granted eternal life. Beyond these basic tenets, Moravians were not especially interested. Therefore, David did not attempt to change Delaware beliefs on the creation of the world and its inhabitants; he simply ignored the issue. This subject was one of many that was never mentioned in the scriptures he cited nor in subsequent discussions. As was true of all Moravians, David preached about the incarnation and crucifixion of Jesus. The remaining details were unessential.<sup>5</sup>

Some religious concepts were never an issue for the converts because David never made reference to them; they were an unessential aspect of Moravian theology and would only get in the converts' way of understanding the important issues. For example, he never preached about heaven and hell, but referred only to the granting of "eternal life" to those who believed in Jesus as the Savior. David's deletion of the traditional Judgement Day

---

<sup>4</sup>Hamilton, John Ettwein, 260; Heckewelder, History, 129-30.

<sup>5</sup>Sawyer, "Religious Experience," 181.

complemented the lack of a Delaware belief in a judgement when all the righteous dead would live again. God was referred to as "the great Spirit" or "the Creator," using traditional Delaware terminology for their central deity. He equated the two, never saying that the Moravian Creator and the Delawares' were two different beings. David clearly equated the two religions as having the same creator. Jesus acquired many titles in Moravian preaching. He was addressed as the "Creator of the world," thereby, equating him with God. Jesus was also described as the "Divine Being on whom all things depend and to whom all things tend." Another way in which Jesus and God were described as the same being was made during a sermon address in 1775 when David said that "our Creator is, also, our Redeemer." While references were made to the Trinity, the Holy Ghost, and God the Father, they were never a central theme of his preaching and were usually mentioned only in reading a biblical text or in singing a hymn. Clearly, David's preaching focused on equating Jesus with God and the Christian God with the Delaware Creator. Converts had no difficulty in understanding this relationship and did not have to abandon a central tenet of their religion. It also made David's point that the Moravian God was for all men, white and brown, more believable and powerful.<sup>6</sup>

These cross-cultural references were not restricted to spiritual matters but were also used to describe church leaders. In 1798 Heckewelder spoke with an old Munsee man referring to Bishop Ettwein as "an old chief" and God as "the great Spirit": "an old chief,

---

<sup>6</sup>David Jones, A Journal of Two Visits Made to Some Nations of Indians On the West Side of the River Ohio, In the Years 1772 and 1773 (reprint edition, New York: Joseph Sabin, 1865), 103; Heckewelder, Thirty Thousand Miles, 367; MMR, Reel 8, Box 141, Folder 15: 28; Sawyer, "Religious Experience," 198-99.

whose hair is more gray than yours, has a great affection for all the Indians, and prays for them every day to the great Spirit." Heckewelder's use of Indian terminology clearly was designed to make his explanations simple and understandable, yet he did not compromise the bishop's status nor his own religious beliefs. Many of the ideas that David and his missionary assistants imparted to the converts, residents, and visitors clearly had much in common with traditional Delaware thinking. David followed Zinzendorf's recommendation that they preach only the theological essentials and leave the rest aside. Making trite distinctions would only create barriers for many Indians hearing and receiving the gospel of Jesus. It was also wise to identify Christian and Delaware religious ideology with each other as often as possible so that the breach converts had to cross would not be insurmountable.<sup>7</sup>

One difficulty David experienced was how to treat the excessive language about the body and blood of Jesus used by the European and American church, since it was not easily translatable into Delaware. His problem was what to do with all the extreme terminology that developed during Zinzendorf's rule. The obsessive references to the blood, wounds, sweat, and other gory physical attributes of Jesus's crucifixion were troublesome. David decided that he would still speak of the blood and wounds of the cross, but in a plainer manner. His emphasis was on the "grace and freedom from all sin [that] are to be found alone in the sacrifice offered by Jesus for the whole world." David did not change the message, but rather simplified some of the linguistically difficult imagery to insure the Indians' comprehension of already difficult and alien concepts.<sup>8</sup>

---

<sup>7</sup>Heckewelder, Thirty Thousand Miles, 367.

<sup>8</sup>Sawyer, "Religious Experience," 185.

While most preaching was apparently done in German or English, an Indian convert provided a simultaneous translation. These translations were provided for sermons, Scripture readings, and homilies. The interpreter had the authority to use his own discretion in translating the missionaries' words and ideas into a comprehensible idiom for the congregants and visitors. David's confidence in the translators' abilities empowered each interpreter to use his best judgement in conveying Moravian doctrine to the audience. This practice of using a speaker closely resembles the traditional Delaware practice of chiefs and counsellors using orators to speak on their behalf at councils and other important meetings. We do not have any record of these translations, but we can assume they were not a word-for-word translation. Delaware language is very metaphorical and laden with images which bear little resemblance to those employed by Europeans. What mattered most was the interpreter's ability to convey the meaning and sentiment of the missionary's words, not a literal translation. When necessary, the missionaries preached in Delaware and no interpreter was used. In most instances the diarists noted that there were no interpreters at home, so the preaching had to be performed in Delaware. David was not the only missionary who was capable of preaching in an Indian language. John Schmick preached at least once in Mahican, and when necessary, Mortimer and John Haven preached in Delaware. Regardless of the interpreters' skills, many converts expressed their appreciation for the sermons and preaching performed by the missionaries in an Indian language. In 1801 several Indian sisters expressed their preference, saying "a discourse delivered by the speaker in their own language, was far more agreeable, & impressive to their hearts, than when uttered by means of an interpreter." Regardless of the sisters' desires, David would not



allow the interpreters to relinquish their authority of conveying the Moravian message to their brethren.<sup>9</sup>

Preaching was not the only way to communicate the gospel to the Indian converts and mission residents. From the earliest days of the Delaware mission David worked on translating sections of Scripture into Delaware so the converts could read it for themselves. Even before he began his educational efforts to teach the Delaware converts to read and write in their own language, he translated the Gospel on Thomas and the Easter Morning Litany into Delaware. He later translated several liturgies, the Harmony of the Four Gospels, and many hymns so the converts could sing in their own language. Making the Scriptures, liturgies, and hymns available in Delaware made it possible for the converts and residents to preach to themselves, sing among themselves (which they loved to do), and provide spiritual comfort to themselves and each other without having to rely upon David or the other missionaries. These translations gave the converts the spiritual freedom, demanded by all Protestant sects, to have direct access to the gospel for their personal use. David's translation provided these opportunities for the Indian brethren to minister to themselves, find solace in God's words, and treat their spiritual needs without always having to seek the missionaries' help.<sup>10</sup>

David preached on a variety of themes. In each daily service a missionary gave a

---

<sup>9</sup>Reichel, Memorials, 189; Zeisberger, Diary, 1:173; MMR, Reel 19, Box 171, Folder 2: 5-6, Folder 8: 4, Folder 9: 28, Folder 12: 1-2, Reel 20, Box 173, Folder 2: 31, Folder 6: 14.

<sup>10</sup>Hulbert, Moravian Records, 60; DeSchweinitz, Life and Times, 394-95; MMR, Reel 12, Box 161, Folder 5: 14, Reel 20, Box 173, Folder 6: 1, Reel 19, Box 171, Folder 11: 5.

sermon based upon biblical texts. These selections were not of David's choosing but were determined by the Moravian Church and were printed as books entitled Daily Texts for all ministers and missionaries to use. For each day the Moravian Church had selected two verses for the day's meditations. The first, known as the watchword, was chosen from the Old Testament, and the second, known as the doctrinal text, was selected from the New Testament to expand upon the idea expressed in the watchword. Every year a new compilation of Daily Texts was published. While these selections were drawn from throughout the Christian Bible, certain themes and subjects recur.<sup>11</sup>

Central to Moravian theology was the belief that God became present on earth in the form of Jesus to redeem humankind from sin. While this theme was spoken of throughout the yearly cycle, it was always preached on Christmas Day. It was essential to Moravian doctrine that congregants understand the importance of and believe in God's incarnation in Jesus.<sup>12</sup>

Following closely upon the belief in the incarnation was the primary conviction that Jesus had suffered on the cross as a sacrifice for "the sin[s] of the world." Jesus's suffering, his wounds, blood, and death, comprised the central religious conviction for Moravians. While this theme was preached throughout the year, it was most important during the Easter season. Annually in the weeks of Easter, David read the story of Jesus's birth, suffering and death, and resurrection. The theme of redemption was often present in these sermons,

---

<sup>11</sup>Moravian Meanings: A Glossary of Historical Terms of the Moravian Church, Southern Province (Winston-Salem, North Carolina: Moravian Archives, 1992), 6

<sup>12</sup>MMR, Reel 8, Box 141, Folder 14: 3, Folder 15: 1, Reel 20, Box 173, Folder 6: 17; Diary of David Zeisberger, 203; Zeisberger, Diary, 2: 292.

reminding the converts and residents that their salvation lay in Jesus's suffering for them.<sup>13</sup>

The most common sermon subject was this belief in personal salvation through Jesus's crucifixion and resurrection. Although David had to simplify the language used in describing the source of salvation, he retained many of the references to blood and wounds. Most of the sermons preached on the issue of salvation contain references to blood, wounds, or some combination of the two. Jesus's "bloody merits," "bloody sweat," "blood-bought blessings," and "his bloody fulness" were recurrent themes. Congregants were admonished to remember what price Jesus had paid for their redemption and to be mindful of the blessings gained from that sacrifice. References to Jesus's blood and wounds were even more frequent, always as a reminder of the blessings to be gained from belief in Jesus as one's Savior and redeemer, something for which all believers must remember to be thankful. David even retained some of the more unusual references to Jesus's suffering. In one sermon he expressed the hope of all congregants, joining Jesus in heaven and "kissing his wounds." Reminiscent of Zinzendorf's descriptions, David preached about the "wedding garment, Christ's blood and righteousness" which covered the believer's sins. Jesus's blood and wounds enveloped the believer in a robe of salvation, washing away the sins of the baptized. His death and all of its attributes were emphasized by David as critically important for the redemption and salvation of the believer. Since traditional Delaware religion required sacrifices and offerings to one's guardian spirit, so too did the Moravian Church view Jesus as a sacrifice for the benefit of believers. Jesus combined the Delaware roles of guardian

---

<sup>13</sup>MMR, Reel 8, Box 141, Folder 12: 7-8.

and sacrifice into one figure, as the source of spiritual strength and sustenance.<sup>14</sup>

The second most common theme preached by David reassured his audience that God protects and provides for his believers and that believers will find comfort and strength with God. Congregants were reminded that "The Lord will protect His country and save His people" and that "God takes care of His children on earth." This belief became increasingly important during the revolutionary war as the mission settlements were surrounded by hostile parties on all sides and daily deluged with Indian warriors passing through or near their towns. On one occasion, David reminded his people that "we gained assurance that our dear heavenly Father would take us, in these critical times, into his protection." In the years following the war, when the mission was repeatedly displaced and threatened, David frequently had to remind his converts that "those, wretched and distressed about their salvation, have a Saviour, true and trustworthy, and who has confidence in him, will not come to harm." God's protection was especially manifest in his protection of his children from the evil of Satan or any other evil-minded person or group, he assured them. Evil people were in the power of Satan but had no power over the Moravian believers or God. God as Jesus would protect all those who believe in him. David used this theme to reassure his followers that the threats and statements of Indian enemies had no basis. On one occasion, he had to comfort and reassure the converts in the face of statements made by other Indians who said that those who joined the religion of the white people would die. David replied that the converts "knew they would all die once, but certainly not a moment

---

<sup>14</sup>Zeisberger, Diary, 1: 201, 331, 354, 367, 378, 2: 48, 51, 129, 134, 148, 380, 395; MMR, Reel 8, Box 141, Folder 12: 17, Folder 13: 34, Folder 17: 24-25, 47.

the sooner on account of their faith in our Saviour." As a traditional guardian spirit protected and provided for its recipient, so, too, did God as Jesus provide and protect the Moravian converts.<sup>15</sup>

These were not the only themes preached to the converts and residents of the mission. Against enemy statements that the Gospel was for white people only, David frequently remonstrated that salvation was for all people, not just whites, and that Scripture was to be preached to the entire world. Salvation was the primary emphasis of his words and was related as the means of gaining eternal life. Believers did not have to wait, however, for the baptized led a new life here on earth due to God's forgiveness and mercy. There were penalties to be paid for rejecting God, however, David warned, since God would forsake all those who rejected him. God's protection was guaranteed only for those who devoted themselves to God's service and faithfully followed the requirements. Obedience to God's commands and to the ministers was necessary for continuing to live a devout life as a Moravian.<sup>16</sup>

Services were held not only for the whole congregation but for special gatherings as well. Following the choir system, David held separate services for different choirs: the baptized, communicants, married couples, and children. Texts for the baptized,

---

<sup>15</sup>Diary of David Zeisberger, 167, 185; MMR, Reel 8, Box 141, Folder 17: 4-5, Reel 19, Box 171, Folder 4: 2, Folder 5: 4; Zeisberger, Diary, 2: 34, 437.

<sup>16</sup>Diary of David Zeisberger, 24, 145, 190, 194; MMR, Reel 8, Box 141, Folder 12: 8, 11, Folder 13: 27, Folder 14: 21, 44, Folder 15: 38, Folder 17: 34, 48, Reel 20, Box 173, Folder 3: 19, Folder 4: 1, Folder 6: 15, 17, Reel 12, Box 161, Folder 5: 16, 26, 52, Reel 19, Box 171, Folder 2: 3, Folder 5: 10-11, Folder 8: 47, Folder 9: 49, Reel 37, Box 3379, Folder 1: 108, Reel 9, Box 147, Folder 4: 17; Zeisberger, Diary, 2:32, 108, 38, 171, 251, 320, 327, 342, 361, 407, 452, 459, 519, 1:435.

communicants, and married couples resembled the general gospels used for services. But the key to the continued growth of the church was the raising of children to be believers and dedicated congregants. David often held special children's services at which he emphasized Jesus's childhood as an example for the children to follow. The children were reminded to "Honour Father and Mother" as Jesus had; he had been a boy and had "learned obedience." David also used children in the congregation as examples for the other children to emulate. At little Gertrude's funeral "the children were exhorted to imitate her example."<sup>17</sup>

Sermons and biblical texts were not the only way to convey the Moravian message to the Indians. David used hymns as a tool for transmitting the Gospel, but also as a means for the Indians to minister and preach to themselves. While the earliest hymns were sung in German, David very quickly set about translating several into Delaware. During the last ten years of his life he increased his efforts in translation, believing that singing hymns in their own language was beneficial to the converts. The earliest reference to David's mission singing a hymn in an Indian language is from June 1768 when he began an evening service with the singing of an "Indian hymn." Even at the early stages in his Ohio mission, David worked on translating hymns into Delaware; in December 1769 a New Testament hymn was sung "in Indian" for the first time. By 1804 he had compiled enough translated hymns to publish a Delaware hymn book to be used at the Goshen mission. Many of these translations had been completed while David and his congregation were living in Fairfield, Ontario. One of the brethren's favorite hymns was "O world, see thy Creator." According to Benjamin

---

<sup>17</sup>Zeisberger, Diary, 2: 77, 471, 490, 511 and 1: 61, 255; MMR, Reel 19, Box 171, Folder 7: 41, Reel 20, Box 173, Folder 1: 56.

Mortimer in Goshen, "It is sung more than any other in their houses; children of five years of age can repeat the whole of it; and when rehearsed in the church, it is amidst a very solemn feeling, attended with many tears."<sup>18</sup>

As with David's sermons, the hymns significantly referred to the physical wounds and blood of Jesus on the cross. In the "song of heaven" the lyrics remind the singers that God "hath redeemed us by his blood," and another hymn describes the Christian congregation as "blood-bought." One hymn, first translated into Delaware in 1797 and frequently sung, began "O head so full of bruises, So full of pain and scorn." The use of hymns perfectly complemented David's teachings. Most important, perhaps, was the freedom they gave the converts to perform their own rituals without the supervision or leadership of the missionaries. Hymns were frequently sung in congregants' homes, sometimes with more than one family gathered for an evening of song. While David adapted European hymns to the Delaware language, for unknown reasons he never incorporated Delaware music into the mission's liturgy. The converts enjoyed the European melodies and perhaps never requested the use of their own music. Probably existing Delaware music was melodically unsuitable for Moravian verses, and David was not qualified to create brand new hymns using both the Delaware language and their music. But since music was important in Indian life and worship, it remained so for those who converted to Moravian Christianity.<sup>19</sup>

---

<sup>18</sup>Jones, Journal, 93; Hulbert, Moravian Records, 49-50; Diary of David Zeisberger, 73; MMR, Reel 20, Box 173, Folder 1: 30, Reel 19, Box 171, Folder 6: 6, Folder 7: 11.

<sup>19</sup>MMR, Reel 19, Box 171, Folder 6: 14, 17, Folder 7: 6, Folder 13: 47; Zeisberger, Diary, 2: 179, 486, 517.

Pictures were another means by which David sought to educate and inspire the Indian brethren. There were a few specific occasions when the missionaries noted that pictures were used as an education tool. While these pictures of the birth and crucifixion of Jesus were usually displayed during the Christmas holidays, they were apparently used at other times as well. In November 1771 pictures of Jesus were hung in the meeting house. Amazed at what they saw, "children and adults wept." On Christmas Day 1802, Benjamin Mortimer displayed in his home paintings of the birth and crucifixion of Jesus. Both congregants and visiting Indians viewed them and asked questions that Mortimer was pleased to answer. During Epiphany, Abraham Luckenbach also exhibited paintings of Jesus's "sufferings." The Indian brothers and sisters were much affected by these pictures, displaying "much emotion;" Luckenbach's interpreter burst into tears. One sister commented that she understood why the brethren in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania were better than those at the mission; they "saw such pictures of his sufferings" in addition to hearing the gospel.<sup>20</sup>

There was more to David's preaching than just the gospel. He frequently used his sermons to address current problems or issues in the congregation, admonishing or advising the congregants. One issue he frequently addressed was the claim by many of his Indian enemies that Christianity was only for white people and not for Indians. David refuted this claim time and again. He once made a very strong statement claiming that Jesus and his disciples "had a brown skin like the Indian, & certainly did not resemble the nations of white

---

<sup>20</sup>Diary of David Zeisberger,, 201; MMR, Reel 19, Box 171, Folder 8: 14-15, Folder 11: 4-5.



people." Zinzendorf had espoused this same view in his Sermons to Children. Being of Semitic birth, Jesus probably had olive-brown skin and brown hair. Zinzendorf and David merely represented Jesus as being similar in appearance to the Indians and therefore not an alien entity.<sup>21</sup>

David frequently used his sermons to remind the congregants to keep the Savior in their hearts and minds, daily searching "to find out how they stand toward the Saviour." The brethren were admonished to pay constant attention to the state of their souls and to remember all the good things that Jesus had done for them. Converts were to love Jesus above all others; this crucial reminder could not be repeated "often enough." From the love of their Savior the mission Indians were to learn "brotherly love among the children of God" and to show "peace and good order" in all their thoughts and activities. Seeking to find fault with others as a means of excusing one's own poor behavior was not acceptable. Believers should focus on their own faults and righteousness.<sup>22</sup>

David also took advantage of the brethren's behavior to make points about proper conduct. At one service he openly noted that the brothers' benches were nearly empty because many of them had lost the right to communion. David commented that this was "mournful and sad to us" because the brothers usually benefitted from communion, but upon missing that blessing often became "cold and dry in heart." His observations served as a

---

<sup>21</sup>MMR, Reel 20, Box 173, Folder 1: 2. Personal conversations with the Rev. Craig Atwood, Salem College, Winston-Salem, North Carolina: June 1997 and February 1998.

<sup>22</sup>Zeisberger, Diary, 2: 140, 175-76, 453-54; MMR, Reel 8, Box 141, Folder 14: 21, 38, Folder 15: 16, Reel 9, Box 144, Folder 10: 4, Reel 12, Box 161, Folder 5: 37.

reminder to the rest of the congregation not to behave so as to cause their exclusion from the Lord's Supper. The blessings lost were far greater than anything temporarily gained from misbehavior.<sup>23</sup>

David was especially concerned by incidents of misconduct committed by congregants. He frequently felt it necessary to address problems within the mission community. He made it very clear that as Christians they not only had to believe but to "show it by conduct, and thereby to glorify God." The brethren were to be "a light and example to others" and should not be weak or dishonorable to the Savior. Specific occasions were cause for very detailed instructions concerning proper behavior of congregants, such as the time David preached against stealing. When the brethren were preparing to leave the mission for the fall hunt, he admonished them to remember what blessings they had received so that they would lose nothing while away and would return home "with joyful and blessed hearts." David even took the opportunity to preach a general lesson by referring to a recent incident in the mission. Following troubles with one brother who had built "a wretched fence" around his field and whose crop was subsequently damaged from cattle that broke through the fence, David reminded the brethren of their obligations to love their neighbors and not to seek revenge. When payment for his damaged corn was refused, the brother raided the others' fields. David reprimanded this man, saying he should have built a good fence to prevent the trouble; the man promised to do so next year.<sup>24</sup>

---

<sup>23</sup>Zeisberger, Diary, 2: 496.

<sup>24</sup>Zeisberger, Diary, 2: 62, 64, 422-23, 490; MMR, Reel 19, Box 171, Folder 7: 37.

Drunkenness was a repetitive problem from the beginning of the mission. Not only were there disturbances caused by strange Indians but members of the congregation drank to excess as well. Whenever there was a particularly bad incident, usually involving more than one person, David spoke publicly at the services. He admonished those who had participated in the "drunken bout," and frequently those who were communicants were denied the right to participate in the next communion. At one Sunday meeting he told the converts who were visiting from another mission that they had to leave and go home; the baptized residents who drank were excluded from the congregation but could attend the public services. Those involved were publicly named and shamed. At one point the drinking became so severe that David lost his temper. He told them that their behavior "had been worse than he had ever before seen among Indians. That they were unworthy that ministers should any longer live among them, & if they would continue to lead such a wicked life, we would all leave them." He said that those who refused to reform should leave soon. Thereupon, the brothers and sisters vowed they would now lead a "sober life." While it was extremely unlikely that David would have ever left his congregation for any reason—he stayed with them through all disasters—his threat emphasized his displeasure and reiterated his intolerance of and displeasure at their drunken behavior.<sup>25</sup>

One particularly severe example of the difficulties which David faced occurred in 1797. Following a very difficult time in the mission, David dismissed all the national assistants for gross misconduct. He publicly preached to the congregation the folly of

---

<sup>25</sup>Zeisberger, Diary, 1: 446-47; MMR, Reel 19, Box 171, Folder 9: 38, Reel 20, Box 173, Folder 2: 21-22.

justifying their own poor behavior by claiming that the national assistants did the same. He admonished all the congregants for giving "themselves to the devil." He told them that if they would acknowledge their sins and encourage each other, Jesus would bless them again. Apparently, this public chastisement had the desired effect. Over the next few days the congregants publicly confessed their sins and vowed "to live anew for the Saviour." While his words often seemed harsh, there was always much love and compassion in his words and actions. He was always ready to forgive and gave his congregants numerous chances to redeem themselves in his and God's eyes.<sup>26</sup>

David also took opportunities, other than in the regular services, to preach to "strange" Indians visiting the mission. No occasion was too solemn for David to attempt to educate these visitors. When the convert Sophia was dying, David spoke quite openly to visitors who also attended her sick bed. He exhorted the visitors to observe that she was dying "quite willingly & happily, because she believes in our Saviour!" Those who believed in Jesus were not afraid to die because they knew they would receive eternal life. David told the strangers that if they wanted to be happy they must believe in Jesus because "he alone can save you."<sup>27</sup>

A constant concern was the retention and infiltration of unacceptable traditional Delaware beliefs among the congregants. David and the other missionaries often preached against these ideas and practices, often when strange Indians were present at services. For example, at one meeting David preached against the Indian practice of purging the body by

---

<sup>26</sup>Zeisberger, Diary, 2: 505-06.

<sup>27</sup>MMR, Reel 19, Box 171, Folder 9: 16-17.

vomiting. He stated that the only way to purge oneself of corruption was through belief in Jesus's atonement. It was also important to him to countermand claims made by Indian preachers that they had "another way of salvation." There was only one road to salvation and that was through Jesus. Especially problematic were the beliefs surrounding the causes of illness. David deplored the belief in evil spirits as the cause of illness or death. It was God's will that determined illness or death since God determined all things. He said that if the converts believed in such "folly" it could hurt them, but "he had no fear of Indian witchcraft hurting him, and still he was only a man like themselves."<sup>28</sup>

Instruction and reprimands were also publicly directed towards specific groups of congregants. The women were instructed by Bishop Ettwein, visiting in 1772, to maintain a clean appearance and house, in which he "found them lacking considerably." David, notably, never commented upon the housekeeping habits of the women. What bothered David were the occasional but turbulent "disorders, wrangling, and strife among the women." In 1777, with the dangers of the revolutionary war on their doorsteps, he told the sisters that with all the external dangers it was ever important to remain "steadfast & to follow the Saviour's example." In 1793 the disorders among the women were severe enough that David publicly ordered them "to cease therefrom" and publicly charged the assistants to investigate the matter in order to reestablish "peace and unity." Apparently, personality conflicts were common among the women, because he had to reprimand them again in 1801. He condemned their recent propensity "to speak evil of each other," which only led to

---

<sup>28</sup>DeSchweinitz, Life and Times, 367; Zeisberger, Diary, 2: 456; MMR, Reel 19, Box 171, Folder 6: 33, Folder 9: 17-18.

malice, envy, and hatred, all of which were in opposition to the spirit of brotherly love. One could not love God and hate one's brother or sister.<sup>29</sup>

The women were not the only group to be preached to about behavior. Parents were frequently admonished to be "more painstaking with their children." Parents should teach their children how to work, attend services, and keep themselves clean. More important than secular concerns, however, were David's reminders to care for the souls of their children. He reminded parents that they must teach their children about Jesus and his love for them. Parents should speak with their children, he exhorted, in order to tell them the story of Jesus and to "sing with them songs of praise." Parents were to be as concerned with their children's souls as with their health.<sup>30</sup>

Older children, aged ten to sixteen, received their instruction from David. When young Gottfried died in 1790, David took advantage of the occasion to remind the young people "to think what ill results disobedience draws after itself." If they left God's spirit, they could only come "to the greatest misery." The young people were also reprimanded for playing too much. In June 1802 David criticized them for too much "shooting with bows and arrows," which had interfered with their attendance at Sunday services. He also requested that the young people "refrain from the unbecoming practice...of shouting & hallooing like the wild heathen." More decorous and genteel behavior was preferred among the congregants. Even the younger children received lectures from him "on account of bad

---

<sup>29</sup>Hamilton, John Ettwein, 269; Zeisberger, Diary, 2: 334-35; MMR, Reel 9, Box 147, Folder 4: 17, Reel 19, Box 171, Folder 8: 41-42.

<sup>30</sup>MMR, Reel 8, Box 141, Folder 15: 35; Zeisberger, Diary, 2: 233, 411.

conduct." One's youth did not cancel the responsibility for good behavior.<sup>31</sup>

David also preached on the practical matters of work and of caring for crops and livestock. He reminded the young people to help the older men with their labors and not just to observe or absent themselves. At one evening meeting David had a list of instructions for the congregation. David reminded them not to work or play on Sundays. Although it was permitted for the congregants to keep dogs, and they apparently had many, they were told not to keep the females in town because with all the dogs together they made too much noise. To avoid trouble with strangers, they were not to bring home stray horses unless they knew the owner. David also condemned a new practice where the women tied a cock to a tree and the men took turns shooting at it. He admonished them not to be cruel to animals; that was a heathen practice.<sup>32</sup>

Although the mission was successful in most ways, David always believed it was a constant struggle not only to gain converts but to keep those who had come to believe. He frequently lamented the slowness of his efforts and the constant battle to maintain the converts within the mission. During the early years of the mission, these laments were infrequent. With the passing years, however, his cries of frustration became more frequent. After the displacement of 1781 and the massacre of 1782, David was always mindful that the mission had decreased in size and worried that "we might many times become discouraged." In addition, while he recognized the improvements made in the brethren's

---

<sup>31</sup>Zeisberger, Diary, 1: 417-18 and 2: 78; MMR, Reel 19, Box 171, Folder 10: 3, Folder 13: 5-6.

<sup>32</sup>Zeisberger, Diary, 2: 471; MMR, Reel 19, Box 171, Folder 8: 47-48.

"outward condition," he "lament[ed] that the cultivation of the minds of our Indian br[ethre]n. & s[iste]rs., has not kept pace."<sup>33</sup>

Another difficulty toward the end of Zeisberger's mission was increased contact and interaction with white people. David lamented that this increased exposure lessened the impact of the Gospel upon those who heard it. The poor examples of those whites who called themselves Christians made the Gospel seem less desirable to the Delawares. David was very critical of these white hypocrites, saying "there are heathen of all nations," those who do not live in the way of the Savior.<sup>34</sup>

Since literacy was instrumental to the mission goal of creating a literate and self-perpetuating congregation, he began a program of formal education for the congregants and residents as early as 1770. It was important that the Indian converts be able to practice their new religion according to their needs, and the most pertinent methods was through schooling. David's first school was established to teach the Indians Moravian hymns. One of the first lessons was held in November 1770, when the "baptised as well as the unbaptised" showed their enthusiasm for learning to sing. Quickly, David began translating hymns into Delaware so the congregants and residents could sing and understand them. A special singing school was begun for the children in September 1774 to teach them these new hymns.<sup>35</sup>

---

<sup>33</sup>Zeisberger, Diary, 2: 269; MMR, Reel 19, Box 171, Folder 11: 2.

<sup>34</sup>MMR, Reel 19, Box 171, Folder 11: 5.

<sup>35</sup>Diary of David Zeisberger, 138; MMR, Reel 8, Box 141, Folder 14: 44, Folder 16: 6.



Singing hymns was not the only formal education provided at the missions. In 1773 David began a school program for the children to furnish daily instruction. The missionaries attempted to keep the school program operating as long as possible, but concessions occasionally had to be made. Because the children helped in the annual hunts, harvests, and sugar-making, the school was temporarily closed for these seasonal chores.<sup>36</sup>

The main purpose of the school was to teach the children how to read and write. All initial instruction provided by David and John Heckewelder was "in the Indian tongue," and since there was no instruction book available, they had to create their own. The school, which reopened in December 1775, had one hundred children attending. Shortly after the school began its operations, David began work on the Delaware and English Spelling Book for the use of his students. The book was published in 1776 and David was initially displeased with the quality and layout of the publication. All instruction during the first decades of the mission was in Delaware. David believed it was important for the Indians to learn to read and write their own language rather than a foreign tongue. But as circumstances changed in the last decade of David's life, the missionaries began teaching the children in both Delaware and English at the request of the congregants. By the time the mission was established in Goshen in 1798, they were surrounded by white communities and were only ten miles from Gnadenhutten, a white Moravian community. In addition, the converts had begun working for their American neighbors and wanted to be able to communicate easily with their seasonal employers. It seemed advisable to both the missionaries and the parents that the children learn to read and write English as well as their

---

<sup>36</sup>MMR, Reel 8, Box 141, Folder 3: 12; Olmstead, Blackcoats, 148.

own language. Apparently, once the children began to show proficiency in their new endeavors, the adults also sought to read and write. In May 1789 David was teaching school for both children and adults, stopping only for the seasonal hiatuses. While the numbers of congregants and residents diminished over the decades, the school continued through David's death in 1808, although only seven children attended in 1807.<sup>37</sup>

David and Heckewelder were not the only missionaries to operate the schools. As the mission matured, it was usually David's main assistant who ran the school. Gottlob Sensemann operated the school during the 1790s, and Brothers John Haven and John Hagen operated the Goshen school in the early 1800s.<sup>38</sup>

The children showed great enthusiasm for their new education. In 1774 David noted that many of the children rose before dawn to finish their chores "in order that they might not miss school." Many of his scholars worked at their lessons "day and night." The children were so excited by attending school that they made sure the teacher was not hindered by other obligations from keeping school. In February 1796 some of the school children cut wood for Sensemann on their own initiative "so that he might not be hindered by work from keeping school." David was so proud of the accomplishments of these children that he claimed that some of them could write better than many of the merchant

---

<sup>37</sup>MMR, Reel 8, Box 141, Folder 16: 6, Reel 20, Box 173, Folder 4: 10, Folder 6: 1, 13, Reel 19, Box 171, Folder 7: 7-8, Reel 20; Kenneth G. Hamilton, "Cultural Contributions of Moravian Missions Among the Indians," Pennsylvania History 18 (January 1951): 6; DeSchweinitz, Life and Times, 439-40; Heckewelder, Thirty Thousand Miles, 252.

<sup>38</sup>Zeisberger, Diary, 2: 152, 383; DeSchweinitz, Life and Times, 645; MMR, Reel 19, Box 171, Folder 10: 7, Folder 11: 6, Folder 12: 41, Folder 13: 53, 62, Reel 20, Box 173, Folder 2: 2, Folder 4: 10.

clerks in Detroit.<sup>39</sup>

By January 1796 many of the young people were so proficient in their writing that they often preferred it to speaking. David noted that many of these youngsters "can better express themselves in writing than by speaking" in Indian; they often brought a letter with them to visit the missionary and waited for a verbal answer. Apparently, many of the Indians valued the written word so highly that by October 1799 many had learned to write without attending school. Literacy was highly valued by the converts and missionaries alike because it provided the converts with the ability to read the scriptures for themselves without relying upon a missionary. In this manner the converts were able to minister to themselves and each other, contributing to the religious autonomy of the Delaware converts. As good Protestants, all Moravians believed that it was of paramount importance that every Christian read God's word for him-or herself. Moravian Christianity was ultimately about a personal relationship with Jesus the Savior; this intimacy could be amplified by reading Scripture.<sup>40</sup>

Although converts and residents were expected to live their lives guided by Jesus's example, there were specific rules and regulations to direct mission life instituted partially by the Mission Board and partially by David and his assistants. In most matters David had discretion as to which Moravian practices he implemented and which he ignored. Many traditional Moravian practices were never fully used in the missions because of Indian preferences and limited congregational numbers.

---

<sup>39</sup>MMR, Reel 8, Box 141, Folder 14: 6; Zeisberger, Diary, 2: 4, 438.

<sup>40</sup>Zeisberger, Diary, 2: 435-36; "Abstract from the Diary of the Indian Congregation at Goshen on Muskingum from the year 1799," MS, Moravian Archives, Southern Province, Winston-Salem, North Carolina [MA-SP], 14.

Baptism was the most essential ritual in the mission, marking the acceptance of the individual into God's family. David baptized all infants born to congregants, usually within a few days of their births. Bishop Ettwein agreed with this practice, encouraging all children of Moravian Indians to be baptized before their first birthday. In addition, very ill children of unbaptized residents were frequently baptized, usually at the request of the parents; healthy children of unbaptized parents were not permitted to receive that sacrament. Adult candidates for baptism had to be approved by the rest of the baptized congregation; it was not within David's authority to grant permission on his own. What the preconditions for candidacy were is not clear; there are no obvious statements on the requirements. A sick adult who desired baptism had to request it and to demonstrate "a sense of his misery, and place his confidence on Christ...[then] the patient is baptized." No strict regulations guiding the bestowing of death-bed baptisms existed. This decision was left to the discretion of the missionary.<sup>41</sup>

Apparently the ritual of baptism in the Indian mission resembled that of European church practice. In May 1789 in Pettquotting baptismal candidates and national assistants were dressed in white with blue gowns on top. For the actual ceremony the assistants took off their own gowns before pouring a bucket of water over each candidate's head. After the ceremony everyone returned to David's house to change into dry clothes. Once everyone was dry, the brothers and sisters exchanged the kiss of peace and shook hands with those of the opposite sex. Upon baptism each new congregant received a new European name to denote his or her new status. As traditional Delawares received new names to denote their

---

<sup>41</sup>Spangenberg, An Account, 78-79; Hamilton, John Ettwein, 106-07.

changes in status and after receiving a vision, so, too, did converts to Moravian Christianity receive new names. In many cases, the converts were unable to pronounce their names as would a European. The Delaware language lacks the sounds for F, R, V, Th, and Ph. The converts substituted L for R, and made other substitutions as needed. Francis was pronounced Plancis and Sarah became Sally. Even the missionaries had to accept different renderings of their first names; John Heckewelder became Schanne. Most likely David's name was rendered Dabid or Dapid. In an effort to keep the church records in a more orderly fashion, converts were often listed with their Indian names as their last name: Solomon Allemewi, Isaac Glikkhan, Jacob Gendaskund. Indians whose names were very difficult used their baptismal name as their last name for themselves and their children. Most converts are referred to in the diaries only by their baptismal name; no last name is mentioned. Only some of the converts who had previously been very important leaders in the Indian community were often referred to with both their baptismal and Indian names, probably for clarity.<sup>42</sup>

Promoting a baptized congregant to the higher status of communicant was another important ritual. Apparently in 1789 David eased the requirements for becoming a communicant. In July he stated that "we have had to make a change in our principiis [sic], and admit them sooner than was before customary." He did not explain his reasons for making the change. As with the newly baptized, there was a special ceremony for the new communicants. After the initiates' first communion they joined those communicants who

---

<sup>42</sup>Heckewelder, Thirty Thousand Miles, 37, 252; MMR, Reel 12, Box 161, Folder 5: 21, Reel 19, Box 171, Folder 8: 8; Hamilton, John Ettwein, 259; Gray, Wilderness Christians, 168.

had been readmitted and all other communicants at David's house for congratulations.<sup>43</sup>

David also followed the church practice of public absolution. It was left to the missionaries to decide who would receive absolution. During the regular mission conferences, the lot, which provided Jesus's judgement, was used to decide if a person was deserving of absolution. Once absolution was granted, the erring member was readmitted to the church. Exceptions were made for the seriously ill. Upon request, a sick person could be absolved without resort to the lot after consideration by all the white brothers and sisters.<sup>44</sup>

For the sick or injured who did not recover, solemn and ceremonial funerals were held at the mission cemetery. At the funeral of young Josua in May 1789 in Pettquotting, his body was placed in a wooden coffin, a contemporary practice of both Moravians and Delawares. His body was dressed in a white robe decorated with red ribbons and placed in a casket in front of the church while David gave a speech. The congregation then proceeded to the cemetery for the burial. Leniency was also granted in the practice of burial. At the Goshen mission conference in 1803 it was decided that even the unbaptized could be buried in the church cemetery, providing that it could not be demonstrated that they had "really fallen into heathenism again." An unbaptized resident who had expressed the desire to believe in the Savior but died unexpectedly "can also, according to circumstances, be buried in our God's Acre." The congregation returned to the cemetery annually for the Easter morning sunrise service simulating the Delaware feasts held annually at their family

---

<sup>43</sup>Zeisberger, Diary, 2: 44-45; MMR, Reel 12, Box 161, Folder 5: 21.

<sup>44</sup>MMR, Reel 20, Box 174, Folder 4: 11-12.

gravesites.<sup>45</sup>

Marriage was another important religious ritual within the mission church, but one that did not follow official church practice. While the white church used the lot for approving proposed marriages, the missionaries did not. This reflected a concern that if the marriage was a bad match the missionaries would be blamed if they had used the lot for approval. Marriages were usually planned by the couple's friends or by themselves. All marriages, however, had to be approved by the missionaries, and if the lovers were young, by their parents as well. Usually David did not approve a marriage between baptized and unbaptized individuals. He was afraid that the unbaptized person would have a difficult time remaining within the church, thereby causing problems for the baptized person. In addition, desertion by either partner from a church-sanctioned marriage did not allow either individual to marry again. This conflicted with the Indian converts' belief that they were free to remarry after desertion. Bishop Ettwein considered these second marriages adulterous and forbade them. Missionaries in the field, however, disagreed with the bishop. They agreed with his view only for those marriages performed after baptism. With an unbaptized couple the label of adultery was not applied. If an unbaptized couple came to church and requested baptism, they were asked to remain faithful to each other until death. If the couple agreed, their marriage was then recognized as a church marriage at a special meeting of the married brothers and sisters. The missionaries were always aware that the strict view of the mother church was not always applicable nor practical in the mission stations, and therefore they

---

<sup>45</sup>Heckewelder, Thirty Thousand Miles, 251; MMR, Reel 20, Box 174, Folder 4: 21.

were willing to make concessions and accommodations as necessary, as long as they did not violate any of the most basic tenets of the faith or the church.<sup>46</sup>

David also made distinctions between marriages of baptized members and those of unbaptized residents. In the case of a baptized couple there was an official church wedding, apparently performed by a missionary. In the case of an unbaptized couple, however, the missionaries delegated that responsibility to the assistants. Again, the missionaries wanted to avoid blame for a bad marriage. Apparently, however, this separation of duties was not always strictly followed. In 1803 the assistants married two baptized people, Leonard and Johanetta; the reason for this exception is not evident.<sup>47</sup>

Another example of this adjustment in the field was the partial application of the choir system, organization based upon gender and marital status, to David's mission. The only section of the choir system routinely practiced was the distinction made for married couples. They regularly held special meetings, festivals, and lovefeasts for themselves. The rest of the choir system, as it applied to single, widowed, and young members, was only occasionally practiced. There were occasional separate meetings for one or more of these groups, but only as population figures allowed. The strictest aspect of the choir system, removing the children to separate housing, was never implemented. There was never a large enough congregant population to make that practice feasible, and, most important, the

---

<sup>46</sup>Hamilton, John Ettwein, 108-09; Gray, Wilderness Christians, 130-31; MMR, Reel 20, Box 174, Folder 4: 13; Hamilton, "Cultural Contributions," 13.

<sup>47</sup>MMR, Reel 20, Box 174, Folder 4: 13; Zeisberger, Diary, 2: 243, 390.



Moravian Indians did not like their children being taken away from them to live elsewhere.<sup>48</sup>

Church seating, however, did follow the mother church's designations for separation by gender, marital status, and age. Men and women sat separately, with married couples seated next to each other across the aisle. Children sat separate from their parents with brothers and sisters seated across the aisle from each other. Elderly people, most likely widows and widowers, were seated along the wall of the church. As in the white church, there were attendants for each gender and for the children to ensure order.<sup>49</sup>

Once an individual was admitted to the congregation through baptism, it was not guaranteed that he or she would be allowed to remain indefinitely. Repeated violation of the rules, practicing traditional rituals, or abusive disruptive behavior were all reasons for expulsion. All persons who misbehaved were given several chances to alter their ways. Frequent conversations between a troubled convert and the assistants and/or the missionaries took place to convince the individual to improve his or her ways. Only upon serious consideration by the missionaries was an individual asked to leave the mission. Usually the request was made by one of the assistants, not by the missionary himself. Caution had to be exercised in deciding to send someone away because he or she was being sent "back to the Devil and Heathendom." Preferable to expulsion was the attempt to transfer that person to another mission station where he might improve himself in a different environment. Not everyone who was asked to leave readily did so. David noted that repeatedly telling a person he or she was not wanted in the congregation was usually adequate to persuade that

---

<sup>48</sup>Olmstead, Blackcoats, 134-35.

<sup>49</sup>Heckewelder, Thirty Thousand Miles, 249-50.

individual to leave; the offender eventually "tired hearing about it."<sup>50</sup>

Moravian and Delaware religious life had much in common and this similarity made the acceptance of Moravian Christianity easier for those who chose to convert. Delaware religious life centered on an individual's relationship with his guardian spirit. This spiritual connection could be initiated by either party. Moravian religious life centered on the individual's relationship with Jesus whom the believer could approach at any time. Contact could also be made by the community through the lot, a request for the immediate presence and guidance of the Savior. The receipt of a guardian spirit brought a definite change to an individual's life, providing guidance and special spiritual powers or assigning a particular role for that person to play. Receiving and accepting Jesus as their personal Savior also inspired and directed the converts to alter their lives and guided their actions and decisions. Both Delawares and Moravians provided physical representations of the spiritual contacts. Delawares carried items that represented their guardian spirit and the spiritual rewards it had granted. Moravians had pictures of Jesus, especially of his suffering, which represented the blessings and benefits of his birth and death to his followers. Delawares and Moravians both had private and public devotions. Delawares usually prayed solitarily to their guardian spirits, but held frequent public festivities to thank the Creator for good harvests. The Moravians prayed to Jesus publicly for communal strength and solidarity and privately for personal fortitude and resistance to forbidden temptations.<sup>51</sup>

---

<sup>50</sup>MMR, Reel 20, Box 174, Folder 4: 26.

<sup>51</sup>Christopher P. Gavalier, "The Empty Lot: Spiritual Contact in Lenape and Moravian Religious Beliefs," American Indian Quarterly 18:2 (Spring 1994), 218-20.

Just as David gave his converts much authority and autonomy in their religious expressions, so, too, did he grant authority regarding the communal life and concerns of the mission to the brethren, which were to reflect their religious commitment. Following Moravian protocol and emulating the Delaware practice of consensual government where the chiefs had special influence but community members were allowed to participate in all discussions, decisions regarding the communal life and concerns of the mission were discussed and resolved in regular general councils. All church members were expected to attend and were welcome to express their ideas and preferences. After the issue at hand was discussed, a decision was reached by a general vote. The most important topic of the meetings was the question of whether or not and where the mission should relocate. Many of these requests were initiated by the Indian brethren. Fears of "drunken Indians" and "wicked Indians" prompted many discussions on the advisability of moving the mission to a safer place. In April 1772 some brethren proposed that it was better to remain in their current location for the summer to plant, then move in the fall or winter. This suggestion was not agreed to by the missionaries. In February 1779 the Indian brethren also advised the missionaries to move to Pittsburgh for their personal safety. The missionaries refused to abandon their charges to the machinations of the "wild Indians." When a decision was reached on relocating the mission, each congregant had the choice of moving with the missionaries or returning to the traditional Indian community. In most cases, the brethren chose to remain with the missionaries and move to the consensual new mission site.<sup>52</sup>

---

<sup>52</sup>Diary of David Zeisberger, 190-91, 208; MMR, Reel 8, Box 141, Folder 12: 2; "Diary of Lichtenau," (MA-SP), 10; Zeisberger, Diary, 1: 313.

Not all general conferences were devoted to moving the mission. In many cases, general issues concerning daily operations were discussed. At these meetings the brethren were often reminded of the rules and regulations of the mission. All residents were enjoined to be neat, clean, and simple in their dress. Parents were not to allow their children to be idle and run wild for, David scolded them, "when they grew up and married they were worse and more vicious than cattle." All of the mundane concerns were also discussed at these meetings. Congregants were reminded to build the meeting house and to keep their chimneys clean during the winter to prevent fires.<sup>53</sup>

General meetings were not the only occasions upon which the Moravian Indians conferred with the missionaries. It was permissible, and sometimes advisable, for the missionaries to speak with the congregants individually. Many of these visits were to resolve a particular congregant's problem: an argument between friends or spouses, misbehavior, disobedient children, or not performing necessary tasks for the mission's maintenance. For example, David spoke with Bartholomew and Justina, reconciling this husband and wife. Some individuals required frequent counseling, as did Nicholas in October 1795. After many visits, Nicholas resolved to "give himself up to the Saviour." Frequently, the missionaries together with their wives visited the congregants in their homes, apparently as a general visit of goodwill and means of keeping tabs on the converts' spiritual contentment. In turn, it was also acceptable for the brethren and sisters to visit the

---

<sup>53</sup>Diary of David Zeisberger, 177; Zeisberger, Diary, 2: 314, 385-86, 484, 524; DeSchweinitz, Life and Times, 645; MMR, Reel 8, Box 141, Folder 12: 9-10, Folder 13: 1, 40, Folder 16: 9-10, Folder 17: 3.

missionaries in their homes.<sup>54</sup>

Since it was forbidden for male missionaries to minister in private to female congregants, these tasks were often undertaken by the missionaries' wives, especially Margaret Jungmann and, after 1781, Susanna Zeisberger. David told the Moravian Indians that the Indian sisters should see Sister Jungmann if they "wanted to confide in somebody." Able to speak Delaware, she was the primary personal spiritual advisor for the women of the community. She also visited women from other towns, telling them "about the Saviour and His love of poor sinners." It was also the duty of the missionaries' wives to interview female visitors who desired to live at the mission. In November 1770 Sister Jungmann spoke individually with a visiting woman several times over the course of a month about the woman's spiritual state and her desire to give her heart to the Savior.<sup>55</sup>

As important to the mission as the missionaries were, they did not control all aspects of mission life. Central to Moravian mission ideology was the appointment of leading converts to the positions of assistants, also called "national helpers" or "national assistants." These Indian brethren and sisters oversaw many of the daily operations of mission life. National assistants were both men and women, often former chiefs and their wives, since no male member was to have a private conversation with any woman other than his wife. Any woman who wanted to speak with a missionary had to be accompanied by a female assistant or the missionary's wife. It was the job of the women assistants to minister to the

---

<sup>54</sup>Zeisberger, *Diary*, 1: 195, 2: 307, 341, 424-25, 440; *Diary of David Zeisberger*, 147, 167; *MMR*, Reel 8, Box 141, Folder 13: 34.

<sup>55</sup>*Diary of David Zeisberger*, 136-40.

other sisters in the congregation. A candidate for assistant had to be a member in good standing and a communicant. If a helper was excluded from communion for "misconduct or sin," that person could no longer hold the position of assistant. As circumstances required, the current assistants were asked about adding new helpers. Upon their agreement, they helped to choose the new national helpers.<sup>56</sup>

The primary job of the mission assistants was to maintain order within the congregation and mission residents. Disturbances resulting from disruptive visitors, disorderly or disobedient children, spousal conflict, or drunkenness were under the authority of the assistants, who had discretion in how to handle these situations; the missionaries' only concern was that "right and justice are maintained, and nothing is decided by regard to persons." Friendship and familial connections were not to play a role in solving in determining a proper solution. The helpers were required to keep order among the strangers who often visited the mission and to assure that they not violate the rules and regulations of the community. If any strangers caused problems, it was the assistants' responsibility to see that they left the mission.<sup>57</sup>

Of particular concern were problems with the young people at the mission. Helpers conferences were held to discuss the "dangers to seduce" the young people and how to resolve their disorderly conduct. Warfare was a particularly challenging issue, since the young men were attracted by the opportunity to gain glory and prove their manhood. When

---

<sup>56</sup>Hamilton, John Ettwein, 105; MMR, Reel 8, Box 141, Folder 17: 18, 32; Zeisberger, Diary, 1: 389, 413-14, 2: 142.

<sup>57</sup>Zeisberger, Diary, 1: 388-89; MMR, Reel 8, Box 141, Folder 14: 38, 42.

necessary, the assistants gathered the parents of the recalcitrant youngsters and spoke with them to take better care of their children and not allow them to "be Satan's prey."<sup>58</sup>

The assistants were also responsible for reconciling married couples who were having difficulties in their relationships. In June 1788 a conference was held to discuss Moses and Paulina who were in distress. In January 1798 the assistants spoke with Bill Henry, David, and their wives about the problems with their married children "who were discontented;" after the discussion "peace and unity" were reached.<sup>59</sup>

When visitors expressed a desire to live at the mission, the assistants decided whether their petition would be granted. In the helpers' conference these requests were discussed and the applicants interviewed. Most requests for permission to live at the mission were granted, with the new residents given a trial period to prove themselves capable of following the rules. This responsibility even applied to returning converts who had left the congregation. In December 1792 Judith returned and requested permission to rejoin the congregation. At the assistants' conference she was interviewed and given probation; they would "observe her for a while, whether she would behave according to her promise." All returning converts were generally accepted back into the mission "to establish them again, and help them to the right way." This generosity was applied even to unbaptized Indians since the mission was "bound in duty to help all, and to seek to bring them to the Saviour." Petitioners for admission to the mission were to be accepted unless there were "sufficient grounds," such as a reputation for trading alcohol or warring, to "send them

---

<sup>58</sup>"Diary of Lichtenau," (MA-SP), 23; Zeisberger, *Diary*, 1: 425, 2: 291.

<sup>59</sup>Zeisberger, *Diary*, 1: 417, 2: 513.

away."<sup>60</sup>

The assistants were also instrumental in overseeing the secular obligations and functions of the mission. Discussions about moving the mission were first handled in the assistants' conferences. There the missionaries frequently learned of the desires and worries of the larger congregation of converts. At the February 1780 helpers conference in Lichtenau, the missionaries learned that most of the congregants were "determined" to move six miles away from the Gnadenhutten mission. And in January 1792 the assistants told the missionaries they believed it would be advisable to remain in Canada on land controlled by the English and rely on the English government for aid. They did not approve of the proposal to move back to Ohio in the spring. The assistants apparently had the power to veto some decisions reached by the missionaries. In September 1786 the assistants refused to allow the missionaries to go out into the "wilderness" to invite back to the mission the Moravian Indians who had been scattered by the Wyandot chief Half-King's kidnapping of the missionaries in 1781; the British had believed that David was an American spy and wanted to investigate the matter. Rather than allow the missionaries to undertake such a dangerous journey, two assistants, Samuel and Thomas, travelled to tell the converts they had not been forgotten and were welcome at the new settlement.<sup>61</sup>

The more mundane concerns of planting and building were also part of the assistants' responsibilities. Providing corn for new arrivals, insuring that the preparing and planting

---

<sup>60</sup>MMR, Reel 8, Box 141, Folder 13: 2, Folder 15: 36, Folder 16: 12, Folder 17: 32; Zeisberger, Diary, 1: 459-60, 2: 291.

<sup>61</sup>MMR, Reel 8, Box 141, Folder 17: 23; Zeisberger, Diary, 1: 292-94, 2: 241-42.



of the crops were done in good time "so that all the work may not be left until spring," and making sure there was sufficient provisions for the frequent visits of warriors were all part of their responsibilities. Hospitality even towards the undesirable was a requirement of both Moravian and Delaware communities. The assistants also saw to it that new residents had proper housing. In October 1788 the assistants discussed building a house for John Cook's son, who was currently living with Samuel. In August 1794 building houses for two widows and their children was discussed; the brothers had time to perform this labor of brotherly love, "there being no pressing work."<sup>62</sup>

Although the assistants were the most reliable and devout of the congregation, there were still critical problems even with their behavior and attitudes. Although David lauded their contributions and noted that they never tired of their labors, strife was not unusual. In December 1794 the assistants were unfriendly toward each other, requiring David to work to "bring peace and unity" to them. The most serious incident occurred in December 1797 when David dismissed all the national helpers from their posts and refused to appoint any replacements. These eight men and seven women "had caused vexation and scandal in the church." David called on them to repent; most "confessed and acknowledged their transgressions...but others were silent." At a special conference held at Goshen in October 1803, David noted that the difficulty lay in the tendency of those converts appointed to an important position within the church to become "proud, whereby much harm is done." While there were no official helpers for the next several years, David still made use of

---

<sup>62</sup>MMR, Reel 8, Box 141, Folder 13: 12, Folder 14: 11-12; Zeisberger, Diary, 1: 451, 2: 353-54, 367.

upright communicants as his helpers, although he did not officially call them assistants.<sup>63</sup>

Much discretion was left to the assistants as to how they reconciled arguing couples, sisters, or brothers who were in discord and how to address chiefs in other villages. The missionaries refused to guide them even in times which were critical to the survival of the mission. In November 1781, the Wyandot chief Half-King kidnapped David and his missionary assistants to take them to the British governor in Detroit. They along with the converts were taken away from their mission settlement. Held captive for months, the congregants and missionaries had little food. In March 1782 Half-King granted permission for ninety-two converts to return to Gnadenhutten to retrieve their stored corn. While at Gnadenhutten, an American militia unit came upon Gnadenhutten, captured ninety of the Delaware Moravians and killed them. The kidnapping and massacre scattered the remaining congregants. Faced with this tragic and dangerous situation, the missionaries decided they would not advise the assistants on what they should do after the missionaries were been taken to Detroit. At this critical stage in the mission's history, David and the other missionaries decided that the future of the mission had to lie in the hands of the assistants; they would have to proceed as they thought best. Fortunately for David and the mission, most of the assistants remained with the missionaries in their captivity, ensuring the survival of the mission.<sup>64</sup>

Becoming a Moravian required that the converts exemplify their faith not only

---

<sup>63</sup>Zeisberger, Diary, 2: 64, 387, 503-04; Gray, Wilderness Christians, 147; MMR, Reel 20, Box 174, Folder 4: 8.

<sup>64</sup>Zeisberger, Diary, 1: 72.

through formal worship but in their personal lives as well. Their conduct was a demonstration of their faith. But the critical issue was that the converts retained authority over their lives; the missionaries did not rule the mission. The missionaries worked with the converts, granting them personal and communal authority in most matters. While their behavior was to reflect their religious conviction, the converts determined what behavior was completely unacceptable and how troublemakers were to be handled. The converts retained their personal autonomy within their new religious life; they worshipped on their own, participated in the dissemination of religious scripture, and directly controlled the mundane matters of the mission. All behavior was a performance of their faith, a performance in which they had authority and autonomy.

The Delaware Moravian mission was truly a Christian Indian community. While David followed the basic tenets and rules of the Moravian Church, much of what he preached had correlations in Delaware religion; aspects that were different were apparently accepted by the converts. While some converts had difficulty in maintaining their faith and always abiding by the rules of the mission, there were no apparent ideological conflicts between their traditional faith and their newly adopted one. As in Delaware society, the community was run by consensus, with leadership in the hands of a few influential individuals. While the religious life of the mission differed notably from traditional Delaware religion, its secular life was characterized by a marked continuity with traditional Delaware economic life.

## CHAPTER 4

### THE ART OF SURVIVAL

While the religious life of the mission required the Moravian Indians to make some changes in their practices and some compromises in their traditional beliefs, the economic life of the mission required virtually no adjustments from the traditional operations of a Delaware community. The economic life of the mission resembled, in most respects, that of the typical Delaware village. Traditional methods of farming, hunting, gathering, and trading were practiced at the mission settlements. What was important economically was survival, not religious doctrine. David Zeisberger did not require the Moravian Indians to duplicate European economic life; on the frontier, survival was the most important issue, and Indians methods were the most practical.

Maize, or Indian corn, was the staple food of the mission. The first mission maize harvest in October 1769 was noted as the "best in the area." The Indian brethren planted large crops; over 300 acres in Fairfield, Ontario, in 1798. In addition to maize, the Moravian Indians planted turnips, lettuce, beans, potatoes, tobacco, and pumpkins. Not until the mission was established at Fairfield did David encourage the converts to experiment with planting wheat. In August 1796 he observed that all the brethren wanted to plant wheat but would "not give up raising corn, without which they

could not live." When David established the next mission settlement in Goshen, Ohio, in 1798, the converts temporarily stopped planting wheat; they resumed five years later. The Indian converts also planted fruit orchards, especially peach and apple. Apparently, peach orchards were also found in eighteenth-century Delaware villages.<sup>1</sup>

While most mission harvests were plentiful, there were frequent problems and sometimes devastating failures. From the beginning of the mission in 1768, the missionaries and converts experienced repeated crop failures. In November 1768 only half of their crop had ripened; they had planted late and an early frost destroyed much of the harvest. Early frosts in late summer frequently damaged crops, especially if the converts had planted late in the spring. Storms and floods also wreaked havoc, washing away newly planted corn or flooding fields. Animals and birds caused their own share of damage. Blackbirds damaged the 1797 corn harvest so severely that little of the corn ripened. Squirrels and raccoons, too, were hazardous to the corn crop. In 1798 Mortimer claimed that the mission crops escaped damage done by worms because they used traditional Indian hoe planting. The crops in the neighboring white settlements were also "mostly destroyed by worms." Indian hoe planting, compared with European plowing, left grass between the plants for the worms to feed on, providing an opportune environment for their development and created an opportunity for the worms' future devastation of the crops. These problems with the elements and the local fauna were not unique to the mission. On the contrary, the problems faced by the converts

---

<sup>1</sup>Diary of David Zeisberger, 62; MMR, Reel 12, Box 161, Folder 5: 10, Reel 19, Box 171, Folder 8: 43, Folder 11: 1, Folder 13: 53; Zeisberger, Diary, 1: 105, 309, 2: 62, 313, 455, 459; Abstract from the Diary of the Christian Indians at Goshen on the River Muskingum in the year 1800, (MA-SP), 8.

were identical to those faced by the neighboring Indians. The weather and animals did not exhibit preferential treatment for the converts' crops.<sup>2</sup>

Not until late in the history of the Delaware mission did the Moravian Indians begin to adopt plowing for their crops. Initially, the converts were dependent on their generous white neighbors who would plow for them. Plowing was easier than hoeing and allowed the converts to increase the acreage they cultivated. By 1797, however, some converts had purchased plows for their own use. When many of the converts relocated to Goshen, Ohio, they did not take their plows with them and were once again dependent upon hoes. Not until April 1802 did the Goshen mission receive a plough, a gift from the Heathen Society in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania; the Society presented a second plough to the mission in 1804. The converts happily received these gifts for they were now able to develop land they had previously left fallow. While plow agriculture became more common at the mission in the last decades of David's life, the converts still relied upon white neighbors to plow many of the mission fields or for instruction in how to maneuver a plough.<sup>3</sup>

Animal husbandry was another common practice at the mission settlements. From the early years of the Delaware mission, converts owned cattle, horses, pigs, and dogs. With each relocation of the mission, the converts and residents took their livestock with them. In the mid-eighteenth century it was not uncommon for traditional Delawares to possess

---

<sup>2</sup>Hulbert, Moravian Records, 94-95; Zeisberger, Diary, 1: 182, 2: 497; MMR, Reel 19, Box 171, Folder 4: 9, Folder 7: 7, Folder 10: 20, Reel 20, Box 173, Folder 4: 6, 9, Reel 12, Box 161, Folder 5: 10; Abstract from the Diary... 1799, (MA-SP), 8, Abstract from the Diary... 1800, (MA-SP), 2-3;

<sup>3</sup>Zeisberger, Diary, 2: 424, 497; MMR, Reel 19, Box 171, Folder 9: 46-47, Folder 12: 39, 42, Reel 20, Box 173, Folder 1: 15, Folder 3: 7, Folder 4: 6.

cattle. Gendaskund, an important chief who later converted, made a trip in May 1770 to the central Delaware town of Goschgoschgunk to retrieve his cattle and bring them to the mission. As with their crops, the Moravian Indians suffered losses of livestock due to bad winters, lack of food, wolves, theft, and straying. The winter of 1781 was especially difficult because the mission lost 140 cattle due to bad weather and insufficient fodder. The following winter was equally deadly. The passing of the years did little to reduce these problems: these kinds of losses continued to plague the converts through the last years of David's life. In 1775 the losses were so severe that the missionaries offered the sizeable reward of one dollar for each wolf killed; soon all the troublesome wolves were killed. Heavy snows killed many pigs during the winters of 1804 and 1807 and wolves often killed the cattle.<sup>4</sup>

All of the cattle kept by the Moravian Indians were for producing milk and butter. The Indians did not like beef; they found it "coarse and unpalatable." By the time the mission was reestablished in 1798 in Goshen, most of the resident families had one cow. In 1799 the missionaries began to encourage the converts to raise pigs and eat more pork and bacon and to increase the amount of milk and butter in their diets. The increase in the number of white settlers in the area had greatly reduced the available wild game, making it necessary for the mission residents to depend more upon what they could raise. Benjamin Mortimer, David's last assistant, observed that, luckily, the Moravian Indians liked these

---

<sup>4</sup>Diary of David Zeisberger, 105-06, 197; MMR, Reel 8, Box 141, Folder 12: 1, Folder 13: 29, 33, Folder 15: 30, Folder 17: 29, Reel 20, Box 173, Folder 1: 6, Folder 4: 4; Heckewelder, Thirty Thousand Miles, 188; Zeisberger, Diary, 1: 63, 198, 2: 329.

alternative foods.<sup>5</sup>

The large number of dogs kept by the mission residents also caused problems. In May 1791 some of the converts' dogs had contracted a disease--David claims they were infected by Chippewa dogs--that made them "mad" and attack the cattle. Stricken dogs were shot. Not even the corn fields were safe from Indian dogs. Because of the dogs' propensity to eat maize, the maize field at Goshen had to be located far from town. Fences did not provide any defense against these ravenous dogs who eat "corn like a horse, a cow or a swine."<sup>6</sup>

Like their traditional counterparts, the Moravian Indians continued to spend several weeks in the forest each winter making sugar. This necessary pursuit was not interrupted with the beginning of David's mission. During those weeks, the brothers and sisters moved into the forests to make sugar and, when possible, they returned to the mission town to attend Sunday services. These excursions lasted anywhere from three to eight weeks, beginning in February. The duration depended upon how well the sugar-making proceeded: successful harvests lasted longer. As with their agricultural crops, annual sugar production fluctuated according to weather conditions. In a good year each family made more than 100 pounds of sugar; in exceptional years some families made 400 pounds.<sup>7</sup>

While the primary source of food for the mission residents came from what they

---

<sup>5</sup>MMR, Reel 19, Box 171, Folder 1: 2, Folder 5: 9.

<sup>6</sup>MMR, Reel 19, Box 171, Folder 12: 40; Zeisberger, Diary, 2: 185.

<sup>7</sup>MMR, Reel 20, Box 173, Folder 1: 5-9, Folder 4: 2-4, Folder 6: 3-4, Reel 8, Box 141, Folder 14: 11, Folder 16: 17, 20, Reel 19, Box 171, Folder 9: 44-45; Diary of David Zeisberger, 18; Zeisberger, Diary, 2: 12, 91, 95-96, 308.



grew, they continued to gather wild foods to supplement their diet. Chestnuts, hickory nuts, whortleberries, wild potatoes, and medicinal herbs were gathered whenever available. Honey was gathered from wild bee hives but was procured mostly from the domestic bees kept by the convert Peter at Pettquotting and Fairfield. He gathered both wax and honey from his hives.<sup>8</sup>

Hunting continued to play a dominant part of the economic life of the Delaware converts. As in traditional Delaware society, this activity provided meat and skins for clothing and shoes. While the male converts hunted throughout the year, the fall and winter hunts were the most critical. Every autumn the men went on hunts lasting several weeks. The meat and skins gathered from these forays were crucial for furnishing food when the winter supplies of maize ran low and for providing skins for clothing and bedding.

The converts continued to use traditional methods of hunting. Most men worked together in groups; solitary hunting was unusual. David noted that hunters formed a "half moon or circle." When they flushed a deer, someone would be close enough to shoot it. Using snowshoes was one method converts had to improve their success rate during the winter. In February 1784 the converts killed more than one hundred deer in three days by using snowshoes. Mission hunters also continued to employ deer fences and often used bows and arrows when hunting. In January 1800 two converts each killed one bear using a bow and iron-pointed arrows. The converts also used a metal instrument that imitated the sound of a fawn to "entice the dams within reach of their guns." Unfortunately, this sound

---

<sup>8</sup>Zeisberger, Diary, 1: 192, 430, 2: 317, 412, 498; MMR, Reel 19, Box 171, Folder 1: 22, Folder 5: 7, Folder 8: 35, Folder 9: 11, Folder 11: 2; Abstract from the Diary...1799, (MA-SP), 6, 8; Gray, Wilderness Christians, 118.

also attracted bears, so the hunters using it also had to beware of "sudden attacks against his own life."<sup>9</sup>

While hunting continued among traditional and convert Delawares alike, the converts altered some traditional practices. In 1799 David noted that, unlike traditional Indian women, mission wives "prefer[red] staying at home" to accompanying their husbands on the hunt. One reason for this is that the hunters, while away during the week, attempted to remain close enough to the settlement so they could return home for Sunday services. While not all hunters were able to do so, it was the ideal situation. It made little sense for the entire family to uproot every week, going on and returning from the hunt. In addition, the Moravian emphasis on the domestic, home-based duties of the women had become an accepted part of the Delaware converts' lives.<sup>10</sup>

In addition, the Moravian Indians also had to work constantly to dispel traditional beliefs, even among their own children. In December 1792 Bill Henry, an upstanding convert, reported to David that his son had "come across two bucks with their horns interlocked." Responding to his son's obvious anxiety, Bill Henry told his son that he no longer believed that anyone who encountered such a scene "will not live very long." Being afraid, his son had refused to shoot the deer. But the elder Henry, unhindered by these beliefs, went with his son and "shot the buck that was still alive." Practices and beliefs that significantly contradicted or interfered with the Moravian way of life and beliefs were

---

<sup>9</sup>Zeisberger, Diary, 1: 126, 181, 2: 413; Abstract from the Diary...1800, (MA-SP), 1; MMR, Reel 19, Box 171, Folder 6: 15, Folder 10: 4.

<sup>10</sup>MMR, Reel 19, Box 171, Folder 6: 4.

discarded or altered. The missionaries kept constant vigilance against these traditional beliefs encroaching upon the minds of the young and insecure.<sup>11</sup>

When beginning a hunt that might last several weeks, the Moravian Indian brothers tried to travel only "so far as [they] can return on Sundays." Daily meetings at the mission were frequently suspended during lengthy hunts, but Sunday services were held if enough converts returned. While David did not have complete control over the hunts, he did exercise limited oversight. It was necessary to inform David or another missionary if one intended to go hunting. David was also concerned that any necessary work at the mission had been completed before the brothers left. In January 1800 he told the brothers that they could now proceed with their hunting since the timber had been cut for the new schoolhouse. Apparently, he had informed them that they had to finish their logging before they could begin their hunt. David's reply to a hunter's request was usually in the form of an agreement rather than as an authoritative permission. Although David understood that the autumn hunt could take several weeks, he attempted to place restrictions upon its duration. When the Moravian Indians began their November hunt, they were reminded to return in time for the Christmas celebrations.<sup>12</sup>

David's oversight also functioned as a reminder to the converts of their needs and those of others. In October 1771 he "stressed the need to make money this time of year to buy clothes." When their clothing had worn thin or new shoes were needed, the brothers

---

<sup>11</sup>Zeisberger, Diary, 2: 290.

<sup>12</sup>Diary of David Zeisberger, 63; Hamilton, "Cultural Contributions," 13; Zeisberger, Diary, 1: 455, 2: 65; MMR, Reel 19, Box 171, Folder 6: 15.

went hunting to secure the skins to make new clothes and shoes. If winter was fast approaching, adequate clothing was of great importance. The Moravian Indians also provided meat for those who were unable hunt for themselves. The converts were noted for "liberally distribut[ing] of their bounty to their friends and neighbors." They also used hunting repay their neighbors for their labor. If a Moravian Indian had fallen "behind in [his] work" and had recently shot a deer, he would make a "feast for those who agree to do a day's work for [him]."<sup>13</sup>

As with agriculture, the converts' success in hunting varied from year to year. During particularly severe winters many deer died in the deep snow. The revolutionary war had a surprising and welcome affect on the availability of bear meat in Goshen, Ohio. Mortimer reported that because the Indians had been "afraid to hunt near whites" during the war, the bear population had greatly increased. In December 1799 he noted that the brothers together killed three to four bears in one week, when previously they would have killed only that many over a whole winter. But he also observed that this bounty would be short-lived. With the continuing increase in the local white population, he predicted, deer and bears "will become scarce again." In the meantime, the Moravian Indians benefitted from the bears' population boom. At the end of the bear hunting season in May 1800, the converts had killed a total of 196 bears since the previous November.<sup>14</sup>

Fishing was another way to acquire food. While not the primary source of meat

---

<sup>13</sup>Zeisberger, Diary, 2: 329; Diary of David Zeisberger, 198; MMR, Reel 8, Box 141, Folder 14: 1, Folder 15: 16-17, Reel 12, Box 161, Folder 5: 10-11.

<sup>14</sup>Zeisberger, Diary, 1: 185, 203; MMR, Reel 20, Box 173, Folder 1: 32, Reel 19, Box 171, Folder 6: 1, 5; Abstract from the Diary... 1800, (MA-SP), 3.

protein and fat, fish was a valuable supplement to the Moravian Indians' diet. Most fishing was done during the spring and summer months when hunting was not commonly pursued.<sup>15</sup>

Although the mission residents worked all year to ensure their supply of food, this was no guarantee against hunger. While the Moravian Indians often had an adequate supply of food when neighboring Indian communities were suffering famine, the mission was frequently afflicted with hunger. During the early years of the mission there was little hunger and few shortages of maize at the mission or in the neighboring Indian villages. After the kidnapping in the autumn of 1781, however, the converts suffered from hunger almost annually. In December 1781 the converts were surviving by gathering wild potatoes, often from far away; these continued to be the dietary staple in January 1782. While the missionaries never appear to have suffered from hunger, they did not have a superfluity of food. Like the Indians, they grew their own crops. When many converts were hungry in January 1784, David noted that he could give away all his food supply "in a single day," but then the missionaries would be hungry too. While he recognized bad weather and insect and animal damage to crops as primary causes of recurrent food shortages, he also blamed the Indian residents for not adequately managing their food supply.<sup>16</sup>

The Moravian Indians, like their traditional counterparts, ate whatever food they had available and did not store much food for future needs. They sought more food only when

---

<sup>15</sup>W. C. Reichel, Rev., "Wyalusing, and the Moravian Mission at Friedenshutzen," Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society, part 5 (Bethlehem: Henry T. Clauder, 1871), 192; Zeisberger, Diary, 1: 190; MMR, Reel 8, Box 141, Folder 14: 39, Reel 19, Box 171, Folder 9: 7-8.

<sup>16</sup>Zeisberger, Diary, 1: 54, 60, 181.

their own supplies were gone. At times the famine was so severe that the converts were temporarily dismissed from the mission to find food in the woods. Another reason for a food shortage at the mission was the tendency of the mission Indians to sell too much maize in the autumn. When spring came, they frequently had to rely on hunting and wild potatoes for sustenance. Trading away too much was only one reason the mission Indians did not keep all their maize. Their obligation to extend hospitality, as Indians and as Moravians, required that they provide food for any strangers who came to their town. When famine struck Indian villages, their inhabitants often journeyed to the Moravian mission and other neighboring towns in search of food. In October 1789 the mission residents heard a rumor that many Indians would be spending the winter at the mission to obtain maize. David noted that it was this excessive demand upon the converts' supplies that would cause the converts to "come to want." They also provided white visitors with food and shelter. David understood that the converts could not required payment from Indian visitors for their hospitality, but he believed that the white visitors should be charged. In August 1798 David and the other missionaries attempted to convince the converts that they should require the white visitors to pay a fee, but they refused. Thus all visitors to the mission continued to receive food and shelter gratis.<sup>17</sup>

In the last decade of David's life, when the converts lived close to many white settlements, the Moravian Indians often worked for neighboring whites to earn money with which to purchase maize. Hunger repeatedly afflicted the converts throughout the first

---

<sup>17</sup>Zeisberger, Diary, 1:181, 195-96, 2:62-63, 102, 109-10; MMR, Reel 19, Box 171, Folder 1: 2.

decade of the nineteenth century. As white settlements encroached upon the lands surrounding the Goshen settlement, recourse to wild food sources became increasingly difficult. In April 1807, after insects and drought had destroyed the previous year's grain harvest, Mortimer noted that the mission residents had to spend a great deal of time away "looking for food" since local wild sources were "scarce."<sup>18</sup>

Because the Moravian Indian community lived within a large trading network of Indians, Americans, and Europeans, they actively participated in regional trade. To supplement their diet or to procure the necessary tools and clothes, the Indian converts bought from and sold a variety of goods to other Indians and white traders. Trading with Indians and Europeans for needed or desired supplies was long established before the Moravians arrived in Ohio.

Selling the products of the converts' labor was unusual in the first decades of the mission. Only after the mission relocated to Fairfield, Ontario, did they begin to actively sell surplus produce. The converts rarely sold maize in the early years of the mission, however, in the last two decades of David's life they often sold some of their crop to visiting traders. In October 1788 a trader from Detroit asked to buy maize from the congregation because there had been many crop failures and maize was scarce in that town. The Fairfield mission in Ontario was especially bountiful, producing a surplus almost every year to sell to Detroit. In August 1798 David noted that the congregation sold about two thousand bushels of maize each year to Detroit. The Moravian Indians also traded with the Chippewas of Canada, who brought meat to exchange for maize. In January 1801, when some Mohawks came to the

---

<sup>18</sup>MMR, Reel 12, Box 161, Folder 5: 28-29, Reel 20, Box 173, Folder 4: 5.

Goshen mission to buy maize, they expressed their dislike of the corn eaten by whites, "which is of a kind not so fit for bread as that used by the Indians." In addition to maize, the congregation also sold peaches; in 1804 they grew 150 bushels.<sup>19</sup>

Skins and meat were other products that the Moravian Indians often traded for clothing with American traders. For decades, the Delawares had mixed traditional clothing made from skins with manufactured cloth items bought from traders. The mission Indians, like their traditional counterparts, were savvy traders and knew where to obtain the best deal. In April 1804 a Detroit trader offered six dollars for a bear skin; the mission Indians did not tell him they would receive only three dollars in Philadelphia for the same skin. French traders visiting the mission in 1803 paid twice as much for skins as was offered by the white Moravian store in Gnadenhutzen. To enhance the value of their skins, the mission Indians in July 1801 used them to make moccasins, which they sold in Charlestown, now Wellsburg, Virginia. This manufacture increased the skins' value by a factor of four.<sup>20</sup>

The converts raised or made many other products for sale. They traded cattle for clothing and other goods. Surplus sugar was sold each spring. In 1802 Mortimer boasted that the Indians could sell their extra sugar because they produced a better quality than that made by the whites. Ginseng was another popular product traded in the late summer and early autumn months. Apparently all of the ginseng gathered by the converts was sold to

---

<sup>19</sup>Zeisberger, Diary, 1: 451, 2: 369; MMR, Reel 19, Box 171, Folder 1: 2, Folder 8: 17, Reel 20, Box 173, Folder 1: 27-28; Hamilton, History of the Moravian Church, 285.

<sup>20</sup>MMR, Reel 8, Box 141, Folder 17: 29-30, 50, Reel 20, Box 173, Folder 1: 13, Reel 19, Box 171, Folder 9: 7, Folder 13: 60.



white settlers; the Indians had no personal use for it.<sup>21</sup>

The Moravian Indians also sold items they made. Baskets and brooms made by women converts were sometimes sold or traded for food in the neighboring white settlements. David noted that it was in 1783, when the mission had been forced to move to Canada, that the converts began their most active trading in canoes, baskets, and other Indian crafts. At the Fairfield mission the Indians were most industrious, making not only baskets and brooms but bowls, mats, benches, chairs, barrel staves, and rifle stocks. After the dispersion of 1781-1782, canoes commonly traded for clothing and maize.<sup>22</sup>

The Moravian Indians bought as actively as they sold. From the first years of the mission the converts and other residents found it necessary to supplement their own production with provisions purchased from local traders, nearby white settlements, and other Indian communities. Flour and maize were the most frequently purchased items, most often obtained from nearby white settlements and white traders. In 1769 Gotschenis and his family, residents of the mission, traveled to Fort Pitt to buy flour because they had no food at the mission. Throughout the forty years that David led the Delaware mission, the Indian converts and residents travelled to Detroit, Buffalo, and Charlestown to purchase maize and flour. They also purchased flour and maize from neighboring Indian villages. These dietary

---

<sup>21</sup>MMR, Reel 8, Box 141, Folder 17: 36, 39, Reel 19, Box 171, Folder 1: 2-3, Folder 6: 32, Folder 7: 33, Folder 13: 27, Reel 20, Box 173, Folder 3: 6, Folder 6: 14 ; Gray, Wilderness Christians, 105-06; Diary of the Indian Congregation on this New Place on Muskingum since their arrival on the Schoenbrunn Tract from Oct 4-Nov 8 1798, (MA-SP), 2; Zeisberger, Diary, 1: 47, 172, 2: 366.

<sup>22</sup>Zeisberger, Diary, 1: 161, 166, 167, 204, 2: 105, 221, 248, 458; DeSchweinitz, Life and Times, 581; Gray, Wilderness Christians, 142; MMR, Reel 20, Box 173, Folder 6: 2, Reel 19, Box 171, Folder 1: 3.

staples were purchased as needed from the Shawnees and Munsees. When necessary, the converts preferred to purchase their seed corn from Indians, believing that Indian seed corn was better than that available from white communities. Other foodstuffs the Moravian Indians purchased were apples, milkcows, pork, and salt. The converts acquired venison, bear's meat and bear's fat from the Chippewas in Canada.<sup>23</sup>

While most of these provisions were obtained to supplement their own production, the Moravian converts were entirely dependent upon white supplies of gunpowder for their rifles. The converts were quite particular about the quality of gunpowder they purchased. In October 1800 four brothers travelled to Charlestown to purchase gunpowder because they did not like the supplies available in nearby Gnadenhutten.<sup>24</sup>

Business with local traders often resulted in the converts' acquiring debts. The mission Indians always paid in kind and not in cash. In 1785 the mission residents paid their debts to the Detroit traders with maize and canoes. At other times debts were paid in skins. In June 1800 Brother Peter, from the white Moravian settlement of Gnadenhutten, received a horse-load of skins as payment for the debt the Indians owed him. Apparently, the Gnadenhutten storekeeper was not always in a hurry to be paid, for in June 1805 Mortimer observed that French traders had acquired "hundreds of dollars" worth of skins as payment

---

<sup>23</sup>Diary of David Zeisberger, 45; Zeisberger, Diary, 1: 41, 66, 144, 182, 189-90, 260, 413, 416, 2: 112, 128, 264, 267, 273, 512; Abstract from the Dairy...1799, (MA-SP), 6, 8, 10; MMR, Reel 19, Box 171, Folder 2: 21, Folder 4: 2, 5, Folder 5: 8, Folder 6: 24, Folder 7: 2, 28, Folder 8: 9, 19, 44, 49-50, Folder 9: 3, 6, Folder 13: 14, Reel 20, Box 173, Folder 1: 15, 16; Diary of the Indian Congregation...1798, (MA-SP), 2.

<sup>24</sup>MMR, Reel 19, Box 171, Folder 7: 39.

for debts; the Gnadenhutten storekeeper had not "taken the trouble to come or send for [the skins] at the right time." Although rare, David occasionally involved himself in the Indians' trading affairs. In June 1805 he requested that the mission Indians pay their debts to the Gnadenhutten store because "they remained so long unpaid." David was uncomfortable with the converts' remaining too long in debt; it provided ample opportunity for misunderstandings and trouble.<sup>25</sup>

While most relationships with white traders were fairly amicable, many problems occurred throughout the years. As early as 1771, David felt it necessary to make regulations concerning "selling and purchasing" with other Indians. David claimed that the prices demanded by other Indians were "exorbitant [sic] and the more they get, the better they like it." White traders also posed problems for the Moravian Indian community. In April 1771 the Indian brothers "reprimanded" some traders from Pittsburgh "for their frivolous conduct." The traders were told to be quiet and behave themselves because the mission was not "like other Indian towns where nobody would speak to them about it." The brothers reminded these misbehaving visitors that although they could not read the Bible as well as the white men, the converts still knew "what is right and what is wrong, what is sin and what is good." Apparently this kindly scolding had a positive effect, for in December 1772 David noted that when traders from Pittsburgh arrived "they conduct themselves in a quiet and orderly manner as long as they are here."<sup>26</sup>

---

<sup>25</sup>Zeisberger, Diary, 1: 217, 224; MMR, Reel 19, Box 171, Folder 7: 17, Reel 20, Box 173, Folder 2: 26-27.

<sup>26</sup>MMR, Reel 8, Box 141, Folder 13: 3; Diary of David Zeisberger, 150, 163.

Other problems arose when traders who had poor relations with neighboring Indian villages came to town. In November 1790 the Moravian mission was caught between Mr. Parke and the Ottawas. Shortly after Parke's arrival, four Ottawas came and threatened to kill him. David reminded the Ottawas that their chief had granted his protection to the mission. The Ottawas left, but said they would "tomahawk" the trader yet. Parke was asked to leave to save the mission from further trouble. Eventually, he agreed and left for Detroit where he believed he would be safe. Another trader caused David and Susan Zeisberger great discomfort in August 1800. This man insisted upon staying the night in their house. He had been accused of murdering two Indians the previous month; he left the next morning before sunrise, apparently having caused no problems.<sup>27</sup>

A cooperative spirit, common to Delawares and Moravians alike, operated within the Moravian Indian community. Converts donated their labor or goods for religious celebrations to those individuals who needed assistance or supplies. Most important, the converts took care of each other, assisting those in need. The brothers built houses and huts for new arrivals or for those unable to build one for themselves. In July 1799 Jacob had to exchange his house for another lot. He was assisted in constructing his new home by the other Moravian men, finishing his summer dwelling within a few days; the walls would be added later as winter approached. The brethren also built houses for widows and single women who had no men to assist them. In June 1793 Indian brothers built Christiana's house for her because her husband had abandoned her more than a year earlier. In September 1793 and July 1795 the converts provided houses for the widows Amelia,

---

<sup>27</sup>Zeisberger, Diary, 2: 138-39; MMR, Reel 19, Box 171, Folder 7: 24.

Susanna, Philippina, and Bathsheba. When the mission residents of Lichtenau were relocated for safety, the Schonbrunn converts built new "cabins" for them.<sup>28</sup>

While most of this building was done out of love and friendship for other mission converts, practical considerations were also a factor. In June 1788, the brothers built a house for John Cook, but not from benevolence. Not all new residents inspired confidence in their expressed convictions to observe the mission's regulations and requirements. When building a house for Cook, who desired to live at the mission, David noted that it was better if the converts built a house for him. If he were unable to "get along well in the church," he could be sent away without any claim upon the property; since he had not built it, he could neither claim ownership of the house nor right to remain at the mission. Apparently, there had been previous instances of such troubles, and the most practical solution was for the residents to build these houses themselves.<sup>29</sup>

The residents also provided food for the poor and newcomers. Maize was gathered from all the mission households for newly arrived residents and for widows and the elderly. This was especially important during the winter months when food was scarce and difficult to obtain and the new residents were unable to plant until the next spring. During the winter converts also gathered firewood for the elderly and widowed. They created or fenced new fields so new arrivals would have land for planting in the spring or summer. In some instances, the converts planted a crop for those who would arrive soon. When new residents

---

<sup>28</sup>MMR, Reel 19, Box 171, Folder 4: 4-5, Reel 8, Box 141, Folder 17: 26; Zeisberger, Diary, 2: 314, 326, 413.

<sup>29</sup>Zeisberger, Diary, 1: 418.

arrived too late to do their own planting, the brethren did this work for them so the new residents would have food during the winter.<sup>30</sup>

The converts also provided other supplies for communal needs. In 1773 the converts donated pelts to pay for the congregation's expenses. In October 1798, the converts divided meat from a bear killed near the mission among all the residents, even the missionaries. The converts who labored to build the new church in Goshen in 1803 received food for their meals; three deer and one bear. The brethren supplied maize and skins for the lovefeasts; the skins bought such things as tea. Sugar was a necessary ingredient for lovefeasts, and in 1793, the converts provided 170 pounds of sugar for the next year's lovefeasts. The converts donated deer tallow for making chapel candles and donated their earnings from the sale of animal hides for repairs and improvements to the meeting-house.<sup>31</sup>

This communal economy was frequently extended to many who lived outside the mission settlements. In May 1770, the brethren gathered maize for Glikhikan, a noted Delaware chief who was subsisting on meat alone. The next month the aging Delaware chief Packanke requested some maize from the mission. The converts readily collected several bushels and sent them.<sup>32</sup>

During the last decades of the mission in Goshen, the converts became increasingly

---

<sup>30</sup>MMR, Reel 8, Box 141, Folder 14: 6-7, 12, Folder 15: 35, Reel 19, Box 171, Folder 13: 5; Diary of David Zeisberger, 196-97; Zeisberger, Diary, 2: 32, 84, 99, 332, 348, 465-66, 470.

<sup>31</sup>MMR, Reel 8, Box 141, Folder 14: 3, Reel 19, Box 171, Folder 2: 8, Folder 13: 28; Zeisberger, Diary, 2: 69-70, 308, 431; Reichel, "Wyalusing," 196.

<sup>32</sup>Diary of David Zeisberger, 105, 109-10.

involved in the life of the new white settlement of Gnadenhutten. Only ten miles apart, these two Moravian villages became tied together by more than piety. As soon as Goshen was established in the autumn of 1798, the Indian converts began constructing a road between their new home and Gnadenhutten. In 1800 another road was cut for wagons to reach the river fording between the two towns. Apparently, the white Moravians had difficulty in obtaining venison during their first year in Gnadenhutten, so in July 1799 the Indian converts Joseph, Christian, and James were requested to go hunting to provide meat to the Gnadenhutten residents. During that summer, one or two Indian converts went hunting twice a week to obtain meat for their white brethren in Gnadenhutten. That November the Indian converts were again requested to go hunting for the Gnadenhutten residents because the latter again had no meat.<sup>33</sup>

The mission residents also provided labor for the white Gnadenhutten Moravians. In 1800 Ignatius and other Indian brethren worked to build houses in Gnadenhutten, including one for John Heckewelder, the Gnadenhutten pastor. Heckewelder also requested the brothers and sisters of Goshen to clear a corn field for Brother Shnauss, who would be arriving shortly.<sup>34</sup>

The Moravian Indians also provided their labor to non-Moravian whites, often for payment. In 1794 some converts helped their neighbor Tiefsler to block his new house. Joseph worked ten days for the surveyor Buckingham in August 1799, and in July 1804 fourteen brethren worked in their neighbors' fields harvesting wheat. These converts

---

<sup>33</sup>MMR, Reel 19, Box 171, Folder 2: 4, Folder 4: 1-3, Folder 5: 10, Folder 7: 23.

<sup>34</sup>MMR, Reel 19, Box 171, Folder 6: 31, 34, Folder 7: 5.

borrowed sickles for the work, and Mortimer reported that all the converts were treated well by their employers.<sup>35</sup>

The Moravian converts also performed an enormous amount of work for the missionaries. From the first years of the mission the Indian converts assisted the missionaries in constructing their houses. In September 1772 the Delaware converts "helped us to block up our house." They built and repaired houses over the course of decades for David, Sensemann, Mortimer, and Haven as well as the mission's schoolhouses.<sup>36</sup>

After the establishment of Fairfield in Ontario, the Indian converts increasingly assisted the missionaries with the hoeing, planting, and harvesting of their fields. These efforts were substantial. In October 1790 the Moravian Indians spent an entire week harvesting the missionaries "plantations." Two years later, the converts planted the two acres assigned to the missionaries. And in 1802 the converts harvested the missionaries' corn before they tended their own fields.<sup>37</sup>

When performing this work for the missionaries, the Moravian Indians worked and ate together. In June 1798, David described the activities when the converts harvested the missionaries' corn. At dawn one brother roused the other residents; those who could help went out to the field. At eight o'clock they returned to town for a communal breakfast of

---

<sup>35</sup>Zeisberger, Diary, 2: 384; MMR, Reel 19, Box 171, Folder 4: 17, Reel 20, Box 173, Folder 1: 21.

<sup>36</sup>MMR, Reel 8, Box 141, Folder 12: 12, Folder 13: 32, Folder 17: 38, Reel 19, Box 171, Folder 2: 2, 4-9, Folder 4: 5, 8, Folder 7: 30, 32, 36, Folder 10: 9, Reel 20, Box 173, Folder 1: 28; Zeisberger, Diary, 2: 130, 320.

<sup>37</sup>Zeisberger, Diary, 2: 128, 262; MMR, Reel 19, Box 171, Folder 9: 60.



corn mush and milk. The workers and all the other residents were called to tables placed in the street; here the Indians received their food and then returned to their homes. One hour later, they resumed their work in the fields, finishing the harvest around noon. The workers ate their afternoon meal prepared and served in the same fashion as breakfast. According to David's diary, the converts believed that when they worked together "they ought also to eat together." In the last years of David's life, when he was increasingly ill and frail, the mission Indians also began supplying firewood for the missionaries, about one-fifth of what they needed for the year.<sup>38</sup>

Although the converts living at the mission settlements continued to help the missionaries with their most arduous labors, in 1803 the Fairfield converts clearly demonstrated a reluctance to perform these tasks. The mission conference held at Goshen that year reported that at Fairfield "first love" had "grown cold to some extent among [the mission Indians]."<sup>39</sup>

The missionaries did not rely upon the Moravian Indians to perform all their work for them. On the contrary, the missionaries were required to obtain their livelihood mostly from their own labors. At Wyalusing the missionaries grew hay, corn, buckwheat, potatoes, and vegetables. David and Heckewelder roofed their own house in February 1772. That same year Jungmann and David each grew about eighty bushels of corn, as well as potatoes, cabbages, carrots, and turnips. Even after David began spending most of his time translating

---

<sup>38</sup>MMR, Reel 12, Box 161, Folder 5: 7-8, Reel 19, Box 171, Folder 11: 5, Folder 13: 53, Reel 20, Box 174, Folder 4: 18.

<sup>39</sup>MMR, Reel 20, Box 174, Folder 4: 7, 12-13.

Scripture into Delaware, the other missionaries continued to manage their own fields. In 1803, Mortimer had four-and-a-half acres under cultivation and some meadowland. As the mission population declined in David's last years, the missionaries received less and less assistance in their fields from the converts; there were not enough mission Indians to help as they had previously done.<sup>40</sup>

Illness frequently hindered the well-being and survival of the Moravian Indians and the missionaries. Most of the illnesses which attacked the brethren were fevers and colds. In September 1772 David noted that it was common during the late summer months for the people to "suffer attacks of fever...at this time of the year." It was not uncommon for the children living at the mission to be the most severely afflicted. By July 1773, fifty mission children had suffered from a "malignant cough" which first appeared in the spring.<sup>41</sup>

The missionaries themselves were not immune from these illnesses, although David appeared to escape most of them until his later life. According to Mortimer in 1800, David never had "the Ague" in his entire life; at that time Mortimer himself, his wife, and Susan Zeisberger were all suffering from this illness.<sup>42</sup>

One of the most severe cases of illness to strike the mission was an outbreak of measles, which lasted for more than two months. In March 1791, the mission received news that three brethren had contracted measles out in their sugar camps. Although those brethren

---

<sup>40</sup>Reichel, "Wyalusing," 196; Diary of David Zeisberger, 215; Hamilton, John Ettwein, 271; Zeisberger, Diary, 1: 123; MMR, Reel 19, Box 171, Folder 12: 39-40, Reel 20, Box 173, Folder 2: 18.

<sup>41</sup>MMR, Reel 8, Box 141, Folder 12: 12, Folder 13: 31.

<sup>42</sup>Abstract from the Diary...1800, (MA-SP), 5-7.

remained in the camps while ill, the measles nevertheless arrived in the mission only one week later. Some of the brethren suffered through two bouts of the measles during this epidemic. In May of that year, measles was still a serious problem in the mission town.<sup>43</sup>

While most Moravian Indians survived a single illness, death from disease was not uncommon. Even the missionaries had to contend with the death of family members. In January 1804 Mortimer's son died from illness. At this child's funeral the congregation was told that only God had the "power over life and death." Although David and the other missionaries had been preaching to the Indians for decades, the congregants still commonly believed that most deaths were caused by another person's evil "machinations." When any member of the mission community died, especially a child, David assured the grieving brethren that witchcraft was not the cause of death. In addition, he urged the congregants not to be displeased with the Savior, "what he [Jesus] does is right and well" and the parents would see their children with Jesus in heaven "where we shall all be assembled sometime."<sup>44</sup>

The missionaries were capable of treating many illnesses and possessed a supply of medicines with which they were familiar. In August 1777, David himself treated some ill residents by bleeding. The sisters Schmick and Jungmann visited the congregants every day to "become acquainted with the wants and situation" of all the Indians.<sup>45</sup>

Most treatments of the sickly, however, were performed by the Moravian Indians.

---

<sup>43</sup>Zeisberger, Diary, 2: 162-63, 169, 185.

<sup>44</sup>MMR, Reel 20, Box 173, Folder 1: 1-2; Diary of David Zeisberger, 28; Zeisberger, Diary, 2: 215-16.

<sup>45</sup>MMR, Reel 9, Box 147, Folder 4: 6 , Reel 19, Box 171, Folder 12: 17-18.

From the earliest days of David's mission, the congregants continued to practice many of their traditional medicines and cures. In May 1768, the Moravian Indians built "a sweating-hut, in which they took a rest-cure." The missionaries also used Indian medicine to treat themselves. In 1772, the converts treated John Heckewelder, suffering from rheumatism, with poultices made from plants and a sweat-bath. David also received traditional Indian treatments. In May 1780 Heckewelder visited the ailing Zeisberger and discovered the latter's house filled with roots and herbs, traditional Delaware medicine or "beson." David's throat had begun to heal, the swelling was reduced, and he was regaining his speech. When Br. Sensemann fell ill with "trouble with his chest", he "consulted" with the congregants and "submitted to their treatment."<sup>46</sup>

The Moravian Indians were called upon to treat the illnesses of their neighbors as well as their teachers. In May 1800, the mission sent an Indian doctor to the white brother Peter Edmonds at Gnadenhutten who was ill. The Indian brother subsequently bled Br. Edmonds, who recovered over the next two weeks. Having a run of bad luck, the next month Br. Edmonds again needed the medical expertise of the Moravian Indians when he was bitten by a "copper-snake." Once again an Indian doctor traveled to Gnadenhutten to treat Edmonds. That evening the mission received the happy news that the patient was "in a fair way of healing."<sup>47</sup>

Not all medical healing was performed in response to a current illness; sometimes

---

<sup>46</sup>Hulbert, Moravian Records, 46; Heckewelder, Thirty Thousand Miles, 103; MMR, Reel 8, Box 141, Folder 17: 27; Zeisberger, Diary, 2: 204-05.

<sup>47</sup>MMR, Reel 19, Box 171, Folder 7: 2, 5, 16; Abstract from the Diary...1800, (MA-SP), 4.

it was performed as a preventative measure. Although the missionaries disapproved of these practices, they did not prohibit them. During warm weather, often a precursor to illness, most of the women chose to be bled. In 1803, Br. Mortimer noted that this practice was not the only example of such "whims." Vomiting and "other evacuations" were common, often involving "half the town." The residents used "strong potions" which Mortimer feared would cause serious harm to their health. Although the missionaries disapproved of these Delaware practices, there was no sufficient reason to prohibit them since they did not violate any Moravian beliefs.<sup>48</sup>

While the Indians administered most cures, they were not completely averse to utilizing white doctors when Indian medicine failed. In May 1794 the congregants brought a Dr. Freeman, an American from the neighboring settlement, to the mission to treat a woman and a girl who had been chronically ill and had not responded to Indian cures.<sup>49</sup>

Both male and female Indian healers practiced medicine at the mission. The women missionaries used women healers in treating their specific women's problems with good results. The women healers, in addition, helped to deliver and care for all babies born at the mission, Indian or white. Heckewelder noted that the Indians had a good knowledge of the treatments of illness and wounds and were quite successful in their efforts. The practice of using Indian doctors for the illnesses that occurred at the mission was reconfirmed at a mission conference in 1803. The missionaries believed it was better if the Indians used their own medicine, both for safety's sake and because their remedies were reliable. The

---

<sup>48</sup>MMR, Reel 19, Box 171, Folder 12: 42.

<sup>49</sup>Zeisberger, 2: 358.

missionaries were also to use Indian "remedies." Bethlehem was unwilling to provide all necessary medicines; they were too expensive and would spoil too readily.<sup>50</sup>

The residents of the Indian Moravian towns did not have to sacrifice their Delaware identities in order to join the mission or to live there. Virtually all economic practices, agriculture and trade, were conducted along traditional Indian lines. The converts and residents had no need to earn a living as their white brethren did. Economic practices were not critical to Moravian religious beliefs. In addition, all other secular practices, including medicine, clothing styles, food preparation, and living arrangements, were left to the Delawares' preferences, and they continued many of their traditional ways. Being residents of the mission, however, did not relieve the converts of their obligations to their traditional counterparts, nor did it provide them with a safe haven from natural calamities and problems. The mission residents, as did their neighbors, suffered from hunger and disease. Bad weather, destructive fauna, and illness did not discriminate. The converts understood that they would not be relieved of these difficulties; they only knew that, like their traditional families, they would share them with their community.

The only tangible change in the converts' behavior was the preference increasingly exhibited by the women to remain at home while the men left for the hunt. Traditional Delaware women usually accompanied their men on the hunt, processing and transporting the meat and skins. As the decades passed, the women preferred to leave all that work to their husbands. In addition, this domestic behavior applied only to hunting; the women always accompanied their husbands to the forests to make sugar. It is likely that part of this

---

<sup>50</sup>Heckewelder, History, 228-29; MMR, Reel 20, Box 174, Folder 4: 15.

change was because the Moravian Indians preferred to remain near the mission when hunting so they could return for Sunday services. If they travelled too far, they would be unable to return. In addition, if the men were hunting in the neighborhood, it was unnecessary for the women to accompany them to transport the meat.

Each week when the men attended Sunday services, they brought their recent catches with them. Therefore, the traditional reasons for the women to accompany the men no longer existed. The women remained at home, a safer alternative, especially on the turbulent Ohio frontier, and the men brought the skins and meat home. While David did not require this behavior for the women, he did approve. This alteration of traditional practice came from the converts themselves. It was a reasonable adaptation to changing circumstances, especially the changing logistics of hunting. The converts were not denying any part of their Delaware heritage or culture but were adapting to new circumstances, as their ancestors had before them. Adaptation was a traditional feature of Delaware life, from their first purchase and use of guns and manufactured cloth to their growing of peach trees and building two-story wood-framed houses. The converts made their own decisions about their secular lives, making changes where necessary and keeping traditional practices as they desired. David Zeisberger's mission was truly a Delaware mission, for the converts and other residents made their own decisions in secular matters; David only advised them.

## CHAPTER 5

### THE ART OF DIPLOMACY

Aside from procuring their daily needs, the most important secular business of the mission was maintaining friendly relationships with neighboring and visiting Indians from many nations. Since the mission was always located within Indian territory with the local nation's consent, it was critical for the missionaries and their converts to create good relations with their neighbors and hosts. Without the cooperation and protection of local Indian chiefs and communities, the mission would have been in constant danger of attack or harassment. Even with the approval of their neighbors, the Moravian mission was frequently deluged with Indian visitors, warriors, and troublemakers.

In order to maintain peaceful relations with the nations on which the mission's success depended, the converts and David always followed Indian protocol in their diplomatic contacts and procedures. Although most Indian chiefs respected David and the Moravian Indians, the enemies of the mission frequently attempted to undermine or directly attack the mission and its residents. Many of the troubles experienced by the converts were the result of geographic location. The Ohio territory was a central battleground between the British and the American colonists during the revolutionary war. This military reality forced



the converts and missionaries into many situations over which they had no control, sometimes with disastrous results. Although these troubles sometimes strained the usually amicable diplomacy between the mission and their neighbors, David and his converts always sought to maintain their peaceful status and friendly relations with all the Indian nations in the Ohio country.

At the beginning of his mission in 1768, David's most immediate concern was to establish peaceful relations with the most immediate Indian nation in the neighborhood. From the beginning, he had difficulty cultivating cooperative relationships with the Delaware chiefs. In October 1767 he noted that the most serious problem he was having was not only that were the Delawares scattered but that they disagreed and fought among themselves so that the chiefs possessed little authority. There were those who supported working with the missionaries and allowing them to establish a settlement on Delaware land; others believed that the white people could not be trusted and should be kept out of Ohio altogether. The lack of chiefly influence and command again plagued David during the revolution. In September 1775 David learned of the lack of consensus on whether or not the missionaries should be invited to preach in the Delaware towns. David understood that the chiefs were attempting to create and maintain order but were unable to obtain much success because the people did not follow their suggestions or decisions. While David recognized the chiefs' lack of authority, he believed it necessary and wise to maintain their friendships. Among those Delawares with whom the chiefs did have some influence, their friendship

proved valuable.<sup>1</sup>

Exacerbating this lack of dependable leadership among the Indian nations were the consequences following a chief's conversion. In February 1770 the Indians from Goschgoschunk warned the other Ohio nations to "Beware the Black Coat!" However, they were having great difficulty reaching a decision on an appropriate course of action because they had no chief. Their chief, now named Salomo, had converted and joined the Moravian mission. Unwilling to come to the mission to ask Salomo's advice, the Goschgoschunk Indians "fail[ed] as a rule to reach a decision" whenever they held a council, and without a recognized leader the council members would not "accept any body else's suggestions." Although a new chief was eventually installed, the tumultuous interim proved difficult for David and his converts. Without a recognized authority with whom to discuss problems and from whom to request assistance, the mission was temporarily left in a diplomatic quandary.<sup>2</sup>

Of first importance in establishing these working relations with the Indian chiefs was the issue of proper terms of address. This was a mutual concern for how the missionaries and chiefs would address each other. Before diplomatic relations could proceed very far, this question had to be answered. In May 1770 the converts and David held a discussion on how they should address Delaware chief Packanke – should they call him "brother" or "sister"? They were uncomfortable with the term "brother" because the Indians often called

---

<sup>1</sup>Hulbert, Moravian Records, 22-23; MMR, Reel 8, Box 141, Folder 15: 37-38; Diary of David Zeisberger, 170.

<sup>2</sup>Diary of David Zeisberger, 82.

each other brother and "they make war on each other." Therefore, if they called Packanke "brother" the Indians might feel entitled to request the Indian brethren to "go to war with them." Referring to the Indians as "sister," however, would make that request impossible. Women were the peacekeepers, not the warriors. In addition, the Delawares had a long history of being peacekeepers and "women" and were not ashamed of that status. The brethren decided unanimously to call Packanke "sister." At their next meeting the convert Abraham addressed Packanke as "Sister!" while David called Packanke "Brother." As Packanke would not request David or the other missionaries to join him in war, it was acceptable for David to use this term. Warriors favored the term "brother," so David obliged Packanke's preference. For the Delaware converts it was critical that they make their position concerning war and warriors very clear, and calling Packanke "sister" clarified their desire to remain free from the entanglements and obligations of war.<sup>3</sup>

Not all Indians used the same titles when addressing David or the converts. Apparently, each nation and chief used the term of address that best suited their individual relationship with the mission. In August 1777 Half-King (aka Pomoacan), a Wyandot (Huron) chief, his war captain, and thirty-two warriors met with David and Brother Edwards for a "handshaking ceremony." In front of the Wyandot warriors and the Moravian Indians, Half-King called David their "father" and requested that the missionaries look upon and recognize their "children." In answer, David expressed his happiness "to see our children" and that "from our side there should be no change in [this relationship]." After these greetings, all present ate a meal provided by the mission. This meeting demonstrated the

---

<sup>3</sup>Diary of David Zeisberger, 100-101.

high esteem in which each side held the other and the mutual trust they felt: children generally did not declare war on their fathers. While this establishment of friendship was by no means a guarantee against future antagonism (four years later Half-King kidnapped David and the other missionaries and forced them to appear before the governor of Detroit), it created a vehicle by which both sides could understand and accept the other's position and autonomy. As long as this compatible relationship lasted, they could rely upon each other for friendship and aid.<sup>4</sup>

After the destruction the revolutionary war wrought upon the Ohio Indian nations and the Moravian mission, it was not as critical for the mission to maintain exceptionally friendly relations with local Indian nations. Relocated in Ontario under the protection of the British commanders in Detroit, the mission was able to operate more independently. In addition, the Delawares had suffered enormous losses in population, food resources, territory, and autonomy. After the mission was allowed to return to the Ohio territory and reestablish itself on their former lands, the converts and missionaries were confronted by a dislocated Delaware population facing the greatest challenges in their history. White settlers were moving onto the lands in large numbers. The Delawares were pointedly aware of their increasing dependence on good relations with the white people and turned to the Moravians as the one group they could trust to provide assistance and protection. In response to this situation, Br. Mortimer noted a change in the way the Delawares addressed the brethren. In December 1799, one year after the Ohio Moravian settlement of Goshen was established, visiting Delawares called the missionaries "brethren," which Mortimer noted was "the

---

<sup>4</sup>MMR, Reel 9, Box 147, Folder 4 (German): 5-6.

warmest expression of friendship which the Delaware language admits of." Being in an increasingly vulnerable position and having lost so much in the previous twenty-five years, the Delawares in western Ohio knew they needed an ally, and the mission was the best and most logical choice. Apparently, this was the first time the missionaries were given this honorable title. Its use reflects the Delawares' drastically changed circumstances and their new dependence upon others for security and well-being.<sup>5</sup>

Because the mission and its residents were dependent upon the surrounding Indian nations for their security for the first twenty-one years of the mission, an important method in creating and keeping good relations with their neighbors was for the converts and missionaries to use proper Indian protocol in all interactions. As in the use of the proper Indian diplomatic reference to one's ally, it was also important to ensure the Indians that the missionaries were not intent upon subverting or counteracting their ancient traditions. In addition, it was David's firm belief that the converts had not stopped being Indians upon baptism. The mission converts were still Delawares and therefore retained the customary obligations of all members of that nation. It was important to David that the converts be painstaking in their observance of Indian custom.

In June 1788 the mission was located in Pettquotting, and mission cattle destroyed the fields of neighboring Chippewas. Indian fields customarily did not have fences, leaving them vulnerable to local cattle who foraged at will. To maintain friendly relations, the converts gave the dispossessed Chippewas seed corn and built a fence for their new crops. David noted that the Indian rule was that if cattle damaged an Indian field, "the damage must

---

<sup>5</sup>MMR, Reel 19, Box 171, Folder 6: 3.

be made good or they shoot the cattle dead." It was certainly wiser and cheaper to erect a fence and provide seed corn than to replace the mission's cattle.<sup>6</sup>

Another example of the converts' and David's desire to observe Indian protocol occurred in October 1799. Not for the first time did the mission provide food, housing, and a kindly reception to visiting Indians. In the congregational diary Mortimer noted that this was merely "customary civility." These actions were in accord with "the rules of Indian politeness and good breeding," and it was important that the brothers and sisters not fail in these obligations. Since this obligatory generosity and courtesy was in complete agreement with Moravian beliefs, there was no ideological conflict between Moravian and Indian practices and attitudes. Hospitality, courtesy, and kindness were hallmarks of both Indian and Moravian societies; any violation of these precepts would have been judged unacceptable by both peoples. Although the visiting and neighboring Indian nations may have interpreted David's and his converts' actions within their own cultural context, there was no difference in the motives and ideas behind the Moravians' actions.<sup>7</sup>

Also critical to conducting proper Indian diplomacy was the exchange of wampum, either as strings or belts. Wampum symbolized the authenticity and earnestness of the giver's intent as well as the importance of the subject at hand. From the earliest days of the mission, the converts and David used wampum in their relationships with other Indian nations. The first recorded use of wampum in David's Ohio diaries was in April 1766 when he first requested permission to establish a town in Delaware territory. The Indian assistants

---

<sup>6</sup>Zeisberger, Diary, 1:414.

<sup>7</sup>MMR, Reel 19, Box 171, Folder 5: 3.

who spoke at the meeting each provided strings and belts of wampum as part of their speeches.<sup>8</sup>

David himself participated in this ritual. In May 1770 David and some assistants visited Packanke, requesting to speak with him and the Indian council. After Abraham spoke, David also delivered a speech. After reassuring Packanke and the council that the missionaries were different from other white people and had no interest in "profits or land," he handed Packanke a string of wampum. David continued to speak, requesting that the Indians not believe rumors about the brethren but always to ask the missionaries; the missionaries would always speak the truth. David then presented Packanke with another string of wampum. The mission's use of wampum continued throughout David's life. In April 1798 wampum was exchanged between some Munsee visitors and the mission "for the loss of the dead, according to Indian usage." Since this practice did not violate any Moravian precepts and was conducive "to mutual reconciliation" David never objected to its use.<sup>9</sup>

One of the most crucial diplomatic exchanges that occurred between the mission and the Delawares concerned the location of the mission settlement. Whether it was a request from the converts and David to relocate the mission to a safer location or an invitation from a Delaware chief to the mission to move to his neighborhood, proper protocol had to be observed. One of the first such events came in 1768 when Glikhikan, after hearing David

---

<sup>8</sup>William M. Beauchamp, ed., Moravian Journals Relating to Central New York, 1745-1766 (Syracuse, New York: Onondaga Historical Association, 1916), 219.

<sup>9</sup>Diary of David Zeisberger, 100-103; Zeisberger, 2: 525.

preach, invited him and the Moravian Indians to live at Goschgosching. Although the chiefs usually preferred that the mission settle within or beside an Indian town, the chiefs understood David's reluctance to locate near potential disruptions. In May 1769 Packanke invited the mission to leave Goschgosching to relocate at his town of Kaskaskunk. His message to David acknowledged that the Moravians might not want to live "with the Indians but alone," and he gave his permission for the mission to move a few miles away on the same river where land was plentiful and good.<sup>10</sup>

Although the converts and missionaries were dependent upon the neighboring Indian nations for their safety, this reliance did not make David or the Moravian Indians submissive in response to persistent requests by the Ohio Indians for the mission to relocate. When a request was ill-timed or undesirable, David and his converts used typical Indian means to avoid giving a direct answer. In June 1769 David received a request from three Goschgoschunk chiefs to have the mission move to their town. David informed these men that he was waiting for an answer from a Seneca chief in Genessee to his own request. He and the mission would have to "wait and see what [the Senecas] would do." The converts and David frequently used delaying tactics as a way of avoiding giving an immediate answer. A typical explanation they gave for not promptly answering the Indian invitation was that the mission had just moved and had not "yet assembled all our own." David promised to "remember their words and not forget them" and to give an answer at a better time. The most common explanation for the delay was the need for harvesting the mission's crops. In August 1781 Half-King expressed his concern that the mission was in danger and

---

<sup>10</sup>Heckewelder, Thirty Thousand Miles, 94-5; Diary of David Zeisberger, 26-7.



should therefore move to a safer place. The national assistants and David replied that they would think about the proposition and give an answer before the next spring. Half-King was not pleased with this response and demanded an immediate answer. David said that the mission Indians had to be able to gather their harvest so they would not go hungry. He requested Half-King's patience in allowing the mission time to prepare for a move before providing the chief with their answer. Delaying a response, especially by noting the need to harvest crops, was a traditional Indian strategy. It provided those receiving the request with economic security as well as time to evaluate any new developments.<sup>11</sup>

Although David and the mission residents used delaying tactics frequently, they were not averse to refusing outright. In February 1779 the Delaware chief Geleleminde offered to move the mission to Pittsburgh for the converts' safety. The brethren refused, saying they placed their lives in the hands of God. Another Delaware war chief invited the Moravian Indians to move to his territory for safety, but the converts again refused. Once the missionaries and assistants had refused an invitation to move, the chiefs could do little. The mission was an autonomous settlement, and the residents were entitled to make their own decisions. In May 1787 a Wyandot chief, probably Half-King, invited the mission to move to Sandusky that spring. Two converts, William and Henry, visited the chief and informed him of the mission's refusal. The chief could only accept this decision.<sup>12</sup>

Many of these invitations, most notably between 1770 and 1791, were offers and

---

<sup>11</sup>Diary of David Zeisberger, 38; MMR, Reel 8, Box 141, Folder 13: 26; Zeisberger, 1: 4-5.

<sup>12</sup>Diary of Lichtenau...1779, (MA-SP), 8; Heckewelder, Thirty Thousand Miles, 165-67; Zeisberger, 1: 343.

guarantees of protection if the mission came to the solicitor's town. These twenty-two years were violent and unpredictable times in the Ohio country. Between the revolutionary war and the Indian wars that followed the American victory over the British, there was almost constant warfare, threats of warfare, and general instability in the area. For Indians who were concerned with the mission's welfare and survival, protecting the Moravian missionaries and their converts became an important issue. In July 1770, even before the worst hostilities began, Packanke promised to protect the mission. He implored the Indians to treat the mission converts and their teachers as friends "who belong to us." Since the Moravians had been invited to live there, they should not be threatened or attacked as other white people if war broke out. Packanke spoke strongly, threatening anyone who "might speak evil" of the brethren: "Anyone who lays hands on them, lays hands on me, anyone who hurts them hurts me at the same time." At the spring 1772 council, in Gekelemukpechunk, David and some assistants were invited to move there. As part of the chiefs' reassurances, they promised to prevent drunken and corrupt young Indians from settling near the mission. In addition, the chiefs promised that all those who desired to hear the Moravian gospel could freely attend the mission services.<sup>13</sup>

Other offers of protection were due to fears of warfare and violence from warriors and soldiers on both sides of the battle. Captain Pipe, an Ottawa war chief, invited the missionaries to a war council. He wanted the mission to relocate to the Pettquotting River where he promised them safety. Again, in January 1791, Pipe expressed his concerns for the safety of the Moravians. He informed the brethren that the Sandusky area was becoming

---

<sup>13</sup>Diary of David Zeisberger, 120-23, 125, 218-22.

dangerous; the local Delawares, Delawares from the west, and Wyandots were gathering on the Miami River. The neighborhood would no longer be safe for the mission, so they must move again for their safety.<sup>14</sup>

Although most of these chiefs were genuinely concerned for the safety of the missionaries and the converts, some chiefs had ulterior motives. As the mission proved to be a popular attraction for many Delawares, many chiefs became concerned that they would lose power and influence if the mission seduced people from their villages. As a means of keeping their already diminished population as closely united as possible, they invited the mission to relocate to their neighborhoods. In this way, even if many people chose to join the mission, they would still be nearby and within the chiefs' potential control. David discovered this rationale early in the history of the Ohio mission. In November 1771 David noted that the Gekelemukpechunk chiefs did not want to have most of their people coming to live at the mission if it was located far away. The chiefs preferred that the missionaries preach in their town "so that their people remain where they are." Even the Wyandots were concerned about losing their people and requested the mission to move to their territory. These fears continued into the last years of David's life. In April 1800 the Delaware grand council on Woapikamikunk offered the mission some land on the Wabash River near the Woapikamikunk town. Mortimer noted that the desire of the chiefs to have the mission move to their territory was "the first maxim in Indian politics, to do all in their power to

---

<sup>14</sup>Zeisberger, *Diary*, 1: 298, 2: 150-53.

keep their people together."<sup>15</sup>

The Delaware chiefs' concern was not due to paranoia but developed from the continual interest expressed in the mission by the Indians and their favorable response to it. As it became evident that many Indians desired to move and were moving to the mission town, the chiefs feared losing their already tenuous influence and authority. In addition, the Delaware population had already suffered significant losses in the previous decades: any further depletion could spell disaster. While the chiefs could not prevent their peoples from attending or joining the mission, they hoped to maintain their personal influence and national strength by keeping all Indians, Moravian and traditional, together.

From the earliest days of the Moravian mission, many Delawares wanted to visit the mission and to hear the gospel. Many of these Indians expressed a desire to move to the mission town, although some had difficulties that prevented them from doing so. One old chief was blind and therefore, despite his desire to move to the mission, was unable to do so. In May 1768 the heads of four families told David and Bishop Ettwein (who was visiting) that they wanted to move to Friedenshutzen, but their large families and many cattle made such a move difficult. There were inadequate pastures in Friedenshutzen and they could not make a living there. Others informed David that they would move to the mission after their summer harvest or the fall hunt; they were poor and needed to acquire enough food to last the winter.<sup>16</sup>

---

<sup>15</sup>Diary of David Zeisberger, 24; Zeisberger, Diary, 1: 399; MMR, Reel 19, Box 171, Folder 6: 27-9; Abstract from the Dairy...1800, (MA-SP), 3.

<sup>16</sup>Hulbert, Moravian Records, 23-4, 39-40; Diary of David Zeisberger, 114-15; Diary of the Indian Congregation...1798, (MA-SP), 2; MMR, Reel 19, Box 171, Folder 2: 5.

Not only were ordinary Indians interested in the Moravian message, so too were powerful chiefs and preachers. In September 1770 an Indian preacher from Susquehanna informed David that he was going to preach next spring in Gekelemukpechunk. He told the missionaries that if the Indians there "would not approve of his preaching he would come and live with us [the missionaries]." A very important Delaware leader, Newallike, sent a message to David telling of his desire to live at the mission. To prove that his message was genuine, Newallike sent his gun as well. In April 1777 Newallike announced his plans to the Goschacking chiefs; five days later he arrived at the mission. During the entire duration of the mission, arriving individuals and families arrived expressed their desire to live at the mission, either then or shortly in the future. While there was a period from 1781 to 1788 when the number of requests and new residents were few, this decline was due to the diaspora caused by the missionaries' kidnapping and their insecure residency. As soon as the mission had secured a permanent abode in 1788, the number of requests and visitors again increased.<sup>17</sup>

As helpful as it might seem to have been for David to encourage chiefs to join the mission and convert, he was cautious about accepting these men, especially in the first several years of the mission. It was very important that the mission retain loyal, dependable friends in the Indian community; without their influence and protection the mission would be vulnerable. David was not in favor of having "many Chiefs and men in authority" joining the mission. It was more important that they remain "where they are" and be "good friends" of the mission; more could be accomplished in that manner. The cases of Allemewi and

---

<sup>17</sup>Diary of David Zeisberger, 133, 175; MMR, Reel 8, Box 141, Folder 17: 11-13.

Echpalawehund are clear examples of David's concerns in this matter. In July 1768 Allemewi, one of the most powerful Delaware chiefs, informed David that he intended to resign his position as chief "because he thought its functions might prevent his carrying out his intentions" to live for the Savior. David advised Allemewi not to "give up his office to another but to serve the Lord" while discharging his duties. Allemewi agreed, and while he did not convert, he and his wife regularly attended the mission's evening services.<sup>18</sup>

Echpalawehund, another important chief, visited the mission in August 1772. He informed David that he was considering "cutting himself free of the Chief affairs" and coming to live at the mission. He placed little value in the "Office of Chief" and all his efforts were in vain. Echpalawehund asked David what the latter thought about this matter. David replied that Echpalawehund should take his time considering his decision. As long as the mission was located nearby, Echpalawehund could visit as often as he liked without joining. Echpalawehund explained that the enemies of the mission "say already that I am one of you" and eventually he would be unable to remain in Gekelemukpechunk. David informed the chief that he was not in favor of having the chiefs convert and join the mission; it was preferable if they remained in their positions as friends of the mission. Only when it became impossible for him to "endure it among the savages" should Echpalawehund come to the mission; he would not be turned away. David's reluctance to convert Echpalawehund came from his fear of losing an important ally on the Delaware Council. David was afraid that, since Echpalawehund was Netawatwees's "best and most reliable man in Council Affairs," if he resigned his position, Netawatwees alone would not be able to keep the

---

<sup>18</sup>Diary of David Zeisberger, 129; Hulbert, Moravian Records, 65-66.

mission's enemies "in check."<sup>19</sup>

White Eyes, the most influential Delaware chief of the late 1770s, was another leader whom David discouraged from converting. Although White Eyes expressed his desire to live at the mission, David said he should not hurry. The mission needed him to stay with the Indians. White Eyes agreed to wait for awhile, but said that if matters did not improve he would come to live at the mission. David's fears of the powerful enemies of the mission, especially in the first decade of his efforts, compelled him to delay the conversions of the influential chiefs. It was more important to secure the mission's survival and peace than it was to gain powerful new members. The benefits that these chiefs could provide the mission if they retained their offices were more critical in the mission's survival. Once their relationship had been firmly established and their position in the Ohio country secured, David was able to relax his restrictions on chiefly conversions. While he never prevented any chief from converting, and many eventually became important members of the mission community, he made it clear that the mission's security was of paramount importance: a chief's personal salvation came second.<sup>20</sup>

Many chiefs were favorable to the Moravian mission and David's efforts for a variety of reasons. Some were friendly towards the missionaries because they feared losing their influence over a large part of their people. Other chiefs were deeply concerned with the future survival of their people. Others were more concerned with keeping their dwindling population together; strength lay in numbers. The two most outspoken chiefs in this matter

---

<sup>19</sup>MMR, Reel 8, Box 141, Folder 12: 8-9.

<sup>20</sup>MMR, Reel 8, Box 141, Folder 15: 15-16.

were Netawatwees and White Eyes. Netawatwees explained that one important reason why he wanted the mission to settle nearby was his fear of witchcraft. Witchcraft weakened and divided the Delawares and made them vulnerable to the designs and machinations of their enemies. He believed that if more Delawares became Christians the number of problems due to witchcraft accusations and practices would be reduced. Netawatwees believed that accepting the Word of God was the best way for his people to be happy and peaceful, and he publicly stated in January 1775 that his people should accept the gospel. Netawatwees was so concerned about the future prosperity of his people that his last message to the Delawares, delivered in 1776 on his deathbed, reiterated that the Delaware nation should follow the Moravian missionaries.<sup>21</sup>

White Eyes, a powerful chief and eventually Netawatwees's successor, believed so strongly that the Delawares should accept Christianity, that, in response to rumors being spread against the mission and missionaries, he resigned his position as war councillor in 1774. White Eyes said he would resume his office only if the situation improved. White Eyes was convinced that the Delawares would become a powerless and worthless people if they did not change their contemptible and destructive ways. If the Delawares lived as the Moravian Indians, they would retain their autonomy and independence.<sup>22</sup>

Although numerous Indians visited the mission, others expressed fear and trepidation about visiting and attending Moravian services. In July 1768 several people who regularly

---

<sup>21</sup>C. A. Weslager, The Delaware Indians: A History (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press, 1972), 286; MMR, Reel 8, Box 141, Folder 15: 45-46; DeSchweinitz, Life and Times, 422; Heckewelder, Thirty Thousand Miles, 102.

<sup>22</sup>DeSchweinitz, Life and Times, 413; Heckewelder, Thirty Thousand Miles, 155.



attended the services informed David that "their friends had turned against them because of their friendliness to us." The opinions of family and friends played an important part in an individual's decision. It was difficult to choose a different and often unpopular way of life, especially if it meant losing close and important family connections and support. One married couple were driven out of the husband's brother's house because they attended the Moravian meetings. Because of their affection for the white missionaries, the brother insulted this couple by calling them "Schwonaks," a derogatory term for white people. Rejected by the man's family, they were fortunate to have the wife's father accept them into his household.<sup>23</sup>

An even more powerful incentive to avoid the Moravians was the criticism and preferences of their immediate families: their spouses and children. One man, who had attended the mission meetings "diligently" was unable to join the mission as he desired because his wife was "opposed to his love for the Savior." Since she was unwilling to join the mission, the man could not "act as he wishes." The refusal of one's children to become converts prevented many parents from considering conversion or residency at the mission. David understood this dilemma and noted that parents were reluctant to consider Moravian salvation: "if [the children] are going to perish in sin, [the parents] will share their fate."<sup>24</sup>

Active disapproval by family and friends often continued after an individual or family had joined the mission. In July 1772 Indians from Gekelemukpechunk arrived at the mission intending to retrieve their friends, a family that had recently joined the mission

---

<sup>23</sup>Hulbert, Moravian Records, 58; MMR, Reel 8, Box 135, Folder 7: 36.

<sup>24</sup>Diary of David Zeisberger, 61, 200.

settlement. Although these visitors threatened the new residents, claiming that the latter "would be burned alive if they remained here," the neophytes did not acquiesce. The oldest woman of the family was especially forceful in her refusal to leave her new home. She "declared that she could not again dwell among the savages and that she wished to turn with her whole heart to the Savior." After spending a few days at the mission and attending some of the sermons, her friends abandoned their attempts to take the family back to Gekelemukpechunk.<sup>25</sup>

In addition to friends, an individual who was openly friendly towards the mission risked criticism from the local chief. The strong disapproval of a town chief kept many from attending services. Those who were braver visited the mission but came "only at night." An older woman requested advice from Chief Packanke as to whether she should attend the mission "to hear of the Savior." Although Packanke was friendly towards the mission, he selfishly informed this woman that if she joined the Moravian mission, all of her children, grandchildren, and friends would follow her, thereby leaving Packanke "here without any friends." This statement so intimidated the old woman that she "dropped her plan" to move. While Packanke did not directly advise her to remain with him, he did use his position and need for visible authority to prevent her and possibly most of her family from becoming new mission residents.<sup>26</sup>

Many Indians were against the Moravian mission, its missionaries, and its converts. The most popular argument was that the Bible was not intended for the Indians. Throughout

---

<sup>25</sup>MMR, Reel 8, Box 141, Folder 12: 8.

<sup>26</sup>Diary of David Zeisberger, 115, 163-65; Hulbert, Moravian Records, 77.

the forty-two years of David's mission, Indians frequently argued that God had created the Indians and the white men "differently." There were two ways of salvation, claimed one preacher in 1767, one for whites and one for Indians. Another Indian in 1769 claimed to have read the Bible and announced that it does not say "that the Indians should live like white people, or that they should change their lives." In July 1771 a Munsee chief visited the mission and spoke with the converts. He said that "all creatures were different" and that the Indians were "made for a different purpose than were white brethren." These enemies of the mission believed that if they joined the mission and followed the Moravian religion that they would stop being Indians. One man told some converts, when the latter were visiting Gekelemukpechunk, that "he was determined to keep his brown skin and not to become white." For many Indians, the white people and the Indian people were too different for them to live and believe the same way. If one chose to follow the white man's religion, they believed, one also had to relinquish all other aspects of her/his Indian identity. These arguments continued throughout the eighteenth century. As late as November 1798, an Indian man spoke to the missionaries and forcefully stated that the Indians should keep to their traditional ways, for "the religion of the white people were only for them & not for the Indians."<sup>27</sup>

If disapproval failed to keep people away, threats were made against those who might join the mission. In July 1768 an old woman preached "industriously" against the missionaries, claiming that all who joined the latter would go to the devil and have great

---

<sup>27</sup>Hulbert, Moravian Records, 14, 27-29; Diary of David Zeisberger, 22; MMR, Reel 8, Box 141, Folder 13: 13; Diary of the Indian Congregation...1798, (MA-SP), 4-5.

trouble. Later that year, an old woman, possibly the same one, again preached against the missionaries. She said that all those who became followers of the white man's religion would not go to the "good place of the spirits" upon their deaths. If they returned to the traditional ways of their ancestors, such as not using guns, everything would be well. David noted that although the Indians enjoyed hearing such words, they knew they would not be content living as their ancestors had "and do not intend to return to them." Other enemies claimed that all converts would be taken "across the sea" and sold as slaves where they would have to work plowing the fields. Another popular threat was that the mission would shortly be destroyed by the white people, so the Indians should not join for their own safety. This threat was especially common during the 1780s and 1790s. The actual murder of ninety-six converts at Gnadenhutten in 1781 made this proclamation more difficult to counteract. However, after the mission successfully relocated in Ohio and suffered no murderous difficulties from the neighboring white settlements, this threat lost its power: in 1804 Mortimer referred to this particular threat as "old."<sup>28</sup>

Central to the opposition in the first decade of David's mission were the preaching and designs of the powerful Indian preachers who used their authority to prevent other Delawares from visiting or joining the mission. The most influential and troublesome preacher was Wangomen. In October 1767, shortly after David began his Ohio efforts, Wangomen spoke to David and two important converts, Anthony and John Papunhank, claiming that he was "at home at the side of God" and sin and the Devil, therefore, could not

---

<sup>28</sup>Hulbert, Moravian Records, 57-58, 99-100; Diary of David Zeisberger, 168-70, 174; MMR, Reel 19, Box 171, Folder 7: 27, Reel 20, Box 173, Folder 1: 12; Abstract from the Diary... 1800, (MA-SP), 6.

hurt him. He continued to preach, sometimes using ingenious claims as a way of proving his point. In February 1769, having failed thus far to force the missionaries to leave, Wangomen claimed that some Virginians<sup>29</sup> were going to accept Indian ways, as they now recognized that it was the "right way." This event should prove, according to Wangomen's thinking, that the Indians should abandon all white ways. Once this initial effort proved fruitless, Wangomen began using other means to lure and keep people away from the mission. He gave feasts to prevent people from attending Moravian religious meetings. Those families who had already joined the mission, however, were not seduced.<sup>30</sup>

As the years went by and Wangomen failed to prevent Indians from joining the mission or to gain a significant following of his own, he changed his tactics. In December 1771 Wangomen claimed that his religion was the same as the Moravians. After asking an old woman why she attended Moravian services, Wangomen explained that she did not have to "go so far" since he "live[d] much nearer." A few days later Wangomen spoke with an unbaptized resident of the mission and claimed that he, too, believed that "everything which is preached about the Savior is the Truth." David remarked that this statement was merely Wangomen's way to "assimilate his religion with ours." Over the next four years Wangomen continued to use Moravian ideas to recruit his own followers. When he spoke with some Indian converts in June 1775, he declared that his teachings and those of the missionaries

---

<sup>29</sup>"Virginian" was a Delaware term for all American colonists; it does not refer only to residents of Virginia.

<sup>30</sup>George Henry Loskiel, The History of the Moravian Mission Among the Indians In North America, From Its Commencement to the Present Time. With a Preliminary Account of the Indians, compiled from Authentic Sources (London: T. Allman, 1838), 170; MMR, Reel 8, Box 135, Folder 7: 37-38.

"were much the same." There were a few points, however, on which they differed. He said that he did not believe that so many people "who had not seen" God and who had not been to heaven should live together or speak of God. He, however, had "been there so often as he deemed it necessary to send his soul there for its nourishment." When Isaac told Wangomen that the preacher was wrong, Wangomen warned Isaac that he should be careful; what was said to Wangomen was also said to God. At that point, the converts prevented him from preaching any further in the mission town. In addition, they recommended that Wangomen attend the children's classes to learn the truth.<sup>31</sup>

Although Wangomen was the most influential and persistent enemy of the missionaries' efforts, he was not the only one. Other Delaware preachers also spoke against the missionaries in the first years of David's efforts. Indian doctors told one man, who had been ill for more than a year, not to see anyone else for treatment. Although it is not clear whether this man was interested in receiving a cure from the missionaries, he chose to ignore the local doctors and visited the mission. At first he watched a service "from afar" but later spoke with the missionaries. After receiving their reassurance, he openly attended the next service. Wangomen, a powerful figure among the Delawares in the 1760s and 1770s, created so much fear in others that they could not attend the services while the mission was located near his town. One preacher in June 1768 claimed to have "been in heaven and so near to God" that he heard the "heavenly roosters" crow. Both men and women preached against the missionaries and claimed to have seen God and to "know God." Although Wangomen continued his efforts for many years, the other Indian preachers relinquished

---

<sup>31</sup>Diary of David Zeisberger, 203-204; MMR, Reel 8, Box 141, Folder 15: 41.

their efforts by 1772. David attributed their pulling back to their having "lost courage," possibly due to the chiefs' increased support for the mission. In February 1776 David met with a former Indian preacher. The "excuse" this man gave for halting his preaching efforts was that he thought he had found "something good...but it could not have been the right thing."<sup>32</sup>

One explanation given for the Delaware preachers' resistance and often vitriolic opposition to David's efforts came from Allemewi, an important Delaware chief. In May 1769 Allemewi explained that some Indians, led by Wangomen, practiced witchcraft. This "bad lot" kept their evil practices secret, not allowing the young people to "know anything about it." These "sorcerers" were now afraid that they might be exposed "when the Indians accept the Gospel." Their fear of exposure and of the social stigma and punishment which would follow motivated these men and women to speak against the mission and try to "prejudice the Indians against" the missionaries. Witchcraft was a significant problem among the Delawares, who did not approve. Many chiefs hoped that the mission and its influence would help to rid their people of this wickedness. The chiefs could take little direct action against those who practiced it.<sup>33</sup>

As the revolutionary war entered the Ohio country, many Indians, especially war captains and warriors, began to resent the converts and their teachers. One of the underlying precepts of Moravian belief was the refusal to participate in warfare. As the war raged and

---

<sup>32</sup>Loskiel, History of the Moravian Mission, 173; Hulbert, Moravian Records, 55, 60, 77; MMR, Reel 8, Box 135, Folder 7: 39, Reel 8, Box 141, Folder 12: 5, Folder 16: 16.

<sup>33</sup>Diary of David Zeisberger, 27-28.

it became evident that the Delawares, as allies of the British, were suffering and were unlikely to defend their lands successfully against the colonists, many Delawares became antagonistic towards the mission because of its pacifism. During the early years of the mission when the Ohio was relatively peaceful, the converts' refusal to arm had been of little consequence. But as the war took its toll in lives and territory, it was critical for the Delawares to have all warriors available for their defense. The converts' refusal to assist in the survival of their people, especially by noted leaders like Gelelemind, was viewed as desertion and abandonment. It was intolerable that these converts, who professed to still be Delawares, refuse to help their families and people. In June 1791, long after the revolutionary war was over, hostilities continued. Expressing their dissatisfaction with the converts' refusal to "defend their land," Indians accosted the mission residents, now located in Fairfield, Ontario. The visiting Indians' threats so frightened the converts that they wanted the missionaries to go to the British army for their safety. David reassured the mission residents that the missionaries would not abandon them, and whatever the result, would "do for them what we could."<sup>34</sup>

As the first difficult years passed and Wangomen's and other Delaware leaders' authority declined, some Indians began to express their individual authority and made their own decisions regardless of the chiefs' positions. Packanke's son, who lived in Kaskaskunk, wanted to hear the gospel but believed their captain in Kaskaskunk should "make the beginning." He decided, however, that since their captain obviously had no interest in the gospel, he, Packanke's son, "would be the first one to come." He was joined by his wife,

---

<sup>34</sup>Weslager, Delaware Indian Westward Migration, 31-32; Zeisberger, Diary, 2: 191.



who also expressed a desire to "hear the Gospel and be converted." Another man realized that the permission he had been seeking from the chiefs was unnecessary. This man had delayed joining the mission for over a year because the chiefs had "dissuaded him." He finally realized that he would not have asked their permission or approval if "he had wished to drink or do something else that was bad" and the chiefs would not have forbidden these actions. Therefore, the man reasoned, that he should not ask their permission now "that he sought something good."<sup>35</sup>

Although the patterns of relationships between the mission and the Delawares often were determined by what the chiefs viewed as in their best interest, there was a practical side to this political relationship, especially the services that David was able and willing to offer. The chiefs often requested that David place his writing skills at their service. The ability to send and receive messages through the written word became increasingly important during the revolutionary war. Most of the requests David received to serve as a translator or scribe were during the height of the military conflicts of 1777. Although David was frequently asked to provide these services, he did not always agree. One of the first requests, in August 1777, came from a future convert, Gelelemin. He asked David to write a message to the Detroit governor concerning the recent expenses and costs incurred due to the arrival of warriors sent by the governor. David told Gelelemin to send this message orally: the governor would be content with that. The next month Welapachtschiechen insisted that David write a letter to the "Virginians" in Wilunk informing them that the Delawares were not at war, did not want war, and for the party of whites, rumored to be coming to the

---

<sup>35</sup>Diary of David Zeisberger, 189; MMR, Reel 8, Box 141, Folder 15: 28.

Delaware towns, to take another route. If the Virginians complied, the Delawares would remain their friends.<sup>36</sup>

White Eyes also requested the use of David's literary skills. In September 1777 David spent much time with White Eyes discussing the content of a written message the chief wanted to send to General Edward Hand, the new commander of Fort Pitt. White Eyes wanted to prevent a war with the Americans. In addition to composing this message, White Eyes called David during the night to come to Goschachgunk to read a message which had been sent, via the Delawares, from George Morgan, a local Indian agent, to General Hand. David's ability to read and write messages eased communications between the Delawares and the local British and American representatives.<sup>37</sup>

David's skills, however, also involved him and the mission even more deeply in the often tense and hostile relations between these nations. David's innocent involvement led to British accusations against him of complicity in and responsibility for crucial military information being sent to the Americans. His religious obligation to prevent bloodshed led him to inform the American officials at Fort Pitt of pending Indian activities or rumors of warriors on the march. Since the mission was located on the warpath between the Indians and the Americans, David and the mission Indians had immediate knowledge of most current and pending activities. The mission Indians, equally obligated to prevent massacres, also worked to frustrate disaster. It was these efforts by the mission community, especially by David who wrote the offending messages, which led to charges of treason and the forced

---

<sup>36</sup>MMR, Reel 9, Box 147, Folder 4 (German): 13-14, 17-18.

<sup>37</sup>MMR, Reel 9, Box 147, Folder 4 (German): 19-20.

removal of the missionaries to Detroit in 1781. David never envisioned that his writing skills, combined with his religious sensibilities, would result in a disaster for his converts; he was merely doing his duty as a good neighbor and Christian.

Despite all of the efforts of the missionaries and converts to maintain friendly relations with all Indian neighbors, visiting Indians continued to cause problems. The visitors commonly were hostile and impertinent. David noted that although many Indians were hostile to the mission and its converts, they "do not stay away." Although David and the national assistants often requested that the offending visitors leave the mission, not all did. Often these miscreants remained in the neighborhood, entering the mission town during the day, disrupting services, and causing a general disturbance.<sup>38</sup>

Many of the offenders were troublesome young people, who often did not even respect their chiefs. These young people, mostly men, disrupted services and threatened to kill anyone who tried to prevent them from acting freely. The most dire concern that arose from the presence of these impertinent people was their possible influence with the younger members of the mission. David and Mortimer expressed their concern that the young Indians "seduced our youths." The presence of these offenders worried the mission Indians since the former possessed an appeal which the younger mission Indians found difficult to resist. At one point in 1799 the problem was so severe that David and Mortimer had to require the mission youth to hunt by themselves and not in company with the visiting

---

<sup>38</sup>Diary of David Zeisberger, 173; Zeisberger, 1: 134; MMR, Reel 12, Box 161, Folder 5: 9.

troublemakers.<sup>39</sup>

Another problem the mission had to contend with was the propensity of Indians to settle near the mission. Often those who came to visit erected *ad hoc* residences close to the mission town. David was afraid that a permanent settlement would develop, depriving the mission of its peaceful existence. On two occasions these Indian settlements became so large that David requested assistance from the Delaware chief in Gekelemukpechunk. David asked the chief to call the offending Indians away, especially as they might be a "detriment" to the young people. In response, the chief said he would discuss the issue at the next council meeting.<sup>40</sup>

Especially irritating and insulting to the mission community was the theft of food by Indians traveling through the neighborhood. It was not until the revolutionary war that this crime became troublesome; the war made reliable food supplies, especially for warriors, scarce. What made the theft of food so insulting was the continued general hospitality for which the Moravian Indians were known. The mission Indians always shared what little they had with visitors; stealing was unnecessary. In some instances the theft was so severe that a national assistant sent a message to the chief responsible requesting that he "hold his people in better order." The assistant Abraham visited the Chippewa chief Ekuschuwe to remind him of his promise that no harm would come to the mission; Chippewas were shooting mission cattle and the chief should tell them to stop. Although the chiefs attempted

---

<sup>39</sup>Diary of David Zeisberger, 50; Hulbert, Moravian Records, 68; Abstract from the Diary... 1799, (MA-SP), 2.

<sup>40</sup>MMR, Reel 8, Box 141, Folder 13: 27, Folder 15: 25.

to prevent these thefts and killings, they were not always successful. Reports of robbing continued until 1800.<sup>41</sup>

Other disturbances were caused by threats and rumors against the missionaries and/or the converts. In 1770 David continued to receive warnings from an Indian who had threatened the previous year to kill the missionaries. When David confronted the visiting Delaware chiefs with this problem, they excused the man because he had been drunk. David retorted that "this answer was hardly sufficient." Three weeks later, in response to David's threat to inform the western Delaware chiefs of this problem if the visiting leaders did nothing, Gendaskund reported that he and the other chiefs had spoken with the offending Indian and the latter "had promised never to attempt anything like it again." David's use of a threat was well calculated because he knew that the local chiefs did not want to become known as "disturbers of the peace," especially since the western chiefs were friends of the mission. Threats against the missionaries continued for the rest of David's life. In 1790 the missionaries were again threatened with death and the converts with captivity. Once David informed the chiefs of this plan, the chiefs ordered the offending Indians to "desist."<sup>42</sup>

The missionaries were not the only residents to be threatened with assassination or injury; Indian residents also received such threats. In 1805 Kaschates, a resident, was threatened by a drunken Indian who came into town. Apparently, the drunken Indian's hatred of Kaschates arose from an old dispute. Kaschates and his family quietly removed

---

<sup>41</sup>MMR, Reel 9, Box 147, Folder 4 (German): 8; Zeisberger, Diary, 2: 114; Abstract from the Diary... 1800, (MA-SP), 5-6.

<sup>42</sup>Diary of David Zeisberger, 77-78, 82; Zeisberger, Diary, 2: 141-42.

themselves until the drunken Indian left town. Other murderous difficulties sprang from rivalries and conflicts between Indians. Often these troubles involved the mission because both hostile groups met at the mission, thereby creating a dangerous situation. In 1796 one group of Chippewas camped near the mission suggested that the mission Indians leave town that night to avoid being hurt. They informed the mission Indians that another group of Chippewas, planning to kill one of the visitors, would be arriving that evening. Fortunately, no one was murdered.<sup>43</sup>

Visiting Indians often caused trouble and concern for the mission residents when the further insisted on conducting traditional Delaware ceremonies and rituals. Dancing especially was a problem because it was loud, boisterous, and a bad influence on the younger members of the congregation. Dancing remained a frequent difficulty from the beginning of the mission into the 1790s. Many Indians visited the mission solely to be able to attend dances held in neighboring towns. Whenever possible, the mission residents requested in advance that the visitors not hold their dance. In 1794 the Moravian Indians informed visiting Chippewas that their dancing frightened the Moravian children. The mission Indians also offered to provide anything the Chippewas required; the converts gave them a hog. Although the Chippewas did not perform their dance that same day, they did hold the dance the next day, ignoring the mission Indians' request. The next year, however, Chippewas, who were camped nearby, stopped their drumming and dancing ceremony for the cure of a sick woman after the mission Indians requested them to do so.<sup>44</sup>

---

<sup>43</sup>MMR, Reel 20, Box 173, Folder 2: 13; Zeisberger, Diary, 2: 442-43.

<sup>44</sup>Diary of David Zeisberger, 203, 215; Zeisberger, Diary, 2: 356, 403.

One of the most frustrating problems the mission had to confront was the use and presence of alcohol brought by visiting Indians. Whenever Indians used alcohol near the mission, it was almost certain there would be trouble. Not only would the drinking Indians be disruptive, but the easy availability of alcohol was often too tempting for many mission Indians. As early as January 1769, David held a council with the local Delaware Indians, asking them to prevent rum from entering the mission settlement. While the older men agreed, the younger men did not. Fortunately for David, the majority of those at the council agreed with his request.<sup>45</sup>

The missionaries were so concerned about the presence of alcohol in their town or neighborhood that they began to take strong measures in an attempt to control the situation. Like the traditional Delaware leaders, they attempted to stop traders from bringing alcohol into their territory. In 1774 they began speaking with other Indians, informing the latter not to bring alcohol to the mission; the offender should take another route. As this advice did not always prevent Indians from coming to the mission with alcohol, the Moravian Indians and David began seizing the offensive liquid until the visitors were ready to leave. The mission Indians accompanied these visitors to the edge of the mission lands to insure that the offenders did not take their alcohol and remain nearby.<sup>46</sup>

Many of the Indian chiefs had promised their aid in David's efforts to keep alcohol out of the mission. After a series of events involving traders bringing rum to the mission,

---

<sup>45</sup>Abstract from the Diary...1800, (MA-SP), 1; MMR, Reel 8, Box 135, Folder 7: 35.

<sup>46</sup>MMR, Reel 8, Box 141, Folder 14: 9, Folder 15: 31; Zeisberger, 2: 525; Abstract from the Diary...1799, (MA-SP), 10; Peter Mancall, Deadly Medicine: Indians and Alcohol in Early America (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 1995), 114, 117.

David sent a message to Ekuschwe, a neighboring chief, who had requested to be informed of these troubles, informing him of the latest series of difficulties. While the Delaware chiefs were willing to assist the missionaries in the campaign against alcohol, David was not always able to request their aid when necessary. David's fierce observance of Indian protocol and respect for Indian customs prevented him from asking for aid in October 1771. The mission had been suffering from repeated problems with "wild and drunken Indians" who had been living in the neighborhood since summer. David could take little action because the "Indians are in mourning"; he would have to wait awhile.<sup>47</sup>

Probably the most serious problem the mission faced was the revolutionary war and the disruptions and deaths it caused. While the war did not officially begin until 1776, frequent warfare and violent skirmishes erupted in 1774 in the Ohio backcountry. Indians from several nations came to the mission settlements as they travelled from their homes to fight and on their return. The mission was visited by warriors from the Shawnee, Mingo, Delaware, Ottawa, and Wyandot nations. Beginning in August 1777, as the fighting became increasingly fierce and spread farther into the Ohio country, hundreds of warriors stopped at the mission settlements for provisions and rest.

While most warriors were well behaved and the war chiefs helped insure the mission residents' safety, the presence of large numbers of warriors and their need for provisions caused stress and difficulty. While there were always small parties of warriors passing through, from 1777 to 1781 it was common for hundreds of warriors to visit the mission at one time. In August 1777 100 warriors visited at both Lichtenau and

---

<sup>47</sup>Zeisberger, Diary, 2: 135; Diary of David Zeisberger, 197.



Gnadenhutten. Five days later another 170 warriors were at the mission; all behaved orderly. Later that month more than 200 warriors arrived from Goschgoschunk asking for food and supplies. Three years later, in August 1781, 300 warriors, accompanied by Half-King and the Munsee war captain, Captain Pipe, were in Salem and Gnadenhutten. Their demands for food and other provisions were a severe strain on the limited resources of the mission residents. Never possessing an overabundance of food in the best of years, the mission Indians struggled to retain enough food for themselves, especially to survive the long winters, while also being proper hosts. Gnadenhutten became the favorite location for the war parties to rest. Schoenbrunn and Salem often sent provisions from their stores to Gnadenhutten to assist their brethren's efforts to provide for the hundreds of uninvited guests.<sup>48</sup>

The appeal of traditional Indian customs practiced by the visiting warriors was another difficulty the mission Indians confronted. It was always difficult for some mission residents to refrain from traditional rituals, even with no visitors at the mission. The vast number of warriors present at the mission increased the residents' exposure and represented a constant threat to their promises to refrain from such acts. The sheer availability of these practices and the encouragement from some warriors proved too tempting for some mission residents to refuse.<sup>49</sup>

As disruptive as the misbehavior of visiting Indians could be, it never led to a major

---

<sup>48</sup>MMR, Reel 9, Box 147, Folder 4 (German): 1, 6, 10; Zeisberger, Diary, 1: 3,7; Heckewelder, Thirty Thousand Miles, 170.

<sup>49</sup>Zeisberger, Diary, 1: 7.

catastrophe within the mission. Fear caused by rumors or the presence of hostile Indians sometimes created panic among the converts, but the mission never disbanded or lost converts due to these temporary nuisances. Even in the most difficult of circumstances, the converts and David used Indian diplomacy to request assistance from a chief or to acquire the cooperation of the offending Indians themselves. Most Indians who visited the mission or traveled through the neighborhood were friendly, cooperative, and respected mission rules. The troublemakers, as fierce and destructive as they often were, were not representative of their nations. Most likely, many of the accounts of hostile Indians involved some of the same offenders. Those Indians hostile to the mission did not end their efforts after one failed attempt. The converts and David understood that these troublemakers were not under the authority of the chiefs and were merely disgruntled individuals. Even with this understanding, the threats and rumors of violence against the converts and missionaries frightened the mission residents, sometimes causing them to flee into the woods until David could reassure them.

As in their economic life, the Delaware converts followed Indian customs and preferences in their diplomatic affairs. In most cases, the national assistants devised and delivered the mission's messages to the chiefs and attended the national councils. While David provided assistance and advice in these matters, the final decisions usually belonged to the assistants. David's abrogation of authority in these matters was logical, since he knew that most male national assistants had been chiefs or other influential leaders. Their experience and reputations only added to the mission's prestige and importance in diplomatic concerns.

Because the Moravian Church had no religious doctrine on the practice of international diplomacy, David had little choice but to follow the rules and dictates of Indian protocol. Retaining Indian authority in these matters continued Count Zinzendorf's precepts of requiring compliance with Moravian teachings only in the essentials and allowing the people themselves to make decisions in all matters not critical to religious life. Davis Zeisberger, both a devout follower of Zinzendorf and a practical man, was perfectly content with doing international business the "Indian way." After all, his assistants had more knowledge, experience, and influence in those matters than he.

CHAPTER 6  
"STRUCK IN THEIR HEARTS":<sup>1</sup>  
THE CONVERTS

While religious, economic, and political life of the mission was familiar to those who joined the mission community, each individual had his or her own reason for choosing a new religion and community, breaking from their traditional homes and families. Although there were enough similarities to make this transition uncomplicated, it was nevertheless a significant change in an individual's life. The mission had different rules and regulations which all residents, baptized and unbaptized, were required to follow. But not all converts or residents were always able to resist now-forbidden temptations or to make the required break with their former lives. Friends and families who opposed the mission often attempted to weaken a new resident's resolve. Although David was strict in requiring that all residents obey the mission's rules, he was forgiving of converts who lapsed. He understood the temptations and obstacles the converts faced and had no intention of making an individual's transition any more difficult. In all cases, David readily allowed "fallen" converts another chance, often many chances, to abide by the mission's rules.

---

<sup>1</sup>MMR, Reel 8, Box 141, Folder 13: 17.

The most significant event that affected the mission's ability to gain and keep converts was the kidnapping of the missionaries, the congregation's dispersal, and the massacre of ninety converts at Gnadenhütten in March 1782. Not only did this atrocity rob the mission of one-fourth of its converts, including nine national assistants, it terrorized all other converts, unbaptized residents, and Indians in the Ohio country. Many Indians, including some converts, blamed the missionaries for the killings. Others believed that the converts would have been safe if they had been permitted to join the Delawares in their fight against the Americans. Compounding this disaster, the massacre followed within months the missionaries' kidnapping by Half-King and their forced removal to Detroit, thereby dispersing the congregation; the British suspected the missionaries of being American spies. The inability of the mission to establish a new safe and permanent settlement for the next six years exacerbated the difficulties faced by the converts who desired to return to the mission.

Despite the difficulties and tragedies that afflicted the mission during David's life, most striking is the number of converts who remained true to their new faith and community despite occasional lapses. These converts had created a new life that mattered more to them than their traditional families and religion. Despite the hardships and the lack of economic or personal security, these men and women never relinquished their Moravian faith. They had become Moravian Indians in every way.

In order to gain permission to live at the mission, a neophyte and his or her family were required to agree to the rules and regulations governing mission life. This set of rules was codified as the Statutes and Rules in August 1772 at Schonbrunn. In addition to the

biblical injunction to avoid labor on Sundays, residents were required to receive permission before leaving the settlement for any reason. The latter rule served an informative purpose, letting the missionaries know where the convert was going. The missionaries rarely restricted the converts' freedom of movement. Traditional Indian rituals, such as dances, sacrifices, or "sinful plays," were prohibited within the settlement, and all residents were forbidden to attend such "heathenish festivals." Witchcraft and medical practices that used traditional Delaware religion were also prohibited. Alcohol was expressly forbidden, and residents were not to accumulate debts to traders. Family relationships were also regulated. Polygamy was prohibited, children were required to "honor father and mother" by assisting them in their old age and in need, and young people needed the consent of their parents and the missionary before marrying. While the original set of rules contained eighteen regulations, during the revolutionary war it was deemed necessary to add a nineteenth declaring the mission residents' commitment "not to go to War, nor buy any thing [from] warriors supposed to have been taken at war." This rule clearly stated the mission's neutrality and its refusal to contribute to the ever-increasing military expeditions of the Ohio Indian nations.<sup>2</sup>

Most of these rules were not contrary to traditional Delaware expectations. Witchcraft, although practiced in secret, was not accepted in Delaware society, so its prohibition at the mission did not pose a problem for residents. Alcohol was causing significant problems in many Delaware towns, serious enough to warrant many of the highest-ranking chiefs and most of the prophets, such as Netawatwees and Wangomen, to

---

<sup>2</sup>Hamilton, "Cultural Contributions," 12-14.

speaking against its use. Traditional Delaware society was monogamous; David noted only one polygamous relationship. Children were expected to respect and aid their elders at all times, and young people usually gained their parents' permission before getting married. The mission's rules concerning the family coincided with Delaware notions of proper familial conduct and relationships. Perhaps the most troublesome statute was the nineteenth, the prohibition from participating in war. Although the Delawares had been peacekeepers until the late 1730's at the time of the mission they were once again warriors, fighting to protect the land they still possessed. For them to refrain from fighting, especially in self-defense, was very difficult. This rule may have been the most important for those who chose to join the mission during the war. Their desire to escape from the devastation and destruction wrought by the war, as well as the threats that were constantly rumored in the territory, encouraged many to join the mission. The nineteenth statute may have prevented many from joining the mission, but for others it was the most important element in their decision to become members.

As familiar mission life was, each resident had specific reasons for joining. While individual testimony from converts is rare, the little that exists is made more difficult by the formulaic expressions that David used to record their words. David was writing for a European Moravian audience in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, and in Herrnhut, Moravia, the home of the mother church. If David had recorded the Delawares' words literally, it is likely that his intended audience would not have understood them. Indian linguistic usage and metaphor were different from European practices. To accommodate his audience, David had to interpret as well as translate the Indians' language. In addition, David did not record

the private conversations he had with converts or unbaptized residents; rather, a recurrent entry was that the visitor "poured out his heart to me." Private conversations concerning an individual's spiritual state were considered inviolate, so David was prohibited from speaking of or recording what was said in these meetings. Although we have a limited number of personal accounts, we can, nevertheless, ascertain many of the reasons why individuals joined the mission and became converts.

Numerous factors affected an individual's decision to join the mission and to convert. One important element was the mission's politically neutral position and the missionaries' and converts' refusal to participate in war. The Delawares had been the peacekeepers of the Ohio and western Pennsylvania territories from the beginning of the eighteenth century. Their relationship with the Iroquois had resulted in their being designated keepers of the peace; this agreement prohibited them from participating in war. The Delawares were content with this honorable position until the Iroquois, negotiating with the colonists on behalf of the Delawares, participated in a 1737 land swindle, the Walking Purchase, which stole most of the Delawares' land. The Delawares had no choice but to continue their western migration, and the Ohio Indians graciously invited the Delawares to live in their territory. But the Iroquois treachery of 1737 infuriated the Delawares so completely that they renounced their status as peacekeepers and vowed to fight once again to protect themselves. Never again were the Delawares "women," subject to Iroquois political maneuvers; they became "warriors" again. Still, by 1768 many men and women were tired of the resulting incessant warfare and the devastation and poverty it caused. Many Delawares were attracted by the Moravian status of a peaceful, politically neutral people and



longed to regain the benefits they had enjoyed as peacekeepers. In May 1769 a Delaware spoke to the assistant Abraham and said that the mission was "the only place where one can still live in peace and quiet." The mission's peaceful status offered no protection against disease, hunger, or the necessity to migrate. But by not participating in warfare, mission residents suffered less hunger than their warring neighbors and did not have to face the consequences of losing their men and sometimes their women and children to combat.<sup>3</sup>

Combined with their peaceful status, the Moravians also attracted converts because their beliefs were similar to those of the Delawares and did not attempt to transform the Indians into Europeans or Americans. The Moravian Church was concerned only with the Indians' souls, not their appearance, economy, or diplomacy. As we have seen, David made no attempt to disprove or argue against the Delawares' basic religious beliefs. They both believed in a single creator, in life-after-death, and in a personal relationship with their spiritual leaders. As in Delaware religion, David emphasized the individual's relationship with the "guardian spirit," Jesus. Delawares had a personal relationship with their guardian spirit; Moravians had a personal relationship with Jesus. For both peoples this relationship began with a spiritual awakening or rebirth. Delawares experienced this enlightenment at the time of their vision quest or initiation. Moravians experienced this event at the moment their hearts opened to Jesus and his love. The Delawares believed that their guardian spirits

---

<sup>3</sup>Schonenberger, Lenape Women, 238-42; Heckewelder, History, 56-58; Gray, Wilderness Christians, 18; Wallace, King of the Delawares, 20-28; Wallace, "New Religions," 4; Jay Miller, "The Delaware as Women: a Symbolic Solution," American Ethnologist 1, No. 3 (August 1974): 507-14; Frank G. Speck, "The Delaware Indians as Women: Were the Original Pennsylvanians Politically Emasculated?" The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography 70, No. 4 (October 1946): 377-89; Diary of David Zeisberger, 29.

would protect, guide, and instruct them in the proper way of living. The Moravians believed Jesus provided the same benefits to his followers. But for unknown reasons, not all Delawares were fortunate enough to receive a guardian spirit. Those who did not were left to navigate the dangerous paths of life without spiritual guidance. For the spiritually abandoned, converting to Moravian Christianity was a means of obtaining a guardian spirit when traditional methods failed. For many converts, the importance of a guardian spirit to ease the passages of life was especially necessary in the turbulent eighteenth century. According to David, no great alteration in their beliefs was required for a Delaware to accept Jesus as his spiritual guardian.<sup>4</sup>

Another important element in the conversions of scores of Delawares, especially in the first decade of the mission, was the conversion of important chiefs and warriors. These men held positions of influence and respect; what they believed and said carried great weight with the rest of the nation. If they supported the mission or, more important, joined it, they must "know something right." Support from important leaders such as Netawatwees, the principal chief of the Delawares, made joining the mission and conversion acceptable. Netawatwees even encouraged his people to convert, although he never formally did so. Other leaders did convert and continued to have influential roles within the mission and among their traditional friends and allies. In 1769 Allemewi, a Munsee chief, became a convert, renamed Solomon. His wife was baptized six months later as Erdmuth. In 1771

---

<sup>4</sup>Gray, Wilderness Christians, 35; Wallace, King of the Delawares, 44.

they both became communicants.<sup>5</sup>

In 1770 two more important chiefs converted to Moravian Christianity: Glikhikan (Isaac) and Gendaskund (Jacob). Three more leaders had converted by 1776: Echpalawehund (Peter), Newallike (Augustin), Welapachtschiechen (Israel). All of these chiefs and leaders brought with them to the mission their wives and many of their children, thereby making a powerful statement to the rest of their people. While these prestigious converts did not openly try to convince others to join the mission at first, their example was a powerful inducement for others to do likewise. Once these men, and usually their wives as well, became national assistants, they openly preached to traditional Delawares about the joy they had received and the peace they had found within their souls and with Jesus. Although the men had converted and had relinquished their positions as leaders of the Delaware nation, they had not lost their personal influence and reputations.

The impact these men had on the success of the mission can be demonstrated by the consequences of their deaths. While Solomon Allemewi and Augustin Newallike<sup>6</sup> died in 1775 and 1777, respectively, four of the chief converts still remained at the mission. Three of these men, however, were killed in the Gnadenhutten massacre of 1782: Isaac Glikhikan, Peter Echpalawehund, Israel Welapachtschiechen. The loss of these critical liaisons with the Delaware nation significantly reduced the mission's ability to attract new converts. Traditional Indians would not pay as much attention to ordinary converts as they would to

---

<sup>5</sup>Diary of David Zeisberger, 15, 110; Loskiel, The History of the Moravian Mission, 184, 187; Zeisberger, letter to Brother Mathew, 1769, (MA-SP), 1.

<sup>6</sup>It became commonplace for David to refer to these important converts by their baptismal name and their Indian name. Eventually Indian names became surnames.

the converted chiefs. The conversion rate dropped dramatically in the decade after the massacre; fear and the lack of an influential converted leadership derived many of their motivation to join the mission. Only one chief convert, Jacob Gendaskund, was not killed at Gnadenhutzen. Only one more noted chief, William Henry Gelelemin, converted after the massacre. Never again would the Delaware mission acquire such a powerful combination of influential chiefs and leaders or gain as many converts.

Family relationships also played a key role in bringing people to the mission. Not only did the chiefs bring their wives and younger children, but their adult children often came to visit. Many of these children chose to remain at the mission and later converted. Three daughters of Solomon Allemewi were baptized, two in 1771 and one in 1773. Theodora, baptized in 1771, became a matriarch of the mission. Her husband, Boas, was baptized two months later. Her two sons, Nicodemus and Bartholomeus, became communicants. Solomon's decision to become a Moravian led to the baptism of three daughters, their children, and grandchildren as well. Isaac Glikhikan's family also joined him in his decision to convert. Two weeks after Isaac's baptism his mother was baptized Comelia; his wife was baptized Agnes the following month. Isaac's stepdaughter followed in his footsteps, converting in April 1775. Jacob Gendaskund's wife was baptized Anna two weeks after her husband received the sacrament. Anna's parents followed them and began living at the mission in May 1771; in January 1772, they were baptized Simon and Lea. Interestingly, Simon appears to have been the brother of another convert, Isaac, possibly Glikhikan. One of Jacob's daughters became a convert, Sophia. She did not remain a long-time residents at the mission because her husband had no desire to live there, although she

visited occasionally, attended meetings, and spoke with the assistants.<sup>7</sup>

Family influences affected all converts and their families. Familial preferences and decisions had significant effects on Indian converts. Nathaniel Davis, an early and influential convert, had at least six children. In 1775, one son and his wife were baptized Leonhard and Rachel. Ten days after receiving their sacrament, Leonhard and Rachel's daughter was baptized Lucia. The influence of the family relationship was exemplified in July 1788 when Nathaniel Davis and his family returned to the mission; he had probably been away since 1782. Upon his return, he reported that his son Leonhard's last wish was that they should return to the mission. Another convert, Johanna, brought her brother and his wife to the mission. Eventually their hearts were "softened" and they asked for baptism; in January 1770 Johanna's brother and sister-in-law were baptized Jeremias and Anna Caritas. Although Anna Caritas's mother was a fervent enemy of the mission, this did not deter Anna Caritas from her chosen life. Her mother visited the mission in 1771 and informed Anna Caritas that "she would not recognize her as her child as long as she lived here." As hurtful as that must have been, Anna Caritas did not waver. Sometime in the next ten years her mother appeared to have a change of heart, possibly due to her illness, for she requested a visit from the brethren. By the time Abraham arrived at her village, however, Anna Caritas's mother had already died. Cornelius and Amelia were another pair of early converts whose families joined the mission. Their daughter, Pauline, her husband Lucas, and infant son Israel were baptized in December 1769. Lucas's mother came to the mission

---

<sup>7</sup>Diary of David Zeisberger, 21, 145, 149, 167-68, 205; Zeisberger, Diary, 1: 457, 2: 80.

and spoke with an assistant about her "desire for the Saviour." Five days later Lucas's brother was also at the mission and expressed his desire to be baptized. Lucas's mother "opened her heart" and was baptized Beata in February 1770.<sup>8</sup>

Although Netawatwees never converted to the Moravian Church, his fervent support for the mission and the conversion of his people influenced others, including his own family, to join the mission. Gelelemind, his grandson and destined successor, converted in 1788 and became known as William Henry. His wife was baptized Rahel shortly after. William Henry's and Rahel's baptisms greatly influenced their children. Two sons were baptized John and Charles one month later. The following year another son was baptized Christian Gottlieb. William Henry and his sons soon became assistants and important leaders within the church. In 1798 William Henry was appointed *Vorsteher*, superintendent of the mission, responsible for the daily operations. The missionaries consulted him on making any new arrangements and he reported to the missionaries the general sentiments and feelings of the congregation. He was responsible for reporting to the congregation any decision made. In 1803 William Henry and his son John were appointed national assistants. Charles Henry and his wife Anna Caritas served as national assistants and he as an English-Delaware interpreter for the missionaries. His brothers joined him in this capacity, John in 1801 and Christian Gottlieb in 1803. The office of interpreter was crucial because most Indians did not understand either German or English; in addition, the missionaries believed it was

---

<sup>8</sup>MMR, Reel 8, Box 141, Folder 15: 22; Zeisberger, Diary, 1: 50-51, 428; Diary of David Zeisberger, 11, 68, 71, 76-78, 83, 174; Zeisberger, letter to Brother Mathew, 1769, (MA-SP), 1.

important for the Indians, baptized and visiting, to hear the Gospel from one of their own.<sup>9</sup>

Mothers, children, and siblings commonly joined their relatives at the mission, eventually becoming converts. But fathers rarely followed their family members to the mission. The Delawares were a matrilineal, family-oriented nation. Family members, especially women, were important and influential. If one family member, or an entire section of a family, joined the mission, the rest of the family took note. While not always resulting in conversion, this attention to the actions and choices of relatives resulted in many Indians learning about the mission, visiting, and attending meetings. The desire to keep families together was strong. Members of a family were likely to think alike on important issues, have similar preferences, and be interested in many of the same things. The Moravian mission encouraged these family ties by requiring women who wanted to join to do so with the agreement of their husbands, preferring children to join their parents and encouraging a family orientation. The mission did not threaten these family relationships but rather fostered them. Families lived together, worked together, and prayed together. Traditional family activities, such as making maple sugar, were continued. Husbands and wives were encouraged to remain together and to resolve their differences; conflict resolution was a primary responsibility of the assistants. Familial fidelity was a powerful inducement for relatives to join the mission and convert.

Although David usually required those who wished to convert to live at the mission

---

<sup>9</sup>Heckewelder, History, 233-34; Loskiel, History of the Moravian Mission, 280; Zeisberger, Diary, 2: 45; Zeisberger, letter from Pettquottink, July 19, 1789, (MA-SP), 1; Olmstead, Blackcoats, 76-77; MMR, Reel 19, Box 171, Folder 1: 18, Folder 4: 22, Folder 8: 43, Folder 11: 5, Folder 13: 54, 65.

for some time, learn the Moravian doctrines, and demonstrate their belief through their actions, he made exceptions for those who were seriously ill. While many people came to the mission when they were ill, there are no indications that they believed baptism to possess special medicinal powers. The Indians believed that the residents at the mission provided good care for the sick; the mission residents did suffer greatly from the recurrent epidemics which ravaged the Ohio, but they usually experienced fewer deaths than the surrounding Indian villages most likely due to better nursing care and provisions. Many of those baptized when ill were children whose parents asked that they be baptized before death. In August 1773 a woman visiting the mission made an "urgent" request that her sick daughter be baptized; the girl was renamed Anna and died "several hours" later. While these baptisms of sick children were not frequent, there were at least eight such baptisms from 1773 to 1798. On at least two occasions an older child requested baptism when ill. In July 1773 a "youth" who had lived at the mission with his mother for one-and-a-half years and had been sick for a year "with consumption" asked David to baptize him; David renamed him Benjamin. In October 1780 a sick girl believing that she might die that night and desiring baptism, asked to see David. He baptized her Sara which seemed to comfort her.<sup>10</sup>

These sick-bed requests for baptism were not confined to children; adults sought them as well. All of the adults who received sick-bed baptisms had previously visited the mission or had been living there for many months. Many had previously asked about baptism but had been unable to make a final decision. Others were faced with the difficulty

---

<sup>10</sup>MMR, Reel 8, Box 141, Folder 13: 30, 33, Folder 14: 12, Folder 15: 45, Folder 17: 40; Zeisberger, Diary, 1: 442, 2: 54, 80-81, 169, 520.



of a spouse who did not want to join the church. Illness appears to have been the catalyst required to force these individuals to make the necessary commitment to receive baptism. Nicodemus, baptized in December 1775, had not been able to overcome some of his traditional beliefs. His illness, however, made him "so distressed about himself" that he was able to put aside his fears and ask for baptism. He died three days later. Anna Maria had been brought to the mission many months before her baptism. She was ill and had no family to care for her, and she knew the mission would take her in and tend to her during her illness. In May 1789 she asked for and received baptism; she died seventeen days later. Mariane had previously attended the church meetings and had wanted to join the church, but her husband did not want to. Once she became seriously ill and it was apparent that she would not recover, her husband agreed that she could come to the church. She was baptized on 31 October 1790 and died two days later.<sup>11</sup>

Those who were baptized on their sick-beds and then unexpectedly recovered were as committed as other converts. Their baptism was viewed as seriously and as complete as any other. Lazara, who was ill and baptized in June 1771, recovered over the next four weeks. She remained a committed convert and was joined by her husband, Ezra, in 1773 as a member of the congregation. Their two children were born and baptized in the church. Anna Regina, baptized in 1774 when sick, also recovered from her illness. She remained with the mission and married another convert, Renatus, in February 1784.<sup>12</sup>

---

<sup>11</sup>At least three other examples exist of these death-bed baptisms. MMR, Reel 8, Box 141, Folder 16: 6-7; Zeisberger, Diary, 2: 30-34.

<sup>12</sup>Diary of David Zeisberger, 181; MMR, Reel 8, Box 141, Folder 13: 27, Folder 14: 39, 44, Folder 17: 9; Zeisberger, Diary, 1: 183.

All of the adults who arrived when sick and were subsequently baptized had visited the mission previously and were familiar with the Moravian religion and the mission's ways. For these adults the choice to abandon their traditional life was very difficult and they could not quite bring themselves to do so until they were faced with a serious illness and probable death. Their illness was the catalyst that forced them to make the decision to convert; they had previously desired to do so but had been unable. The two older children who were baptized in illness were also familiar with the Moravian religion and had been living at the mission for many months. The young children did not make the request themselves, but a parent or grandparent did so on their behalf. The motives behind these parental requests are more difficult to discern. Most of these parents were familiar with the church and many were currently living at the mission. While they themselves were not yet ready to request baptism, they chose not to take chances with their stricken children. There was not time for the children to mature and decide for themselves whether they desired baptism; the parents had to make a quick decision.

Although David's mission was dedicated to the conversion of Delaware Indians and accepted all other Indians who chose to join, David's definition of an Indian does not fit the standard white characterization. David viewed other people according to their culture, not their race. Therefore, although he was prohibited from allowing white people to live at the mission, there were members who were genetically European and one who was genetically Caribbean. David believed they were Indians; they had been raised and/or lived as Indians. Therefore, David accepted as converts all Indians, even white Indians and Caribbean Indians.

David's bias in favor of cultural affiliation was extended to all people, even his own. From his diaries the reader would reasonably assume that one Schebosh was an Indian. He lived at the mission, was treated as any other convert, and was referred to like any other Indian resident. The difference is that Schebosh was an American Moravian who had married a Moravian Mahican woman, Christiana, in 1747. His American name was John Joseph Bull and he had been adopted into an Indian nation, most likely Mahican, and given the name Schebosh. From that point on, all references to him by any member of the Moravian Church, including David, used the name Schebosh. In contrast to the practice for all other converts, they used his Indian name, not his baptismal name. Schebosh lived as an ordinary member of the congregation; he and his wife were assistants and he did not receive any special status or privileges because of his race or his long-term status as a Moravian. He worked with David from the mid-1740s on and remained a member of David's mission congregation until his death in 1788. Schebosh's daughter and son were both members of the congregation and married other converts. Therefore, David not only accepted white Indians as ordinary Indians but their mixed-race children and grandchildren as well.<sup>13</sup>

Schebosh is not the only example of David's cultural bias and lack of racialism. In 1791 Theodora, Solomon Allemewi's daughter, brought a white girl with her when she joined the mission. She had been given and adopted the girl, a war captive, "in place of a child." Since the girl did not know if she had been baptized as a child, David baptized her Anna Charity to remove all doubt. David baptized other white Indians, such as Mary and

---

<sup>13</sup>Gray, Wilderness Christians, 34-35; Eugene Leibert, "Wechquetank," Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society 7: 69; MMR, Reel 8, Box 141, Folder 17: 19, 49; Zeisberger, Diary, 1: 367, 442-44.

"the white Helen." John Leeth, taken prisoner and adopted by the Delawares, had married another white Indian, Elizabeth Sally Lowery, who had been captured as an infant. Like Schebosh, David treated all of these white Indians like the other members of his congregation, and they were allowed to join the congregation in 1780. They were baptized, admitted into communion, and readmitted like all members of the mission. Their race or pigmentation had no influence upon David's decisions.<sup>14</sup>

Another noted white Indian couple was Richard and Margaret (Polly) Connor. Although Richard Connor had never been a member of an Indian nation, Margaret had been captured by the Shawnees. Richard had received permission from the Shawnee chief of her village to marry Margaret. They arrived at the mission in 1775 and were spoken to by David and the assistants. Richard agreed to follow the mission's rules and the couple was accepted on trial, like all new residents. Apparently, there was some concern about their being white and living at the mission, but David wrote that "nothing significant appeared." Their children were baptized at the mission and two of their sons later married Indian women.<sup>15</sup>

David's lack of racial interest is also clearly exemplified by his acceptance of Sarah Nanticoke as a full member of the mission. Sarah, Samuel Nanticoke's wife, was a "Carib" from the West Indies. She and her mother were brought to the colonies by the English and were adopted by the Nanticokes. Most likely Sarah and her mother were slaves; it is unclear how they moved out of the English community and into the Nanticoke nation. As a member

---

<sup>14</sup>Zeisberger, Diary, 1: 299, 360, 460, 2: 137-38, 213-14, 410; MMR, Reel 19, Box 171, Folder 9: 6-7.

<sup>15</sup>MMR, Reel 8, Box 141, Folder 15: 26, 36-37, 47, Folder 17: 39; Weslager, Delaware Indians, 333-34; Zeisberger, Diary, 1: 174.

of the Nanticoke nation she married Samuel. She and Samuel had been members of an earlier Moravian mission and had joined the church in the mid-1760s. Her race apparently made no difference to David or the other Indian converts because she and her husband became assistants. She remained a devout member of the mission until her death in 1798. David's acceptance of these white and Caribbean Indians is further evidence that his sole concern was for the salvation of individual souls, not the mass conversion of entire nations. He was not prejudiced against a person's culture or race; he simply believed that faith in Jesus as the Savior was necessary for salvation. For David, a person was an Indian if that was her or his cultural affiliation; neither prior cultural identification nor racial considerations were important. To David, they were all Indians.<sup>16</sup>

Yet, not all Indians who lived at the mission were baptized. The mission assistants granted permission to unbaptized Indians to live at the mission as long as they agreed to abide by the mission's rules. Once an individual or family requested permission to remain, the assistants spoke with the petitioners and discussed the request; virtually all such requests were granted. Although most Indians were allowed to live at the mission, the missionaries hesitated to admit women without husbands. From the beginning of his efforts, David refused to grant permission for residence to women who arrived without husbands, whether single or married. In 1769 David and the assistants spoke with a woman who wanted to live at the mission. They advised her to return to her home "because we do not want to have any women here who want to live separated from their husbands." The justification for this principle was that having such women remain was "something very venturesome" and

---

<sup>16</sup>Diary of Lichtenau...1779, (MA-SP), 21, 38-39; Zeisberger Diary, 2: 522-23.

undesirable. David believed that women without husbands, single or having left their husbands behind, would be a dangerous element in the mission. The mission was premised on the family unit, and a woman alone posed a risk, especially sexual, to the mission's peace. The Moravians wanted to keep families together and to promote family strength, not support the dissolution of a family because the spouses could not agree. David's advice to these married women was for them to return to their husbands until the men also desired to live at the mission. Unmarried women were also problematic because they posed the same dangers as their married but separated counterparts. David made the occasional exception, however, if a single woman had relatives already living at the mission. Her family members were able to supervise and guide her and to provide the necessary family unit. In January 1799 a young woman asked permission to live at the mission but was initially refused. She later received a temporary acceptance on the condition that her uncle, who had expressed a desire to "come to the mission," came in the spring when he had finished his hunting. If her uncle became a mission resident, her presence would be acceptable; she would have a family unit to support and guide her. David noted the possible undesirable consequences of this policy. In 1802 he wrote that not having any single young women at the mission meant they had not been plagued by the difficulties which came with them. However, this circumstance also meant that there were no eligible young women for the single men to marry. The mission currently had several men in need of a spouse but no available women. While the congregation's troubles had been reduced, some converts were unable to start their own families. The dilemma was troublesome. The same discrimination did not apply to men, however. There are no recorded instances of David or the assistants refusing

permission for residence to any man because he was single or had left his wife behind. The missionaries preferred that married couples come to the mission together and encouraged husbands to bring their wives with them, but it was not as strictly required of men. Like the white colonists, Indian men without wives were viewed as less dangerous, especially sexually, than Indian women without husbands.<sup>17</sup>

The only other times David and the assistants refused permission to an applicant to live at the mission were based on individual circumstances. People who had proven themselves enemies of or hostile to the mission were denied that privilege. Individuals who were known as troublemakers or dealers in alcohol were also refused. In October 1784 political considerations prevented the missionaries and assistants from granting permission to a Shawnee husband and wife. This couple had visited the mission before and apparently were reliable and willing to comply with the mission's rules. At this time, however, the mission was situated on Chippewa land, temporarily granted to the congregation while they searched for a new, permanent home. The congregation was still recovering from the diaspora and the Gnadenhutten massacre suffered only two years earlier. The missionaries and converts were insecure in their temporary location and were hesitant to do anything that might anger their Chippewa hosts. After much deliberation, the congregation refused the Shawnee couple's request, citing their fear that the Chippewas might "be discontented with us if we let strange Indians...settle on their land."<sup>18</sup>

---

<sup>17</sup>Diary of David Zeisberger, 73, 170; Zeisberger, Diary, 1: 134, 2: 77, 88; Abstract from the Diary...1799, (MA-SP), 1; MMR, Reel 19, Box 171, Folder 9: 55.

<sup>18</sup>Zeisberger, Diary, 1: 205.

Although the converts' religious commitment to the Moravian Church was initially strong and sincere, they were as human as all Moravians and had their share of difficulties; David's mission faced the same problems as any white Moravian community. Converts were not perfect human beings, and despite their strong faith they did violate mission rules, participate in unacceptable behavior, and cause general disturbances. In most cases, the problems were successfully resolved; the missionaries and assistants made every effort to keep converts within the mission. Only in the worst cases did the missionaries and assistants request that an offending individual or family leave the mission. On numerous occasions, however, those who had left the mission, either voluntarily or on demand, returned and asked for readmission. David required that Zinzendorf's belief in charity be applied to those who had strayed from the Christian path; they had to be given repeated chances to regain their spiritual and personal commitment to the Moravian life. This practice of repeatedly offering another chance to the fallen was typical of all Moravian congregations. Many people were given numerous chances to correct their behavior; only when their disruption had continued for many months were the offending persons required to leave the mission.

The Delaware Moravian converts faced the same difficulties as their white brethren. There were disputes between spouses, fights between members, and difficulties in getting some people to contribute their fair share of labor. In all cases the national assistants spoke with the parties in question and in most cases helped to resolve the problems. When it became apparent that a husband and wife could no longer live peaceably together, divorce was reluctantly permitted. Thomas and Anna Sophia were one such couple. For unknown



reasons, Thomas deserted his wife and began a relationship with a "heathenish woman" with a "base and shocking" character. This couple was considered divorced. It was acceptable for either partner to establish a new relationship within the church. Anna Sophia married again a few years later.<sup>19</sup>

The younger members of the congregation contributed to the mission's difficulties by participating in behavior that violated its rules, causing concern among the missionaries. In 1801 William Henry spoke with the young people about stealing eggs and killing fowl. The young members of the congregation also had to be repeatedly reminded that it was inappropriate for them to spend nights together at each others' houses. Visiting each other in "different houses" was discouraged because "harm comes therefrom." Most likely the missionaries were concerned about inappropriate sexual contact between unmarried congregants.<sup>20</sup>

There were occasional difficulties with converts, again usually the young people, who sometimes brought prohibited traditional Delaware practices into the mission. In an attempt to improve his success in hunting, one young brother was found carrying a charm: the horn of a hornsnake and some tobacco. A "heathen" Indian had given the young man this charm a year earlier. The young man was reprimanded, and the other brethren ridiculed him for his ignorance, especially as he had "killed so very few deer this winter." Witchcraft was also an occasional problem. In January 1789 David noted that the young women seemed to be most affected and "led astray" by these practices. David, however, was not as strict as

---

<sup>19</sup>MMR, Reel 19, Box 171, Folder 12: 35-36, Reel 20, Box 173, Folder 2: 20.

<sup>20</sup>MMR, Reel 19, Box 171, Folder 6: 15, Folder 8: 42; Zeisberger, Diary, 2: 341.

other Moravian leaders in his demands on the converts to comply fully with European sensibilities. While he reminded the Indian brethren to "keep their belongings tidy and in good condition," he did not usually interfere with their more traditional domestic ways. This laxity was upsetting to Bishop John Ettwein when he visited the mission. Ettwein declared there was "disorder" in the converts' households. While the women cooked, people ate on their own timetable, not at regular times or as a family. He noted that there was little discipline imposed upon the children; they did mostly whatever they pleased. He complained that the converts borrowed "too freely" from each other and the missionaries and often neglected to repay their debts. Significantly, these practices never bothered David. He never complained about or mentioned any of these behaviors. David's primary concern was with the converts' souls and that they live a Christian life; they did not have to act like Europeans. David did intervene when the children misbehaved but never told the parents how to discipline their children. He did remind the converts to repay their debts but never interfered. Bishop Ettwein had never lived with Indians and did not understand their cultural practices. Although Ettwein complained of these disturbing Indian behaviors, David never made any effort to "correct" the converts' behavior. They were Indians and he expected them to live that way. Domestic customs were not high on his agenda.<sup>21</sup>

The most significant problem experienced by the mission, the converts, and the missionaries was the abuse of alcohol, both by converts and by visiting Indians. From the beginning of the mission, abusive drinking was a recurrent problem. David did not

---

<sup>21</sup>MMR, Reel 19, Box 171, Folder 6: 21; Zeisberger, 2: 6; Diary of David Zeisberger, 127; Hamilton, John Ettwein, 94.

completely condemn all use of alcohol, only the abuse which led to drunkenness. In 1796 Boaz explained to visiting Chippewas that drunkenness was a sin, leading to trouble and murder, so it was not allowed at the mission. Yet the missionaries did not believe that drinking alcohol could or should be entirely prohibited. At the 1803 mission conference held in Goshen the missionaries agreed that alcohol served a medicinal purpose among the Indians and therefore should not be completely prohibited. The missionaries also knew that the converts were familiar with the European brethren drinking in their towns. For the Indian brethren to be told not to drink while their European counterparts could would be "incomprehensible, offensive and depressing to them." The missionaries recommended that the Indian converts abstain from alcohol except when needed as a medicine. The missionaries did not believe the Indians were inherently susceptible to alcohol abuse but that their diet and cultural practices created weaknesses which led to excessive consumption. Benjamin Mortimer, David's assistant at Goshen, believed that it was probably the lack of enough fat in their diet, their irregular eating habits, and "occasional excessive fatigues" that led the Indians to drink excessively. Indians who lived on "fat meals" and ate regularly did not seem to suffer from alcohol abuse as did their neighbors. The missionaries in 1803 concluded that the Indians' primary difficulty was their inability to "digest much," possibly correlating with Mortimer's claims about their diet.<sup>22</sup>

The missionaries also observed that the Indians were more likely to indulge under "certain conditions." Alcohol consumption by the converts was not forbidden by the

---

<sup>22</sup>Zeisberger, Diary, 2:436; MMR, Reel 20, Box 174, Folder 4: 10, Reel 19, Box 171, Folder 5: 9.

missionaries nor was it grounds for exclusion from communion. Drunkenness was the punishable offense, not moderate consumption. The conference also recorded that there had been some examples of converts who drank moderately for a long time who "never became drunk." Apparently the Delawares may have had their own version of alcoholic beverage, whether their own creation or introduced by the Europeans is unclear. They made vinegar from the maple syrup they gathered every winter. Some Indians were so fond of its taste, especially as it became more sour, that they would "drink it to excess, before it becomes fit for its proper use." Some even drank so much as to become drunk. Although some brethren abused vinegar and became drunk, making vinegar was never forbidden.<sup>23</sup>

The primary effort in controlling alcohol abuse by the converts was to keep the liquor out of the mission settlement. If visitors brought alcohol near or into town, the assistants attempted to take temporary possession of it until the offending party left. If the strange Indians would not hand over the alcohol, the assistants threatened to break the casks. ~~(26-1-2-~~  
~~45.3)~~ In most cases the offending Indians were willing to comply with the converts' request, and a difficult situation was handled peaceably. In other cases the alcohol-laden Indians promised not to give any alcohol away while they were near the mission. In these instances, the converts allowed the visitor to keep his alcohol but kept a close watch on his activities to ensure compliance. The women converts once took matters into their own hands. They attended a "drinking bout" near the mission hoping to destroy the whiskey casks and to prevent any real trouble from developing. They were "very successful," Mortimer noted, in

---

<sup>23</sup>MMR, Reel 19, Box 171, Folder 13: 7-8.

destroying much of the whiskey present at this particular drunken episode.<sup>24</sup>

Not only did the missionaries and converts have to combat the Indians who brought alcohol to the mission, they also had to contend with the American, British, and French traders who tried to sell alcohol to the converts. These men had little respect for the missionaries and converts and, unlike their Indian counterparts, generally refused to comply with the mission's requests and the British and American laws forbidding the sale of alcohol to Indians. The traders attempted to build trading stations near the mission, hoping to gain from the frequent movement of Indians to and from the mission. In May 1768 Paxton traders tried unsuccessfully to establish a market for rum at the mission. Detroit traders came to Fairfield in 1790 offering their services in building the mission's church, but their offer was refused because they had brought rum. These traders were probably hoping to establish friendly relations with the mission as a means of gaining access to the mission's converts. Later that same month another Detroit trader tried to build a house near the mission. The assistants told him to "leave our neighborhood with his rum" but he refused. To the end of David's life, alcohol was a constant danger for the mission converts. Although the American and British governments passed laws prohibiting the sale of alcohol to Indians, the traders refused to comply and showed no fear that these laws would be enforced. The alcohol trade on the Ohio frontier was a profitable and relatively easy business. All David and Mortimer could do was try to help their Indian brethren resist the lure.<sup>25</sup>

---

<sup>24</sup>Abstract from the Diary...1800, (MA-SP), 1-2; MMR, Reel 19, Box 171, Folder 4: 3,8, Folder 6: 13, Folder 7: 3, Folder 12: 34, and Reel 8, Box 141, Folder 17: 13; Zeisberger, Diary, 1: 412-13, 415, 2: 43, 60, 77, 224, 301.

<sup>25</sup>Reichel, "Wyalusing," 202; Zeisberger, Diary, 2: 125-27.

Not only were the converts and missionaries threatened by traders and drunken Indians visiting the mission or staying in the neighborhood, they also had to contend with the lapses of their own brethren. Unfortunately, the missionaries were unable to prevent the converts from activities that put them most at risk. David expressed concern for converts who went to Detroit, for "they seldom escape" drinking while there. The summer harvest was also a difficult time because the converts often worked for neighboring farmers and "among the white people [there is] nothing but drunkenness." In response to the occasional and sometimes frequent drinking by converts, David was very concerned that the offender not believe that he or she was forever condemned as a sinner. Every endeavor was made to "help them up again soon" and bring them quickly to absolution; their lapses had not made them heathens again. Most converts who mistakenly became drunk were repentant and ashamed of their behavior; they were unable to look the missionaries "in the face." Although a communicant who had become drunk was required to abstain from the next communion, even if repentant, he was readmitted for the following communion provided they had remained sober.<sup>26</sup>

The missionaries were always distressed about the disastrous effects that abusive drinking had upon the Indians, traditional and convert. Like the Indian leaders, the missionaries believed that alcohol would help destroy the Indian nations of Ohio. Mortimer even likened it to the African slave trade. In September 1798 he declared the rum trade the primary cause of the "present depravity of manners" among the Indians, leading to bloodshed

---

<sup>26</sup>Zeisberger, Diary, 2: 202, 480; MMR, Reel 20, Box 174, Folder 4: 9-10 and Reel 20, Box 173, Folder 1: 16, Folder 2: 12.

and fighting. He accused the English and the Americans of using alcohol to cheat the Indians of their trade goods. As the African slave trade openly destroyed the African peoples and their families, the American rum trade circuitously destroyed the Indian peoples and their families. It destroyed the Indians' effectiveness at hunting, thereby destroying their economies and making them more dependent upon the traders and more vulnerable to the Americans' machinations.<sup>27</sup>

Despite the difficulties and lapses experienced by many converts, David was not a harsh taskmaster. He did not require or expect perfection. For example, Anton, Israel's son, left the congregation at Lichtenau in 1779. In December 1780 he returned to the mission and "begged for readmission;" his request was granted. Three weeks later he was absolved and readmitted into the congregation. Although David did not list Anton's offenses, it is obvious that he believed Anton's repentance and no longer wished to see him separated from the mission. Having committed some offense, Anton's father also left the congregation. In 1781 he requested readmittance and was denied; he had not shown proper repentance. In January 1782, however, Israel again came to the missionaries and asked to be "taken back." Israel told the missionaries that "he would indeed like to be blessed, to turn again to the Saviour and to the church, and to remain with them his lifelong." Although he was accepted back into the Indian mission, he was not allowed to enjoy his newfound peace for long; he was killed three months later in the Gnadenhutten massacre.<sup>28</sup>

---

<sup>27</sup>MMR, Reel 19, Box 171, Folder 1: 27-29.

<sup>28</sup>MMR, Reel 8, Box 141, Folder 17: 44; Zeisberger, Diary, 1: 60; Heckewelder, Thirty Thousand Miles, 198.

Some converts had repeated problems that required them to leave the church many times. Andrew and Anna Paulina, husband and wife, were one such couple. In November 1788 the assistants spoke with Andrew about "his disorderly conduct" and told him and Anna Paulina to leave the mission. While the exact dates are not recorded, we know that this couple was received again into the congregation by January 1791 when Andrew was absolved. The next year, however, found him once again reprimanded for his poor "conduct in the church" and told that if he did not "become obedient...he cannot remain in the church." Unable to improve his behavior as required, he was sent away in 1793. By February 1798 he had been absolved once again before the congregation "thankful for the mercy the Saviour had let him feel." Salvation was a continuous process requiring tolerance and leniency on the part of the missionaries and other congregants.<sup>29</sup>

The case of Joseph illustrates the depth of forgiveness that David exhibited and the lengths to which he went in his attempts to rescue his congregants from a "heathen" life. Having been removed from the congregation, Joseph came again to the mission begging to be readmitted. The first time, in November 1780, the missionaries "would have nothing to do with him." Two weeks later Joseph reiterated his request and the missionaries "out of pity for him" accepted him on trial if he obeyed the regulations. His repentance did not last and he again left the mission. He again received permission to live at the mission in October 1782, rejoining his wife who had recently returned. His misbehavior once more led to his dismissal in May 1785, and his repentance led to readmittance in 1787. In 1788 when he was dying, Joseph repented and was absolved. What is significant about Joseph's case was

---

<sup>29</sup>Zeisberger, Diary, 1: 455, 2: 150, 277, 321, 518.



the exception it made to mission policy. Contrary to mission rules, Joseph had joined a war party in 1782 to seek revenge on the American militia responsible for the Gnadenhutzen massacre. He participated in the capture and torture of Colonel William Crawford, whom the Delawares blamed for that atrocity.<sup>30</sup> Despite these horrific actions, David took "pity" upon Joseph and repeatedly gave him opportunities to redeem himself. David continued to believe that Joseph could be redeemed and could learn to walk with the Savior.<sup>31</sup>

Not all converts were able to receive forgiveness. Anton and his wife Juliana were two of the earlier converts, receiving baptism in 1771. Anton was a devout convert of "a beautiful character." He never failed in his religious duties or to live up to the standards expected of him. The year 1782 changed all that. Anton and his entire family had returned to Gnadenhutzen with eighty-four other converts and six Delaware friends to retrieve the corn stored there; the entire group was joined by six friends not associated with the mission. Anton then proceeded to Pittsburgh on other business. Two days later the American militia arrived in Gnadenhutzen. Anton lost his entire family in the Gnadenhutzen massacre: his wife Juliana, his brother Jonas, his mother Hannah, and his three children Elisabeth, Joseph, and Marcus. Anton was unable to control his despair, his fury, and probably his guilt. He

---

<sup>30</sup>Colonel David Williamson was the officer in charge of the militia unit which committed the massacre of March 1782. Just before the unit was ordered to return to that section of Ohio, Colonel William Crawford replaced Williamson as the commanding officer. During the second confrontation at Gnadenhutzen, this time against Delaware warriors, Williamson escaped and Crawford was captured, blamed for the previous massacre, tortured and burnt to death. All Americans captured in 1783 who were believed to have participated in the Gnadenhutzen massacre were "bound, tortured, and burnt." Heckewelder, Thirty Thousand Miles, 220; Zeisberger, Diary, 1: 133.

<sup>31</sup>MMR, Reel 8, Box 141, Folder 17: 43-44; Zeisberger, Diary, 1: 118, 225, 320, 370, 418, 430-32.

did not understand how Christians could murder each other; his faith in the Savior was almost destroyed. Consumed by anger, he left the mission and joined a Delaware war party seeking to capture and punish the Americans who had killed their families and friends. For many years Anton blamed the missionaries for those ninety-six deaths. In a meeting with Samuel in 1786, Samuel told Anton that the missionaries were not responsible for the massacre. Anton told Samuel that he had a "wicked heart" and could see no "profit" in acting as a believer when his "heart is bad;" why deceive himself? In 1789 John Heckwelder, a former assistant of David's, unexpectedly met Anton. Anton confessed to Heckwelder that he had not intended to leave the mission but had been "weak enough to do so" when confronted by the deaths of his family. His revenge quenched, he no longer hated "the white people" and often thought of returning to the mission but still believed himself "too wicked." Anton lived the rest of his life a broken man. He lived alone in destitute, self-imposed exile from all other people. He could no longer tolerate the "heathen" Indians and their ways, but he could not return to the Moravians. He refused to practice traditional rites and continued to believe in the Savior; his faith had not been completely destroyed. Although he did not live at the mission after 1782, he remained a convert, true in heart if not always obedient in deed. His fury and pain at the senseless and brutal deaths of his entire family had driven him to war and to kill the enemy. Once his pain had eased, through revenge and time, he berated and punished himself for his inability to trust in the Savior and to remain with the mission. A member of two communities based on kinship and social membership, he lived the rest of his life in virtual isolation, a pitiful man unable to forgive himself and to seek readmittance to the mission, unable to tolerate and rejoin the Delaware

community he had left so many years ago. Despite his temporary brutality, Anton never stopped being a convert. Had he chosen to return to the traditional Delaware society, he would have been welcomed, but he could not. Anton had become a Moravian Christian and would die one; the core of his faith had never left him, although he had failed to realize it on that fateful day in March 1782.<sup>32</sup>

The massacre of twenty-five percent of the congregation, thirty-two percent of the baptized members, led to enormous difficulties for the missionaries and converts. Fear and anger filled the hearts of the entire congregation; the Delaware nation was equally outraged. The missionaries, still captives of Half-King, were unable to do more than grieve. These converts, mostly national assistants, who had remained with the missionaries, grieved as well. The majority of converts who had been dispersed to the Delaware and Shawnee towns were confronted by an equally undesirable situation. The Delawares wanted revenge on the Americans and encouraged the converts among them to join the war parties being formed for that purpose. The converts also believed, as had Anton, that the missionaries were responsible for the massacre, if only indirectly. What good did it serve to be a Christian if other Christians murdered your family? If nothing else, the massacre had demonstrated that pacifism and conversion provided no protection against the ruthless "long knives."<sup>33</sup>

Many converts once removed from the supportive and reassuring environment of the mission were unable to maintain their Moravian beliefs. Constantly exposed to traditional

---

<sup>32</sup>Heckewelder, Thirty Thousand Miles, 198-99, 245; Zeisberger, Diary, 1: 291-92.

<sup>33</sup>"Long knives" is the name Delawares gave to Americans, especially Virginians.

rituals and ceremonies and pressured to fully rejoin the Delaware community, they were unable to resist. The population of the Moravian Delaware mission never regained its full strength after the massacre. There were fewer new converts and many former converts never returned. Those who might have been interested in the mission were frightened away by rumors, fear of the Americans, and the intransigent hatred of the mission's traditional enemies. After the massacre it became even more important for the Delawares to retain as many of their people as they could to fight against the continued American military threat and encroachment. The revolutionary war in the Ohio country changed the dynamics of the mission's relationship to the Delaware and other Ohio Indian nations. No longer could the Indians trust the missionaries nor rely upon their ability to protect their own people. The traditionalists understandably believed that they were the only ones who could protect their peoples; the missionaries were out of their depth when it came to living in a war zone.

Once released from captivity in Detroit, the missionaries understood they could not return to their abandoned towns. The fighting between the Indians, British, and the Americans was too fierce and the mission was now a likely target of all the antagonists. The missionaries thereafter spent years searching for a suitable location to reestablish the mission, always trying to keep far enough away from the battlegrounds. As a result, the mission was temporarily situated in at least two different locations in only six years. They tried to reestablish a settlement in Ohio, near Lake Erie, but it proved too dangerous. Finally, the missionaries realized they would have to remain in Canada, at least for a time; in 1788 Fairfield was established just east of Detroit. The mission was once again able to rebuild, regroup, and begin to resurrect the congregation. Although the mission in Fairfield

saw a significant growth in the congregation's numbers, it never regained the population it had possessed in 1777-1778, its largest. In 1798, after years of waiting for the United States government to complete a survey of the Ohio territory and to map out the lands awarded to the Moravian Church in restitution for their losses during the revolutionary war, David was able to return to Ohio and reestablish his mission there. In the new town of Goshen, David lived the last ten years of his life, still devoted to his converts.

Although many converts refused to rejoin the mission, the record is replete with examples of devout converts who rejoined the mission years after having been forced to flee. These people were waiting for the right opportunity. Many did not know where the missionaries were living or were prevented from leaving by their families. Once they learned the mission's location, many escaped from their families and traveled hundreds of miles to rejoin the mission. Many converts rejoined the mission during the year following the massacre. Samuel Nanticoke, Adam, and their families returned in July 1782, only four months after the massacre. They "could find no rest" being apart from the missionaries, so they traveled forty days to live again at their mission home. Joseph unexpectedly found his teachers in Detroit in July 1782. He was a member of a warrior party and explained that he had "quite given up the hope of ever again having the opportunity of hearing God's word." To avoid persecution, he had joined the warriors. At this same meeting he begged for readmission. He remained only a short while. He returned again three months later, shortly after his wife had rejoined the mission. Joshua, who had lost two teenaged daughters at Gnadenhutten, returned with his family in October. William and his family left the Shawnee towns and traveled to the missionaries' temporary residence, arriving shortly before

Christmas in 1782. Matthew, Jacob, and Andrew, followed by the widows Martha and Henrietta arrived in March 1783. A week later Matthew and Jacob left again, this time to fetch their friends and bring them back to the mission. By the middle of April 1783, forty-three converts, including Thomas, Netawatwees's grandson, had left the Shawnee towns and had arrived at the new mission town of New Gnadenhutten. Agnes, Renatus, and Luke and his family all arrived separately two months later asking for readmission.<sup>34</sup>

Other converts did not return to the mission until years after the massacre. By 1786 Thomas, whose father, Philip, had been killed in 1782, had returned. He was one of two survivors of Gnadenhutten, having been scalped by the Americans but escaped. He suffered from seizures due to the scalping and drowned in June 1786. The missionaries believed that he had a seizure while fishing in his canoe and fell unconscious into the river. His body was discovered at the riverside. In 1787, Helena, whose husband Samuel Moor had been one of the massacre's victims, returned with her daughter and grandchild. The next year, six years after the massacre, the mission received a message that Gertrude and other converts wanted to return, but the Munsee captain Titawachkam was preventing them from leaving. More than two years later, Gertrude and her two grandchildren finally came to Fairfield to remain. More than eight years after the diaspora, Anna Margaret returned. A convert since 1778, she came back to the mission sick and "half-dead." She was absolved, "cheerful and thankful to be again in the church." She died the following month. Phillipine returned after a thirteen-year absence. She had always desired to rejoin the mission but could not travel by

---

<sup>34</sup>Gray, Wilderness Christians, 76; Zeisberger, Diary, 1: 98-100, 114, 118, 126-27, 138-40, 147, 150, 168-69; DeSchweinitz, Life and Times, 581.

herself and "was kept back by her son." The previous year she had attempted to leave her son, but he "went after her & persuaded her to come back"; he promised he would take her to the mission "as soon as peace was established." To Phillipine's dismay and grief, her son was killed shortly after making her that promise. She was now free, however, to make the trip. Since she could not travel alone, she hired a woman to take her to the missionaries. Upon receiving absolution, "she shed many tears." The dedication and conviction of these converts had not been destroyed by the war, the terrifying loss of their families and friends, or the efforts of their own relatives and leaders of their nation. Their conversions were as firm and true as anyone's could be. Their dedication to and love for the missionaries and their Savior remained.<sup>35</sup>

But in the face of such slaughter and cruelty, many converts turned their backs on the mission forever, unable to keep the faith. Augustus, a former communicant, came to the mission in October 1786 to visit his brother Samuel. He spoke to the missionaries and Samuel, claiming that the "white people have at last attained their purpose, murdering so many of our friends." He believed that the Americans desired to eliminate the Indians, even if it meant killing them all. Augustus vowed that he would "keep far enough from them" and he would no longer live with the missionaries and converts. As his ancestors "have all gone to the devil; there will I go also; where they are there I will also be!" While he did not directly blame David and his white brethren for the deaths of the ninety converts and their six Delaware friends, he did believe that the "white people" were determined to kill all

---

<sup>35</sup>Zeisberger, Diary, 1: 281, 378-79, 409-10, 2: 112, 115, 117-18, 121-22, 405, 412.

Indians. He forsook his Savior and returned to the traditional religion of his ancestors, accepting that he would "go to the devil" if that were his future. Most converts who permanently abandoned the mission never visited it or their families there again. Unable to overcome their fear and anger or to renounce their rediscovered family ties, they remained with the traditional Delawares and Shawnees, never again speaking with David or hearing the gospel in which they had believed.<sup>36</sup>

---

<sup>36</sup>Zeisberger, Diary, 1: 296.



## CONCLUSION

David Zeisberger was an unusual man, even for a Moravian missionary. Although he followed the dictates of Count Zinzendorf and the Moravian Church's Mission Board, he stands out as an exemplary missionary, able to attract and keep hundreds of converts. While some of his accomplishments might be attributed to charisma and conviction, most of his success must be given to the mission's Indian character which he helped create and supported, even to the dismay of his bishop. The Moravian mission in Ohio was not just a Christian community but an Indian one as well. In all but the most crucial aspects, the converts and unbaptized residents lived Indian, primarily Delaware, lives. Their household, economic, and diplomatic structures were wholly Delaware; conversion to Moravian Christianity did not change those cultural and social arrangements. While the converts had to alter some of their religious beliefs, many traditional Delaware beliefs were left unchallenged and unaffected. Zeisberger never challenged or preached against the Delaware belief in a single creator, traditional religious stories, or the belief in a guardian spirit. His primary attack was against specific rituals that were incompatible with Christianity: sacrifices, sorcery, and witchcraft. The latter was attacked by the Delaware community as well. Zeisberger equated the Delaware creator with the Christian God, and Jesus was

represented as a guardian of his people, a spiritual force that would protect and care for his believers. As the Delaware guardian spirit could be approached for aid and guidance, so too was Jesus called upon to help and instruct his followers.

The two most important challenges to the converts were the Moravians' refusal to participate in war and the sometimes violent disapproval of certain family members and friends. The Delawares and other Ohio Indian nations had been under attack, militarily and diplomatically, for decades. It proved difficult for many converts, especially the young men, to resist the call to war. Lacking a similar proof of manhood in the Moravian Church, the young men were often enticed to join the war parties of visiting Indians. Few adult men, on the other hand, joined these war parties. Families and friends of the converts did not understand how they could refuse to defend their people, especially when under vicious attack. While most converts were able to withstand the criticism they received from the mission's enemies, many mission residents could not. The pull of their families was too great for them to resist for long, and many left the mission to rejoin their relatives. Those who had family with them at the mission— and most converts did— were more secure in their new community and were able to resist the demands of traditional relatives.

David Zeisberger's mission was truly an Indian one. Its structure was almost wholly Indian in nature and replicated traditional Indian practices. Even in the hierarchy of the mission's converts, traditional Indian forms were followed. The most important converts, the former chiefs such as *Isaac Glikkhikan* and *Jacob Gendaskund*, were quickly elevated to assistants, who helped run the mission and oversaw the congregation. David's primary role was as a teacher, not as a leader. The assistants spoke with those who wanted to live

at the mission and decided who would be received. The assistants approved those who desired baptism and were responsible for resolving all disputes and disruptions in the mission community. It was their responsibility to ensure the peaceful continuance of the mission. As national assistants, the converted chiefs continued in their positions of influence and authority, only now as members of the Moravian mission. The assistants even had the authority to overrule the missionaries in certain instances, as they did in 1782, refusing to allow the missionaries to travel into Ohio to inform the scattered converts of the mission's new location. The converts and visitors listened to one of their own preach, as David and his assistant missionaries almost always used an interpreter during services. Even the frequent relocation of the mission town was a familiar activity. The Delawares had been migrating to safer territory for more than a century when David arrived in Ohio. Creating new communities in new places was by this time a traditional practice, born of necessity. In virtually all ways the mission was an Indian community, operating on Indian terms and using Indian structures and practices in daily life. Only in some details, albeit important ones, did the converts have to accept a different belief or practice, and most were able to do so.

As respectful and tolerant of the Indians as he was, David Zeisberger nevertheless represented the evangelical imperative present in Christian theology. His belief that it was incumbent upon him to save the Indians' souls demonstrates a degree of religious arrogance on the part of the Moravian Church and himself. His condemnation of sorcery, sacrifices, and witchcraft as the work of Satan reveals his inability to judge Indian religions outside of his Christian framework. For all of his efforts to create a new Indian community in Ohio,

he prefaced this objective by requiring that it be a Christian community, insisting that all residents comply with the rules and regulations of the mission, rules founded on Christian precepts and ideology. While many of these ideas coincided with traditional Delaware beliefs, David's were based on his Christian faith, not the Delawares'.

While he always considered himself the converts' teacher and not their leader, he also believed it was his duty to take care of "his Indians" and ensure their safety. He never considered abandoning the converts, even when his own life was at risk, not because he was willing to become a martyr, though he would have done so, but because he felt responsible for those who had joined his congregation. He demonstrated this paternalistic attitude in his exhortations against conduct he considered unacceptable, such as drunkenness or vicious bickering.

David's double standard for women and men, believing women to be more unreliable and dangerous and therefore needing stricter controls, was typical of his church and his era. He was always more concerned about single women at the mission and their potential for disruption, while he rarely exhibited the same wariness about single men. Women could not speak with him or the other male missionaries unless another woman was present as insurance against impropriety. While this sexism resulted in a two-tiered criterion for some behaviors, it also created an opportunity for women, as missionary wives and converts, to possess authority among themselves, and provided a measure of protection for single women. Since men were forbidden from ministering to women in private, women had to assume that responsibility and jurisdiction, gaining influence and power within their gender community. The female assistants possessed authority comparable to that of the male

assistants. In being designated as less trustworthy, at least where sexual behavior was concerned, the women gained authority and autonomy over themselves and each other. As much as the converts had to relinquish to their new faith and their teachers, they also retained most of their authority and autonomy.

The converts always possessed control over their individual lives within the mission structure. Their economic and household domains remained wholly under their control. The assistants acted much like traditional chiefs, using their influence and stature to resolve disputes, create policy, and conduct diplomatic affairs. Under David's guidance, they ran the mission, using traditional Indian means to ensure a peaceful community. Even within the religious realm the converts possessed authority. Those who attended services heard the gospel and sermons from one of their own, who interpreted the missionaries' words. The interpreters had much discretion in interpreting the missionary's speech; the content was more important than a literal translation. Their use of hymns within their homes allowed them to minister to themselves. The converts had the opportunity to attend to their personal spiritual needs without relying upon their teachers. Although they had become converts, the Indians retained personal and communal authority in most matters.

David Zeisberger did not intend to make the Ohio Indians more acceptable to the numerous white settlers who began arriving after 1800. But it may have been through the Christian association of the Moravian converts that the settlers tolerated their presence. Had these Indians not also been Christians, the settlers probably would have lobbied for their removal away from white settlement and "civilization." Since these men and women were Christians, albeit Indian ones, the settlers demonstrated more tolerance towards them than

their traditional counterparts. In that regard, David contributed to the incorporation of the converts into the white economy and society. He was not pleased with this obvious result of white encroachment; he often accused the settlers of mistreating the converts and not paying them appropriately for their labor. After 1800, however, there was little he could do about these new and undesirable developments; there was nowhere else his mission could move away from white society. In contrast, though, the increased incorporation of the converts into the white community protected them from the continued dislocations suffered by their traditional families, who were forcibly relocated to Oklahoma and lost virtually all of their independent national identity. At least under the mission structure, the Indian converts remained on their land and retained their national identities. David's efforts were a mixed blessing.

David Zeisberger's mission was one of the most successful missions in the history of North America. Lasting for more than 150 years, (the Fairfield mission retained its official mission status into the 1920s), David's efforts created a new group of Moravian Christians, as dedicated to their faith as were their white brethren. Significantly different from its Protestant counterparts, the Moravian mission respected its potential converts, allowing them to continue their traditional lives in most ways. Unlike the Puritan missions that attempted to recreate their converts in the European image, David's Moravian mission sought to accommodate the converts in all ways possible. He did not condemn all things Indian, only those practices that directly contradicted his Christian beliefs. He respected the Delawares and the other Ohio Indian nations, sympathized with their dilemma on the frontier between the defensive British and the land-hungry Americans, and deplored the

behavior of traders and settlers who entered Ohio territory desiring to profit from the Indians' losses. David and his converts were completely committed to the success and endurance of the mission; neither assassination attempts and the murder of converts nor the machinations of hostile Indians deterred them from their goal. He never flinched from his self-imposed obligations or his commitment and affection for those who chose to join him in establishing a Christian community on the frontier. His conviction and love and the love and commitment of the converts is a lasting testimony to an extraordinary man, remarkable converts, and their combined efforts to create a peaceful, Christian, Indian community.

APPENDIX  
MISSION DEMOGRAPHY

One of the unusual aspects of the diaries of David Zeisberger and his missionary assistants is the wealth of demographic information they contain. On the last day of each year, the missionary keeping the congregational diary recorded the total mission population. Other categories frequently included were baptized, unbaptized, adults, and children. The missionaries often included the number of communicants, married couples, widows and widowers, single men and single women, older boys and older girls, younger boys and younger girls. By recording and plotting this wealth of data, we can see the demographic fluctuations of the congregation and correlate these changes with specific events in the mission's history. It is rare to be able to do a demographic study of this scope with Indian mission records. The following discussion is accompanied by a series of graphs, plotting these population figures.

In an attempt to portray the full numerical strength of David's mission, the data from all locations associated with David Zeisberger's efforts have been included. In the mid-1770s, David's Ohio mission was divided first into two towns and then into three; all of their data have been included. In the last decade of David's life, there were three formal mission



stations: Fairfield, established in 1792; Goshen, established in 1798; and Pettquotting, established in 1804. Although David resided at Goshen after 1798, the other two stations were the direct result of his efforts and were continuations of the Delaware mission. Most of the residents at Fairfield and Pettquotting had begun their Moravian lives under David's guidance and nurturing. To exclude their numbers from the demographic data would underrepresent the mission and David's efforts.

Not foreseeing the desires of future historians, the missionaries were not perfect record-keepers. There are years where only the total mission population was recorded. Other years the diarists added only the number of baptized and unbaptized. For those years where specific data are missing, no attempt has been made to estimate the numerical value. Because the diarists frequently left out information necessary to make confident estimates, too many problems would arise from attempting such a task. This lack, however, does not impede the use of the information we do have. Even with sporadic gaps, it is still possible to gain a clear picture of the demographic history of the mission.

The most compelling data, the size of the mission congregation, demonstrate the consistent strength of the mission population and its ability to recover from tumult and devastation. In the early years of the mission, the congregation steadily grew to a high of 414 souls in December 1775. (See Figure 1.) With the beginning of the revolutionary war there was a significant drop to 195 in 1776, but the mission quickly regained most of those lost, reaching 353 souls in 1780. Because of the forced diaspora of 1781, there are no data for that year. The murders of the ninety converts and the continued inability of the scattered converts to reunite with their teachers kept the mission's official numbers low; only 53 are

recorded members in 1782. From that year on, however, despite the continued difficulties of finding a suitable and safe permanent location to reestablish the mission, the mission again began to grow. From 1787 to 1797 the mission population averaged 164 souls, with a range of 123 to 212. This stability in numbers is a testament to David's ability to retain his converts even after the horrors of Gnadenhutten and the diaspora. This strong population also testifies to the converts' convictions and commitment to the Moravian Church and to David.

Baptized residents were always the vast majority of the congregation, usually outnumbering the unbaptized by more than five to one. (See Figure 2.) Those who came to reside at the mission eventually either received baptism or left, unwilling to abide by the mission's rules or to relinquish their traditional practices. The communicants were always a large percentage of the baptized congregants, averaging between 25 percent and 46 percent of the converts. If we exclude the data after 1804, the range increases to between 35 and 46 percent. (see Figure 3.) During the last few years of David's life, the mission began having increased problems with some converts. In Fairfield, the critical problem was drinking. The problem was so severe that the missionary there, Brother Oppelt, requested that David write a speech in Delaware for him to deliver on the evils of drinking and drunkenness. In Goshen, David had his own congregational difficulties. In 1805 Henry committed suicide using a traditional Indian poison. Following the dictates of the church, David refused to allow Henry to be buried in the church's sanctified cemetery. Ignatius and Christina, Henry's parents, were furious. After several arguments, David held firm and Henry was buried outside of the sacred internment grounds. Ignatius and Christina could not forgive

David this personal injury and, accompanied by several friends in the congregation, moved to Pettquotting. They remained with the mission but no longer had contact with David. Ignatius died in 1806, having received absolution. His wife Christina was absolved in 1809. This was one reason the number of active communicants for the last three years of David's life was significantly reduced.<sup>1</sup>

The generational makeup of the mission is also informative. Throughout the mission's history, the population was almost evenly divided between adults and children. (See Figure 4.) While there were slight fluctuations in the exact percentages per year, the general picture was one of equal representation. This high percentage of children is one of the primary reasons the mission was able to maintain its numerical strength over the years. Children raised in the mission tended to remain. But the numerical strength of the children can be misleading in one aspect. The mission had a very high death rate for children, especially newborns. It was not uncommon for a newborn child to be buried a few days or weeks later. Numerous children died of illness before reaching the age of five. Some families suffered especially severely. Sara Nanticoke lost nine of her thirteen children, most as infants or youngsters, before her own death. This numerical parity is also represented in the deaths in Gnadenhutten where fifty-six adults and thirty-four children were killed. The loss of those children slowed the mission's ability to recoup its losses. Of the adults at the mission, although not graphed, most were married. Single people were encouraged to marry and to establish households, and widows and widowers usually remarried within a year of

---

<sup>1</sup>MMR, Reel 20, Box 173, Folder 2: 8-9, 11, Folder 3: 2-6, Folder 6: 2; Olmstead, Blackcoats, 119-20.

their spouse's death. Therefore, the data we have depict a mission of married adults with an average of two living children each. Most adults and children were baptized, and a third or more of the adults, on average, were communicants. The population of the mission was relatively stable, committed to the Moravian Church, and survived the hardships and enjoyed the benefits of life based on Moravian and Delaware fellowship and community.<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>2</sup>Zeisberger, Diary, 1: 522-23; Heckewelder, Thirty Thousand Miles, 298.

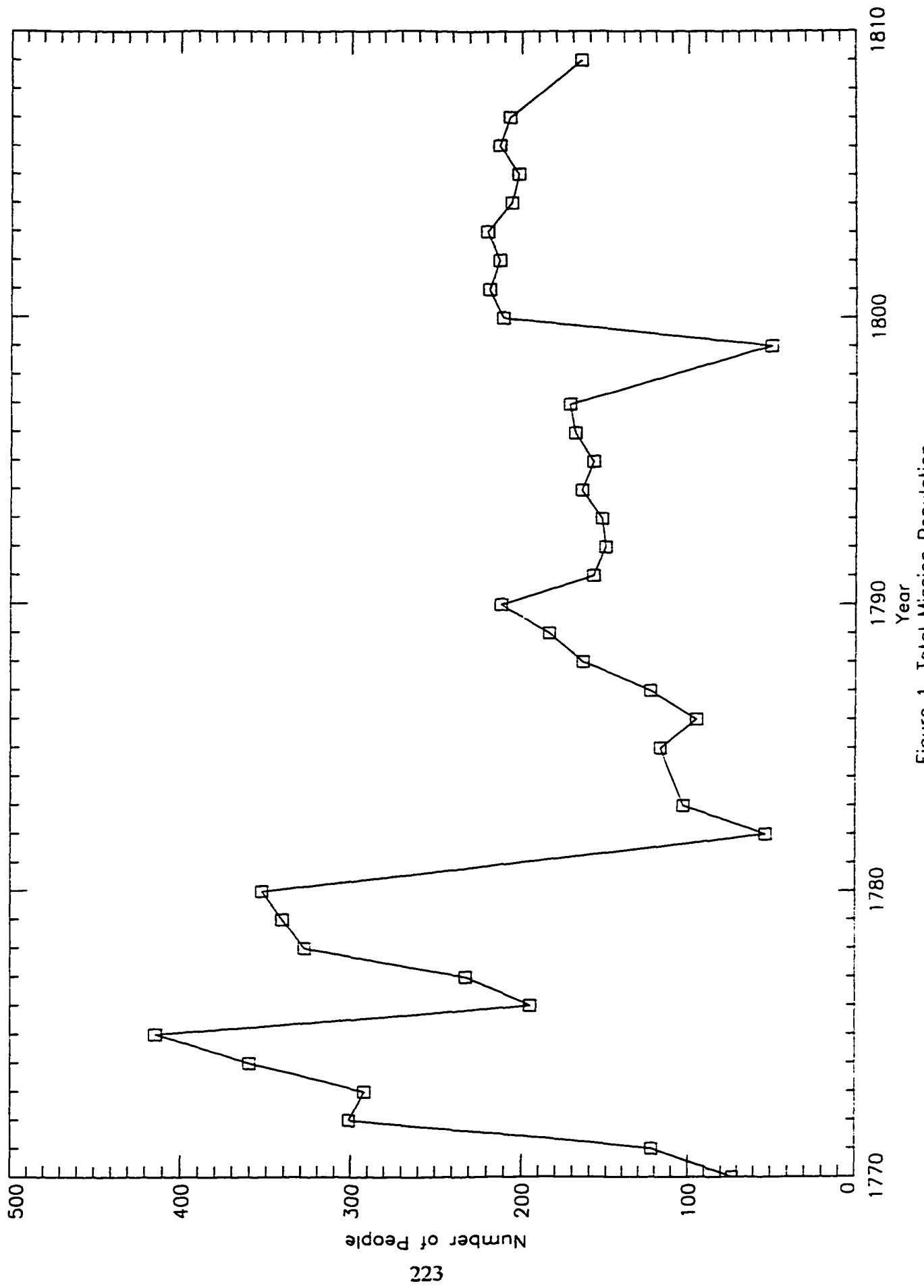


Figure 1. Total Mission Population

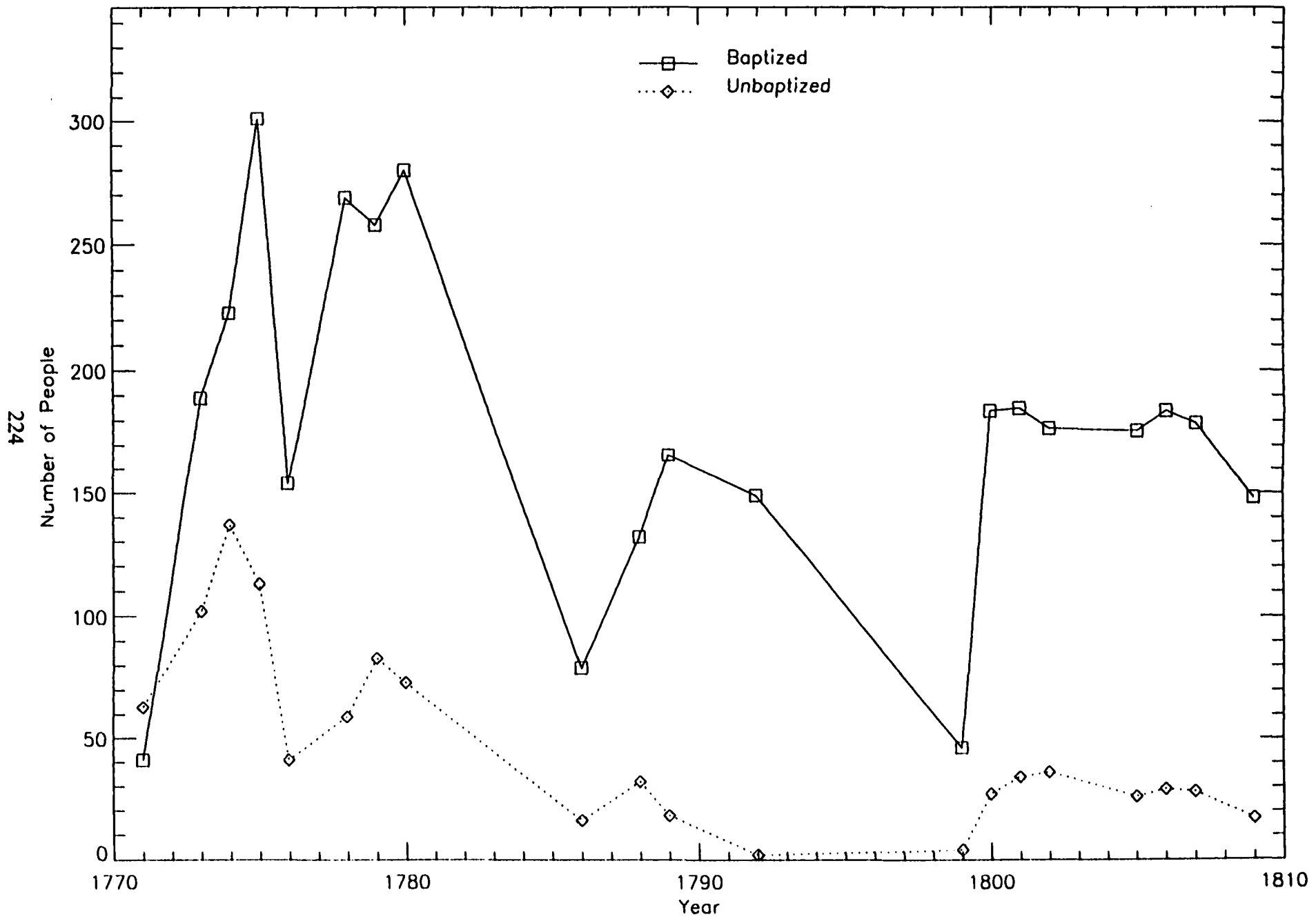


Figure 2. Baptized and Unbaptized Residents

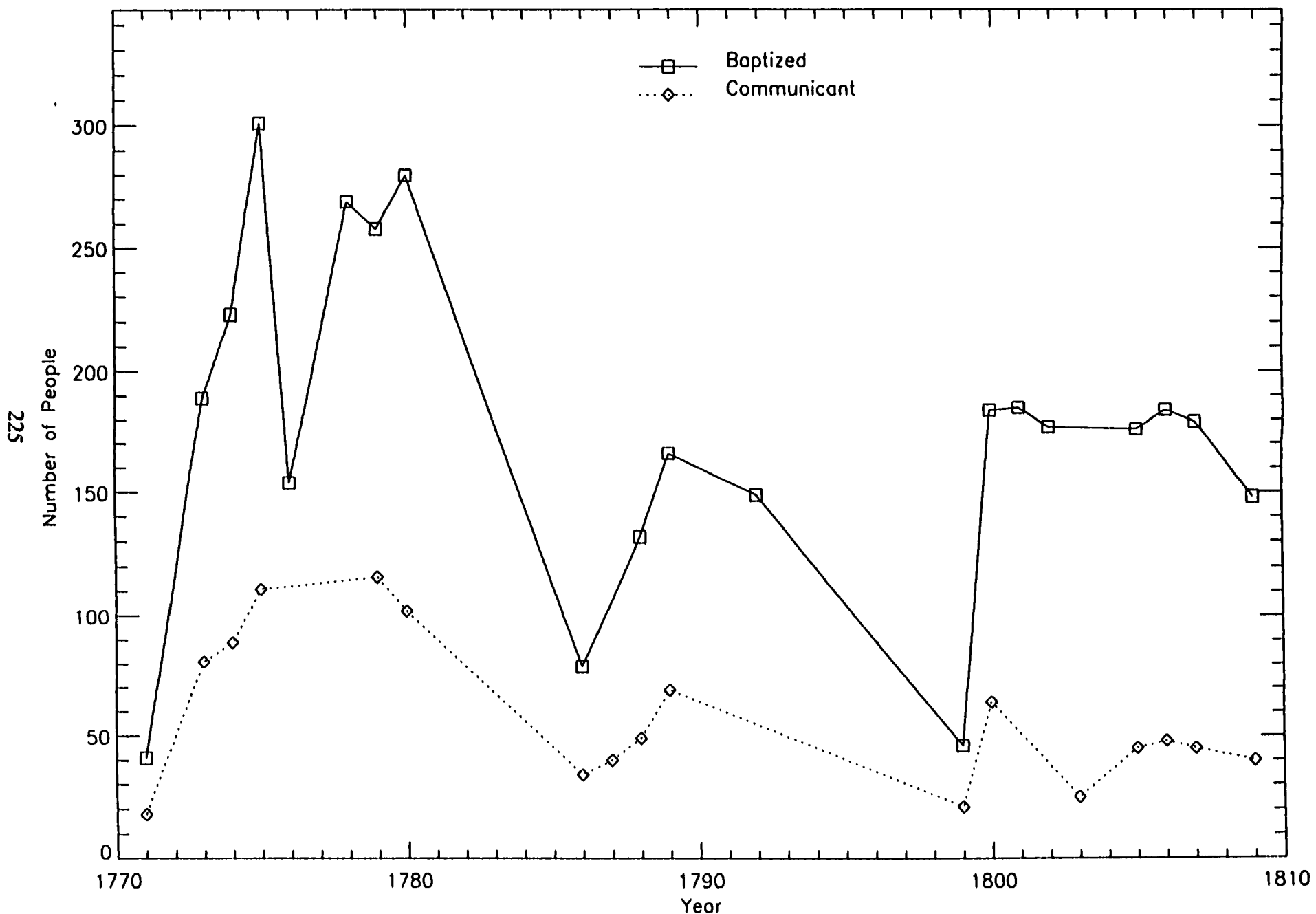


Figure 3. Communicant and Baptized Residents

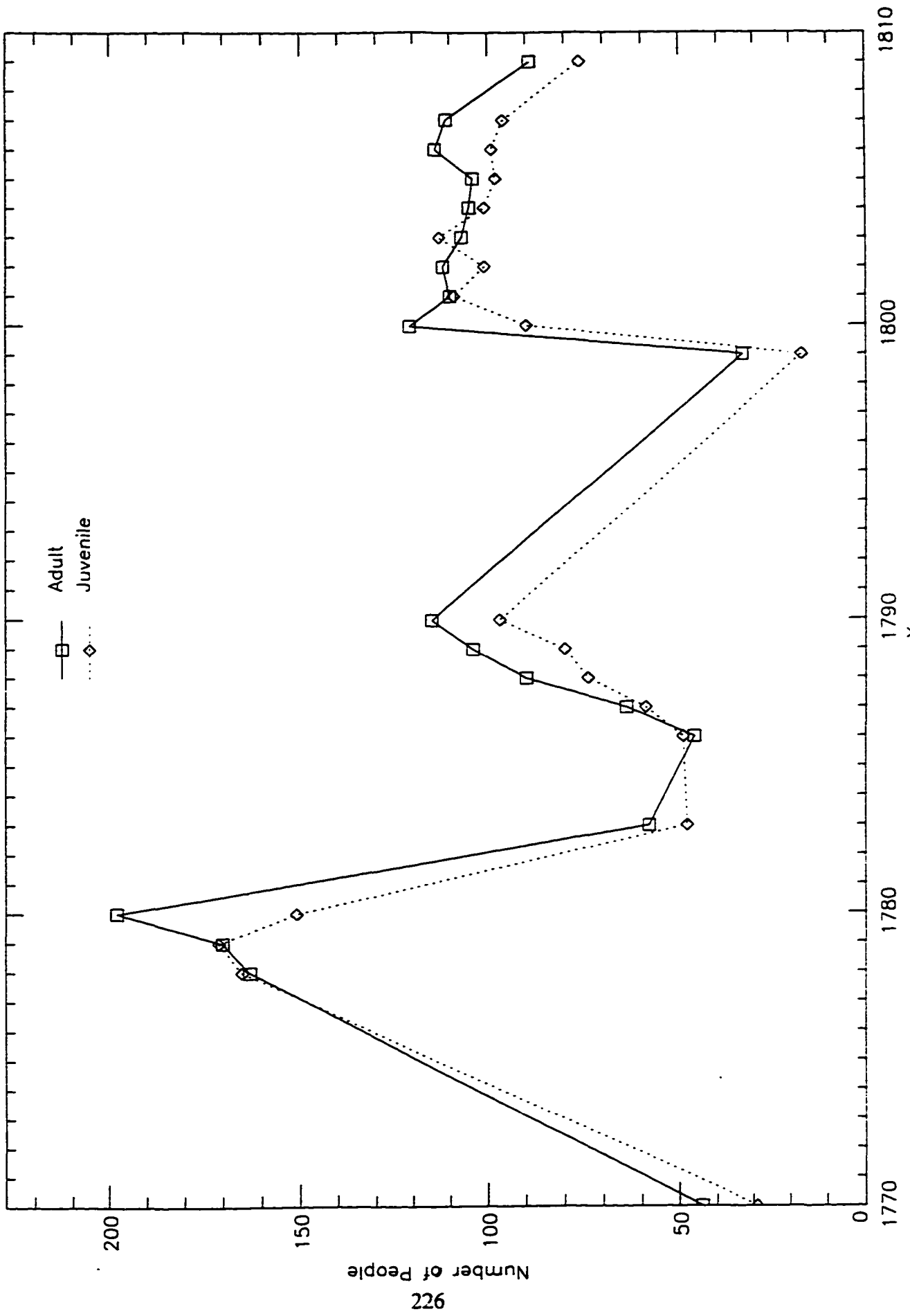


Figure 4 Adult and Juvenile Residents



## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### UNPUBLISHED PRIMARY SOURCES

Moravian Archives, Southern Province, Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

Abstract from the Diary of the Christians Indians at Goshen on the Muskingum, from May 1st to the 31st of October 1800.

Abstract from the Diary of the Christian Indians at Goshen on the River Muskingum in the year 1800.

Abstract from the Diary of the Indian Congregation at Goshen on Muskingum from the year 1799.

Diary from the persecuted and wandering Indian Congregation, during their Captivity on Muskingum, and moving to Sandusky River, their final Dispersion there, and Reestablishment on the River Huron not far from Fort Detroit, comprehending the Years 1781, 82, 83.

Diary of the Indian Congregation at Fairfield, 1795, 1796, 1797, 1798, 1799, 1800. translated.

Diary of the Indian Congregation on this New Place on Muskingum since their arrival on the Schoenbrunn Tract. from Oct 4-Nov 8 1798.

Diary of Lichtenau on Muskingum Riv. from Jan. till 9 Apr. when part of the Indian-Congregation moved again to Shoenbrunn, and the Continuance thereof till the Month of Nov. 1799.

Extract from the account of the Brethren John Heckewelder & Wm. Henry of their journey to Muskingum, in commission of the Society for propagating the gospel among the heathen, to be present as Deputies at the surveyings of the Land on Muskingum during the months April, May June & July 1797.

Journal of D. Zeisberger & Br. Benjamin Mortimer of their journey from Fairfield in Upper Canada to Schoenbrunn on the river Muskingum in the Northwest Territory of the United states, in company of 33 Indians from the 15 of Aug. until the 4th of October 1798.

List of Indian burials, place unknown.

Benjamin Mortimer, Short Account of a visit of some Indian Chiefs and Warriors in Nazareth, 1792.

David Zeisberger, letters: 1769, 12 June 1786, 9 June 1788, 19 July 1789..

Moravian Mission Records among the North American Indians from the Archives of the Moravian Church, Bethlehem, Pa. New Haven, Connecticut: Research Publications., [1978?] 40 microform reels.

Zeisberger, David. *The Diary of David Zeisberger, 1767-1772.* trans. Tilde Marx. Merle

H. Deardorff Collection, Warren County Historical Society, Warren,  
Pennsylvania.

#### PUBLISHED PRIMARY SOURCES

Beauchamp, William M., Rev., ed. Moravian Journals Relating to Central New York 1745-66. Syracuse, N. Y.: Onondaga Historical Association, 1916.

Franklin, Benjamin. The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin. New York: Macmillan, 1962.

Heckewelder, John. History, Manners, and Customs of the Indian Nations Who Once Inhabited Pennsylvania and the Neighbouring States. Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. vol. 12. Philadelphia: 1881.

Heckewelder, John G. E. Thirty Thousand Miles with John Heckewelder. ed. Paul A. W. Wallace. University of Pittsburgh Press, 1958.

Jones, David. A Journal of Two Visits Made to Some Nations of Indians On the West Side of the River Ohio, In the Years 1772 and 1773. New York: Joseph Sabin, 1865.

Mueller, Paul Eugene. "David Zeisberger's Official Diary, Fairfield, 1791-1795" [Columbia University PhD., 1956] Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society 19 (1963) part 1: 229 pp.

Penn, William. William Penn's Own Account of the Lenni Lenape or Delaware Indians. ed. Albert Cook Myers. Revised edition, Somerset, New Jersey: The Middle Atlantic Press, 1970.

Post, Christian Frederick. The Second Journal of Christian Frederick Post, On a Message from the Governor of Pennsylvania to the Indians on the Ohio. London: J. Wilkie, 1759. microfilm.

Society of the United Brethren, for Propagating the Gospel among the Heathen, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. Stated Rules of the Society. Philadelphia: Charles Cist, 1788.

Zeisberger, David. David Zeisberger's History of the Northern American Indians. ed. Archer Butler Hulbert and William Nathaniel Schwarze. Columbus: Ohio State Archeological and Historical Society, 1910.

- \_\_\_\_\_. Diary of David Zeisberger A Moravian Missionary Among the Indians of Ohio. ed. and trans. Eugene F. Bliss. 2 vols. Cincinnati: Historical Philosophical Society of Ohio, 1885.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Moravian Records, vol. 2, The Diaries of Zeisberger Relating to the First Missions in the Ohio Basin. eds. Archer Butler Hulbert and Wm. Nathaniel Schwarze. Ohio Archeological and Historical Publications vol. 21. Columbus: 1912.
- Zinzendorf, Nicholas Ludwig Count von. Nine Public Lectures on Important Subjects in Religion, Preached in Fetter Lane Chapel in London in the Year 1746. ed. and trans. George W. Forell. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1973.

#### UNPUBLISHED SECONDARY SOURCES

- Radloff, Ralph M. "Moravian Mission Methods Among the Indians of Ohio." Ph.D. diss., University of Iowa, 1973.
- Schutt, Amy C. "Forging Identities: Native Americans and Moravian Missionaries in Pennsylvania and Ohio, 1765-1782." Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 1995.

#### PUBLISHED SECONDARY SOURCES

- Axtell, James. The Invasion Within: The Contest of Cultures in Colonial North America. New York: Oxford University Press, 1985.
- Baudert, S. "Zinzendorf's Thought on Missions Related to His Views of the World," International Review of Missions 21 (1932) : 390-401.
- Beaver, Robert Pierce. Church, State, and the American Indians: Two and a Half Centuries of Partnership in Missions Between Protestant Churches and Government. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1966.
- Berkhofer, Robert F., Jr. Salvation and the Savage: An Analysis of Protestant missions and American Indian Response, 1787-1862. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1965.
- Bowden, Henry Warner. American Indians and Christian Missions: Studies in Cultural Conflict. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981.
- Brennecke, Robert H., Jr. "The Culture of Missionary Interest: A Study of the Source of Moravian Missionary Spirit," Missionary Review of the World 30 (1917) : 608-610.

- Conkling, Robert. "Legitimacy and Conversion in Social Change: The Case of French Missionaries and the Northeastern Algonkian," Ethnohistory 21 (Winter 1974) : 1-24.
- David, Chester. Hidden Seed and Harvest: A History of the Moravians. Winston-Salem, North Carolina: Wachovia Historical Society, 1959.
- DeSchweinitz, Edmund. The Life and Times of David Zeisberger, The Western Pioneer and Apostle of the Indians. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1870. Reprint, Arno Press, 1971.
- Downes, Randolph C. Council Fires on the Upper Ohio: A Narrative of Indian Affairs in the Upper Ohio Valley until 1795. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1940.
- Downes, Randolph Chandler. Frontier Ohio, 1788-1803. Columbus: Ohio State Archeological and Historical Society, 1935.
- Frank, Albert H. "Spiritual Life in Schonbrunn Village," Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society 26 (1990) : 20-38.
- Gavaler, Christopher P. "The Empty Lot: Spiritual Contact in Lenape and Moravian Religious Beliefs," American Indian Quarterly 18 (Spring 1994) : 215-228.
- Gollin, Gillian Lindt. Moravians in Two Worlds: a Study of Changing Communities. New York: Columbia University Press, 1962.
- Gray, Elma E. Wilderness Christians: The Moravian Mission to the Delaware Indians. New York: Russell & Russell, 1956.
- Grumet, Robert Steven. "Sunksquaws, Shamans, and Tradeswomen: Middle Atlantic Coastal Algonkian Women During the 17th and 18th Centuries," in Women and Colonization: Anthropological Perspectives, ed. Mona Etienne and Eleanor Leacock, 43-62. New York: Praeger Publisher, 1980
- Hamilton, J. Taylor. A History of the Church Known as the Moravian Church, or the Unitas Fratrum, or the Unity of the Brethren, during the 18th and 19th Centuries. Bethlehem, Pennsylvania: Times Publishing Company, 1900. Reprint, New York: AMS Press, 1971.
- Hamilton, J. Taylor and Kenneth G. Hamilton. History of the Moravian Church: The Renewed Unitas Fratrum, 1722-1957. Bethlehem, Pennsylvania: Moravian Church in America, 1967.

- Hamilton, Kenneth G. "Cultural Contributions of Moravian Missions Among the Indians," Pennsylvania History 18 (Jan. 1951): 1-15.
- Hamilton, Kenneth Gardiner. John Ettwein and the Moravian Church During the Revolutionary Period. Bethlehem, Pennsylvania: Times Publishing Co., 1940.
- Hartzell, Lawrence W. "Joshua, Jr.: Moravian Indian Musician," Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society 26 (1990): 1-19.
- Henry, James. Sketches of Moravian Life and Character: comprising A General view of the History, Life, Character, and Religious and Educational Institutions of the Unitas Fratrum. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1859.
- Hunter, Charles E. "The Delaware Nativist Revival of the Mid-Eighteenth Century," Ethnohistory 18 (Winter 1971): 39-49.
- Jennings, Francis. "Goals and Functions of Puritan Missions to the Indians," Ethnohistory 18 (Summer 1971): 197-212.
- Johnson, Frederick C., MD. Count Zinzendorf and the Moravian and Indian Occupancy of the Wyoming Valley, 1742-1763. Reprint, Proceedings & Collections of the Wyoming Historical & Geological Society, vol. 8. [Wilkes-Barre? PA], 1904.
- Kingsmill, Joseph. Missions and Missionaries: Historically Viewed From Their Commencement. London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1853. microfilm.
- Kortz, Edwin W., Rev. "The Liturgical Development of the American Moravian Church," Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society 18 (1962): 267-302.
- Kraft, Herbert C. A Delaware Indian Symposium. Harrisburg, Pa: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1974.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Lenape: Archeology, History, and Ethnography. Newark, New Jersey: New Jersey Historical Society, 1986.
- Kraft, Herbert C. and John T. Kraft. The Indians of Lenapehoking (the Lenape or Delaware Indians). South Orange, New Jersey: Seton Hall University Museum, 1985.
- Larson, Paul. "Mahican and Lenape Moravians and Moravian Music," Unitas Fratrum (1988) No. 21-22: 173-187.

- Leibert, Eugene. "Wechquetank," Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society 7 (1903) : 57-82.
- Loskiel, George Henry. The History of the Moravian Mission Among the Indians In North America, From Its Commencement to the Present Time. With a Preliminary Account of the Indians, compiled from Authentic Sources. London: T. Allman, 1838.
- Mancall, Peter C. Deadly Medicine: Indians and Alcohol in Early America. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995.
- Marsik, Stanley J. "The Moravian Brethren: Unitas Fratrum and American Indians in the Northwest Territory," Czechoslovak and Central European Journal 9 (1990) No. 1-2: 47-74.
- McConnell, Michael N. A Country Between: The Upper Ohio Valley and Its Peoples, 1724-1774. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992.
- McLoughlin, William G. Cherokees and Missionaries, 1789-1839. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984.
- Moravian Meanings: A Glossary of Historical Terms of the Moravian Church, Southern Province. Moravian Archives, Winston-Salem, North Carolina, 1992.
- McHugh, Thomas F. "The Moravian Mission to the American Indian: Early American Peace Corps," Pennsylvania History 33 (Oct. 1966) : 412-431.
- Miller, Jay. "The Delaware as Women: a Symbolic Solution," American Ethnologist 1 (Aug. 1974) : 507-514.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The 1806 Purge among the Indiana Delaware: Sorcery, Gender, Boundaries, and Legitimacy," Ethnohistory 41 (Spring 1994) : 245-266.
- Myers, Elizabeth Lehman. A Century of Moravian Sisters: A Record of Christian Community Life. New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1918.
- Newcomb, William W., Jr. The Culture and Acculturation of the Delaware Indians. Anthropological Papers, Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan, no. 10. Ann Arbor: 1956. Reprinted 1970.
- Olmstead, Earl P. Blackcoats among the Delaware: David Zeisberger on the Ohio Frontier. Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1991.

- Pickett, Ralph H. "A Religious Encounter: John Woolman and David Zeisberger," Quaker History 79 (Fall 1990) : 77-92.
- Reichel, William C. Memorials of the Moravian Church, vol. 1. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1870.
- Reichel, W. C., Rev. "Wyalusing, and the Moravian Mission at Friedenshutzen," Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society 1 (1871) part 5: 179-224.
- Ronda, James P. "'We Are Well As We Are': An Indian Critique of Seventeenth-Century Christian Missions," William and Mary Quarterly, Third Series 34 (1977) : 66-82.
- Sawyer, Edwin Albert. "The Religious Experience of the Colonial American Moravians." [Doctoral dissertation, Columbia University, 1956.] Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society 18 (1961): 1-227.
- Schonenberger, Regula Trenkwalder. Lenape Women, Matriliney and the Colonial Encounter: Resistance and Erosion of Power (c. 1600-1876) An Excursus in Feminist Anthropology. Bern: Peter Lang, 1991.
- Schwarze, Edmund. History of the Moravian Missions among Southern Indian Tribes of the United States. Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society, Special Series. vol. 1. Bethlehem, Pennsylvania: Times Publishing Company, 1923.
- Sessler, Jacob John. Communal Pietism Among Early American Moravians. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1933.
- Spangenberg, Augustus Gottlieb. An Account of the Manner in which the Protestant Church of the Unitas Fratrum, or United Brethren, Preach the Gospel, and Carry on their Missions among the Heathen. Translated from the German. London: H. Trapp, 1788. microfilm.
- Speck, Frank G. "The Delaware Indians as Women: Were the Original Pennsylvanians Politically Emasculated?" Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography 70 (Oct. 1946) : 377-389.
- Spicer, Edward H. Cycles of Conquest: The Impact of Spain, Mexico, and the United States on the Indians of the Southwest, 1533-1960. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1962.
- Tantaquidgeon, Gladys. A Study of Delaware Indian Medicine Practice and Folk Beliefs. Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania Historical Commission, 1942.

- Thwaites, Reuben Gold and Louise Phelps Kellogg, eds. Frontier Defense on the Upper Ohio, 1777-1778. Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society, 1912.
- Trigger, Bruce G. Natives and Newcomers: Canada's "Heroic Age" Reconsidered. Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1985.
- Vaughan, Alden T. New England Frontier: Puritans and Indians, 1620-1675. Revised ed., New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1979.
- Wallace, Anthony F. C. King of the Delawares: Teedyuscung, 1700-1763. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1949.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "New Religions Among the Delaware Indians, 1600-1900," Southwestern Journal of Anthropology 12 (Spring 1956) : 1-21.
- Weaver, Glenn. "The Moravians During the French and Indian War," Church History 24 (1955) : 239-256.
- Weslager, C. A. The Delaware Indians: A History. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1972.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Delaware Indian Westward Migration: With the Texts of Two Manuscripts (1821-22) Responding to General Lewis Cass's Inquiries About Lenape Culture and Language. Wallingford, PA: Middle Atlantic Press, 1978.
- \_\_\_\_\_. New Sweden on the Delaware: 1638-1655. Wilmington, Delaware: Middle Atlantic Press, 1988.



## VITA

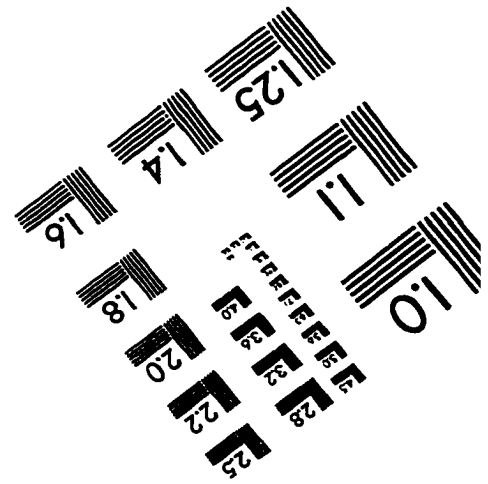
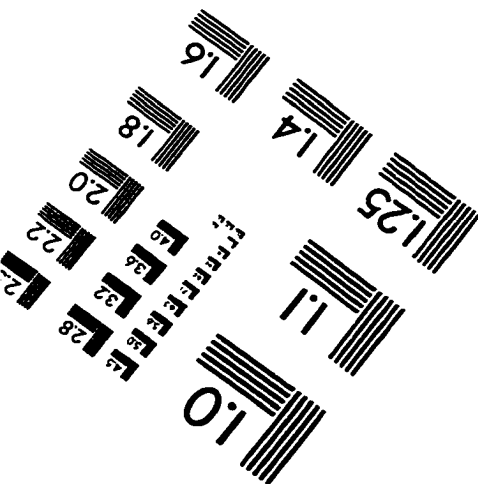
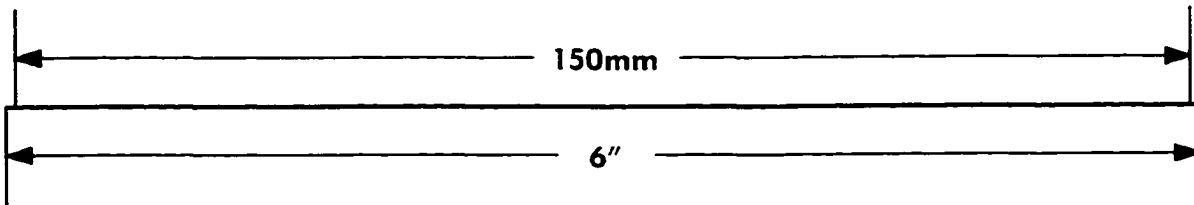
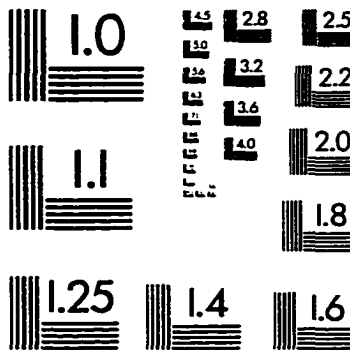
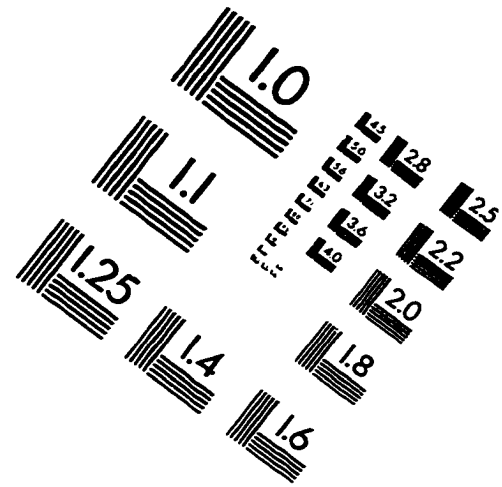
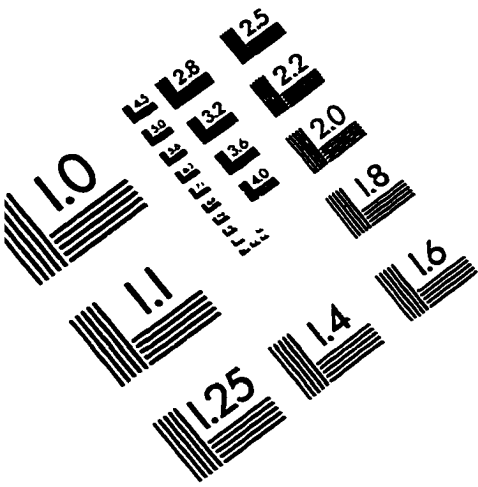
### MAIA TURNER CONRAD

Born in Los Angeles, California, February 26, 1961. Graduated from University High School in that city, June 1979, B.S. University of Oregon, 1985, M.A. University of Oregon, 1987, with a concentration in British Imperial History; thesis "Suttee and the Process of British Prohibition, 1829," M.A. Northwestern University, 1989 in comparative history.

August 1989, entered The College of William and Mary as a doctoral student and graduate assistant in the Department of History.

Served as a history instructor at several Virginia colleges. 1992, taught American History at The College of William and Mary and Thomas Nelson Community College. Since 1996, taught World Civilizations, Modern Latin American History, and American Women's History at Christopher Newport University. Beginning August 1998, will also teach American History at Old Dominion University.

# IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (QA-3)



**APPLIED IMAGE, Inc**  
 1653 East Main Street  
 Rochester, NY 14609 USA  
 Phone: 716/482-0300  
 Fax: 716/288-5989

© 1993, Applied Image, Inc., All Rights Reserved