In 1767, David Zeisberger and a small group of Moravian Indians began a perilous journey into the Ohio territory to introduce Moravian Christianity to the Delaware Indians. Unbeknownst to them when they started, this venture eventually led to the creation of one of the largest Indian missions in North America. During the next forty-one years, Zeisberger and his faithful assistants welcomed more than four hundred converts and almost as many non-converted residents into numerous settlements. By the time the Moravians entered the Ohio country, most Delaware Indians already had fled from their homes in New Jersey and later Pennsylvania westward into the Northwest Territory. When Zeisberger arrived in 1767, the Delawares were living in the territory of the Miamis who had offered them refuge. During the next forty years, as circumstances dictated, especially those created by war, the missionaries and converts relocated for their safety and survival. They established thirteen settlements mainly in the Ohio country along the Muskingum River, and one in what later became Michigan on Lake St. Clair and two along the Thames River in Canada.

While Zeisberger acted as chief missionary and over the years other missionaries joined his efforts, converts and the missionaries’ Delaware assistants—communicants who had been selected for their outstanding commitment, behavior and leadership—made all political and military decisions. Economic decisions, however, remained with individuals and families, sometimes to the missionaries’ dismay. Each family had its own agricultural plot, and those who chose to do so and could afford it possessed livestock. Some traded their crops, skins, and venison as they liked, and others chose to retain the family’s resources for their own use. Traditional methods of hoe farming, hunting, gathering, and trading were practiced at the mission settlements. The mission economy, therefore, resembled the economy of a typical Delaware village. This was
so in part because David Zeisberger did not require the Moravian Indians to duplicate European economic life, although the missionaries tried to impart the importance of planning for future needs. In sum, the Indians engaged in whatever economic practices and activities had succeeded prior to the missionaries’ arrival. Indian techniques for making a living proved to be the most reliable and practical methods to ensure economic survival on the frontier.

For scores of years prior to the arrival of the Moravian missionaries, Indians in the Ohio country, including the Delawares, had participated in a widespread trading network that tied Indians, French, British and colonists together in a complex economy, with all sides seeking to acquire the products they desired in an equitable exchange. While the missionaries and their accompanying converts were newcomers to this economic arena, their new Delaware converts were experts on the requirements of the Ohio trade network. But new elements also intruded upon the Moravian Indians’ economic practices. Specifically, war led to forced relocation and hunger, and relocation led to the adoption of new crops and to increased proximity to whites, both British and American. The result was an increase in trade among those groups, as well as the addition of new commodities to the trade not part of the earlier commerce. Over the decades, the mission Indians adjusted their economy to meet these novel demands and to take advantage of new opportunities created in an unfamiliar environment and by persistent white encroachment.¹

Four distinct eras may be identified in how the Delaware converts and other Moravian residents provided a living for themselves. The first, 1768 through 1780, was marked by relative peace and regular participation in the commerce of the Middle Ground as the Great Lakes region has come to be called in recent years. Then the kidnapping of Moravian missionaries by the Wyandots in 1781 led to an era of population loss, forced dislocation and relocation, and sometimes war. In 1792, a third phase followed during which the Moravian Indians established a new permanent settlement in Canada, and in doing so entered a more urban economy. To ensure their survival in that new economy, they made a number of adjustments and adopted new techniques of production and trade. Finally in 1798 upon their return to their original mission territory in Ohio, the converts faced and adapted to a world quite different from the one they had been forced to leave seventeen years earlier.

For the first thirteen years of the mission, from 1768 to 1780, the Delaware converts, growing quickly in numbers, followed their typical self-sufficient economic practices which were much like their Indian neighbors’. Corn or maize was the primary crop grown and one of the primary sources for food for mission residents. Like their neighbors, the converts planted twice each year, once in the spring and once in late summer. As with all agricultural societies, the success of their efforts greatly depended on the weather. While many years yielded plentiful harvests, other years resulted in small harvests often of poor
quality and the unreliability of the harvest led to insecurity for the converts. The first crop after the mission had been founded, for example, turned out to be a poor one; only half of it ripened. They had planted late, and an early frost compounded the loss. Yet, the next year, the converts had a very good harvest, the “best in the area.” Such unpredictable crop yields often led to food shortages and that forced the converts to travel long distances to Fort Pitt in Pennsylvania and elsewhere to trade for corn and flour. In short, the presence of an established trading economy helped to ensure the Moravian Indians’ survival in an unpredictable agricultural economy.  

During this thirteen-year spell of peace, hunting remained the second most important economic activity for the mission Indians. With few exceptions the converts followed traditional patterns of hunting. The men hunted primarily from late fall through early spring, and their main prey was deer. In addition to deer, the brethren also hunted bear when possible. Often they were very successful; on one occasion they killed more than twenty in one hunt. Sometimes the hunters remained away from the mission for weeks, returned with their catch, and then resumed the hunt. At other times, the hunters left home only for a few days. The availability of wild game and the hunters’ success determined how long the men were gone from the settlements. The hunters returned home often, in part, because they did not like remaining away from their families and the mission for long periods. But Zeisberger also encouraged the hunters to return once a week for the regular Sabbath service, and most hunters tried their best to do so.  

Sugar making was an annual activity that coincided with the end of the winter hunt. In most years, the converts began the process in late February and finished by mid-April. Sugar making required that the converts leave the mission for the duration. They ordinarily built huts on site and remained there until they finished boiling the sugar. Because of these requirements, the converts held religious services only infrequently, and often the missionaries joined the brethren, making sugar for their own consumption. While in most years they produced a good supply of sugar, there were seasons when the converts made less than they had hoped to produce. And 1774 turned out to be one of those years. High water and early warm weather resulted in a small yield, and most of the brethren made little more than one hundred pounds, an unusually small amount.  

Regardless of their efforts the Moravian Indians sometimes suffered a famine. In 1775, for example, Zeisberger noted that many Indians were living on berries alone, a kind of food used ordinarily only to supplement their diet when crops did poorly. Although some of the Moravian Indians possessed cattle used to produce milk and butter and horses that they had acquired as early 1770, the converts did not eat beef because they found it “coarse and unpalatable.” Therefore, the Moravian Indians were forced to
rely on trade to supply themselves with food, but that was a perilous venture at best in a time of war. The Moravian Indians ordinarily traded mainly with itinerant merchants from Canada and New Orleans, and with Americans at Fort Pitt. Contact with traders was occasional and took place primarily when traders visited the mission settlements.\textsuperscript{7}

Unfortunately, the British acquisition of Canada in 1763 had produced a decline in the well-established trade with the French that was replaced by a purely diplomatic relationship with the British. The British tried to restrict the Ohio trade to their military posts, but some French traders continued to work in the region, taking goods to and from New Orleans. In exchange for animal pelts, mostly deerskins, converts traded for flour, corn, cloth, clothing, cattle and horses. This trade supplemented the Indians' food supply when harvests failed and deer and other animals proved scarce.\textsuperscript{8}

In short, the continuation of long established economic practices in the Ohio territory characterized the first era of the Moravian mission. The cultivation of crops, hunting, and gathering of wild foods remained the basis of economic survival for all Indians in the region, including the Moravian converts. But they also traded intermittently with traveling American, British, and French merchants, and thereby formed an important part of a regional economy despite the fact that they had segregated themselves into villages apart from other Indians in the Ohio Valley as well as from Europeans. While these early years did not always prove safe and prosperous for the Moravian converts, the mission Indians did succeed in maintaining their traditional economy essentially unchanged from the years prior to the arrival of the missionaries. Unfortunately, they were not allowed to continue in this fashion.

Towards the end of this peaceful era, the American Revolutionary War erupted leading to difficulties for all Indians in the Ohio country. With hostilities rising and increasing threats of outright warfare in the territory, hunting sometimes became problematic. The year 1779 will serve as an example. In that year, the brethren were unable to hunt because, away from the mission and the protective presence of the missionaries, the Moravian Indians found themselves at serious risk of attack from hostile Indians and Americans both.\textsuperscript{9} Therefore they chose to remain at home where they felt safer. At the same time, Indian warriors from various nations, relying upon Indian and Moravian traditions of generosity to all visitors, frequented the mission settlements to acquire food on their journeys to and from combat. So even when actual conflict did not come to the villages, the demands of traveling warriors, whom the converts as both Indians and Moravians could not refuse, further strained a sometimes already limited food supply. These extra demands led to a decrease in the mission's food supply and fewer skins to use for themselves or to trade for clothing and corn, thus bringing economic hardship to the mission congregation and increasing the likelihood of food
shortages and famine.10

The fall of 1781 brought the most severe hardships and heartbreaks to the mission, the worst the congregation would experience. Half-King, chief of the Wyandots, kidnapped the missionaries and forced them to travel to Detroit. Upon questioning, Half-King revealed that the British had accused David Zeisberger and his assistants of spying for the American government and had ordered that they be brought to Detroit for questioning. Thereafter, many of the terrified converts attempted to remain with their religious leaders even though it meant moving frequently and not having a reliable food supply. It took months for them to complete their frightening journey to Detroit, as moving during the winter proved to be especially difficult and much time had to be spent along the way hunting animals and gathering food.

In the spring of 1782, the Indian converts came very close to starvation because, in the confusion of the kidnapping, they had been unable to bring along any of the food they had stored for the winter. Eager to get his captives to Detroit, Half-King did not allow the converts to remain in one location long enough to plant, grow and harvest crops. Food shortages and impending famine therefore were a constant peril. Shortly after the kidnapping, the converts and missionaries found themselves reduced to subsisting on wild potatoes that soon became the staple of their diet. In the end, Half-King, faced with an enormous disaster that might lead to serious diplomatic repercussions, allowed some captives to travel to the Shawnees and Tuscarawas to beg for corn.11

After much pleading, Half-King also permitted ninety-two converts and six of their Indian friends to return to their abandoned village of Gnadenhutten to retrieve some corn stored there. Shortly after their arrival, an American militia unit came to the town and took all ninety-eight Indians captive again. Jacob, who had been hit on the head by the Americans but had only been stunned, managed to escape into the woods. Thomas, a teenage boy, also escaped but only after an American soldier had scalped him and left him for dead. Although the converts told the Americans that they were Christians and

Kentucky emigrants attacked by Indians, from The Backwoodsmen or Tales of the Borders, by Walter W. Spooner Cincinnati, W. E. Dibble & Co., 1883. The Filson Historical Society
peaceful, the soldiers placed the remaining captives in an abandoned building which they then set on fire. Although severely injured, Thomas managed to return to the missionaries and told them of the massacre.\textsuperscript{12}

This tragic episode permanently changed the mission. The converts lost almost one-fourth of their population in the massacre, and four of the most important converts—the former Delaware chiefs Isaac Glikhikan and his wife Anna Benigna, Peter Echpalawehund, and Israel Welapachtschiechen—were among those murdered at Gnadenhutten. This loss combined with the fact that being a Christian provided no protection from the Americans greatly affected the Moravian Indians’ ability to attract new converts to replace those lost. And, while they now had fewer members to provide for, they also had fewer people to labor for the survival of the congregation. Finally, the massacre also began a long-term demographic disruption of the mission. Fear and confusion led many converts to flee the mission, rejoining by choice or force their unconverted families scattered throughout the region. Clearly, the Ohio country was no longer safe for the Indian brethren, and a new, safe location had to be found.\textsuperscript{13}

Back in Detroit, once the missionaries had been questioned and exonerated by the British, they began looking for a new residence. However, it quickly became apparent that finding a suitable tract of land for the converts would prove to be difficult. Thereafter, frequent relocations as the missionaries tried to find an acceptable site for a permanent settlement contributed to continuing food shortages. Severe winters from 1784 to 1790 drastically reduced wildlife populations and damaged crops, and that meant that the converts frequently faced hunger and famine. In 1784 and 1790 the shortages became so severe that the converts dispersed to fend for themselves by gathering wild foods away from the mission.\textsuperscript{14}

After much searching, a failed attempt to reenter Ohio and a number of
other temporary efforts, in 1792 the Moravian missionaries and their converts found a spot along the Thames River in Canada near Detroit where they reestablished the mission under the protection of the British. They called the new settlement Fairfield. Word of their new location went out throughout the Ohio country, as did a call for all converts scattered among the Ohio Indians to rejoin the mission in Canada. And over the next few years, many converts dislocated by the kidnapping of the missionaries found their way to the new settlement.

In Fairfield, corn continued to be the primary food crop, but through close proximity to European American farmers the converts learned to plant new crops such as turnips, potatoes, and wheat that grew quite well in the cold northern climate. While the brethren consumed much of this produce, they also traded their surplus to neighboring white populations and to the Great Northwest Fur Company. According to Zeisberger’s accounts, the converts eagerly added these new crops to their production because it made them less dependent upon one crop. With a new crop came a new kind of agriculture. Towards the end of their stay in Canada, the converts began to use a plow in addition to their traditional hoe cultivation. Not possessing plows or plow horses and not knowing how to use them, the converts hired white people to plow their wheat fields for them. Apparently, the plow was used only for preparing the fields; there is no mention of it being used for corn cultivation. In addition to the crops they grew, the converts gathered and consumed whortleberries and chestnuts, and Peter, one of the converts, had domestic bees from which he acquired mostly wax and some honey. Clearly, with these new foods, the Moravian Indians’ diet became more varied and less dependent on a single crop than when they had lived in the Ohio country.15

Hunting also continued to be important as a source of meat for the congregation. However, the converts faced a new and persistent problem, a scarcity of wild game. Zeisberger noted that from 1784 through 1798 deer were not as plentiful in southern Canada as they
had been in the converts' former settlements in Ohio. Therefore, seasonal hunts were not longer sufficient and the Moravian Indians began to hunt more often and throughout the year. But even year-round hunting proved so unreliable that the converts, for the first time, bought deer meat and bear meat from the Chippewas who lived further north. In exchange for the meat, the Moravian Indians traded corn, milk, butter, and other produce. And this trade in staple foods in turn increased the need for surplus production of corn and other products, an increasing burden on their economy. The converts now had to clear more fields and harvest more crops, all of which took considerable effort and time. In addition, they probably increased the size of their cattle herds and spent more time milking cows and processing dairy products. Due to these changes, the Moravian converts now spent vastly more time in food production than they had during their years in the Ohio country.\(^{16}\)

The most significant change in the converts' economy lay in the Indians' new and sizeable trade in manufactured goods with residents of Detroit who had a great desire for goods that they did not produce themselves, goods that were, perhaps, less expensive than those available from British or American merchants. The Moravian Indian women, for example, began to manufacture baskets, brooms, and mats specifically for sale. In exchange for these items, the brethren received corn, flour, venison, potatoes to plant, and apples, the last of which were a favorite of the Moravian Indians for they traded almost anything to have some. Other Moravian Indians began gathering wild foods for trade, including acorns and especially ginseng that was highly prized by white settlers.\(^ {17}\) The requirements of manufacturing a surplus for sale led the Moravian Indians to spend more time than they did in the past gathering raw materials and manufacturing those products. Canoes made by the Moravian Indian men for traders, especially, proved to be time-consuming to produce.\(^ {18}\)

As a result of this increase in trade, the number of contacts between the converts and whites increased dramatically during this period. Most contact between Moravians and traders, for example, now occurred at the white settlements and with neighboring store-owners and traders, rather than with itinerant traders who came to the mission settlements. Now some of the converts traveled significant distances to seek out traders, instead of waiting for the traders to come to the mission villages and ask for permission to trade. In
consequence, the time required to conduct trade significantly increased for the Moravian Indians. But the close proximity to whites also led to another new economic development, the trade of Indian labor for goods, mostly corn. With the need to supplement their incomes in the face of a decline in hunting, many converts worked seasonally for local farmers gathering crops. Generally, the converts received part of the corn harvest in exchange for their labor. But the time they spent away from their own fields and livestock or manufacturing activities countered that gain. This was an undesirable but necessary development, according to the missionaries.\(^1\)

Despite all the difficulties, many of the Moravian converts prospered in Canada. When preparing to leave Fairfield, Zeisberger noted that by 1798 the converts were making over 5,000 pounds of sugar most winters and sold some of it, and they sold approximately 2,000 bushels of corn to white settlers in Detroit in many years. The most distinguishing sign of success, however, lay in the value of their properties. Some converts owned houses and fields worth between two hundred and three hundred British pounds. Compared to many Canadian settlers, some of the Moravian Indians could have been classified as wealthy.\(^2\)

The sixteen years following the massacre led to significant changes in the economy of the Moravian converts and Zeisberger's mission. Growing new crops, consuming new foods, gathering and manufacturing for trade, exchanging labor for food, and increased interaction with white settlers marked the new developments for the converts. Perhaps the most significant change lay in the many hours the converts now spent manufacturing, laboring, and traveling for trade. While they gained necessary and desirable products in return for their efforts, the converts now spent a large percentage of their time producing for others as opposed to producing for themselves, all while still producing food, clothing and other products for their own consumption. While some converts gained significant wealth from this new situation, their economy had become more complex and more diverse as a result of their forced move to Canada. This was not the life they had lived previously and it was not the life that David Zeisberger had envisioned for the Moravian Indians when he went west to establish this new community. What had begun as temporary adjustments became permanent. Significantly for the converts, much of this new economy continued even after they returned to their original settlements in the Ohio territory.

It was not until 1798 that Zeisberger and his Moravian converts found an opportunity to return to the Ohio country as they had long desired. Although the Revolutionary War had ended in 1783, violence and irregular warfare raged in what became the Northwest Territory until the late 1790s. Indians and American settlers fought over land and their different understanding of treaties and agreements. Indians in the Ohio country, for
example, never agreed to relinquish control of the region; the Americans used treaties made with the Iroquois (whose authority the various Ohio Indian nations did not recognize) to claim possession of the land; and the infamous Fort Harmar Treaty of 1788 was signed by Indians who were not recognized chiefs or war leaders and who, therefore, had no authority to sign anything on their nations' behalf. The refusal and inability of the American government to control the thousands of squatters who invaded Ohio also exacerbated the problem. Adding to the difficulties, the Virginia government encouraged its Kentucky militia to attack the Indians. Warfare erupted repeatedly and frequently between Indians and Americans.²¹

In the late 1790s, the Indians and Americans finally managed to create a tense peace in the territory north of the Ohio River that opened the way for the Moravian mission to return. John Heckewelder, a former missionary with Zeisberger and now an employee of the United States government, entered the Ohio country to survey the land for his new employer. Part of his assignment was to survey the land Congress had granted to the Moravian Church in Pennsylvania as restitution for the militia's massacre of ninety-six converts at Gnadenhutten. Once that survey had been completed and land assigned to the Moravian Church centered on territory occupied by Zeisberger's mission prior to 1781, David Zeisberger and his converts could make their plans for returning to the Ohio country.

In late 1798, the missionaries and converts who chose to return had to begin all over again. The Ohio country had become a vastly different place during the converts' sixteen years absence from the territory. The various Indian nations who had remained there were defeated by the Americans and had either removed further west or had grudgingly accepted submission to the American government. This development was quickly followed by the establishment of many white settlements in an attempt to incorporate the Ohio territory into the fledgling United States. While the Moravian Church owned a sizeable piece of property in Ohio, white settlements quickly sprang up along the borders of the church's property, and the Moravian Church itself also established a white Moravian community within the church's territory. In short, the Moravian Indians could not escape white encroachment, a fact that would affect their lives and their economy dramatically in subsequent years.²²
Agriculture continued to be the primary economic activity for the Moravian Indians, and that was focused mainly on traditional crops such as corn, along with sugar making and gathering wild foods. But they also grew some new crops, including straw and oats, and by 1803 they had begun to cultivate wheat that they had learned to grow in Canada. What distinguished their agricultural practices in Ohio from Fairfield, Canada, was the increased use of the plow to prepare their fields. In 1802, the Heathen Society of the Moravian Church sent a plow to the mission, the first mention in the records of the mission owning such an implement. However, unlike in Canada where they had always hired white men to plow for them, the converts now learned how to use the plow themselves. For this instruction they were fortunate to have Moravian Brother Urich living nearby, and he gave them the necessary lessons. A second plow arrived from the Moravian Church in 1804, and soon the Moravian Indians apparently preferred plow agriculture to the hoe, and by 1807 they plowed all their fields, even their corn. In their zeal for new agricultural practices, the converts also added fruit orchards to their farms much like the ones they had seen in Canada. In 1801, for example, they planted apple and peach trees, and they had a nice harvest of peaches the following year. They thereby reduced their dependence on whites for this favorite food and had another commodity available for trade. Finally, the Moravian Indians began to raise hogs, a critical supplement for meat that earlier had been harvested from an unpredictable deer population. Hogs were primarily used for home consumption and were rarely traded for goods, unlike cattle that also continued to be kept for both trade and the production of dairy products. In sum, the Moravian Indians had now adopted much of the European system of agriculture, including its technology and crops.
But, after their move back to Ohio, the converts also resumed traditional hunting as a primary source of meat and skins for clothes. Unlike southern Canada, Ohio was brimming with deer and bears, and the converts hunted as much bear as they did deer, a change from their first decades in Ohio. In fact, the Moravian Indians had more success in hunting during their first years back in Ohio than they had experienced earlier. In only seven months during the winter and spring of 1799-1800, converts killed one hundred ninety-six bears and even more deer. The primary reason that there were so many bears available for the killing lay in the fact that, during the Revolutionary War, the Indians in the Ohio country had been afraid to hunt near white populations. Therefore, the bear population had significantly increased due to a lack of predation. Contributing to their success in the hunt, the brethren continued to hunt almost year-round as they had in Canada. Years earlier, hunting during the summer months in the Ohio country had been unusual and was engaged in as a result of a pressing need for food. Now, however, the converts routinely hunted during the summer each year, although in those months the deer were rather lean with little fat.

Hunting served as a critical supplement to the Moravian Indians' diet in the face of the ever-present insecurities of agriculture. Even after utilizing European cultivation techniques, poor harvests and food shortages continued to be a source of distress. Partly this problem resulted from the converts' failure to plant enough corn. Now that they had the ability to hunt successfully for themselves and were no longer dependent on the Chippewas, many believed that hunting would make up for a reduction in planting. By 1801, they realized that this was simply not true, and they vowed to increase corn production in the next planting season. Afterwards, increased corn production did improve their situation and reduced the occurrence of food shortages. But nothing could prevent disruptions to food production created by nature itself. Destruction of crops by weather and insects continued to be a periodic problem. In the spring of 1807, for example, the converts found themselves without sufficient food as a result of an attack by insects on their crops the previous summer combined with a drought that followed shortly afterwards. Faced with a food shortage the converts left the mission to forage for food.

Another reason for continuous hunting lay in the trade for skins. Upon
their return to Ohio, the Moravian Indians increasingly relied on the trade in animal skins because there was virtually no market on the American frontier for the goods they had manufactured in Canada. Thousands of American settlers had invaded the Ohio territory between 1788 and 1789, squatting on land claimed by both Indians and Americans, the same squatters, of course, who had campaigned to destroy the Indian nations in the Ohio country. This conflict created among all the Indians in the region, including the Moravians, an entrenched distrust of settlers that hampered efforts to trade. The only products the Indians sold successfully in large quantities for good prices at the turn of the century were deer skins and bear hides. The converts used skins to pay for goods that prior to the removal to Canada they had acquired in direct exchanges with traders who came to the mission from as far away as Buffalo and Montreal. Of these traders, the French appear to have offered the best prices for skins. In 1804, for example, one French Canadian trader offered six dollars for bear skins, twice the price the converts could have received in Philadelphia.

At the turn of the century, opportunities to trade began to improve, especially in goods manufactured by the Moravian Indians, as white settlers not implicated in the violent history of the 1780s and 1790s moved into Ohio and established towns. By 1801, the converts had found a market for moccasins in Charlestown, Virginia, and, while that was quite a distance away, they could earn more money by manufacturing goods than by selling skins. Once the white Moravian town of Gnadenhutten had been established, the converts also found a market for their sugar among white Moravian settlers who sought a high quality sweetener, though the demand was not large. But it was not until 1809 that the Moravian Indians resumed their trade in baskets and wild ginseng. By that time, the many new white settlements in Ohio had created a demand for those products, and some converts also traveled as far as Wheeling, Virginia, to sell baskets and to New Philadelphia to sell ginseng. As the white settler population increased, the converts also found a small market for their agricultural produce. In 1804, for example, the converts sold peaches to local white settlers who often traveled great distances to get them. Finally, as in Canada, the Moravian Indians also occasionally traded corn and cattle.

The increase in production and trade, however, did not always guarantee a sufficiency for the Moravian Indians. As with all of their previous settlements, harvests proved to be unpredictable and unreliable, resulting in the frequent need to purchase their staple foods elsewhere, especially corn and flour. This was so especially in the first year after they reestablished the mission at Goschen. The converts’ opportunity to prepare fields, plant, and harvest had been significantly reduced by their move, and therefore they had to purchase most of their corn and flour, much of it from distant Charlestown.
spread of their new settlement in Ohio, traders came to them to offer these food products for sale in exchange for corn and flour, often having traveled great distances from Buffalo, Charlestown or Georgetown. After 1800, however, the need to buy corn and flour diminished. The converts' expansion of the number of acres under cultivation and subsequent good harvests decreased their dependence on trade for food staples. After 1803, there are few references in the records to Moravian Indians traveling to trade for flour.

In sum, the Moravian Delaware Indians when faced with war, tragedy, and inescapable changes, adapted, adjusted, and created new means of surviving in a changing landscape and society. But these were new means based on old ways. With the advent of the Revolutionary War in the Ohio country, the converts' forced dislocation and relocation to Canada wreaked havoc with their basic means of acquiring food to eat and skins for clothing. A new environment then provided them with new agricultural opportunities, while closer contact with white settlers provided the converts with a market for their manufactured goods. And once they were able to return to their original land in Ohio, they never returned to the economy of the 1760s. Too many whites had settled in the Ohio territory, forever altering the economic landscape. That new economy forged in the early 1800s, however, proved to be not entirely novel, but rather in part a continuation of a centuries-old process of adoption and adaptation begun long before the arrival of the Europeans in what has recently been called the Middle Ground. While the Moravian Indians engaged in the settlers' market economy, the converts also separated themselves into their own villages and they thereby remained part of the larger Indian community in Ohio, practicing an Indian-style agriculture based on corn production and manufacturing Indian goods for sale. In a word, the converts, in the face of vast political and economic changes, continued to define themselves as Indians who happened to be Moravian Christians. Most importantly, the converts' economy and society, however much they had altered it, remained an Indian one.


9. *Zeisberger, "Diary, v. 2, pp. 163, 178; Moravian Mission Records, reel 8, box 141, folder 17, p. 29-30.*


11. The presence of white Christian missionaries provided substantial protection from American soldiers intent on killing hostile Indians and who could not distinguish hostile Indians from the Moravian converts.


22. The Fairfield mission in Canada continued to operate, and many of the converts chose to remain there. Those who wanted to return to Ohio sold their property to other converts and returned with Zeisberger and the other missionaries. The property that the Moravian Church possessed in Ohio was granted to the church by Congress in 1792 as restitution for the 1782 massacre of ninety-six converts by the American militia.


25. Ibid., reel 19, box 171, folder 9, p. 53, folder 8, p. 29, folder 4, p. 2, folder 5, p. 9, reel 20, box 173, folder 1, p. 6.

26. *"Abstract of the Diary . . . 31st of October 1800," p. 3; Moravian Mission Records, reel 19, box 171, folder 6, p. 1, folder 5, p. 8, folder 9, pp. 5, 7, 11, 20, 21, 25, reel 20, box 173, folder 4, pp. 5, 6, 8, 9, 10.*


28. Ibid., reel 19, box 171, folder 7, p. 16, folder 8, p. 34, *White, Middle Ground, 417-19, 424, 430.*


32. Ibid., reel 19, box 171, folder 2, pp. 4, 7, 8, folder 4, pp. 2, 5, 7, 9; “Diary of the Indian Congregation of this New Place on Muskingum since their arrival on the Schoenbrum Tract from Oct 4 - Nov 8, 1798,” pp. 2-3, Moravian Archives, Winston-Salem, North Carolina; “Abstract from the Diary of the Indian Congregation at Goshen on Muskingum from the year 1799,” pp. 2, 6, 8, 10, Moravian Archives, Winston-Salem, North Carolina.