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LUTHERAN MISSION WORK AMONG THE AMERICAN INDIANS

By

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To those noble men and pious women
Whose heroic work and labor of love
For the Red Man
The following pages describe,
This book is affectionately dedicated

PREFACE

THESE unpretentious pages are sent forth in the hope that the friends of missions may be informed as to what the Lutheran Church has done and is doing in bringing the Gospel to the Red Man. The author has collected and put into convenient form the facts of this half-forgotten work, of which no complete treatment has ever appeared, but which is worthy of an adequate presentation. As natural in a book of this kind, his indebtedness to others is large. This refers especially to chapters III and IV. In other parts the author has not hesitated now and then to adapt or to take over an adequate rendering. The Bibliographical Notes at the end of the book will give a more detailed account of the sources. However, every effort has been made to verify facts and statements, and to render the account as clear as possible. For the work being done at present the missionaries themselves have been constant and willing helpers. Sincere thanks are due them for their ungrudging co-operation. The manuscript dealing with their particular mission was submitted to them, tho the author alone must be held responsible for mistakes and shortcomings that may occur.

If the little book, the result of a labor of love in leisure hours, should acquaint the reader somewhat with the Lutheran contribution to the Christianization of the Red Man, and instil in him true love for the noble task, the efforts of the undersigned will have been more than rewarded.

ALBERT KEISER.

Sioux Falls, S. D., April 18, 1921.

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INTRODUCTION

WITHOUT fear of contradiction it may safely be said that no other race has made such a strong appeal to the human imagination as the Indian. Countless descriptions have appeared since Columbus first laid his eyes upon him, and in his belief to have reached India applied to the natives the name which has clung to them ever since. And that interest in the Red Man, so called from the ornamental war paint, has never ceased, tho of course it has assumed different forms. Besides other characteristics, his acumen and intelligence, in respect to which he is now generally conceded to be inferior to the white man, have always been a source of fascination and even now remain his chief claim to fame.

It is eminently proper and fitting that we should take a benevolent interest in the natives of this country, who are the real Americans. For we whites have trodden under foot this race, we have taken his rolling prairies and cut down his forests without granting adequate compensation, whatever one may think of the laws governing progress and civilization. And the treatment which the Indian received at the hands of the Government until recent times forms a series of broken promises, violated treaties, and scraps of paper, a chapter in our history so dark and shocking as to make every upright person blush with shame. Many forces have tended to make real the sentiment of colonial times that the only good Indian

is a dead Indian. And tho of recent years the Government has tried to atone for the injustice of the past, the fact remains that we witness today the vanishing of a race which once called these regions his own, whose only hope of preservation in some form seems to be assimilation with the whites and absorption by them.

There naturally appears a great diversity in the description of the Indian. First we have that noble figure of romance with his admirable characteristics, largely a creation of the imagination. The other extreme we meet in the opinion of the colonial pioneer, who wished for his opponent a resting place under the sod. And descriptions have made known in late years the Reservation Indian, dirty, lazy, and shiftless. As a matter of fact, all these characterizations are generalizations which ignore the marked differences which exist between the various tribes and under changing circumstances. However, it must be admitted that the Indian was a savage, with the virtues and the vices of the same. Under the degenerating influence of the whites his many admirable traits were overshadowed by the development of the baser instincts. In time not only his outward condition, but also his character underwent a marked change by force of circumstances.

For our particular purposes the religion of the native American is of special interest. In a general way it may be classified as nature worship, with its belief that most objects are animated by spirits, the so-called manitoes. But one cannot be too cautious in defining the religious ideas of the Indian, for we

must remember that in the presence of intruding strangers he naturally would be taciturn as to his most sacred emotions. And then the investigations belong to the period when his religious beliefs were in a state of transition, it being, for instance, doubtful whether the idea of the great over-ruling spirit had been conceived before the advent of the white man. But he unquestionably believed that those spirits had a magical influence not only over his external acts, but also internal states, which showed itself in dreams, in sickness, and in death. It therefore became an important matter to retain the good will of the friendly power and to gain control over the hostile forces. Thus a way was opened for the powerful influence of the medicine men, as charms, prayers, and sacrifices were believed to be very potent. Contrary to popular opinion, it seems that many of the tribes paid little attention to the future state, tho later the idea of the 'ampler hunting grounds beyond the night,' perhaps a product of Christian association, becomes more prominent.

The Indian, like so many other primitive peoples, had of course no real conception of innate depravity and personal guilt. Sorrow and repentance are ideas foreign to his mind, as also happiness in the regions beyond does not depend upon an upright life here on earth. As a rule, the religion of his fathers is good enough for the Indian, and he views the alien doctrines of Christianity with indifference and contempt. Dogmatic statements leave him cold, as he must be shown by concrete examples the superiority of the white man's religion over his own. In the words of

Francis E. Leupp, formerly Commissioner of Indian Affairs: "If you approach the Indian with the bare abstract proposition that you are bringing him a religion better than that of his fathers, you must prepare for either resentment or indifference; but if you show him new ways of appeasing his hunger, or mend his broken leg, or save the life of a fever-stricken child, you have given him something which locks into his environment, as it were. When he sees you doing this for him not once or twice but continuously, wonder begins to stir in his mind as to what it all means. Then comes your opportunity for telling him that your religion is a religion of love: that it is founded on the idea that all human beings, of every name and race, are brothers; that you are trying to do him good because he is your brother and you love him. And so your chain of instruction can go on, one link being forged into another as fast as his understanding will open to admit it."

One difficulty in the Christianization of the Indian is of course denominational rivalry, as the naive creature is puzzled by the "hydra-headed" faith, as Ch. A. Eastman calls it. The hostile attitude sometimes assumed by the different denominations makes him wary. Assurances to the effect that all worship the same diety, and that the differences are non-essential, are of little avail. To quote Leupp again: "Doctrinal subtleties are of course beyond the reach of the ordinary Indian's mind, but in matters of discipline he discovers what seem to him serious incongruities. An old chief once expressed to me his deep concern because a missionary had warned

his children that they would be punished after death if they broke the Sabbath with their accustomed games, yet he had seen with his own eyes a missionary playing tennis on Sunday. Another raised in my presence, with a sly suggestion of satire in his tone, the question of marriage. One missionary, he told us—referring to a visit from a Mormon apostle several years before—had four wives, and said it was good in the sight of the white man's God; the missionary who preached at the agency school had only one wife, and said that that was all right, but it would be wicked for him to marry any more; but the priest who came once in a while to bless the children had no wife at all, and said that the white man's God would be displeased with him if he took even one."

The nature of the Indian language also has been a factor retarding rapid missionary progress. Close to a hundred linguistic families with many dialects are represented in the United States, a fact which makes difficult the language situation as viewed from the missionary standpoint. And the excessive compounding of Indian words has always been a fruitful source of difficulty. For instance, Eliot, the gifted Indian missionary, worked fifteen years before he had mastered the native tongue sufficiently. Confining ourselves to the Lutherans, a number of testimonies as to the difficulty to be overcome are forthcoming. In October, 1848, Baierlein declares that he is unable to bring his thoughts close to the hearts of the children, and even in 1850 he complains: "No little effort must be expended upon the composition of an Indian

order of worship, a liturgy for the services, and the formulae for baptisms, marriages, and funerals, because everything must be adapted to our circumstances and be translated into a language which has no word for Heaven or hell, for conscience, pain, and wound—for each of the many names for injuries expresses at the same time whether the wounded has been hit, stabbed, shot, etc.—and for hundreds of other things, it being almost impossible to express Christian thoughts however one may try to paraphrase them..... Until now, for instance, we have been unable to find a term for church and congregation. Equally difficult is also the translation of the Catechism. Often, when with the help of the interpreter I had succeeded during many hours' work in translating a few words or even a single one, I have found after he was gone, or in copying, new mistakes, because heathen concepts cling to all terms. The most laborious work is the translation of German hymns into Indian, because often a single word is too long for a whole line of the original." Miessler, who had begun his study of the Chippewa language in 1851, at the end of 1858 writes: "At last I have risked, and thank God, could risk to notify the interpreter of his discharge. The composition of the sermons in the clumsy and inadequate Indian language still gives me great trouble, and no few mistakes creep in, as I have no other helps than a simple dictionary. But I shall spare no pains, especially since I notice that the Indians are much more attentive when they receive the word of life directly from my lips." And later on we find that the inability of

Auch to speak the Chippewa language was mainly responsible for the loss of the Indian congregation at Sheboyank.

The inadequacy of the Indian language for expressing spiritual conceptions may also be noted. Rev. Harders illustrates this point in regard to the Apache speech: "Good, holy, honorable, upright, equitable, honest, just, magnificent, splendid, perfect, correct, right, etc., for us words of different coloring and of different shades of meaning, are all the same to the Apache, who uses only one word which covers all the conceptions, the word Nojo. It is the same with the opposite. He has not even a distinctive word for it. It is simply Do-nojo-da. The do and the da at the beginning and the end are the negation, which change the nojo into its opposite. Donojoda means bad, wicked, sinful, wrong, not right, unholy, imperfect, unjust, dishonest, etc."

But the most formidable enemy of missionary success has been modern civilization with its vices. Even the approach of the paleface would involve the pushing back of the Indian to more remote regions. This of course played havoc with many an established mission. To this fact must at least partly be attributed the failure of Loehe's pet idea to plant colonies and to make settlers of the converts. For the love of the wild forests and the native haunts always proved stronger than the well ordered life of civilization with its comforts. As Baierlein puts it: "One fact only had been overlooked, namely, that a people of hunters could not possibly live in the neighborhood of a colony, and, on the other hand, a

colony cannot be located in the primeval forests with its scattered camps. For a colony needs above all roads and a location not too far from older settlements. On the other hand, the Indians need no roads and do not desire any, in order that the whites may remain away. Wherever a deer is able to go, an Indian may, and that is for him road enough, the one most dear to his heart." Even more damaging than the mere approach of civilization were the indifference and the vices of so-called Christians, which could not but bring contempt upon that religion itself. And hand in hand with it went the diabolical scheme of systematically corrupting the Indian by means of fire-water. The reservations have of course removed some of these handicaps, and as a rule the Government agents render every facility to further missionary endeavor as a stabilizing and uplifting force.

That the Christian mission work, even aside from its purely religious considerations, has been a tremendous factor in the uplift of the Indian, there can be no doubt. The evidences of it are too patent and readily admitted even by skeptical Government officials. No true Christian will doubt that the words of the missionary command also apply to the Red Man. It is a fine thought with which Loehe is said to have closed his appeal for the Indian when the Central Missionary Society of Bavaria contemplated withdrawing further support from the Indian mission because of its meager results: "Well! If the Indians should become extinct, and if they refuse to be converted, then let us illuminate their passing with the torch of the Gospel."

And tho there be no hope for the Indian as a people, there is still room for him as an integral part of Caucasian civilization, and Christianity may fit him to become a useful member of modern society, while the spiritual regeneration with its happiness beyond has a value incalculable.

Chapter I

THE SWEDES ON THE DELAWARE

THE discovery of a new world by Columbus in 1492 was far-reaching in its effects upon the nations of Europe. As the wonderful reports came back, the mental horizon of millions suddenly widened, and their imagination was powerfully stimulated. Soon the spirit of foreign adventure pervaded every class of society and made possible many a hazardous undertaking. The success of Spain in acquiring large territories and immense riches naturally aroused the jealousy of other nations and induced them to make similar efforts. Especially England, France, Holland, as also Sweden strove to advance their own interests by establishing trade companies engaged in colonial enterprises.

Altho the motives behind the work of colonization were largely economic, from the very beginning the idea of missionary labors among the heathen was not absent. Some of the early efforts of colonization were in fact largely conceived in a missionary spirit. In not a few instances missionaries even preceded the traders and settlers, actually opening a way for them. But granted that some genuine and disinterested efforts to enlighten and to uplift the Red Man were made, only too often the missionary enterprise was looked upon as a means of furthering commerce with the natives, and not seldom served to hide base exploitation. To put the case concretely: as a

rule the so-called Christian nations were interested more in the gold and the furs the Indian could furnish than in his immortal soul. Time and again profit and the greed for gold thwarted noble and consecrated men in their efforts to carry the Gospel to the benighted heathen.

However, not always did sordid motives lurk behind the missionary enterprise, for a number of notable exceptions occur. Viewed from the missionary and humanitarian standpoint, the settlement of the Swedes on the banks of the Delaware river furnishes a bright page in the history of American colonization. Added interest is supplied by the fact that the idea was conceived in the reign of Gustavus Adolphus, whose exertions in behalf of Protestantism at a critical time are well and favorably known.

A prominent merchant of Stockholm, W. Usselinx by name, was the first to propose to the Swedish government the planting of a colony in the New World. A native of Holland, which at that time took high rank among sea-faring nations, he had been very zealous in promoting the mercantile interests of his country by his trade activities. As early as 1590 the energetic merchant and man of affairs had proposed the formation of a West India Company. Altho at that time the dangers and uncertainties of such an undertaking were considered too great, he later succeeded in forming the Dutch West India Company. But failing to receive "what he thought his just dues," he left Holland in order to find a more propitious field for the furtherance of his plans.

It was in 1624 that Usselinx approached King

Gustavus Adolphus with a plan for the organization of a trading company whose business interests were to include America. The success of similar Dutch and English companies formed some years before undoubtedly helped to give his schemes more than a hearing. The young and ambitious king was naturally eager to discuss means whereby Sweden would be enabled to share in the profitable trade with newly discovered countries. Usselinx persuaded the king that such an undertaking was likely to lead to the Christianization of the heathen, besides promising large financial returns—in short, "it would greatly tend to the honor of God, to man's eternal welfare, to his majesty's service, and to the good of the kingdom." As the king and his advisers looked with favor upon the plan, steps towards its realization were accordingly undertaken. In 1626 Usselinx was allowed to issue a lengthy appeal, in which he enumerated the advantages which the formation of such a company would bring to the nation. When delay in perfecting the organization and consequent lack of funds made the outlook dubious, the king himself issued a proclamation, encouraging men of all ranks to take part in the new enterprise. A charter was granted to the company, in which the king, members of the nobility, and prominent merchants were among the stockholders.

Elaborate preparations were now made, and the work was ripe for execution when Sweden became involved in the Thirty Years' War, which necessitated a delay in carrying out the plans. But the king kept the project, which a short time before his

death (1632) he called "the jewel of his kingdom," constantly in mind, and even invited the German Protestants to participate in its privileges. His death on the field of Luetzen, however, seemed to sound the death-knell to the undertaking. But the project was not abandoned entirely. Already in the next year the celebrated chancellor of Sweden, Axel Oxenstierna, renewed the charter and also invited the co-operation of the German Protestants. The former plan of organizing a trading company was dropped, the society limiting its activities to the establishment of a colony in the New World. With new vigor the preparations for planting a small colony were continued, due largely to the energetic work of a man who was to become the head of the new settlement on the eastern coast of America.

Peter Minuit had been the first governor of the New Netherlands, but thru factional strife among the stockholders of the Dutch West India Company and the displeasure of the colonists with the feudal system he had to enforce, he was compelled to resign, and in 1632 returned to Holland. About 1635 he offered his services to one of his countrymen connected with the Swedish company, and soon became interested in the colonial and mercantile plans of Sweden. It was he who laid before the chancellor the first practical plan for the colonization of the land bordering on the Delaware, and also proposed the name New Sweden. His energy soon revived the sinking spirits and re-united the scattered members of the trading society. Here was a man who inspired confidence, as he was thoroly familiar with

all the problems to be solved in making a settlement in the New World, and therefore offered the best possible guaranty for a successful and auspicious start. No wonder that his proposals were carefully considered and followed.

At last the preparations were complete, and in the autumn of 1637 two ships, the "Key of Calmar" and the "Bird Griffin," sailed for the New World. As far as the Indian was concerned, Sweden's policy was to be entirely pacific, tho at that time the nation was at the height of its power, being one of the foremost military countries in Europe. This policy of friendship with the natives was deliberately adopted and always carried out. It is significant that among the provisions aboard the ships there were also presents for the Indians. In addition, the governor received intructions looking toward the Christianization of the Red Man.

Minuit held that under the circumstances the region of the Delaware was best suited for the settlement, and accordingly the colonists occupied land now included within the states of Delaware, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey, the first settlement being made on the present site of Wilmington, Delaware. As the Dutch West India Company regarded them as intruders, and as the numerous Indian tribes might be opposed to the settlement of the Swedes, the historic fort Christina, named in honor of the queen, was built immediately after the landing. And well might it be, for only eight years before a company of Dutchmen had been exterminated by the Indians at the very place which the Swedes occupied.

The natives of that region were known among the Europeans as Delawares, in their own language being called Lenne Lennape. They belonged to the great Algonquin family, whose territory stretched from the mouth of the St. Lawrence river north to Hudson Bay, and west to the Rocky Mountains; southward it extended down the Atlantic coast to the neighborhood of Florida, being bounded by the Mississippi in the west. Within a small circle of the Swedes, there were ten separate tribes, each having its own sachem or chief. Farther away lived the Minckus or Minques, renowned for their warlike character, tho small in numbers. These belonged to the Mohawk branch of the powerful and perfidious Iroquois nation, an intrusive race, since their territory was originally farther north. But they always remained on excellent terms with the Swedes, speaking of them as their "own people."

We need not enter here into a detailed description of the character, manners, and customs of the tribes. The reports about them are various and sometimes also contradictory. The Indians are described as "big and strong, well built men." It is also claimed, "when they are not offended, they are an honest, goodhearted people, and will even expose themselves to death for those whom they profess friendship. In general, they show themselves friendly and upright in their intercourse with strangers who treat them in the same manner; but sometimes they can be very cunning and even roguish." Other accounts, however, are less favorable.

The Swedes immediately inaugurated their peaceful policy toward the Indians by making a purchase of land. Deeds were drawn up and signed by both parties, the Indian chiefs tracing their totem marks on the documents. Some of the papers were subsequently sent to Sweden and preserved in the royal archives. In the course of time the Swedes came in possession of considerable tracts of land.

This just treatment of the natives was partly dictated by prudence and made advisable by the attitude of the Dutch, who regarded the Swedes as intruders. The Dutch had been on the ground first, and tho they had withdrawn some years before, under international law had the best claim to the lands of the Delawares. The Swedes, knowing this, maintained that purchase from the Indians alone gave one a clear title. So in a document "the wild inhabitants of the country" are spoken of as "its rightful Lords." The Dutch, on the other hand, also tried to strengthen their title, and therefore sought to buy the aboriginal right to the country. Naturally there was a disposition on both sides to remain on good terms with the natives. Never once was this peace broken, and no Indian blood was shed on the Delaware river by either party during the Swedish occupation. The impression made upon the Indians was extremely favorable, and more than a hundred years afterwards, when Swedish rule had long since ceased, the Indians continued to speak of the Swedes with the greatest affection. This peaceful policy later made possible the success of Penn's attitude towards the

Indians, a fact often overlooked by historians and others.

The first religious services were conducted at the fort, churches being erected afterwards. These, however, were amply protected. For instance, we are told about a blockhouse at the strand at Wicacoa, now Philadelphia, which was altered so as to serve for church purposes. Such a blockhouse would be considered as answering the purpose very well, for at first the churches were of the same material. The colonists did not immediately learn to trust the Indians and therefore properly prepared against a sudden attack. According to Rudman, a later missionary, the churches were so built that "after a suitable elevation, like any other house, a projection was made some courses higher, out of which they could shoot, so that if the heathen fell upon them, which could not be done without their coming up to the house, then the Swedes could shoot down upon them continually, and the heathen, who used only bows and arrows, could do them little or no injury." Fortunately, the existing friendly relations made such protection unnecessary.

During the first years of Swedish occupation no energetic efforts to convert the Indians were made, the only minister of the colony, Rev. Torkillus, being too much taken up with work among his own flock. To be sure, the Indians were invited to the church services, but naturally profited little or nothing, as Torkillus was unable to speak their language. After a few years' service he became ill, dying in 1643.

As his successor, John Campanius was chosen,

who arrived in New Sweden in 1643. He was born in 1601, was highly gifted, and had received an excellent education. Besides being a scholar, he seems to have been an able preacher and a man who performed his duties with faithfulness. At the same time a new governor was appointed, the energetic, tho not always prudent John Printz. He received elaborate and detailed instructions regarding his rule in the colony. The passage relating to the Indians is of special interest to us: "The wild nations, bordering upon all other sides, the Governor shall understand how to treat with all humanity and respect, that no violence or wrong be done to them by Her Royal Majesty or subjects aforesaid; but he shall rather, at every opportunity, exert himself, that the same wild people may gradually be instructed in the truths and worship of the Christian religion, and in other ways be brought to civilization and good government, and in this manner properly guided. Especially shall he seek to gain their confidence, and impress upon their minds that neither he, the Governor, nor his people and subordinates are come in those parts to do them any wrong and injury, but much more for the purpose of furnishing them with such things as they may need for the ordinary wants of life, and so also for such things as are found among them which they themselves cannot make for their own use, or buy or exchange." Oxenstierna and the members of the Council of Sweden, by whom the instructions are signed, enjoined the governor to keep a watchful eye on the pelt trade, to prevent all fraud and deception, and to enter into profitable

relationship with the Indians by underselling the English and the Dutch.

As Governor Printz distrusted the Indians, he was not in entire accord with the wishes of the home government. Later he even proposed militant means looking to their conversion. All who would not accept Christianity should be exterminated, and in order to carry out his plans, he asked for sufficient soldiers, which fortunately were not furnished by the government. However, for the time being expediency caused him to avoid all friction by using peaceful measures in his relationship with them. Councillor Brahe of the privy council advised Printz to teach the Indians like children and especially to work on their imagination thru the ceremonies of the Lutheran service, for "outward ceremonies greatly affect such savage people." The governor followed the advice and reports that they kept some of the Indians, especially children, at the settlement, but that invariably the savages would take to the woods again.

When, in 1643, Rev. John Campanius arrived, he at once energetically took hold of affairs. From the outset he was greatly interested in the Indians. Some graphic touches of his relations with them are told in a book entitled *A Short Description of the Province of New Sweden,* which his grandson Thomas Campanius published in 1702. He relates the following:"The Indians were frequent visitors at my grandfather's house. When, for the first time, he performed divine services in the Swedish congregation, they came to hear him, and greatly

wondered that he had so much to say, and that he stood alone, and talked so long, while all the rest were listening in silence. This excited in them strange suspicions; they thought everything was not right, and that some conspiracy was going forward among us; in consequence of which my grandfather's life and that of the other priests were, for some time, in considerable danger from the Indians who daily came to him and asked him many questions. In those conversations, however, he gradually succeeded in making them understand that there was one Lord God; that He was self-existing, one and in three persons; how the same God had made the world from nothing, and created a man and placed him on earth, and called him Adam, from whom all other men have sprung; how the same Adam, afterwards, by his disobedience had sinned against his Creator, and by that sin had involved all his descendants; how God sent from heaven upon this earth His only Son, Jesus Christ, who was born of the Virgin Mary, for the redemption and salvation of all mankind; how He died upon the cross, and was raised again the third day; and lastly, how after forty days He ascended to heaven, whence He will return at a future day to judge the quick and the dead," etc.

It must not be assumed, however, that these Indians were without religious ideas. Campanius even believed them to be of Jewish origin, the remnants of the ten lost tribes of Israel. In order to establish his point, he wrote a long treatise in Latin, where he tries, by a comparison of words, to establish an affinity existing between the Hebrew and the Indian lan-

guages, in which, however, he signally fails. The younger Campanius gives us some details about the religious beliefs of the savage tribes. "Altho the Indians, being deprived of the Revelation, are unacquainted with the true worship of God, they nevertheless acknowledge a Supreme Being, a Great Spirit, who made the heavens and the earth. They say of him in their language, as has been related to me: *'Opom Saccheman mah matit, mah nijr noton, mahorite mah nijr pentor,'* which means: 'The great Sachem in heaven is not bad; he does us neither good nor harm, and therefore, we cannot worship him.' Of the evil spirit, they say: *'Manetto matitte...,'* meaning: 'The evil spirit above is bad; if we don't do something to please him, he will hurt or kill us; therefore, we must worship him'." On that account they offered sacrifices to him at definite places in the forest. We are also informed that according to Landstrøm, a military engineer who had come to New Sweden in 1654, the Indians seemed to have some notions of Christ. For they told remarkable stories, which they claimed to have received by tradition from their ancestors. One of them is as follows: "Once upon a time (they say), one of your women came among us, and she became pregnant, in consequence of drinking out of a creek; an Indian had connexion with her, and he also became pregnant, and brought forth a son; who, when he came to a certain size, was so sensible and clever, that there never was one who could be compared with him, so much and so well he spoke, which excited great wonder; he also performed many miracles. When

he was quite grown up, he left us, and went up into heaven, and promised to come again, but he never returned."

The Indians were by no means indifferent to the religious instruction given them by Campanius, for "they had great pleasure in hearing these things, at which they greatly wondered, and began to think quite differently from what they had done before, so that he (Campanius) gradually gained their affection, and they visited and sent to him very frequently."

The attitude assumed by the heathen greatly moved Campanius, and he resolutely set to work to bring the Gospel to them. To this end he earnestly strove to learn their language, in which he seems to have been fairly successful. Between the years 1643-48 he prepared the first known vocabulary of any importance of the Indian tribes on the Delaware, with phrases, numerals, and dialogues, being a convenient summary for learning the language. He went even further. Believing that the heathen would hear and read the Word of God if they could become acquainted with it, and be converted, he translated Luther's Small Catechism, "that storehouse of true principles of faith," as he styles it, in order to make it possible for them to "be partakers of the holy truths." Several men better acquainted than he with the language on account of longer residence in the colony undoubtedly had a share in the translation, which in its first draft was probably ready in 1648, about the time Eliot, "the morning star of missionary enterprise" and the "Apostle of

the Indians," began his labors at Roxberry, Massachusetts. Eliot's New Testament did not appear until 1661, the Old Testament being issued three years later. Campanius was thus perhaps the first missionary among the Indians in this country, and Luther's Small Catechism probably the first Protestant book translated into the language of the Indians, altho it did not appear in print until about half a century later. However, even in the region of the Delaware, the Roman Catholics had begun their labors among the savage tribes before this time. But their methods may be inferred from the speech of an Indian chief, reported by one of their own missionaries, who had this to say about certain co-workers of his: "As long as we have beaver and other skins, the missionaries stay with us and show us great friendship; they teach our children their catechism and how to say their prayers; they constantly stay with us, and even do us the honor to partake of our feasts; but as soon as we have no more skins, then those gentlemen begin to think that their presence is no longer necessary."

We are told that Campanius was very successful in his work among the savage tribes, so that "many of those barbarians were converted to the Christian faith, or, at least, acquired so much knowledge of it that they were ready to exclaim, as Captain John Smith relates of the Virginia Indians, that so far as the cannons and guns of the Christians exceeded the bow and arrow of the Indians in shooting, so far was their God superior to that of the Indians." Allowing this to be a roseate view, it was certainly un-

fortunate for the missionary work that after only a few years of labor Campanius became weary of his extensive charge, and in 1647 requested his recall in accordance with the promises given at his sailing. He proposed that younger men carry on the arduous work. The request was granted, and in the following year he returned to Sweden, where he was rewarded with the grant of a good charge. The translation he carried with him, revised it in Sweden, and in 1656 sent it to the king for publication, accompanied by a memorial. But nothing was done about it for a long time, altho Campanius lived till 1683, dying at the ripe age of eighty-two.

It does not seem that the missionary work so nobly begun, but abandoned by Campanius, was carried on by the ministers immediately following him. However, the friendly relations between the Swedes and the Indians continued. This must not be interpreted to mean that the Indians never harbored any evil intents. Already at the beginning of the Swedish occupation temporarily strained relations, leading almost to an outbreak, existed. But trouble was averted, and "since that time," the younger Campanius continues, "the Swedes and Indians have lived together in amity and friendship and carried on a friendly intercourse with each other." Under Rising, the successor of Printz, the old relationship was renewed, for at a conference with the Indians in 1654 they were reminded of the former friendship, and were assured that it would be for their mutual benefit to renew the old compact. Any suspicions the Indians might entertain as to the inten-

tions of the Swedes were groundless. If the tribes would agree to draw up and to observe the terms of a new contract, the Swedes on their side would keep it irrevocably. The natives complained that the newcomers had brought much sickness among them. After a consultation of the chiefs with their men it was finally agreed that the purchase of land should remain intact. A defensive league was also made, the Indians promising that they would regard the enemies of the Swedes as their own and report any approaching danger to the best of their ability. Then followed a general distribution of presents, after which the Indians left well satisfied and in the best of humor.

But Swedish rule in the New World was destined to be short-lived. In 1655 the Dutch under the energetic Stuyvesant took possession of the colony, which at that time numbered about seven hundred souls. Under the articles of surrender the Swedes were allowed to retain their faith, but the ministers with the exception of one had to return to Sweden. However, Lars Lock, tho after 1677 assisted by Fabritius, who became blind in 1682, did not find time for missionary work, as serving his own countrymen more than taxed his strength. After his death, in 1688, the Swedes found themselves entirely dependent upon lay readers and the blind and ailing Fabritius, tho his death did not occur till 1696.

However, help was to come from the motherland to the spiritually destitute kinsmen. In 1690 a nephew of former governor Printz visited the

New World and took note of their condition. After his return to Sweden he discussed the subject with J. Thelin, postmaster at Goeteborg, who informed the king. At royal request Thelin now wrote to his countrymen in order to get further details. This letter was answered in 1693 by Springer, one of the lay readers, who asked his kinsmen for books and ministers. A fair salary for the pastors was promised, the Swedes on the Delaware having prospered in worldly affairs. The appeal was placed by the king into the hands of Jesper Svedberg, the father of the well known and eccentric Emanuel Swedenborg. Svedberg, a former court preacher and now professor of theology and provost of the Cathedral at Upsala, was very much interested in the state of affairs that existed in what had formerly been New Sweden. Sympathy for the heathen moved him no less strongly than that for the people of his own blood. And the energetic and resourceful man soon found means to relieve the spiritual want. When the matter had been submitted to him, "that great light of the church," Acrelius, the historian of the Swedish settlement, tells us, "immediately called to his mind the conversation which, during his travels, he had had with the licentiate of theology, Ezardi, in Hamburg. In one of their discussions dealing with the conversion of the Jews, Dr. Ezardi had stated how the early Christians in that place had in their wills devised considerable property for the conversion of the heathen; that a large part of this had at the present time come into the hands of the Swedish crown,

among the property held by Sweden at Stade, Bremen; that the income of this property had been converted into stipends to pay the travelling expenses of the nobility; as, also, that some who enjoyed the benefit of this abused the trust, of which a dissolute nobleman, who was then in Hamburg, traveling upon this stipend, was an undeniable example; that thus they who had the benefit of it converted no heathen, and so the property was expended in direct contrariety to the contents of the will. It would therefore be much more becoming, as there was no heathen in the neighborhood, to apply it to the conversion of the Jews." Svedberg suggested to the king that the money could be used to good advantage in the New World, as there was "now a good opportunity to convert the heathen, yea, to see to it that the children of Sweden do not become heathen as they dwell among them."

The appeal of his countrymen, re-enforced by Svedberg's suggestions, moved the heart of Charles XI. Accordingly three men were sent to look after the spiritual needs of the Swedish brethren, who should also take up the work among the Indians. In his will Rev. John Campanius had expressed the wish that his translation of Luther's Catechism be sent to America for the benefit of the heathen. Moved by this prayer, the king accordingly caused the translation, which was still in manuscript, to be printed at royal expense, and five hundred copies of it were among the other religious books that the ministers John Auren, Eric Bjørck, and Andrew Rudman in 1697 brought with them to America.

Huru man må vngt folck enfaldeligen förehålla Tijo Gudz Bud.

Tæræn Hâcquæsſung Saccheemans, chísbo SIMACKAN.

Thet förſta Catechiſmi ſtycket om Tijo Gudz Bud.

I. Chiutte

Chísbo Simóckan.

Thet Förſta Budet.

Chijr matta pyri Hocquæsſungz Sacchecman tahóttamen.

LUTH. & Verſio.

Tu ſkalt inga andra Gudar hafwa för mig.

Chéko pæntor chijr jũni ? Rũe.

Nijr ſuhwijvan Renáppi, hátte Nisſiaanus hwiſáſſe, móchij, nijr quinkijnamen jũni mốchijrick Saccheeman, Hócquæsſungz hæritt MANÉTTO, tahóttamen, pyri, chéko Hócquæsſung ock Háckung hátte, ock nijr pátton ſuhwijvan nijte Nóóton ock chéko nijr paéntor, thàan únnár nirũna Vínckan MANÉTTO hũa.

Verſio. **Huru förſtår tu thetta ? Såg.**

Wi alla Menniſkior / ſkole hafwa en

Reproduction of a page from Campanius Translated from Luther's Catechism into the Language of the Delaware Indians.

Several copies of the edition of 1696 have come down to us, there being for instance one in the library of Augustana College and Seminary, Rock Island, Ill., one in the University of Pennsylvania, etc. A brief description of the book will be of interest. It is a small volume 4x6¾ inches, bound in stout calfskin. The cover bears the impression of a double C, the royal initials, surmounted by the Swedish crown. The title page, in addition to the royal arms of Sweden, has the following inscription: Lutheri Catechismus, "Øfwersatt pa American-Virginske Språket." Stockholm, Trykt vthi thet af Kongl. Maytt privileg. Burchardi Tryckeri, af J. J. Genath f. Anno MDCXCVI., which is in English: Luther's Catechism, translated into the American-Virginian language. Stockholm, printed with permission of his Royal Majesty by J. J. Genath, Jr., at Burchard's press. A. D. 1696. A quaint map of New Sweden, dated 1654, is folded in after the title page. It shows Delaware bay and river, gives names of settlements, and indicates by small pictures what animals inhabit the woods, where the plantations are, and where the Indian settlements are located. This is followed by an introduction of fourteen pages. It takes the place of the original preface of Campanius, portions of which are quoted. The introduction gives a brief history of the translation and discusses the evangelization of the heathen in general and of the Indians in particular, a description of the colonists and the land being included. Passages of the Sagas are quoted in order to prove the discovery of America

in the 10th century by Norsemen. Then comes the Catechism proper. The Indian translation, which is often a paraphrase accompanied by explanatory questions and answers, comes first, followed, paragraph by paragraph, by a Swedish version. Whereever there are marked differences in the Indian and the Swedish statements, the Swedish version of Luther's Small Catechism follows. The Catechism begins thus: "The Catechism which contains the sum and substance of the Holy Scriptures..... Thus shall your children, sons and daughters, man servants and maid servants, together with all other persons, give all diligence to learn the Ten Commandments of the Lord, our God." The first commandment is thus explained: "We and all men must have a childlike fear, yea, it must be our pleasure to love this powerful God more than anything contained in heaven or upon earth, and we must place all our trust and confidence upon this our merciful God alone." All the other parts of the Catechism are explained with the same simplicity, showing that Campanius knew how to condescend to the understanding of the Indian. In all 126 pages are occupied by the Catechism. This is followed by a vocabulary of the Delaware language (Vocabularium Barbaro-Virginiorum) of 30 pages, including a very brief vocabulary of the tribes of the Minques, who were on especially good terms with the Swedes.

On the whole, the task was creditably performed. It is true, Mr. Peter S. Du Ponceau, on the authority of Mr. Heckewelder, in his *Notes and Observations on Eliot's Indian Grammar*, charges Campan-

ius with many blunders, probably due to the ignorance of traders who were his helpers." "He translates the words 'Gracious God' by *Sweet Manitto;* but the word *vinckan,* (it should have been *wingan*) by which he attempts to express *sweet,* is one which in the Delaware language is only applied to eatables; so that the sense which he conveys to an *Indian,* is that of *O sweet tasted Manitto*! Yet no language is richer in suitable appellations for the Deity. In the same manner, when he means to express the verb 'to love' in a divine sense, he uses the word *tahottamen,* applicable only to the liking which men have for perishable things, when he had *eholan,* from the substantive *ahol-lowagan* (love), which it is most probable he was not acquainted with." That Campanius' translation is not absolutely accurate, and that he misunderstood and misconstrued the Indian language in several particulars, may readily be admitted. But one should remember that he was a pioneer and did not have at his disposal such expert assistance as Eliot. And as the book was printed after the translator's death, by men who very likely knew absolutely nothing about the language, it was inevitable that quite a number of mistakes should creep in. But this does not materially detract from the great value of Campanius' work.

That the newly sent missionaries had not forgotten their duty towards the natives will be seen from a letter written by Rev. Bjørck October 29, 1697. Interesting as showing the relations between the Swedes and the Indians, we quote: "The Indians and we are as one people; we live in much greater

friendship with them than with the English: they call the Swedes, in their language, their *own people;* they were very glad when we came, as they now see that Sweden does not abandon them." From a missionary standpoint even more illuminating is the following passage: "They are also very fond of learning the catechism, which has been printed in their language; they like to have it read to them, and they have engaged Mr. Charles Springer to teach their children to read it. Who knows what God has yet in store for them, if our lives should be spared, when we shall have acquired their idiom? We shall spare no labor to attain that object."

Efforts to penetrate into the interior and to preach the Gospel to the Indians were also made. In 1699 Auren, who had meanwhile become a Sabbatarian, undertook the task, in which he was aided by an interpreter. His experiences are related in a booklet entitled *Dissertatio Gradualis De Plantatione Ecclesiae Svecanae in America,* which Tobias Bjørk, son of Eric, published in 1731 at Upsala. Auren attended a meeting of Indians at Canistowa (Conestoga region in Lancaster Co., Pa.) twenty-five years before white men settled there, and prevailed upon them to forsake their heathen religion and to embrace Christianity. Thru an interpreter, an Indian skillfully answered his appeal and arguments. The substance of that speech we have recorded in Latin on pages 30-34 of the booklet, as Auren impressed it upon his memory and soon afterwards committed it to writing, transmitting it under date of Jan. 13, 1699-1700, to Eric Bjørck. In

speaking of revelation, the Indian claimed that God doubtless exercised sufficient care to illuminate the Indians and make possible their salvation. If Auren affirmed their opinion regarding this and other points, his proposition would be unnecessary; if he contradicted it, that would be absurd, and they would not listen to him. Should he propose additional facts, which were unknown to them, but proved acceptable, they would gladly entertain them.

No results followed from this sporadic effort and the pious wishes of the other ministers. The reason given by Acrelius, himself one of the Swedish ministers on the Delaware and the historian of the settlements, will furnish a sufficient explanation: "But yet the object was never obtained, partly because the ministers had always so much to do among their widely scattered congregations that they had no time for anything else." The other reason given by him carries little weight. He claims that the letter R, r, which the book uses, is not found in the language of the Indians, but L, l, in the place of R, r, ascribing the mistake to the editor of the catechism, who mistook the letter l for r in the manuscript. But it is more probable that some of the Delaware tribes made use of the sound r where others employed l, which was not uncommon among different tribes of the same Indian nation.

Only a few isolated references to missionary work among the Indians follow the letter of Bjørck and the preaching of Auren in the interior. We are told, for instance, that A. Hesselius, a nephew of Svedberg and successor to Bjørck, during his service

between 1713-23, expended a great deal of labor in the conversion of the heathen, who, at that time, were frequently seen among the Swedes. But little was accomplished. At one time a young boy was induced to live at the minister's house, where Hesselius instructed him thru the medium of English in the principal doctrines of Christianity, and finally baptized him. The son of the forest, however, soon returned to his kin, preferring the charms of nature to the refinements of civilization.

Thus came to an end what might have developed into a successful mission among the Indians, had energetic and methodical efforts been made, or the promising beginning of Campanius been followed up. The political change that lost Sweden the newly acquired colony doubtless had some effect upon the missionary activities, but even if the political factor be excluded, it seems hardly probable that a thriving mission would have been established, since the custom of recalling the Swedish ministers after a number of years and often rewarding them with opulent parishes was not favorable to an enterprise that demanded constant and unwearied labor and sacrifices extending over many years. Fruits there were, but these in accordance with the effort expended, in proportion to and in keeping with the sporadic and unsustained activities put forth.

Chapter II

PIOUS WISHES

FOR a time it seemed as if missionary work might be undertaken in the South by the Lutheran Salzburgers, whom Catholic persecution had forced to leave their country. Salzburg, bordering on Bavaria, is a German speaking district of Austria. Tho Austria as a whole remained firmly Catholic at the time of the Reformation, the new doctrines found a fertile soil among the miners and farmers of Salzburg. The peace of Westphalia after the Thirty Years' War nominally guaranteed also to them liberty of conscience and their own form of worship. However, when in time large numbers of Lutherans were discovered among the supposedly Catholic people, the spirit of intolerance made its presence felt. Affairs reached a crisis under Archbishop Count Firmian, who was determined to extirpate the Lutheran heresy. He placed all Protestants before the alternative of becoming Roman Catholics or of leaving the country. In the latter case the minor children would remain in Salzburg and be brought up as Roman Catholics. Thus in the winter of 1731 began the expulsion of these pious Christians who for the sake of their belief were willing to suffer untold hardships. The Lutherans of Germany received them with open arms, and the king of Prussia settled about 20,000 of these exiles in his eastern provinces, where they became loyal citizens and prospered in material and spiritual affairs.

A few of these Salzburg emigrants found their

way into other countries, such as Holland and America. Dr. Samuel Urlsperger of Augsburg, who as former court preacher at London had close relations with the Lutheran reigning house of England, was instrumental in securing for a small number homes in Georgia. The *Society for the Propagation of the Gospel* bore a large part of the expense incidental to their removal there, and Governor James Oglethorpe took a personal interest in these brave Lutheran exiles. Under the leadership of John Boltzius and Israel Gronau, their two ministers furnished by Halle, the emigrants set out and in 1734 established a colony twenty-five miles from Savannah, which in gratitude to God they named Ebenezer. There these men of sterling quality, guided by their efficient leaders, greatly prospered in a material as well as a spiritual sense. They were loyal subjects of the colony and later firm defenders of American freedom, for which not a few made the supreme sacrifice.

The conversion of the native heathen had been contemplated from the first, Boltzius and Gronau receiving specific instruction to that effect. A splendid opportunity to engage in missionary work also offered itself, for in the neighborhood of the colony there lived about 8,000 Cherokees, a tribe which we shall have occasion to meet later in the state of Oklahoma. It was the intention of the leaders to carry out their instructions as soon as feasible, and only a short time after their landing Governor Oglethorpe refers to the desire expressed by the ministers to erect a stone memorial of God's deliverance

and of His having brought them to the end of the earth, where they might praise God in perfect freedom and become a light unto the heathen.

In the diary of Boltzius and the letters of both ministers many occasional references to the Indians are found. Thus we read in a letter of Boltzius to Prof. Francke in Halle, dated Savannah, March 23, 1734, only a few days after their arrival: "At present we are with our followers in the newly built city of Savannah in Georgia, and do not yet know definitely how many or what Indians we shall have as our next neighbors. But this much we have been told by Mr. Oglethorpe that there are very many Indians in the colony, and that many of them might be benefited. May God help and guide us! Our congregation is very small and, thank God, in a splendid condition. And thus the Father gives us, as it were, an indication how we may best utilize our spare time, namely, to increase this white European flock with a few dark Indians cleansed in the blood of Christ, and to prepare ourselves both bodily and spiritually for this very important work. It seems impossible to acquire the Indian language from the natives. But we have been informed that a few white Christians have married Indian women, and have acquired the language thru such association. Such men might be the means of reaching the desired object."

However, soon these pious wishes began to fade away, as the following quotation from the diary of Boltzius under date of July 9, 1735, shows: "A few Indians arrived from Savannah, where they had received presents, and tomorrow they intend to con-

tinue the journey to their mountain home. Six of them paid me a visit, and they not only made a very favorable outward impression, but were also very friendly and respectable. Whenever I see such poor heathens here, a strong desire is re-awakened in me for an opportunity to learn their language. However, anyone acquainted with our present situation and duties will readily see the almost insuperable obstacles. If one would accomplish something for the benefit of the heathen, he must needs have a special call, so as not to be hindered in the acquisition of the language and the association with them by other pastoral work."

The same thoughts, plainly indicating that no energetic efforts will be undertaken, re-occur in a letter of Boltzius and Gronau to Prof. Francke, dated Ebenezer, January 8, 1736: "In regard to the heathen we can at present do nothing more than to pray for them fervently, to give them a good example, and to show them true love whenever they pay us one of their rare visits. If in accordance with God's will and that of our benefactors one of us were to learn the Indian language, he would have to be relieved of the ordinary pastoral duties at Ebenezer, in order that he might be enabled not only to learn the language, but also to visit the Indian villages. Altho the men absent themselves for weeks and even months on hunting trips, their wives and children are said to remain at home, so that schools and other benevolent institutions could be maintained. Here men, women, and children roam in the woods, in a similar miserable condition as the

Gipsies in Germany. They also indulge very much in the drinking of whiskey and lead an immoral life, the opportunity being furnished by the Christians. If one had a special call for the heathen farther removed, and could secure a pious school teacher, with God's help he might possibly accomplish something in time."

Thus the relations with the Indians were cordial at first. The natives were willing to be instructed in the knowledge of the Supreme Being and to send their children to the Christian school at Ebenezer. But nothing definite was undertaken and no results followed. In 1799 one of the ministers of the colony in viewing the former ambitious plans complains: "The purpose in founding Ebenezer was really to establish in time a mission among the neighboring tribes. And with God's help the hopes would have been realized, if they had not turned their attention to so many other things." The colonists became indifferent toward the Indians, and even treated them discourteously and unjustly. Thus the basic qualities for doing missionary work were wholly lacking, as the Salzburgers themselves degenerated spiritually, so that the afore-mentioned minister at the close of the century could write: "The Lutheran Church is here in America, at least in the South, to all outward appearances the most corrupt. It is not in a position to reprove the Catholics, who in spite of all their superstitious ceremonies maintain at least outward discipline."

In the North no systematic efforts at conversion were made at this particular time, altho Indians

now and then attended Lutheran services. Exceedingly close relations, however, existed in a number of instances. The life of Conrad Weiser, jr., is of special interest in this respect. At the age of seventeen he was adopted by an Indian chief and for eight months lived among the tribe. He won the complete confidence of the Indians, and from 1732-60 was at the head of the Indian Bureau of the colonial government of Pennsylvania. Absolutely trusted by both parties, this man of sterling worth, who was a convinced Lutheran most of his life, tho for a time led astray by the Sabbatarians, rendered many a service to his fellow Christians. He doubtless exerted also some religious influence upon the Indians. The great Patriarch of the American Lutheran Church, Henry Melchior Muehlenberg, married his daughter Anna, and became very much interested in the natives. However, the great and pressing work of gathering thousands of unchurched Lutherans into congregations and of organizing the Church left him no time for missionary labors among the Indians.

Only toward the end of the century some feeble attempts at bringing the Gospel to the heathen were made. In 1790 the Rev. A. T. Braun of Treves, who had worked as Roman Catholic missionary among the Indians, embraced the Lutheran faith, and later offered all his linguistic knowledge toward the Christianization of the natives. Dr. Kunze, one of the leading ministers, communicated with Halle and also asked President Washington for federal support. Washington answered that the

granting of an appropriation was solely in the hands of congress. Kunze now drew up an elaborate plan for a mission, placing the budget at one thousand Spanish dollars, but nothing came of the matter, as no federal aid was obtained.

Another effort of a more substantial character centering around one man might have borne fruit. It was an ambitious plan conceived by an eccentric, but devout Lutheran minister, the Rev. John Christopher Hartwig. Tho his pious designs for the conversion of the heathen were not carried out, the efforts resulted in the establishment of Hartwick Seminary, the oldest Lutheran theological school in America. The salient features of the noble endeavor merit closer attention.

Mr. Hartwig was born January 6, 1714, in Saxe Gotha, Germany. Of his childhood, youth, and education no authentic record remains. But he undoubtedly received a very thoro classical training, as his extant Latin compositions prove. After the completion of his university studies he was connected for a short time with the institution of Dr. Callenberg in Hamburg for the conversion of the Jews. Having received a call as pastor of St. Peter's Lutheran Church at Rhinebeck, New York, he was ordained by the two pastors of the Savoy Church and the pastor of the Swedish Lutheran Church in London. In 1746 we find him in his parish at Rhinebeck. In a codicil to his will he himself says that he was "sent hither a missionary preacher of the Gospel upon the petition and call of some Palatine congregations in the Counties of Albany and

Dutchess." During the French and Indian War he seems to have been the chaplain of a German regiment.

Rev. Hartwig remained twelve years at Rhinebeck, which was probably his only settled pastorate. Later he visited widely separated churches, preaching here and there and giving important counsel not only in spiritual, but also in temporal affairs. Rev. Hartwig was never married, and therefore unfettered in the important work as itinerant minister and healer of dissensions. "Many instances of his traditional eccentricities grew out of his celibate state. Dr. Jacobs recites a tradition that his visits were dreaded by domestics because of his excessively long prayers at family worship, and local tradition charges him with being a regular woman-hater. It it said that once on a visit to this neighborhood he was shown to his lodgings in a chamber which contained some articles of female wearing apparel. On discovering this fact he is said to have fled thru a window and sought more safe and congenial quarters."

However, this eccentric man was devout, devoted to his duty, and filled with holy zeal for the preaching of the Gospel. His character is exhibited by the fact that he was on intimate terms with the Patriarch Muehlenberg, whom he occasionally visited, and whose visits he received in return. At one time Muehlenberg travelled 210 miles on horseback in order to pay his friend a visit and stayed with him a full month, clear evidence of the esteem in which he held him.

Hartwig's great love of people also included the Indian, and not long after his arrival in America he conceived an ambitious plan for the conversion of the natives. As early as 1753, while still located at Rhinebeck, he secured, for a consideration named as one hundred pounds, an Indian deed, executed at "Canajoharie, 1753, May 23." The grant calls for a "certain tract of vacant land, Scituate, lying and being, on the South Side of the Mohawks river, between Schoharrie and Cherry Valley, along a certain small Creek: containing nine miles in length and four miles in breadth." However, as Hartwig had not obtained royal consent thru Governor Clinton, the grant came to nought. A royal license was now obtained, and a second deed drawn up under date of May 29, 1754, the consideration named being again one hundred pounds. "This latter tract was not the same as the first, but is described as being 'on the west side of the Susquehanna and running along said river six miles and extending in breadth from the said river into the woods six miles.' It was supposed that this tract cornered on Otsego Lake where the river issues therefrom, but that was afterwards found to be a mistake. The tract was substantially the present town of Hartwick. The petition was for 24,000 acres, the deed called for 23,040, but a survey made later accounts for 21,500."

During Rev. Hartwig's lifetime no direct efforts for the conversion of the heathen were undertaken. At his death at the ripe age of over eighty-two years, on July 17, 1796, he left his estate for the

erection of a "*Gymnasium Evangelicum Ministeriale pro propagatione Evangelico Christianae Religionis inter Gentiles.*" In his eccentric will he says: "Having been hindered by unfavorable times and circumstances to put Thy will (i. e. the Savior's) and my design sooner in execution.....I must transfer this my trust to others," etc., his plan including the education "of the ignorant, ungospelized part of mankind of whatsoever state, color or complexion.....in the Christian religion, according to a plan and method to be annexed to this instrument" (i. e. the will). "I there ordain," says he, "that it is chiefly the enabling, preparing, and qualifying proper persons in respect to their age, constitution of their bodies and minds, and attainments in learning, or knowledge of the instrumental literature such as generally are taught in American colleges," etc. "Whenever," he continues, "there shall be no more occasion for missionaries to red or black heathens, or the revenue of my estate will bear it, the compass of instruction may be enlarged to catechetical instruction, and if after that Providence should provide sufficient means also to classical learning, but no heathen authors shall ever be allowed to be taught in this institution to stain the mind of youths," etc.

Thus there seemed to be a large endowment for specifically missionary purposes. But events proved that the estate was much smaller than one had reason to believe. At one time Hartwig owned about 21,000 acres of land, but this had dwindled down considerably. When Hartwig was an old

man, he employed as his agent Judge William Cooper, father of James Fenimore Cooper, the novelist of Leatherstocking fame. Contrary to the manifest intention of Hartwig, the agent sold the land at about $1.75 per acre, so that in 1796 no land of the original patent was left. Of Hartwig's whole estate less than 3,000 acres remained. "But what had become of the proceeds of the previous sales? This seems to be an illustration of the anecdote which runs somewhat after this fashion: 'Two men, A and B, entered into partnership. A put in all the capital, and B put in his experience. At the end of the year B had the capital and A the experience.' Mr. Hartwick no doubt had some *experience*," tho it is charitable to believe that he never knew in what condition his affairs were. The fact remains that thru the mismanagement or fraud of the agent the greater portion of the property disappeared. Some may be inclined to find in the trouble over the right of the public to use part of the Cooper estate fronting Otsego Lake as a picnic ground, which darkened the later years of the great novelist, the evidence of a just retribution and poetic justice!

It seems that afterwards practically half of the estate was lost thru the activities of one of the administrators, so that the proceeds from the sale of land amounted to not more than $15,612.95. To administer the estate according to the will of the eccentric Hartwig proved well nigh impossible. Aided by a special act of the legislature, the executors tried to carry out the spirit of the will. At this time, the Indians had left that section of the country,

and the thousands of unchurched Lutherans claimed the attention of the ecclesiastical leaders. So when the executioners and others met in New York City on September 15, 1797, it was decided to found a theological and missionary seminary. Of the

Hartwick Seminary, Otsego Co., N. Y.

elected faculty, Rev. J. F. Ernst was to move to Cooperstown, there to train the younger pupils; Rev. A. T. Braun at Albany had the classical department under his charge; while Dr. J. C. Kunze was the theological professor at New York. Under this arrangement a number of ministers were trained. After some ineffectual attempts to locate the proposed institution, Hartwick Seminary was finally opened in 1815 in its own building in Otsego Co. Founded by Rev. Hartwig's endowment, bearing his name, and standing on the ground once owned by the pioneer Lutheran minister, the institution has a history of no mean achievement, tho it has not become a school for missionaries in the narrower sense.

Chapter III

THE WORK AMONG THE CHIPPEWAS IN MICHIGAN AND MINNESOTA

THE beginning of the Indian mission among the Chippewas in Michigan goes back to Rev. F. Schmid, the founder and first president of the *Michigan Synod.* Born in 1807 at Walddorf, Wuerttemberg, he had received his theological training in the Protestant mission school at Basel, Switzerland. In response to an urgent call of former Wuerttembergers he was sent to Michigan in 1833, and as first Lutheran pastor of that state worked with great zeal and success in Ann Arbor and vicinity.

While Rev. Schmid's main efforts were directed toward preaching the Gospel to the unchurched Germans and the organization of congregations, he took a deep interest in the heathen Indians. And soon steps for their Christianization were taken. Tangible evidence of this is found in the minutes of the *Ministerium of Pennsylvania* for the year 1840, where reference is made to "a letter from Brother Frederick Schmidt in Ann Arbor in the state of Michigan, in which he expresses his joy concerning our labors in the missionary field, and makes many proposals which may be calculated to promote the missionary work, and to awaken the missionary spirit."

Partly as a result of these suggestions a missionary society was founded in 1842, which had as one

of its objects the support of the Indian mission begun by Rev. Schmid. In the minutes of 1844, in the transactions of this missionary society, there is "a letter from Rev. F. Schmidt, Ann Arbor, Michigan, in which he states that by reason of the energy of the Missionary Society in the said state, the missionary has been sent to labor among the Indians. He requests the co-operation of our Society in the evangelizing of the Indians." This letter was read, and it was "resolved that the Executive Committee be authorized to transmit to the Missionary Society of Michigan the sum of $50 for Indian Missions provided the state of the treasury will bear it." In the next year the missionary society decided that the Indian mission be recommended also for the present year if the necessary means are at hand.

Meanwhile a mission had been established at *Sebewaing,* Huron Co., which held out promises of great success. In the biography of Rev. Schmid, written by his son, we read the following: "In the spring of 1845 three missionaries, Auch, Dumser, and Sinke were sent to the Indians at Sebewaing. Early in the morning three wagons halted before the parsonage, the neighbors appeared, and loaded the wagons with provisions, furniture, clothing, etc., which the congregation had contributed. When that work was finished, the cause of the mission was entrusted to God with song and prayer. As the party began its journey, we accompanied it with our eyes until it disappeared from view..... It was no easy matter to travel the 125 miles leading thru the primeval forest and the swamps."

For a number of years the Pennsylvania society continued its support of the mission, in 1847 a letter being read from Rev. F. Schmid, "in which he expresses his obligations to our society for appropriating the sum of $100 to the mission among the Indians." In 1848 the Missionary Society reported that it had sent $125 to Brother Schmidt "who is laboring faithfully in the vineyard of the Lord, and who was much encouraged by this gift. The Committee hears that deep and abiding impressions have been made upon the neighboring Indian tribes by the mission. Rev. Schmidt writes, 'These heathen are beginning to receive the Word in humility and the salvation of their souls is being cared for. Many have already united with our Church, and we have reason to believe that they will remain steadfast in their faith. Our mission school is in a flourishing condition. Eighteen scholars are now in the mission house, which has made encouraging progress in the various branches of learning, but particularly in the knowledge of the doctrine of Jesus. Six of these scholars, after previous instruction, and according to their own desire, have been received into the fellowship of the Church thru Holy Baptism. It is indeed encouraging to note that these scholars leave heathenism in their early youth and return to the Shepherd and Bishop of their souls. Yes, dear brethren, our prayers and labors for the Indians are not in vain. Jesus Christ hears our supplication and to Him alone be the glory." Further remarks about the mission, its decline and failure, will be made in connection with the Bethany

Indian Mission of Loehe and the *Missouri Synod*, to which we now turn our attention.

Rev. Wilhelm Loehe of Neuendettelsau in Bavaria, noted for his efforts in building up the Lutheran Church in America and for his inner mis-

Wilhelm Loehe

sion work, was very much interested in the Indians and one of the best friends the Red Man has ever had. He urged the "emergency men" sent out by him to obtain information about the feasibility of

a mission among the heathen natives. We cite from the instruction given to W. Hattstaedt, who emigrated in 1843 and brought the work of the *Michigan Synod* to the attention of Loehe. In paragragh 16 he is requested to communicate during his proposed trip to the West with the "Saxons" in Missouri, and among other things we have mentioned that he "receive their suggestions in regard to the American heathen tribes." Paragraph 19 reads: "In particular endeavor to find out what Lutheran, respectively German-Lutheran, congregations have been organized among or in the neighborhood of heathen Indian tribes, and consult with the brethren named in paragraph 16 regarding our desire to have pastors and missionaries in one person." Paragraph 20: "You are requested to gain detailed information concerning the missionaries of different denominations who are laboring among the heathen Indians, and to investigate what our brethren of the household of faith have done for those tribes, and how we ourselves might co-operate with already established Indian missions. One might perhaps learn considerably from the Moravian missions, to which you will kindly direct your attention."

The proposed trip to the West was not made, for Hattstaedt settled as pastor in Monroe, Michigan, where Rev. Schmid had laid the foundation. Thus he became acquainted with the missionary labors of the *Michigan Synod* and sent detailed information about the promising work to Loehe, at the same time suggesting that his own efforts might

be more successful if joined with those of the Lutherans already settled there.

Rev. Loehe, always willing to co-operate with other Lutherans, evidently was satisfied that such an arrangement with the *Michigan Synod* would provide an excellent opportunity to begin energetic work looking toward the Christianization of the Indians. At first it was planned to open a seminary for the training of missionaries, but this was speedily abandoned and the planting of a colony among the Indians substituted. It was thought that the testimony of a Christian life would greatly aid in the conversion of the Indians, who would thus view Christianity in its application, and the converted might be induced to try settled life. A result of these plans was the establishment of Frankenmuth (Courage of the Franks, or Bavarians) on the Saginaw river in 1845. The colonists who were willing to make such an experiment were mainly young peasants and mechanics from the neighborhood of Neuendettelsau.

The choice of the leader of the missionary settlement was a happy one. Friedrich August Craemer had passed his thirty-second year when in 1844 he offered his services to Loehe. After completing his university education he had been for a time tutor in Saxony and England, where at the University of Oxford he held a professorship, until the opposition of this man of strong character and iron will to the Puseyites made his position untenable. His "perfect knowledge" of English also would prove very valuable in approaching the Indians. When in the

spring of 1845 the organization of the colonists had been perfected by the adoption of an elaborate constitution governing their congregational affairs, Craemer was elected as their pastor and leader.

On May 20, 1845, the colonists sailed from Bremerhaven and landed fifty days later at New

Friedrich August Craemer

York. On July 17th they reached Monroe, Michigan, where Rev. Hattstaedt and his congregation welcomed them heartily. Rev. Schmid and missionary Auch also proved to be of great assistance in making the settlement. The place selected was 135 miles from Monroe to the north in the neighborhood of Saginaw City. The colonists went to Saginaw just as soon as possible and made it their headquarters until the purchase of a tract of 680 acres for $1,700 had been concluded. The begin-

ning of Frankenmuth is interestingly told by Prof. Th. Graebner in his pamphlet entitled *The Bavarian Settlements of the Saginaw Valley*, from which we quote.

"Soon after their arrival in Saginaw, Pastor Craemer, accompanied by some of his men and a surveyor, struck out for the primeval forest to inspect the land which had been recommended to them, and to have it surveyed. They travelled sixteen miles cross-country from Saginaw, partly over marshy ground. Dense woods covered the entire countryside. There stood the ancient giants of the forests, among them a thick underbrush which had been visited by no human foot except when the red huntsman had penetrated these fastnesses in order to track the wolf, the bear, and the deer.

"Where now is situated the old cemetery of the Frankenmuth congregation, the first blows of the ax were heard. This was probably in the month of August (1845). While the women remained in Saginaw, the men would set forth on Monday mornings with their tools, in order, first of all, to clear a piece of ground on which it was the intention to build two log-houses. After the unaccustomed labor the men would rest their weary members on rude bedding spread under a temporary shelter of boughs and branches. The pastor regularly led morning and evening devotions. Finally the huts were ready for occupancy. The 'Company Hut' was thirty feet in length, and was to serve as a shelter for the five couples and the two single men. The other log-house was intended for the pastor's

family and also for the conduct of divine services. There were doors in it, but no windows. The roof was not rain-proof, and during the frequent downpours tables and umbrellas had to be employed to keep the bedding dry. Nevertheless it was a shelter sufficient for the most urgent needs. Now the women, the baggage, and all household goods were loaded on ox-carts, and the trip from Saginaw to Frankenmuth was successfully accomplished."

The real purpose in planting the colony was not forgotten. Seventy acres of land was set apart for the benefit of the mission. Already in Saginaw the colonists had made the acquaintance of Chippewa Indians, and as soon as the colony was established and Craemer's health permitted, the missionary took energetic steps to bring the Gospel to the Indian village twenty miles away. He was fortunate in securing the services of Jim Gruet, a half-blood of French-Canadian extraction, who acted as his interpreter. Beginning with the spring of 1846, regular visits were also made to the Kakawlin, Swan, Chippewa, Pine, and Bell rivers. Some of these places were from fifty to seventy miles from Frankenmuth, and the trips generally had to be made on foot. In time three main preaching places were visited once a month. The hardships endured during all kinds of weather in the trackless forest and the wigwams may easily be imagined, and several times the missionary nearly lost his life in crossing Saginaw Bay. Craemer also tried to induce the Indians to settle at Frankenmuth, but only one man

with his children and grandchildren, the medicine man Old Jim, accepted the invitation.

Naturally Rev. Craemer paid special attention to the children, for if the Indians could be induced to entrust them to his care, the adults would in turn be influenced. In this he was successful. The influential chief Bemassikeh was the first to comply with the missionary's request and turned his two sons over to him. When some time later he honored his "friend" with a visit of ten days, the number of pupils increased to five. Later five additional children were secured thru the co-operation of Sauaban, another chief. The ice being once broken, others followed, so that in 1846, one year after the establishment of Frankenmuth, the missionary had thirty children under his care.

What labor the instruction and supervision of these children of nature involved, may readily be imagined! The sympathetic help of Mrs. Craemer was here of inestimable value. She herself has told us of her experiences with these savages. A thoro cleaning was the first number on the program. Then a suitable dress had to be provided. This was followed by an elementary course dealing with the essentials of civilized customs and table manners, a course which sometimes extended over a long period. And even then success did not always crown the efforts, for sometimes the innate love of the woods and a life without restraint proved too strong, and the Indian boy would seek the native camp in spite of parental displeasure. Crowded quarters made the situation still more difficult; the

parsonage had to serve at the same time for church and school purposes, besides sheltering the family of the interpreter. But the unselfish work bore fruit, and the missionary and his wife were re-paid by the love of the children, who clung to Mrs. Craemer as to a mother. When the new church, necessitated thru a large increase in the colony during 1846, was dedicated at Christmas, three Indian children could be baptized, receiving the names of Abraham, Magdalene, and Anna.

Rev. Craemer and his helpmeet looked upon the arduous task as a labor of love. This is especially seen from a letter which he wrote in 1848 to the "Lutheraner," a church paper published in St. Louis. In this report he speaks with delight about the transformation which civilization worked with his charges, of which already nineteen had been baptized. Interestingly he contrasts their life in the woods and the camp with that of civilization. The dirt and squalor had given way to cleanliness, so that the ruddy faces in their new setting were a pleasing sight. Regular instruction also began. The children were taught to spell, to read, and to write both English and German. Special emphasis was laid upon singing and instruction in religion, where Luther's Small Catechism served as a manual. On Sundays the children would first voluntarily attend the German service, reverently joining in the recitation of the Lord's Prayer and the Apostles' Creed. In their own service, which followed, they sang hymns in their native language, devoutly recited the prayers, and listened attentively to the

lessons from Genesis and the Gospels. Manual training was not wholly neglected, special emphasis being laid upon the sewing and the fancy work of the girls.

Until 1846 the Frankenmuth colony as also the Indian mission was under the supervision of the *Michigan Synod*, to which Craemer with Hattstaedt and others belonged. But in this year all connection with the synod was severed on account of its lax confessional standpoint. Other ties, however, were soon knit. For in the following year Craemer became one of the founders of the *Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States*, which made him secretary of its mission board. As such he was directed to ask Loehe to have the Central Mission Society of Bavaria transfer the mission to the synod, which was finally done two years later.

The Indians had shown great confidence in Craemer by sending their children more than sixty miles to school. It is true, the Methodists tried to hinder the good work, but they received no encouragement from chief Bemassikeh, who time and again sought advice at the Lutheran colony. To further their plans, they spread all kinds of rumors. If the natives would not adhere to their party, they were in danger of being murdered by the soldiers. It was also claimed that all who were baptized by the Lutherans were to be sent to England and there sold as slaves. But one of the Indians made a trip to England as a member of a theatrical troupe and on his return testified that that country was inhabited by great numbers of people and even allowed

thousands to leave the island. However, these slanders were not without effect, which showed itself in the marked decrease of the number of Indian children attending the school. But when the Indian agent vouched for the character of the missionary and made it clear that the Indians might adhere to any mission, a great change took place, and the number of children increased.

Soon the work grew beyond the strength of one man. The trip to the Pine river always consumed a full week, and to look after the steadily growing congregation at Frankenmuth kept Craemer fully occupied. When an assistant had become absolutely necessary, an appeal was sent to Loehe, who endorsed the request and communicated it to the Mission Society at Dresden. That body sent Rev. E. R. Baierlein, who had been designated as missionary for India, sickness, however, preventing his sailing at the appointed time. The new missionary arrived in 1847. He took over part of Craemer's work and bent all efforts on learning the Chippewa language. A log-house was built, one-half being utilized by Baierlein's family, while the other part served as a school room. Much attention was also given to the Indians on the Pine river, to which Baierlein made several trips.

And soon the relations were to become still closer. The persistent efforts of the Methodists to gain entrance evidently hastened the development. At his visit to Frankenmuth during July, 1847, chief Bemassikeh complained bitterly about their conduct. But he had given the following

characteristic answer to the endeavors of the slanderers: "The German blackcoat visited me first; we are friends and wish to remain such. But you I do not like. You howl early and late, and leap and move hands and legs as if you would jump into Heaven. When a short time ago my son died, I also lamented, for he was my son. But you howl without cause, until God shall give you a cause; then indeed you may howl." When in the fall of the same year Baierlein returned the visit, the chief proposed that his white friend settle among the tribe and instruct old and young alike. However, as the men were on a hunting expedition, definite arrangements were somewhat delayed, for such an important matter could be decided only by a council of the whole tribe.

According to agreement Baierlein returned to the Indian village in May, 1848, accompanied by a half-blood as guide and interpreter. The whole tribe was in camp, but he found them almost starved on account of the food shortage, which caused Baierlein to call the place *Bethany,* which means house of misery. In the morning after his arrival a council was held, which the missionary later described in his book *Im Urwalde. Bei den roten Indianern* (*In the Primeval Forest. Among the Red Men*). About nine o'clock the men appeared in their best, while women were also present. The proceedings were in accord with Indian custom. The chief presided and addressed the audience at some length, his speech making a distinctly favorable impression. Its main points the interpreter reproduced in Eng-

lish. The chief pointed out the degeneration of the tribe, which had caused him to invite the paleface to settle among them and to give them aid. But before making a decision, he wanted to hear the opinion of all the men, which would determine his action. The chief was followed by Baierlein, who spoke in English, using short sentences, which the interpreter immediately translated. Being uncertain whether he would be allowed to settle among the tribe, he took this opportunity to outline in some detail the road leading to salvation. On his own part he made two promises: he would point out to them the way to eternal life, in order that they might be happy after death. He also promised to teach their children to read, to write, and to figure, which would enable them to read God's Word, and to keep their accounts, thereby removing the constant worry due to the dishonest dealings of the traders. In turn he made two requests: the Indians were to send their children to school daily and regularly, and they themselves should attend the divine services on Sundays. In closing he asked them to consider the matter and to give him a definite answer.

A long silence followed. Tho the speech had had the desired effect, the men were awaiting the initiative of their leader. When he had given his assent, one after another the men rose and spoke in similar terms. Once more the chief addressed the warriors, exhorting them in his impressive manner. Then he approached the missionary and with a hearty and prolonged handshake received him into

the tribe. The braves followed his example. The chief's son called him father, and "my father" became Baierlein's name among the Indians. He was to dwell among a savage heathen tribe, far from the nearest white settlement, swallowed up, as it were, by the primeval forest. But as a member of the tribe he was protected against insult, injury, and interference with his work, as no one would dare to commit an act which constituted an offense against the whole tribe. Soon Baierlein moved his household effects to Bethany and made his permanent home there.

As the Indian village had thus become the center of the missionary work, Frankenmuth lost its original importance. Most of the Indian children were transferred to the mission school taught by Baierlein. And when, in 1850, Craemer was called as professor to the Practical Seminary at Ft. Wayne, missionary work at Frankenmuth was abandoned entirely. Altogether Craemer had baptized thirty-one Indians.

At Bethany a wigwam, furnished thru the generosity of the chief, served as temporary quarters for Baierlein and his wife. The inconveniences, however, described by the missionary in detail, made an early change advisable, to say the least. It would have been folly to brave the rigors of the northern winter thus unprepared. The erection of a log-house was therefore decided upon. As no help could be expected from the Indians, six colonists from Frankenmuth traveled the seventy miles to Bethany in order to assist the missionary. Soon

a typical log-house, built of oak and fir, made its appearance, tho the dimensions, 30x20, were somewhat larger than usual, and the roof of shingles. It was divided into two parts, the smaller serving as study and bedroom, the larger being at the same time pantry, kitchen, dining room, and parlor. During the week the children were instructed here, and on Sundays divine services held. The furniture was primitive, most of it having been fashioned by the missionary himself. The log cabin was considered the wonder of the village. On inspection the Indians especially admired the fire place, which afforded an easy exit for the smoke, which thus did not fill the house and trouble the eyes of the people. Later this log-house was torn down and enlarged.

Manual labor soon changed the surroundings. The immediate neighborhood was cleared of the majestic forest trees, and a garden laid out. Corn, beets, carrots, potatoes, pumpkins, etc. repaid bountifully the care bestowed upon them, while fruit trees and flowers added an esthetic touch to the whole. Year by year the clearing was enlarged, at last comprising eight acres, and hogs, cows, and chickens were added to the possessions of the missionary. Thus the block house with its surroundings appeared as the scene of a busy, yet happy and contented life.

But the missionary was unable to enjoy home life for any length of time. His spiritual duties often took him from Bethany, and the necessities of life had to be brought from Saginaw, more than sixty miles distant. Trips for procuring provisions

were generally made during the winter when the frozen streams served as a convenient road. The trusty horse with the small sleigh could generally be counted upon to complete the journey without a mishap. The situation, however, became dangerous when it began to thaw suddenly and the ice on the rapids became thin and brittle. Baierlein relates some narrow escapes from the cold waters when the horse with the loaded sleigh had broken thru the ice. Almost equally great the danger became when deep snow covered the rivers and blocked the roads. Under such conditions the destination could not always be reached before evening, and Baierlein was forced to camp in the open. Little discomfort resulted when he was accompanied by an Indian, who could be depended upon to select the proper place for a camp and cut the firewood. Wrapped in a buffalo robe and warmed by a bright fire which kept the howling wolves at a distance, he slept undisturbed. But in the absence of the experienced Indian the story was an entirely different one. For the missionary was generally unable to select the proper camping place and to find enough trees of the white ash, so necessary for a bright burning fire in the open. Then day-break was awaited with the greatest anxiety.

Rev. Baierlein was not satisfied with looking after the Indian tribe among which he had settled, but also interested himself in the welfare of others. These trips were generally made in the spring and summer, at first in company with an interpreter. The dangers and hardships encountered are interest-

ingly told by the undaunted pioneer missionary himself. The crossing of streams and getting lost in the forest were especially feared when the missionary was alone. Once Baierlein strayed into a morass, narrowly escaping with his life. His delicate constitution was also unequal to the hardships of long rides and the inclement weather. As a natural consequence he was often ill. At one time sickness forced him to stay two weeks with a settler, and even then he reached his home only with the greatest difficulty. To all this must be added the danger due to hostile Indians. At one time, for instance, a tribe had been located after an exhausting search, and then was found to be intoxicated to a man. As the fire water had aroused the passions to full fury, a hurried retreat had to be beaten. The neighboring tribe at the instigation of the chief refused them hospitality, and having once camped in the open without any provisions, they reached all but worn out and exhausted a hospitable roof only at the end of the second day. The hostile whiskey dealers would spread rumors that the Indians were plotting against his life, probably being only too glad if the savage had taken the cue.

Naturally the main missionary work centered in Bethany at the log house of Baierlein. Here also the Sunday services were held, and according to the agreement reached at the council, were fairly well attended by the Indians. The resemblance to regular divine worship, however, was at first slight. The audience would sit on benches or dispose itself on the floor. The sermon could not be preached

without many annoyances and interruptions. The children were accustomed to play, and some of their piercing cries drew forth words of reproach which added to the noise. The women in turn gossiped and attracted the attention of the audience. Meanwhile the men smoked and listened to what the missionary told them with the help of an interpreter. But they gave him by no means their undivided attention. Sometimes one would ask in a loud voice for fire or step up to the fire place and light his pipe. It also happened that one of the braves approached the speaker, shook his hand, and dryly remarked that he did not hate him on account of his residence in Bethany, but his words he did not intend to follow. If Baierlein asked if they had understood him, one might answer indifferently, "Oh, yes, I have understood it; for I have heard it more than once." If he asked the audience to ask questions, an explanation of the aurora borealis might be desired, all very discouraging for the missionary, especially at first when he could communicate with the Indians only thru an interpreter. Some of the natives missed the services altogether, sometimes occasioned by their inability to reckon time. Such persons were advised to provide themselves with a stick on which they cut a sign each day, and to come on the seventh.

The school, which was opened in August, 1848, with an initial attendance of eight, showed greater promise. Chief Bemassikeh was especially interested in it, for at first he came every day and watched the transformation of the unruly children

into well behaved pupils. As some orphans were intrusted to Baierlein's care and greater interest shown in the school, the attendance increased to nineteen during the latter part of the year. The first Christmas at Bethany could be celebrated according to German fashion. There were presents, and for the festival occasion the missionary with the help of the interpreter had translated Luther's hymn "Vom Himmel hoch da komm ich her" (Good news from heaven the angels bring), the first two lines of which read in the Chippewa language as follows:

'Widi gishigong ishpiming
Kidonjibiotisinim,
Nimpidon tibajimowin
Wenishishing keget 'nawon.

The children were very anxious to learn the words and rejoiced to sing them, especially when the brilliant Christmas tree shed radiance and happiness everywhere.

It might be well to point out here what Baierlein in course of time did for the sound instruction of the pupils. The study of the Chippewa language had of course been diligently continued all this while. In order to facilitate the instruction and to make it more beneficial, the missionary wrote a primer. It consisted of two parts with an appendix. The first part served as an aid in spelling, the Chippewa words being rendered into English. The second part was a reader, the lessons being taken from the Bible, while the unknown Chippewa words were explained. The appendix contained a few prayers and hymns. Baierlein himself made a trip

to Detroit, which was about 150 miles from Bethany, and in the winter of 1852 saw the books thru the press. They proved to be of great help in the school. The children became fond of the reader, being especially delighted with the stories from the Bible, which they would read to their parents and friends. The hymns were eagerly memorized and the German tunes correctly rendered.

The school also furnished the first candidate for Baptism. When the fourth part of Luther's Catechism was explained, four boys and one girl expressed a desire to be baptized. The parents made no objection, and in the early part of 1849 the children together with the infant daughter of the missionary and some relatives of the chief were baptized by Rev. Craemer of Frankenmuth, in all ten Indians. On this occasion was sung the Indian rendering of "Blessed Jesus, we are here," the first stanza reading as follows:

Oma sa nindaiamin,
O Tebeningeion Jesus,
Chidodamang eshiang
Ima kitikitowining,
Mab' abinoji k'dodisig,
Iu chiwiawangomod.

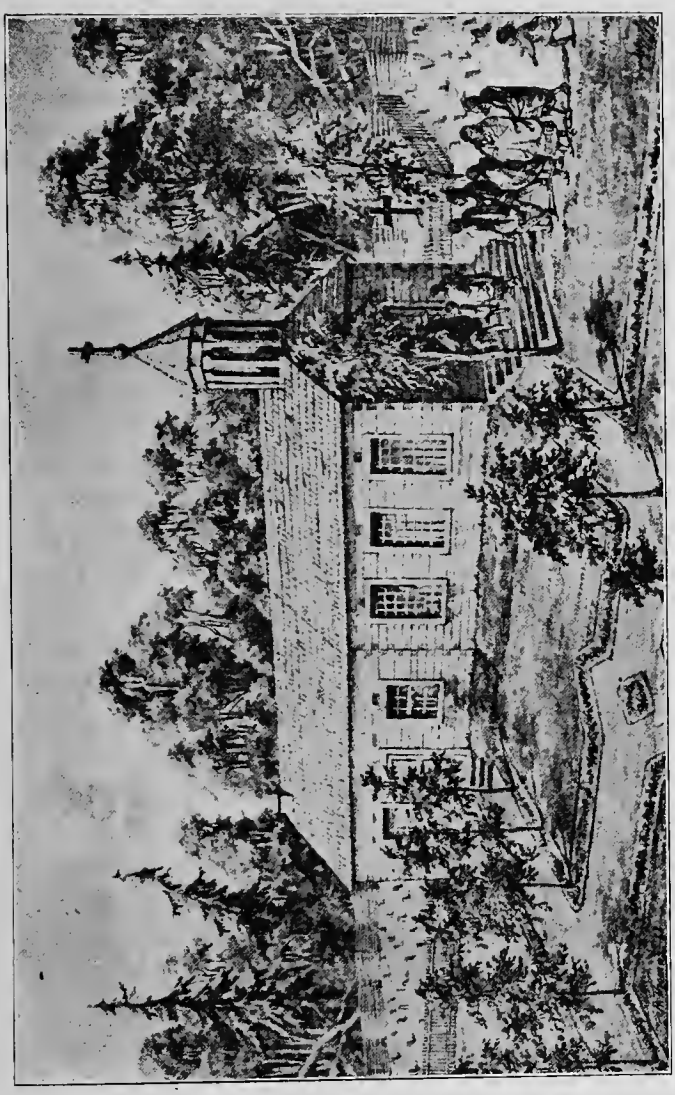
During the latter part of the same year three others received Baptism, among them as the first adult the widowed daughter of the old chief. Others followed in rapid succession, there being at Baierlein's departure for India, in 1853, a congregation of sixty members. Some of the conversions were rather remarkable. Blind Sarah, counting a

hundred summers, had steadily refused to accept Christ until at the first Christian funeral at Bethany, that of her niece, she broke down and entered the list of the catechumens. Ever after she attended divine services faithfully, even when this involved great physical exertion. Baierlein's neighbor at Bethany was Pemagojin, who proved a great source of help to Mrs. Baierlein during her husband's absence. Almost daily he would visit his friend, who showed him Bible pictures and sought to gain religious influence over him. For three years he remained unreceptive, all this time comparing the life of the missionary with his teaching. When he found that they agreed, he gladly embraced Christianity. The old chief Bemassikeh remained the steadfast friend of the mission, but was never baptized, postponing the rite from one spring to the next. He was suffering from tuberculosis, and had an eager desire to regain his health. The missionary could only give him relief, but no promise of complete restoration. Then he sought the help of the medicine men of his tribe and also sent for famous doctors elsewhere. His lung trouble became worse in time, and during a trip of the missionary he suddenly died. However, on his deathbed he warned his relatives and people against the traders and the Methodists, exhorting them not to forsake the "German black coat." He also urged them to become Christians, a step he himself would have taken if his life had been prolonged.

The mission had made rapid strides during the

few years of Baierlein's work, and the meeting place proved too small. Sometimes there was not even standing room for the growing congregation and the visiting heathen. Therefore the missionary decided to build a log church abutting his house, a door from his study leading into it. It was planned by the missionary himself and finished with the help of others, only the tower giving no little trouble to the unskilled workers. On the whole it made a very respectable appearance. The tower was adorned by a cross, and a bell cast at Chicago served to indicate the time of worship. The inside was very dignified. It contained benches, altar, and pulpit. The altar and pulpit decorations were presented by pious women of Dresden, the Count of Einsiedeln giving a crucifix and candelabrum, and the Leipzig student society "Philadelphia" a communion set. These gifts Miessler, a student designated as Baierlein's assistant, brought over with him in 1851. The whole structure including the bell had necessitated an outlay of 230 dollars. Tho a small sum in the light of modern expenditures, the missionary lacked the necessary funds. An American merchant at Saginaw was so kind as to lend one hundred dollars, demanding neither note nor interest. Subsequently friends of the mission enabled Baierlein to discharge the debt.

The church now became the center of the spiritual work in the village. There were two services each Sunday, one on Wednesday and one on Friday, while the bell would call the members of the mission



Bethany Indian Church

Bethany

congregation to a short prayer meeting every morning and evening. The services were now less informal than at first. On the basis of Loehe's order of service Baierlein prepared a liturgy in the language of the Indians. The congregation eagerly sang the hymns he translated and which his assistant taught them. The conduct of the Indians during the services also showed a decided improvement. The place was kept cleaner, the men no longer smoked, while the women no longer gossiped, and the children no longer played. This decorum prevailing in the house of God naturally impressed also the heathen. Here the marriages were solemnized and the funeral services held, the corpses of the Christians finding a resting place at the neighboring cemetery according to Christian custom.

The healthy spiritual life also showed itself in the improvement of material matters. The station became a real rallying point for the Indians, and their roving habits more and more subsided. Civilization had become a force. The influence of the medicine men waned, and the drinking bouts became less frequent. Much of this was due to the influence of the missionary. After the death of the chief, he was invited to take part in the deliberations of the council, which now met in the school house. But Baierlein in his prudent manner spoke only when asked his opinion. He advised the Indians to clear more land and thus make themselves more independent of hunting. The advice was followed, and from that time on the women raised more corn, beans, potatoes, pumpkins, and other vegetables,

so that such famines as Baierlein had experienced at Bethany in the first years were a thing of the past. The missionary also tried to persuade them to substitute substantial log-houses for their frail bark wigwams. But for a long time none would make such a daring innovation. The widowed daughter of the chief was the first to build such a log-house, Baierlein contributing the windows and the nails for the roof. When others followed her example, he continued his generous attitude. Thus the congregation had taken long strides toward becoming an organized Christian community.

But this had not been achieved without obstacles and opposition of various kinds. Before we pointed out the indifferent attitude of the adults, which at first caused Baierlein many a gloomy hour. Only gradually did the Word of God exert its power in the hard hearts of the heathen. The dealers in fire-water were naturally violently opposed to the work and the restraining influence of the missionary. Besides openly threatening violence, they spread rumors to the effect that the Indians plotted the murder of the missionary, probably being only too glad to use them as dupes to effect his removal. With two dealers residing in Bethany, the Indians lacked no opportunity to obtain the poisonous fire-water. Not satisfied that the men and women engaged in frequent drinking bouts, they bent their efforts upon seducing the recently baptized youths and maidens, in which they were not seldom successful. Even of Baierlein's interpreter they made a trader and drunkard.

They found valuable allies in the Methodists, who from the beginning had tried to oust the Lutherans and to take possession of the field. This had been one reason why Baierlein settled in Bethany. These unscrupulous men, mostly Indians without adequate training for the ministry, were not above any tricks if that would serve to gain an entrance. In disorderly revivals strong pressure was brought to bear upon the Indians. Being unsuccessful in gaining converts thru emotionalism, other tactics were employed. Alluring promises and material advantages served as the bait to lead the souls astray. Their chief endeavor, as in the case of Craemer, was to discredit Baierlein among the Indians. Ridiculous lies, that children would be sent to Europe, that the old men would be forced into war and all his adherents compelled to move west of the Mississippi, were no longer believed even by the credulous natives. Charges of fraud also made no impression. Then a new story was concocted by them. The Indians were gravely told that the missionary had been exiled from Germany because his father had participated in the crucifixion of Christ. Only simple and childlike people like the Indians, who lived wholly in the present, not possessing so much as a term for the past and future, could be expected to be duped by such statements.

At first these degenerate Methodists had little success, but proved a very disturbing factor for the growth and tranquillity of the congregation. Those lies called for denials and a defense of the own position. In the course of the wrangle the In-

dians naturally began to look upon the preaching of the Gospel as a business transaction, where each man as a good trader discredited the wares of his competitor while recommending his own merchandise. And the ceaseless attacks severely tried the patience and courage of the missionary, who sometimes was almost at the point of giving up. But after such experiences the outlook would brighten again.

However, Baierlein's work among the Red Men was now rapidly drawing to a close. Delicate health alone had prevented his sailing to India in 1846. When his help was urgently needed there, the mission board recalled him from America in 1853. It certainly was no easy decision to leave such a promising field and the only recently gathered congregation. The absence of a strong community spirit at Bethany and the regrettable lack of vision and initiative on the part of Miessler might have caused him to hesitate. But he consoled himself with the thought that God had called him to the new work, and that Miessler as his assistant for one year and a half was not altogether without experience. The mission board at home doubtless had the first claim upon his services.

The announcement of his leaving, which he communicated to his congregation at the end of a farewell sermon based upon the passage of Paul's departure from Miletus, caused profound grief. While the men with bent heads tried to maintain their boasted composure, the women and children covered their faces and wept bitterly. The assur-

ance that they would not be abandoned, hardly made an impression at first. "The father intends to leave his children, and we shall be scattered again," was the universal lament. The mission board of the synod had asked Rev. Sievers of Frankentrost to be present at the farewell in order to lessen the grief of the Indians. In a congregational meeting which he convened, he pledged them the further support of the synod. Then the men, one after the other, arose, and in a dignified manner gave expression to their regret over Baierlein's leaving and their fears for the future. Not only Christians, but also heathen were present, and one of the latter, Misquaamaquod (Red Cloud), gave utterance to what all felt: "Even if every one of us should rise and stretch out his hands in order to hold back our father, we could not hold him back. He has been called and he will go. However, if we could only get a man in his place who would be like him, we might be well served. But if not, then I fear that we shall be as a pile of dry leaves when the wind blows upon them."

The last days before Baierlein's departure his house was thronged with visitors. The old blind Sarah came twice a day in order to see "her father." Pemagojin also made his appearance, but steadfastly declared that he would not witness Baierlein's departure. He kept his word. The day previous he came for the last time. When the missionary tried to console him, he suddenly rose, embraced and kissed his friend, then disappeared in the forest. This was the last Baierlein saw of him. The scene

on the day of departure, May 19th, the missionary has described in a touching manner. Leave was taken from the members of the congregation. For the last time Baierlein saw his school room and knelt at the altar of the church, scenes that for six years had witnessed a labor of love. Then he tore himself away, and while Rev. Sievers and the Indian congregation sang the hymn "All Glory be to God on High," the boat bearing the missionary and his family floated down the river. It ended Baierlein's activities among the American Indians, and from now on he was engaged for thirty-three years as missionary in East India. After his retirement he wrote interestingly about his work on the two continents, dying at the ripe age of eighty-one years, in 1901.

When Rev. Baierlein left Bethany, heathenism had received its deathblow there. He reports that only one family still lived according to the old heathen tradition, tho a few had not yet joined the congregation. These also were convinced of the truth of Christianity, but lacked the moral courage to take the last decisive step. Those indifferent to Christianity also showed no interest in heathendom. The process of civilizing the Indians was accelerated, and their material affairs had vastly improved. As the attractive log-houses became their real home, there was less roaming in the woods. Their dress looked neater and cleaner, and the home life improved. Attendance at divine services was now more regular, and many a genuine attempt to apply God's Word to every-day affairs could be observed.

Under the charge of Rev. Miessler the progress made at first was distinctly gratifying, and augured well for the future. Several people who until then had been indifferent were won over. Dangers threatening from the Methodists were also successfully warded off. These, optimistic after Baierlein's departure, made another attempt to destroy the congregation. But wholly unsuccessful in gaining a foothold at Bethany, they were also unable to persuade the Indians to leave their camp and to move to a place where every family was promised three acres of land. Their efforts even reacted upon them. The widow of the deceased chief Bemassikeh had apostatized already during Baierlein's time; now, probably as a result of the unfair methods used by the Methodists, she penitently returned to the Lutheran Church. The congregation was furthermore increased thru the conversion of Miessler's interpreter and the addition of an American family.

The school was in a flourishing condition, an assistant having been found in the person of a certain Mr. Roeder. He had been conducting a mission school at the former station at Sebewaing, which had to be abandoned in 1853, as the Indians did not show the necessary interest. In Bethany the situation was different. There the parents sent their children regularly, while these in turn showed commendable zeal. Some of the older children had acquired a fair facility in reading the New Testament, a second class had mastered spelling, and a third had just taken it up.

One of the happiest experiences of Miessler at Bethany, tho it also proved the last, was the first Communion service, during Christmas of 1853. This called for careful preparation on the part of the missionary. Several weeks previous Miessler announced the event, and in two sermons explained the nature of the Sacrament. In order to render less difficult the self-examination, he translated, with the help of an interpreter, Luther's questions on the Lord's Supper. Visits to the different members gave an opportunity for further discussion. But as the Methodists had conducted themselves unseemly and had gone into hysterics at the celebration of the Lord's Supper, the majority showed a natural reserve, tho nearly all took part in the instruction. Only four signified their willingness to partake of the body and blood of Christ, but these were attentive and serious, rejoicing in the fact that they were privileged to enter into such close communion with their Lord.

But the flourishing state of the mission did not last long. Soon a gradual decay of the spiritual and congregational life set in. This was hastened by the fate which overtook the missions in the neighborhood. The station at Sebewaing, founded by Rev. Schmid and for a number of years supported by the missionary society of the *Pennsylvania Synod*, had been abandoned by this time. Rev. Auch had worked here for some time with gratifying results. On account of its lax standards he left the *Michigan Synod* and in 1849 became a member of the newly organized *Missouri Synod*, which also took over the

mission. From now on dissensions hindered the work, which more and more proved to be fruitless, and had to be abandoned in 1851. At the request of some Indians a school was opened later with Mr. Roeder as teacher, but as no results were obtained, its brief existence came to an end in 1853. At the abandonment of the mission station at Sebewaing, Rev. Auch moved to Sheboyank, where another mission was conducted. Here Rev. Maier, at first connected with the *Michigan Synod,* but since 1849 a member of the *Missouri Synod,* had worked with great energy and enthusiasm until his death, in 1850. Rev. Auch labored for several years in Sheboyank, but as he could not speak the Indian language and an interpreter could not always be secured, a radical change seemed advisable. As the Indians gave their consent, it was thought best to combine the members of Sheboyank and Bethany at the latter place, the consolidation to take place in 1855.

But the plan proved the undoing of the work at Sheboyank. When all seemed ready for the removal, a trader who was interested in the continued residence of the Indians at Sheboyank succeeded in undermining the trust of the natives in Auch. He ridiculed their belief in Christianity and claimed that they were cheated of their lands by the missionary. This was all the more effective since the traders as a rule were halfbloods who spoke the Indian and the English language equally well, while Auch was unable to counteract this influence. These Indians had only recently been converted, and not being sufficiently grounded in the doctrines of

Christianity, proved easy victims to the determined propaganda of brazen lies under the semblance of truth. When their influential chief was once won over, Auch's pleadings proved futile. In the name of his tribe the chief declared that they would no longer be cheated by the preachers of the Bible, the source of all evil and vices in the world. As the whites, they would enjoy all the benefits of this life. With that they fell back into heathenism, Rev. Auch finally accepting a call to a white congregation.

Soon the congregation at Bethany also degenerated, tho a few events like the studying of an Indian boy for the ministry gladdened the heart of the missionary. The fire-water exerted its far-reaching influence. The application of church discipline in aggravated cases also weakened the congregation, the suspended members being received with open arms by the lax Methodists. The notorious life led by the traders and nominal Christians not only reduced the church membership, but often also served as a bar to further additions. Thus a number of those expected to join the congregation never took the decisive step. Finally, when a part of the congregation lost faith in the integrity of the missionary, the decline became more rapid. Forced by the miserable conditions existing among the Indians, the mission board at first had distributed provisions. This the Indians wished to have continued indefinitely, altho their material situation had improved decidedly. Naturally the mission board desired to make the Indians self-supporting as soon as possible. This event seemingly supported the Methodists in

their claim that the conduct of the Lutheran missionaries had changed, and that now they showed their true colors. All admonitions not to identify Christianity with a religion feeding the belly proved in vain. These remonstrances resulted, on the other hand, in accusations against Miessler, and the mission board was petitioned to remove him and his assistant. The indifference of the adults toward the services and of the children toward the school plainly showed the effect of the slanders. Several lapses, drunkenness, disorderly conduct, and open defiance of the missionary also proved that the degeneration was taking its course. Tho not a few families remained faithful, and conditions became better temporarily, no permanent improvement could be noted.

As often, the encroachment of civilization brought danger to the mission station, for its tendency has always been toward the removal of the Indians. As that part of Michigan gradually became settled, the Government, under pressure from the whites, decided to effect the removal of all Indians in Michigan to Isabella Co., which was about twenty-five miles from Bethany. There each family was promised eighty acres of land, while schools, mills, and good roads should also be built at Government expense. In 1855 the Indians were prevailed upon to sign the new treaty, and soon afterwards the removal from Bethany began in spite of all that Miessler and the mission board could do. Four years later most of the members had left the station, of the rest some lived scattered thru the forest, others joined the Methodists or returned to

their former idolatry. According to Miessler's statement, only four widows showed a longing for the Word of God, and the work became very discouraging. In these years the missionary often sought consolation at the cemetery, where the graves of Christian Indians helped him to forget the keen disappointment caused by the hardheartedness of the living.

The end was to come soon. In 1860 most of the Indians had removed to Isabella Co., and the synod requested Miessler to follow his charges, the possibility of returning to Bethany to be left open. The farm there was rented, while the old log church, out of repair and tottering, was pulled down. Later the land belonging to the mission was sold, with the exception of the cemetery in which the bodies of twenty Lutheran Indians were resting. At *Mt. Pleasant,* Isabella Co., a new mission was organized, which for a time looked very promising. The bell from Bethany did service in the newly erected log church. While at first divine services and the school were well attended, gradually the conditions prevailing at Bethany returned, only a few members remaining loyal. The exhortations of Miessler proved to be in vain. As the indifference of the Indians increased, they broke all pledges and promises. Finally, in 1869, the synod recalled Rev. Miessler, who accepted a call from a white congregation. The promising work among the Chippewas had been destroyed by the same causes that time and again have proved the downfall of Indian missions. Denominational rivalry and the fire-

water of the whites had a large share in accomplishing the result; but the decisive factor proved to be civilization with its vices, the life of men and women who in words and deeds bring reproach upon the name Christian.

The same year also witnessed the abandonment of the last mission station among the Chippewas by the *Missouri Synod.* It was located on the upper Mississippi, close to Gull Lake, the postoffice being *Crow Wing,* in Minnesota. In the spring of 1857 Rev. Cloeter began the work, for a time assisted by Henry Craemer, son of Prof. Craemer, who served as interpreter. After 1859 Cloeter had sole charge of the extensive field. At first the missionary made long tours thru the wild country in order to come in contact with the Indian tribes. The Rabbit Lake Indians were at first successfully approached, while later many others felt his influence. The confidence of many heathen was soon won by his evident sincerity. The Chippewa language was diligently studied, and after five years of severe application Cloeter was able to work without an interpreter. It seemed as if all circumstances were favorable for effective and successful work.

But these hopes were blasted in the summer of 1862, when the Indian insurrection drew within its circle nearly all the tribes of the great Northwest. The Chippewas were also affected. Many persons, caught unawares, were killed, and Cloeter was also in great danger. He narrowly escaped with his family thru the friendship of the chief of the Rabbit Lake Indians, who warned the missionary of the

approaching danger and held the Indians back till Cloeter was safe. The mission station was destroyed and the work hard hit. Tho the missionary had saved his life, his books and translations were lost. Undaunted by these misfortunes, Cloeter resolutely set to work again. But as after a number of years no tangible results could be shown, the last mission station among the Chippewa Indians was closed in 1869.

Chapter IV

THE MISSION OF THE IOWA SYNOD IN THE NORTHWEST

DOCTRINAL differences that had arisen between Loehe and the *Missouri Synod* finally led to an open break in 1853, with the resultant withdrawal of Loehe's co-operation at the request of the synod. Henceforth he was also no longer contributing toward the Chippewa Mission, for which the *Missouri Synod* in 1849 had assumed full responsibility. But instead of abandoning his activities in America, as had been suggested to him, Loehe transferred them to a new field, namely, to the state of Iowa, praying that the work there might be continued unhindered by intra-denominational strife. Tho this proved to be a forlorn hope, the labors there were not without important results. For already in the next year, in 1854, they led to the organization of a body sometimes spoken of as the German Iowa Synod, in so far a misnomer, as the language designation has long since been dropped and the *Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Iowa and Other States* is represented in more than twenty states of the Union.

However, Loehe's love for the Red Man was as strong as ever, and almost immediately steps were taken looking toward missionary work among the Indians. When, in 1854, M. Schueller arrived, he was considered a suitable man to start a mission in Minnesota, but as no favorable opportunity offered

itself, the plan had to be abandoned. In this and the following year Loehe succeeded in arousing interest for a mission among the Indians, with numerous pledges of financial support as the concrete evidence. Thus J. J. Schmidt, who had received his training at Neuendettelsau, Bavaria and who arrived in 1856, could be designated as missionary. He was fired with holy zeal for the undertaking, when at its meeting in 1856 the young and struggling synod boldly decided to begin a mission in conjunction with the *Buffalo Synod* and friends in Germany. As the Indians in the Great West were on the warpath, work among them in the immediate future was out of the question. Therefore Rev. Schmidt, accompanied by Rev. S. Fritschel, made a tour of investigation to Canada. They visited missionary Vogler of Hernhut, who was stationed at Moraviantown on the Canadian bank of the St. Clair river. From him the two men not only received advice, but also letters of introduction to the officials of the Canadian department of Indian Affairs. These, however, told them that there was no room for a mission among the Indians under their jurisdiction, adding that farther north the shores of Lake Superior and the region under control of the Hudson Bay Company might offer an opportunity. The approaching winter made any further investigation inadvisable, and so they returned to Detroit, where Rev. Fritschel was stationed, while Schmidt supplied during the winter the congregation at Dubuque and taught at the seminary, Rev. Grossman being on a trip to Germany.

The region recommended by the Canadian Indian officials was accordingly singled out for further investigation. In the early spring of 1857 Rev. Schmidt, accompanied by the student Sussner, set out from Detroit. Their journey, almost wholly by water, brought many hardships. When they arrived at Superior City, only recently founded on the western shore of Lake Superior, they were told to proceed farther north to Grand Portage, on the Canadian side of the lake. Their guide soon deserted, compelling them to row about 125 miles during unfavorable weather. Finally in the early part of July the missionaries reached the bay of Grand Portage and with it their destination.

The field was soon explored. But as inquiries among the different tribes met with no encouragement, the obstacles to a mission seemed insurmountable. Two of them were especially formidable. The Roman Catholics had already preempted the field, and each year a Jesuit priest came for a few months to Grand Portage. Furthermore, a Christian agent informed the missionaries that the Hudson Bay Company, in possession of the trade monopoly, did all in its power to prevent the establishment of Protestant missions, as it evidently feared that the outside world might gain information about the corrupt methods of the trading company. In spite of this unfavorable news, Schmidt and Sussner made an attempt to gain a footing among the Bois-forte Indians, first asking their permission to begin work. But the answer, evidently inspired by the Jesuit missionary who had only recently arrived at the

camp of the tribe, was anything but hopeful: "We like your person and figure, and would desire your services; but you are ignorant of our speech, and we want a teacher or missionary who speaks our language." All promises to acquire their speech availed nothing. As the approaching winter and lack of means made further investigations westward impossible, the disappointed missionaries finally left in September for Detroit, taking the same route they had used before. At the pastoral conference held at St. Sebald in November, Rev. Schmidt made his report. As a letter from Germany indicated that the friends of the mission there began to lose hope, it was deemed wise to revive the sunken spirits by sending a letter which outlined the main facts of the situation and implored the German friends to continue their support, especially as the missionary maintained an undismayed attitude.

Thus two efforts looking toward missionary work had utterly failed, and for a time the outlook was anything but encouraging. But as soon as the Indian war blew over, the prospects began to brighten. In Detroit Rev. Schmidt had become acquainted with a certain Mr. Redfield, a Government agent for the Crow Indians, whose territory extended along the Yellowstone and the Big Horn rivers in the present state of Montana. And in distinction to the warlike Sioux and other tribes, the Crows were peaceful and always had maintained a friendly attitude toward the whites, tho their reputation in other respects was anything but enviable. An early account mentions not only their physical

strength and beauty, but also their moral depravity, and to outlie a Crow was considered no mean achievement among the traders.

Mr. Redfield readily gave his consent when it was proposed that missionaries accompany his party to Crowland in the following spring. Such a favorable opportunity was eagerly embraced, and the necessary preparations were immediately made. As Schmidt's companion for the arduous undertaking, Moritz Braeuninger of the Wartburg Seminary at St. Sebald was selected. During the latter part of May, 1858, a steamer carried the party upstream from St. Louis, and it was fully a month later when it reached Fort Union, a trading station at the mouth of the Yellowstone river. Within that time the territory of seven different tribes had been traversed and more than 2,350 miles had been covered. According to treaty stipulations the Crows were to receive their "presents" at Fort Union, but the Mountain Crows insisted that they be brought to their own territory. As on account of shallow water the steamer could not proceed, two river flat boats were used instead. The trip became hazardous at times, for the boats had to be dragged over the rapids with ropes. Thus thirty-seven days were consumed to cover the comparatively short distance to Fort Sarpy, a station about fifty miles below the mouth of the Big Horn river.

At that time Fort Sarpy consisted of seven small, but strongly fortified houses, and as a typical frontier post it boasted of all the vices of civilization. The missionaries found life there intolerable. Al-

ready on the boats they had received much less consideration from the "Christian" fur traders than from two chiefs of the Crow Indians who accompanied the party from Fort Union on. Life among the heathen Indians, who to the number of 1,500 dwelt in 160 tents near the post, seemed decidedly preferable to a stay in a rude and degenerate community. Without a thoro acquaintance of the Indian language and customs the missionaries ventured among the tribe, where their reception was cordial. The chief Dachbizaschuch (head of a bear) entertained them in his own tent, and also provided horses for their convenience. Sharing the hardships of tribal life, and travelling from place to place, two months were profitably spent, eagerly employed by the missionaries in learning the language of their new friends. When toward autumn part of the Crows visited Deer Creek, a branch of the North Platte river, in order to make peace with a hostile tribe, Schmidt and Braeuninger accompanied them. Early in October the fort was reached, from which the missionaries continued their journey homeward, arriving at St. Sebald, Iowa, on the 25th of November.

The report which they submitted was distinctly encouraging. Not only had the Indians accorded them a warm welcome, but also requested them to stay. Since the two men, however, had been sent on a tour of investigation only, they were neither authorized nor prepared to take up the work immediately. But before they left, the Indians obtained the promise of their return the following

spring. "Only reluctantly did they let us depart, for they would rather have persuaded us to stay. A thousand times they asked us if we would really return when the winter had passed and the grass grew again. Some even offered to accompany us to Iowa, which we had to decline."

Under such favorable circumstances energetic steps looking toward a mission among the Crows were immediately taken. It was decided to establish a colony in Crowland, a pet idea of Loehe, who had tried a similar experiment in Michigan. The object here was two-fold. It was thought that it would solve the problem of provisions, which at that time commanded a prohibitive price in the Northwest. At the same time it was to serve as an inducement to converted Indians to try settled life, for the roving habit made difficult regular public worship and the much needed supplementary instruction, and also had an unfavorable effect on the new spiritual life. A plea for financial support was submitted to the Government, but the petition was not granted. However, the report of the missionaries brought substantial contributions from within the synods of Iowa and Buffalo, while the main share of the expenses was borne by friends in Germany, where the Central Mission Society of Bavaria, as the result of Loehe's untiring work, remained a stanch friend and supporter until the end. The Mission Society at Luebeck, under the direction of Dr. Lindenberg, also sent considerable sums.

Unforeseen events delayed the departure of the party until July 5, 1859. For various reasons, the

money consideration playing the chief part, the land route was decided upon. Even then lack of means prevented Kessler, Krebs, and a farmer from joining the party, which consisted of Schmidt, Braeuninger, Doederlein, and the student Seyler as missionaries, with Beck and Bunge as colonists. Their destination was Deer Creek, where they expected to meet the Indians. The start had been late, and on account of sickness and other delays the overland journey consumed more time than had been anticipated. Another disappointment awaited the party when it reached Deer Creek in the fall. No Crow Indians had made their appearance at the fort during the summer, compelling the missionaries to go into winter quarters 150 miles from the territory of their Indian friends. There they experienced a hard winter. Altho a Captain Reynolds showed them much kindness, the Indian agent at the station seems to have made the most of his opportunity. In order to supply the party with provisions in the spring, Schmidt and Doederlein had been sent back to Iowa.

The synod, however, was unable to grant the urgent request, the means being barely sufficient to support the missionaries during the winter and to finance the journey into Crowland. Under the leadership of Braeuninger the party resumed the journey in the early spring of 1860, and at the advice of Captain Reynolds a mission station was built on the Powder river, a branch of the Yellowstone. It was erroneously thought that the location was within the territory of the Crows, and

at the same time not more than 150 miles from the nearest postoffice. A log-house was erected, and a piece of land fenced in and cultivated. Soon the Indians began to frequent the mission station, and as Braeuninger had acquired a fair command of

Mission Station on the Powder River

their speech and was especially proficient in the use of the Indian sign language, the interviews proved to be of benefit. During June Braeuninger made a visit to Deer Creek, and the encouraging report he could send to Iowa was accompanied by a pencil drawing of the station reproduced by us.

The work seemed to have a promising future, when like a thunderbolt out of the clear sky the news reached Iowa that Braeuninger was missing, probably having been murdered by the Indians. The circumstances surrounding his disappearance

were as follows: On the 21st of July six Indians belonging to the Ogalala tribe of the Sioux nation visited the log cabin of the missionaries. They were hospitably received, ate supper, and remained until noon on the following day. One of the Indians offered moccasins in exchange for a woolen blanket, but Braeuninger's policy not to trade with the Indians was adhered to. The Indians seemed to be satisfied, and after dinner made ready to leave. But before starting out, one of them, who had been most friendly toward the hosts, removed the bullet from his gun, and instead loaded it with three balls. To Seyler this seemed peculiar, but in answer to a question Braeuninger, not suspecting that the gun might be loaded for himself, remarked: "That is the practice among the Indians when they expect an attack of their enemies. If they hunt game, they generally remove the balls."

During the afternoon Braeuninger decided to take a walk, which at Beck's suggestion should include the bringing home of the cattle. Going along the stream they encountered behind a thicket half a mile from the station the very Indians who had left them several hours before, but had gone in the opposite direction. The equally surprised Indians told Braeuninger that they had heard a shot and feared that their enemies, the Blackfeet, were in the neighborhood. They asked him whether he would conceal them in case their enemies should appear. This Braeuninger promised to do, explaining that the cellar would afford protection, at which remark the Indians indulged in roaring laugh-

ter. While Beck took care of the stock, the missionary started with the Indians toward the station.

When Beck reached the house, to his surprise Braeuninger and the Indians had not yet arrived, and all waiting proved to be in vain. Fearing an accident, Beck and Seyler went over the ground carefully, but the most diligent search on this and the following day proved fruitless. Later friendly Indians related that one of the Ogalalas had treacherously shot Braeuninger in the back, and as the fatally wounded man rose, his enemies had killed him with blows, cut his face, and thrown the body into the swollen river. Displeasure at a settlement of whites on the Powder river had moved them to this act. Some have supposed this to be a piece of fiction invented by the Indians for the purpose of frightening the missionaries. According to their supposition the Indians and Braeuninger separated, the missionary started for home, and was attacked by one of the numerous bears of this region.

The first account is much more plausible. The Indians evidently were determined not to tolerate a settlement within their territory, and correctly reasoned that the murder of the leader would drive away the others. Almost stunned by the blow, and having met no Crow Indians on the Powder river, the missionaries retreated to safe ground on Deer Creek, there to await further instructions. The leader of the undertaking, an exceptionally capable man, had died a martyr to the cause, and his presentiment which caused him in leaving Neuendettelsau to wind about his photograph a crown of thorns

had been a correct indication of his end for the glory of the Lord.

Before the report of the tragedy reached Iowa, the committee in charge had sent as reenforcements Krebs and Flachenecker, additional money having been received from Bavaria. When the new men joined the other missionaries on Deer Creek, the situation was carefully gone over. Lack of available means prevented the founding of a colony in the territory of the Crows, but it was decided that the old friends should be taken care of just as soon as circumstances permitted. With the consent of the Indian mission board the missionaries now turned their attention to the Cheyenne or Zista Indians. A station was located about one hundred miles west of Fort Laramie, in the present state of Wyoming. It consisted of log buildings a few miles south of the North Platte river, close to a post route and a trading station. An effort to farm was also made, but met with little success, as the light rainfall made irrigation necessary.

In the spring of 1861 Rev. Ch. Kessler arrived from Iowa and became the head of the mission, while Krebs and Flachenecker were ordained. The work was carried on energetically, and the Arapahoes, who at that time maintained friendly relations with the Cheyennes, were included as objects of the missionary endeavors. The Crows had not been forgotten. But efforts of two of the missionaries to get in touch with them proved in vain; on their trip they passed the abandoned station on the Powder river, which they found in ashes. The labor

among the Arapahoes bore no fruit. Much more promising was the work among the Cheyennes. A few of the missionaries constantly accompanied them on their wanderings and shared their mode of living. Thus they not only acquired a fair knowledge of the Indian language, but also gained the confidence of the tribe in a high degree, which showed itself by kind and courteous treatment.

Whenever possible, preaching services were conducted regularly. Rev. Krebs has described them in an interesting manner. "To such an Indian camp near the station I went regularly on Sundays and Wednesdays.....and called out: '*Winaasz nistochiz namhaiohniwh, nata eesz he zistas wuestanio,*' which means: 'All of you are invited to my house, I wish to speak to the Zista people.' Regularly men, women, and children responded in such numbers as to fill the room, while some were unable to get inside. The service began with the recitation of the Lord's Prayer in the language of the Zistas, followed by a sermon. Then came long discussions with the answering of questions. The audience was very quiet and attentive, except that occasionally the remark '*ibawa,*' 'good,' or the expression of joy '*haho*' was heard.

"One who never came was the chief Hotuamo (male elk). Generally he made his appearance at a different time, namely, just before supper. In the New Testament story of feeding the five thousand, Christ preaches before he feeds the hungry multitude. I intended to follow his example. The chief was fond of sitting on a home-made bedstead. So

one day I joined him there and talked to him about God, sin, and forgiveness. During my discourse he was very quiet, fixing his eyes on the floor. As on previous occasions, he waited while supper was being prepared in his presence. But before I had finished talking, he suddenly rose and left. During the following days he did not appear, instead sending me an invitation to visit him. Three of us went. Seldom or never does one find such perfect order as prevailed in his tent on this occasion. The chief was alone. He asked us to be seated, then passed the peace pipe, which made the round according to custom. Up to this time he had been silent. Now he addressed us in the following manner: 'I am very glad to have my best friends with me. Today my heart experienced great joy. I am acquainted with many people, but among them all you are most dear to me.' Then he told about the Indian tribes he had visited, the Europeans he had known, as also about his extensive travels. 'I also noted,' he continued, 'the various religious ceremonies of the Indians and the whites, as also yours; but I never interfered. If I saw something peculiar in the ceremonies of others, I always kept silent, and never spoke against them. Everything was satisfactory to me.' With this speech he wanted to impress upon us that we should not interfere with their religion and say nothing against their idolatry. To inform us of this had been the sole purpose of the invitation.

"That same afternoon he visited me. As on other occasions, our friend waited for supper, while I sat at his side and talked to him as before. I

asked him not to scorn or to reject my words, since they were of God. He listened in silence, then rose, and left before supper. It proved to be his last visit. Within a short time the Indians broke camp; but while in passing the others nodded and waved at us in a friendly manner, our former friend turned his face in the opposite direction and scorned to look at us. Not long after this we were informed that he with another who had shown his hostility against us even more frankly, had been the first of the Cheyenne tribe to be hanged by the troops."

For in the spring of 1862 the Indians of the Northwest rose against the Government. The Cheyennes were drawn into the trouble, and the missionaries, after concealing their valuables near the station, fled to Fort Laramie. Seyler and Kessler returned to Iowa for provisions, which at that time had a prohibitive price in the Northwest, a sack of flour, for instance, costing thirty dollars. The insurrection was put down within a short time, and already during the same summer the missionaries could return to the station, which they found only slightly damaged. As formerly, they received permission to accompany the Cheyennes on their wanderings, and Krebs even won the confidence of the Arapahoes.

However, the men sent to Iowa were not able to return during the same year, sufficient means not being available. Not until April, 1863, could Kessler and the new missionary, Matter, start for Deer Creek, where they arrived at the end of July. As on account of the war practically everything had

advanced in price, the two wagon loads of food and other necessaries represented an outlay of fully $2,000. Rev. Kessler had become married, and as a bride for Beck accompanied the party, there were now two women at the station, undoubtedly a blessing for all.

Meanwhile a very gratifying event had occurred. Three Indian children, named Muchsianoe (brown moccasin), Ekois (little bone), and Mistahemik (owl's head) had been entrusted to the care of Krebs, who instructed them. This relieved somewhat the monotonous life of Krebs and Flachenecker which the theft of their horses had forced upon them. When Kessler arrived, active missionary work could again be taken up. As soon as possible Flachenecker and Matter set out for the camp of the Cheyennes, but found all fighting men on the warpath against the Crows, their old enemies. Flachenecker utilized the time by preaching to the women and old men, and when the warriors returned, testified against their cruel mode of warfare. The Christmas festival of 1863 found him again at their camp, while at the mission station on Deer Creek the oldest of the Indian boys, Frederick, received the Sacrament of Baptism. The second, named Paul, was baptized the following Easter.

However promising this success might seem, the events soon to follow disclosed a different situation. The adult Indians showed little or no permanent interest in the preaching of the Gospel. It was found also that the unrest among the Sioux was likely to spread to the Cheyennes and make further mission

work impossible. This fear was only too well founded. Enraged by dishonest dealings, the Indians awaited only a favorable opportunity to strike. The Civil War had denuded the Northwest of troops, making possible the great Indian uprising

Missionary Krebs and Three Christian Indians

in the summer of 1864. The few companies of Federal troops proved no match for the concentrated forces of the Indians, being compelled to retreat while the Indian hordes under the leadership of the powerful and warlike Sioux ravaged the country. The missionaries sought protection at the military post a few miles away. But as the garrison of forty men was utterly inadequate, two months were spent in daily fear of a massacre, the

enemy meanwhile ransacking the mission station. When finally the Sioux threatened the region of Deer Creek, friendly Cheyennes notified the missionaries of the approaching danger and requested them to leave within four days. They should remove also the three Indian boys to a place of safety. This friendly advice was followed, and toward the close of the year the missionaries arrived with their charges in Iowa.

With this the mission really came to an end. The missionaries entered congregational work with the exception of Rev. Krebs, who took up quarters in Wartburg Seminary with the three Indian boys whose love and confidence he possessed. There they were further instructed with the hope that ultimately they might be sent as missionaries to their own people. Alas, a forlorn hope! The ways of civilization once more proved fatal to the children of the plains, as two of them were attacked with tuberculosis. The youngest, who had been the last to receive Baptism, was the first to succumb. With true Christian fortitude he resigned himself to his fate, showing by his conversation during the last days a deep understanding of the essentials of the Christian religion. On August 2, 1865, he died, and already in December the second followed him, who also showed toward the end the results of the Gospel teaching.

During 1866, when an early peace with the Indians was confidently expected, the hope of missionary work once more flared up. Krebs and Matter, accompanied by the convert Frederick, were sent to

the Northwest; but as hostilities, in which the Cheyennes took a prominent part, broke out again, they did not even reach the Indian territory. At the meeting of the synod in 1867 the missionary work among the Indians was declared temporarily at an end, tho Rev. Krebs should watch for an opportunity to resume work among the Cheyennes. But it did not present itself. Finally, in 1885, the funds were transferred to the Neuendettelsau Missionary Society, to be used in the foreign field among the Papuas.

But what had become of Frederick, the first of the Indian boys to be baptized? The story is soon told. As long as he remained under the supervision of his spiritual father Krebs, all went well. But his natural gifts or rather the absence of them precluded a career as missionary or minister, so finally he had to shift for himself. The temptation of the world proved too much for him, and a life of sin followed. Only when after a number of years God's hand laid him low in sickness, could a change be noticed. The disease resulted in his death, and it is charitable to believe that God's grace was not in vain.

And the visible result of a mission extending over a period of ten years, with the heavy sacrifices of money and effort, even life! The cemetery of St. Sebald, Iowa, contains a double grave, marked until recently by a wooden cross with the inscription: "Two Indians." According to plans, a simple but fitting memorial will soon commemorate the resting place of two Christians from among the Red Men, and serve as a reminder of an undertaking which,

tho the results be entirely disproportionate to the effort, shows the endeavor of noble and consecrated men to pay the Christian debt of gratitude under discouraging circumstances.

Chapter V

THE DANISH CHEROKEE MISSION IN OKLAHOMA

FOR singleness of purpose and unremittent labor by one man, no Lutheran undertaking looking toward the Christianization of the Red Man can compare with the Danish work among the Cherokees at *Oaks,* Oklahoma. In our chapter entitled Pious Wishes we met the tribe in Georgia, the Salzburgers of Ebenezer planning at one time to be a light to the benighted heathen. For at the time of the discovery of America and for fully three hundred years later the Cherokees held the whole mountain region of the Southern Alleghenies, tho evidence is not lacking that as a member of the Iroquoian family they had originated in the north.

The Cherokee Indians are highly intelligent, and about 1820 adopted a form of government modelled on that of the United States. Only a few years later a halfblood invented an alphabet, which at once raised the tribe to the rank of a literary people. But they were not allowed to remain very long in their accustomed hunting grounds. When in the second decade of the last century gold was found on their territory in Georgia, a powerful agitation for their removal west of the Mississippi at once set in. In spite of their splendid struggle under their great chief John Ross, the trickery and injustice of the state and federal governments forced

them to sell their entire remaining territory in 1835. The removal to the assigned region in the Indian Territory took place in the hard winter of 1838-9, involving terrible hardships and causing many deaths.

At the new location the tribe suffered severely during the Civil War, when on account of a division of sentiment its members fought for both the Confederate and the Union cause. The outcome of the struggle compelled them to liberate their negro slaves and to grant them equal citizenship. Since then the tribe has made great strides toward civilization. By an agreement with the United States Government, the tribal form of government came to an end in 1906, the Indians acquiring citizenship. During the last decades the Cherokees have increased considerably, the western branch of the tribe numbering close to 30,000 persons. When the partly forced removal took place, in 1838-9, quite a number escaped to the mountains, who later were allowed to settle on lands set apart for them in North Carolina, where they number at present about 2,000 souls.

The mission of the *Danish Ev. Luth. Church in America*, now the *United Danish Ev. Luth. Church*, takes us back to the year 1888, when a young man, N. L. Nielsen, emigrated from Denmark with no other motive than to find an Indian tribe among which he could settle, preach the Gospel, and by his life's work be of eternal benefit to the people. Many things combined to discourage the young man in his plans, among them the claim that the Red

Man could not be won for the Kingdom of God. But courageously he kept his purpose before him, being influenced more by Christ's command and promise, Matthew 28:19-20, than by the dire predictions of friends and acquaintances.

A few years were spent in preparation for the work at Trinity Seminary, Blair, Nebraska. Then God opened a door among the Cherokee tribe in Oklahoma. With a firm trust in God's help and guidance the young missionary began his labors on June 11, 1892. He immediately secured the services of an interpreter and with his help began to preach the Gospel to the heathen. Soon after a Sunday school was started, and a little later also a day school organized. Thus in time the confidence of the Cherokee people was won and the foundation for successful work laid.

After a stay of more than twelve months among the tribe, the missionary felt the need for an helpmeet, having experienced the truth of God's Word to Adam: It is not good that the man should be alone. A Danish bride arrived from across the waters in 1893, the couple being married on September 7th. In their prayerful attitude the two worked unceasingly for six long years, with no visible fruits and no converts. Then one day an old full-blood came and told them that his daughter, a pupil in the mission school, was sick, and desired to see the missionary. When he arrived, she told him of her wish to be baptized. The consent of the father was readily secured, and a few weeks later, on Easter Sunday, 1898, the Baptism took place. That was

a great event in the life of the missionary and his wife. The ice was now broken. In the following year fourteen persons were baptized. Since then the flock has steadily increased, until at present there is an organized congregation of over two hundred souls.

Before the Boarding School

In time a fine little church was erected, to which were added later a commodious two-story school building and a boarding house. Trained teachers are employed in the school, in which the Bible, Luther's Small Catechism, and Vogt's Bible History are the favorite textbooks. This school is the nursery for the church and the congregation. Out of it have come most of the converts. The missionary believes that at present there are about one hundred pupils who have the secret desire to be baptized, but are held back by shyness or opposition at home.

Like other Indians, the Cherokees are not fond of work. However, according to the testimony of the missionary, they are gradually improving, raising more grain and vegetables from year to year. There is a good deal of superstition and immorality left, but the Gospel lifts the people gradually to a higher plane.

The missionary correctly holds that the converts should be taught to become self-supporting as soon as possible and also to make some sacrifices for others. The annual Thanksgiving and mission sales yield $50-$75 for the cause of foreign missions. The women and children bring their fancy work, and the men and boys contribute small sums from their field earning. In 1917 a collection for the suffering Armenians yielded over $30, while $25 was contributed to the Y. M. C. A. The Indians also made their contributions toward the Lutheran Soldiers' and Sailors' Aid Fund.

Since the war ended and the influenza epidemic subsided, some regrettable features have become more prominent. Among the young people especially there is a hankering after worldly pleasures. There seems to be less sincerity, and a falling off in church attendance has also been noticed. Lately the white element in the neighborhood has manifested a strong opposition to religious teaching in the school. But at the same time, there is a growing desire for more knowledge and a better education. A number of children could lately be added to the congregation, and the outlook for the future is distinctly encouraging.

Thus the work among the Cherokees has enjoyed a healthy and steady growth, showing what with the help of God prayerful and conscientious work may accomplish. "The dear Lord has done more than I or we ever expected to see here. His name be praised." These are the closing sentiments in a report of missionary Nielsen.

Chapter VI

THE APACHE MISSION OF THE WISCONSIN SYNOD IN ARIZONA

AT its convention in 1883 the *Wisconsin Synod* created a permanent committee of five pastors charged with the duty of selecting a missionary society both orthodox and successful which was to receive the synod's contributions for foreign missions. In the following year the committee reported that "in spite of its efforts it had been unable to find a mission society to which it could conscientiously entrust the money, as with none of them they were in complete agreement regarding faith and doctrine." In view of this extraordinary situation the synod recommended that young men willing to become missionaries among the heathen should be trained in the theological seminary, and the available funds used for this purpose. Several years later, in 1891, the committee was able to report that three such students, J. Plocher, G. Adascheck, and P. Mayerhoff, had been received into the seminary, and in all probability would finish the course within two years.

The question of selecting a field for the missionaries soon presented itself. For a time Japan received considerable attention, and tentative plans to begin a mission there were drawn up. However, when Indian agents from the great Southwest of our own country pleaded for help, it was decided to investigate the possibilities of a mission among the Red Man. Accordingly, in 1892 two ministers were

sent to Arizona and New Mexico, one of them Rev. O. H. Koch, who was a member of the *Wisconsin Synod* Indian Mission Board till 1920. After a thoro investigation the two men recommended that a mission be begun among the Apaches on the San Carlos Reservation in Arizona. This seemed especially appropriate in view of the fact that no Christian missionaries were working among that numerous heathen tribe. Whether the *Wisconsin Synod* alone would have felt itself strong enough for the undertaking, is problematical; but just at this time the larger organization including the synods of Wisconsin, Minnesota, Michigan, and Nebraska, was formed, and the plans with a statement of preliminary work done submitted to this body. After due deliberation it was decided to accept the proposed plans, the immediate supervision of mission work being entrusted to a board of seven members. Since the *Wisconsin Synod* was by far the most important member of the old joint body and the main support of the mission, and since the different synods have recently been re-organized as *The Evangelical Lutheran Joint Synod of Wisconsin and Other States,* we may conveniently refer to the mission under that name.

The Apaches, who were singled out as the object of evangelization, form the most southern group of the Athapascan family. Formerly their field of operation covered extensive regions in the Southwest. Up to very recent times, they were noted for their warlike disposition, white as well as Indian settlements feeling the ruthlessness of their raids. At last General Miles, in 1886, compelled their surren-

der, and since then the majority of the tribe has been confined to the San Carlos and Fort Apache Reservations, where they are looked upon as prisoners of war. These reservations comprise 10,990 square miles of land, partly mountainous and covered with splendid forests. The soil is very fertile,

Apache Women

but for the raising of crops irrigation is necessary as the rainfall in Arizona is extremely light. While formerly the tribe practised agriculture to a very limited extent, now quite a number have settled down as farmers, tho many continue to move from place to place. Their shelters consist of brush huts, easily erected, which are well suited to the dry and mild climate of Arizona and their roving inclinations. Filth and dirt does not seem to inconvenience them very much.

Most of the five thousand members of the tribe

are living on the two reservations, tho quite a few go beyond the confines in quest of temporary work. The Apache clings very tenaciously to the customs and traditions of his people. In fact, he does everything possible to remain an Indian, scorning the attempts toward civilization put forth by the white man. The native language is also carefully adhered to. It is very rich in terms dealing with material things, and according to our notion could spare some of its expressions. However, on the other hand, religious terms are practically absent, a fact explained by the poverty of religious ideas.

Some competent observers claim that the Apache has no religion at all, at least not now, whatever may have been the situation in the past. He has two words for the deity, it is true, one for his own, and the other for the God of the whites, whom he utterly despises. His own god he regards as the creator of the world, who takes little further interest in man. At times it seems as if he believes him personified in the sun, but the tribe as such cannot be classed in any way as sun worshippers. There is no desire on his part to communicate with his god, for he neither prays to him nor does he offer sacrifices in his honor.

However, there is a strong belief in the existence of evil spirits, to which the Apache ascribes all his troubles and misfortunes. In order to drive away the evil influence, special rites and ceremonies are necessary, the knowledge of which is jealously guarded by the medicine men, who claim to be in direct communication with the Great Spirit. The influence of these medicine men is still very power-

ful, and therefore some of the Carlisle Indian school graduates turn to this lucrative employment. In order to negative the influence of the missionaries, the medicine men appropriate those parts of Christian teachings which appeal to the Indian mind and tell the missionaries that the Indian does not need their services, since the native doctor is offering the same things. There is no belief in a future life, and no happy hunting ground awaits the braves. Death is the end of existence.

Like so many primitive peoples, the Apache has no idea of moral depravity and innate guilt. Remorse, if shown at all, is confined to sorrow over unguarded conduct which has brought down punishment upon his head. Arrest and confinement make very little impression upon him, as it is not considered a disgrace to have been in jail. Private blood feuds are still common among the Apaches. The home life, if one can dignify the family existence by such a term, is grossly immoral, the sexual relations even among children being very lax. Deformed and weak offspring are left to their fate, tho the Apache desires numerous strong and healthy children. It is considered the duty of the old and feeble to die, because their usefulness is ended.

The attitude of the Apache toward the whites is partly determined by his belief, strongly fostered by the medicine men, that according to the will of the Great Spirit the palefaces must serve the Indian. The white man finally will pass away, and everything he has built up will be left as a heritage to the Indian. Therefore every kindness shown him is accepted as a matter of course and without any

show of gratitude, except where intercourse with the powerful officials of the Government dictates an outwardly grateful attitude. The following experience is typical of his viewpoint: One day an Indian came to a white man with an ax, the handle of which was broken. He asked for a new handle, which was given him. The white man even fastened it to the ax, since the Indian showed no inclination to do so. He also told him that the ax must be sharpened before it could be of much use. Accordingly, both went to the grindstone, the Indian turning it while his white friend was sharpening the ax. This finished, the white man went into his house. When after about an hour he stepped into his yard, he found the Indian still there. Upon inquiring what he wished, the Indian answered naively: "I turned the grindstone for you; you have not yet paid me. I want twenty-five cents for it."

The natural intelligence of the Apache is great, and upon proper application he proves to be an apt scholar. But as yet very few have received adequate education. This is partly due to their unwillingness to acquire the culture of the whites. The children are not easily kept in school, and even those who have become acquainted with the learning and the conveniences of the whites as a rule return to the ways of their fathers. For this reason the intellectual and moral development of the tribe has not made very great progress.

Among these benighted people the *Wisconsin Synod* decided to begin missionary work. In the fall of 1893 two of the three missionary students, J. Plocher and G. Adascheck, having been duly or-

dained, reached the San Carlos Reservation. The Fort Apache Reservation to the north was at that time still under the supervision of the Indian agent at San Carlos, later being raised to an independent agency. A military garrison was then maintained at San Carlos, where the Indian agent also had his residence. Communication with the outside world was by courier and stage coach, until, in 1896, a railroad brought greater transportation facilities.

The first and most important task was the selection of a proper location for the station. On account of the demoralizing influences of modern civilization, it was not deemed advisable to choose a site very close to a white settlement. On the other hand, however, it had to be in the vicinity of large Indian camps, in order that a sufficient number of children might be secured for the school. After due investigation, a spot nine miles from San Carlos seemed to be the ideal location. Negotiations with the Government were begun, and with the consent of the Indian chief ten acres were secured on the San Carlos river, on account of the dry climate irrigation being necessary. Good drinking water was also obtained. Here a tent and later the more permanent buildings of the first mission station among the Apaches were erected.

With the coming of the railroad and a stop in the neighborhood later the station became known as *Peridot,* the history of which we shall trace to the present before we discuss in detail the work at other places. Rev. Plocher at once took a firm hold of the undertaking, among other things teaching the children in the Government school at San Carlos. The

labors of Rev. Adascheck, however, were of short duration, for he resigned after about a year, unable, as he believed, to learn the Apache language, even English causing him considerable difficulty. The vacancy was not filled at this time, since Plocher felt himself equal to the task at least for a while. He even found time to investigate the situation at Camp Apache, ninety miles distant, where later the second station came to be located. In order to facilitate the acquisition of the native language, an Indian boy, who in addition to his mother tongue had also a fair command of English, was engaged, and made himself very useful in the school and the garden. On the land belonging to the mission a well was dug, and the fenced portion cultivated. A modest dwelling for the missionary and a school house were also built. About twenty children attended the mission school, where the Catechism and Bible History formed the chief course of study. At first the missionary preached to the Indians with the help of an interpreter, while later he composed short sermons and delivered them wherever opportunity offered.

However, the constant and trying work finally forced Rev. Plocher to take a much needed rest in the summer of 1897, after which he resumed the labor with new vigor. Meanwhile a railroad had been built, which cut the mission property in two. But as the Government willingly gave another piece of land in exchange, no material loss was sustained. The missionary work also went steadily on. The time was amply filled with the teaching of the young and the preaching to the adults, excellent relations

being maintained at all times. And finally, as the first fruit of long and conscientious work, four children were baptized at San Carlos in April, 1899. The Indian agent was very much impressed with the efficient instruction given in the schools, and he urged that two missionaries be stationed at each of the missions maintained by the synod. If the Lutheran Church should be unwilling to expand the work, another denomination would be called in. Material help was promised in case the suggestions of the agent were followed. But at this time the health of the missionary who had labored six years among the Indians, as also that of his faithful wife, broke down and forced them to leave, the mission board accepting the resignation with genuine regret.

Since conditions at Peridot demanded the presence of a man, Rev. Mayerhoff, then stationed at Fort Apache, the second mission, consented to move to Peridot until the vacancy was filled. Five futile calls were sent out, until at last the board secured the services of Carl Guenther, a student of theology. He arrived at Peridot in February, 1900, and for a few weeks shared the work with Rev. Mayerhoff, who at the end of that time returned to Fort Apache. Rev. Guenther soon found his bearings and proved to be a successful missionary. The work of Rev. Plocher was continued, while a collection of Indian words and phrases left by him was of considerable aid in acquiring the language. It now became increasingly evident that a second missionary should be stationed at Peridot. The numerous calls sent out, however, were all declined. Therefore a plan formerly recommended by Rev. Plocher was

now carried out. As a theologically trained man could not be secured, a school teacher was called in the person of Mr. R. Jens, who accepted the call. Rev. Guenther welcomed him heartily, especially as his efforts in the school proved to be very successful.

More and more the result of faithful and con-

Station Peridot

scientious work began to appear. At the beginning of 1901 a boy, pupil of the Government school at San Carlos, desired Baptism, which he received on March 4th. During the following month ten girls, between ten and sixteen years of age, also announced themselves and were baptized in May. If it should strike one as extraordinary that these catechumens were baptized so soon after their request had been made, he must remember that they had been instructed in the fundamentals of Christianity by Rev. Plocher for several years, so that a short

review sufficed. At this time a young man who had made application years before but was unwilling to renounce the devil, was also added to the number of the baptized. Since his young wife had received Baptism before, there was now one Christian family among the Indians. As the baptisms increased, the number of Christians reached twenty-five within a few months.

The work among the children also had prospered. The school building, 18 x 24, built of adobes, a sun-burnt brick, now proved too small. It was, therefore, decided to build a more modern structure, costing in the neighborhood of $2,500, the Government donating not a little of the material. A great deal of the manual labor was done by Rev. Guenther and Mr. Jens, who with the consent of the mission board bought a team and wagon for this particular purpose. The building, which was to be used both as a school and a place of worship, could be dedicated in May, 1903. The necessary equipment was generously furnished by voluntary gifts from the congregations of the synod. After the dedication sermon ten children were baptized, while one confirmation took place. The number of baptized had now reached fifty-eight.

In the summer the work received a serious setback thru an accident to Mr. Jens, which proved fatal. A newly secured teacher remained only a comparatively short time, ill health forcing his resignation. On account of other work, Rev. Guenther was unable to teach in the mission school himself, which consequently was abandoned. It seemed also better to concentrate all strength upon

instruction in the Government schools, until now all the baptized having been won there. The efforts expended at the school at San Carlos had proved especially successful. In the year ending June, 1904, forty children of that school were baptized, making since 1899 seventy-two in all. The Rice Boarding School was also regularly visited by the missionary, whose schedule on Sundays was especially heavy, since he preached not only at the mission, but also at the two Government schools. No second missionary could be secured, but an interpreter made the task of a lone man a little less difficult than it would have been otherwise.

In 1905 unexpected assistance was furnished by the Rev. J. F. G. Harders, a gifted pastor at Milwaukee, whom throat trouble had compelled to seek a more favorable climate. After one year's fruitful work at San Carlos, he indeed returned to Milwaukee, but in 1907 was prevailed upon to accept the superintendency of the whole mission field in Arizona. Stationed at Globe, he discharged the duties of that important office with great success, as we shall find when the history of the Globe mission is presented in detail. For a time Rev. Haase assisted in the work at Peridot, until he was sent to the field at Globe. His labors there were shortlived, since the obstacles placed in his way by so-called white Christians seemed to him insurmountable, and in a despondent mood he soon resigned. At San Carlos the Government had built a chapel for missionary purposes, which later passed entirely into the hands of the mission. The work at Peridot and vicinity proved to be too arduous for one missionary, who

served in all nineteen different preaching places. However, all efforts to secure an additional man for this important post proved unavailing.

Finally, in 1911, ill health forced Rev. Guenther and his wife to leave the field. A pastor who temporarily filled the position did not give satisfaction, and student Karl Toepel was then called, arriving in Arizona in 1912. Even before this time a school according to the plan of Rev. Harders, furnishing the pupils with a dinner at noon, had been opened and proved increasingly successful. However, in 1915 Rev. Toepel became very ill and was unequal to the arduous task. Therefore he handed in his resignation and left the field in the spring of 1916. Till the end of that school year the children were under the supervision of Miss Kieckbusch, a young lady from Wisconsin. During the summer Rev. A. Zuberbier, who was stationed at Cibecue, the fourth mission of the synod in Arizona, had charge of the station, an arrangement all the more welcome since hay fever rendered his life miserable at Cibecue. But in the fall of the same year circumstances made it advisable that he should remove again to his former station. Since no missionary could be secured before the opening of the school, student Nitz, who had filled a similar position at Globe with some success, was sent to Peridot. Soon a new missionary in the person of Rev. G. Fischer was secured, who labored there till the spring of 1918, when the Government requested his withdrawal. Missionary Rosin, then stationed at Globe, was asked to move to Peridot and to take charge of the work. This he did in April, devoting quite a bit of time to the

Government school at Rice. Since November, 1919, he has had the assistance of Rev. F. Uplegger, so that for a time two missionaries were stationed there. Later, Rev. Uplegger was transferred to Rice. The number of baptized is about thirty and that of the communicants the same. The mission school is attended by thirty, while thirteen are instructed in the Government school. In all, about four hundred persons are reached by preaching, and seventeen are being prepared for Baptism. The value of the property is estimated at $8,000. At Rice, where the Catholics have erected a beautiful chapel, an $11,000 chapel and house are in the course of construction.

We noted before that at *San Carlos,* the seat of the Indian agent, an Indian school had from the first received the attention of the missionaries. The Government built here a beautiful chapel of white sandstone, and generously allowed the missionaries to use it for preaching purposes. In 1911 it became the property of the mission, when a bell and an organ could be added thru the generous contributions of mission friends in the synod.

Until 1918 San Carlos had been served from the Peridot station. When there was danger that the Catholics would invade the field, Rev. A. Uplegger of Globe was asked to go there. The missionary pitched his tent beside the chapel and did efficient work, expending his main efforts at San Carlos and Bylas. At both places fruit has appeared. At San Carlos there are now seventeen baptized members, and forty persons are being made ready for Baptism. In the Governnment school thirty-five children

are instructed, while in all eight hundred persons are reached by preaching. The value of the property is $3,500. A splendid showing has also been made at *Bylas,* established as a station in October, 1920. There the congregation has ten members, forty-five children are instructed in the Government school, and in all five hundred persons are reached by preaching. Rev. G. Schlegel is the missionary.

The second mission station of the *Wisconsin Synod* in Arizona is located at *East Fork* on the Fort Apache Indian Reservation. Already in 1894 Rev. Plocher, accompanied by an Indian, had made a tour of investigation. He found conditions so favorable that he recommended that a mission be begun on the East Fork river, close to Fort Apache. In the following year the synod decided to send a missionary to the extremely promising field. Rev. P. Mayerhoff, one of the three men especially educated for the mission work, accepted the call. He arrived in Arizona in 1896 and for a few weeks enjoyed a profitable stay at Peridot with Rev. Plocher. The latter also accompanied him on the interesting trip to Fort Apache, about ninety miles distant.

At a suitable place three miles from Fort Apache, on the East Fork river, the station was located. For six months a tent had to serve as shelter for the missionary. Then a modest dwelling, 12x12,was erected, which in 1898 made way for a more substantial building. Rev. Mayerhoff immediately began to give religious instruction to about sixty children in the Fort Apache Government school. He also spent no little time in becoming acquainted with the Apache language, even then

Rev. Mayerhoff and the First Dwelling near Fort Apache

trying to translate portions of Luther's Small Catechism. Not only the numerous Indians living in the valley of the East Fork close to the mission received spiritual care, but also bands farther removed were visited from time to time. Since the missionary was forced to raise his own vegetables, manual labor varied with the intellectual work.

After some negotiations, the Government readily granted sufficient land for the mission. The plank hut, 12x12, could now be utilized for school purposes, since in 1898 a house costing about $1,100 was erected. The outlook for a school seemed especially bright, as the missionary had won the perfect confidence of the Indians.

When, in 1899, sickness compelled Rev. Plocher to leave Peridot, Rev. Mayerhoff for a time discharged the duties there. His absence from East Fork was keenly felt and very much regretted. Not only the Indians, but also the whites desired his presence. In addition to other duties, he even for a time preached every Sunday at Fort Apache to the garrison composed of about two hundred soldiers, mostly colored. Much to his regret, the promises in regard to a mission school were not fulfilled, as the Indians moved too much from place to place. Only occasional visits could be made to the more distant bands. Until 1902 the work of this extensive charge rested solely upon the shoulders of Rev. Mayerhoff, since all efforts to secure an additional missionary were futile. Finally Mr. O. Schoenberg was called as a teacher, and with the help of two Indians a frame building, 20 x 40, to be used for both school and church purposes, was erect-

Station East Fork

ed by the two men. The attendance increased, and the twenty children were instructed by Schoenberg with a great deal of enthusiasm.

As the heavy work had ruined Rev. Mayerhoff's health, he was forced to leave in the summer of 1903, having spent seven years in the Christianization of the Apaches. As his successor Cand. H. Haase was called, who took up his duties in 1904. He showed himself to be a very energetic worker, making long trips to preach to the Indians in their camps. The school attendance gradually became less, as the Government enlarged its boarding school and offered many more attractions than the mission day school. Finally it was decided to abandon the school and to concentrate all strength upon the instruction in the Government school. Mr. Schoenberg was now ordained, and for the first time the station had two missionaries, who worked harmoniously and not unsuccessfully.

Meanwhile, in 1905, Rev. Harders had explored the situation at Globe, a growing mining town just outside of the reservation, and it was deemed best to station a man there. Accordingly, in 1906, Rev. Haase was sent to the third mission station of the synod in Arizona, while Schoenberg remained in charge of the extensive field, where he preached at nine different places. Fruit began at last to appear in the request of some for instruction preparatory to Baptism. Now the missionary was also able to use the native language with some degree of facility, which showed itself in the translation of the Lord's Prayer. Unfortunately, about 1910 he became dis-

couraged and indifferent to the work, and for a time was in the employ of the Government as a forester, tho he soon returned to his former occupation.

Shortly after his return Rev. Schoenberg was requested by the board to move to Cibecue and to begin mission work there, as this promising field had been visited by him before. As his successor at East Fork Cand. Edgar Guenther was called in 1910. By this time the mission school had been reestablished according to the suggestion of Rev. Harders, the children being furnished a meal at noon time. The work of the missionary has been very successful, the relations maintained with the Indians being very close, who are loved by him as brothers. When at one time pneumonia carried away many of the people, he cared for the survivors in both a material and spiritual way according to the best of his ability.

After the death of Rev. Harders, in the spring of 1917, Rev. Guenther was appointed superintendent of the whole field. For some time Mr. G. Gleiter assisted in the school, and when, in 1918, he was drafted into the army, Cand. M. Wehausen was called as second missionary. With combined efforts the two men erected a dining room for the Indian children of the mission school and a parsonage for Rev. Wehausen. The number of preaching places now also increased. The report of April, 1920, mentions that there are seven baptized and three communicant members. The latest report, April, 1921, mentions fifteen baptisms. The mission school is attended by forty-two pupils, while thirty-

four are also instructed in the Government school. In all, three hundred seventy-five persons are reached by preaching, of which seven will soon be baptized. The value of the property, including a chapel, is given at $4,500.

Among the preaching places was also *White-river,* four miles north of Fort Apache, where the work in the Government day school became very influential. In October, 1919, Rev. Guenther moved to White-river, where a mission house was completed in April, 1921. The work there looks very promising. Until 1920, four baptized and three communicant members formed the congregation, but thirty-three persons were recently added by Baptism. The number of children instructed in the Government school is sixty-eight, while in all one thousand persons are reached from this station. Unfortunately Rev. Guenther became sick in February, 1920, and after several months was only far enough recovered to go on a much needed vacation. Rev. E. A. Sitz, in charge of Globe-Miami, a white mission, was temporarily discharging the duties of the station. Supt. Guenther has now recovered, but is still assisted by Rev. Sitz. The latter is also serving *Carrixo Canyon,* a station established December 15, 1920, but as yet with no permanent buildings.

The third mission was organized at *Globe,* a mining town of about 8,000 inhabitants, just to the west of the San Carlos Reservation. In 1905, while Rev. G. Harders was assisting in the work at Peridot, floods destroyed many of the Indian farms near Peridot and San Carlos. In consequence of this,

great numbers of Indians who depended upon work for a subsistence moved to Globe, where the rich copper mines promised lucrative employment. Rev. Harders considered it his duty to follow these Indians and to preach to them in their new environment. Consequently he moved to Globe and labored among them for some time. However, with the improvement of his health he returned to his congregation at Milwaukee, while Rev. Haase of East Fork was asked to take up the work there. Making his headquarters in Globe, he visited the different mining camps in the neighborhood. But the degenerating influence of white civilization placed many difficulties in his way, and at last he abandoned his efforts as hopeless and accepted a call tendered by a congregation in the North, leaving a vacancy hard to fill.

Rev. G. Harders of Milwaukee, who had shown himself during his year's stay in Arizona as a successful missionary, was selected to assume charge of the difficult field. After some negotiations his congregation released him, and he was now free to employ his great gifts in the cause of Indian mission work. He reached the field of labor in September, 1907, and immediately took energetic steps for the enlightenment of the heathen. As house rent was prohibitively high, he bought a house at a fair price, and at his own expense erected a small chapel, which was later acquired by the synod. Thus Globe became the center of intense missionary activities. Counting its neighborhood, about seven hundred Indians could be reached. The necessary assistance

was also soon found. On his travels Rev. Harders had become acquainted with Mr. E. Recknagel, a theological student at St. Louis, who in his great love

Rev. G. Harders

for the Indian and his admiration for Rev. Harders offered his help. This arrangement being satisfactory to the board, he was accordingly ordained and installed, and for several years served acceptably.

At this time the administration of the whole mis-

sion field was reorganized along new lines. Until then each missionary had been responible only to the mission board, which exercised its supervision from a base thousands of miles away, tho once it had been found necessary to send one of the members on a tour of inspection. Now a superintendency was created and filled by the selection of Rev. Harders. The missionaries submit their reports to the superintendent, who scrutinizes them and transmits them to the board, at the same time filing a general report and making recommendations. Periodically he also visits the different fields and consults with the workers. However, the missionaries are also in direct touch with the board thru correspondence with the different members. The whole arrangement has worked very satisfactorily.

In order that the benefits resulting from consultation and closer co-operation might be obtained, regular conferences were established. To give an insight into the very practical transactions, we note some items from the program of the first. A paper dealing with missionary preaching in the Bible was read by Rev. Harders. Each member of the conference presented a short sermon on the resurrection of the Widow's Son at Nain as he would deliver it before Indians. Rev. Guenther then read a paper dealing with the history of the Apaches. An alphabet of the Apache language was drawn up and accepted. It was furthermore decided that each man should write a paper in the language of the tribe once a month; this was to circulate among the missionaries in order to give each an opportunity

to offer criticisms and to make improvements. At the second conference, among other manuscripts a prayer book for children was submitted, accepted, ordered printed, and distributed. A children's paper, partly in the Apache language, was also to be published. It may easily be seen that such activities are not only of great value in determining policies and deciding difficult cases, but they also improve the missionaries' knowledge of the native language and tend to maintain a spirit of enthusiasm for the work. In order to give the reader some idea of the language of the Apaches, we append here the Lord's Prayer:

Nochta yakayo sindtahn.
Nijji nojogo holae.
Ni banantahi gidawa.
Nogustzan bika ni nihi agutaele yakayo agudzahi gaechgu.
Didjin nochiidan dadjibigahi nochanne.
Nochanlchahi nochanagodena nochi gaechgu hadn nochahahadenhahi banagodenta.
Naguntluggi bijiji do adidnthlossguda.
Ndi donjodahi bitzaji nochhidschonde.
Ni nantahi eige hadzilli eige itisgo nojoni hibiga.
Dahaje, dahaje.
Dolechtgo atae.

Soon after taking charge of the mission, Rev. Harders began a day school on a plan which proved so successful that it was adopted at all other stations. The small and irregular attendance had been the cause of the abandonment of the mission schools in 1905. In order to assure a good attenddance, the pupils received a meal at the noon hour,

which naturally possessed great attraction. Food remnants were collected from the hotels, coffee and sugar either bought or sometimes donated. In addition to religious subjects and the common branches, manual training was also given. On the whole the arrangement worked with marked success, for the attendance was excellent considering the fact that some of the pupils had to walk from two to ten miles every morning. A great improvement was also noted in their behavior, while rapid progress was made in the different subjects. The school, successively taught by the Misses Irmgard Harders, Hilda Harders, Klara Hinderer, Mary Kiekbusch, Mr. Gurgel, and Mr. Nitz, furnished quite a number of catechumens, who in course of time were baptized.

The preaching of the Gospel to the adults was not neglected. At twenty different places the missionary and his assistant gathered the Indians. In June, 1909, there were already forty baptized persons, the children included. Now the first Apache congregation with a membership of ten could be organized in Globe. And fifty baptized persons were also visited from this place. Thus gratifying progress had been made in a number of ways.

In the beginning of 1917, Rev. Harders received an assistant in the person of Cand. A. Uplegger, since ill health made the task too arduous for him. But hardly had the new missionary taken over part of the duties when, on April 13th, Rev. Harders passed to his reward. This was a severe blow not only to the work at Globe, but for the whole field. Rev. Harders was an exceptionally able missionary

who maintained the necessary enthusiasm and persistence in the midst of the greatest difficulties. And as superintendent of the whole field for ten years he had won the respect and admiration of his co-laborers. Greatly beloved by the Indians and enjoying their confidence to a remarkable degree, he on his part loved them as brothers. Among them he was happy, among them he intended to be buried, a wish which was granted. In order to create interest in the Indians and the mission work among them, he had appealed to a larger audience thru a number of writings. "Jaalahn" and "La Paloma," two stories dealing with Indian life, have received wide recognition.

As assistant to Rev. Uplegger at Globe, the mission board called Cand. H. Rosin, who accepted the call. Now for a short time Globe had two workers, but when, in the spring of 1918, Rev. Fischer had to leave Peridot, Rev. Rosin was transferred to that place. Thus only Rev. Uplegger remained in Globe, but as the Catholics threatened to begin work in San Carlos, he was transferred there. Thus Globe was for a time without a missionary. Since October, 1919, the field has been in charge of Rev. H. C. Nitz. The station has twenty baptized members, the number of communicants being the same. Three hundred and fifty persons are reached by preaching, and four or five probably will be baptized soon. The property value is estimated at $2,500.

The fourth mission station established by the synod in Arizona is at *Cibecue,* about fifty miles from Ft. Apache and Globe. It has a delightful,

romantic location, with plenty of wild game. This station on the Cibecue river for a time seemed to be the most promising of all the missions. There a great number of Indians have settled and work their farms, the chief occupation being the raising of horses. Rev. Schoenberg had made a number of

Buildings at the Cibecue

visits there and preached the Gospel to the Indians. In 1911 it was decided to make a more determined effort, and he was asked to move there with his family. Rev. Schoenberg secured a piece of land and immediately began the building of a dwelling, meanwhile living in a tent. In the spring of 1912 a school was opened. As only one room was available for school purposes, not more than twenty-three pupils

could be received, altho several others were ready to come. To remedy the situation, a building for school and church purposes was erected at a cost of about $500. Its walls were constructed of adobes and the roof was covered with tin. Thruout the week Rev. Schoenberg taught school and on Sundays preached in the language of the Apache without the help of an interpreter. Thus the work there had an auspicious start.

But in November of the same year Rev. Schoenberg handed in his resignation, which was accepted by the board. Rev. Harders and Rev. Guenther supplied there until the summer of 1913, when Cand. A. Zuberbier was called. The work of the new missionary at first seemed very successful, as he won the complete confidence of the Indians. The school began to flourish, and many improvements were made in regard to the property. When, in the summer of 1916, Peridot had become vacant, Rev. Zuberbier temporarily moved to that place, hay fever making his life miserable at the station on the Cibecue. But when no missionary could be secured for the latter post, he was willing to be stationed there again. During the school year 1917-18 Miss Kiekbusch was assisting the missionary in the school.

However, in May, 1919, Rev. Zuberbier resigned and left for the North, the station being temporarily without a man. Since October, 1919, A. Albrecht supplied for some time. Later he returned to the North, Rev. Weindorf taking his place September, 1920. There are only a few baptized mem-

bers, but more intensive working of the field is believed to bring results. The mission school is attended by twenty pupils, and in all two hundred people are reached by preaching. The property belonging to the station, including a chapel and mission house, is valued at $3,500.

On the whole, the mission work of the *Wisconsin Synod* in Arizona has made gratifying progress during the last years. And provided the necessary men can be secured, several new fields will be opened this year. However, it is extremely hard to induce men with the necessary qualifications to serve among the Indians. In our discussion it was not seldom mentioned that a number of calls had to be sent out before one was accepted. Many of the men secured are recent graduates of the theological seminary. Not a few break down in the arduous work with its many privations. In late years, however, quite an improvement has been made in transportation facilities, a number of automobiles now insuring more rapid transit. In addition to the white missionaries, there are several native workers, best known among whom is Jack Keyes.

The cost involved in supporting such a mission is of course considerable. We give a few figures which will show the average outlay. From May 1, 1902, to April 30, 1903, the expenses, including the building of a church and some miscellaneous costs, amounted to $7,918.19. The budget between May 1, 1906, and May 1, 1907, was $3,298.93. For the period May 1, 1911, to May 1, 1912, including building operations, the sum was $9,966.14. With

no major improvements included, the expenses between May 1, 1915, and May 1, 1916, were $7,802.18, amounting to about the same sum the following year. The expansion during the last years and the high cost of living have of course greatly increased the budget.

At first prejudice and indifference among the clergy and laity at home sometimes had a depressing effect on the men in the field, especially when only meager results were obtained. But this has been overcome, for as the whole undertaking assumed an aspect of success and permanency, the attitude underwent a complete change. If the efforts expended in men and money be great, they are amply repaid from a Christian standpoint by the gain of immortal souls, won for the Kingdom of Christ.

Chapter VII

THE WORK OF THE MISSOURI SYNOD AMONG THE STOCKBRIDGES

THE Stockbridge Indians, among which the *Missouri Synod* is laboring with gratifying results, have an interesting history. They are of New England stock, and were originally called Housatonic, their principal village being Westenhuck, Massachusetts, which was for a long time the capital of the Mahican confederacy. In 1734 the Presbyterian minister John Sergeant began missionary work among them, and two years later succeeded in gathering the converts into a regular mission town named Stockbridge, from which the tribe received the name that has clung to it ever since.

However, here as elsewhere, the encroachment of the whites had a demoralizing influence, and participation in two wars, the French and Indian as well as the Revolutionary War, still further diminished the numbers of the small tribe. In 1785 the remnant accepted an invitation of the Oneidas, and under the leadership of Samson Occom, an educated native minister, settled in Oneida and Madison counties, New York, where the village of New Stockbridge sprang up. There the missionary work was continued. Under the protecting care of the Oneidas the tribe also increased again, numbering three hundred souls in 1796.

In 1833 another move was made, when in conjunction with the Oneida and the Munsee tribe they settled temporarily on a tract of land near Green Bay, Wisconsin. But already in 1839 the now united tribe of Stockbridges and Munsees agreed to move to lands assigned to them west of the Mississippi, while those who desired to become citizens were permitted to settle on the east shore of Winnebago Lake, on the unsold half of the former reservation. However, both arrangements proved unsatisfactory. Thus once more the members were brought together and their tribal government restored. Finally, in 1856, the united tribe made their last move when they settled on a reservation west of Shawano, Shawano Co., Wis. Here they have increased somewhat, at the present time numbering about six hundred souls. Their reservation is located in Red Springs Township. The land has within late years been patented to them, while they themselves have become full fledged American citizens. Some are fairly successful under the new circumstances, while others have fallen into poverty and squalor of their own choosing.

Among this tribe Presbyterian ministers continued to do missionary work. The most notable was Rev. Jeremiah Slingerland, an educated member of the tribe. He began his labors in 1849, removed with his charges to Shawano in 1856, and continued as pastor and teacher of the Government school until his death, in 1884. Tho he was a Presbyterian, that denomination did not contribute toward his support, the Government paying the sal-

ary for the double office of pastor and teacher. After his death the Government for some years continued to support a pastor and Government teacher from available tribal funds. When this arrangement ceased, no regular Protestant church work was done for a number of years.

It was in 1898 that a delegation of Stockbridge Indians came to Rev. Th. Nickel, at that time pastor in Shawano, and requested that he begin church work among them. With alacrity Rev. Nickel accepted the invitation, all the more so since these Indians understood the English language. In that language he preached to them, a considerable number attending the services. In addition, several showed a willingness to take instruction and be baptized. The whole undertaking thus had an auspicious start.

In the following year the *Missouri Synod* decided to take over the mission, the work to be under the direction of an Indian mission board. Mr. J. D. Larsen, of Springfield Theological Seminary, was called as the first missionary. On September 3, 1899, he was ordained and installed among his future charges. For the purposes of the mission twenty acres were bought, and a parsonage was erected at once, one room of which was to serve as a place for religious meetings. However, only nine short months was Rev. Larsen permitted to work among the Indians, his failing health demanding the discontinuation of the highly successful labors. Since it was not possible to secure a new missionary immediately, a student named E. Biegener supplied the

mission for one year. The services were well attended. Soon the meeting room became too small, and in 1901 a church had to be built, an addition to which served for school purposes. The mission station is known as *Red Springs,* while the mail is received at Gresham.

The same year a new missionary was secured in the person of Rev. R. Kretzmann, who was installed on July 14, 1901, at the same time the newly built church and school being dedicated. Rev. Kretzmann began his work with great enthusiasm. Already in 1901 he extended his field to the town of Keshena, and succeeded in establishing a preaching place there. The same result was obtained at Morgan. And in time Gresham was also visited, where he ministered to a number of Indian families.

It has always been realized that a successful mission is largely dependent upon a school where the children may be imbued with the spirit of Christ and thus won over. Rev. Kretzmann as well as the board had no doubt on this point. What else could one expect of members of the *Missouri Synod,* whose parochial school system has been unapproached by any other Lutheran body in America! Mr. O. W. Volkert was accordingly engaged as teacher for the mission school. In August, 1902, he began his work, but already in 1903 God called His faithful servant to his eternal rest. Tho the position remained vacant for some time, the work was continued nevertheless. Rev. Kretzmann himself instructed in religion, while the other subjects were taught for a time by an educated Christian Indian woman. Later,

former Rev. Kraft and a student named Gleffe served in the same capacity. It was not till 1905 that a regular teacher was secured in the person of J. F. Luebke, a graduate of the Teachers' Seminary at Addison. Under his careful guidance the school in Red Springs began to flourish. Children whose parents lived too far from the school were now admitted into the homes of Christian Indians, and this increased the attendance of the school considerably.

Rev. Kretzmann worked with great zeal and enthusiasm, and soon added another place to his already extensive parish. Twenty miles from Red Springs, almost buried in the primeval forest, is the so-called Wiaskesit Settlement of the Menominee Reservation. The missionary in his tour of investigation was informed that a number of children probably could be secured if a school were opened. Acting upon this information, the mission board had a school built, later also a house, and thus the station *Zoar* came into being. The Indians of that vicinity were still heathen, and sanitary conditions among them were unknown. As teacher of the school a certain Barneko was called, whose references seemed to indicate that he would be the proper person for the trying position. But unequal to the chaotic conditions, he left after a few weeks. In order that the work might go on, Rev. Kretzmann secured the services of educated Christian Indian women. But as a rule no one was willing to perform the dreary task long, and the teachers passed in rapid succession.

It was imperative that a regular teacher be se-

cured, and finally the board was successful in calling Mr. A. Krenke. In September, 1904, he began his duties, but already in March, 1905, the illness of his wife compelled him to relinquish the position. After his resignation, educated Indian girls taught for a time, while later the school was abandoned temporarily. However, soon a great change for the better took place. The former missionary, J. D. Larsen, accepted a call to Zoar, arriving in January, 1906. His wife taught school, while he himself did missionary work, besides teaching wherever an opportunity offered itself. But the position of the missionary was anything but pleasant. The Indians were very much addicted to rum, and when their Government allowances were paid, their indulgence knew no bounds. Under such conditions life among them became at times dangerous, tho no real harm was ever done to the missionaries. But in spite of all efforts no visible fruit was seen, for not a single Indian became a Christian. However, Rev. Larsen and his heroic wife worked on till conditions in Red Springs necessitated their removal thither.

The work in Red Springs, the chief station, did not always progress according to the expectations of Rev. Kretzmann. The vices of the Indians especially caused the missionary many a gloomy hour. But in spite of it he worked on courageously, fearlessly denouncing the sins. In time the Indians grew impatient of the continued admonition and became hostile. Mr. Luebke, the faithful teacher of the school, did not escape. And soon the hostile Indians requested the Presbyterians to serve them, an

invitation which was accepted. By this time the severe labor had told on the missionary, and in 1908 ill health compelled him to accept a call from a white congregation. Soon after, the teacher, Mr. Luebke, also left, since the school had almost gone out of existence. For a time the board tried unsuccessfully to fill the vacancy, tho an early appointment had become imperative, as the minister of the Presbyterians was expected within a short time.

In order to save the field, Rev. Larsen of Zoar had to be transferred to Red Springs, where he began his work in April, 1908, one week after the representative of the Presbyterians, a halfblood Sioux Indian, had arrived there. However, Rev. Larsen had this advantage over his rival that he had been stationed in Red Springs before and enjoyed the confidence of the Indians. Under these circumstances the halfblood Sioux soon found it advisable to abandon the field. The incursion of the Presbyterians had had few ill effects. Soon large audiences again greeted the missionary, and the Indians also requested that a school be opened.

Within a short time their request was granted. For in the same year the synod at its general convention decided to erect an administration building and dormitory at Red Springs. In the fall of 1908 the plans were carried out, the building with its equipment costing in the neighborhood of $5,000. Soon seventy-nine children attended the school. Mrs. Larsen had charge of the school, while Rev. Larsen himself taught Catechism and Bible History. Thus the work prospered, a strong impression also being made upon the adults.

The Mission Station at Red Springs

Some of the conversions were truly remarkable. One in particular may be mentioned here. During Kretzmann's residence in Red Springs an old heathen Indian, a former soldier, had exposed himself to the cold while intoxicated, with the result that he became very sick. Rev. Kretzmann visited him and spoke to him about his sins. The Indian appeared to be repentant, was baptized, and promised that he would take further instruction and be confirmed just as soon as his state of health permitted. But with the return of health he continued the former sinful life. Again his intoxication threw him upon the sickbed which became his deathbed. Rev. Larsen, who was then in charge of the mission station at Red Springs, visited him and reproved him sharply on account of his sins. The Indian replied: "You are right, Reverend. I have lived a bad life. You cannot enumerate all the bad things I have done. But now I'll change." When the missionary voiced his doubt about the sincerity of the repentance, the Indian answered: "What you say is all true. They have often called me and I would not come. But now I feel that I must go. My end is coming, and I want to be saved." He desired instruction and the consolation of God's Word. The missionary gave both. When the Catholic priest heard of the sickness of the man, he went to him. Seeing the poverty, he promised to provide all the necessities of life if the man only would turn Catholic. But his offer was met with the reply: "You cannot bait me with a soup bone." Rev. Larsen was rejoiced to see how gladly his instruction

was received. Even when the sick man became weaker and weaker, he would rise in bed, raise the folded hands and his face toward Heaven, and exclaim: "Take me, Lord Jesus, Son of God, take me! I come, I come!" With these sentiments he departed this life.

Not much need be said of Rev. Larsen's activities during his later years, as he became more and more indifferent toward the mission and went into farming and stockraising for himself. Finally, in 1914, the board ended the intolerable condition by accepting the resignation of the missionary.

As successor Rev. Carl Guenther was now called, who formerly had worked for twelve years among the Apaches in Arizona, ill health at last forcing his resignation. He entered upon the duties of his new office on December 6, 1914. As a true missionary he accounted it a privilege to supervise the boarding school and to serve the Indian congregation. The children, to the number of sixty, ranging from six to sixteen years, found a true father in Rev. Guenther, who worked unceasingly for the moral and spiritual uplift of his charges. They were instructed in religion during school hours and had their regular devotional services in connection with their meals. In addition the missionary assembled them at other times, talking to them and praying and singing with them. Miss Koehler in the school did her best to transmit some knowledge to the minds entrusted to her care. Soon the cheerful Christian spirit spread from the children to the

View from the Lake

parents. Stricter measures in regard to the congregation, insistence upon order, etc., brought only temporary opposition. And the mission board gave its hearty co-operation for the advancement of the station.

But the work of the missionary was destined to be short. Some time after Easter he found his strength failing, but instead of enjoying a much needed rest, he was forced to carry the additional burden of six weeks' instruction in the school. The board, notified of his condition, urged him to hold out till the end of June. When this seemed inadvisable, Rev. Guenther handed in his resignation, which was, however, not accepted, a second attempt sharing the same fate. At the end of the school year he was forced to leave. When the rest brought no improvement, the resignation was finally accepted, as another man was now ready to take up the work.

After the resignation of Rev. Guenther a new missionary was secured in the person of Otis L. Lang, a graduate of the theological seminary at St. Louis, Missouri. He arrived in August, 1915, and immediately took charge. His task was principally to superintend the boarding school of the mission, to do general mission work, and perform the duties as pastor of the Indian congregation, then numbering twelve voting members. As the school was without an instructor at that time, he opened it personally the followinng September with an initial attendance of fifty children. Within a short time Mr. E. Hassold, a student from the seminary at St.

Louis, was secured, who ably conducted the school during the year. In the fall Mr. E. A. Peetzke took charge, but the increase in the attendance to almost eighty made a division into two sections necessary. Miss Ina Kempf was in charge of the lower class till the summer of 1917, when Irene Brehmer was secured, who remained at her post until health conditions forced her to resign. In the meantime the school had increased to almost one hundred children.

The missionary took great delight in the religious and secular training of the Indian children as they progressed in faith and knowledge. "To hear them answer the questions of the catechism and give account of their faith in religious instruction, to hear them cheerfully singing praise to their Maker, Redeemer, and Comforter in their Christian hymns, to see them kneeling about their little beds at retiring, saying their evening prayers, is an experience that thrills the heart and melts the eyes in tears of joy of anyone who is familiar with the blind heathendom and savagery that mark the history of their forefathers; it shows by striking examples the Gospel's power in the heart of children when brought under its influence. And to prove the strength of the faith of these little ones, I shall relate an instance. One of them fell victim to the disease so prevalent among the Indians, tuberculosis, and failed very rapidly. She was removed from the school and placed in the care of a relative. Shortly before her death, a Roman Catholic priest, in whose denomination she had been baptized, came to see her

and tried with persuasion, threats, and even force to induce her to return to his church. But she marvelously held her ground, refuting his arguments with passages of Scripture. When finally he told her that her only salvation would be by imploring the Virgin Mary to intercede for her, she pointed to a little prayer book I had left with her and said: 'I pray directly to my Lord Jesus. He has redeemed me and He loves me. He is almighty to save and my only comfort and hope. I need none other to intercede for me.' Thereupon she bade him go. She is seeing now what she faithfully believed."

The mission work in general was also successful. Besides Red Springs with the mission school and congregation, two preaching stations were also served. Until he left, in the early part of 1918, the missionary had baptized three adults and fifteen children, confirming ten in all. He also had the blessed experience of witnessing on deathbeds the triumph of faith in the last bitter hour, the greatest satisfaction and recompense mission work can offer. The Red Springs congregation had almost doubled when in the early part of 1918 ill health forced Rev. Lang to hand in his resignation. But he has not lost his interest in his former charges, which is evident from the following passage: "To behold a Christian congregation of Indians is a remarkable and, indeed, cheering sight, if one reflects upon the history of these people. While formerly the women were treated like despicable beasts by the haughty warriors, they now come arm in arm to sing their Maker's praise. How often did I think of that when glancing over the eager copper-

faced audience before me. God bless our Indian Mission!"

When Rev. Lang was forced to leave, a call was tendered to and accepted by H. M. Tjernagel, a former missionary among the Eskimos in Alaska, who arrived on the field April 5, 1918, receiving a royal welcome from a committee of five Indian women who had prepared a splendid supper in the parsonage. Since that time the work has steadily progressed. However, in late years the boarding school had outgrown its quarters, the building provided in 1908 being entirely too small. The school rooms were overcrowded, and the equipment, including playground, entirely inadequate. The same could be said in regard to dormitory conditions. For some time the synod had been aware of the pressing needs of the mission, and in 1917 made an appropriation of $26,000 for a modern building and equipment. But at first lack of funds, and then the war and the high cost of construction made the mission board hesitate to go ahead. However, at last necessity compelled action, and during the summer of 1920 the erection of a dormitory accommodating about one hundred pupils and the employees was begun. The estimated cost of the building is $37,000, and it is hoped that it will be fully equipped and ready for occupancy at the opening of the new school year in September, 1921. The old dormitory is being remodelled and will be used as a school building.

During the last two years on the average a few more than one hundred pupils were enrolled in the boarding school. All the eight grades are taught

by the two teachers, the missionary himself giving instruction in religion. When Mr. Peetzke left in 1918, being drafted into the army,women teachers and students were employed in the school. As these assistants under the supervision of the missionary have given satisfaction, and as there is a scarcity of the regular parochial teachers, no change is contemplated for the present.

At the present time, the missionary work is carried on at three different places. *Red Springs* with its church and boarding school forms the center. At *Morgan Siding,* four miles from Red Springs, preaching services are conducted every second Sunday. Since there seems to be considerable interest, the synod in 1920 appropriated $1,000 for the erection of a chapel. Semi-monthly services are also held at *Neopit,* twelve miles from Red Springs, where a number of Lutheran Stockbridges work in the mill. Besides giving spiritual food to these people, the services are instrumental in winning annually a number of children for the boarding school at Red Springs. At the three stations there are eighteen voting members, forty communicants, and two hundred forty-four souls, while in all about four hundred persons are reached thru instruction and preaching. Some of the adult Indians are well versed in Lutheran theology, and are good church members.

Thus the work is bearing fruit and showing gratifying results. As an appropriate working motto to the missionary has chosen Isaiah 55:10-11: "For as the rain cometh down, and the snow from heaven, and returneth not thither, but watereth the

earth, and maketh it bring forth and bud, that it may give seed to the sower, and bread to the eater, so shall my word be that goeth forth out of my mouth: it shall not return unto me void, but it shall accomplish that which I please, and it shall prosper in the thing whereto I sent it." On the strength of this he not only hopes but knows that the expenditures in labor and money are not in vain.

Chapter VIII

THE BETHANY INDIAN MISSION OF THE NORWEGIAN CHURCH

IT was in 1883 that the *Norwegian Synod,* now merged in the *Norwegian Lutheran Church,* acting on the appeal of Rev. Tobias Larsen, decided to begin missionary work among the Indians of Northern Wisconsin. In order to obtain concrete results it was proposed to establish a school for Indian children near *Wittenberg* in Shawano Co. However, more than a year passed before the mission board was able to extend a call to Eric O. Moerstad, who arrived on the field September 30, 1884. He was directed to a certain George De Cora, an Indian who might aid him in acquiring the language. "This Indian had discarded his red blanket, was dressed like a white man, and lived in a small log house. He spoke fluent English. The missionary was welcomed by him, and the two were soon busily engaged in preparing a list of words and expressions in the Winnebago language. Mrs. DeCora—let us say—made dinner for them. An old oilcloth was laid on the floor, as there was no table. Nor were there any chairs, and dinner had to be eaten as conveniently as possible seated on the floor. The meal consisted of pork, potatoes, bread and butter, and tea with sugar. It was relished by the partakers, and showed marked improvements in civilization."

Three and a half miles west of Wittenberg, where several families of the Winnebago tribe resided, forty acres of land was secured, and a mission station, receiving the name Bethany, was soon in course of construction. Into this modest building, 18x26, four little Indian boys were received and made comfortable. In spite of this, the temptation for these boys to return to their kin was great. At the same time, Indians as well as unscrupulous whites tried to hinder the work in every conceivable way. As usual in such cases, the missionary was represented as a dangerous man. Among other things, it was claimed that every family from which children attended the mission school would lose fifty dollars of its annual Government allowance. Here also, as in the case of the Bethany Mission in Michigan, the story was circulated that children would be sent across the ocean and never return. But these slanderous statements had little effect.

In September, 1885, the Indian mission board held a session at Wittenberg and naturally also visited the mission station. There they were received by Mr. Midtbo and family, which seems to indicate that Rev. Moerstad no longer had to attend to household duties. After due deliberation it was decided to make further improvements in order to accommodate the Indian boys who presumably would attend the school during the coming winter. Already before, the building had been enlarged by a frame addition, and now the roof on the part built of logs was to be raised in order that the attic might serve as sleeping quarters for the boys. It was furthermore decided to build at Wit-

tenberg and to expand the work, the report stating that "we must do something for the Indians, so much the more as we now have the consent of the Government to receive children also from other parts, especially the Stockbridge and Oneida reservations, as well as to carry on the work in general."

For a consideration of eight hundred dollars eighty acres of land was bought for the new station during the winter of 1886. In the spring and summer this land was cleared of boulders, timber, and underbrush. A well, which provided excellent water, was also dug. However, in the fall of the same year, Rev. Moerstad, who previously had asked for his release, and whom we shall meet again as a missionary to the Pottawatomies, left the station. It was now deemed best to discontinue the work at the old location, the six remaining Indian children being temporarily cared for at the Homme Orphans' Home at Wittenberg. The building and the forty acres of land, now partly cleared and cultivated, were bought by Mr. Midtbo, the steward.

Building operations on the new site progressed rapidly, the first structure with the respectable dimensions of 28x72 and 28x60, having basement, two stories, and an attic, being finished during the first half of 1887. On July 4th this Bethany Indian Mission and Industrial School was solemnly dedicated. Thus the mission had found a second and more commodious home for its work among the Indian children. Including the land, the property represented a value of six thousand dollars. A new superintendent was secured in the person of Rev.

T. Larsen, who with two teachers and other employees entered upon his new duties on the day of the dedication of the mission. This force was augmented in the following year by the appointment of Axel Jacobson as teacher and assistant superintendent.

At the beginning eight children were in attendance, but in August this number was increased by twelve from the Oneida tribe, while in November an additional twelve swelled the total to thirty-two. Soon an important event made possible another increase. For on January 1, 1888, a contract was entered into with the United States Government for the support of twenty-five children. This contract was renewed from time to time, the number of Government supported children being gradually increased. Thus in 1894, for instance, it provided for one hundred and fifty children. These were generally drawn from different tribes, in 1894 being divided as follows: Oneida ninety-nine, Stockbridge thirty-two, Brothertown ten, Winnebago five, Chippewas ten, Mohawks three. By securing children from different tribes, the work of education and civilization was greatly aided, as the children were thus forced to desist from using their native dialect in play and conversation. The financial support granted by the Government, however, was inadequate, as the Government schools received for their children about twice the amount of that of the contract schools.

This partial control by the Government did not affect the religious life in any marked way. Practically the only restriction was in the use of denom-

inational text books, but this could be made good thru verbal instruction. Each day the children were taught the fundamentals of the Christian religion, they had their morning and evening devotional exercises, and on Sundays attended the regular service.

Besides the usual subjects, work of a vocational nature was also taken up. "Since the Allotment Bill of 1887 entitles the Oneidas and Chippewas to a piece of land individually on their respective reservations, some time is spent in giving the boys instruction and practice in farming and clearing land. The work progresses slowly, but at times it is interesting to listen to the young fellows' plans and devices as to their future home, on which Uncle Sam in time awards them a deed. There is also an opportunity for those who wish to learn carpentry, painting, smithery, etc."

On account of failing health Rev. Larsen had relinquished the superintendency in 1893, being succeeded by Axel Jacobson, who occupied that position till 1895. In that year congressional action made a radical change necessary. A bill was passed which reduced the contracts 20 per cent each year, so that in 1900 all support would be withdrawn, tho Indian treaty and trust funds could still be used. As in 1895 the attendance had reached the number of one hundred and forty, the synod was unable to operate the Bethany Mission on such a large scale. So it was finally agreed to sell the entire property to the United States Government, which was to continue the school. The superintendency of the Government institution was offered to Axel Jacobson

with the understanding that the old teaching force be retained. Mr. Jacobson accepted and held the position as superintendent of the school and agent for the Winnebago tribe from 1895-1905, when he resigned to take a long deserved rest after eighteen years of continuous work among the Indians.

The *Norwegian Synod* decided to continue the mission on a smaller scale at a suitable location, where, it was thought, the children would be afforded better opportunity to receive industrial training of the kind they needed. The Ingersoll farm, located seven miles from Wittenberg, was bought, and in July, 1900, the Indian Mission moved into its new home and was continued independently of the United States Government.

As a superintendent of the mission Rev. B. Hovde was appointed, being succeeded after his retirement a few years later by Mr. O. C. Tostrud, an experienced teacher, who with the help of his devoted wife achieved considerable success. The number of children during this period was of course far smaller than at Wittenberg, ranging from twenty-five to fifty, mostly of the Winnebago tribe. They did not remain during the whole year, as had been expected, but arrived late in the fall and left during May. Thus the plan of having the Indian children work on the farm during the summer could not be realized. Neither was the operation of a large farm in connection with the mission a very paying proposition. One can imagine the trying time of the superintendent, who had to manage both the farm and the mission. He was forced to do the greater part of the teaching and

assist in the farm work, while all the other duties of the double position rested upon his shoulders. Among these were marketing, trips to secure children and to bring them back when they ran away, which not seldom happened.

However, the location was not a very good one. The nearest railroad stations were Eland Junction, four miles, and Wittenberg, seven miles distant. This involved considerable labor and much inconvenience. The spiritual needs were looked after by Rev. M. C. Waller, who conducted divine services at the mission every third Sunday during the school year. All baptisms, confirmations, and communion services also took place at Ingersoll instead of at the church in Wittenberg.

The handicaps of the location were found increasingly embarrassing, so finally, in 1912, a committee was appointed charged with the duty to visit Ingersoll together with the Indian mission board. It was to report back to the synod the results of its investigation, especially in regard to the advisability of moving the mission to some other place. On the strength of the report made by this committee, the general convention was petitioned to sell the Ingersoll farm and to move the mission to some city, preferably Wittenberg. The recommendations of the board were adopted, and in the fall of 1913 the mission was back once more in Wittenberg, where the entire property of the Wittenberg Academy Association had been bought for Indian mission purposes.

Prof. Axel Jacobson was now called to the superintendency, and under his able administration

the Bethany Indian Mission has enjoyed a healthy growth. The whole movement received a great impetus when the newly formed *Norwegian Lutheran Church* authorized the repurchase of the original Bethany Indian Mission site, so that the school is

Indians and Their Dwelling

now located at its old quarters. A number of valuable improvements had been made during the Government ownership. The deal, involving property estimated at $65,000, was concluded in January, 1919.

At the well appointed quarters at Wittenberg, the attendance has steadily increased. For some years it ranged from fifty to seventy, but lately the one hundred mark has been passed. During the latter part of 1919 there were 120 children in the school, with an additional one hundred applications on file. This year, 1920-21, has seen the largest

Missionary Workers with Their Charges

attendance in the history of the school, 140 being enrolled. These are mostly from the Winnebago and Oneida tribes. There are eighteen members in the confirmation class, and twelve children are likely to be baptized. Since the beginning of the Bethany Indian Mission there have been 363 adult and infant baptisms, 142 have been confirmed, and 425 have communed. In the school the common branches are taught; in addition religious instruction is given, the children being divided into convenient groups for that purpose. But not only does the mission furnish instruction, but also food and lodging, and to a considerable extent also clothing.

Among the older Indians in the settlement considerable progress has been made. Services are held every Sunday afternoon, and the attendance is fair. A number of adult baptisms have also taken place of late. Furthermore, the work has been extended to the Indian settlements near Wittenberg, services being held at the Bethany Indian Church at Embarrass River. The children and others are also somewhat assisted as to clothing, especially during the coldest part of the winter. Rev. T. M. Rykken, of the 1920 class from Luther Theological Seminary, devotes his time exclusively to Indian missionary work.

When more than thirty years ago the missionaries began work among the Winnebagoes in the forests of Wisconsin, the Red Man paid only slight attention to them. No material want existed then, for there was an abundance of deer in those days, deer hunting being the main source of sustenance

Scenes from Indian Life

for the Indians. Every one was then dressed in buckskin, and quite often the wigwams were also covered with the same material. In winter it was a common sight to see one or more carcasses of frozen deer hanging outside of the wigwam. Before the first fall hunt a dance lasting one or two days was held, when by speeches and supplications they implored divine blessing for the first hunt.

These Indians, happy and contented, were entirely deaf and indifferent to the pleadings of the missionaries to send their children to school. As hunting became poorer and want made its presence felt, a gradual change took place. A few children began attending school, and reading and writing came to be looked upon as a good thing. But when it became known that the children received instruction about the Triune God, there was violent objection from the medicine men, of which the tribe of fourteen hundred had about seventy-five.

In course of time, however, a great change also appeared in this respect, and very gratifying results in the Christianization of the Indians were secured. Superintendent Jacobson narrates one instance which tends to destroy the fallacy that one cannot civilize or Christianize a heathen in the first generation. "I have in mind a Winnebago boy, a relative of Bighawk the chief. I tried and tried for a couple of years back in 1888 or 9 to get the father to send him to school. He was a bright looking lad about eight years old, clad in buskskin from top to toe, also wearing the long cue down the back of his head. One day I succeeded in getting him into school. I took him below to the laundry building, clipped

his hair, and dressed him up in white man's clothing. The next day the father appeared, looked at the boy in a surly manner, and eyed me in no more lovable style. At last he pointed to where the cue had been and also made signs as to the buckskin clothing. I walked along down to where I had clipped the hair, and the old man carefully hunted until he found the cue of hair, and after carefully wrapping this up in the buckskin clothing, he left satisfied. The unexpected happened. The boy stayed right here at the mission, learned to play the E-flat bass horn in our Indian brass band better than any white boy, was baptized and confirmed. He was a real Christian spirited boy. We sent him to the Carlisle Indian School for further training. While there the Spanish American War came on, and Thomas Bear and another boy, Albert Thunder, left for the Philippines as United States soldiers, Thomas as leader of the regimental band. After serving two years he was honorably discharged and came back here to take up a course in our Lutheran Academy. Thomas was taken sick of a spinal disease and died at the academy a true Christian. The principal of the school gave him the testimony of being the neatest, best behaved, and Christian spirited boy at the academy, where he was the only Indian."

How different and in many respects easier is not the work now than it was thirty years ago! Then the workers had to scour the country for weeks, mostly on foot, and how they rejoiced if only one child was entrusted to their care. Now the parents bring them to the mission without any solicita-

tion and beg the superintendent to teach them about the true God and Christ the Savior. When the medicine men still held perfect sway, the parents on hearing that their children were taught religion at the mission school rebelled. The teaching of such useful things as reading and writing they permitted, but considered themselves and their medicine men alone competent persons to give instruction concerning the Great Spirit. At the present time the situation is entirely changed. Only about three to four hundred are still clinging to the old beliefs, while the others believe with varying strength in the Triune God, who speaks to men thru His inspired Word. The influence of the few remaining medicine men is fast waning. Thus Bethany Indian Mission under the guidance of its enthusiastic superintendent is permitted to perform its great work without let or hindrance.

Chapter IX

THE EIELSEN SYNOD MISSION AMONG THE POTTAWATOMIES

IN the fall of the year 1884 the undersigned was sent by the *Norwegian Lutheran Synod* to start mission work among the Indians in the vicinity of Wittenberg, Shawano Co., Wisconsin. For reasons not to be given in this very short sketch; but which, at that time at least, seemed sufficiently important, I resigned and left said position in the fall of 1886. I did, however, get much interested in the poor, neglected Indians, and never could rid myself of the feeling of the urgent responsibility that we, who profess to be Christians, have in bringing them the Word of God, the Gospel of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ (Matt. 28: 19-20). I am glad that the mission work among the Indians in that vicinity has been continued ever since I left, and, as I verily believe, by much more efficient workers than the then young and inexperienced individual who was to try to make a start, and that a large and prosperous mission school is still carried on at Wittenberg by the Norwegian Lutheran Church.

While the largest part of the Indians around Wittenberg were Winnebagoes, there were also quite a number of the so-called Pottawatomie tribe. The last named, being, at that time at least, by far the more industrious and thrifty of the two, partic-

ularly attracted my attention and interest. Several of these attended the mission school I had there at that time.

After vicissitudes and experiences gone thru for several years, I felt about the year 1893 a strong inclination to do something for my Pottawatomie friends. In that year I made written application for aid at the annual conference at Clear Lake, Iowa, of the *Eielsen Synod,* to which body. I then belonged. The dear Christian friends assembled there gave a very hearty response to my appeal, and decided to take up and support the proposed mission work among these poor, benighted, and so long neglected people. I began teaching both young and old at their village some four to five miles from Wittenberg. However, in that neighborhood all the land had been bought up long before and only a few of the Indian families possessed title to forty acre tracts of cleared and cultivated land. Most of them were looking for more land and new homes, which they found in the timbered parts of Marinette, Forest, and Oconto counties, Wis. Most of these families and others of the northeastern part of Wisconsin moved to this region during the following years. As they had no money to buy land, however, they could take up only such pieces of homestead land as was left scattered thruout these wholly unsettled and thickly timbered regions. In consequence of this the Indians became badly scattered, being placed quite a number of miles apart in the dense forest.

It can easily be imagined that this made it very difficult to carry on mission work among these peo-

ple. But I have tried to do what I could, learning their language, a variation of the Otchipwe, entirely distinct from the Winnebago which I had been trying to acquire years before, teaching and instructing such as I could gather. And then for many years, eventually together with attorneys at Washington, I endeavored to obtain for them the benefits promised them in treaties. Thus finally we recovered about $450,000 justly found due them by our Government. This took many years, but at last a superintendency was provided for them, at first at Carter, and now for several years at Laona, Wis. With the money recovered for them land has been bought and houses built for some sixty or seventy families in this neighborhood and not far from Escanaba in northern Michigan. In addition, horses, cattle, and farm implements were also provided for them. Thus by God's kind providence their temporal condition has been materially improved.

But as to the most important of all, the one thing needful, I am sorry to say, we have, for reasons that may partly be inferred from the above short description, as yet not been able to do much for them. But I trust and hope in the Lord, who has had compassion on us all in calling us to Him by the blessed Gospel, and who would not that any one, of any nation or tribe, should perish, but that all should come to repentance and thru faith in Jesus have everlasting life, that thru the operation of His Spirit there may yet be an awakening among these so much neglected and unfortunate people. To every earnest and praying soul who reads this, I would say: Oh, remember this poor and ignorant

Indian tribe in your prayers! My health has been failing for a number of years, after much mental and physical exertion thruout life, and I have not been able to get around much of late years. But Rev. L. A. Dokken and his sister, stationed at Carter, who are yet in the prime of life and active in getting around among the Indians and others, have now for a few years been in this work. This makes the situation more hopeful. May we all be more seriously concerned about our salvation, and by the grace of God do all we can for our fellow men!

—E. O. MOERSTAD.

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CHAPTER VIII

Waller, M. C., *Bethany Indian Mission*, is a valuable source. For the presentation of this mission the author found a very helpful assistant in Superintendent Axel Jacobson, who furnished much material and all the illustrations, most of them in cuts.

CHAPTER IX

Rev. Moerstad's article appears substantially as sent in, some slight stylistic changes being due to the author.

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