

most of them almost stripped naked; yet not one had lost his life, or received any hurt in his person. Those that had lain many weeks sick, and lying-in women, were so much strengthened, as to be able to escape on foot. The plunderers, indeed, pursued them; but were driven away by regular troops: some of whom, out of compassion, and with tears in their eyes, gave them a share of their ammunition-bread. They were still troubled for some hours, on the way, by another party; but thereby, unknown to them, only detained so long, till a plunging party had left a village again, through which they were to pass.

The whole company took their way to *Gnadenberg*, near *Bunzlau*, and were treated every where on the road with much kindness, although the whole district was greatly exhausted, and laid waste. They reached *Gnadenberg* on the 28th of September, before break of day. Having been supplied by their Brethren with the necessary clothing, they were divided into the nearest congregations, and, as poor exiles, every where received in love. Some of the Brethren that staid behind, had been dispersed; but, after various hardships, they all came to the neighbouring congregations.

§ 248.

A SIMILAR danger befel the Bohemian congregation at *Rucksdorf*, when, in October 1760, the Russian troops, under general *Tottleben*, lay before *Berlin*. The Sisters and Children were brought, for safety, to *Berlin*, and most of them were lodged in the congregation-house of the Brethren in *William-street*, where they yet were not exempted from great anxiety. The Brethren suffered much, being plundered of their all. Some were ill treated, and, amidst an almost total want of water, exposed to continual danger, among the many fires in the street, and the narrow lanes of thatched houses, barns, and stables. But they, amidst all hardships, bravely held out to the end; and saved from a
fire,

fire, which once began to burn, not only their own habitations, but even the houses of the adjoining village, which were quite deserted. They could not sufficiently magnify the preservation of God from all the danger their persons and lives were exposed to, and were exceedingly thankful for the contribution made by other congregations towards some reparation of their loss.

The dread of the like usage induced the Brethren at *Gnadenberg* in *Silesia*, in the year 1761, on the approach of irregular Russian troops, which every where spread terror and distress, to bring all the Sisters and Children into safety in *Saxony*. Most of the Sisters were received at *Niesky*, and in the manor-house of *Trebus*; the boys, at *Gross Hennesdorf*; and the girls, at *Herrnhut*: at which places they were maintained for above a quarter of a year, until they could again repair with safety to *Silesia*. However, the congregation at *Gnadenberg*, excepting some small extortions, suffered no harm; the commanders, both of the Russian and Imperial armies, having sent them safe-guards, before they presumed to desire it.

§ 249.

THE painful occurrence at *Newsalz* caused universal grief and concern; and the diacony of the Brethren (§ 178.) was again obliged to take a great burden upon itself, in order to assist in bearing the loss occasioned by it. But yet, all this was over-balanced by the gratitude for the deliverance of the Brethren and Sisters in this and other places. As my design is not properly, to preserve the remembrance of the calamities of the war, but rather, the signal deliverances out of them; so will I neither here relate the considerable damages, which those Brethren who were possessed of landed estates, suffered, in common with others of their neighbours, by contributions, foraging, and the like. But I desire to extol the faithful providence of our heavenly Father, who,

in the midst of all their losses, and the universal great scarcity and dearth of provisions, provided for the congregations, and their numerous children's æconomies, and withal enabled them, even to support the work of God among the Heathen, as before. For this end, God made use of no other than the common means, the labour of their hands, blessing, in an uncommon manner, the handicrafts and manufactures in the congregations. For, as soon as the armies perceived the goodness of the Brethren's work, and found it very convenient, that the price of every commodity was fixed without abatement; the Brethren had not only full employment, but the commanders themselves, several times, took care, that their goods should pass to and from the fairs, at the very time, when all commerce was at a stand. And when the conveyance was stopped, they gave the Brethren passports, that they might be able to provide themselves with what they wanted. A certain general declared, in his pass, that he gave it in order to show his particular regard for Herrnhut, and for the dear children there, and to relieve their necessities.

The Brethren were, in general, much indebted to their children's æconomies. The simple, free, serene behaviour and language of the children to every one, without shyness or too great freedom, but more especially, the content and happiness, which shone in the eyes of these little ones, procured them, from the commencement of the war, the admiration and affection of the officers of high and low rank, of which the Brethren afterwards reaped the benefit in many cases. Thus it was truly verified, that *Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings he hath ordained strength.* (Psalm viii. 2.)

I will give no farther special account of the particular assistance which the Brethren experienced in their buildings, being enabled not only to finish the houses begun before the war, in almost all the congregations, but, in the midst of the war, to begin and finish quite new and considerable buildings, for the better regulating their various institutions.

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I will conclude this relation with some sentences put of an account of Brother *Spangenberg* from *America*, concerning the danger and divine preservation, experienced by the Brethren, in the Indian war in *America*, as described above, from § 217 to 224.

§ 250.

“ THE Lord (it is said in this account) has guided us with his eyes, from the beginning to the end of the war.

“ By means of the destruction of our colony, and the Indian town on the *Mahony*, (§ 217.) he entirely cleared the Brethren of a calumny, devised by the wicked enemy, to raise a tumult against them in these countries, and to destroy their places.

“ He favoured us, in these hard times, when all that lived behind our settlements were obliged to flee, with being a refuge to many hundred poor people.

“ He, like a kind father, provided for us and our guests, even for our cattle, in this time of scarcity, and put it in our power, by the assistance of some friends in this country, to furnish the naked refugees with the necessary clothing.

“ He rendered the preaching of the gospel successful, not only among the white people, who fled to *Bethlehem*, and to *Bethabara* in North Carolina; but also among the Indians, who, during the war, visited at *Bethlehem*.

“ Our dear Lord enabled us to build some new congregation-places.

“ He preserved us together in one mind in love, inasmuch, that, at that time, none of our people desired to go away, in order to be better provided for, or to be more safe.

“ Some Brethren, indeed, who were going to Europe with the ship, *The Irene*, were taken at sea, and some letters were lost; but whatever was sent from thence to

“ us,

“ us, and the Brethren who came to America, arrived
“ safely.

“ He blessed us, both in the cultivation of the land, and in
“ our commerce, more than before, and gave us opportu-
“ nities of supplying the fugitives with work and sustenance;
“ and maintained and increased our credit.

“ He gave us friends among the savages, who averted much
“ mischief. When savages even intended to attack us in the
“ night, he deterred them from it by the accidental dis-
“ charge of a gun, or by other incidents; of which we
“ afterwards have been informed of many instances.

“ He made use of the war to this end, to make manifest,
“ more than could be in the common course of things, our
“ disposition towards him, our loyalty to government, love
“ to our neighbours, and willingness to serve even the ene-
“ mies and murderers, when inclined to peace; for which
“ we often found opportunities.

“ We were enabled to preserve our children in innocence,
“ and to keep them free from fear and terror.

“ We continued undisturbed and uninterrupted in the
“ course of our congregations.

“ He, by means of the war, granted us to attain to the
“ experimental knowledge of many things, of which, in
“ mere theory, nothing determinate can be said.

“ He, in particular, strengthened our faith in his word,
“ our filial confidence in him, our resignation and child-
“ like submission to his will, our courage and boldness to
“ venture upon him, by means of many trials. We were
“ like sheep, ready and willing for the slaughter, to whom
“ his way was agreeable and right, crooked as it might ap-
“ pear, if he only led us into his arms and bosom. But,
“ upon hearing, that not only the savages had said, ‘ Let
“ us see, whether the God of the Brethren is so strong, as to
“ be able to deliver them from our hatchet,’ but that even
“ one of our neighbours had uttered this speech: ‘ The
“ Brethren

“ Brethren have always spoken so much of their Saviour,
 “ and prayed to him: now it will appear, whether he can
 “ save them;’ our hearts were inflamed with zeal against
 “ these blasphemies, and we could not forbear calling upon
 “ him, for the sake of his honour, *Lord, help us!* And he
 “ has helped us.

“ Blessed be the Lord, whose faithfulness has been new
 “ every morning! Blessed be his name, that he, by his power,
 “ has averted all evil from us!”

§ 251.

THE peace with Russia was no sooner concluded, but the Royal chamber at *Glogau* in Silesia desired, that the establishment of the Brethren near *Newsalz* might be rebuilt. But they, by reason of the great loss they had sustained here and in other places, saw no possibility for it, and at least could not think of it before the end of the war; they even were, almost determined not to engage any more in it. But after the general peace, the king, by a provincial counsellor, signified to the direction of the Unity of the Brethren, that the rebuilding of this colony would give him particular pleasure. This caused the Brethren to send their syndic, *John Frederic Koeber*, as their deputy, to *Berlin*, especially since it was found necessary to make remonstrances with regard to several grievances in the other Silesian congregations. The result was a renewed grant given to the Unity of the evangelical Brethren, adhering to the Augustan confession, bearing date the 18th of July 1763, with a confirmation of the Royal grants of the 25th of December 1742, and the 7th of May 1746, to which the assurance was annexed, that they should be protected against all encroachments: upon which the rebuilding of the settlement of the Brethren at *Newsalz* was begun.

§ 252.

THE Brethren at *New Dietendorf* had indeed enjoyed all protection they could wish for, in their present congregation-regulation, so well adapted to the church-constitution of the country; (§ 197.) and were, especially during the war, at several visits of the duke and his family, and of many persons of rank of the different departments of government, repeatedly encouraged to enlarge their settlement, with the promise of all possible assistance. A good beginning had also been made. The single Brethren had built a new house and some workshops, and the inhabitants a larger congregation-hall for their daily meetings. (§ 212.) But still they wished to receive from their gracious sovereign an assurance in form of the free exercise of their congregation-orders and divine worship, and requested the direction of the Unity of the Brethren, to lend them their assistance, in procuring for them such a grant from their sovereign, as would entirely satisfy them. To this end, the before-mentioned syndic *Koeber* was, in the beginning of the year 1764, deputed to *Gotba*. The affair having been duly treated with the ministers of the duke, an edict was issued bearing date the 12th of March, declaring, “ That, after a previous solid examination of the constitution of the Brethren established there, all and each of the rights and liberties, which the rest of the inhabitants of the country enjoy, shall be granted to the evangelical Brethren’s congregation, adhering to the unaltered Augustan confession, and to all the members of the Brethren’s Unity; and that they shall be protected, in particular, in the free public exercise of religion, and the discipline and order in use in the congregations of the evangelical Brethren.” Upon this most gracious edict, the Brethren at *New Dietendorf* continued to build, and endeavoured to answer the expectation of the duke and government, to the utmost of their power.

§ 253.

ONE consequence of the farther enlargement of the Brethren's acquaintance during the war, was, several invitations to form new colonies, all of which they were then obliged to decline. Among these was one to *Russia*. A certain eminent Russian general having been induced to consider the congregations of the Brethren in another point of view, than they had been described to him, his good testimony was the cause, that, even during the reign of the empress *Elizabeth*, a certain minister of state made repeated offers to the Brethren of a settlement upon his estates in *Russia*. The answer was, 'That, considering the well-known events, which, during these twenty years past, had occurred in the Russian empire, with respect to the Brethren, and considering so many accusations against them brought before her Imperial majesty, though the Brethren never yet had an opportunity of evincing their innocence; they could not see what use could be made of such an overture. And in general, the Brethren could not settle in any country, before a previous examination, and the approbation of the sovereign.' Here the matter rested for that time. After peace was restored, towards the end of the year 1762, the Brethren were again invited to *Russia*, and that by the aforesaid general. But as no other answer could be given but the preceding; the affair was laid before her majesty, the present empress, who resolved to appoint an examination of the cause of the Brethren; and for this end ordered the acts of the Livonian commission, together with all the papers relating to it, to be sent from *Petersburg* to *Moscow*. On the report which followed, her majesty resolved to do justice to the Brethren, and to assure them of her favour, and that she would receive them in her empire. With this resolution, an aulic counsellor of the empress arrived at *Herrnhut* in the month of September, 1763. He having opened the affair to the direction

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rection of the Unity of the Brethren, it was resolved to return the empress the most respectful thanks by two deputies, and to lay before her, and the spiritual and temporal departments of government, the state of the church of the Brethren in doctrine and constitution, waiting for her farther most gracious resolution. On the 31st of October, the Brethren, *Paul Eugene Layritz* and *John Lorez*, set off, as deputies, with the Imperial counsellor, to *Petersburg*, and, having delivered their credentials, were presented to the empress by count *Gregory Orloff*. Her majesty most graciously made enquiry after the history, doctrine and constitution of the Brethren, and, on the request of the deputies for an examination, nominated for it, *Demetrius*, metropolitan of *Novogorod*, presiding member of the synod, in which the superintendency of all ecclesiastical matters is lodged, and the said count *Orloff*. The examination was performed in several conferences, in which the deputies laid as the foundation, a declaration of the adherence of the Unity of the Brethren to the Augustan confession, and, moreover, an account in Latin of the constitution of the church of the Brethren. After the report was made, the opinion of the whole synod was desired; which was to this effect, ‘ That
‘ the Brethren, some small difference excepted, agree in doctrine with that of the Protestants; but in their discipline,
‘ usages, and Christian walk, are studious to resemble the
‘ primitive Christians, and call themselves, Evangelical
‘ Brethren.’ Upon this, an Imperial *Ukase* (edict) followed, bearing date the ^{11th}/_{22d} of February, 1764, which was sent to all the governors of the provinces of the Russian empire, and published in the news-papers. In this edict, among others, are these words, “ A most gracious permission is granted to *The Unity of the Evangelical Brethren*,
“ to come into the empire, and to enjoy a full liberty of
“ conscience, religion, and church-constitution, according
“ to their own discipline, as laid by them before the synod.
“ —And

“ ———And thus, we receive all the Brethren of the Unity,
 “ as many as have either already settled, or shall hereafter
 “ settle, in our whole empire, into our most sublime protection, &c.”

After a very gracious audience of leave, in which her majesty declared, how highly agreeable it would be to her, if a colony of the Brethren would settle in the kingdom of *Astracan*; the deputies returned to Germany, and, on their return to Herrnhut, on the 11th of April, 1764, gave a report of their transactions, which had been accompanied with the grace of God.

§ 254.

THE inward state of the congregations has been treated of in § 242, and the outward circumstances have here and there been touched upon; so that I have now only to revert to some remarkable alterations in some congregations.

The congregations in *Saxony*, by the demise of the gracious father of the country, the king of *Poland*, and elector of *Saxony*, *Augustus III*, on the 5th of October, and, soon after, of his successor, the elector *Frederic Christian*, on the 17th of December 1763, were deeply affected, and so much the more, as they had enjoyed under them not only all desirable protection, but also distinguished favour. However, the Brethren had the consolation, to be assured by his Royal highness, prince *Xaverius*, as administrator of the electorate, and the electoral house and ministry, of the continuance of the same gracious dispositions, which they also actually experienced.

The *Vandal* congregation at *Klein Welke* was, as it were, grown up in the midst of the troubles of war; the congregation-hall and most of the family-houses being built during that time: and after the restoration of peace, the single Brethren began to build a house for themselves.

The Brethren at *Barby* were a blessing to many souls both far and near. Several Brethren, having finished their studies

dies in the college, were called to the labour in congregations and choirs, in schools, and in the Heathen-missions. The Brethren's institutions there were honoured with the visits of some great personages of the Royal house of Prussia, during their residence at Magdeburg.

At *Rueksdorf*, near Berlin, the meeting-hall of the Bohemian Brethren, built in the year 1753, being now too small, they built, during the war, a more spacious one, together with some dwellings for the œconomy of girls, and finished them in the year 1761. They enjoyed, this time, the same Royal favour, as they did, in the year 1753, at the building of the œconomy of boys, and the old meeting-hall. (§ 208.) The negotiation, respecting the restoration of a colony of the Brethren at *Newsalz*, proved also of benefit to the Bohemian Brethren at *Berlin*. Some time before the synod held in the year 1764, several assistants, and candidates for service, of the Bohemian nation, were accepted acolyths, and some were ordained deacons of the church of the Brethren; an act, which had not been done in the Bohemian language for one hundred and forty years, since 1624.

At *Ebersdorf*, a grant was made to the Brethren by the sovereign of the country of a particular parcel of land for the enlargement of their settlement; and a new grant, bearing date the 1st of June, 1761, was executed in behalf of the congregation of the Brethren there.

§ 255.

THE congregations in the dominions of *Great Britain* lost, in the year 1760, their gracious sovereign, king *George II*, under whose protection they had been, first of all, established, and greatly increased. The address which, like other religious constitutions, they presented to their present most gracious king, was graciously received, and printed with the rest.

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The dearth in the whole country occasioned many troubles. The Brethren at *Duckenfield* were accused of having bought, and laid up in their chapel, a large quantity of corn, with a view to enhance the price. The populace flocked together out of the country, with an intent to demolish the chapel; but, having searched, and found nothing in it, they acknowledged the Brethren's innocence.

The schools, established in the societies in *Yorkshire*, proceeded in blessing; and many, who did not belong to the Brethren, sent their children to them. These often proved a blessing to their parents, and made them desirous to attend the Brethren's meetings. Even people, who before opposed and persecuted the Brethren, were by this means made friends.

A select number of the society at *Haverfordwest* in South Wales, was, in the year 1763, formed into a congregation of the Brethren; and in several places, both in North and South Wales, Brethren were invited to preach, after the *Berlin-Discourses*, (§ 76.) translated into Welch, became known among this nation.

On *Ballykennedy-Land* in the North of Ireland (§ 216.) some families had begun to build in the year 1759, and in 1764 the single Brethren built an house there. The congregation-place, thus begun, was called, *Gracehill*. The inhabitants of these parts being very poor, they were enabled, by a loan from other congregations, in the year 1765, to erect a church and other buildings, especially a choir-house of the single Sisters. The preaching of the gospel spread farther, and, in some places, new societies were settled, and chapels built. On occasion of an insurrection in the year 1763, the Brethren in those parts had their share of the distress of the country, and were in great terror and danger.

§ 256.

THE company of above forty persons, mentioned in § 241, most of whom were before appointed to certain posts among Christians and Heathens, arrived safely in America in the year 1761, and were received with the greater joy and thankfulness, as they had been long wished for and expected. At *Bethlehem* and *Nazareth*, according to § 101, a common housekeeping had been established from the beginning, and every one worked for, and received their maintenance from, it. The children's œconomies, the sick and weak, the widows and orphans, the visits of the labourers to the country-congregations, and from them to *Bethlehem*, the missionaries among the Heathen, and, in some measure, the Heathens themselves, in various difficult circumstances, were provided for and supported from it. This method could not well be avoided at the beginning of the work of God in a country at that time but little cultivated, to accomplish it without greater expences, than could be borne by any other method. But the colonies increasing, it neither could nor should continue any longer. Hence, even in the life-time of the ordinary, it was determined to alter this housekeeping, and, according to the constitution of the Brethren's congregations in Europe, to put every one in a condition to provide for himself and family; leaving it, at the same time, to his own free will, to contribute of his own towards the maintenance of the children's œconomies, the Heathen-missions, and the poor. This was brought to bear in the years 1761 and 1762.

At that time also the children's œconomies were better regulated; and in the ensuing year a *Pædagogium* was established of such boys as discovered an inclination and capacity to study, in a large building near *Nazareth*, called, *Nazareth-hall*, fitted up for that purpose.

In the year 1762, Brother *Spangenberg*, whom God had made use of with great blessing in this country ever since the year 1736, but more especially since 1744, followed his call to Europe, to be a member of the direction of the Brethren's congregations. His nearest colleague, *Peter Boehler*, who had, in the year 1740, led the colony from Georgia to Pennsylvania, and was one of the Brethren who began the building of Nazareth and Bethlehem, followed him in the year 1764, and was likewise nominated by the synod a member of the direction of the Unity. Thus, there remained only, to conduct the work of God in this extensive field, *Matthew Gottfried Hehl*, who, in the year 1751, came into the country as co-bishop, and *Nathanael Seidel*, who, since the year 1742, had laboured with blessing in America, having especially the visitation of the Heathen-missions committed to him, and who had been consecrated a bishop of the church of the Brethren, in the year 1758.

§ 257.

DURING this period, indeed, no new country-congregations were formed in America: but so much the more pains were taken to bring to effect the advice, given at the synod held at Nazareth in the year 1757, to the Brethren living scattered and at a great distance from their churches, that they should move more closely together. (§ 219.) The building of *Lititz*, near Warwick, was prosecuted; and now likewise three other small congregation-villages were begun to be built, *Hebron*, near Lebanon, *Emmaus*, formerly called, *Maguntische*, not far from Bethlehem, and *Schoenek*, near Nazareth.

The visits in the congregations and schools, and among the scattered Brethren, as well as the preaching in several places, were continued with blessing, and more and more new hearers attended, who requested the Brethren to preach in their places too, especially in *New England*, in the *Jer-*

Jeys, on the *Patomak* in *Virginia*, and in *Maryland*. A particular desire was found among the *Negroes* at *New York*, to hear the gospel. In *Staaten-Island* the friends of the Brethren built a chapel for the preaching of the gospel.

During the Indian war, which broke out afresh in the year 1763, *Bethlehem* and the rest of the places of the Brethren, together with the Indian congregation, were in greater danger, than they had been in the last Indian war, not only from the savages, but from the white people themselves, which danger was continued and increased a long time by false reports spread through the country. The oil-mill at Bethlehem taking fire, not by chance, is a clear proof of this. Had not the buildings near it been preserved from the flames by a particular providence of God, all Bethlehem would have been laid in ashes. In what manner the Brethren were delivered from this twofold danger, shall be shown hereafter.

§ 258.

THE Indian congregations at *Nain* near Bethlehem, and at *Wechquatank* behind the Blue Mountains, were established better and better, and were often visited by the Indians of the circumjacent parts. No less than six hundred and fifty of them visited at *Nain*, in the year 1761, on occasion of a treaty with government, whom the Brethren at Bethlehem (the Indians having never much to spare) had to maintain for several days. They did this the more willingly, as most of them, by this opportunity, heard the gospel, probably, not without a blessing; for many came purposely in this view. Many baptized returned out of their dispersion to the Indian congregation, bringing others with them, who, after proper instruction, were baptized. On the other hand, several came with a view to persuade their nearest friends and relations to go away with them; and, after due warning, every one was left to his own choice. The same
conduct

conduct was observed at *Pachgatgoch*. The intention of those who went away with their relations, was not, to forsake the Brethren; (though some of them grew pretty wild :) but to seek for better providing-places. Most of them shed many tears at the admonitions given them at parting, owned the bad state of their souls, and desired a teacher of the Brethren; but as none could be granted them on account of their living so very scattered, they entreated them, to visit them frequently. *David Zeisberger*, who, according to § 187, had formerly resided among the Six Nations, and especially at *Onondago*, often for several months together, but who, since the Indian war, lived at Bethlehem, was willing to undertake these visits to the Indians. He made several journeys to *Wajomik*, and farther up on the *Susquehanna*, in rain and snow, through morasses and high waters, through thick underwood, often in storm and tempest, among many falling trees. He had the pleasure to direct many that were gone astray, into the right road again, to declare unto them the remission of sins in the name of the Lord, and to see them depart this life happily. This last was the case especially of two former first-fruits and chief persons in the Indian congregation, who, at their departure out of time, admonished their relations and friends to turn back to the people of God, that they might not be condemned with the world; which had a good effect upon many.

§ 259.

From hence *David Zeisberger* went farther up the *Susquehanna* to *Machwihilusung*, by way of *Lechawachnek*, where, according to § 188, about the year 1755, a great emotion had taken place among the *Menissing* Indians. Many hundreds from these parts had, on occasion of the treaty of peace,

visited at Bethlehem, and heard the gospel; and the *Nanticoke*s had renewed their friendship made with the Brethren in the year 1752, (§ 187.) and invited them to come to them. Many Indians in these parts were concerned about their salvation. In several places, teachers rose up among them, who, under the pretence of a revelation and mission from heaven, endeavoured to cultivate their heathenish religion in a better manner, and to lead their hearers, (for they gave public exhortations) on the path of virtue, to *the great Spirit*, as they call God. One chief means, to obtain this end, should be, to avoid all conversation with the white people, by whom they were led into all kinds of vices, especially by means of the sale of strong liquors, and for that reason to move quite away from them, and still deeper into the woods. The Heathen-teacher at Machwihilusung, *Papunk*, had continued his exhortations with great zeal for many years: but both he and his hearers saw at length, that, amidst all their endeavours to practise virtue, they fell deeper and deeper into gross vices; and found no rest for their souls. Many came upon the thoughts that he could not be a true teacher; and he himself began to see, and to own, that he was himself not able to do what he taught them. They, therefore, met together, and prayed God to direct them, among the various parties in Pennsylvania, to people who could show them the right way of salvation. *Papunk* was upon the point, in May 1763, of going, in this view, by way of Bethlehem, to Philadelphia, when *David Zeisberger*, on his above-mentioned visit on the Susquehanna, called upon them. They, receiving him as a man sent from God in answer to their prayers, directly called all the people together in their and other places, and desired him to show unto them the way of salvation. Almost all of them were convinced of the truth, and sent a message by him to the

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the Brethren, requesting of them to send them a teacher. This could not be done immediately. However, in the month of June, when even a rumour was spread of the breaking out of a new Indian war, they were once more visited by David Zeisberger. At the same time, people of another persuasion, who had been invited by the Indians to preach in other places, came hither. At their proposal, Papunhank, at a great council of all the men, having given an ample detail of their condition hitherto, as related above, gave them for answer, that they had received the Brethren, as teachers sent from God in answer to their prayers, and that they desired no other. Zeisberger staid with them some days, preaching the gospel to them. He baptized Papunhank, naming him, *John*, and another, *Peter*. He visited and preached also in other places, till he received letters from Bethlehem, to hasten his return, lest he should be cut off by the hostile Indians.

§ 260.

THESE had, already in the month of May, 1763, murdered, on the lakes of Canada, and near *Pittsburg*, on the Ohio, many hundred persons, and now made incursions also into Pennsylvania. The New Englanders, who had settled at *Wajomik*, were fallen upon, and all, that could not save themselves by flight, were killed. The country-people took up arms, and put themselves in a posture of defence. Some fanatics took it into their heads, that this war was a divine chastisement, because they, like the Israelites, had not utterly destroyed all the Canaanites; and would now extirpate all the savages without distinction. Several Indians, who before had gone in and out among them in peace, were killed in different parts, which also befel a few of our baptized,

living in the dispersion. The savages sought revenge, and fell upon sundry places. These invasions were charged upon the Indians living at *Wechquatank*, by which they were exposed to the utmost danger, both from the savages, who looked upon them as spies, and were often scouting round about them, and from the white people, who, accusing them of the murders committed by the savages, threatened to root them out, and, accordingly, attempted several times to surprise them. The Brethren, therefore, were necessitated to fetch them away, and secure them at *Nazareth*, where they arrived safely on the 12th of October, 1763. Soon after, the news came, that their houses were laid in ashes.

Now the Brethren hoped that they should have rest. But, presently after, another attack of the savages was made upon a public-house, at some distance from *Nain*. All fled to *Bethlehem*, and were kindly received. Notwithstanding this, an Indian, *Renatus*, fell under the suspicion of having been one of the party; although the missionary and other Brethren had seen and conversed with him in his hut at *Nain*, at the very hour when the surprise happened, and the murder was committed.

This false report confirmed the enraged people in their suspicion, that the Brethren sided with the hostile Indians. The charges of their furnishing them with powder and ball, ran, like wild-fire, through the whole country. A mob assembled in different places, threatening to demolish *Bethlehem* and *Nazareth*, together with the Indians. The Brethren, therefore, were obliged to be upon their guard both against white people and Indians, and, in this danger, presented an address to the governor. The justice of the peace at *Bethlehem* was, with some other Brethren, summoned to *Philadelphia*, to answer to these charges. The falsehood of them soon appeared. But, in order to pacify the people, the Indian *Renatus*, who was accused upon oath of having
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been present at the aforesaid assault, was fetched to Philadelphia, and imprisoned. For the same reason, by order of government, all the Indians at *Nain*, and those at *Wechqua-gank*, had their guns taken from them, and themselves were fetched away to Philadelphia, as being no longer safe at Bethlehem and Nazareth. Both on the road, and at Philadelphia, they were obliged to endure the most horrid and scurrilous abuses, and were at last placed in *Province-Island*, lying a few miles below the city, in the river *Delaware*. In the mean while, the charges against them and the Brethren were examined, and, according to the deposition of some savages, who were invited to the treaty of peace, found false. But government did not think proper to let the Indians return, as some fanatics insisted upon it, and stirred up the people to urge it, that all the Indians in the country, whether guilty or innocent of the murders, ought, as Canaanites, to be rooted out.

§ 261.

THAT this was no groundless fear, was soon after proved with horror and astonishment, when a number of peaceable Indians, who, since the first settlement of the country, had lived among the white people quietly and in peace, were surprised and murdered in their huts at *Cunestoga*, in the month of December, 1763. Those that were absent, or escaped, the magistrates of *Lancaster* lodged in the prison of the town, for security. But the rioters forced their way into the town, and having broken open the prison, most inhumanly murdered, and cut to pieces in the greatest fury, those poor creatures, who begged their lives upon their knees, and then departed with horrid shouts of triumph; as it may be read at large in an *Account*, published at *Philadelphia*, of the bloody *Massacre*, lately committed in *Lancaster-County*, upon a Number of Indians, &c. A proclamation, issued by government, for the delivery of these rioters and murderers to con-

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dign punishment, exasperated them the more. They marched in great multitudes against Philadelphia, to avenge themselves of this insult, and to obtain redress of some grievances. At the same time, they demanded that all the Indians taken into protection should be delivered up to them. The city was obliged to be put in a state of defence. The Indians were, in the night of the 14th of January, 1764, fetched away from *Province-Island*, in order to be conducted, through the Jerseys and New York government, to the general, Sir *William Johnson*, the king's authorised agent in Indian affairs, for greater safety. The missionary, *John Jacob Schmick*, with his wife, went with them, and, where they halted, held their usual meetings in the open air, and amidst the concourse of many people. But, upon their arrival, after a march of four days, at the borders of New York government, they were not suffered to pass, for fear, that the savages, being acquainted by these Indians of the cruel proceedings of the insurgents, and incensed to the utmost degree, should vent their rage upon the white people. Thus, after a troublesome march in the severest time of winter, they returned in three weeks to Philadelphia, and, to be more safe and better cared for, were quartered in the barracks. Here they were again, from the 4th to the 8th of February, 1764, in the greatest danger from the rioters, who encamped in great numbers not far from Philadelphia. The whole city was in alarm, and made more preparations for defence, especially about the barracks. The chief persons of the city even went to the Indians, and encouraged them. Some gentlemen were deputed to the rioters. These sent, with them, their delegates, to treat with government. Being mostly incensed against the Indians, they insisted upon seeing them one by one, in order to find out, whether any of them had been present at the murders they were charged with. But none was found.

§ 262.

AFTER this tumult was appeased, an attempt was again made to secure the Indians with the English army; since the enmity against them rather increased than abated, and even the news-papers were filled with false accusations against them and against the Brethren at Bethlehem, who, all that time, were in imminent danger. But in vain. They were, therefore, obliged to continue in the barracks; and the Indian Sisters too, that had lived for some years at Bethlehem, but were no longer safe there, as also some Indians out of the Jerseys and from Machwihlusing, who had committed themselves to the protection of government, were brought to them. The above-mentioned *John Papunbank* was chosen to carry a message of peace to the Indians, by whom our Indians, in order to dispose them the sooner for peace, gave them to understand, that they were all still alive, and well provided for.

They regulated their religious worship, which was attended by many people of the city, especially by the soldiers, for a real blessing to the souls of many, in as orderly a manner, as the circumstances permitted; and the missionaries, *John Jacob Schmick* and *Adam Grube*, who lived with them, had the joy to bring many of them, that were quartered there, to the knowledge of salvation, and to baptize them. But this confined way of life brought, in the summer of 1764, a fever and the small-pox among the Indians, of which some died almost every day, and sometimes four in a day; so, that fifty-six in the whole attained to the end of all distress, by means of this sickness.

With regard to the Indian *Renatus*, accused of, and imprisoned for, murder, he, after repeated examinations and charges sworn to anew, was at length brought to *Easton*, to take his trial. His enemies did all they could, to get sentence of death passed upon him, and every one believed there was no hope of his life, when, after a trial of a whole day,

day, he was, on the 21st of June, brought in, *Not Guilty*, by the jury, who had sat the whole night on the affair, and, accordingly, against all expectations, declared not guilty by the judge, and set at liberty. As the daily words had uncommonly suited the most dangerous circumstances of the Indian congregation; so, likewise, the word for this day suited the deliverance, not only of the accused, but of the whole Indian congregation, which, by his condemnation, would have been plunged into the utmost distress. It was, *God meant it unto good, to bring to pass, as it is this day, to save much people alive.* Gen. i. 20. It is evident, that, by means of *Renatus's* imprisonment, and the securing of all the Indians by government, which had the appearance of a state of captivity, the enraged populace were so long detained, in expectation of a legal condemnation, from their intended assault, till they were grown cool again. The fatherly kindness, with which government acted in this whole affair, will never be forgotten by our Brethren in America; the Indian congregation having even been maintained by government the whole time of their abode at Philadelphia, until, after the Indian war was ended, they could be dismissed with safety, as we shall hear in the following Part.

§ 263.

IN North Carolina, the Brethren, in the years 1760 and 1761, were often in greater danger, than they were aware of, in the war with the *Cherokees*, till the Indians, after a great battle, and the destruction of many of their towns, saw themselves necessitated, in the year 1762, to make peace. On this occasion they related, ‘ That they had very
 ‘ often come to the towns of the Brethren, (meaning the
 ‘ Brethren’s settlements) and, having heard that a very
 ‘ strong sort of men lived there, they had a mind, from a
 ‘ thirst of glory, to try their strength with them too. They
 ‘ often

‘ often came so near in the night, that they could look
 ‘ into their fortrefs (the palisades,) But, when they were
 ‘ on the point of attacking, they heard the sound of a
 ‘ kettle (the bell of the clock,) and directly many people
 ‘ (those who had the watch by night) had sounded an
 ‘ alarm, called to one another (cried the hour,) and struck
 ‘ up the war-song (an enlivening verse out of an evening
 ‘ hymn.) Thus they had been constantly deterred from an
 ‘ assault. They must needs be brave and terrible people,
 ‘ who were always thus on their guard.’ God has many
 thousand ways to deliver his own out of distress and danger;
 but he often does not even make it known to them, when he,
 by some invisible or visible angel and watch, removes far
 from them many afflictions raised by Satan. The Bre-
 thren were frequently so little aware of the danger which
 hovered over their heads, that they expressed themselves, in
 their accounts, at the end of the years 1761 and 1762,
 to this effect: “ Amidst all the troubles of war round about
 “ us, excepting the marching of the soldiers, we have been
 “ but little sensible of them, and even our contributions to
 “ the army arrived safely.”

They were more disturbed by the new Indian war in
Pennsylvania. For they were not only again obliged to re-
 ceive, and provide for, many fugitives from *Virginia*; but
 the very same accusations, laid to the charge of their Bre-
 thren in *Pennsylvania*, of sending powder and ball and other
 commodities to the savages, and receiving pay from the
 enemies of the English, were spread about among the people
 in *Carolina*, and provoked many against them; but could
 not here produce such hurtful effects.

Excepting some labourers, who came hither from *Europe*
 and *Pennsylvania*, the congregation was not much increased
 outwardly: but yet, many in the neighbourhood came to the
 preaching of the gospel. A Brother made a journey through
 North and South *Carolina*, and, in many places, where
 either the gospel never, or but seldom, had been preached,

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found an opportunity of proclaiming it with blessing; and met with more friends of our Saviour and the Brethren, than could have been expected.

§ 264.

IN the Danish islands in the *West Indies*, the work of God among the *Negroes* proceeded in blessing, and increased from year to year. Generally, the number of baptized in one year, both in *St. Thomas* and in *St. Croix*, amounted to an hundred persons and upwards, and in *St. Jan*, to fifty or sixty. In all, there were about two thousand baptized in the three islands, besides the catechumens, who were twice as many. On great holidays, the hearers at a preaching in *St. Thomas* were commonly computed to be two thousand. The conspiracy, in the year 1759, mentioned in § 225, produced still the melancholy consequences in *St. Croix* of making some gentlemen afraid, lest the *Negroes*, by occasion of the evening meetings, (for by day they had no time for assembling) might meditate some new mischief; for which reason they prevented their attending the preaching. They thought to have found a new pretence for these measures, when, in the year 1760, four baptized, who, however, had long ago left the Brethren, were found among a band of seventy *Negroes*, who, on account of hard usage, were running away, and overtaken, having first thrown their wives and children into the sea, and then all, except eight persons, jumped in themselves. It was also very painful to the Brethren, when some *Negroes* from *St. Thomas*, being transported to *St. Croix*, were obliged to leave their wives and children behind, these belonging to other masters. For whereas, according to the principles of the Christian religion, they could not marry during the life of their wives or husbands, as the custom is among the unbaptized *Negroes*, it occasioned great disorder in their housekeeping, and gave room to many temptations. Nothing, however, was to be

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done,

done, but to exhort them to obedience to their masters, and faithfulness in *the acknowledging of the truth which is after godliness*, (Tit. i. 1.) and to pray for their preservation. Another distressing circumstance was, that, in the year 1760, all commerce being prohibited with the English colonies, on account of the war, such a scarcity succeeded a long-continued drought, that many Negroes died for hunger. The missionaries had but a scanty maintenance by the assistance of the Brethren in Europe, and did not let the Negroes on their own plantation suffer any want, and often distributed to the poor sufferers on other plantations; but could not relieve all, and were obliged, for the most part, to be satisfied with giving compassionate exhortations to reliance on the help of God.

Concerning the inward state of the mission, the Brethren in *St. Thomas* wrote, in the year 1762, as follows. “By
“ the preaching of the gospel, many a slave of sin has at-
“ tained to the knowledge of his misery, and to the enjoy-
“ ment of the grace in the blood of Jesus; on which ac-
“ count we are chearfully willing farther to devote soul and
“ body to yield joy to Jesus, and to help to gather in the
“ reward for the travail of his soul from among the Heathen.
“ But we are obliged to conform ourselves very much to
“ their circumstances, and almost always employ the night
“ for their service. Our baptized become more deep-
“ ly acquainted with themselves, and are more and more
“ established. What neither law nor discipline is able to
“ do, is effected in them by the word of the sufferings of
“ Jesus. This, their masters are more and more sensible
“ of, and are pleased when their Negroes go to our church.
“ The young men have been increased this year to an hun-
“ dred and forty, and enjoy the benefit of a particular
“ care. The children too have their own meetings, and
“ are visited, from time to time, all over the country. But,
“ as they are very early employed in all kind of labour,
“ they

“ they cannot be so well taken care of, as we could wish.”

The outward state of the mission, in the year 1763, was this. In *St. Thomas*, the Brethren had their Negro-church, dwelling-house, out-houses, Negro-huts, and a garden, the whole called, *New Herrnhut*, situate on the *Poisaunenberg*, formerly so called. In the town, *Tappus*, they had a meeting-house for the sick and aged Negroes; and a married couple resided at *Krumbay*, in order to minister to the Negroes on that side of the island. The former chief missionary, *George Weber*, having served the mission above twenty years with blessing, was gone to Europe, in the year 1760, and had accepted a call to the Negro-mission in *Surinam*. He was succeeded by *David Hekkewaelder*, and, he soon departing this life, by *Martin Mal*, who had laboured many years among the Indians in North America. This missionary, with four married couples, and six single Brethren, did the manual labour for their support, and preached and held the meetings in four places on the island, and visited on all the plantations. In *St. Croix*, the Brethren had a small meeting-house for the Negroes, on the king's plantation, called, *Princess*, and, in their own garden near the town, a Negro-church, dwelling-house, and burying-ground, which they called, *Friedensthal*. Two married couples and a single Brother lived there at that time. In *St. Jan* they had a large plantation, which, however, for want of Negroes, was but little cultivated; and, on it, their church and house, called, *Bethany*. Here only one married couple lived. The Brethren in *St. Croix* and *St. Jan* were, in a great measure, provided for from the plantation in *St. Thomas*, and at times, especially when sick, assisted too in the spiritual labour from thence.

§ 265.

IN the *English* islands in the *West Indies*, the labour in the mission among the Negroes made but a slow progress.

In *Jamaica*, indeed, most of the Negroes, who, on account of too strict treatment, had withdrawn, came again nearer, and many new ones came to hear the word of God. But yet, a few only were admitted to baptism during these years. In the year 1760, a rebellion broke out among the Negroes, and it cost no small trouble to quell it. None from the five places where the Brethren preached, were involved in it. They even were often in danger of being surprised by the rebels, till the latter were driven to such straits, that they took shelter in the woods and mountains. In the year 1763, some Brethren were sent from England and Pennsylvania to assist in this mission, and *Christian Henry Rauch* was released from his service in it by *George Profke*. But the latter departed this life soon after his arrival, and *Rauch* followed him in a short time also.

Of *Antigua* I find nothing farther to observe, than that the mission here proceeded but slowly, in stillness, and without any remarkable opposition; and that the missionary, *Samuel Isles*, having, in the year 1761, completed the building of a church, baptized thirty-six Negroes, and admitted the first-fruits to the holy communion, finished his course in the year 1764, and left the labour to the two Brethren, *John Bennet* and *William Lister*, whom he had procured from England to be his assistants.

§ 266.

THE good prospect of the mission in *South America* in a former period, was changed in this into a melancholy one. The frequent misfortunes, and the unsuccessful attempts to redress them, might easily have deterred the Brethren from

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proceeding

proceeding in the mission, had not the word of the Lord, and the experience of their Brethren in like cases, continually afforded them fresh encouragement. It has been mentioned in § 228, that the mission in *Berbice* had, on the 6th of October, 1760, lost their former worthy and faithful missionary *Schumann*, approved by various trials, after he had laboured in it with blessing for twelve years, baptized above four hundred Indians, and seen an hundred and twenty pass happily into eternity. The infectious sickness, which stripped nearly half the country of its inhabitants, and carried off many Indians also, was followed by a great famine, which forced many of the baptized to move farther into the country. The Heathenish Indians likewise were deterred, both by the famine, and the sickness which still continued, from coming near the Brethren. This, and other difficult circumstances, discouraged the Brethren, and caused some disharmony among them concerning the method of carrying on the work, after the decease of the missionary *Schumann*. But the ruin of this mission proceeded from quite another quarter, as we shall soon see.

The mission at *Sharon* in Surinam went on very well in the beginning, both inwardly and outwardly. Many of the scattered Indians, from *Berbice* and the *Corentyn*, gathered together there. But their rest was soon disturbed, when a number of Negroes, who had concealed themselves in the woods, and had discovered *Sharon*, attacked this place unexpectedly, murdered three Indians, and led away eleven prisoners. The Brethren saved themselves by flight; but one of them was shot through his arm with a ball, and another wounded in his forehead by an arrow. Some, indeed, by degrees, gathered again to the two Brethren, who still maintained the demolished post; but the frequent reports, spread by evil-minded Heathens, made them live in continual fear of a new attack of the Negroes and Savages, on which account they often dispersed again.

§ 267.

BEFORE this melancholy news reached Europe, *George Weber*, formerly a missionary in St. Thomas, *John Henry Millies*, hitherto a teacher in the pædagogium of the Brethren, and *Buboltz*, an inhabitant of Herrnhut, had made preparation for their departure to Surinam. The proper design of the first was, to make an attempt of settling a mission among the *Free Negroes*; the second was to learn the language of the Caribbees, and minister unto them in the gospel; and the third, to take upon him the house-keeping of the Brethren at *Paramaribo*, for the support of the mission. They were not deterred by the news of the destruction of *Sharon* from prosecuting their journey, and arrived safely in Surinam on the 21st of August 1761. They found the two Brethren left at Sharon sick. Near a whole year they had, one after the other, kept their beds, without nursing, and without any other food than cassabi and water. So much the greater was their joy, on account of the arrival of these new assistants. They took fresh courage, and unanimously resolved, to raise up anew the demolished buildings, on a spot not far distant from the former, where many Caribbees had settled again. But their company was again soon parted; for it pleased the Lord, to call home to himself, within the space of eight days, the Brethren *Millies* and *Buboltz*; and *George Weber*, who had the commission to direct all the missions in South America, and who, to this end, was gone on a visitation to *Berbice*, entered likewise, soon after his return, on the 6th of May, 1762, into the joy of his Lord. By this means, the execution of the plan of that mission was greatly impeded. Deeply as this intelligence afflicted the Brethren in Europe, yet many were found, who willingly and gladly offered themselves to supply the vacant places. Before the end of the year, some Brethren were dispatched to *Surinam*, accompanied by

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Joachim Henry Andresen. After many painful vicissitudes, things now began to wear a more pleasing aspect among the Indians. They gathered, by degrees, out of their dispersion, and, giving no farther heed to the frightful reports, staid with the Brethren. But these, being but four, and often sick, found it very difficult to rebuild their habitations and plantations. They also lost, on a journey of the Indians to Paramaribo, all their boats at once in the sea; though all the Indians were saved. In the mean time, peace was concluded with the *Sarameca* Negroes, who desired of the government a missionary, and likewise requested the Brethren for one of them.

§ 268.

IN *Berbice*, after Schumann's departure, there were four Brethren left, and two were added to them from Europe. They endeavoured to collect again the scattered Indians, and to induce those, who could not stay with them, to remove to *Sharon*. But the account of the destruction of that place had deterred the Indians from moving thither. They rather went to the *Corentyn* and the *Mepenna*, where they were frequently visited by the two Brethren residing at *Ephraim*. Some chose rather to settle with them, than near the *Sarameca*; and this seemed more likely to become a gathering-place of the Indians, than *Sharon*; since many wild *Warraues* and *Calepina* also came to visit them. But the well-known rebellion of the Negroes in *Berbice*, in the month of February 1763, who murdered a great number of people, and ruined almost the whole country, before they could be reduced by the inhabitants of the adjoining colonies hastening to their relief, put an entire end to the mission in *Berbice*, and forced the Brethren to relinquish *Pilgerhut*. They staid still, for some weeks, in the neighbouring woods, and took some necessary things
out

out of their habitations away with them. The murders, committed by the Negroes, increasing, they, at last, were necessitated to remove to *Demerary*, leaving the buildings at *Pilgerhut* to the flames. The inhabitants of *Demerary* would gladly have kept them and their Indians; but most of the Brethren went to *Pennsylvania* and *Europe*; and the two that were left were advised from *Europe* to go with the Indians to *Surinam*. But before this advice reached them, both were departed this life.

The district round the *Corentyn* borders upon *Berbice*. The Indians in these parts, therefore, not thinking themselves safe from the rebels, fled farther into the country, and some of the baptized moved to *S Sharon*; though they would not have been out of danger even there, if the *Sarameca* Negroes, who, at that time, had not yet made peace, had joined the rebels. The two Brethren at *Ephraim* waited the issue for some time. But the rebellion prevailing more and more, and spreading even to the district on the *Corentyn*, they retired, for safety, to *Paramaribo*. Their house was occupied by some soldiers; but these, after the rebellion was subdued, leaving it again, the Brethren took anew possession of it, though they could not yet live there for a constancy.

§ 269.

In *Greenland*, the mission at *Lichtenfels*, by the kindness of their Brethren, received a spacious dwelling and meeting-house, and the number of the catechumens now began to increase more, than was expected at first. On this account, *John Bek* and his wife were sent to their assistance from *New Herrnhut*; and two Brethren came from *Europe*, in the year 1762, to fill the vacant places.

The increase of the *Greenland* congregations at both places in the knowledge of *Jesus Christ*, and in the experience and enjoyment of his grace, may best be learned

from their conversations and last hours, as also from the discourses of the Greenland helpers, both to their believing and heathenish countrymen, in the *History of Greenland*. Heretofore, excepting some detached diaries and letters, inserted in the *Buedingen-Collection*, which, however, soon was discontinued, nothing circumstantial had been published concerning any of the Heathen-missions. A resolution was first taken in the year 1759, while the late ordinary was still living, in order to gratify the great enquiry, to publish something, and to make the beginning with Greenland. This work was committed to me; but I could not go to Greenland before the year 1761, in order, on the spot, not only from written accounts, which are often defective, but from verbal relations also, and more especially by my own examination, to describe the beginning and progress, and the true inward and outward state of a work of God, the detached accounts of which had hitherto proved a very great blessing to many. I cannot describe, but shall never forget, what I often felt, during my stay, from August 1761 to September 1762, among the Greenlanders, with a view to collect proper materials, and, as an eye-witness, to give some true account of the effects of the grace of God prevailing amongst them.

The Lord had also prepared many lively witnesses of this nation, who, on every occasion, declared to the Heathen, what he had done for their souls, and thus, as living examples, confirmed the testimony of the Brethren by an incontestable demonstration. The livelyest and most blessed of them all, *Daniel Ingoak*, departed this life, at New Herrnhut, in the year 1762; and, in 1763, *Frederic Boehnisck*, one of the first missionaries, who, since 1734, had served this mission with much faithfulness and blessing, having unweariedly endured, with the rest of the Brethren, all the hardships of the first years, was called into the joy of his Lord. During the thirty years of this difficult mission,
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where they are often exposed to the danger of losing their lives in cold, snow, and ice, and upon the turbulent sea, this was the first, and, to this day (1771), the only Brother, who finished his course in this country; while very many have fallen asleep in their labour in other, not only hot, but even more temperate, climates. Thanks be to the Preserver of our lives, *the Lord that bealeth us*, who knows how to preserve his servants, and who continually raises up new, endued with the spirit of gladness, and ready to serve his will in the world in every place, and without exception!

THE
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PART X.

From the General Synod in 1764, to that in 1769.

§ 270.

AT the last synod, held in the year 1756, it was agreed to call together again, in about three years, the servants of the congregations to such a general church-assembly. But the war, in which almost all the countries where congregations of the Brethren are, and especially Germany, were involved, had rendered the execution of this design impracticable. Hence, even in the life-time of the late ordinary of the Brethren, it was resolved, not to hold the synod, till the war should be ended. In the mean time, his nearest colleagues had continued to carry on the affairs of the Unity of the Brethren, and formed an *Interim's Arrangement* for this end, till a synod could be held. This arrangement was to be revised at the synod, and confirmed, or altered, as circumstances should require.

During the war, many changes had occurred in the congregations. Some had been greatly increased. In *England*
and

and Ireland, as also in America, new doors had been opened for preaching the gospel, and new congregations and societies were settled. The rebuilding of the demolished congregation-place, *Newfalk*, had been begun in the year 1763, (§ 251.) and wanted assistance. The Imperial court of *Russia* expected the resolution of the Brethren upon the Imperial edict, mentioned in § 253. The court of *Gotha*, after the renewed grant, (§ 252.) wished the enlargement of the congregation at *New Dietendorf*. It was also to be taken into consideration, what the issue might be with regard to *Herrnhag*, which had been quite deserted since the year 1753; there being now some prospect of its being inhabited again. The œconomies of the Unity, likewise, required to be revised and regulated anew. Several missions among the Heathen, some of which had been begun in the life-time of the late ordinary, were now to be properly established. Of this number were, especially the mission in *Surinam*, in its four divisions, at *Paramaribo*, on the *Sarameca*, on the *Corentyn*, and among the *Free Negroes*; (§ 266.) the missions in *Antigua* and *Barbadoes*, and the renewal of the mission to *Terra Labrador*, which had been attempted in the year 1752, but not succeeded.

To provide for all these things in a proper manner, appeared almost impossible, considering the outward state of the congregations of the Brethren after the war: and yet, they neither could, nor would, suffer the work to stand still, which God had begun by the means of the late ordinary, and approved as his own work by numberless demonstrations of his almighty power and goodness. Nor could they refrain, wherever the hand of God was plainly perceived in divers overtures and opportunities of spreading his kingdom, from venturing in faith upon it, lest they should be liable to the curse threatened upon them *that do the work of the Lord deceitfully*, (Jer. xlviii. 10. or, *slightly*, according to the German,) and

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and let their hands hang down through unbelief and despondency.

In this distress, the Brethren of the *Small Conference* (§ 238.) looked unto the Lord, and exhorted their fellow-labourers in all the congregations, to implore his help, and to entreat him, that he would counsel them according to his heart. The war being now ended, it was resolved to call together an assembly of the labourers and deputies from all the congregations of the Brethren. This synod was to be opened on the 1st of July, 1764, at *Marienborn*, in *Wetteravia*, and recommended to the prayers and blessing of all the congregations.

§ 271.

HAVING myself been present at this synod, I am able, as an eye-witness, to speak with the greater freedom of the matters treated of, and the sense of divine grace which prevailed at it. But an *Account* of it, which another member of this synod sent to a distant friend, comprising, according to truth, all the principal subjects, being put into my hands, which afforded me particular satisfaction, I will, instead of my own words, communicate the chief contents of it.

“ This synod was one of the most important assemblies, held by the church of the Brethren ever since its renewal ; and it was the first since the decease of the late ordinary.

“ Eleven bishops and co-bishops, seven civil seniors and confeniors, fifteen presbyters, twenty-four deacons of the church of the Brethren ; in all, ninety-four persons were present at this synod, among whom were above thirty deputies from the congregations.

“ This assembly began on the 1st day of July. They, first of all, fell down before our dear Lord and Saviour, imploring his presence, the gracious countenance of our heavenly Father, and the most special guidance of the Holy Ghost. A gracious *Amen* was felt in every heart ;

“ and it was very sensibly perceived that this prayer was
 “ kindly heard, during the whole synod, consisting of forty-
 “ four sessions, from the beginning to the conclusion of it,
 “ on the 29th of August.

“ The whole work of God, which he, in our days, had
 “ committed to his Unity of the Brethren, among Chris-
 “ tians and Heathens, in all its branches, in every coun-
 “ try, in the congregation-places, the colonies, and on
 “ posts among the Heathen, was taken into consideration
 “ before the Lord, the state of each carefully weighed, and
 “ his *Thoughts of Peace* concerning them searched after.

“ It was unanimously determined anew, that the *Doc-*
 “ *trine of the Merits of the Life and Sufferings of Jesus* shall
 “ be our only chief and fundamental knowledge, so, as it
 “ is revealed to us in the *Holy Scriptures of the Old and New*
 “ *Testament*, boldly avowed by the Protestant confessors in
 “ the *Augustan Confession*, experienced through his grace,
 “ and enjoyed in the remission of sins, by us, as well as
 “ many thousand other souls.

“ The *Doctrinal Articles of the Augustan Confession* were
 “ read at the synod, and heard by the whole assembly with
 “ assent of our hearts, and with an emotion of spirit, like
 “ that of the ancient confessors; and our adherence to it
 “ was again confirmed.

“ The doctrine and the writings of the Unity of the Bre-
 “ thren having been considered, and the books to be print-
 “ ed, or to be prepared for the press, agreed upon; the
 “ whole inward and outward constitution of the church of
 “ the Brethren was viewed before our Lord with all pos-
 “ sible care.

“ The congregations and their servants received whole-
 “ some admonitions, such as he once gave to the aposto-
 “ lic churches in the *Revelation of St. John*; which laid
 “ his servants in the dust before him. They were altoge-
 “ ther days of mercy, in which he made his people sensible
 “ of it, that

“ He

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“ He fain would have us cleaner
 “ In heart and in demeanor.

“ The fundamental thoughts of his heart concerning
 “ our household of grace, both in and out of our con-
 “ gregation-places, were renewed with clearness. I will
 “ communicate some of them, to the joy of my dear
 “ Brother.

“ A congregation of Jesus Christ is an assembly, consisting
 “ of living members of his body, of which he himself is the
 “ Head, which the Holy Ghost has gathered together, in
 “ which he himself governs, ordains, and appoints his serv-
 “ ants, and where every thing aims at each member’s be-
 “ ing prepared once to be *presented faultless before the presence*
 “ *of his glory with exceeding joy.* (Jude, verse 24.)

“ This does not exclude its being a school and an hos-
 “ pital of his patients, where patience is to be exercised to-
 “ wards many who must be saved by compassion.

“ God has, in our time, formed for himself a people,
 “ which is to withstand the spirit that is gone forth into the
 “ world, to turn the doctrine of the atonement of Jesus into
 “ a fable; and they are called to *show his death, till he come.*
 “ (1 Cor. xi. 26.)

“ Should this doctrine (which God forbid!) be every
 “ where extinguished; it must be preserved in a congrega-
 “ tion of Jesus, as a precious jewel; so, as formerly the
 “ holy scriptures were among the Jews. (Rom. iii. 2.)

“ By this it is perceived, whether a person really *is of us*,
 “ if the death of Jesus have taken root in his heart.

“ From hence also arises the call of a congregation
 “ of Jesus, to preach the gospel not only to Christians,
 “ but to all men, with a view of leading them to our
 “ Saviour.

“ As strenuously as a congregation must maintain the
 “ unlimited liberty of conscience of all its members; so
 “ great

“ great must also be their concern, sincerely to honour
 “ and love the government under which they live, and
 “ to approve themselves the most faithful and loyal
 “ subjects.

“ An essential point in a congregation of Jesus is like-
 “ wise, to have it solidly at heart, that they may execute
 “ *His Testament, John xvii: That they all may be one*; endea-
 “ vouring to establish and preserve *love and unity* among
 “ all the children of God upon the face of the earth,
 “ to avoid all religious disputes, and to love all that love
 “ Jesus.

“ A congregation of Christ is also honoured by its Master,
 “ with suffering reproach for the sake of his name, being
 “ and remaining a church under the cross.

“ He has, more particularly, opened to the congregations
 “ of the Brethren in our days, that part of the gospel,
 “ which directs them to derive the *sanctification* of spirit,
 “ soul and body, from the merits of his holy humanity,
 “ life, sufferings, and death, to understand it, and put it
 “ in practice. The separation of the sexes, according to
 “ the respective choirs, and the special care they enjoy,
 “ conduce greatly to promote this chief end of the
 “ Christian doctrine.

“ When the Holy Ghost, through the gospel, calls and
 “ unites souls out of our congregations, in order to prepare
 “ them to be a joy to our Saviour; we rejoice, and look
 “ upon them as a congregation of Jesus.

“ With respect to the heart, the uninterrupted enjoyment
 “ of salvation in the wounds of Jesus, and all things
 “ that pertain unto life and godliness, there ought to be
 “ no difference between such little flocks and our congre-
 “ gations.

“ They, as well as we, ought to preserve their souls and
 “ bodies for him; and, for that purpose, also carefully to
 “ avoid all unnecessary intercourse between the two sexes;

“ not

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“ not as though we thought there was a particular holiness
 “ in it, but from a consciousness of human corruption and
 “ sinfulness.

“ As to the outward *Constitution*, and the regulations,
 “ which our Saviour has given to the Brethren, for the par-
 “ ticular purpose of their dwelling together in congrega-
 “ tion-places by themselves; it is our fixed principle to
 “ give no occasion to the societies, united with us in the
 “ religions, to imitate them; but we exhort them to abide
 “ in their church-constitution, and be faithful to their
 “ religion.

“ A *Directory* was chosen and appointed, to have the
 “ care of the whole Unity of the Brethren in inward and
 “ outward matters; a *Board of Wardens*, to have the inspec-
 “ tion of the outward affairs of all the congregations; and
 “ a *Board of Syndics*, to see to it, that *all things be done decently*
 “ *and in order*, so, as the constitution and the good of the
 “ country, in which we live, require; and to stand forth,
 “ in all necessary cases, in behalf of the congregations.

“ The office of *Advocate of the Brethren* was again sup-
 “ plied in the person of count *Henry XXVIII. Reufs*, who
 “ was before deputy advocate.

“ *Deacons* were nominated, to have the care of the *Heathen-*
 “ *missions*; and, in like manner, other *Deacons*, to provide
 “ for the *Education of the Youth* in the æconomies of the
 “ Unity, who, in childlike dependence upon the hand of
 “ our heavenly Father, should receive, and expend with all
 “ faithfulness, for the service of these works of God, the
 “ contributions of our Brethren and Friends who gladly
 “ lend their assistance towards them.

“ All care and consideration was taken in supplying the
 “ offices in every congregation with proper persons.

“ Two Brethren were nominated for the *Administration*
 “ of the *Lutheran and Reformed Tropuses*; (§ 122.) each of
 “ whom, with some assistants, is to keep up a friendly
 “ connexion

“ connexion with the witnesses of Jesus in his religion, and
“ to have an eye to the service of the souls gathered here and
“ there, through the gospel, to Jesus Christ.

“ To conclude, dear Brother, I can wish you nothing
“ more happy than such a view of our dear Lord’s kind and
“ gracious countenance, as he, at the conclusion of the
“ synod, on the 29th of August, granted to the whole
“ assembly, at the holy communion. He realized the word
“ for the day, *I am Joseph, your Brother*, (Gen. xlv. 4.)
“ in such a manner, that our hearts and eyes flowed over
“ with tears of joy.”

§ 272.

THE result of the synod was communicated in every congregation, not only to the labourers, but to all grown communicants. The testimony of the powerful demonstrations of the gracious presence of the Head and Lord of the church, at the synod, awakened in all, that heard the result, an inward cordial joy; and the ingenuous confession of the defects observed in the congregations and their servants, pressed tears from their eyes. This produced in many members of the congregations the happy effect, that they also examined their hearts, considering in stillness, and conversing with their labourers and intimate friends, about the proper aim of their being called by the Holy Ghost, and gathered to a congregation; whether they had remained in the path of simplicity, or had left their first love and devotedness of heart. They agreed anew to lay aside every thing contrary to the mind of Christ, and to walk, according to the rule of holy writ, as his true disciples and followers. At the same time, the peace of God extended itself over the congregations, and gave them a powerful sense, that the Lord approved himself to his members as the Head, and delighted to continue walking among them, accomplishing
the

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the thoughts of peace he had in bringing them together in this time of grace.

Moreover, the Lord gave grace, that, since this synod, the forgiveness of sins in the blood of Jesus, the truth as it is in Christ Jesus, the true sanctification and preservation of soul and body, and the purity of conversation according to the mind of Christ, were urged at the meetings of the congregations, with renewed earnestness and energy, as well as with evangelical sincerity and meekness. It may be freely asserted, that the Holy Ghost has blessed it in a very powerful manner, for grounding the congregations more deeply upon Jesus, for radically curing many sick and weak, and even bringing back many that had erred and were deceived.

Another pleasing fruit of this synod was, that all the congregations and their members agreed, notwithstanding all the diversity of their outward circumstances, to look upon themselves as *One Unity of Brethren*, as *one* family of God upon earth, as members of *one* body; to take share in all the blessings and burdens, in joy and sorrow, and, according to the ability which God gives, to lend an helping hand in love.

At the same time, the spirit of the witnesses was stirred up anew. Almost from every congregation letters came to hand from Brethren, who, without waiting for a call, willingly offered themselves, nay, heartily intreated, to be employed in the service of our Saviour, especially among the Heathen. Some named the nation, among which they wished to serve him; others left the appointment of the place and manner of service to the servants of the church. The ground of this impulse, and the capacity of such free-willing people, having been examined into; they were looked upon as candidates for the service of the Lord, and, after the manner of the ancient church of the Brethren, accepted *Acoluths*. But they continued in their usual employ-
ments,

ments, till they were, from time to time, appointed to the work. (See *Ancient Hist.* § 37. *Modern Hist.* § 125.)

§ 273.

THE synod, that is, the assembly of the labourers and deputies from all the congregations, which represents the Unity, and consults the welfare of the congregations and their members, had, according to § 271, committed to some Brethren, under the name of *The Directory*, the general inspection, and care of the affairs of the church. They resided first at *Herrnhut*; where the two other boards also fixed their abode till the next synod. But the directory held several visitations in the German congregations; and one of their number, *David Nitschmann*, junior, went, in this view, to *North America*. *Leonhard Dober*, one of their fellow-members, entered into everlasting rest, in the spring of 1766. He was a faithful and approved servant of Jesus, who came to *Herrnhut* almost at the very beginning, and, being, as it were, grown up with the Brethren's cause, was the first missionary to the Heathen, and that in *St. Thomas*; then, for some years, elder of the congregations, and, since the year 1747, a bishop of the church of the Brethren. In autumn of the same year they left *Herrnhut*, staid for some weeks in the congregations in Saxony, *Niesky*, *Klein Welke*, and *Barby*, and resided mostly at *Zeitz*, till the next synod. From *Zeitz*, in the year 1766, and again in 1767, one of their number, *Peter Boehler*, went on a visitation to *England* and *Ireland*. In the year 1768, these Brethren were three months in *England*, partly in the congregations in *Yorkshire*, partly in *Lindsey House*, near *London*; the other congregations in *England* being, in the mean while, visited by some of the members.

§ 274.

A CHIEF concern of these Brethren was, to keep the unity of the spirit in all the congregations, and to take care, that they all, though they, as to their outward situation, were ever so different and remote from each other in the islands and wildernesses of the Heathen, might go on an equal pace in the knowledge of the saving truth, and not be strangers to one another, or unacquainted with the inward and outward circumstances of other congregations. This end was promoted by the correspondence, the communication of edifying discourses, and of the accounts from all the congregations, and the printing of necessary and useful books. The care of all these things was committed to the direction of the Unity, agreeable to a rule of the ancient church of the Brethren, which permitted nothing to be printed, and communicated for the use of others, which had not been revised and approved of by some bishops.

Of the writings, which, after the synod of 1764, appeared in print, I will, besides the yearly *Collection of Daily Words and Doctrinal Texts*, only mention the following :

Gottfried Clemens printed *Extracts* (in German) of the *Discourses of the late Ordinary of the Brethren upon the Five Books of Moses*. (§ 242.) These having been completed in three volumes in 8vo, he proceeded with the *Discourses upon the Four Evangelists*.

In the year 1765 appeared *The History of Greenland: containing a Description of the Country and its Inhabitants; and particularly a Relation of the Mission, carried on for above these thirty Years by the Unitas Fratrum, at New Herrnhut and Lichtenfels in that Country*. This work, which has since been translated into *Low-Dutch, English, and Swedish*, was so kindly received by the public, that, even in the year 1768, a new German edition of it, though the first was pretty large, was found necessary to be printed. At the same time, a

Continuation of the History of Greenland, &c. containing an Account of the Mission from 1763 to 1768, together with considerable Additions and Remarks relative to the natural History, was prepared for the press, and published in German, in the year 1770. Modesty, and the brevity of this History, do not allow me to add any thing concerning the manifold blessing produced by means of the mere historical relation of the effects of the grace of God upon these savage and stupid Heathens.

The Doctrinal Articles of the Augustan Confession were printed, in the year 1765, in German, for the use of the congregations of the Brethren, and especially of the children, and distributed among the latter, as a New year's gift for 1766.

In 1765 was also printed, *The Days of the Son of Man*; or, *The History of the Sufferings of Jesus, according to the Harmony of the Four Evangelists.*

The same was published, in the year 1766, in French; as also an *Hymn-Book* in that language.

Likewise, a new edition of, *Count Lewis of Zinzendorf's German Poems*, appeared in print in 1766.

Also the second edition of, *The Ordinary of the Brethren's Discourses delivered to the Parishioners of Bertholdsdorf*, (§ 203.) was printed this year. The same discourses were published in the *Vandal* language.

Moreover, a small *Creole Hymn-Book* was printed for the use of the Negro-Congregations.

In the year 1767, *A Collection of choice Verses* came out of the press, being the *Third Part of the small (German) Hymn-Book of the Brethren*, which was published in 1763. (§ 242.)

In 1768, *Sundry Discourses of the Ordinary of the Brethren, delivered mostly on his Journeys in the Year 1757*, (§ 211.) were printed.

In the year 1769 was published, *The History of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, compiled out of the Four Evangelists*, by

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Samuel Liberkuhn, M. A. This History has been since compiled and printed in *English*, with the title, *The Harmony of the Four Gospels, or, The History of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, &c.*

Moreover, *Augustus Gottlieb Spangenberg* was commissioned by the synod to write the *Memoirs of the Life of the late Ordinary of the Brethren**.

§ 275.

It was resolved at the synod to make an alteration in a part of the *Children's Oeconomies*. In consequence of this, the œconomy of the smaller boys at *Groß Hennersdorf* was divided into the congregations at *Herrnhut*, *Niesky*, and *Gnadenberg*. By this means, they themselves had more opportunities of attending the congregation-meetings, and, at the same time, the schools of these places were helped. In the building which they inhabited at *Groß Hennersdorf*, an œconomy was begun for girls and single Sisters; the occasion of which was the following.

Several single women, in the neighbourhood and at a distance, had, for many years, desired to live in congregation-places, and in the choir-houses of the single Sisters; and many parents wished that their daughters might be brought up in the œconomies of the Brethren. But since this could not be done for want of room; here was found an expedient. Girls, that could not come into the œconomies of the congregations, were received into this house, and provided with Sisters who had the inspection over them, and with school-mistresses, who instructed them in all sorts of useful female work. Various employments were provided for the single women, especially in linen and cotton. This œconomy was begun in the year 1765, and, by divine blessing, soon

* These *Memoirs* have since been printed in Germany in eight volumes in octavo. (The Editor.)

remarkably

remarkably increased. The persons belonging to it keep in all points to the parish-church at Groß Hennersdorf; at the same time improving their connexion with Herrnhut for a blessing to their souls, as much as their circumstances allow; and are a joy to their parish-minister, and an edification to the inhabitants, and to the neighbours.

I will here only farther mention, that, during these years, the work of God among the friends of the congregation, who live dispersed, and at a distance from the place-congregations, though under various pressures in some places, not only proceeded with blessing in all parts, but in several increased, to the real advantage of both the Protestant churches.

§ 276.

THE inward state of the congregations has been treated of in § 272. As to the outward, they enjoyed all desirable rest, under the gracious protection of the sovereigns of the countries in which they lived. Although various calumnies were not wanting here and there; yet the sovereigns and their ministers, being convinced of the contrary, either gave no ear to them; or, such things were quickly put a stop to, and remedied by due representations of the truth.

The good character of the Brethren was more and more acknowledged, and their behaviour in all their dealings caused such an esteem for them, as made many Brethren apprehensive, lest it might rise beyond the standard of the cross's kingdom of Christ upon earth; and lest, here and there, a love of the praise of men might insinuate itself, and means be used, by an unreasonable compliance, or even conformity to the world, to please it still more. This was one chief caution given at the synod; and the labourers were frequently admonished to guard against this evil, especially in those place-congregations, which are used almost daily to have many visits, and often of persons of high rank.

The outward support was attended, in the congregations of the Brethren, as every where, amidst the universal want of money and stagnation of trade and commerce, with greater difficulties than before, nay, than during the time of war, and some places were reduced to great straits. But, upon the whole, the Lord blessed the industry and faithfulness of the Brethren in handicraft-busineses, so, as to enable them to show actual compassion with the wants of their Brethren and other necessitous neighbours.

§ 277.

I WILL here only still take notice of some particular occurrences. The congregations in *Saxony* took a great share in the joy of the whole country, when, in the year 1768, their sovereign, elector *Frederic Augustus*, took the reins of government into his hands, and on the 8th of October, after the thanksgiving-sermon upon the text appointed, 1 Tim. ii. 1, 2, implored for him grace and wisdom from above, in order that his government might be blessed in all respects, and they *lead*, under him, as they had done under his predecessors, *a quiet and peaceable life, in all godliness and honesty*.

The congregation at *Herrnhut* was, on the 30th of June 1766, honoured and rejoiced with a most gracious visit of the emperor, *Joseph II* on his way from Saxony to *Bohemia*. His Imperial majesty was pleased to take a view of the choir-houses, oeconomies, manufactories, and several handicraft-busineses, to be present at the usual congregation-meeting, and take a night's lodging at *Herrnhut*. He enquired of the Brethren, and in particular of count *Henry XXVIII. Reufs*, very minutely into all the inward and outward regulations of the congregation, and signified his satisfaction at what he saw and heard; and, after some years, was pleased to take notice of it again to count *Henry* at
Prague

Prague in the most gracious terms. The condescension he showed to every one, left a deep impression upon the Brethren.

Niesky and *Klein Welke* increased in the number of inhabitants, and built more houses.

A new proof of the favourable disposition of the electoral court and ministry of Saxony was, in the year 1765, the renewal of the lease of *Barby*; to which was joined an hereditary lease of the palace at *Barby* and the manor of *Dæben*, to count *Henry XXV. Reufs*, with a view of erecting a settlement there, after the manner of other congregation-places of the Brethren; of which the beginning was made, not far from *Dæben*, on the 17th of June, 1767. This new place was called, *Gnadau*.

The *Silesian* congregations lost, in the year 1766, in the person of *Ernest Julius de Seidlitz*, a man, whom God had made use of from the beginning in erecting and superintending these congregations. He had, since the year 1726, been united in love with the late ordinary, to carry on the work of God. He took charge of the awakened in the neighbourhood of his estates, who, for the most part, were of Bohemian extraction; and received the Moravian emigrants. Having bought the estate of *Upper Peilau*, on which *Gnadenfrey* now stands, he preached the gospel in his mansion-house, which was attended by many hundreds. On this account he was imprisoned in the year 1738. (§ 110.) After his release, in the year 1743, the building of *Gnadenfrey* was begun under his direction and patronage. This congregation was now grown so large, that the spacious hall could no longer contain the number of hearers coming to the preaching of the gospel. A larger hall was built in the year 1768, which was quite filled at the very opening. The congregation at *Gnadenberg*, likewise, notwithstanding all the difficulties respecting trade, increased in

inhabitants and buildings. The congregation at *Neusalz* was built amidst great poverty, and their new church was finished in the year 1769.

The *Bohemian* congregations at *Berlin* and *Rueksdorf* lost, in a short time after one another, three of the few labourers, who were able to minister unto them in their own language; since very few of their members understand German: and it was difficult to supply their places.

At *Ebersdorf*, notwithstanding their straitened circumstances, which were occasioned, partly, by the war, and partly, by the obstruction of commerce in the adjacent countries, the building still went on, and the place was brought into better order.

New Dietendorf, since the grant of the sovereign, remarkably increased in inhabitants and buildings; insomuch, that they were obliged to think of enlarging their meeting-hall. They were visited by their gracious sovereign, and by many persons of distinction from far and near, with complacency.

At *Marienborn* the few persons remaining proved still a real blessing to those parts. The preaching of the gospel on holidays was generally attended by above an hundred awakened from the adjacent parts.

There was also some prospect, about this time, of the restitution of *Herrnhag*. Even in the year 1762, the count of *Buedingen* had given the Brethren at *Marienborn* plainly to understand, that he should be glad to see this place inhabited again by the Brethren, and was inclined to take every step possible to render it easy to them. They likewise entered into a treaty about it, which was indeed broken off at that time, but earnestly renewed in the year 1766. For this purpose, at the desire of the count, two deputies were sent thither. By the mediation of a truly worthy counsellor, well-

well-known in the learned world, the affair was nearly brought to a conclusion. But, it being deferred from time to time, the then reigning count, *Gustavus Frederic*, departed this life, before it could be completed. Since that time, all appearance of inhabiting this place again has vanished.

New Wied was built more and more, to the satisfaction of its kind sovereign, and was a good favour to the neighbours. Many eminent persons, even electors and princes, were pleased to visit this establishment of the Brethren; and to take notice of the inward and outward constitution.

At *Zeyß*, the preaching of the gospel, in Dutch and German, was attended by many strangers. Among them were some ambassadors, Polish grandees, English lords, and other gentlemen, whose good testimony was of use to the Brethren in other countries and circumstances. The place also increased gradually in inhabitants and buildings. A more spacious meeting-hall was built, and opened on the 20th of October, 1768; divine worship having before been performed, not without inconvenience, in the hall of the mansion-house. The Brethren presented, in the year 1766, a congratulatory address to the prince of *Orange*, hereditary stattholder of the United Provinces, on his being of age, which was very graciously received; and on the 7th of June, 1768, he, and her Royal highness, his consort, honoured this place with their visit, attended the usual meeting, made enquiry after several circumstances, and declared their satisfaction. The same honour was done to this place on the 28th of June, the same year, by his majesty, the king of *Denmark*, *Christian VII*, with his retinue. He took a view of all the regulations and institutions, was present at the divine service of the Brethren, and was very gracious. The Brethren embraced this opportunity to recommend, not only to his ministers, but to the king himself, the missions among the Heathen in his dominions, in *Greenland*, and the *East and West Indies*, for his Royal favour, protection and furtherance.

§ 2; 8.

WITH respect to the congregations in *England*, the visitation committed to *Peter Boehler*, mentioned in § 273, and the provincial synod held at *Fulneck*, in the month of August 1766, as also the visit of the other members of the directory in the year 1768, proved a blessing to many. They enjoyed peace and rest from without. Notwithstanding the dearth of provisions and the slackness of trade, yet, by divine blessing, they, at the end of every year, had reason to praise the Lord.

New awakenings appeared here and there. The Brethren were invited to preach in some new places. A Brother made a blessed journey to the Western counties, as far as *Cornwall*. New chapels were built at *Plymouth* and *Northampton*. But no new congregation-regulations were made, except in the city of *Bath*, in the year 1766; as, since the synod, the method of settling societies, which remain wholly in their religion, was adopted, rather than the regulating new congregations, according to the constitution of the Brethren.

There was a great emotion in the principality of *Wales*. In the year 1768, a Brother made a journey through the whole country, and found in many places eager hearers, to whom he preached the gospel. The Brethren at *Haverfordwest* had an opportunity of preaching to many hundreds, in sundry places in their neighbourhood.

Neither were persons wanting in these congregations, who offered themselves for the service of the Lord among the Heathen, and some were chosen for that purpose, especially for the English colonies.

In *Ireland* a congregation was settled at *Coothill*, in the year 1765, by the bishop, *John Gambold*. The new congregation-place *Gracehill*, on *Ballykenny-Land*, after the building of a congregation-house, and the dedication of the chapel, in the year 1765, made a great progress. In 1765, the

the single Sisters built a separate dwelling-house. In 1767, the single Brethren built a choir-house, and turned their former habitations into workshops : and sundry families from those parts settled there.

In every country-congregation in the *North of Ireland*, some single Brethren agreed to live together, to carry on their business, which mostly consists in weaving linen, and to cultivate a piece of land. The single Sisters did the same on their part.

The improvement of the land, made by their industry, was taken notice of by many gentlemen. On this account, new offers for settlements were not wanting. Wherever the Brethren were too closely confined, or possessed their land, and the houses and chapels upon it, on too short leases, which could not be renewed but with great expences, they accepted of these offers. Thus, in the year 1767, a piece of land, of about an hundred English acres, was taken at *Ballimaquighan*, near *Lisnamara*, on *Lough Neagh*, upon a perpetual lease ; and the Brethren living thereabouts made preparation for settling there, after the manner of a congregation-place.

We have already observed, that the congregations in the North of Ireland, for the most part, consist of very poor people. It may, therefore, be easily imagined, that they met with great difficulties in these hard times. But yet, the Father in heaven supported them ; and none had occasion to complain of real want. They had rest, were edified, and increased : only the congregation at *Ballinderry* was, for some months, especially in October and November 1768, molested by some enraged neighbours.

§ 279.

As early as the year 1734, the Brethren had been invited to *Scotland*, and a student of divinity, *Jacob Frederic Hesse*, had been sent to *Edinburgh*, (§ 106.) whose abode there was

was not without blessing. The duke of *Argyle*, one of the chief representatives of the Scotch peers in the parliament of Great Britain, had, by occasion of the examination in parliament in the year 1749, invited the Brethren to make a settlement upon his estates in Scotland. (§ 152.) Two Brethren had already taken a view of them. But the Brethren having too many engagements in other places, this affair was dropped.

In the year 1765, God raised up a Brother in the North of Ireland, *John Caldwell*, who ventured to go to Scotland, and make a trial whether he might find entrance there. He went to the shire of *Air*, and began to give a few words of exhortation to the people, who received him, at their usual morning and evening prayers. Immediately, some neighbours assembled to hear him too. They did, like the *Bereans*, (Acts xvii. 11.) *searching the Scriptures* and the ancient books of their church. They found, and declared to others with joy, that he preached the same doctrine of the gospel contained in them, but for some time neglected by many of their teachers. In a few days they fitted up a great malt-kiln for him to preach in. But it was too small the very first time, and he found himself necessitated, by the number of hearers, to preach in the fields. People of other places invited him to come to them also. In less than four weeks he had above a thousand hearers, among whom were even ministers and magistrates. Some of the elders of the church attempted to hinder him; but the ministers would not consent to it, giving this reason, that God had sent this man to restore the decayed state of Christianity, and the old genuine doctrine of Jesus. In places where the people were threatened with excommunication, to deter them, the ministers gave it as their opinion, that, in order not to lose them entirely, they ought to be left at liberty to enjoy that by which their souls were benefited. In less than half a year, John Caldwell had to preach in twenty-seven places.

It

It was not to be expected that this great number of hearers, many of whom were, probably, drawn by the novelty of the thing, should all receive an abiding blessing. Many soon drew back. Yet in some places there was a prospect of an abiding fruit produced by the preaching of the gospel. The above-mentioned Brother having obtained a married couple to be his assistants, the awakened in several places were formed into societies. The work of the Lord still goes on with blessing there. New assistants also went thither, Brother Caldwell having received a call, in the service of the Lord, to *Plymouth and Cornwall*.

§ 280.

BEFORE we turn from England to America, and take a survey of the congregations and Heathen-missions in that part of the world, I will still mention, that, in the year 1766, the *Brethren's Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel among the Heathen*, formed, in the year 1741, by some English Brethren, (§ 106.) but afterwards dropped, was revived at *London*, with a particular spirit of gladness, and better regulated, during the abode of the directory in England, in the year 1768.

I will relate the occasion and design of this Society, from an *Account*, printed in *England*, which one of the members gave of it to an English gentleman.

“ The Brethren's church having had invitations to preach
 “ the gospel to the Heathen in some parts of the British
 “ America, some members of that church came to *London*,
 “ in their way thither. Being unacquainted with the lan-
 “ guage, and quite unknown here, and, for want of some
 “ friendly care and recommendation to the captains of the
 “ ships they went with, and to some friends in the countries
 “ they went to; they met with many difficulties. Neither
 “ were they abounding in this world's goods; but had a
 “ truly

“ truly apostolical trust in God, that he would know how
 “ to bring them to the places they were going to. As they
 “ had little experience in the price of freight, and the
 “ charges of long voyages, they were not always sufficient-
 “ ly provided, *a priori*, with the money necessary to such
 “ purposes.

“ Some persons at *London*, with whom they had pro-
 “ videntially become acquainted, took their circumstances
 “ into consideration, and wished to know how to act in
 “ the best manner to assist those whom they saw venturing
 “ their lives and health, in order to bring the Heathen to
 “ the knowledge of Jesus Christ, for the salvation of their
 “ immortal souls.

“ I must tell you, my dear friend, that the very sight of
 “ these truly apostolical men, and their zeal for the con-
 “ version of the Heathen, not in a presumptuous or vain
 “ spirit, or Pharisaical affectation, but full of a humane,
 “ chearful, humble behaviour, was so edifying to us, that
 “ it made us with most zealously to take that share in their
 “ undertaking, which we thought might be possible for us
 “ here to execute, and properly to *further* them on their
 “ way; and thence we took the name of, *The Society for the*
 “ *Furtherance of the Gospel*.—

“ —We saw these men willing to carry the gospel, in
 “ person, to the Heathen, at all hazards, out of love for
 “ Jesus Christ, a desire to fulfil his will, and a tender con-
 “ cern for the salvation of the Heathen.—

“ —Although we, for our persons, thought we had
 “ not, or perhaps never might have, the same call with
 “ them, to go and preach to the Heathen in person; yet
 “ —we had, in general, the very same inducement, which
 “ they had, to be helpful in our respective stations and
 “ callings to the furthering of that work.—We must
 “ own, that, at times, we have felt at our meetings a
 “ strong impulse to take personal share in their missions:
 “ and

“ and some of us have been blessed with such a call now and
“ then.—

“ We were at first but a few,—who resolved to form our-
“ selves into a society, towards the designs of which,
“ each member might contribute, statedly or occasionally,
“ each according to his ability, without pressing one ano-
“ ther to enlarge the contribution; as we believed, that
“ our generous Saviour had no pleasure in constrained gifts,
“ and that he likes only such as are given out of a free,
“ willing heart. I can truly say, we wanted then more to
“ restrain our members, as to the largeness of the sum,
“ than to urge them to an increase of their contribu-
“ tion.—

“ We employed ourselves, therefore, as a society, in re-
“ ceiving and entertaining such missionaries as passed
“ through London on their way to America, providing
“ them proper lodgings, taking care to supply what might
“ be wanting for their freight and provisions, and some
“ necessary refreshments on their voyage, making the bargain
“ for their passage, taking care of their letters, and doing their
“ commissions.—These services were a great pleasure to
“ ourselves; and it was a very great advantage to us, to see
“ so many apostolical people amongst us.—They were
“ much to our edification, strengthening and confirming
“ our faith in Jesus Christ, not only by their words, but by
“ their good example.

“ So we went on for several years. But, at last, the Bre-
“ thren’s church, the missions increasing, was obliged to
“ appoint general deputies, who had the care of providing
“ for their Heathen-missions in all parts of the world, (and,
“ therefore, in the English colonies also.)—We are much
“ obliged to them, and to all our congregations, for the
“ plentiful contributions they have given, these many years,
“ to the Heathen-missions in the British dominions, and
“ doubt not of their kind continuance.—

“ But

“ But we have now desired, that our society here be
 “ revived for that branch of the Heathen-missions, in the
 “ British dominions.—

“ We find, every where, that the illustration of the free-
 “ willing sufferings of Christ for the sins of the world, is
 “ received by the Heathen with attention, and, when indeed
 “ believed by them, changes their hearts and whole life,
 “ and shows plainly, that true faith cannot but produce
 “ good works and a proper behaviour, and that these
 “ Heathen-believers become happy in themselves, and very
 “ exemplary Christians. Of this we have several thousand
 “ instances among the divers nations of the *Indians* in North
 “ and South America, the *Greenlanders*, and the *Negroes*
 “ in the West India islands. They not only become happy
 “ for themselves, but, consequently, good neighbours, good
 “ subjects, and useful to society in general, and, the *Negroes*
 “ in particular, very faithful to their masters.”—

§ 281.

AT the same time, *A candid Declaration of the Church,*
known by the Name of, The Unitas Fratrum, relative to their
Labour among the Heathen, was printed in English; in which,
 after a short account of the church of the Brethren, and
 the occurrences in it, particularly with respect to the con-
 troversies and calumnies, by which injury was intended, it
 is said farther, as follows.

“ As these our antagonists were unwearied in their en-
 “ deavours to render the Brethren suspected every where,
 “ they went even so far as to tell the public in their writ-
 “ ings, that all that the Brethren had related occasionally
 “ of their labour among the Heathen, was nothing but
 “ vain boasting pretensions and fictions. But, when oc-
 “ lar demonstration, and the evidences of the grace of God
 “ among the Heathen, confuted these calumnies in the most
 “ effectual

“ effectual manner, then our opponents had recourse to a
“ new artifice, and began to represent the Brethren’s labour
“ in one and another place, as tending to the prejudice
“ of the public good.——

“ This method was used first abroad,” (in Germany and
Holland,) “ and we were necessitated, in the year 1740, to
“ publish a Declaration concerning our labour among the
“ Heathen *.——

“ The most profound respect for the government, and
“ esteem for the public, constrain us to publish, in Eng-
“ lish, the same *Declaration*, which has spoken in our be-
“ half, for twenty-seven years past, in the consciences,
“ not only of the governors, but of every candid and im-
“ partial person in the different countries abroad, where we
“ are known and settled; and this Declaration has been the
“ stronger evidence for us, as it has appeared that our
“ practice and conduct is every where conformable to our
“ words.

“ We are at present actually engaged in the ministry of
“ the gospel among the *Indians in North America*, as also
“ among the *Negroes in Jamaica, Antigua, and Barbadoes* † :
“ and we must own, that we have been, for several years
“ past, desirous to publish the gospel to the Heathen in se-
“ veral other West India islands belonging to the English
“ government. We also ventured, by the special encou-
“ ragement of his Majesty’s *Board of Trade and Plantations*,
“ to get amongst the *Esquimaux*, in *Terra Labrador*; and,
“ as we are masters of their language, by means of our
“ mission in *Greenland*, we are still willing to be serviceable to
“ this very savage nation, to the best of our ability, by bring-
“ ing the gospel of peace among them. Our missionaries at
“ *Tranquebar*, on the coast of *Coromandel*, have, from thence,

* In the *Buedingen-Collection*, vol. i. p. 182; from whence a great part of this *Declaration* is taken.

† In this Declaration, the Heathen-missions in the *English* colonies are only mentioned.

“ visited some of the English settlements in the *East Indies* ;
 “ and have been kindly received and encouraged by persons of
 “ distinction there, to apply themselves to the conversion of
 “ the Heathen in those parts. Indeed, our general call
 “ to the service of the Heathen, does not allow us to be in
 “ any wise inattentive to any particular call of that kind.

“ We grant, that we cannot insure the success of our
 “ undertakings.——As we know that such attempts
 “ are attended with numberless difficulties, hinderances,
 “ and seeming impossibilities, especially at the first setting
 “ out, and are frequently made by unlearned men, and
 “ such instruments, whose appearance at first does not
 “ speak much in their favour, it cannot be expected that
 “ the progress always answers the most sanguine expecta-
 “ tions ; yet, upon the whole, we find the greater reason
 “ to look with wonder and gratitude at the good and
 “ blessed issue, with which our good Lord has been gra-
 “ ciously pleased to crown our undertakings hitherto, and
 “ which has been taken notice of by our superiors with
 “ much pleasure and satisfaction.

“ As our congregations are frequently excited to render
 “ unfeigned thanks and praise to our gracious Lord for the
 “ free access which he has granted us among the Heathen-
 “ nations ; so we are also thankful to the high and bene-
 “ volent promoters of this great work of God, and intreat
 “ God our Saviour, that he may graciously remember them
 “ for their kind assistance, and grant them an eternal bless-
 “ ing.

“ By this our public Declaration, we intreat, with the
 “ most sincere and Christian concern, our dear magistrates,
 “ yea, all our Fellow-Christians, for the Lord's sake, to
 “ continue their kind patronage to the ministry of the
 “ gospel among the Heathen, to wish us success and bless-
 “ ing, and not to suffer any to interrupt our labours, or to
 “ lay impediments in the way of our missionaries, who,
 “ in

“ in the attempt itself, must always venture their lives.
“ That this our request may find the more ready reception,
“ and that every one, who is desirous to be as well ac-
“ quainted with our principles and practice herein, as we
“ are among ourselves ; we will not decline to give the
“ public once more an opportunity of getting a more clear
“ insight into the nature of our labour among the Heathen,
“ by publishing the following concise points :

I. “ We never enter into controversy with any other de-
“ nomination; nor do we endeavour to draw their members
“ over to us.

II. “ Much less do we attempt to win over to our church
“ any of the Heathen who are already in connexion with
“ those of any other church ,

III. “ Or to stand in the way of the missionaries of any
“ other church.

IV. “ We are very attentive that the bond between the
“ government and the Heathen may not in the least suffer
“ by means of the evangelical tenets; for, should this ap-
“ pear unavoidable in any place, through the nature of
“ things, we should, in that case, rather chuse to retire
“ from thence.

V. “ We never attempt, by means of our missions, to
“ obtain the least influence in civil or commercial affairs ;
“ but are contented with what we can earn by our own
“ industry in useful employments for our support, to the
“ satisfaction of the government.

VI. “ As to the rights of the sovereign and of the magi-
“ stracy, we require no farther insight into them, than to
“ know what is commanded, and what is prohibited, that
“ we may act conformably thereunto, as loyal and obedient
“ subjects. Least of all would we act out of any other
“ principle, than that of being, with our whole heart, sub-
“ ject to all magistrates who have the rule over us, and
“ gladly exert ourselves to the utmost to maintain the best

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“ understanding between the government and the converted
 “ Heathen; yea, to be as instrumental as possible in esta-
 “ blishing the same good principles even among the uncon-
 “ verted.

VII. “ We carefully avoid intermeddling with any
 “ thing that can increase the wrong and prejudicial ideas,
 “ which the Heathen, savages, or slaves, have imbibed
 “ against the Christian religion.

VIII. “ We confess, and preach to the Heathen, *Jesus*
 “ *Christ, and him crucified*, as the Saviour of the world, be-
 “ cause *there is no other name under heaven given among men,*
 “ *whereby we can be saved, but the name of Jesus Christ;*
 “ and we seek, as far as in us lies, to keep them ignorant
 “ of the many divisions in Christendom: but, if they hap-
 “ pen to have been informed thereof by others, we endea-
 “ vour, with great precaution, to approve ourselves im-
 “ partial, speak of the several divisions with much tender-
 “ ness, and to extenuate, and not exaggerate, the dif-
 “ ferences; that thus the knowledge of the mystery of
 “ Christ may be increased, and misapprehensions dimi-
 “ nished.

IX. “ We endeavour to treat our opponents with love
 “ and heartiness, and to erase out of the minds of the
 “ Heathen all the thoughts they may have concerning the
 “ hardships and oppressions, under which our Brethren
 “ sometimes labour, and which often become almost in-
 “ supportable to the Heathen themselves.

X. “ But as to the main point itself, *The Conversion of*
 “ *the Heathen* to him, who has made an atonement for the
 “ whole world with his own blood; to him, to whom all
 “ the Christians must yield; we do not give way, no not
 “ in the least; but stand fast upon the *Foundation of the*
 “ *Apostles and Prophets*, and with faith and patience expect
 “ the constant aid and protection of our Lord and Saviour,
 “ according to his promise. We beseech all men to look
 “ unto

“ unto Jesus, the Apostle and High-Priest of our Profession;
 “ and cannot refrain from warning each, with all faithful-
 “ nefs, lest, by opposition, and trampling upon the seed of
 “ the glorious gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, he render
 “ himself unfortunate, and expose, to a divine judgment,
 “ himself and those who belong to him.”

§ 282.

THE establishment of a firm and lasting peace with the Indians in North America, in the year 1764, was a means of securing rest for the congregations in *Pennsylvania* from that quarter. Though a new disturbance was raised by the murder committed upon an Indian, yet it was soon allayed. But the well-known commotions in all the English colonies, occasioned by the Stamp-act, in which the Brethren, however, took no part at all, caused them new distress. Patience and a prudent conduct were necessary in this case also; and the hand of the Lord, which they had perceived in so many dangers, was able to protect them.

In the year 1765, a co-bishop, *David Nitschmann*, (§ 80.) went on a visitation to the congregations in *North America*. At a provincial synod, held at *Bethlehem*, the result of the last synod was communicated, and the country-congregations in particular were encouraged to restore the good order and discipline, especially with respect to the education of the children and the youth, which, during the Indian war, had been, in some measure, neglected, and cautiously to guard against all party-spirit, in the intestine broils then prevailing.

Besides *Bethlehem* and *Nazareth*, and the places belonging to these congregations, there were now, in the provinces of *Pennsylvania*, *New York*, *New England*, *The Jerseys*, and *Maryland*, fifteen country-congregations, and five places more, where Brethren dwelt, preached the gospel, and took

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care of the souls, exclusive of other parts, where the awakened were visited from time to time. More inward growth was perceptible; and they, by kind and comfortable exhortations, proved a blessing to many of their neighbours, at the close of their lives. New awakenings took place in the Jerseys and in New England. In several places which had been ministered unto by Brethren twenty years ago, they desired again, and received, labourers. At *Newport* in *Rhode Island*, where a new church was built, many sea-faring and mercantile people, passing to and from the West Indies, attended the preaching of the gospel. Children, whose parents did not belong to the Brethren, came to their schools, and caused a blessing among their relations by the fine scripture-texts and verses of hymns, which they learned at school and at the catechisations. Brother *Francis Boehler*, who resided at *Sichem*, and from thence ministered to the Indians still remaining at *Pachgatgoch*, had often many hearers from the white people. Some Germans, especially from the Palatinate and the duchy of Wuertenberg, having settled at *Broadbay* in New England, several of whom had, even in Germany, been acquainted with the Brethren, sought to renew this acquaintance here. A Danish candidate for the ministry, *George Soelle*, preached the gospel to them; and not only these, but more places in New England, where people desired it, were at times visited from Bethlehem.

§ 283.

THE Brethren's colony in *Wachovia*, in North Carolina, was more augmented in this period, than in the former, both from Europe, and from Bethlehem and Nazareth. In the year 1766, they began to build a new place, which was called, *Salem*. The governor and other magistrates viewed the improvements of the settlements of the Brethren with particular satisfaction. Moreover, some friends of the Brethren

thren removed from other English colonies into their neighbourhood, to be under their care. The Brethren ministered unto them, as far as circumstances admitted. On occasion of a visit, which Brother *John Ettwein* made, in the year 1765, through North and South Carolina, as far as *Georgia*, they likewise became acquainted here and there with souls concerned for their salvation, especially among the Germans; some of whom had not heard the word of God for many years, and begged earnestly for preachers, or, however, to be frequently visited. In *Georgia*, still several friends were found, who had been acquainted with the Brethren thirty years ago, and now heartily wished, that the Brethren might settle there again. The country had rest from the savages, since they had removed to a greater distance from the borders.

§ 284.

THE peace in North America was restored by the *Iroquois*, or, Six Nations, who maintain the sovereignty over the Indians conquered by them in their parts. For, after the renewal of friendship between them and the English colonies, they compelled those, who had, these nine years past, been the authors of so much mischief, and had continually broken the peace afresh, to remove farther up the country into the woods.

This news was brought, in autumn of the year 1764, by the returning messengers, whom the Indian Brethren, in the barracks at *Philadelphia*, had dispatched to the *Susquehannah*, to seek out a dwelling-place. They, therefore, thanked the governor, in a written address, for the protection and support they had enjoyed, and desired liberty to depart; which took place in the spring of 1765, they being furnished by government with the necessary clothing and provisions. They went to *Nain*, near *Bethlehem*, and, after some stay, when the blankets, sent them by the

missions-diacony, were distributed among them, were accompanied to the *Susquehanna*. But being not yet out of danger, from some ill-disposed white people, they were obliged to make a great round, and to carry their things, through snow, morasses, and water, over high rocky hills, and through thick woods, to this river. Here they still found some Indian acquaintances, who helped them farther with canoes. Thus they reached the end of their journey, after five weeks.

Several of them having formerly lived at *Machwihlusing*, they, with the approbation of their missionaries, *David Zeisberger* and *John Jacob Schmuck*, who accompanied them, fixed their abode here. They met with more acquaintances, living in the greatest misery and extreme want. Some also of the baptized, who had strayed hither during the war, joined them, and, by degrees, many strange Indians from those parts, who desired to hear the word of God, settled with them. These were of various nations, chiefly of the *Munsys*, *Delawares*, *Mahikanders*, *Nantikoks*, and *Wampanoos*. They, therefore, began here to erect a new town, and set about cultivating land, raising cattle, and hunting. But they solidly examined all the strangers who desired to live with them, concerning their view, explained to them their orders and regulations, and suffered such only to stay with them, as were desirous of hearing, and living agreeably to, the gospel. In the very first year they built upwards of thirty houses, mostly in the European manner, of blocks, and with chimneys, and a meeting-hall, calling this new place, *Friedenshuetten*.

But they were, directly in the beginning, affrighted by a message from the sachem, or chief, of the *Cajugers*, that they should not stay there, but move to them, farther up to the Lakes. This induced the missionary, *David Zeisberger*, with some deputies of the Indians, in the month of May 1766, to travel to the country of the *Cajugers*, and to ask leave of the council to stay in their place. The speech of
an

an Indian, in which he, in a clear and simple manner, but with manly eloquence, declared, before a full council, their conversion to God, and their intention to hear the gospel, and to serve God, had so good an effect, that they all praised their design, exhorting them to be obedient to their teachers; and not only gave them leave to remain in their place, with the assurance, that none should molest them in serving God in their own way; but allowed them the whole district of the length of two days journey round about them, for cultivation and hunting. Such a round and favourable declaration had never been obtained from the Six Nations. The same was confirmed by another message to the great council at *Onondago*, with the advice, that they, as a people in covenant with the Six Nations, should stay on the *Susquehanna*, and assist the necessitous Indians returning from the English provinces, and from the war with the *Cherokees*. This they did; and it was acknowledged with gratitude. From that time they continued in peace, and advanced in their buildings. More Indians came to them, from time to time; and such as came upon visits, both enemies and friends, and heard the gospel, spread it farther and farther.

§ 285.

WITH respect to the inward state of this mission, which now began to revive, it would require many sheets to describe the powerful emotions of grace perceived at the meetings among the Indians who had lately settled here, and their declarations and intreaties for holy baptism, often accompanied with many tears. I have scarcely observed a greater awakening in any of the missions of the Brethren; only with this difference, that the mission before us, in regard of the number, did not increase so much, when compared with others, because but few Indians were left in these parts. Those who were formerly baptized, some of whom were grown lukewarm and drowsy, were hereby put

to shame, and encouraged, not to be the last; and such, as had strayed for some years from the flock, and now saw, that these savages, some of whom had been thieves and murderers, sought and found grace with God, took fresh courage to seek again the grace they had forfeited, sought our Lord's pardon, and intreated, with many tears, to be readmitted to the congregation of the believers, which they also obtained in due time. The great change, which the pardon obtained wrought in these, and holy baptism in those who, till lately, were strangers to the gospel, discovered by their cheerful and serene countenances, and by their denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, shone as a light to the rest of the savages, and made them desirous of knowing the way to attain to the same blessed state. Thus, more and more came to the preaching of the gospel; and, in some places, they desired and obtained teachers, who shall yet hereafter.

§ 286.

THE inward and outward situation of this congregation, in the year 1768, is described by their missionary, *John Jacob Schmick*, who, since 1752, faithfully held out with them amidst all vicissitudes and troubles, in his report of the year 1769, in the following words:

“ This small congregation, it is true, is still very defective; yet, upon the whole, we have sufficient reasons to rejoice heartily over most of them, and to praise God for their growth in the knowledge of themselves and the grace of Jesus Christ.

“ Great grace is perceived among the baptized; and some display witness-gifts and power, in recommending even to others the grace which they have experienced in their own hearts. Such are made use of as helpers in our conversations with the strange Indians.

“ Our Saviour has hitherto graciously blessed the daily morning and evening meetings, in which a text of scripture
“ ture

“ ture is explained, and the preaching on Sundays and holidays. His spirit accompanies the testimony of his atonement with life in their hearts; and many have been gained by the power of the blood of Jesus, as a reward of his sufferings.

“ Sixteen of the sixty-two persons, who were baptized here within these four years, have been called home into eternal security.

“ We generally have the holy communion every six weeks, and the Sunday after, or on particular festival days, baptismal acts. The adults are previously well instructed. If they know, feel and own their unhappy condition, show a real desire after baptism, and believe that our Saviour shed his blood for the forgiveness of, and cleansing them from, their sins; and if the helpers out of their nation have no objection to them, they attain to holy baptism.

“ We proceed slowly with the admission of the Indians to the holy communion. Some have been admitted to it in one year, others two years after their baptism. Previously to it, we endeavour to give them a plain scriptural conception of this sacrament. Besides, particular regard is had to their having a real longing after it, and walking conformably to the gospel. The communicants examine themselves, according to the apostle's and our exhortation, and are strict with themselves. If any of them be in no good state of heart, or have no true freedom to partake, though there be no fault to be found with his life and conversation; he acquaints us with it, and voluntarily stays away for that time.

“ As to the education of the children, we send many sighs to our Saviour for the rising generation. The parents, indeed, take much pains with their children, speak to their hearts, and often pray with tears to our Saviour for the salvation of their souls. But the numerous visits of strangers with their wild children, whom they must,

“ as

“ as their friends and relations, take into their houses, and
 “ often entertain a long time, prove the occasion of much
 “ harm to our children. However, the visits of strangers,
 “ according to the hospitality always usual among the In-
 “ dians, are neither to be avoided, nor, for the sake of the
 “ blessing hoped for among them through the preaching
 “ of the gospel, to be hindered.

“ By the grace of God, we have, of late years, enjoyed
 “ rest and peace from without.

“ Hunting, and planting Indian corn, are the means of
 “ our livelihood. If either of these fail, there is a general
 “ want. Hunting even now produces but little; and, to
 “ get any thing by it, they are obliged to go a great way
 “ from hence. But we rely upon our Father in heaven,
 “ who knows what we stand in need of, and upon his bless-
 “ ing, on which all depends.”

§ 287.

AMONG the strange Indians, who resorted frequently from the adjacent parts to *Friedenshuetten* to hear the gospel, were also those from *Tschechschequanik*, about thirty miles higher up on the *Susquehannah*. Many of them were solidly awakened by the word of life. Some moved to the Indian congregation at *Friedenshuetten*, others were now and then visited by the missionaries and Indian Brethren. But they could not all remove to *Friedenshuetten*; because more inhabitants could not find a maintenance there. They, therefore, desired a teacher of their own. This desire they propounded in the way usual among them, when, in the year 1768, the Indian congregation was visited from Bethlehem. They received for answer, that their request would be considered at Bethlehem, and that they, on their part, should solicit the council of the Six Nations for leave to have a teacher living among them. They obtained this permission;
 and

and the council added an admonition, that they should follow their teacher. All the other Indians were warned to lay nothing in his way. In the mean while, their teacher, *John Rothe*, arrived, and opened the preaching of the gospel among them. Opposition was not wanting from the part of those Indians who were otherwise minded, and who still adhered to their Heathen-preachers and to the sorcerers. But many of them, angry at the conversion of their acquaintances, and their refusing to sin with them any longer, moved to other places; and other Indians came in their stead, who were inclined to hear the gospel. The preaching was accompanied with spirit and power, and, on Whitsunday 1769, the teacher had the joy to see the first-fruits from *Tschebschequantik* baptized by the missionary at *Friedenshuetten*.

§ 288.

MOST of the Indians, that formerly lived on the *Susquehannah*, had moved, during the last Indian war, to the *Ohio*, or, the *Alleghena*, which flows into the *Mississippi*. *David Zeisberger*, who, in the year 1763, had published the gospel to them, (§ 259) was determined to seek them out again, and, in autumn of 1767, made a journey thither through the wilderness, in company with two Indian Brethren. Besides the natural difficulties necessarily attending the travelling through thick-grown woods, swamps and rivers, he was often detained by the savages, who made him give them an account of his design. After eighteen days, he reached the Indian town, *Goschgosching*, inhabited by the nation of the *Munfys*, or *Menissing* Indians. Many of the latter had, in the year 1755, heard the gospel at *Lechawachnek* on the *Susquehannah*. (§ 181.) These received him with joy, and immediately called together all the Indians in the town and on their neighbouring plantations. *Zeisberger* preached a sermon,

mon, and his Indian companions continued conversing with them upon the subject till late at night. The following day he had several companies to speak with. An Heathen-teacher, living in the place, was also among them. He listened quietly, and enquired farther after the way of salvation, which he heard spoken of, and seemed to acquiesce in it. But it appeared afterwards, that it was all dissimulation, in order not to lose his credit at once among the Indians: for he endeavoured afterwards, first secretly, and then openly, to draw them aside.

These Indian teachers, who are, at the same time, their physicians and forcerers, have made their appearance but of late years. They pretend to have visions and divine revelations, exhort the Indians to virtue, and warn them against all intercourse with white people. They say, there are two ways to come to God; one for the white people, and another for the Indians. For, as God had formed the Indians differently, by giving them a brown colour; so it was his will, that they should come to him in another way than the white people. They would also, as here upon earth, have a different way of life in Heaven from their's. If the Indians behaved well, they should come into the first Heaven, where they would fare better than they did upon earth. After an hundred years, they should come into the second Heaven, where they would have better hunting, than even in the first: and after an hundred years more, they should come to God in the third Heaven, where every thing is in the greatest plenty. There, they might either stay for ever, or, after another hundred years, return again to this world, where they should make a great figure. But if they would go to Heaven, they must refrain from sin. They teach various means to get rid of it; for instance, to drink of certain herbs for some days together; or, to be beaten with twelve sticks from the soles of their feet to their necks; upon which, sin would pass out at their throats.

throats. They paint, on a sheet of paper, many figures of God, of men and beasts. They take this sheet with them into their assemblies, and explain the meaning of the figures. They prepare themselves for forcery, in a painful manner, in a stove for sweating, and, when thoroughly heated, utter some words with frightful gestures, which are received as divine inspirations. The Indians have a notion, that the forcerers have certain secrets for poisoning air and water, by which they are able to bewitch, and dispatch out of the way, whole families, yea, all the inhabitants of a place, against whom they have conceived an enmity. On this account, they are greatly afraid of them, and cannot easily determine to break with them, though they see that they are deceived and misled.

The Indians at *Goshgysching*, having several times heard with much emotion, the way of life, and conferred together about it, took the resolution in their council, which the Indian teacher also attended, to apply to the Brethren for a constant minister; and committed this request to Brother *Zeisberger*, who, after a farewell-sermon and prayer, accompanied with many tears of the Indians, returned, in the year 1767, by way of *Friedenshuetten* to *Bethlehem*, where he laid before the Brethren the state and desire of the Indians.

§ 289.

THE resolution taken upon this account, was, that *David Zeisberger*, with another Brother, and two or three Indian families of *Friedenshuetten*, who were willing, should fix their abode on the *Ohio*, with a view to begin a new mission. At the same time, peace was proclaimed between the Six Nations and the *Cherokees*, who had before greatly disquieted the parts on the *Ohio*, and on the frontiers of *Virginia* and *Carolina*. Thus, this hinderance also was removed. When *Zeisberger*, in company with *John Ettwein*, a labourer of

3 Bethlehem,

Bethlehem, who was commissioned to visit the Indian congregation, came to *Friedenshuetten*, he found messengers from the Indians at *Goschgosching*, soliciting again for a teacher, with the assurance, that many Indians more of other places would join them. The messengers cheerfully set off, with the promise, that their minister would soon follow. On the 9th of May, 1768, Zeisberger, with three Indian families, who took all their goods and cattle with them, set out on his journey thither. They built together an house at *Goschgosching*; and some Indians, concerned about their salvation, as also several baptized, who had strayed hither, built near them. In the first three weeks, the concourse at the preachings was very great: but the Heathen-teachers, by their lies and calumnies, caused such uneasiness among the savages, that Zeisberger's and his Indians' lives were not safe, night or day, to the end of the year. They not only threatened to murder, or dispatch them by sorcery but, when the Indians, as is often the case, danced and drank whole days and nights together, they were obliged to conceal themselves, for some days, in the woods, from the fury of the enraged and drunken savages. Thus, many Indians were deterred from attending the meetings of the Brethren, and having any connexion with them. Nevertheless, Zeisberger continued preaching, and his Indians talking with the Heathen, and many were very powerfully moved and convinced, who again came to the preaching, when things were more quiet.

But another difficulty arose. The Six Nations, who, in general, do not like it that the Indians move from the *Susquehannah* to the *Ohio*, had been informed, that all the Indians at *Friedenshuetten* intended to leave the place, and to repair to the *Ohio*. They were, therefore, commanded to stay there, and to order those, who were gone away, to return. In order to clear up the whole affair to the great council

council of the Six Nations, the Brethren at Friedenshuetten resolved to send a message to them. But, before they went, the *Sachem* of *Cajugu* came himself to Friedenshuetten. Meeting with the missionary, who had once shown him a particular kindness, he was the more easily satisfied, on seeing and hearing, that the Indians at Friedenshuetten had no thoughts of removing; but that a few only were gone with Zeisberger to the Ohio. This *Sachem* also undertook to give the great council at *Onondago* an account of the true state of the case; and promised, in the name of the Six Nations, that, on hearing, for the future, any disagreeable news of the baptized Indians, they would come themselves, and enquire of the Brethren about it.

In the mean time, the *Sennickers*, in order to prevent the Indians removing from the *Susquehannah*, had warned the Indians on the Ohio against the Brethren. This strengthened the enemies in their invectives and opposition; which induced the chief of the Indians at *Goschgosching*, *Alle-mewi*, to send a message to the rest of the chiefs of his nation, to acquaint them, why he had embraced the word of God, and desired a teacher for himself and his people. They assured him of their satisfaction, and praised his undertaking.

But Zeisberger, and the baptized and awakened Indians at *Goschgosching*, being frequently molested by the drunken Indians, resolved, at length, to take up their abode some miles farther, at a place, called, *Lawunakhanek*, on the south side of the Ohio, eighteen miles above *Goschgosching*. This they effected in the spring of the year 1769. Most of the hearers staid behind, only visiting the missionary from time to time. But, after the removing of the Indian chief, who had embraced the faith, they were so tormented by the increasing wildness and profligacy of life among the savages, that they also, by degrees, set out and moved to their teacher.

At *Luwunakhanek*, during the remaining part of the year 1769, the three first-fruits were baptized, and, among the rest, the chief *Allemewi*, who was called, *Solomon*. According to the latest accounts, this small Indian congregation moved, in the year 1770, farther off, and settled on the *Beaver-Creek*, on a spot, which they called *Languntoutenuenk*, or *Friedens-Stadt*, that is, *Town of Peace*.

§ 290.

THE mission in *Surinam* began in this period to recover from the disasters and injuries suffered in the foregoing, and to afford a good prospect for the time to come. The small Indian congregation at *Sharon* on the *Saramacca* gathered out of the dispersion, increased by slow degrees, the more the dread of the *Free Negroes* was dispated. More and more also of those, who had been baptized in *Berbice*, found their way to them, and built there, bringing some of their unbaptized friends with them, who had been gained by their conversation and occasional testimony. The missionaries, therefore, took fresh courage, erected a new meeting-hall, and again regulated the congregation in a proper manner. They began to administer the holy communion to such, as were proper subjects for it, and took those unbaptized, who were desirous to obtain salvation, into nearer instruction, and some of them were admitted to baptism. They made also a beginning with three Indians, to use them as helpers among their nation, especially among those Indians that lived at a distance and visited them.

On the *Corentyn*, after the rebellion of the Negroes in *Berbice* was suppressed, the Brethren, in the year 1764, took again possession of their deserted house. But it being exposed to inundations, they removed it to a height not far from the *Mepenna*, on which most of the Indians lived, that fled from *Berbice*, who were assiduously visited from hence. Although some of them were rather grown wild; yet the blessed

blessed remembrance of grace formerly enjoyed was still found in many, and a desire again to be made partakers of it; nor were they without blessing to the rest of the Heathen. They came diligently to hear the word of God, and, by degrees, gathered themselves to the Brethren, to build with them. They sent to the rest of the dispersed about the *Witky* and *Isequeb*, giving them an invitation to dwell with them. Many strangers also came to hear the gospel, some of whom staid, and attained to holy baptism. Nevertheless, the Brethren did not cease seeking the Heathen in the *Savannah*, or wilderness, and the gospel was spread farther and farther by the visiting Indians, as well as through the baptized. Thus, an emotion arose in those parts, like that formerly in Berbice. The dispersed were hereby encouraged to gather again to the congregation, and the Brethren's hope was strengthened of seeing the decayed mission in Berbice reviving here; on which account they called this new Indian place, *Hope*.

§ 291.

THE desire of the government in Surinam, expressed in the year 1760, to send some Brethren among the *Free Negroes*, with whom peace had been made, and, agreeable to their request, to instruct their youth in the Christian religion, (§ 230.) was now fulfilled. *Thomas Jones* and *Rudolph Stolle* were, in company with *Lewis Christopher Dehne*, come to Surinam for this purpose. These three Brethren were, in the year 1765, presented, by a deputy of the council, to the captains of twelve villages of the Negroes, and accepted of them with joy. Every one wanted to have one of them; but they chose rather, at first, to live together, promising to visit them all. After a difficult journey, they arrived, on the 24th of December 1765, in the country of the Free Negroes, and took up their abode with the captain *Abini*, on *Sentbea-Creek*, in the centre of the twelve villages.

Thomas Jones was soon taken sick, and departed this life, and Abini, the most eminent of all the captains, was shot dead in a fray with other Free Negroes.

Besides an exceedingly difficult way of life, the Brethren were continually in imminent danger among these savage and idolatrous people. On the Brethren's explaining to them, the first time, the aim of their coming - 'To make them acquainted with that God, who made, and who redeemed them with his blood', they were seized with a fear, lest their gods should be provoked, if they had any thing to do with *Gran Gaddo*, the great God. This fear went so far, that they appointed offerings and prayers, to appease them again. They are greatly addicted to idolatry, every one having his own idol, and believing himself possessed by him. They are, at times, seized with violent agitations of their bodies, when their *Gaddo* (as they call it) comes upon them. Whatever they speak at that time, is looked upon as pronounced by the god dwelling in them. They make a god of all they see, and care must be taken, not to kill a serpent, or any other creature, lest some Negro, who makes it his god, should be provoked to wrath. There was, therefore, at the beginning, but very little prospect of their conversion. The Brethren were obliged to be satisfied with opening a school with some of their children, to teach them, according to the desire of the parents, to read and to write. They, however, thought they perceived some impression and blessing of their discourses in some boys, which encouraged them to prosecute their labour, in hopes, by means of the children, one time to effect something in the parents; joyful traces of which now make their appearance.

§ 252.

As the accounts of all the Heathen-missions during this period were exceedingly agreeable; so the intelligence received of the oldest Heathen-mission in the Danish Caribbee islands

islands had never been so replete with joyful news, as at this time. There was a great stir among all the people, especially among the unbaptized, who are always the greatest number. In particular the *Buffals*, that is, the raw and wild Negroes, brought immediately from Africa, discovered a remarkable desire of hearing the word of God, and of being saved. On every monthly congregation-day a great many mentioned their desire to be inserted in the list of the catechumens; and above an hundred every year, both in *St. Thomas* and *St. Croix*, and in *St. Jan* above half an hundred, attained to holy baptism. It appears by a declaration, made by the Brethren, in the year 1765, in answer to some questions asked of them by the magistrates, that the number of all the Negroes, baptized in these three islands since the commencement of the mission, amounted to three thousand five hundred and thirty-nine souls, and the next year were added one hundred and fifty in *St. Thomas*, one hundred and forty-three in *St. Croix*, and sixty-four in *St. Jan*, exclusive of the children of such parents, as were not yet baptized, who, on that account, did not receive baptism, but were blessed by prayer, and reckoned among the catechumens.

The number of the adult catechumens and candidates for baptism, amounted to upwards of two thousand. From the beginning of the mission, to the end of the year 1766, sixty-six Brethren and Sisters had died in the Lord, in the midst of their labour, on the three islands; and the baptized Negroes, departed in faith on Jesus, amounted to eight hundred, besides a great number of such, as had heard the gospel with blessing to their souls, and, before they could have the sacrament of holy baptism administered to them, were gone into eternity in reliance upon the merits of Jesus.

As to the outward state of the mission; the Brethren, in regard of their labour, amidst almost continual bodily weakness and frequent sicknesses, as also with respect to

their maintenance, had, even now, as great difficulties to struggle with, as in the former years. But their joy at the desire of the Negroes after the gospel, and the many examples of fruit worthy of it, made every thing easy to them, and strengthened their courage, still to exert all the powers of soul and body in this work of God. They had also the consolation of their labour in the Lord being acknowledged, and, in case of need, protected, by the government, both in Denmark and in the islands. In St. Croix, in the year 1765, by the enviousness of other people on the plantation of the Brethren, the meeting-house at the West end, lately erected upon the desire of the Negroes for many years, took fire. In St. Jan the church was thrown down by a storm, and the next year, 1766, rebuilt, to the great joy of the Negroes, who were obliged, for above a year, to attend the preaching in the open air, and to forego the holy communion. By occasion of the dividing an inheritance in St. Croix, in the year 1767, seventeen Negroes were carried to the Dutch island, St. Eustatia, to their own and the missionaries great grief. They were visited the next year, exhorted to constancy and faithfulness, and some regulations made among them, for their mutual edification. In the year 1766, Brother *Christian George Andrew Oldendorp* was sent to St. Thomas, to take a view of the mission and all its circumstances, and, both from historical relations and ocular evidence, to collect the materials for an *History* of this mission *.

§ 293.

THE pain, which was for some years felt on account of the slow progress (I might say, regrefs) of the mission in *Jamaica*, was, in this period, turned into joy, in a manner hardly to be expected in so great a degree, after the arrival

* This History has been published in German, in the year 1777.

of *Frederic Schlegel* from Bethlehem, in the year 1764, to take the direction of the mission into his hands. God gave grace that the missionaries were again united in one mind and method, and found anew entrance to the hearts of the Negroes. They met with great difficulties, with respect to their subsistence, till they were supported from Europe, and put in a better way of maintaining themselves. but, as to inward grace, things began to take a more pleasing turn. Those who had been formerly baptized, came again by degrees; and among the hearers, who were as yet but few, such a powerful emotion of grace took place, that, even this year (1764), eight of them were baptized. This encouraged the rest; and a new life sprang up among the baptized, when the first of them were, in the year 1765, admitted by the Brethren to the holy communion. Some of these were trained up for helpers and visitors among the Negroes, and the usefulness of their labour was perceived in the following year, 1766, when thirty-six were baptized, and fifteen admitted to the holy communion. Concerning the year 1767, I will here insert the missionary's own expressions at the close of that year.

1. " This has been a year abounding with grace and blessing. At the testimony of the death of Jesus, a particular spirit and fire have often been observed. Such a divine life we have not perceived at the preaching of the gospel in the preceding years.

2. " From the beginning of the month of May, a very gracious visitation of the Lord has been manifest among the people, which still continues.

3. " The spirit of the witnesses is come upon our people at the *Bogue*. Many deliver a testimony of our Saviour, wherever they find an opportunity. We even appoint, at times, one or another Negro-Brother to hold a meeting. Our visitors and helpers are diligent and zealous, and their service is a blessing to the poor people and themselves.

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4. " In some places, the gospel has been preached the first time; and the number of hearers increases every where. At the beginning of the year, scarcely an hundred came at the Bogue, now there are five hundred of them, since Negroes also from other plantations frequently attend the preaching there.

5. " The souls have been more deeply and more solidly grounded. We have dealt strictly with some who gave offence, but they have all returned, as repenting sinners.

6. " Peace, love and harmony have ruled amongst us.

7. " The tender fellow feeling of our Brethren in Europe with us, with respect to our inward and outward circumstances, has greatly revived us, and given us fresh courage.

8. " In our housekeeping we have sensibly perceived the blessing of our dear heavenly Father. We have lived frugally, and not been indolent. But we are in great want of Negroes to assist us. Yet the blessing and fruit of the gospel among our people has alleviated every burden.

9. " The holy communion has particularly evidenced its power and operation in our Blacks, twenty-seven of whom have been admitted the first time; and now we have fifty communicants in all.

10. " In the six places, where we have hitherto preached, one hundred and thirty-one have been baptized this year, and six baptized have departed this life.

" Let every one, that reads or hears this, pray for us, that our Saviour may be farther with us, and give power to the word of his cross, to melt the stony hearts of the Heathens, and gain them as a reward for his sufferings. But unto the Lamb that has redeemed us to God by his blood, out of every kindred and tongue and people and nation, be honour and glory and blessing, both here below and there above, for ever and ever ! Amen."

I will

I will only still add, concerning the year 1768, that the awakening not only proceeded, but spread still farther. Hitherto, the Brethren had only preached on the plantations of *Joseph Foster Barham* and *William Foster*, Esquires: but now they were invited to more places, and had to take care of the Negroes on nine plantations. This year, one hundred and twenty-four attained to baptism, and thirty-six were admitted to the holy communion. The Brethren, *Frederic Schell* and *Hans Mueller*, made the first journey to the *Free Negroes*, who live by themselves in the mountains. They, indeed, were not kindly received at first. When the captain ordered his people to meet to the preaching, most of them looked dark and unfriendly. But the Lord gave grace to the testimony of the gospel, so, that their hearts were moved, and, at taking leave, all desired with one voice, that the Brethren would soon come again, which has accordingly been done more than once since*.

§ 294.

THE mission in *Antigua* suffered a great loss by the decease of the first missionary, *Samuel Isles*, in the year 1764. (§ 265.) He was, indeed, succeeded by another; but he quickly followed his predecessor into eternity. Afterwards other Brethren were sent thither: but no new awakening appeared among the Negroes; and all they were able to do, besides the work of their hands, was, to keep the baptized Negroes together, and to add some few to them. In the year 1767, they moved into their dwelling-house at *Sz.*

* This was the state and the pleasing prospect of the mission in *Jamaica* in the year 1768; but we are sorry to find that, instead of its continuing in that flourishing condition, it has stopped in its growth; and the missionaries mourn that they do not see more fruit of their labour. But God has still his work among the Negroes; and the missionaries labour, in hopes, that the seed sown, which seemed to die, will, as has been the case in other places, shoot up, and yet bring forth a large increase. (The Editor.)

John's,

John's, and opened the chapel with a sermon. An opportunity offered likewise to preach the gospel to the Negroes on an estate out of the town, and the owner assisted them. But it was painful to them, that most of the Negroes, baptized by the Brethren, were sent to other islands. But, notwithstanding all difficulties, they are not without hopes, that, after many vicissitudes, the kingdom of God will at length make its way, in this island also, as in all other, now flourishing, missions*.

§ 295.

It had been long wished that a mission might be established in the English West India island, *Barbadoes*, where there is a great number of Negroes. In the year 1765, two Brethren went thither. But one of them departed this life presently after their arrival; and the Brother who went to supply his place, found, that the other, having got a love for the world, had deviated from the aim of his going thither; but he himself soon followed the first into eternity. Upon this, the mission was discontinued, until the year 1767, when *Benjamin Brukshaw*, from *Chester*, determined to go thither alone, and begin this mission. He arrived on the 17th of May, 1767. One of the Brethren at London has given the following account of the missionary's attempts to find ingress among the Negroes.

“ The 24th of October, the doctor of the ship, in which Brukshaw was gone to Barbadoes, came to me,

* The state of this mission is very different from what it was at the time when *Cranz* wrote his history. At that time, the missionaries were supported by the hope of better times: and the time is come that they can rejoice over the work of the Lord. This is now one of the most flourishing missions among the Negroes, and the name of God our Saviour is praised by great numbers, who were formerly slaves of sin and Satan. We will pray that this may be the case soon with Jamaica and Barbadoes. (The Editor)

“ and

“ and related, that Bruklhaw had several times been with
 “ the president of the council, who, at that time, supplied
 “ the place of the governor, who received him very kindly,
 “ and conversed in a friendly manner with him concerning
 “ his design of preaching the gospel to the Negroes. He had
 “ been in most parts of the island, to see, where and how he
 “ could find entrance among the Negroes. He had visited
 “ most of the clergy in the island, who behaved very friend-
 “ ly towards him, wishing him success in his undertakings.
 “ In general, every one was apprised of the true cause of
 “ his coming, and showed respect for it. The Negroes
 “ discovered great love and regard for him, and visited him
 “ assiduously, &c.”

According to his own accounts, he made the first trial at *Bridgetown*, and in the district about it, of visiting the Negroes, and declaring the gospel to them in occasional conversations. A gentleman soon gave him an opportunity of preaching on his plantation. He then hired an house for himself in the country, where, as well as on the estate, he preached publicly. Many owners of estates were willing to direct their Negroes unto him, and several came to hear him themselves: they even desired him to preach to them separately. But he directed them to their churches; and himself set them a good example, not easily neglecting the public service of the church of England.

In the month of August, he received an assistant from *Bethlehem*, *John Bennet*, who had before been in *Antigua*. They now began to preach in more places, and to visit the Negroes, as far as they could reach. These came in such numbers, that their house was soon too small. They, therefore, bought, in the same year, an house, which had been burnt down, with a garden, repaired and fitted it up for their dwelling and meeting-place for the Negroes, who were greatly rejoiced at these preparations, and thanked God that he had now given them also teachers. They not only flocked to this place, but visited the Brethren in

the week so diligently, that they were sometimes employed with them the whole day. A Negro-woman especially, whose heart the Lord had opened at the very first, was exceedingly zealous in speaking to the Negroes, and exhorting them to attend the meetings. She was the first that received holy baptism, on the 18th of September 1768, to which soon after five others; and since then more, were admitted. The same year they obtained two other assistants from Europe. As some of them had much employment in their trades, and were obliged to travel through the whole island, they found this method of getting their livelihood greatly conducive to their main design, by affording them opportunities, in every place their business called them to, of speaking to the Negroes. And the owners, who had already perceived the fruit of it in some Negroes, invited the Brethren to preach the gospel also on their estates*.

§ 296.

THE two congregations in *Greenland* increased, during this period, in inward grace, and in good order, and proved an honour to the Lord, a comfort to their teachers, and an uncommon joy and edification to all that obtained an account of them, either through the *History of Greenland*, or from the annual reports. But, in the first years, they rather decreased than increased in number, many baptized departing this life, and but very few joining them anew from among the Heathen. In the year 1765, the eldest missionary, *Matthew Stach*, accompanied by three Greenlandish families, made a journey of between one hundred and twenty and one hundred and forty leagues, into the southern part of the country, as yet but little known, whence most of the inhabitants of *New Herrnbut* and *Lichtenfels* came; in order to

* Since the writing of this History, a mission has been begun on the island of *St Christopher's*, and some first-fruits have been baptized. (The Editor.)

visit the Heathen, who had often heard the gospel, passing and repassing through the congregations, and had invited the Brethren to come and declare to them and others the word of God anew, inviting them to the kingdom of God. He spent the winter there, and spared no pains, together with his Greenland-helpers, to kindle a light in this dark district. But yet, he saw, at that time, but little fruit of it, and those who were convinced and went with him, in order to become believers, for the most part left him on the road. Thus, the Brethren were obliged to comfort themselves, from the experience of former times, with the hope, that the benefit of this difficult journey would appear some time hence.

Soon after, the Heathen in the district of New Herrnhut and Lichtenfels began to afford better hopes. In the year 1767, a new desire and attention was perceived in all the adjacent parts, to hear the word of God, and to embrace it with true faith, working a change of mind and life. A certain extraordinary occurrence was greatly conducive to this end. An *Angekok*, or sorcerer, at *Pissugbik*, who had oftentimes heard the gospel, but as yet without any visible fruit, was, in the year 1768, terrified to such a degree, by a dream, or, as he said, by a vision, that, from that hour, he altered his life, preached repentance and conversion to his former adherents, and dispatched messengers to New Herrnhut, with a petition to send them some one to instruct them farther in the way of salvation. This petition was granted with joy. From that time, a new awakening arose in all those parts, which extended as far as Lichtenfels, and still farther. The Heathen came frequently on visits, and, at their request, were again visited by the Brethren and the Greenlandish helpers. They ordered matters, during the summer, so, as to live with the Brethren; and, in autumn, many from *Pissugbik* and other places, moved to New Herrnhut and Lichtenfels, and some of them, during the winter, and in the following year, 1769, attained to holy baptism.

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At the close of the year 1768, the congregation at New Herrnhut consisted of five hundred and twenty-seven, and that at Lichtenfels, of two hundred and fifty-seven Greenlanders. The inward and outward state of these congregations, the names, the increase, and employment of the missionaries and their assistants, of whom *Ballenhorst's* wife, the second European, departed this life in the year 1766, together with other alterations, may be read at large in the *Continuation of the History of Greenland, from the Year 1763 to 1768.* (§ 274.)

§ 297.

At the time of my abode in Greenland, in the years 1761 and 1762, for the purpose of compiling the History of this mission, we often spoke of the *Esquimaux*, whom we supposed to be one nation with the Greenlanders, and wished to bring the gospel even to them from Greenland. *Jens Haven*, an assistant of the mission, who accompanied me on my return, had, ever since the unsuccessful attempt of a mission in *Terra Labrador*, in the year 1752, (§ 176.) often signified his desire, to be made use of in a second attempt there. This desire was revived in him, when, in the year 1764, his place in Greenland was supplied by others. He was of opinion, that God had only led him to Greenland, to give him an opportunity of learning the language, as the means of preaching the gospel to the *Esquimaux*. Having signified his impulse and desire to the direction of the Unity of the Brethren, and obtained their approbation of, and blessing for, his undertaking, he immediately, in the spring of 1764, set out for England, and, by the assistance of the Brethren there, obtained permission, and the patronage of the then governor of *Newfoundland and Labrador*, *Hugh Palliser*, Esq. to attempt a visit there. After manifold difficulties, and much fruitless sailing to and from, and landing on the coast of *Labrador*, he was, at length, on the 4th of September, so successful,

as to discover a number of Esquimaux on the island *Quir-pont*, on the north east point of Newfoundland. He spoke with them in their own language, which never had been done before by any European, and therefore caused their greatest admiration and joy. Having declared to them the intention of his voyage, and the view of the Brethren, to make them acquainted with their Creator, by the preaching of the gospel, he, for some days, received all imaginable friendship from them ; and promised to come to them again the following year with more Brethren.

This discovery, and the declaration of friendship from savages, with whom no European's life had before been safe, was exceedingly agreeable to governor *Palliser*, and, upon his report, to the board of trade and plantations. They wished, for the promotion of peace, and for the security of the trade and fishery, soon to see a mission of the Brethren established there. *Jens Haven*, therefore, went again thither the next year (1765), with the former Danish missionary, *Christian Laurence Drachart*, and two other Brethren ; made a still farther journey for reconnoitring the country ; and had the pleasure, on his return to the English ships, to meet with some hundred Esquimaux, to whom the missionary Drachart had preached the gospel for some weeks, not without impresson and blessing, and had accomplished with them all that government could expect for the present*.

But greatly as the establishment of a mission among the Esquimaux was wished for, not only by the Brethren, but also by persons of rank in England ; yet the Brethren were obliged, on account of various difficulties, to defer it for some time longer. In the mean while, some Esquimaux were taken prisoners in a skirmish, and three of them brought to England. Among them was a boy, called *Karpik*, who

* A farther account of this, together with a description of the country and the inhabitants, is found in the *Fourth Chapter of the Continuation of the History of Greenland*, § 12 to 22.

was given to the Brethren to be educated. Having received holy baptism, he departed this life happily, in the year 1769, at *Fulneck* in Yorkshire *.

In the year 1768, the negotiation, relative to a mission of the Brethren to *Labrador*, was renewed. On the report of the board of trade to the privy council, a resolution was taken on the 3d of May 1769, concerning the establishment of a mission in *Terra Labrador*; and, on the 8th of May, an order of council was issued: "That the land
" desired in *Esquimaux-Bay* should be granted to the *Unitas*
" *Fratrum* and their *Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel*
" among the *Heathen*, and they be protected in their laudable undertakings, &c."

It was too late this year to put the matter in execution. But I will here previously mention, that it was taken into mature deliberation, and determined at the synod held in 1769, that, in the year 1770, another voyage should be undertaken to *Terra Labrador*, in order to seek out a place for building on a suitable spot for the mission; but principally to renew and confirm the friendly acquaintance begun with the *Esquimaux*; both which endeavours were attended with such success, as could hardly have been expected.

§ 298.

IN consequence of the edict issued by the empress of *Russia*, in favour of the Brethren, (§ 253.) it was resolved at the synod held at *Marienborn*, in the year 1764, to settle a colony in the Russian empire, and that in the kingdom of *Astracan*, in hopes, that the Lord would open a door for our Brethren in these eastern countries, as he had done in the western, among the many infidels on the confines of *Russia*, in *Mungalia*, *Persia*, and so on; and make them a blessing to some at least.

* His life may be read at the conclusion of the *Continuation of the History of Greenland*.

Five single Brethren were nominated, under the conduct of *John Erich Westmann*, to chuse, and take possession of, a tract of land on the *Wolga*. *Peter Conrad Fries*, a French Protestant clergyman, went before them, as agent at the Imperial court, in order to prepare matters with the Imperial tutelary chancery, which has the charge of the affairs of the colonies. On the 18th of January, 1765, he obtained the special grant for this colony. Her Imperial majesty was also pleased, for the more convenient reception of, and provision for, the Brethren coming into the country, in the year 1766, to give them a spacious house at *Petersburg*, with liberty of performing in it divine service according to the ritual of the Brethren's congregations. The five Brethren went, in the year 1765, to *Petersburg*, and from thence set out, on the 26th of June, in company with the Imperial aulic counsellor, mentioned in § 253; travelled by land, by way of *Moscow*, as far as *Nisi Nowograd*, and from thence continued their journey on the *Wolga*. On the 13th of August, they reached *Czarizin*, by way of *Casan* and *Saratoff*, two thousand five hundred and twenty-eight *Wersts* (Russian miles), or about two thousand English miles, distant from *Petersburg*. Twenty-four miles below *Czarizin*, they pitched upon a piece of land, on the brook *Sarpa*, issuing into the *Wolga*. Here they settled, and directly made preparation, with the assistance of Russian carpenters, for erecting the necessary buildings, for cultivating some garden-ground and land for corn, and for carrying on their trades. It was, however, somewhat remarkable, that five defenceless people, with only a few *Cossaks*, given them from time to time for their protection, lived a whole year alone, without suffering the least harm, in the neighbourhood of the *Calmuks*, who lay by thousands round their land, and in a desert, where travellers are often fallen upon by robbers.

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In the year 1766, these five Brethren were rejoiced at the arrival of more Brethren and some Sisters, under the conduct of the bishop, *John Nitschmann*. (§ 53.) They went from Holland by sea to Petersburg, and on the 22d of July set out by land, guarded by an Imperial officer and some soldiers, as far as *Torzok*; and from thence proceeded by water down the Wolga, and, by divine aid and protection, amidst many dangers from robbers, and among the rocks of the river, reached *Sarepta* (for so was this new place called) on the 19th of September. Another company followed them in February 1768. These travelled by land on sledges in the severest cold, and could not sufficiently extol the civility, friendship and hospitality of the *Donn Cossaks*, whose country they passed through. In the year 1769, they were again increased by a small company from Holland.

In the mean time, the place was regularly built, and every thing ordered according to the usages of other congregations of the Brethren. The land belonging to it was secured by a deed of gift from her Imperial majesty, executed and signed on the 7th of April by her own hand, and delivered to the agent of the Brethren. Many Russian gentlemen and generals, especially the governor general of the kingdom of *Astracan*, being the chief magistrate in that country, repeatedly took a view of the beginning and progress of this settlement and its useful regulations, with particular pleasure and satisfaction. The sovereign herself, who enquired very particularly into every thing concerning this place, more than once showed her gracious disposition towards it, and was solicitous for its safety, when, in the year 1769, upon the breaking out of the war with the Turks, the country on the Wolga was disturbed by the *Kuban* and *Kabardinian Tartars*.

§ 299.

Sarepta is situate on the high road, leading from Petersburg and Moscow, by way of Astracan, to Persia and the East Indies. This situation occasioned them many visits, which indeed, on the one hand, especially at the first settling of the place, could not but be attended with great inconveniences, but, on the other, were of use to them for obtaining an acquaintance with many different nations. They entertained even Indians from *Indostan*; and, in the year 1768, received a letter from the Brethren at *Tranquebar* in the East Indies, by way of *Bassora* and *Persia*. Among the many passengers, a *Crusinian*, or *Georgian*, prince, with his son, the archimandrite of *Teflis*, paid them a visit, and invited the Brethren into their country. A *Crusinian* merchant, of whom the Brethren enquired about the state of those divers nations, that inhabit the mountains of *Caucasus*, between the Russian, Persian, and Turkish empires, named, among others, the *Tschechs*, whose ancestors, according to their relation, were, some hundred years ago, driven thither from Europe, having their own language and way of life, professing the Christian religion, but being no longer able to read the books of their forefathers, which were deposited in large and strong-built churches, now standing empty; and expecting a time, when the use of them, and their divine worship, should be renewed. As the *Bohemians* call themselves *Tschechs*, so a supposition arose in the Brethren, that they might, perhaps, be the descendents of those *Bohemians*, who, according to the *Ancient History of the Brethren*, § 16, about the year 1480, were banished *Moravia*, and are said to have gone to *Moldavia*, and from thence to the mountains of *Caucasus*. The Brethren, there-

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fore, took pains to obtain some farther knowledge of this people. A native of Bohemia, *Kutschera*, resolved, in company with another Brother, to seek them out, and to enquire into their descent, doctrine, constitution, language, and books. In the year 1768 they entered on their journey to *Astracan*, and obtained from the governor general a pass, and letters of recommendation to the Russian commanders, with orders to give them some *Cossaks* as a guard, and a Tartarian interpreter and guide. But when they came to the frontier fortrefs, *Mostok*, and were no more than four days journey from the country where the *Tschschs* are said to dwell, they were advised by the fatherly disposed commandant of the fortrefs, to proceed no farther, since the *Kabardinians* were approaching with forty thousand men, into whose hands they in all probability would fall, and be carried into slavery. Painful as this was to them, yet they saw no other way, but to return to *Astracan*; where they resolved to wait for a more convenient season, occupying themselves in learning the Tartarian language.

§ 300.

THE Brethren soon commenced an acquaintance with the *Calmucs*, who inhabit the vast extent of land both on the right and left banks of the *Wolga*, and from thence as far as the *Chinese Tartary*, with their *Hordes* (clans), subject to divers *Chans*, or princes. They range, as is well known, with their numerous herds of camels, horses, black cattle, and sheep, from one district abounding with grass to another, in the *Steppe*, or, uninhabited plain. An horde of them, soon after the arrival of the Brethren, came over the river *Wolga*, and encamped upon their land. This occasioned a variety of troubles at first, and apprehensions of still

more. But their friendship was soon gained by the civil and kind treatment of the Brethren. Their princes ordered justice to be done to the Brethren, when they had any complaints to make about the damages they had received; and the chan caused public notice to be given, in what manner the Calmucs were to deport themselves with respect to the land of the Brethren. The building of *Sarepta* proved a pleasure to them. They came thither in large numbers, viewed every thing, attended even the meetings of the Brethren, with admiration and respect, and were well pleased when the Brethren visited them. It was in particular very agreeable to them, when a skilful physician came to *Sarepta*. Many Calmucs became his patients; among whom was a prince of the *Derboet Horde*, who, with his train, in the year 1767, pitched his winter-encampment upon the land of the Brethren. This afforded them an occasion of entering into a closer acquaintance with this nation, and of obtaining some knowledge of their manners, usages, religion, and language. The prince, by the loving treatment of the Brethren, and the careful attendance of the physicians, gained a great confidence in them, discovered especially an uncommon affection for two Brethren who often visited him, in order to learn the language; and, on his removal, in the spring of 1768, offered, if they chose to go with him into the great steppe, to take them under his protection, to show them all kindness, afford them his assistance, and procure them an opportunity of learning their language. The two Brethren accepted this offer with gladness, submitted to the way of living usual among the Calmucs, and, during the years 1768 and 1769, moved with them from place to place, with their *Kiwishes*, or tents, and cattle. Every one showed them all friendship, and the *Lamas*, or priests, of whom they have a great number, suffered them to

be spectators at their religious exercises, which consist in many prayers, counted by a kind of rosary, or beads, and in various offerings. These two and other Brethren, have now advanced so far in the Calmuc tongue, as to be able to express themselves, and heartily wish, that the light of the gospel may arise upon this people also, immured in manifold idolatrous customs, and by a number of crafty priests.

§ 301.

FROM this Asiatic colony of the Brethren, we now turn to the other, or rather the first, on the coast of *Coromandel* in the *East Indies*. This colony, both inwardly and outwardly, proceeded with blessing. The Brethren had more work in their trades, than they were able to execute; and the physician in particular was an help and a blessing to many patients both far and near. They improved their garden and land, especially by planting a vineyard, which was the more wondered at, as such an improvement on this coast had before been considered as impracticable. But their small congregation received no addition from Europe; nor did they, for a long time, see any opening for obtaining the main design of their coming hither, the preaching of the gospel to the Heathen.

As to the *Nicobar Islands*, the Brethren waited some years for an opportunity of going thither, and made, from time to time, enquiry about it of the government, both by word of mouth and in writing. But government could not, till the year 1768, make another attempt for a settlement on these islands. Six Brethren were immediately ready to go thither. They settled on the island *Nan Canavery*, and soon commenced a friendly acquaintance with the Heathen there, an ignorant, but seemingly good-natured nation. Two of them soon departed this life; but the other four Brethren are still there, in hopes to gather for our Saviour some reward for the travail of his soul from among these Heathens.

§ 302.

AFRICA was also thought of again. The Brethren had, heretofore, made attempts in four places of this quarter of the globe, to make the gospel known; in the year 1737, in *Guinea*, and among the *Hottentots* on the *Cape of good Hope*; (§ 79) in the years 1740 and 1745, among the Christian slaves in *Algiers*; (§ 87.) and in the year 1752, at *Grand Cairo*. (§ 193.) The physician, *Frederic William Hokker*, who, after the unsuccessful attempt of the journey to *Abyssinia* in the year 1761, had returned to Germany, (§ 233.) could not be satisfied that this post was left vacant, and went again to *Cairo*, in order, by patient attendance upon his medical profession, to see, when and how a door should be opened for obtaining fruit in *Egypt*, or in *Abyssinia*. A joiner, *Henry Danke*, resolved to go with him. They received the consent and blessing of the congregation, and, in the year 1768, set off from *Holland*, by way of *Leghorn*, to *Alexandria*. On the 5th of March 1769 they reached *Cairo*, and, towards the end of the year, *John Antes*, a native of *America*, a skilful watchmaker and mechanic, followed them. Their arrival happened just at the time of the most violent disturbances, when great revolutions came to pass in Upper *Egypt*, and warlike preparations were making in Lower *Egypt*. *Hokker* was received with much love and friendship by his old acquaintance. Especially the Coptic and Greek clergy were glad to see him again. He had some farther important conversations with the patriarch of the Copts, *Mark CVI*, and attended him in his sickness, in which he left this world on the 18th of May 1769.

§ 303.

THE Brethren had been waiting these thirty years for a proper occasion of renewing the mission to *Guinea*, the native

country of the Negroes, begun in the year 1737, among which people, their ministry, since that time, had been so greatly blessed in the West India islands; when, in the year 1767, without their seeking or expecting it, an application was made to the Brethren by the Guinea company at Copenhagen, that some Brethren might settle in their factories. *Jacob Meder* was sent to *Copenhagen*, to hear the proposals of the company, and to lay before them the Brethren's views and requisitions in undertakings of such a nature. This was attended with good success. On the 2d of September, articles of agreement between the directors of the company and the deputies of the evangelical Brethren's church were signed, according to which, a tract of land should be assigned to the Brethren on *Rio Volta*, or wherever they should find it most convenient, for a settlement of a mission, together with all necessary privileges, chiefly with regard to converting and gathering the Negroes. After this agreement had received the Royal confirmation, four more Brethren, under the conduct of *Jacob Meder*, their minister, entered upon their voyage, and arrived, on the 5th of July 1768, at *Christiansburg*, on the coast of *Guinea*. But before they could actually begin a settlement, Meder and two of his assistants departed this life. The two remaining likewise laboured under dangerous disorders. As soon as this painful news was received in Europe, in the spring of 1769, several Brethren offered themselves voluntarily, to supply their places. Of these, four were selected at the synod of this year, who, under the conduct of *John Erich Westmann*, set out the same year, and arrived on the coast of *Guinea* in 1770. But all these four, and the two who were left of the first company, ended their lives this very year.

§ 304.

THIS synod of the Unity of the Brethren was again held at *Marienberg*, and opened on the 1st of July, 1769.

One hundred and twenty-nine persons out of all the congregations, not only in Europe, but in America also, were present at it. The inward and outward state of the whole Unity of the Brethren, and of all the congregations, missions, colonies, and oeconomies, in the whole and in the parts, was uprightly considered before the Lord, minutely weighed, judged of without respect of persons, and regulated according to the best of their knowledge, which the Spirit of God imparted to them from his word, and from past experience in the ways of God.

In a brief, but authentic account, given of it, it is said, among other things, as follows.

“ We had, at the beginning of the synod, the comfortable word of the day: *Before I formed thee in the belly,*
 “ *I knew thee; and before thou camest forth out of the womb,*
 “ *I sanctified thee, and I ordained thee a prophet unto the nations.* Jer. i. 5.

“ We give ourselves to God, with faith unfeign’d,
 “ That his kind views with us may be obtain’d,
 “ To the Father’s blessing, the Bridegroom’s favour,
 “ The Holy Spirit’s guidance, now and ever,
 “ The angels’ guard.

“ We applied this text simply to the Unity of the Brethren. For it is however true, that he has *sanctified us*, or set us apart, to be a peculiar people of his, and “ has called us to make known his death unto the nations of the earth.

“ The

“ The whole work of the Lord in our days of grace,
 “ among Christians and Heathens, in all the four quar-
 “ ters of the globe, where the Brethren serve him, was the
 “ object of consideration before our dear Lord.

“ We, first of all, called to mind the sacred and blessed
 “ foundation, upon which we have been called and united
 “ together by the Holy Ghost, *That without controversy*
 “ *great mystery of godliness: God was manifest in the flesh,*
 “ *took all our sins upon himself, and, by an eternal redemption*
 “ *in his blood, purchased and gained us to be his own, to the end,*
 “ *that we should live under him in his kingdom, and serve*
 “ *him in eternal righteousness, innocence, and happiness*

“ We bound ourselves anew to adhere to this foundation
 “ as laid down in the holy scriptures of the Old and New
 “ Testament, and blessedly experienced and enjoyed by so
 “ many thousand poor sinners, for their salvation and pre-
 “ servation; and not to be separated from it by any height
 “ or depth, by things present, or things to come.

“ For this end, not only the private reading of the holy
 “ scriptures was faithfully recommended to all our congre-
 “ gations; but it was unanimously agreed, to renew, and
 “ put in practice, more than hitherto, the public Bible-
 “ lessons before the whole assembled congregation, which
 “ had been formerly found of such blessing in our congre-
 “ gations.

“ It was likewise recommended to all our Brethren, to
 “ whom it is committed to labour in the word and doc-
 “ trine in the congregations, so to care for the instruction
 “ of our youth in the fundamental truths of our most holy
 “ faith, that they may obtain a sufficient and solid *knowledge*
 “ *in the mystery of Christ; that each, from a child, may know*
 “ *the holy scriptures, and by them be made wise unto salvation,*
 “ *through*

“ through faith which is in Christ Jesus. For the assistance
 “ in this necessary instruction, *A Summary of the Doctrine of*
 “ *Jesus Christ*, containing, in one series of clear scripture-
 “ texts, the whole connexion of the saving truths, shall be
 “ made use of*.

“ Among many others, the following practical remarks
 “ were made.

1. “ The more, in our time, *Pelagianism*, or, the erro-
 “ neous opinion of the natural powers of man to amend
 “ himself, appears to gain the ascendancy; the more reason
 “ have we, strenuously to urge the doctrine of the corrup-
 “ tion of human nature clearly and roundly.

2. “ Since *all things that pertain unto life and godliness*, are
 “ a fruit of the merits of Jesus, and an inseparable part of
 “ the preaching of the gospel; we will, therefore, while
 “ publishing the *Counsel of God* concerning our salvation,
 “ never fail to insist upon the fruit of faith, and to incul-
 “ cate the moral precepts of Jesus and his Apostles.

“ Next to the doctrine, the inward and outward situa-
 “ tion of the Unity of the Brethren, in the whole, and of
 “ each congregation in particular, was a principal considera-
 “ tion of the whole synod.

“ The grace and mercy, continually shown to the Unity
 “ of the Brethren by our kind Lord and Saviour, under the
 “ protection of his heavenly Father, and the tuition of the
 “ Holy Ghost, humbled us in the dust; but, as we found
 “ ourselves still so far distant from the accomplishment of
 “ all his *thoughts of peace towards us*, so likewise our slow
 “ progress, in the whole and in the parts, put us greatly
 “ to shame. This it was, which brought us to a serious
 “ reflection, before his face, upon the reasons and obstacles,
 “ lying in the way of the full attainment of his gracious

* This *Summary &c.* to be used for the *Instruction of Youth* in
 the Congregations of the United Brethren, has been published since,
 both in German and English. (The Editor.)

“ purpose

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“ purpose with us. A mighty and humbling grace, on
 “ this occasion, pervaded the assembly; insomuch, that
 “ the whole synod, with many tears, vowed anew to our
 “ dear Lord, to root out, and heartily to avoid, every devia-
 “ tion from following him in sincerity, and every opposi-
 “ tion to that lowly and poor form, which is most certainly
 “ an essential characteristic of a congregation of Christ, be-
 “ ing confidently assured, that the form of a poor, lowly,
 “ despised flock of true followers of Jesus, as our only glo-
 “ ry, will far better render us fit to fulfil our high calling,
 “ to spread abroad the gospel, than if we were ever so highly
 “ esteemed by the world, while we, at the same time, were
 “ in danger of losing that invincible strength, which lies in
 “ the blessed poverty and form of the cross of Christ.

“ In consequence of this conviction wrought in us by our
 “ Lord himself, all the circumstances appertaining to the
 “ inward and outward constitution of the church of the
 “ Brethren, and its institutions, were reviewed and regu-
 “ lated anew.

“ The watch, or superintendency, over that whole work
 “ of God, which he has intrusted to the Unity of the Bre-
 “ thren, was committed to an *Elders-Conference of the Unity*;
 “ under the inspection and good advice of which, the well-
 “ being of the congregations will be consulted by the *Eld-
 “ ers conferences* of each place; the necessities of our mis-
 “ sions will be taken care of by the *Missions-Diacony*; and
 “ the education and care of the children in the *œconomies*
 “ of the Unity, that is. the children of Heathen-messengers
 “ and congregat-ion-labourers, who cannot have their child-
 “ ren with them, and bring them up themselves, and other
 “ orphans, will be attended to by the *Diacony of the Œco-
 “ nomies*.

“ We, next to this, thought, with much love, on the
 “ Brethren in the Protestant religions, built and united
 “ with us upon the same foundation, *the Atonement made*
 “ by

“ *by the blood of Jesus ; and wished that they might make a*
“ *right use of the grace of God that bringeth salvation, which*
“ *has appeared unto them ; that thus, they may shine as lights*
“ *in their places, and, as faithful people to their religions,*
“ *not remain without fruit.*

“ *Having weighed all these matters, amidst manifold*
“ *proofs of the grace of our Lord, until the 17th of Sep-*
“ *tember, the conclusion was made with reading the Result*
“ *of the Synod, and last of all, with the most blessed parti-*
“ *cipation of the body and blood of Jesus in the holy com-*
“ *munion.*

“ *Glory be unto him in the congregation ; and Grace be with*
“ *all them that love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity.*
“ *Amen.*”

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T H E E N D,

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IF any of the Readers of this *History* should be desirous of being fully informed of the present *Constitution* of the Church of the Brethren; they may find their desire gratified in a small Piece, published in the year 1775, with the following Title :

A concise historical Account of the present Constitution of the Unitas Fratrum, or, Unity of the Evangelical Brethren, &c.

In the year 1779 was printed,

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To give a true idea of the Brethren's labour among the Heathen, there was published in the year 1771,

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A brief Account of the Mission established among the Esquimaux Indians, on the Coast of Labrador, by the Church of the Brethren.

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ERRATA.

- Page 50. line 2. *read*, yet they left
 63. — 8. *read*, of Wittenberg.
 68. — 11. from the bottom, *read*, *Comenius*, or
Komensky, from *Komna*, the place of his
 nativity,
 75. — 2. from the bottom, *read*, when a child,
 88. — 7. from the bottom, *read*, and were to
 have been
 ib. — 4. from the bottom, *for* departure, *read*,
 decease
 123. — 15. from the bottom, *put out*, too
 165. — 4. *read*, oldest
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LETTERS
ON
THE NICOBAR ISLANDS,
THEIR NATURAL PRODUCTIONS,
AND
The Manners, Customs, and Superstitions of the
NATIVES;
With an Account of an Attempt made by
THE CHURCH OF THE UNITED BRETHREN,
TO CONVERT THEM TO
CHRISTIANITY.

Addressed by
THE REV. JOHN GOTTFRIED HAENSEL,
(*The only surviving Missionary*)

TO
THE REV. C. I. LATROBE.

LONDON:

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AND MARTIN KEENE, DUBLIN,

1812.

TO

William Wilberforce, Esq. M.P.

&c. &c. &c.

DEAR SIR,

YOUR obliging inquiries concerning the attempt made by the Church of the United Brethren, to establish a mission in the Nicobar Islands, I have not been able hitherto to answer as fully as I wished, the documents in my possession being few and unconnected, and a reference to Crantz's History of the Brethren, p. 504 and 614, furnishing but a short notice of the commencement of that undertaking. The difficulty attending our correspondence with our Brethren on the Continent, has likewise so.

much increased, that I cannot expect to be soon supplied with more detailed accounts from our archives; and the continuation of *Crantz's History*, in which a concise report of the progress of the mission is inserted, is not translated into English. I was glad therefore unexpectedly to meet with an opportunity of conversing with John Gottfried Haensel, a missionary from St. Thomas in the West Indies, who was formerly employed in the Nicobar mission, and resided for seven years in the island of Nancauwery. This worthy veteran has spent eighteen years in the East, and seventeen in the West Indies, and altogether thirty-eight years in the service of the Brethren's missions; yet by God's blessing, after suffering numberless hardships and dangerous illnesses, at the age of sixty-three he remains a most active, cheerful, and zealous labourer in the Lord's vineyard.

In the course of our frequent conversations on various subjects, relating to the occurrences of his past life, he interspersed so many curious and interesting particulars concerning his residence in the Nicobar Islands; that I could not help requesting him to commit them to writing, as they might occur to his recollection. This he very obligingly consented to do; and though, by my particular desire, he did not study to make out a complete history, the labour and formality of which might have suppressed, in a great degree, the liveliness of his manner, but left the arrangement of the subjects to me; yet I am of opinion, that you will read what he has written with pleasure, and esteem these fragments worthy of preservation. Many of your questions will be pretty satisfactorily answered by them, and I have therefore translated them for your perusal. They exhibit a degree of patience,

and perseverance in the prosecution of missionary labours, in hope against hope, such as has hardly been exceeded in our Greenland and North American missions, with the history of which you are acquainted.

THE mission of the United Brethren in the Nicobar Islands, was undertaken in the year 1758. A person of high rank at the court of Denmark, having intimated to the directors of the Brethren's missions, that it would give particular pleasure to the King, if some of their missionaries would settle on the Nicobar Islands, and endeavour to instruct the inhabitants in the principles of the Christian religion; they resolved to comply with his Majesty's wishes.

A COMMERCIAL establishment had been formed on these islands in 1756, when

the name of Frederic's Islands was given to them; but the first attempt miscarried, and almost all the colonists sent thither from Tranquebar, soon died. The Brethren, however, were not discouraged. After some negociation with the Danish Asiatic company, having obtained an edict, granting them necessary privileges to preach the gospel to the heathen, and to maintain their own church-discipline and worship, they agreed to begin the work, and several Brethren offered themselves for this service. The names of the first missionaries were George John Stahlman, Adam Gottlieb Voelcker, and Christopher Butler. They arrived July 2, 1760, at Tranquebar, and were received by the Governor and all the inhabitants, with much cordiality.

As an establishment on the coast of Coromandel, was found indispensably ne-

cessary to support the new mission, they bought a piece of ground, about a mile from Tranquebar, built a house, with out-houses and work-shops, and maintained themselves by their several trades. This settlement was called *The Brethren's Garden*.

A SECOND company followed them in the same year. According to directions given by the Brethren in Europe, they carefully avoided all interference with the worthy Lutheran missionaries residing at Tranquebar, by whose pious exertions many Malabars had been converted to Christianity.

THE Danish East India company, not being able to renew their settlement in the Nicobar islands as soon as was expected, offers were made to the Brethren by the English Governor of Bengal, to

settle on the Ganges; but they resolved to wait with patience for an opportunity to prosecute their first plan, and obtain the original aim of their mission to the East Indies. This presented itself in 1768, when the Danish government formed a new establishment in the Nicobar islands. Six Brethren were immediately ready to go thither. They settled on Nancauwery.

IN 1769, several officers of the company, with a party of soldiers and black servants, arrived from Tranquebar, and brought with them a considerable quantity of merchandize. But they died so fast, that in 1771 only two European soldiers, and four Malabar servants survived. This second failure deterred the company from repeating their attempt, and the project of establishing a factory in the

Nicobar islands was abandoned. The four Brethren residing there were charged with the sale of the remaining goods, and experienced no small inconvenience and trouble from this commission.

IN 1773, however, a vessel was sent from Tranquebar, which relieved them, by taking back the articles of trade left on hand, and bringing them the provisions they wanted.

As the means of thus supplying the missionaries with the necessaries of life, by uncertain communications with Tranquebar, were too precarious, the Brethren resolved to venture upon annually chartering a vessel for that purpose. Mr. Holford, an English gentleman, residing at Tranquebar, rendered them herein the most essential service. He joined them

in fitting out a small ship, which arrived in 1775, with provisions, &c. at Nancowery, and returned with the produce of the country; the sale of which, however, by no means repaid the expence attending the outfit. Mr. Holford, nevertheless, did not lose his courage. Another vessel was fitted out, and sailed in 1776, but having missed the entrance into the Nicobar islands, after long combating contrary winds and currents, she was obliged to cast anchor near Junkceylon, where she deposited her cargo. A third vessel had meanwhile set out for Nicobar, but was equally unsuccessful. Thus the difficulties attending the support of the settlement increasing, this and other causes, mentioned in the course of the following letters, occasioned the final abandonment of the mission in 1787.

You will however perceive, that Mr. Haensel expresses an opinion concerning future attempts to preach the gospel to the natives of the Nicobar-islands, which is by no means discouraging.

With the sincerest esteem and gratitude for the many proofs you have given of your kind notice of the labours of the Church of the United Brethren among heathen nations,

I remain ever,

Dear Sir,

Your most obliged,

and most faithful friend

and servant,

C. I. Latrobe.

LONDON, *May* 12, 1812.

LETTERS
ON
THE NICOBAR ISLANDS.

LETTER I.

AS you have desired me to repeat, in writing, the substance of our conversations respecting the Nicobar Islands, and the mission of the Brethren, begun there in 1758, in which I was employed from the year 1779, till the attempt was relinquished in 1787; I will endeavour, as far as my recollection will enable me, to satisfy your wishes.

The Nicobar Islands are situated at the entrance of the Bay of Bengal, in 8° N. latitude, and 94° 20' E. longitude, north of Sumatra. Nancauwery is one of the southernmost, and forms, with *Comarty** to the north, a commodious harbour, sheltered to the eastward by a long, but narrow island,

* See Asiatic Researches, Vol. II. 344, III. 292, IV. 132, 328. Renne's *Mémoire*, p. 40. Comarty is called Sampieri, in Mr. Haessel's MSS. and Somberto in a French chart.

called *Tricut*, flat, and abounding in cocoa trees; and to the westward, by *Katsoll*, which is larger. Ships may ride here very safely.

On the north-west point of Nancauwery, behind a low hill, and contiguous to the best landing-place, on a sandy beach, lay the missionary-settlement of the United Brethren, called by the natives, *Tripjet*, or the dwelling of friends, where I arrived in January 1779, in company of Brother Wangeman. On our passage hither we were driven by contrary winds to Queda, on the Malay coast. Here we immediately inquired for Captain Light, having often heard at Tranquebar, that he was well disposed towards the Brethren and their missions, of which he had received some account from Dr. Betschler. We were soon conducted to his dwelling, where we met with a most cordial reception. Being here without any other recommendation, his friendship and kindness proved most gratifying and useful to us. Never have I had it in my power to make any returns to this excellent man, for his disinterested favours, but I shall retain a never-ceasing remembrance of them in a thankful heart, and pray the Lord to bless and reward him. His wife was a Malay, and a relation of the King of Queda, a worthy woman, middle aged, of great urbanity of manners, and better

informed than the generality of her nation. Her countenance was pleasing, she appeared friendly and good tempered, and rendered us many kind services, which will not go unrewarded.

Captain Light expressed his great surprise, at the courage, or rather simplicity, with which I committed myself to the crew of a Malay boat. For as we had lost our boat, and the road in which ships come to an anchor off Queda is above two leagues from the shore, we were at a loss how to work into the harbour with our little schooner, without a pilot. A Malay palong passing, I hailed her, and asked the people whether they would take me on shore. They consented, and I went with them. On hearing this, Captain Light observed, that though he was able to speak their language, and accustomed to their manners, he should not venture to trust himself alone with them, on account of their treacherous character. I replied, "that I never thought of being afraid of any one, to whom I had done no harm." This speech he used to quote, but observed, that among these people I might find myself mistaken.

After our vessel had been brought in by Captain Light's good offices, we were detained some time at Queda, which afforded me an opportunity of becoming a little acquainted with the town and the adjacent country. The inhabitants are chiefly Ma-

lays; but the right side of the river is inhabited by Siamese, Chinese, and a few Roman-catholic Christians. The Malays are all Mahometans, a false-hearted, cruel, and murderous race; so much so, that it is hardly safe for a stranger to suffer them to follow him, for fear of being slyly stabbed. When they are obliged to walk before others, they are suspicious and cowardly, and can hardly speak for fear. The frequent murders committed by them are all by a treacherous attack from behind. They consider themselves much better than their neighbours, and very righteous, because they *ought not* to eat pork, or drink strong liquors. But they supply the want of the latter by taking great quantities of opium, which stupifies their senses. I saw one of their principal people, during a conversation with me, put three or four pills of opium, as large as a grey pea, into his mouth in the space of a quarter of an hour. They are exceedingly addicted to the vilest lusts, and have no sense of shame in gratifying their passions. Polygamy is common among them. Yet with all their vices, they like to brag of their having the true faith. The Chinese, though more industrious, are not more virtuous; and as to the so-called Christians, I will not judge them.

About four or five leagues up the river, the King of Queda has his residence, in a mean-looking

town called *Allessaar*. Many of the inhabitants are Chinese, who have here a large temple; the rest are Malays. The royal palace resembles a spacious farm-house and yard, with many low houses attached to it, which contain his haram. His own house is far from being magnificent, and it seemed to me, as if his whole dignity and state consisted merely in the number of his concubines. There is else no appearance of grandeur. I frequently made an excursion to this place.

Being at last enabled to proceed, we set sail for Nancawery. The Captain steered first for Pulo Penang, (now Prince of Wales island) pretending that he wanted fresh water; but he employed his Lascars chiefly to cut rattan*, a plant used for rigging. We were glad at length to leave the Malay coast, where, except our cordial reception and hospitable entertainment in Captain Light's house, there was nothing that could be called pleasant, but rather our spirits were vexed, and daily mourned over the shocking state of mankind, without Christ and without God in the world.

/ We found at Nancawery three Missionaries, Liebisck, Heyne, and Blaschke. The latter being very ill, returned to Tranquebar by the vessel

* Calamus Rotang. Lin. Miller's Gard. Dictionary.

which brought us hither, and soon departed this life. Not long after his return, Brother Liebisch fell sick and also departed. Our number was therefore reduced to three, and I was soon seized with so violent a fit of the seasoning fever, that my Brethren, expecting my immediate dissolution, commended me in prayer to the Lord, and took a final leave of me. After this transaction, I fell into a swoon, which being mistaken for death, I was removed from the bed, and already laid out as a corpse, when I awoke and inquired what they were doing, and why they wept? They told me, that, supposing me to be quite dead, they were preparing for my burial. My recovery was very slow; and indeed, during my whole residence in Nancauwery, I never regained perfect health.

After the decease of the Brethren Wangeman and Liebisch, I was left alone with Brother Heyne. We were both ill, and suffered the want of many necessities of life: but the Lord our Saviour did not forsake us; He strengthened our hearts, and comforted us by such a lively sense of His divine presence, that we were frequently filled with heavenly joy, during our daily prayers and meditations. We felt assured, that that God, who suffers not a sparrow to fall to the ground without His permission, would also care for us his poor children.

This I have frequently and powerfully experienced; insomuch, that after seven years residence in Nancauwery, notwithstanding all the pain, trouble, and anxiety I was often subject to, I fall down at His feet with humble thanksgiving, and exclaim: The Lord hath done all things well, and I have lacked no good thing. Blessed be my God and Redeemer! Amen.

LETTER II.

THE vessel sent to Nancauwery did not arrive till 1781, and brought a very small portion of provisions for our use, and neither wine, nor any other liquors whatever, the crew having expended the greater part of what was destined for us on their long voyage, and during a detention of four months at Queda, on the Malay coast. We were, however, happy to receive Brother Steinman, who was young, lively, and every way qualified for the service, so that we promised ourselves much assistance from him; but in less than a month after his arrival, it pleased the Lord to take him from us by death. You may suppose what we felt on being again left alone, in want of even the most

necessary articles of subsistence. But the Lord yet helped us, gave us from day to day our daily bread, and in many heavy illnesses approved Himself as our best physician. Oh! how many thousand tears have I shed during that period of distress and trouble. I will not affirm that they were *all* of that kind, which I might, with David, pray the Lord "to put into his bottle," and ask, "are they not in thy book," for I was not yet fully acquainted with the ways of God with His people, and had not yet a heart wholly resigned to all His dealings. Oftentimes self-will, unbelief, and repining at our hard lot, was mixed with our complaints and cries unto Him. Do not therefore think them so very pure, and deserving of pity as they may seem. Thus much, however, I can truly say, that amidst it all, our Saviour was the object of our hearts' desire; and He beheld us with longsuffering and compassion.

We were as diligent as our wretched circumstances would admit, in clearing land and planting, to obtain what we wanted for our support; and having only three negroes to cook, wash, and do other jobs, we frequently laboured beyond our strength, and brought upon ourselves various illnesses. But there seemed no help for it. At the same time we exerted ourselves to learn the Nicobar language, and in the best manner possi-

ble endeavoured to explain to the poor natives, the love of God in Christ Jesus, and the way of salvation through a crucified Saviour.

Not till 1783, had we the satisfaction to see the Brethren J. Heinrich, Fleckner, and Raabs arrive to our assistance, in company of the mate of the vessel, with which they set sail from Tranquebar. While they were lying in the roads of Junkceylon, a French privateer came and claimed her as lawful prize, because, on searching her, he found a few old English newspapers in a trunk belonging to Mr. Wilson, an English gentleman on board, who had escaped from Hyder Ali's prison. This was pretence sufficient for a Frenchman to seize upon a neutral Danish vessel, nor could any redress be ever procured, to the great loss of the Mission. After long and vexatious detention, the mate and the three Brethren purchased a Malay prow, for 75 dollars, and stole off in the night; as the Malay prince would not suffer them to go. Thus we received, instead of our expected stock of provisions, only more mouths to feed. However, we rejoiced to see our dear fellow-missionaries, and did what we could for their relief. As the prow was unfit to go to sea without proper sails, those with which they arrived being nothing but old, rotten mats, we worked up our whole stock of linen and sail-

cloth, and even some of our sheets, and were ten days employed in making sails, and fitting her for the voyage. A black sailor was also procured, and the mate, with the Brethren Raabs and Heyne, left us for Tranquebar. I cannot describe my feelings, when I took a final leave of my dear Brother Heyne, with whom I had so long shared weal and woe, lived in true brotherly love and union of spirit, and enjoyed so much of our Lord's help and comfort, in days of perplexity and distress.

The three following years of my stay were spent in fruitless attempts to preach the gospel to the natives, and the arrangements proposed and made by the new-comers, seemed all to fail. But I cannot help observing, that when we speak of the total failure of our endeavours to promote the conversion of the natives, we have cause, in a great degree, to blame ourselves. For my part, I must confess with humble shame, that I soon lost my faith and courage, brotherly love having ceased to prevail amongst us; for how can Missionaries speak, with effect, of the love of Jesus, and its fruits in the heart, when they themselves do not live in the enjoyment of it? It is true, our trials were great, and the prospect, in many respects, most gloomy; but we have seen in other instances, what the Lord can do, by removing

obstacles, and giving strength to His servants, if they are one in spirit, pray and live together in unity, and prefer each other in love. This was too much wanting during the latter part of our abode in the Nicobar islands, and O that all Missionaries would remember, that brotherly love is the most precious jewel in a Mission; and that no sacrifice of one's own opinions and schemes is too great, to maintain it unbroken.

Our external situation became more and more irksome, and we could scarcely procure the means of subsistence. My health had suffered so much by continual sickness, anxiety, and hard labour, (for the greater part of the management of affairs fell upon me), that I was apparently fast approaching my end; at the thoughts of which I rejoiced greatly, delivered my accounts, and all my concerns, into the hands of Brother J. Heinrich, looking forward with longing to be at rest with Jesus. I felt his comfort, pardon, and peace in my soul, and hoped, that every day would be my last. I had running sores on my legs, and a total obstruction, with tormenting pains in my bowels, and expected that mortification would soon take place, and put an end to my misery. Unexpectedly, a Danish vessel arrived in our harbour, on board of which was Brother Sixtus. He was commissioned to examine into the state of the

Mission, and to bring home such as were still alive,

A voyage seeming to offer the only hope for my recovery. I was conveyed on board, apparently in a dying state, and set sail the same day for Queda. During the voyage, the pain in my bowels was excruciating, and the motion of the ship afforded me no relief, insomuch, that I could bear no other posture than lying prostrate on deck. In this situation it occurred to me, that I had once read in Van Swieten's account of his cures, that he had found the plentiful use of honey beneficial in cases of obstruction. As soon, therefore, as we landed, I procured a sufficient quantity, and mixed it plentifully with my food and drink. My only nutriment indeed consisted of rice boiled in water, to which I added an equal quantity of honey, as also to all the water I drank, cold or warm, of which I took plenty, having a constant thirst upon me. Already, on the first day, it, operated by sickness at my stomach, and frequent vomitings, which rendered its taste extremely nauseous, and unpleasant. But perceiving that it also relieved my principal complaint, I persevered, and experienced daily more of its salutary, cooling, and healing effects. As there is plenty of honey at Queda, I laid in a large stock for the voyage.

Here I became acquainted with Mr. Scott, an English captain, who informed me that Captain Light was in Bengal, and had lost his wife by death. From hence we returned to Nancauwery, where I found that Brother Sixtus had departed this life, ten days after my leaving the island. Brother J. Heinrich accompanied me to Tranquebar, and Fleckner remained alone.

When we arrived at Tranquebar, we represented to the governor, that it was necessary, that the vessel should immediately return for the relief of the Mission, to which he agreed; and Fleckner being re-called, the Brethren J. Heinrich, Rudolphi, and Soerensen, were sent thither in May 1785. The latter soon departed this life, as likewise Fleckner, at Tranquebar. In September, I returned to Nancauwery, being commissioned to convey the house belonging to the Imperial settlement on Sombrero (Comarty) to our place, which I accomplished. Our old stone house was turned into a magazine, and the Missionaries obtained a comfortable dwelling, and a sufficient supply of provisions, and other necessaries. But as to any success in making the natives acquainted with the gospel, all our exertions seemed in vain.

After my return to Tranquebar, in 1786, Brother Rudolphi left Nicobar, and arrived, after a long and tedious voyage, at Tranquebar, in 1787.

Not long after, Brother J. Heinrich departed this life, and Brother Kragh remained alone.

The loss of so many valuable men, the total failure of the object of the Mission, and the want of proper Brethren, willing to devote themselves to so hopeless a cause, at length prevailed, and it was resolved to give up the Mission. I was again deputed to go to Nancauwery, to fetch Brother Kragh, and all effects belonging to the Mission, and to deliver up the premises to the Governor, who, on our representation of the impracticability of our supporting the Mission any longer, had consented to send a lieutenant, a corporal, and six privates, to take possession. I accompanied these people, and delivered to them every thing I could not carry away.

Words cannot express the painful sensations which crowded into my mind, while I was thus executing the task committed to me, and making a final conclusion of the labours of the Brethren in the Nicobar Islands. I remembered the numberless prayers, tears, and sighs offered up by so many servants of Jesus, and by our congregations in Europe, for the conversion of the poor heathen here; and when I beheld our burying-ground, where eleven of my Brethren had their resting-place, as seed sown in a barren land, I burst into tears, and exclaimed: Surely all this cannot have

been done in vain! Often did I visit this place, and sat down and wept at their graves.

My last farewell with the inhabitants, who had flocked to me from all the circumjacent islands, was very affecting. They wept and howled for grief, and begged that the Brethren might soon return to them. We always enjoyed their esteem and love, and they do not deserve to be classed with their ferocious neighbours, the Malays; being, in general, kind and gentle in their dispositions, except when roused by jealousy, or other provocations; when their uncontrouled passions will lead them into excesses, as some of the Danish soldiers experienced. We always found them ready to serve us.

LETTER III.

I PROCEED to answer the questions you have put to me, and to give you some short account of the appearance of the country in the Nicobar Islands, and the customs of the inhabitants.

The most of these islands are hilly, and some of the mountains of considerable height: but Tricut, Tafounin, and Kar Nicobar, are flat, and covered

with forests of cocoa trees. The other islands have likewise a large proportion of cocoa and areca palms, and an immense quantity of timber trees of various kinds, some of them of enormous size. All the vallies and sides of the hills, to a considerable height, are thickly covered with them, inso-much, that the light of the sun has not been able for ages to penetrate through their foliage. They are in many places so closely interwoven with immense quantities of rattan and bush-rope, that they appear as it were spun together; and it is almost perfectly dark in the woods. Most of the plants and trees bear fruit, which falls down and rots. All these circumstances contribute to render the climate very unhealthy, the free current of air being wholly impeded; even the natives experience their baneful effects, but, to a European constitution, they are of the most dangerous nature.

I am no botanist, and can therefore give you but little information concerning the different species of trees, shrubs, and plants, which seem to thrive here in such luxurious abundance; but will only add, that that most useful of all trees, the cocoa, is of very easy growth, and thrives best on the sea coast, where its roots and stem are reached by the flood-tide. The nut, falling into the sand, is soon covered by it, and springs up in great

strength. I have planted many, and enjoyed the fruit after five years. When the nuts are ripe, you hang them about the house: in a short time they shoot out sprigs and branches, and when these are about a yard long, you may put them into the ground, where they continue to vegetate rapidly.

Another most beautiful and valuable tree is the Mango, the fruit of which is extremely useful, both for eating and medicinal purposes. The eatable part is inclosed in a shell, which lies in a thick, pulpy rind, Its taste is spicy, very grateful, betwixt sour and sweet, and so wholesome, that there is hardly any fear of eating too plentifully of it. The shell is bitter and astringent, and the Nicobar doctors, or sorcerers, administer a decoction of it against fevers and agues, to which they, as well as strangers, are much subject.

There is also a vast variety of roots, fruits, and herbs, with the medicinal virtues of which the sorcerers are well acquainted. They are, no doubt, noticed by various authors, but I am not able to describe them.

As to the beasts and reptiles existing in these islands, I shall only mention what has come under my own observation, and remains in my recollection. There are no wild beasts here, such as tygers and leopards, as on the coast of Coromandel. Monkeys are found in the southernmost

islands, Sambelong, Tavap, and Katsoll. In some others are large herds of buffaloes and other cattle, originally brought thither by the Danes, but which have run wild in the woods, since the abandonment of the colony. They have increased prodigiously; and as the upper regions of the mountains are covered with vast quantities of fine grass, they find food in abundance, and grow to a large size, especially the buffaloes. These are always seen in herds, and I never ventured to shoot any, though I longed to procure some of their flesh for our use. Dogs and swine are found in all the islands.

Serpents are numerous in some places, but they are far less abundant and venomous, than on the coast of Coromandel. The chief cause of this difference I am apt to ascribe to a custom, prevalent among the natives, of setting the long grass on the mountains on fire, two or three times a-year. As these reptiles like to lay their eggs in the grass, great quantities of them are thus destroyed. One kind of serpent struck me here as a singular species; it is of a green colour, has a broad head and mouth like a frog, very red eyes, and its bite is so venomous, that I saw a woman die within half an hour after receiving the wound. She had climbed a high tree in search of fruit, and not observing the animal among the branches, was such-

denly bitten in the arm. Being well aware of the danger, she immediately descended, but, on reaching the ground, reeled to and fro like one in a state of intoxication. The people brought her immediately to me; and while I was applying blisters and other means for extracting the poison, she died under my hands.

I saw but few scorpions, but among them an unusually large species, of a red colour, said to be extremely venomous. They were lying in a boggy place, and I had no means of taking them.

One of the most formidable animals with which these islands abound, is the crocodile, or alligator. Kar Nicobar is overrun with them, as are all the other Nicobar islands, which have fresh-water lakes and streams. They are of two kinds, the black kayman, and the proper crocodile. The latter is said never to attack live creatures, but to devour only carrion, and is therefore not considered dangerous. Of the correctness of this opinion I had once ocular proof. I was walking at Queda along the coast, and looking at a number of children swimming and sporting in the water. On a sudden, I observed a large crocodile proceed towards them from a creek. Terrified at the idea of the danger they were exposed to, I screamed out, and made signs to some Chinese to go to their assistance, but they laughed me to scorn as an

ignorant stranger. I really afterwards saw the monster playing about among them, while the children diverted themselves by pretending to attack him and drive him away. The kayman is less in size, and very fierce, seizing upon every creature that has life, but he cannot lift anything from the ground, as the lower jaw projects.

The bats of Nicobar are of a gigantic size; I have seen some, whose outstretched wings measured from five to six feet across the back, the body being the size of a common cat. They are of two kinds; the head of one somewhat resembling a dog, and that of the other a cat; the former making a barking, and the latter a mewling noise, when on the wing. I never saw more than one at a time. They appear hideous, and in their solitary flight resemble a cloak in motion, chiefly and awkwardly perching upon the mango tree, the fruit of which they eat, breaking down the smaller branches, till they light upon such as are able to bear their weight.

Of birds, I shall only notice one, called by some the Nicobar swallow*, but I will not venture to determine its generic character. It is the builder of those eatable nests, which constitute one of the luxuries of an Indian banquet. These birds are

* *Hirundo edulis*. Linn. Syst. Nat.

called *Hinlene* by the natives, and build in fissures and cavities of rocks, especially in such as open to the south. In the latter, the finest and whitest nests are found, and I have sometimes gathered fifty pound weight of them, on one excursion for that purpose. They are small, and shaped like swallows' nests. If they are perfect, 72 of them go to a *catty*, or $1\frac{3}{4}$ pounds. The best sale for them is in China. After the most diligent investigation, I was never able fully to discover of what substance they are made, nor do any of the opinions of naturalists, with which I have become acquainted, appear satisfactory to me, neither have the authors alluded to ever seen the birds. They have remarkably short legs, and are unable to rise, if they once fall or settle on the ground. I caught many in this state, and after examining them, threw them up into the air, when they immediately flew away; they cannot therefore, as some suppose, obtain their materials on the coast, or from rocks in the sea. My opinion is, that the nests are made of the gum of a peculiar tree, called by some the Nicobar cedar, and growing in great abundance in all the southern islands. Its wood is hard, black, and very heavy. From December to May, it is covered with blossom, and bears a fruit somewhat resembling a cedar or pine-apple, but more like a large berry

full of eyes or pustules, discharging a gum or resinous fluid. About these trees, when in bloom or bearing fruit, I have seen innumerable flocks of these little birds, flying and fluttering like bees round a tree or shrub in full flower, and am of opinion, that they there gather the materials for their nests. I relate the fact, having often watched them with great attention, but will not venture to affirm, that I have made a full discovery. I observed before, that these birds dwell in cavities of rocks, like bees in a hive, flying in and out, and building their nests close together, like martins or swallows. The hen constructs a neat, large, well-shaped nest, calculated for laying and hatching her eggs, and the cock contrives to fix another, smaller and rather more clumsy, close to his mate: for they are not only built for the purpose of laying eggs, but for resting-places, whence they may take wing. If they are robbed of them, they immediately fall to work to build others, and being remarkably active, are able to finish enough in a day to support the weight of their bodies, though they require about three weeks to complete a nest. During the north-east trade wind, they are all alive and fly about briskly, but as soon as the wind comes round to the south-west, they sit or lie in their nests in a state of stupor, and show animation only by a kind of tremulous mo-

tion over their whole body. I have sometimes taken one out of his nest in this state, and laid him on the palm of my hand, when I observed no sign of life about him but this trembling, and on returning him to his place, could hardly prevent him from falling on one side. If their nests were taken away at that season, the poor birds must inevitably perish*.

I did not perceive any great variety of birds in these islands; but wild pigeons and parrots are numerous.

As to fishes, the sea abounds with various descriptions, but my attention was principally directed to shell-fish, which are found in great abundance and beauty on most of the islands, the Mission being in part supported by collections of these and other natural curiosities, made by me and other Brethren, whose time and disposition allowed of it. It became at one time peculiarly my business, and though I possessed no previous knowledge of these things, and would not venture to determine upon a proper classification of the various natural productions which I collected, both on the coast of Coromandel and in the Ni-

* See Fontana's Account of these Birds. Asiatic Researches, Vol. III. p. 292.

cobar islands, yet constant practice and experience gave me by degrees sufficient skill to distinguish what was really worthy the attention of naturalists. I had moreover the satisfaction to perceive the blessing of God resting upon these exertions, by which a considerable part of the heavy expences of the Mission were defrayed, there having been at that time a great demand for productions of this kind in England, Holland, Denmark, and other parts of Europe.

On my frequent excursions along the sea coast, it sometimes happened that I was benighted, and could not, with convenience, return to our dwelling; but I was never at a loss for a bed. The greater part of the beach consists of a remarkably fine white sand, which above highwater-mark is perfectly clean and dry. Into this I dug with ease a hole large enough to contain my body, forming a mound as a pillow for my head; I then lay down, and by collecting the sand over me, buried myself in it up to the neck. My faithful dog always lay across my body, ready to give the alarm, in case of disturbance from any quarter. However, I was under no apprehension from wild animals. Crocodiles and kaymans never haunt the open coast, but keep in creeks and lagoons, and there are no ravenous beasts on the island. The only annoyance I suffered was from the noc-

turnal perambulations of an immense variety of crabs of all sizes, the grating noise of whose armour would sometimes keep me awake. But they were well watched by my dog; and if any one ventured to approach, he was sure to be suddenly siezed, and thrown to a more respectful distance; or if a crab of more tremendous appearance deterred the dog from exposing his nose to its claws, he would bark and frighten it away, by which, however, I was often more seriously alarmed than the occasion required. Many a comfortable night's rest have I had in these sepulchral dormitories, when the nights were clear and dry.

But before I dismiss this subject I cannot conclude my letter, without observing, that on the continent, as well as in some of the other East Indian islands, it would be hazardous in the extreme to expose oneself in this manner, during the night, on account of the number of wild beasts, of various descriptions, with which they abound. I feel truly thankful to God, that He preserved me, on my many journiès, from all harm; nor can I speak of having ever been in much danger. Yet one instance of His merciful preservation of my life, I must be permitted to add.

On one of my voyages either to or from Queda, (for I have forgotten the precise time), a Danish ship hailed us, and approaching incautiously, ran

foul of our stern, and broke our flag-staff. We therefore put into a creek, and some of our men landed near a wood, to cut down a tree to make a new one. Hoping to be able to procure some fresh meat for supper, I accompanied them, armed with a double-barrelled gun. While they were at their work, I walked on the outside of the wood, eagerly looking for some game, and soon discovered, among the high grass, an object, which, by its motions, I mistook for the back of a hare. I took aim, and was just going to fire, when the animal rose up, and proved to be a tyger, of which only the top of the head had been visible. My arm involuntarily sunk down; I stood motionless with horror, expecting that the creature would immediately make a spring at me, and gave myself up for lost; but, by God's providence watching over me, the beast seemed as much alarmed as I was, and after staring at me for a few moments, turned slowly about, and began to creep away, like a frightened cat, with his belly close to the ground; then, gradually quickening his pace, fled with precipitation into a distant part of the wood. It was some time before I recovered presence of mind sufficient to trace back my steps towards the beach, for I felt my very heart tremble within me. As I approached the water, there was a piece of jungle, or low thicket before

me, and I was turning to the left, to pass round by the side opposite the boat, thinking that I might yet find some game, when, seeing the men labouring hard to drag the tree they had felled, towards the water, I altered my course, and went to their assistance. No sooner had I entered the boat, than I discovered on that side of the jungle, to which I was first going, close to the beach, a large kayman, watching our motions, whom I should certainly have met, had I gone round by the way I intended. Thankful as I now felt for this second preservation of my life, I could not help discharging my piece at the animal's head, and by the sudden plunge he made into the water, and the appearance of blood on the surface, as he was swimming towards the opposite shore, it seemed that one or both of the shots had penetrated his eye or throat. We saw him reach the shore, and crawl through the mud into the jungle.

Part of the flesh of the crocodile or kayman is good and wholesome, when well cooked. It tastes somewhat like pork, for which I took it, and ate it with much relish, when I first came to Nancawery; till, on inquiry, finding it to be the flesh of a beast so disgusting and horrible in its appearance and habits, I felt a loathing, which I could never overcome; but it is eaten by both natives and Europeans.

if I could prevent their slipping off into their holes, and irritate them so as to make them attempt to strike me, my work was done. For a serpent thus situated, will coil himself up, and instantaneously darting forward his head, strike and bite whatever comes in his way. I then presented my hat, which the animal violently seized with his fangs; when, instantly snatching it away, I seldom failed to extract them by the sudden jerk; for, being curved, they cannot be readily withdrawn, and sitting but loosely in the gums, are easily disengaged. Being thus rendered in a great degree harmless, I pinned their heads down, and tied them up. Great care, however, is required, not to suffer yourself to be lacerated by their teeth, or in any other way, while preparing their heads, and refixing the fangs; for if a wound is thus inflicted, even long after their death, the consequences are dreadful, and often fatal, of which I might relate many singular instances, which came immediately under my observation.

There is among them a short serpent, found in the neighbourhood of Tranquebar, and called by us, the *Split-snake*, (*die Spalt-schlange*). It is black, with a white streak down its back, dividing the body longitudinally. Its bite is extremely venomous; and being slender, it can insinuate itself into a very small hole or cranny, and will

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enter rooms and closets, in quest of food. There was a door in a dark part of my work-room, with a large clumsy lock to it; and one evening, as I was attempting to open it, having to pass that way, I felt a sudden prick in my finger, and at the same time a violent electrical shock, as if I were split asunder. Not thinking of a serpent, I first imagined, that my Malabar boys had, in their play, wound some wire about the handle, by which I had been hurt, and asked them sharply, what mischief they had done to the door. They denied, that they had meddled with it, and I made a second attempt, when I was attacked still more violently, and perceived the blood trickling down my finger. I then returned into my room, sucking the wound, till I could draw no more blood. I applied some spirits of turpentine to it, put on a bandage, and being much hurried that evening with other business, made no farther inquiry about it. However, in the night it swelled, and was very painful. In the morning, I went again into the work-room, when I thought I perceived an unpleasant, musky smell. On approaching the before-mentioned door, the stench was intolerable. I again asked the boys, what nasty thing they had brought into the room, for they were always at play; but they again denied any knowledge of the cause of the nuisance. A candle was

brought, and I now beheld the *origin of all the mischief. About six inches length of the head and body of a young split-snake hung out of the key-hole, quite dead; and on taking off the lock, I found the creature twisted into it, and so much wounded by the turn of the bolt, in attempting to open the door, that it had died in consequence. It had intended to enter the room through the key-hole, when I thus accidentally stopped its progress, and got bitten; and considering the deadly poison this serpent always infuses into the wound inflicted, I felt very thankful to God, my Preserver, that, by sucking the infected blood out of my finger in time, and applying a proper remedy, though ignorant of the cause of the wound, my life was not endangered. I have heard and believe, that the bite of every serpent is accompanied, more or less, by a sensation similar to an electrical shock, as the poison seems almost instantaneously to affect the whole mass of blood. We considered also the name of split-snake given to this animal, not so much as descriptive of its split appearance, as of the singular sensation its bite occasions, and which I then experienced.

Of other remarkable serpents I will only quote, the *Whip-snake*, which is green, from four to six feet long, slender, and springs horizontally, from tree to tree, whence it is also *called the

Flying-snake. The species, known by the name of the *Double-headed-snake*, has not two heads, but is equally thick before and behind; and, like some caterpillars, furnished with a kind of protuberance at its tail, which, to a superficial observer, may pass for another head. They are of a red colour, sluggish, and resemble a long sausage. The *Wall-snake* climbs a wall with great agility, and is small and spotted. The bite of all these serpents is attended with great danger; indeed I believe there is not one of this class of animals that is not more or less venomous, though some in a very slight, and almost imperceptible degree. Their poison principally affects the blood, and is not hurtful to a sound skin. Yet I hardly ever cased one of the larger serpents for stuffing, but I turned sick with the extraordinary, musky, and loathsome smell of their flesh, though ever so fresh.

But I have detained you already too long with this unsavoury subject, and will, in my next, proceed to answer your inquiries concerning the habits and customs of the natives of the Nicobar islands.

LETTER V.

THE natives of these islands are a free people, perfectly independent, but have a captain in every village. There are, indeed, several who claim the rank of captain, as being more sensible and clever than their neighbours, but only one of the number is considered as the *Omjak karru*, or the great master of the house. Yet no one is bound to obey him, for all of them, male and female, consider themselves under no controul whatever; and the captain must take care, that he does not offend, by pretending to command. He is sure to be disobeyed, unless they are pleased to listen to friendly representation. All the preference given him, consists in this; that when a ship arrives, he is allowed to go first on board, and to make the bargain, if they have any thing to barter. They are commonly good-natured men, disposed to make and preserve peace among the common people. In every other respect they live and act like the rest, get drunk, commit fornication, and, when there is, as they say, a necessity for it, murder; and are equally lazy and unclean. But they can use their tongues more glibly than their neighbours.

Their houses are generally spacious, and built upon pillars, six or more feet from the ground, resembling those of the Malays, but round, not square, like the latter. The inhabitants ascend by a ladder, which they can draw up after them. The house has only one room, but generally contains more than one family. Parents and children, guests, young and old of every description, pig here together, lying naked on the floor, with nothing but a *hetfat*, the leaf of a species of palm, under them, in lieu of a mattress, and very few have any covering. The furniture of such a house consists in a few pots, made by the women, some highly polished cocoa-nut dishes, to hold water, some hatchets, a sabre or two, a few sailor's knives, and a good many spears. A family generally possesses two or three palongs, or boats.

Their chief food is melory bread, made of the fruit of a kind of palm-tree*, which is very palatable; yams, several other good roots, and great plenty of fruit from various trees and shrubs; all which grow in great abundance. Of pigs and common fowls they have a vast profusion. These are fed with cocoa nuts, and their flesh is remark-

* A species of Pandanus. See Asiatic Researches, Vol. III. p. 292.

ably good. The sea furnishes them with various kinds of fishes, and an abundance of crabs and other shell-fish, so that they may easily enough serve their god, which is their belly.

The clothing of the men consists of a narrow piece of cloth, about three yards long. This they wrap twice round their waist, then passing it between their legs, and through the girth behind, leave the end of it to drag after them*. The women wear a piece of cloth, commonly of a blue colour, about a foot wide, fastened round their waist, so as to hang down like an apron, reaching not quite to their knees. They pride themselves upon their fine skin, which indeed they keep very clean, and do not in general use any paint. Both sexes live from their infancy without any restraint, and commit every kind of abomination, often to the utter ruin of their health and constitutions, in very early life. In general they do not live regularly in the married state, till they are past their prime; though I have known some who had married early, remain faithful to each other, and keep their families in good order.

As savages, they may be justly esteemed a

* Hence the fabulous stories of men with tails, related by Krieping, a Swedish navigator.

good-natured race, being always ready to do a kind action, to their friends; of which I will relate one instance. We used to buy of them what we wanted, and pay with tobacco, the current medium. Even when they had nothing to sell, they would come and fetch their portion of tobacco, which we never refused them, as long as we had any, till, by the non-arrival of the ship, we were left entirely without it. We therefore told the captain of the village, that, as we had no more tobacco, the people need not bring us any more provisions, for we had nothing to give in exchange. The captain did as we desired, yet, on the very next day, we were supplied more plentifully than ever, with the things we wanted. They would not even wait for pay, but hung up their fruit and meat about the house, and went away. We called after them and told them how we were situated. Their answer was: "When you had plenty of tobacco, you gave us as much as you could spare; now, though you have got no more of it, we have provisions enough, and you shall have as much as you want, as long as we have any, till you get more tobacco." This promise they most faithfully performed. Such kindness we did not expect from such people; but they always showed great affection for us.

(As to religion, they are in a state of deplorable

ignorance. Their notions of a Divine Being seem most oddly perplexed, insomuch that it is difficult to make out any thing among them like a fixed opinion of His existence and attributes, nor do they seem to possess any curiosity to know more about Him.

But they are not professed idolaters, like most of the other oriental nations. They have not even a word in their language to express their idea of God. They use the word *Knallen* when they speak of Him, but it only signifies, "above, on high;" for instance, they say, *Knallen maade*, "on the hill;" *Knallen unigu*, "on the top of the tree;" *Knallen gamalee*, "on the surface of the sea;" speaking of something swimming. However, they believe that this "unknown God" is good, and will not hurt them; but wherein His goodness consists, they neither have, nor seem to wish to have, any understanding, nor ever trouble themselves about Him. Therefore, when we endeavoured, as well as we could, to explain to them the goodness of God, in pitying the lost condition of man, and providing the means of our redemption; and spoke to them of Jesus Christ our Saviour, and of what He has done and suffered to purchase for us salvation, they heard us indeed with astonishment and silent submission; but that they should be at all interested in it, and become virtuous and happy

if they believed and turned to Him, and after this life enter into everlasting bliss by His merits, was more than they could possibly comprehend. When we told them, that we were come hither for no other purpose, but to make them acquainted with their Creator and Redeemer, and to bring them the glad tidings of salvation; and begged them only to take it to heart, and reflect upon what we thus made known to them in the name of God, they laughed at us. They observed, that they could not believe that the sufferings of one man could atone for the sins of another; and that therefore, if they were wicked, what we told them of a crucified Saviour would not help them: but they insisted, that they were good by nature, and never did any thing wrong, as we well knew. When we replied, that we knew, that they had but lately murdered some people, and afterwards abused the dead bodies, each thrusting his spear into them, mutilating them in the most wanton manner, and at last cutting them to pieces, and asked them, whether this was a proof of their natural goodness, their answer was: "That you do not understand, those were people not fit to live, they were Gomoy, "cannibals!"

LETTER VI.

THE inhabitants of the Nicobar islands believe, that all dangerous diseases proceed from the devil, who is nevertheless under the controul of their sorcerers, or *Paters**. If, therefore, these men cannot cure a disorder by their tricks and incantments, by which they pretend to catch the devil and drive him off the place, then they are sure, that he has entered into some man or woman, sitting in his or her house, and by witchcraft, sucking all the power of healing out of the patient's body. The sorcerer then proceeds to discover the witch, and finds no difficulty in fixing upon some one he hates. The word of such a wise man is, of course, taken by all for the voice of truth, and the poor person accused is murdered without further inquiry. Murders of this kind occurred but seldom in our neighbourhood, but were said to be more frequent in some of the other islands. We told them, that the devil everywhere proved himself the father of lies, and

* An appellation borrowed from the Portuguese Missionaries.

a murderer from the beginning; and, till they turned to the true God, they were Satan's slaves, and his works they must do. They seem indeed to be continually engaged with him, whenever they profess to perform any religious rite. They even ascribe the creation of the world to the *Eewee*, or wicked agent. If they do any thing wrong, or commit any atrocious crime, and are reproved for it, they immediately answer: "It was not me, it was the devil that did it." If you convince them, that they did it themselves, and with their own hands, their usual phrase is, "The *Eewee* did not make me perfect, or better;" and therefore they cannot help sometimes doing what is wrong. They speak of a great many sorts of devils, but all malicious, and disposed to hurt them, if they had not such great and powerful paters among them, who had a superior power, and could catch, and bring them into subjection. It is not difficult for the sorcerers thus to impose upon the poor ignorant people, for they really do possess superior cunning, and astonishing dexterity, being the most expert jugglers on earth. Every one who has visited the East Indies, well knows, with what unaccountable exhibitions and slight of hand tricks the jugglers endeavour to amuse the people; but in the Nico-

bar islands, these arts being applied to what they consider as religious exercises, the deception is so great, that I have myself often stood astonished, being unable to account for what I saw.

I went once purposely into a house, where a sorcerer was about to perform as doctor, and to cure a woman, who lay very ill. I was determined to watch him as narrowly as possible. Both doctor and patient were stark naked. After a series of most horrible grimaces, the sorcerer produced a very large yam, which he held up, pretending that he had *limpt* it, (for thus they call this species of legerdemain), out of the body of the woman, and that it had been, by witchcraft, the cause of her disorder. When he entered, I particularly noticed that he had nothing in his hands, or about him, nor did there appear any possibility of a substance of that size being concealed in the empty room. At another time, I saw a sorcerer, under similar circumstances, on a sudden exhibit three large stones, which he pretended to have extracted from the patient's body. To the first of these patients, he afterwards administered a decoction of herbs, and she recovered. The cure was probably owing to his skill in preparing the potion, but was of course ascribed to the incantation, and the seizure of the enchanted yam.

After I had resided five years in the island, my

legs began to inflame and swell to a prodigious size*. A suppuration took place, and till the discharge commenced, I suffered excruciating pain. During this dreadful illness, several paters called upon me, and in the most friendly manner, expressed their pity, offering me their assistance, and assuring me, that if I would submit to their mode of cure, I should soon recover. At last I thought, that as their skill in various medicinal arts, and their knowledge of drugs was very great, I would suffer one of them, called Philip, who always attended us as language-master, to try what he could do for me, on condition, that he should omit all superstitious ceremonies. He agreed, and immediately putting on the most solemn and significant expression of face, worthy of so eminent a practitioner, began to paw me all over, varying his features with every motion of his hand, so that, notwithstanding the pain I felt, I could not refrain from bursting into laughter at his grimaces, which he could not possibly avoid, though bargained to be omitted. At length, the preamble concluded, he began his work, first by stroking my legs, from the knees downwards, with the

* A disorder known in India by the name of the Cochin leg. Asiatic Researches, Vol. III.

palm of his hand, muttering all the while, and then by applying his mouth, and sucking the parts affected, accompanying the operation by a most strange kind of purring or grunting. Thus far his practice seemed to do good, and I felt relief, when, rising on a sudden, he produced a potsherd, which he exhibited to the company, as having *limpt* it out of my leg, saying that he should soon bring forth more pieces. I cried out, "Stop
 " there, you deceiver, do you pretend that my body
 " is full of potsherds; that broken piece in your
 " hand, you drew out of your own mouth. Open
 " it directly, and let us have the rest." He stood confounded, and soon sneaked out of the house, laughed at by all his former admirers, nor did he call upon me again, till about a fortnight after.

As it sometimes happened, that when the skill of the sorcerers proved ineffective, a missionary had administered some simple medicine, which, by God's blessing, had the desired effect, they looked upon us, as the first of paters, though our medicines consisted in nothing but a little magnesia, spirits of nitre, and a few simples. But what astonished them most, was this, that we could inform them before-hand, by means of a perpetual almanack, that an eclipse of the sun or moon would take place on the very day when it happened. Their notion of the cause of an eclipse is, the most

preposterous and ridiculous, that ever entered into the head, even of an heathen. They say, that the devil is come to devour the sun or moon, and falls to work to gnaw off the edge; that therefore it is necessary he should be driven away; consequently all the sorcerers or paters assemble, and amidst singular and hideous grimaces, throw up their spears towards the luminary attacked, all the villagers sounding their gonggongs with the greatest violence, to frighten away the voracious invader. After some time, their efforts succeed, and he must betake himself to flight, without effecting his purpose. Though we endeavoured, in every possible way, to explain to them how an eclipse was occasioned, and they seemed in some degree to comprehend it, they only declared us to be the greatest paters that had ever been on the island, but ascribed the deliverance of the sun or moon from the fangs of the devil, solely to the skill and power of their sorcerers, and all we could say to prevail upon them, for once to be quiet, and observe how the luminary would regain its former appearance, by those means which God the Creator Himself had ordained, was in vain.

The expulsion of the devil from a sick person or family, is a ceremony as singular as it is silly, but as I have frequently been a spectator of this farcical performance, a description of it may not

be uninteresting to you. I have before observed, that if their medicines, (many of which are very powerful), or, as they will have it, their incantations, are of no avail, they then ascribe the illness to the immediate agency of the infernal spirit, who must be subdued and caught. The pater, previous to the commencement of his operations, summons all the young men in the village, to assist him in constructing a small raft, of light wood. Three poles are fixed upon it, to represent masts, and some bamboos laid across like oars. The masts are hung with young white cocoa-leaves. This toy, which they call *Hanmai*, they place between two palongs, each rowed by a crew of stout young men, with a piece of rattan, as a towing-rope, fixed to it. Every rower carries five spears, besides his oar. They now wait with great eagerness for the pater's further orders. He has meanwhile begun his work, which he finds either hard or easy of performance, according as the patients are rich or poor. He is stark naked, and painted all over with various colours, making as terrific an appearance as possible, to frighten the devil, and indeed it is enough to terrify any man, to see him brandishing a short clumsy bludgeon, which he holds up with both hands, and dancing in the most furious manner. He accompanies his gesticulations with the most hor-

rible yells and howlings, and at length is fortunate enough to seize the enemy by a leg, an arm, or even by the hair of his head, which the poor deluded people believe, without seeing what he grasps. Now the whole company rush towards the water, and the pater deposits the supposed devil on board the raft, on which the palongs row off with the greatest possible expedition, dragging the captive out to sea, to a considerable distance, when, having turned him and his vehicle adrift, they row back with the utmost speed to shore. For two days the enemy may survive this rough usage, and again land in safety, if driven on shore by the tide or wind, but on the third day he must die. Should he land at another village, he then does the mischief there, which he was prevented doing at the former place.

The worst consequence of such an unfortunate conclusion of the business is, that the greatest enmity immediately takes place between the two villages, and nothing can atone for the aggression, but a formal combat. The village invaded sends a challenge to the former, and a day is fixed for the battle. The captains of all the neighbouring villages having met to a consultation, the combatants are chosen, and as there are others who wish to take advantage of so just a mode of settling their disputes, they are summoned to

appear. One has stolen something, another run off with his neighbour's wife, and the like. All these people now meet, both the injured and the guilty, and each being provided with a sufficient supply of long sticks, of the Mango tree, they proceed to the place of rendezvous. There the captains examine the sticks, and those that are too thick are thrown away. This being done, two of the combatants step out, and lay about each other's back and head, till one of the party is obliged to give up. A second couple follow, and after them others, till in a proper space of time, the whole company has got a good drubbing. The most innocent among them are generally the worst handled; however, the business is now decided, and all are convinced, that whoever was first obliged to give up, was the offender. Peace is thus restored, both parties being perfectly satisfied with so wise and just a decision, nor could anything we said, convince them of the folly and wickedness of such superstitious and injurious practices.

LETTER VII.

You wish to know what were the chief external causes of the failure of our exertions; and ask, whether our residence on the island had been with the consent of the natives, or whether they considered us as intruders. The latter circumstance was guarded against by a regular treaty made in December 1774, between the Brethren, and the captain and inhabitants of the village Malacca, near to which they had made their settlement. They then obtained legal possession of that piece of land, which they occupied. Such presents as the natives required, were delivered, and the terms contained in the treaty fully explained, to them; after which the principal men signed their names, by drawing a pen with ink over the letters, as written with a pencil. The neighbouring village likewise received a proper consideration for a treaty of friendship with them, and now the Brethren were looked upon no longer as *Kaleng*, "foreigners;" but as *Baju Tripjet*, "natives at Tripjet." Objections were however started, when they began to build their dwelling-house; and some wicked people endeavoured to raise suspicions in the

minds of their countrymen, as to the intentions of the Missionaries. The latter were, for some time after, in danger of their lives, from the fickle disposition of their new friends; but the Lord preserved them. Their upright intentions were at length acknowledged, and ever after all due respect and confidence shown to them by all the inhabitants of Nancauvery.

The failure of the Mission was owing to other causes, of which I will mention some, according to my view of the subject. First, the extreme difficulty of learning the language. We had indeed an opportunity of speaking with some of the natives, in a kind of bastard Portuguese, but it would by no means answer the purpose of preaching the gospel to them in general. It was their own native language, of which we wished to acquire a sufficient knowledge, thereby to gain access to the whole nation. To this end, a pater, called Philip, was engaged as language-master. A few of the Missionaries made some proficiency, notwithstanding the peculiar difficulties attending the study; for impediments arise even from the habits of the natives. Their language is in itself very poor in words and expressions, and they are of so indolent a turn, that even talking seems a trouble to them; and as long as they can express, by signs, what they mean, they are unwilling to

open their mouths. If a stranger comes into their houses, they sit still and look at him, or perhaps, pointing to some food, motion to him to sit down and eat. There he may sit for hours, without hearing a syllable spoken, unless he can himself begin, when they will answer with friendliness. Again, both men and women have always a huge quid of the betel, or aréca-nut in their mouths, which renders their speech so indistinct, that if you ask them the names of the various objects before them, you can hardly distinguish between the sputtering sounds they make. Often were we obliged to tell pater Philip to take his quid out of his mouth, that we might hear what he attempted to articulate. As to books and vocabularies, we found none, nor could we make any, while our knowledge of the language was so imperfect.

Secondly, the unhealthiness of the climate; by which most of the Missionaries were carried off before they could learn the language, or just when they had got so far, that they were able to speak to the natives. During the comparatively short period of the existence of the Mission, eleven worthy Missionaries found their graves in Nancauwery, and thirteen more, shortly after their return to Tranquebar, in consequence of the malignant fevers and obstructions in the

liver, contracted in the island. These dreadful disorders, and the seasoning fevers, which every new-comer must suffer, are all accompanied with such pain in the head, dejection of spirits, and constant sickness, that the senses are in a degree stupified, and learning rendered doubly difficult. The mind being likewise filled with desponding views of the possibility of relief and of future usefulness, the effect is very unfavourable to that persevering diligence, with which such a barbarous language must be studied; and death snatching so soon those away, who had made some ~~small~~ progress, their successors must begin the uphill work again and again, and the prospect of obtaining the aim of the Mission is put off from one period to another.

Thirdly, our mode of life, and too great exertion in clearing and planting, and other laborious work, which necessity obliged us to undertake, was likewise a principal cause of the prevalence of various disorders and complaints of the liver, the region of the stomach swelling, and becoming quite hard below the ribs. All who were thus affected, died either in the island, or soon after their return to Tranquebar. I was not seized in this manner, but, besides other illnesses, got a quartan ague, of which I have not lost the symptoms to this day. When I mentioned it in a letter to

Dr. Betschler at Tranquebar, he wrote in answer: "Ah, my friend, if you have got the Nicobar ague, it will keep you company all your life, if you live to be an hundred years old." Thus far his words have proved true, and to this present time, after thirty years have elapsed, I perceive the remaining symptoms regularly returning every fourth night. While I was at Nancauwery, they were very violent, and weakened me so much, that I often thought my life in danger. After my return to Europe, they abated considerably; but on being appointed to the service of the Missions in the Danish West India islands, the heat of the climate caused them to increase in strength, though by degrees they again became bearable, and the fever almost imperceptible. At present the symptoms are various, sometimes a great degree of thirst, sleepless nights, and uneasy sensations; at other times heavy yet restless sleep, with dreams approaching to delirium; but whatever they are, never failing to recur every fourth night regularly. I will not venture to say, whether, if I had staid in Europe, the use of proper means, under skilful treatment, might not have entirely removed the complaint, but the fact, as it exists at present, has verified Dr. Betschler's prediction.

To return to the former subject, I must add,

that not one of us ever learnt the Nicobar language so perfectly as to be able clearly to explain the will of God concerning our salvation to the natives. But I am of opinion that they are not the most hopeless subjects, and think that the gospel might be preached to them with success, if the abovementioned obstacles were removed.

LETTER VIII.

THE birds-nests, which I have described in a former letter, brought a great number, both of Malays and Chinese to our coasts, in quest of them. These people always created much confusion and quarrelling among our otherwise peaceable islanders, by their knavery and frequent assassinations; and also gave the Missionaries a great deal of trouble. In general, fifteen or sixteen, and in one year, nineteen, large prowes full of these vagabonds came to Nancawery. After the officers and soldiers who had accompanied the Missionaries to this island were all dead, and it was known, that the latter would not quit their post, the government at Tranquebar required, that always one of them

should be appointed Danish Royal Resident, and hold, as it were, the presidency of the islands. The patent was always signed by the King. Brother Voelcker was the first who filled that station, and was succeeded by Brother Armedinger. He was followed by Brother Blaschke, and after his return to Tranquebar, I was appointed. As I thought it was left to my own option, whether I would accept of it or not, I declined it, in a letter to the Governor of Tranquebar, conceiving it to be inconsistent with the duties of a Missionary. However, I was obliged at length to yield, and became Resident. I was succeeded by Brother J. Heinrich, and Brother Soerensen was the last.

I will add an instance or two to show, how this office proved frequently a source of much vexation to us. The Danes, when they formed their first settlement in Kar Nicobar, an island 75 English miles in circumference, to which they gave the name of New Denmark, had conveyed a considerable number of cannon thither; but after the death of all the soldiers, the carriages rotted, and I saw seventeen of these guns lying on the ground. By one or more at a time, the Malays kept stealing them away. It happened, however, that a Nacata, or general of the King of Queda, as he styled himself, arrived at Nancauwery with a

large prow, and being informed by the natives, that he had no less than five of them on board, I thought it my duty, as Resident, to protest against this theft, and spoke to him about it. He flew into a great rage, and began to use threatening language, pleading the orders of his king. I answered, that his king very well knew, that as he had laid nothing down there, he had no right to take any thing up; and that if he persisted, I should give notice to the King of Denmark. I then left him, but heard, that he afterwards threatened soon to prevent my reporting his conduct; adding, that when I was dead, I should be quiet enough. The natives also assured me, that it was his intention to kill me, but that they would stay with me for my defence. I replied, that though I thanked them for their kindness, yet they, as well as we, were much too weak to withstand the diabolical influence which actuated these murderous people; every inclination to commit that and other crimes, being of the devil; but that our hope and trust was in God our Saviour, who was infinitely more powerful than the devil, and could and would protect us against all the designs of wicked men. We took that opportunity of speaking to them again of the love of our Saviour, and of His desire to deliver them

from the power of Satan, and grant them everlasting life. They heard us with attention and surprise, and staid with us till late at night, when we desired them to return home, but could hardly prevail upon them to leave us.

As soon as they were gone, having performed our usual evening devotions, we were preparing to retire to bed ; when we heard a noise without, and immediately after, a violent knocking at the door. On opening it, I was not a little alarmed to see a great number of Malays surrounding the entrance. I cried silently to the Lord to protect us against their evil designs ; but though my fears were great, I assumed an authoritative air, keeping my station in the door-way, as if determined not to let them enter. The foremost, however, pushed in, and now the Nacata himself came up. He treacherously held out his hand ; but on my offering him mine, he grasped it firmly, and dragged me with him into the house. The Malays immediately filled all the chairs, and I stood before them. I had no other hope but in the mercy of God, to whom I sighed for help in this trying moment. Meanwhile more of them crowded into the room, and sat down on the floor, closely watching me, armed with their creeses or daggers. Though I preserved a firm and undaunted appearance, I

cannot describe my feelings, for I expected to be immediately sacrificed to their fury. The Nacata addressed me by saying, that he was come hither to ask, whose property the cannon were to be, his or mine? I answered, "that he came to the wrong person to make that inquiry; for I was only a servant of the King of Denmark, as he, according to his own account, was only the servant of the King of Queda. Neither of us, therefore, could determine who was to have the cannon. Our respective masters, and they only, were able to settle that point. He had told me that he had received orders to fetch them; and I could assure him, that I had orders to protest against it: we both, therefore, had only done our duty. All now depended upon this point, whether my king, or his king, had any right to give orders in these islands, and to claim the property in question." At this answer, he became quite furious, and began to talk about the ease, with which the Malays might murder us all. Some of them even drew their daggers, and shewed how they were tipped with poison. They looked, indeed, more like a host of devils, than a company of human creatures. On a sudden they all jumped up, and seemed to rush upon me. I commended my soul to the Lord, and called upon Him for deliverance,

awaiting the issue in silence, when, to my surprise, they quitted the room, one by one, and left me, standing alone, in astonishment at their conduct. I shall never forget the dreadful scene, and think of it at this moment, with shuddering. As soon as they were all gone, and I found myself in safety, I fell on my knees, and with tears, gave thanks to God my Saviour, who had heard my prayers, and rescued me out of the hands of these savages. My Brethren, who had very properly retired into the wood, when the Malays first burst into the house, now returned, and we wept for joy to see each other alive.

Having somewhat recovered from our fright, I went to the village, and told our old Nicobar captain, Jan, what had happened, upon which he sent messages to all the neighbouring villages, when in a short time, great numbers arrived, well armed, and watched at the landing-place all night. Had the Malays offered to return to shore, not one of them would have escaped with his life.

In the morning, the Nacata's prow, with two others, were seen at anchor under Tricut, many miles from hence. The people there told us afterwards, that the Nacata had said, that the Danish Resident at Nancawery was a very great sorcerer, for he had tied their hands, and they

could do nothing with him. It was not I who tied their hands, but God, who heard the cries of a poor, defenceless and trembling child, trusting alone to His mercy and power.

I might add many other instances of the trouble and mischief occasioned by the visits of these robbers, and which it was my business to prevent, if possible; but will close my account, with relating only one more, to show in what manner they treat even their own countrymen; and also, how willing our neighbours were to defend our rights.

Having this year obtained, by foul or fair means, a pretty considerable booty, no less than nineteen prows, full of Malays, came, the ensuing season, into our roads, for birds-nests. I had, however, got the start of them. As soon as the north-east wind commenced, I went to the southern islands, where I staid a month, and not only collected a vast quantity of nests, but purchased all those which the natives brought for sale. The Malays, therefore, were disappointed, and got but few. We expected that they would have been thereby discouraged, and discontinued their visits. But we were mistaken. While I was at *Manjoul*, a small island, east of the channel of St. George, a prow with about sixty Malays arrived there, com-

mained very quiet. Meanwhile the prince heard, that we had obtained a large quantity of nests, and thought it would be no difficult matter to plunder us likewise. For this purpose, he arrived with two large prows, filled with some of the most ferocious of the Malay race. They entered, occupied our house without any ceremony, and seemed to be a determined set of banditti. I was alone in the midst of them, and cried to the Lord to take me under his protection. While I was walking to and fro across the room, the prince inquired, whether I had any birds-nests. I replied in the affirmative; upon which he pretended, that he was come to purchase them of me, and wished to see them. As I happened, during this conversation, to step towards the door, one of our Caffre servants, who stood near it, thought I had made a sign to him, to call the natives to my assistance, though, in fact, I was so much agitated, that I had not even observed him. He ran immediately into the village Malacca, and called the people together. Meanwhile I spoke in a decisive tone with the prince, forgot all his grand titles, and assured him, that he should not get a single nest from me, sharply reproving him for having murdered two men at Kar Nicobar, who were under the protection of my sovereign. He flew into a

mained very quiet. Meanwhile the prince heard, that we had obtained a large quantity of nests, and thought it would be no difficult matter to plunder us likewise. For this purpose, he arrived with two large prows, filled with some of the most ferocious of the Malay race. They entered, occupied our house without any ceremony, and seemed to be a determined set of banditti. I was alone in the midst of them, and cried to the Lord to take me under his protection. While I was walking to and fro across the room, the prince inquired, whether I had any birds-nests. I replied in the affirmative; upon which he pretended, that he was come to purchase them of me, and wished to see them. As I happened, during this conversation, to step towards the door, one of our Caffie servants, who stood near it, thought I had made a sign to him, to call the natives to my assistance, though, in fact, I was so much agitated, that I had not even observed him. He ran immediately into the village Malacca, and called the people together. Meanwhile I spoke in a decisive tone with the prince, forgot all his grand titles, and assured him, that he should not get a single nest from me, sharply reproving him for having murdered two men at Kar Nicobar, who were under the protection of my sovereign. He flew into a

passion, saying, that he would soon shew me, that he had it in his power to sieze all my birds-nests; and as to the two men, who had been stabbed at Kar Nicobar, he was not bound to answer for that deed to me.

He had scarcely finished this insulting speech, when a party of natives unexpectedly leaped in at the windows, with drawn sabres in their hands. The Malays, terrified beyond measure, asked, what all this meant. I replied: "They come to prevent your committing more murders." In a short time, the house was surrounded by the natives, both men and women being armed with sabres, spears, and bludgeons, their number continually increasing. The prince and his men now began to beg, that we would take them under our protection. At first I gave them no answer, but continued reproving them for their base and treacherous practices, among which I particularly noticed their plundering people of their own nation. I asked: "Who therefore can trust to your word? You deserve punishment at the hands of those you have so often provoked by your injustice, and if I were now only to lift up my hand, not a man of you would escape." Being convinced, that they were in my power, they began to entreat me to

interfere in their behalf, and the prince offered to restore all he had taken. "How can you," said I, "restore the lives of those you have murdered?" "However, you shall for once keep your word," and restore the prow you took from Sayet Ismael, with its whole lading." This he readily agreed to, and having called Sayet Ismael, I made the prince repeat his promise, and asked Sayet, whether he could trust him; which, after some words had passed between them in their own language, he assured me he could, and they shook hands, in token of sincerity. I now informed the prince, that his men might go unmolested to their palongs, but that he himself should stay with me, till Sayet Ismael's prow had been sent hither and delivered up to him. He was exceedingly terrified at this sentence, and said, that unless he was permitted to accompany his people, the natives would certainly kill him. At length, Sayet Ismael himself warmly interceding for him, I consented, that they should go away together, and went out to pacify the natives. It was with some difficulty that I succeeded in appeasing their indignation against these robbers, whom they now had in their power, but when I told them that I should look upon their compliance as a proof of their regard for me and my brethren, they were

satisfied, and made, of their own accord, a passage through their ranks, for the Malays. Their appearance was indeed formidable, as they stood on each side, armed with their spears and bludgeons. The Malays however were still afraid to leave the house, till, after much entreaty, I myself agreed to accompany them to their palongs. The prince seized my hand, and would not let me go, till he had got into the boat.

I thought it my duty to avail myself of this opportunity to impress these ferocious invaders of our islands, with some sense of the danger they were in, and to teach them, that they might not always be permitted to commit their depredations with impunity. For a time I believe it had a good effect: but I confess, that I felt not a little intimidated by this unpleasant visit, and much regretted the necessity of holding the office, and doing the duty of a Resident, or agent of government. God was my refuge, and had He not granted me presence of mind sufficient to avoid all show of the fear I felt, we should probably have fallen a sacrifice to the revengeful and murderous spirit of these barbarians.

Sayet Ismael returned to us that very night, with his recovered prow and cargo, thankful for the justice which he had obtained, and as he of-

ferred us his services, we intrusted him with a parcel of letters to our Brethren in Europe, which we found he had regularly forwarded, as they all came safe to hand.

The prince had talked of nothing on the way to Tricut, but of the wonderful power of the Missionaries, and declared, that he would certainly never again set foot on Nancauwery.

You must, by this time, be quite tired of reading these fragments. I hope I have succeeded in giving you some idea of our situation in the Netherlands, and of the circumstances, by which the natives to Christianity were frustrated. I praise the Lord my Saviour, for preserving me in the midst of all trouble and danger, and if I appear to you to have endured some sufferings in body and mind, in the East Indies, more especially by the total failure of our endeavours to gain souls for Christ from among heathen, in the place to which we were sent, may you now to praise the Lord with me, in the West Indies, the power of the word of His cross, in the conversion of hundreds and thousands of negroes, among whom I have had the favour to proclaim it. I still think of, and pray for, the poor ignorant in-

habitants of the East, and particularly of the Nicobar islands, and trust, that now the time will soon come, when, though some of Christ's servants have sowed in tears, others shall reap with joy. May the glory of His saving name be made manifest in all the earth, and the gospel be proclaimed in its most dark and distant parts, by the present extended circulation of the bible, and the exertions of His people of every denomination. With sincerest affection, I remain ever, &c. &c.

JOHN GOTTFRIED HAFNSEL.

To the REV. C. I. LATROBE,
London.

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