**THE LIFE**

**OF**

**JOHN ELIOT**

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THE substance of this book is a Lecture delivers in

1842, before the Young Men's Missionary Association

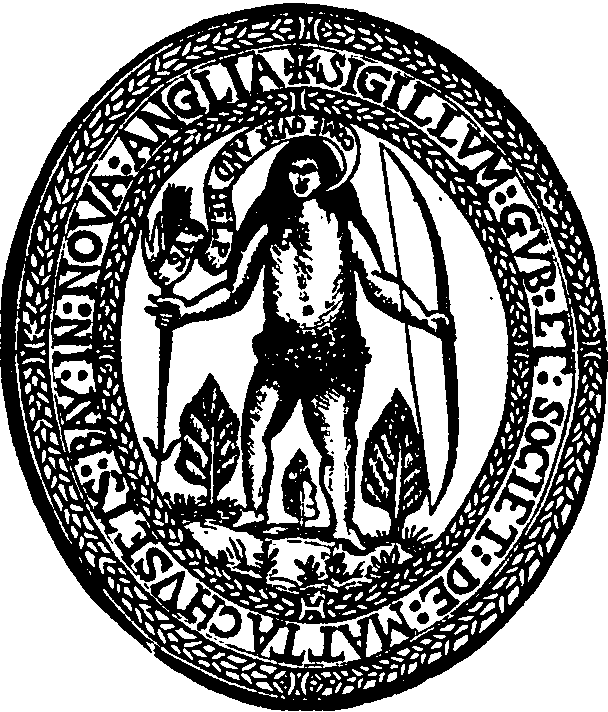
of Boston. On application of the Publishing Com­

mittee, the author has consented to enlarge it for

publication, as one of the Series of the Lives of the

New England Fathers.

SEAL OF THE   
MASSACHUSETTS (OR SALEM) COLONY.



...

TRANSLATION.

Seal of the Governor and Colony of Massachusetts  
Bay in New England.

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.

INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER.

Missionary object of the Pilgrims. Seal of Massachusetts Colony.

Reasons with the Pilgrims for leaving Holland. Extract from the

Royal Charter of the Plymouth Colony. Charter of the Salem

Company. Thoughts on this Continent as a field for Missionary

efforts. Account of the landing at Plymouth, and the first meeting ·

with the Indians. First Missionary efforts among them. Man-

ners and habits of the New England Indian. Numbers in the   
various tribes. Reflections on the Missionary character and efforts   
of the Pilgrims. The May-flower.

A PROMINENT object with the Pilgrim fathers  
in coming hither, was, to preach the Gospel to the  
Indians of this Continent.

Many popular orators and writers represent   
them, as it were, following and worshiping a

goddess of liberty. But it was not the mere

liberty of believing and doing what they pleased   
that they braved the ocean and the perils of this   
wilderness. Two great motives influenced   
them. For the liberty of worshiping God re-

8 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.

cording to their own consciences, they “went   
out not knowing,” as the event proved, “whither   
they went” But this was not all; they had a  
missionary object in coming here. .

It is an interesting fact that the original seal   
of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, who arrived   
and settled at Salem in 1628, and on it a North   
American Indian, with these words proceeding   
from his mouth, “Come over and help us.”

This device on the seal of their colony pub­

lished to the world the fact that they regarded

themselves as foreign missionaries to North

America. This was also the case with their

brethren of the Plymouth Colony, who arrived

eight years before.

The Pilgrims had fled to Holland, from the

persecutions of the English Church. In the   
account of their residence in Holland we find   
some records which established beyond a doubt

the fact of their missionary intentions in coming

to these shores. Governor Bradford, in his His­   
tory of Plymouth, speaking of the Pilgrims   
while yet in Holland, says, “This year, (1617,)   
Mr. Robinson and his Church begin to think of   
a remove to America, for several weighty rea­   
son, as (1.) The difficulties in Holland dis­   
couraged many from coming to them, out of   
England, and obliged many to return. (2.)

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 9

By reason of these difficulties with the licen­   
tiousness of the youth, and temptations, of the   
place, many of their children left their parents,   
some of them becoming soldiers, others taking   
to foreign voyages, and some to dissoluteness  
and the danger of their souls, to the great grief   
of their parents, and fear lest their posterity   
through these temptations and examples should   
degenerate, and religion die among them. (3.)   
From an inward zeal and great hope of laying   
some foundation or making way for propagating  
the kingdom of Christ to the remote ends of the  
earth, though they should be but as stepping  
stones to others.”

They obtained letters patent from the crown  
authorizing them to settle in North Virginia.  
The following is an extract from the Royal

Charter, and is of the same purport with the

third reason assigned by Governor Bradford for  
their removal to America. The Royal Charter   
says,--“We have thought it fit, according to

our kingly duty—to second and follow God's  
holy will, by which means we may with bold­  
ness go on to the settling of so hopeful a work

which tendeth to the reducing and conversion of  
such savages as remain wandering in desolation

and distress, to civil society and Christian re­   
ligion.”

10 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.

It is well known that the Colonists who   
received this Charter, and sailed for North Vir­   
ginia, were driven into the waters of Cape   
Cod, and thus unintentionally landed and settled

at Plymouth.

The Charter of “the Colony of Massachu­   
setts Bay,” who settled a few years after at   
Salem, says, “To win and incite the natives of   
that country to the knowledge and obedience of  
the only true God and Saviour of mankind and

Christian faith, is, in our royal intention and  
the adventurer's free profession, the principal   
of the plantation.”

The Committee of the “Massachusetts”

Company, in their letter dated at Gravesend,

and addressed to Mr. Endicott, the leader, and

afterward the Governor, of the Massachusetts or   
Salem Colony, say, “For that the propagating

the Gospel is the thing we profess above all in   
settling this plantation, we have been careful to   
make plentiful provision of good ministers.”\*

\* See Laws of Mass. I., page 77, Sect. 8, 9.

“Whereas one end in planting these parts was to propagate the

true religion unto the Indians, and that divers of them are become  
subject unto the English, and have engaged themselves to be ready  
and willing to understand the law of God: It is therefore ordered that  
such necessary and wholesome laws which are in force, and may be  
from time to time, to reduce them to civility of life, shall be   
once a year, if the times be safe, made known to them by such fit

persons as the general court shall appoint.''

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT 11

It is interesting to think of this Continent as  
having been the object of missionary zeal and   
efforts with the pilgrim fathers. The place

which this continent occupies on the globe is   
peculiar and interesting. The numerous nations   
of the old world are crowded together in one   
hemisphere, and this continent is the prominent   
object of the other. It did not seem presump­   
tion to the pilgrims to believe that God laid its   
deep foundations by itself, in the midst of the   
oceans rolling between it and the rest of the   
globe, for some purpose as singular as its posi­   
tion. In the writings of ancient poets there are  
remarkable allusions to this continent, when as  
yet it was undiscovered. Seneca, a Latin writer,

who lived at the beginning of the Christian era,   
has in his “Medea” this declaration: “The   
time will come in remote years when the ocean

will unloose the present boundaries of nature,

and a great country will appear. Another Ty-

phis will discover new worlds, and Thule will   
no longer be the limit of the earth.”\* Homer   
and Horace had sung of Islands west of Africa,   
the Atlantides, which were “the Elysian fields.''

\* “Venient annis

“Secula seris, quibus Oceanus  
Vincula rerum, laxet, et ingens  
Pateat tellus, Typhis que novos   
Deteget orbes; necsit terries  
Ultlma Thule”

Meea, Aet. 3, v. 375

12 LIFE OF JOHN ELOT.

Hanno, the Carthaginian general and great   
navigator, had sailed from the pillars of Hercu­   
les, (the straits of Gibraltar,) westward, thirty   
days. Some suppose that he must have seen

America, or some of the neighboring islands.\*

Columbus verified the dreams and surmises of   
the world; the Cabots pursued his sublime dis­   
coveries, and they, with their Bristol crews,

long accustomed to Icelandic fisheries, found

this continent. New adventurers carried home

some of the native Indians; and, at length, a

new Continent, inhabited by wild men, became   
the subject of intense interest to, the civilized   
world. Our pious forefathers, while yet in the   
old world, fancied that they heard the Macedo-  
nian cry from the Indians here, and it quick-  
ened their flight, as they say, “to follow Christ   
into a waste howling wilderness.”

Having been driven into the waters of Cape

Cod, instead of North Virginia, and making a

safe harbor on Saturday, the Pilgrims fell on

their knees and blessed the God of heaven. The   
Sabbath came; the Mayflower riding at anchor,   
and the exploring party in the shallop, kept the   
first Sabbath of the Lord which, perhaps, had   
ever been recognized in this region, since God

rested from his works.

“America known to the Ancients,” Boston, 1778.

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 13

“Monday.” says Prince, in his New England   
Chronology, “the people go ashore to refresh   
themselves;--the whales play round about   
them, and the greatest store of fowl they ever   
saw. But the earth here a company of sand,   
hills, and the water so shallow near the shore,   
they were forced to wade a bow-shot or two to   
get to land, which being freezing weather,   
affected them with grievous coughs and colds,

which after proves the death of many. When   
they had marched a mile southward, they see

five or six savages whom they follow ten miles   
till night, but could not overtake them, and

lodge in the woods. The next day they come   
to a place of graves, then to some heaps of sand,

when they dig into them, and find several bas-

kets full of Indian corn, and take some, for

which they purpose to give the natives full sat-

isfaction as soon as they could meet with any of   
them.” Two days after, they returned to bor-

row more corn; the ground had frozen a foot   
deep, but they made up their corn, says Gover-

nor Morton, to ten bushels; the next day some   
of the party, having spent the night there, dug   
again into some little hillocks, but they found   
that instead of being cornhills they were graves.   
By the overruling providence of God, the corn   
which they had thus borrowed with such good

VOL. III, 2

14 LIFE OF JOHN ELlOT.

intent to repay, furnished them with seed for the

ensuing spring. Here we have the first scene

of their approach to the wild objects of their

pious and benevolent endeavors.

During the 1nonth of February, after their   
arrival, the colony were afterwards informed   
that the Indians assembled all their Powwaws, or

the conjurers of the country, to curse them with

their horrid ceremonies and incantations. They   
held their assembly for this purpose in a dark   
and dismal swamp.

On the morning of March 16th, however,

they say a savage boldly came alone along the   
houses straight to the rendezvous, and surprised   
them with calling out, “Welcome, Englishmen!   
Welcome, Englishmen! “It seems that he had   
learned some broken English from the fishermen  
of Nova Scotia. He said that his name was  
Samoset, that he was sagamore or lord of a

country “a day’s sail thence with a great

wind,” or five days land travel. He told them

that four years ago all the inhabitants of the  
place where they then were, (now Plymouth,)   
died of an extraordinary plague; that there was   
neither man, woman, nor child remaining. At   
night they lodged and watched him. A few  
days after he returned with an Indian named   
Squanto, whom a man by the name of Hunt had

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 15

carried to Spain with nineteen others, and who   
by some means went to England, and lived in   
Cornhill, London, with Mr. John Slanie, mer-

chant. He could speak a little English, and

thus he was extremely useful to the colonists in

assisting them to trade and make treaties with

the surrounding Indians. They endeavored to   
conciliate the natives, but wisely mingled inti­   
mations that they were prepared to resist them   
if attacked.

The treacherous tribe of Narragansett Indians,

with five thousand fighting men, who at first   
made a treaty with the settlers, showed signs on  
one occasion of hostility. Canonicus, their chief   
Sachem, sent a bundle of arrows, tied with a   
snake’s skin, which Squanto told them meant a  
challenge. Governor Bradford and his Council   
sent them word that if they had rather have war   
than peace, they might begin when they would;   
they had done the Indians no wrong, nor did   
they fear them; nor would the Indians find   
them unprepared. Then, with some wit, the   
Governor sent them, by another messenger, the

snake's skin filled with powder and bullets; but

they refused to receive it, and sent it back.

Thus, after various alarms, and treaties, the   
pilgrims and fortified themselves in the country,   
and individuals among them had begun the

16 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.

pious work of instructing some of the young   
Indians in the Christian religion.

In 1621, one year after the arrival of Ply-

mouth, Elder Robert Cushman sent word to his

friends in England that many of the Indians,

especially the younger of them, were teachable;

that if the Colony had means they would bring

up hundreds of them to labor, and learning, and

that the young men in England who desired to fur-

ther the Gospel among these poor heathen,

would do well to come over and spend their

estates, time, and labor, in so doing.

During the few first years after the settlement

at Plymouth, several of the natives gave evi-

dence of conversion, and instances of happy

death occurred among them. But the hardships

and trials incident to a removal into this wilder-

newss delayed the systematic and general efforts

of the settlers to convert the Indians. Indi-

viduals, however, were laboring among them

with success. In 1636, the Plymouth Colony

enacted laws to provide for the preaching of the

Gospel among the Indians, and ten years after,

the Massachusetts Colony passed a similar act.

In 1675, it was ascertained that the whole

number of Indians in New England, beginning   
as far east as the St. Croix River, was about   
fifty thousand. Of these, about twelve thousand

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 17

were in the neighborhood of the Massachusetts

and the Plymouth Colonies.

At the settlement of this country there were   
five principal nations, or sachemships, of Indians,   
in this part of New England, viz. 1. The Pequots;

2. The Narragansetts; 3. The Pawkunnaw-  
kuts; 4. The Pawtucketts; 5. The Massachu­   
setts. Each of these nations included several   
tribes, governed by sagamores.

The Pequots formerly had 4000 warriors; in

1674, 300.

The Narragansetts formerly had 5000 war­   
riors; in 1674, 1000.

The Pawkunnnawkuts formerly had 3000 war-

riors; in 1674, nearly extinct.

The Pawtuckets formerly had 3000 war­

riors; in 16741, 250.

The Massachusetts formerly had 3000 war-

riors; in 1674, 300.

The Pequots inhabited the most southerly

parts of New England, their country for the  
most part fell under the Connecticut jurisdic­   
tion. Their principal sachem lived at or near   
New London, called, in their language Pequot.   
 The Narragansetts occupied Rhode Island,

and other islands in Narragansett bay.

The Pawkunnawkuts inhabited the region of   
the Plymouth Colony, and their sachem held

18 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT

sway over the Sagamores of Nantucket, Martha's   
Vineyard, and neighboring places. A few years   
before the arrival of the Pilgrimns, a great num-

ber of this nation of Indians as before stated,   
were swept away by a plague, and thus the   
way was opened for the entrance of the Pil-   
grims.

The Pawtuckets lived to the north, and

northeast of the Massachusetts Indians. They

were almost wholly destroyed by the plague   
just mentioned.

The Massachusetts Indians dwelt principally

about the parts of Massachusetts bay which

were first settled by the English, and bordering,

some of them, on the region of the Pawkunnaw-

kuts. They were very numerous and powerful.

Their chief sachem held rule over many petty

chiefs. This people was also visited by the

plague in 1612-13, which destroyed the most

of them, and prepared the way for the English

settlers.

This fact has often brought to mind these

words of David: “We have heard with our

ears, O God, our fathers have told us what

work thou didst in their day, in the times of   
old. How thou didst drive out the heathen

with they hand, and plantedst them; how thou

didst afflict the people and cast them out. For

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 19

they got not the land in possession by their own   
sword, neither did their own arm save them;   
but thy right hand, and thine arm, and the   
light of thy countenance, because thou hadst a   
favor unto them.”

An early New England writer\* says, that he   
had not been able to learn accurately the nature   
of the disease or plague, which depopulated the  
Indian tribes in the remarkable manner already   
described; but that he had “discoursed” with   
some old Indians, who told him that the patients

were “all over exceedingly yellow,” and this they   
described by showing him a yellow gar-

ment which the bodies of the victims resembled

in color, both before and after death. There is

a tradition that a Frenchman, who not long

before this plague, had fallen into their hands

by shipwreck, told them, as some of the surviv-

in shipmates reported, just before he died by

their hands, that “God was angry with them

for their wickedness, and would not only destroy

them all, but would also people their country

with men who would not live after their brutish

manners.” Those infidels then blasphemously

replied, that God could not kill them; which

blasphemous mistake was confuted by an hor-

rible and unusual plague, whereby they were

\* Mather.

20 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT

consumed in such vast multitudes, that our first

planter's found the land almost covered with their

unburied carcases, and they that were left alive

were smitten into awful and humbler regards of

the English by the terrors which the French-

man's prophecy had imprinted on them.

When the Pilgrims in Holland thought of   
coming to this country, some of them hesitated   
for several reasons, and among others through   
their fear of the savages, who they heard were   
“cruel, barbarous, and treacherous, being most   
furious in their rage, and merciless where they   
overcome, not being content only to kill and   
take away life, but delight to torment men in   
most bloody manner that may be, flaying men   
alive with the shells of fishes, cutting off the   
points and members of others by piecemeals,   
and broiling them on the coals, and causing

men to eat the collops of their flesh in their

sight whilst they live; with other cruelties hor­

rible to be related.”\* Some were therefore in   
favor of settling in Guiana, in South America.   
But they feared the jealousy of the Spaniards,   
and finally concluded to settle within the juris­   
diction of the company of Virginia, where the   
English, in 1607, had made a settlement. In   
this way, they supposed that they could also

\* Governor Bradford's History of Plymouth,

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 21

have better access to the savages, “to reduce   
them to civil society, and the Christian religion.”   
But God brought them by a way they knew not,   
having first in part cut off the heathen nations   
to bring them in.

The Mayflower sailed from Holland, Sep­   
tember 6, 1620, for the Hudson River. But   
they were driven into the waters of Cape Cod,   
and it was a current belief that the shipmaster

was bribed by the Dutch to change her course,   
because the Dutch wished to settle in the region

for which the Pilgrims embarked. But some of

the best authorities deny this, and say that the   
change of their course was accidental.

There is so much connection between climate

and characters that we may reasonably suppose

it to have been the intention of Providence to

plant the Pilgrims in this cold region, and on

this hard soil, that they might be and do that

which is proved to have been their high destiny

to be and to accomplish. Whereas, had they

settled in a warmer and more enervating lati-

tude, we cannot believe that such a New Eng-

land as we now behold would have arisen; it

would have been easier for the settlers to have

borne the imposition of slavery from the mother

country, whereas here in Massachusetts the sturdy

vigor and independence which were borne and

22 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.

nourished on this rocky and sandy soil, grew   
impatient of slavery, and soon threw it off, and   
hence in part the present difference between the   
North and the South, in some of the essential   
elements of natural prosperity. God brought   
the Pilgrims into these bays and harbors, and to   
this northern soil, because here the qualities   
necessary to their future usefulness and great-  
ness as a nation could be most successfully   
developed and strengthened. Instead of reducing   
the savages to slavery as they might have done   
had the institution of slavery been fastened upon   
them in southern regions, they “reduced the   
savages to civil society, and the Christian re­   
ligion.” Let us return for a moment to the   
landing of the Pilgrims.

When the May-flower had cast anchor, the   
Pilgrims fitted up the little shallop which they   
had brought in their vessel, and coasted the   
Cape for about a month to determine on the best

place for landing and settlement. Having at  
length fixed on a place, the shallop, with theexploring party came to anchor on Saturday,9th of December, corresponding to December20, New Style. The Sabbath dawned uponthem, but the exploring party remained on  
board, notwithstanding the inmates of the May-  
f1ower were still at anchor, waiting to know the

LIFE OF JOHN ELI OT. 23

result of the exploration. How beautiful and   
striking was the coincidence of their arriving at

Plymouth on the eve of the Sabbath. What a

Sabbath it must have been to them. Not only

was their comfortless and perilous voyage in a

crowded vessel, and their anxious search for a   
landing place now over, but their persecutions   
in the old world, their oppressive treatment from   
the Established Church for not conforming to   
rites and practices which they could not observe,   
had now come to an end. Now they had found

a new world where they might believe and wo-

ship as they pleased. Now they would no   
longer be taxed for the support of worship in

which they had no share. Now their ministers

would no longer be ill-used or nick-named, for   
not conforming to unscriptural practices; now  
they would not be obliged to keep Lent, and   
Ash-Wednesday, Candlemas, Christmas, and   
All-Saints'-day, in a manner repugnant to their   
consciences. As they looked on this great wil­   
derness, free from all corruptions of man in the

worship of God, and pure in that respect as the

virgin snows that covered the evergreens, and   
sheeted the old sand wastes, and shone on   
the distant hills, they could breathe freely, as   
they said in the words which indicate the essen-

tial spirit of their faith, God is a spirit, and

24 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT

they that worship him, must worship him in

spirit and in truth. The world has never seen   
such a sight, before or since, as that shallop and   
the May-flower in Plymouth Bay, with the pro­   
genitors of this great and glorious New Eng-

land; fleeing from the old world, arriving at   
this new world and keeping Sabbath at anchor  
in these waters. What has ever happened to   
be likened to it since the time when Noah and

his family sailed away from the old world,

which had corrupted itself before God, and

transplanted the religion of the true God for a   
new beginning? It would have been interesting   
to have heard the prayer, and songs of praise,   
and words of Scripture, with which they kept   
the Sabbath in their floating Bethels. We no­   
tice here that Puritan regard for the Sabbath

which has ever characterized New England, and

on which her safety so much depends. How

natural it would have been for the voyagers to   
have leaped ashore at the first moment of their   
arrival in the harbor which they had concluded   
to make their home. How many passengers

now in similar circumstances, would deny them-

selves the pleasure of exchanging the wearisome  
confinement on ship-board, for the excitement   
and satisfaction of exploring their new home?  
But the Pilgrims would not begin the work of

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 25

their settlement, of removing any of their effects   
from the vessel, on the Lord's day, and since   
the time when God rested from his work on the   
Sabbath, there has not been a more sublime act   
of rest and of worship, than was observed by   
that Pilgrim band.

All this was in accordance with their charac­   
ter and intentions as a missionary band, and for   
its relation to this view of their character we   
have dwelt at large upon this incident in their history.

It cannot be impressed too deeply upon our   
minds that our forefathers did not come here   
merely to “enjoy their liberty,” not merely to   
flee from persecution, not to increase their

worldly estate; they came here, among other   
good reasons, as they expressly declare, to ex-

tend the kingdom of Christ, and the Royal

Charter professed that the royal object in grant­   
ing it was that they might reduce such savages   
as they found wandering in desolation and dis-

tress to civil society and the Christian religion.   
Does anyone cherish a feeling of reverence and   
love for these pilgrims in view of their sacrifices   
and efforts to found these institutions which we  
possess, who yet feels no interest in the work, of   
propagating the gospel to ends of the earth?   
Let him consider that a company of Christian

VOL. III. 3

26 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT

missionaries going from this land and settling in   
India, or Africa, or Oceanica, may be the   
founders of just such institutions us we enjoy,   
among the people to whom they are sent. Let   
every missionary consider that in distant years   
he may be justly regarded us a pilgrim-father to   
some portion of the earth for whom he may   
have done as much as the New England Pil­-  
grims have done for New England. The object   
of Christian missions is to re-produce and mul-  
tiply our Christian institutions in heathen and   
pagan lands. The opportunity of laying founda-  
­tions in heathen wilds, similar to those which the   
Pilgrims laid here, has not come to an end.   
Many a missionary bark may yet be, essentially,   
a May-flower to distant parts of the earth.   
Some islands which were filled with savages as   
barbarous as our Indians, have had their inde­-  
pendence recognized by Christian nations, and   
have taken their place among the nations of the   
earth; and that band of American missionaries   
who left these shores for the Sandwich Islands in   
1820, and who went round Cape Horn singing   
the old hymn in the tune of Melton Mowbray,

“Head of the church triumphant,  
 We cheerfully adore thee.'' &.c.

and who planted the Gospel on those islands  
will no doubt in after times have their names

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT 27

enshrined by a grateful posterity in those distant   
seas. The little schooner which the Rev.  
John Williams, the martyr of Rarotonga, built   
with his own hand, to visit the islands of the   
Harvey group, was a real “May-flower.”   
Prophetic visions of the effects of the Gospel   
we sec fulfilled on these shores and around the   
globe. Here, emphatically, “instead of the   
thorn has come up the fir-tree, and instead of   
the brier the myrtle-tree.” In what way can   
we cherish the memory of our Pilgrim fathers   
better than to keep alive in us and our children   
that zeal to spread the Christian religion and   
Christian institutions, which was one of the   
strong impulses that bore them across the flood?   
As the missionary spirit was the native air in   
which the pilgrim faith was born and nurtured,   
we may believe that the same spirit will most   
effectually cherish those institutions and laws   
which are the fruit of their wisdom. That spirit   
is a sincere desire to see the glory of God   
promoted in the world, a willingness to make   
efforts and sacrifices “that his way may be   
known on earth, his saving health among all na-  
­tions.”  
 “The May-flower”! That name must have   
been proposed by some gentle wife, or by some   
sweet child, to the man who built that favored

28 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT

vessel! She was, in her seasonableness, more   
than a May-flower; she was the Crocus among   
the eternal snows and the dreary winter of this   
western savage world. In the selection of her for   
the great mission which she accomplished, angels   
might have said to her, ns they come to be min-  
­istering spirits to those in her who were to be,   
in more than one sense, “heirs of salvation,”   
as Gabriel said to Mary, “Hail, thou that art   
highly favored-the Lord is with thee!” The   
name of this vessel is one of those instances, of   
which we see so many in the word, the provi-   
dence of God, in which “"the beauty of the   
Lord our God” appears in connection with his  
acts of renown. To the cold eye of reason that   
name was only a mercantile accident; the eye of   
faith is willing to be accounted visionary while it   
sees in it that same hand which, after the deluge,   
selected the rainbow instead of a periodical tem­-  
pest, or a Dead Sea, as the memorial of a cove-  
­nant with the earth.   
 The painting of the Landing of the Pilgrims,   
by, Weir, justly represents some of the pilgrim   
company as of cultivated and even polished ap-  
pearance and manners; they were not the   
offscouring of the earth. They were men and,   
women of whom, in their day, the world was   
not worthy, For scholarship, intelligence, and

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT 29

moral worth, the Pilgrims and their associates   
in the old countries would have been ornaments   
to the land which chased them away. The   
reader will find this illustrated in a satisfactory   
manner in the Life of the Rev. John Cotton, by   
the Rev. A. W. M'Clure, in the first two vol-  
­umes in this series of the Lives of eminent N.   
E. Puritans

30 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.

CHAPTER II.

Description of the Indians. Their manners, habits, mode of life, &c.   
 Efforts to convert them, previous to Eliot’s labors.

SOME account of the manners and habits of  
the Indians, as our forefathers and their success-  
­sors found them, will be necessary that we may  
appreciate the labors and self-denial which were   
required of those who instructed these sons of   
the forest in religion and civilization. A correct   
knowledge of their original condition dispels   
the romantic associations which many have with  
the name of a North American Indian. The  
lowest degradation had been reached by these  
savages. The laws of a people are a true pic-  
ture of the people, and some of the laws which   
the Indians enacted when they began to be civil-  
ized, reveal the misery and filthiness from which   
they began at last to be recovered. This will   
be illustrated as we proceed.   
 We will speak first of the personal appear-  
ance of the Indian.   
 Their skin was of a tawny color, a yellowish,   
dark complexion. Their form and limbs were

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT 31

well proportioned, and it was seldom that a   
crooked person was found among them. Their   
hair was long, black, and coarse, without curl-  
­ing; their eyes black, without lustre. In their   
general appearance they were so much like   
the Moors of Africa, that many have supposed   
them to have come originally from that part of   
the world.   
 They had many wives, but one of them was   
chief in her husband's regard. They put away   
their wives, and the wife also left her husband   
when offended with him.   
 Their revengeful disposition is proverbial.  
The relatives of an injured or murdered Indian   
regarded his wrong as done to them, and they   
sought satisfaction in the death of the offender, or   
in the payment of wampum, (or shells.) which   
passed with them for money.   
 They were an idle race, especially the men.   
Tillage was chiefly performed by the women,   
though to but little extent. The women also   
carried burdens, as in removing from place to   
place. They also prepared the food.   
 Their wigwams were made with slim poles   
fixed in the ground, bent, and fastened at the   
top with the bark of trees. The best of them   
were made tight and warm with the whole   
barks or trees, pressed when green by a heavy

32 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT

weight of timber. A common sort of bulrushes  
woven together, made mats for the covering of   
the poorer houses. The houses varied in size,   
from twenty to forty feet square, and some were   
from sixty to a hundred feet long, and thirty feet   
broad. In the smaller houses a fire was kindled   
in the centre, but in the larger, several fires   
were made for the convenience of the inmates.  
A hole in the top of the house served the place   
of a chimney, and on the top of the house a mat   
was suspended, to serve the purpose of a venti-  
­lator to the smoke, being set to the windward   
side. Their bedsteads were made of rude boards   
split from the tree, and raised about a foot from   
the ground, covered with skins, or with mats of   
woven grass, or bulrushes.   
 Their principal food was a kind of pottage in   
which it would be difficult to say what article   
prevailed. Indian corn, kidney beans, all kinds   
or flesh and fish, cut in small pieces with the   
bones, many kinds of roots, artichokes, ground-  
­nuts, squashes, oak acorns, walnuts, and chest-  
­nuts, were boiled together. The nuts being   
dried, and powdered, were boiled as flour to   
thicken the mess. They made of cake of parched   
corn, which they called nokake. This they   
tool, with them in their travels, and is said   
to have been so hearty a kind of food, that they

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT 33

subsisted on it many days in their wanderings   
from place to place.   
 Their household utensils corresponded in   
simplicity to their food, and mode of cooking.   
The pots were made of clay, in the shape of an  
egg without the top. They were glad to receive   
pots of metal, as the earth of which they made   
their brittle vessels was scarce and dear. They   
used a kind of wood which was not liable to   
split, for dishes, spoons, and ladles. Their   
water pails were made of birch bark, folded  
square, with a handle or bail. Some of them  
held two or three gallons, and they could make  
one of them in the space of an hour. They  
wrought pictures of birds, beasts, fishes and   
flowers of divers colors in their baskets, which   
were made of corn husks, silk grass, and wild   
hemp.  
 They formerly used no drink but water,   
though they soon learned from the settlers the   
manufacture and use of cider. When they be­-  
came acquainted with intoxicating drinks, they   
showed a violent love for them, by which their   
savage passions and propensities were fearfully   
excited.   
 Their clothing was, at first, of skins, and some   
had mantles of birds' feathers, twilled together.   
Even the most barbarous of them were decent

34 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT

in covering their persons, and were never seen   
naked in public.   
One of their principal remedies in sickness   
was, to put the patient, and sometimes several   
patients together, in one rude stone house, which   
they would heat by building fires round it, and   
having thus put the sick into a violent perspire-   
tion, they would plunge them into a neighboring   
brook.   
 They divided time into sleeps, and moons,   
and winters. It is a curious fact that they called   
the Constellation, Charles' Wain, by the same   
name with the English, the Bear. Like the   
early eastern nations, they seem to pon-   
dered the face of the heavens, and to have made   
figures of the stars.   
 Their money consisted of shells, or strings of   
shells, the black: being double in value to the   
white. The *mints* of their money seem to   
have been at Block Island, and Long Island,   
upon whose sandy flats and shores, these welk   
shells were chiefly found. It was called worn­-  
pompeagne, or, wompeague, and by contrac-  
­tion; wompum, or, wampum. They redeemed   
captives, paid tribute, made satisfaction for   
wrongs, and murders, and purchased pence of   
their more powerful neighbors, with strings of   
this wampum.

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT 35

Their weapons were bows and arrows, clubs,   
tomahawks, made of wood like a pole axe, with   
a sharp stone in the head. They used targets   
or shields of bark.   
 They formerly smeared their skin with bears'   
grease, but when the English swine afforded   
them lard, they used it as a substitute, and thus   
having anointed themselves, they painted their   
faces with vermilion, or red, and powdered   
their heads. Sometimes they painted one half   
of the face black, and the other white, and so,   
with various colors, deformed their visages, the   
women, especially, doing this, and the warriors   
thereby making themselves hideous in battle.   
Widows mourning for their husbands, painted   
their faces wholly black. The men preparing for   
war put their hair in a roll, and surmounted it   
with turkey's or eagle's feathers, with other fan-  
­tastic and showy decorations.  
 They took great pleasure in dancing, the   
men only dancing, and they singly, (except in   
the war dance,) with uncouth and antic gestures   
and movements of the whole body, the specta­-  
tors singing or whooping. The dancer took off   
his ornaments one by one as he danced, and   
gave them away to those who looked on, and   
when he had given away all that he had upon   
him, and was weary, another would succeed

36 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.

him, and thus succeeding each other they would   
spend the nights of a whole week together,   
sleeping by day. At such dancings accompa-  
­nied with revelings, chiefly held after harvest,   
they were addicted to many evil practices.   
 They were a hospitable race. Strangers   
were furnished with the best food and lodging,   
and were served before themselves.   
 Their government was for the most part   
monarchical, the chief sachem or sagamore mak-  
­ing his will the law, though there were chief men   
associated with him as counselors. In some of   
the tribes the influence of the head men was   
greater than in others, making the government  
a mixture of monarchy and aristocracy.   
 They had no idols made with hands, but   
being ignorant of the true God, they adored   
natural objects; the sun, the moon, the earth,   
fire, and other things. They supposed that   
everything in nature has a god in it, or belong­-  
ing to it, but fire they believed to be itself a   
god. They believed that there was one god   
in the southwest, who was the chief deity.   
 The Indians had priests or powows, or,  
powaws, who were conjurers, who, with horrid   
rites and incantations, told their fortunes, advised   
them in their affairs, yelled over them in their

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT 37

sick and dying moments, and performed re-  
­ligious worship with terrific noises and actions,   
  
 “Like stabled wolves or tigers at their prey,  
 Doing abhorred rites to Hecate.”  
  
 The Indians believed in the immortality of   
the soul, that the good are admitted to a spleen-  
­did entertainment, and the wicked wander in   
agony forever, and that there is no resurrection   
of the body for good or bad.   
 As to the origin of the Indians, Roger Wil-  
­liams has well expressed the truth on the sub-  
­ject, in his Key into the language of the Indians   
of New England. \*   
 “From Adam and Noah that they spring, it   
is granted on all hands. But for their later   
descent, and whence they came into these parts,   
it seems hard to find, as to find the well-head   
of some fresh stream which running many miles   
out of the country to the salt ocean, hath met  
with many mixing streams by the way.”  
 Mr. William gives many particulars of their   
manners and customs; some of which are here   
added.   
 Their nokake, or nokehick, parched meal, was   
carried by each man on a journey, or in war, in   
a basket, fastened to his back, or in a hollow

\* Mass. Hist. Soc., Coll. 1794., p. 205.

VOL. III. 4

38 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.

belt. With a spoonful of this meal, and a   
spoonful of water from the brook. Mr. Williams   
says he has many a time made a good supper.   
This parched meal, boiled with water, he says,   
is the wholesomest diet they have. Nawsaump   
was a kind of meal pottage unparched, and   
from this the English derived their samp, or   
Indian corn, broken and boiled, and eaten, hot   
or cold, with milk or butter; “which are mer-   
cies beyond the natives’ plain water, and which   
is a dish exceeding wholesome for the English   
bodies."   
 Tobacco was in general use among them, and   
was the only plant which the men cultivated,   
the women attending to the rest. The follow­ing   
remark, by Mr. Williams, is in good illus­-  
tration of former views and feelings with regard   
to the use of spirituous liquors, “I never see   
any take tobacco so excessively as I have seen   
men in Europe; and yet excess were more   
tolerable in them, because they want the re-  
­freshing of beer and wine, which God had   
vouchsafed Europe.”\*   
 They made up a fire, when they were lying   
down to sleep, summer and winter. “Their   
fire,” says Williams, “is instead of our bed   
clothes. And so themselves, und any that

\* Key, p. 213.

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT 39

have occasion to lodge with them, must be con-  
­tent to turn often to the fire, if the night be   
cold; and they who first wake must repair the   
fire.”  
 Bad dreams they considered as threatenings   
from God; and when they happened to them,   
they would engage in prayer at all times of the   
night. An Indian once dreamed that the sun,   
whom they worship as a god, darted a beam into   
his breast. This he took for an admonition of   
his death. He called his friends and neighbors   
together, and prepared some refreshment for   
them; but himself remained awake, and fasting,   
for ten days and nights in great humiliation and   
distress.  
 “The women nurse all the children them-  
selves; yet a rich or high woman maintains a   
nurse to tend the child.”  
 “They have amongst them natural fools, either   
so born, or accidentally deprived of reason.”  
 “The toothache is the only pain which will   
force their stout hearts to cry. I have never   
heard any cries among them like those of men   
in the toothache. In this pain they use a cer-   
tain root dried, not much unlike our ginger.”  
 “They are most skillful in cutting off the   
heads of their enemies in fight. I know the   
man, yet living, who pretended to fall from his

40 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.

own camp to the enemy, proffered his service in   
the front with thorn against his own army. He   
drew them out to battle, keeping in front; but,   
on a sudden, shot their chief leader and captain,   
and, in a trice, fetched off his head, and returned   
immediately to his own again. His act was   
false and treacherous; yet herein appear policy,   
stoutness, and activity.”  
 “Their desire of and delight in news, is great   
as the Athenians. A stranger that can relate   
news in their own language they will style him   
manittoo, a god.”   
 In hearing news they sit in a circle, two,   
three, or four deep. “I have seen near a thou­-  
sand in a round where English could not well   
near half so many have sitten.”  
 They frequently inquired “Why came the   
Englishmen hither?” The explanation most   
commonly believed among themselves at first   
was, that the English wanted fire-wood, and so   
removed to these parts, as the Indians remove   
when they have used up the wood around them.   
 They kept the time of the day and the night   
with great accuracy, by observing the sun, moon,   
and stars. Living abroad in the fields and   
sleeping much out of doors, even the young   
children were expert in telling the time. The   
Indians were punctual in their promises as to

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 41

time. Mr. Williams says they once charged   
him with lying for not being punctual, though   
necessarily delayed.   
 English travelers were struck with the paths   
which the bare and tough feet of the Indians had   
made in stony places. One writer says that he   
has known many of them to run between eighty   
and a hundred miles in a summer's day, and   
return within two days. He says they were so   
thoroughly acquaint with the interior of the   
country by means of hunting, that they have  
guided travelers forty miles without any path,   
They coveted horses above other beasts, prefer-   
ring the ease of riding even to the comfort of   
milk and butter from the cow. On meeting   
with one another in travel, they were very   
happy and joyful; and striking fire, with stones   
or sticks, took tobacco, and set down to talk.   
It was quite rare to meet an old man or a lame   
man with a stall, their constitutions being gen­-  
erally robust.  
 The English settlers were greatly struck with   
the purity of the air and of the water in New   
England.\* But as New England is about   
twelve degrees south of England, the greater   
cold of this region is explained, Mr. Williams   
thinks, by the fact that main lands and conti-

\* See Appendix, B.   
 4\*

42 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT

nents are colder than islands. “England's   
winds are sea winds, which are commonly more   
thick and vapory, and warmer winds. The   
northwest wind, which occasioneth New Eng-   
land cold, comes over the cold, frozen land, and   
over many millions of loads of snow. And yet   
the pure wholesomeness of the land is wonder-  
­ful, and the warmth of the sun such in the   
sharpest weather, that I have often seen the na-  
tives’ children run about stark naked in the   
coldest days and the Indian men and women  
lie by a fire in the woods in the coldest nights;  
and I have often been out myself such nights  
without fire, mercifully and wonderfully pre-  
served.”   
 It is observed by many writers that the In-   
dians had a considerable mixture of sadness in   
their disposition. Though nature here was   
profuse in wild animals for food, and fish, and   
fowl, and fruits, the savages were subject to   
much suffering from causes which they had no   
knowledge to understand nor skill to prevent.   
Their superstitions joined with their savage   
vices made them afraid. It would seem also, in   
noticing the proofs of this disposition to melan-  
­choly, that the corning event of their disappear-  
ance as a race had cast its shadow upon their   
spirits. Mr. Williams says that they dislike

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT 43

cloths inclining to white, “but preferred to   
have a sad color, without any whitish hairs,   
suiting with their own natural temper, which   
inclines to sadness.”\*   
 In the spirit with which our fore fathers came   
hither, seeking the conversion of the red race,   
good men from time to time pursued different   
measures for their spiritual good. But while   
other men deserve great praise for their zeal and   
industry in this benevolent work, it was reserved   
to JOHN ELIOT to gain for himself the name of   
the Apostle to the Indians. The way in which   
he obtained it will now appear, and also some   
account of his life and character, with further   
notices respecting the Indians.   
 Though individuals had incidentally labored   
among the Indians for their spiritual good before   
the Apostle Eliot began his efforts to give them   
the Gospel, and some useful impressions had   
been made on some of their minds, the first sys-  
tematic efforts for their conversion were made   
by him. Roger Williams' narrative was printed   
in Loudon, in 1643. Eliot began to preach in   
the Indian tongue in 1646. Mr. Williams says,   
 “Many solemn discourses I have had with   
all sorts of nations of them, from one end of   
the country to the other, so far as opportunity,   
and the little language I have, could reach.

\* See Appendix, C.

44 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.

“I know there is no small preparation in the   
hearts of multitudes of them. I know their   
many solemn confessions to myself, and one to   
another, of their last wandering conditions.   
 "I know not with how little knowledge and   
grace of Christ the Lord may save; and there-  
­fore neither will despair, nor report much.   
 “Two days before the death of Wequash, the   
Pequot captain, as I passed up to Quunnihticut   
(Connecticut) river, it pleased my worthy friend,   
Mr. Fenwick, whom I visited at his house in   
Saybrook fort, at the mouth of that river, to tell   
me that my old friend Wequash lay very sick.   
I desired to see him, and himself was pleased to   
be my guide two miles where Wequash lay.   
 “Amongst other discourses concerning his   
sickness and death, in which he freely bequeathed   
his son to Mr. Fenwick, I closed with him con-   
cerning his soul. He told me that some two or   
three years before, he had lodged at my house,   
where I acquainted him with the condition of   
all mankind, and his own particular; how  
God created man and all things; how man fell   
from God, and his present enmity against God   
and the wrath of God against him till repent-  
­ance. Said he, your words were never out of   
my heart to this present; and, said he, ‘Me  
much pray to Jesus Christ.’ I told him so did

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 45

many English, French, and Dutch, who had   
never turned to God nor loved him. He replied   
in broken English: “Me so big naughty heart:   
me heart all one stone!’ Savoring expressions   
using to breathe from compunct and broken   
hearts, and a sense of inward hardness and un-  
­brokenness. I had many discourses with him   
in this life; but this was the sum of our last   
parting, until our general meeting."\*   
 We now come to the history of the man   
by whom the work of converting and civilizing the   
Indians was carried out with the most signal   
success.

\* Roger Williams’ Key, p. 26.

46 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.

CHAPTER III.

John Eliot. Birth and Education. Associated with Rev. Thomas   
Hooker. Arrives at Boston. Settles in Roxbury. Anecdote.  
Discovery of Spot Pond. Marriage, Christians and Ministerial  
character. His zeal for common School Education. Notices of  
his personal character. His Congregational Sentiments. Remarks  
upon them. Mr. Eliot's children. His prayers His preaching   
Infant Baptism.

JOHN ELLIOT was born in Nasing, Essex, Eng-   
land, in the year 1604. All that is known of   
his parents is, that they were eminently pious,   
to which Mr. Eliot bore testimony, when he   
wrote in after life these words: “I do see that   
it was a great favor of God unto me to season   
my first years with the fear of God, the word,   
and prayer.”  
 He was educated in England at the Univer-  
­sity of Cambridge, and was distinguished for his   
love of the languages, in Hebrew and Greek.  
There is a connection between this fact and his   
labors in New England in acquiring the Indian   
tongue and translating the Bible and other books   
into it.   
 The Rev. Thomas Hooker, afterwards the

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT 47   
  
first Pastor of the Church in Cambridge, New   
England, who afterwards removed with his   
Church to Hartford, Connecticut, had been si-   
lenced for his conscientious scruples at certain   
rites and observances in the Church of England,   
after exercising the ministry four years. At the   
suggestion and request of distinguished indi­-  
viduals, he established a school in the town of   
Little Braddow, near Chelmsford, in the county   
of Essex, England. Mr. Eliot was an usher in   
this school. In this school several individuals   
were trained up who became eminently useful.   
Mr. Eliot wrote an account of this school; and   
says of it, and of his connection with the family   
of Mr. Hooker. “To this place was I called   
through the infinite riches of God's mercy in   
Christ Jesus to any poor soul; for here the Lord   
said unto my dead soul, Live; and, through the  
grace of Christ, I do live, and I shall live for-   
ever. When I came to this blessed family, I   
then saw, and never before, the power of godli-  
­ness in its lively vigor and efficacy.”  
 By the influence of Mr. Hooker, Mr. Eliot   
was led to devote himself to the Christian minis-  
­try. Seeing the corruptions of the Church of   
England, and the oppressive spirit of those in   
authority towards all who would not conform to   
the ceremonies and practices of the Established

48 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT

Church, he resolved that he would go to Amer­-  
ica, that he might preach the gospel without   
restraint.   
 He came to Boston in November, 1631, in   
the ship “Lyon,” with Governor Winthrop's   
lady and children, and sixty others. There was   
then no minister at the Church in Boston, Rev.   
Mr. Wilson, their pastor, having gone to Eng-  
­land to settle his affairs. Mr. Eliot joined the   
Church at Boston, and preached to them a part   
of a year, till the return of Mr. Wilson, when   
the Church wished to make him colleague and   
teacher with Mr. Wilson. But he had engaged   
with several individuals, in England, that if they  
should remove to America, he would be their   
minister. They came the year after his arrival,   
and settled at Roxbury; and having formed a  
Church there, secured the services of Mr. Eliot.   
He was then twenty-eight years old, and he   
continued as Pastor of the Church in Rox­-  
bury nearly sixty years. His meeting-house   
was on the hill where the present meeting-house   
of the First Church in Roxbury (unitarian)   
now stands. Cotton Mather has preserved an   
anecdote connected with this hill, illustrating the   
art which Mr. Eliot had at spiritualizing. Go-  
­ing up the hill to his meeting-house, in his old   
age, with much feebleness and weariness he

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT 49

said to the one who led him, “This is very like   
the way to heaven, 'tis up hill; the Lord by his   
grace fetch us up.” Spying a hush near him   
he instantly added, “And truly there are thorns   
and briars in the way too!" which instance,   
Mather says, “I would not have singled out   
from the many thousands of his occasional re-  
­flections, but on1y that I might suggest unto the   
good people of Roxbury something for them to   
think upon when they are going up to the house   
of the Lord.”\*   
 In February of the year after his arrival, Mr.   
Eliot is mentioned as one of the company who,   
with the governor, made an excursion into the   
vicinity of Boston, and discovered a pond to   
which they gave its present name of “Spot   
Pond.”₸ This pond has of late been a promi-  
­neut candidate for the privilege of supplying this   
city with water.  
 In 1632, Mr. Eliot was married to the pious   
young lady to whom he was betrothed in Eng-  
­land, and who came to America by appointment   
the year after Mr. Eliot’s arrival. We shall   
have occasion to speak of her in the sequel of   
this history.  
 In the exercise of the Christian ministry, Mr.

\* Mag. B III. Life of Eliot. Art. 1.   
₸ Sparks’ Lib. Am. Biog. V. 9. Francis’ Life of Eliot.

VOL. III. 6

50 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.

"Eliot was remarkable for a deep sense of the great   
responsibleness of his work. It made him hum­-  
ble; he seemed to have a peculiar fear of the   
temptations incident to his profession, and to be   
deeply impressed with the weight of its duties.   
His brethren in the ministry were struck with   
this characteristic of his ministerial deportment.   
 He bestowed much labor and diligence upon   
his preparations for the pulpit, It is said that   
when he listened to n discourse which seemed   
to have had care and attention bestowed upon it,   
he was accustomed to express his approbation   
and thanks to the preacher. But while his dis­-  
courses showed him to be a student, he placed a   
higher value on spiritual gifts in preaching than   
upon the greatest accomplishments of art or labor.   
He frequently exhorted young preachers to make   
Christ prominent in their discourses and in all   
their ministrations.  
 He had an elevated sense of the meaning and   
privilege of church-membership. With affection,   
but also with plain and faithful words, he never   
ceased to rebuke the inconsistencies of profess-  
­sors of religion. Mather says of him, “He   
would sound the trumpet of Gou against all vice   
with a most penetrating liveliness, and make his   
pulpit another Mount Sinai, for the flashes of   
lightning therein displayed against the breaches

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT 51

of the law given from that burning mountain.   
There was usually a special fervor in the rebukes   
which he bestowed on carnality. When he was   
to brand the earthly mindedness of Church mem­-  
bers and the allowance and indulgence which   
they often give themselves in sensual delights,   
he was a right Boanerges. He spoke as many   
thunderbolts as words!”   
 He paid particular attention to the young peo-  
ple of his charge, gave them instruction in public   
and private with the help of catechisms com­-  
posed by him especially for their use. It was   
his familiar habit, when he visited a family, to   
call the young around him and lay his hands on   
their heads with words of kindness and prayer.   
 He showed his love of learning in his zeal for   
the establishment of common schools. The   
grammar School at Roxbury owed much to his   
care. At the meeting of a Synod in Boston, he   
made the schools of the country a special subject   
of prayer, beseeching God that he would cause   
them to he established everywhere, that schools   
might flourish, that every member of the Synod   
might go home to procure und encourage a good   
school in his town; and that before they should   
die, they might be so happy as to see a good   
school established in every part of the country.   
 "God so blessed his endeavors that Roxbury

52 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT

could not live quietly without a free school in   
the town, and the issue of it has been one thing  
that has almost made me put the title of Schola   
Illustris upon that little nursery; that is, that   
Roxbury has afforded more scholars first for the   
College and then for the public than any town   
of its bigness, or, if I mistake not, of twice its   
bigness in all New England. From the spring   
of the school at Roxbury, there have run a large  
number of the streams which have made glad   
the whole city of God. I persuade myself that   
the good people of Roxbury will forever scorn to   
begrudge the cost, or to permit the death of a  
school which God has made such an honor to   
them; and thus the rather been use their deceased   
Eliot has left them a fair part of his own es­-  
tate for the maintaining of the school in Rox­-  
bury; and I hope, or at least I wish that the   
ministers of New England may he as ungainsay-  
ably importunate with their people as Mr. Eliot   
was with his for schools which may seasonably   
tinge the young souls of the rising generation.   
A want of education for them is the blackest and   
saddest of all the bad omens that are upon us.”\*  
 One result of his interest in schools was that   
many individuals were raised up under his eye

\* Mag. Book III., 499.

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT 53

who became ministers of the gospel, and some   
of them were eminently useful.  
 He was so engrossed in the affairs of his min-  
­istry that he hardly paid sufficient attention to   
his worldly affairs, never being anxious about   
his support, depending wholly on the temporary  
and voluntary offerings of his people, which va-  
­ried with the times. Dr. Dwight, in his Travels   
in New England and New York,\* relates   
an anecdote to illustrate his generous and   
somewhat improvident disposition and habits.  
“The parish treasurer having paid him his sal-  
ary, put it into a handkerchief and tied it into   
as many hard knots as he could make to pre-  
vent him from giving it away before he reached   
his own house. On his way he called on a poor   
family, and told them that he had brought them   
some relief. He then began to untie the knots,   
but finding it a work of great difficulty, he gave   
it to the mistress of the house, saying, “Here,   
my dear, take it, I believe the Lord designs it   
all for you.”  
 Like many other ministers, he owed much to   
the care which his wife took of him and his   
worldly affairs. She of course did not commend   
him for such reckless acts of charity as the one   
just named. One day some cattle stood before

\* Vol. III., p. 15   
 5\*

54 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT

their door. His wife, to try him, asked him to   
whom they belonged, and though they were his   
own, he did not know them.   
 His influence upon his brethren in the minis-  
­try seems to have been eminently spiritual. He   
once said in a company of them, “The Lord   
Jesus takes much notice of what is said and done   
among his ministers when they are together.   
Let us pray before we depart.” His advice to   
some who complained of the conduct of Church   
members towards them, was, “Bear, forbear,   
forgive.” On one occasion he canto into a  
meeting of ministers who had met as referees on   
some difficulties between two parties. A large   
bundle of papers lay on the table, containing the   
correspondence and other documents relating to   
the quarrel. He put them all into the fire, and   
said, “You need not be astonished at what I   
have done, for I did it on my knees before I   
came here.”  
 He loved to attend upon the ministry of his   
brethren when they lectured during the week.   
It used to excite surprise, that, with his many   
labors and studies, he could find so much time   
to do this. His appearance in the house of God   
as a hearer was noticeable, being always wake­-  
ful and watchful, turning the pages of a Bible   
to find the texts referred to by the preacher, and

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT 55

on returning to his home, he would preach the   
sermon over again to those who walked with him.   
 He is mentioned as remarkable for the value   
which he seemed to set on the Sabbath, and for   
the high spiritual enjoyment which its return   
brought with it. Of every Sabbath it might   
almost be said with regard to his enjoyment of the   
sacred hours, “That Sabbath was a high-day.”  
 He was eminently a man of prayer, setting   
apart whole days for special supplication and   
communion with God, to which he frequently   
added lasting. When he had any special diffi­-  
culty in his private, or in public affairs, he de-  
voted himself to special, secret prayer for some   
time together, on the principle related of another,  
“That when we would have any great things to   
be accomplished, the best policy is to work by   
an engine which the world sees nothing of.”  
When he heard any special news he would   
sometimes say, “Brethren, let us turn all this   
into prayer." When he paid a visit to a family   
with which he was familiar, he would sometimes   
say, "Come, let us not have a visit without a   
prayer; let us pray down the blessing of heaven   
on your family before we go.”  
 A pious woman, afflicted with a wicked hus­-  
band, complained to him that she was greatly

56 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.   
  
troubled by the bad company which her husband   
brought with him into the house, and asked him   
what she should do. He said to her, “Take the   
holy Bible into your hands when they come, and   
you will soon drive them away.” The experi-  
­ment is said to have been successful.   
 One day walking in his garden with a friend,   
he began to pluck up the weeds. His friend   
pleasantly said to him, “Sir, you tell us we   
must be heavenly-minded,” as though he would   
draw from Mr. Eliot some remarks on the con­-  
sistency of heavenly-mindedness with attention   
to things about us. Mr. Eliot replied, “It is   
true; and this is no impediment unto that; for   
were I sure to go to heaven tomorrow, I would   
do what I do to-day.”  
 He went into a merchant's counting room,   
where he saw his mercantile books on the table,   
and some books of devotion on the shelf. Upon   
which he said, “Sir, here is earth on the table,   
and Heaven on the shelf. Pray don't sit so   
much at the table as altogether to forget the   
shelf.”  
 Preaching once on holiness in all manner of   
conversation, he said, “In the morning if we   
ask, Where am I to be to-day? our souls must   
answer, In heaven. In the evening if we ask,   
Where have I been to-day, our souls may answer,

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT 57

In heaven. If thou art a believer thou art no   
stranger to Heaven while thou livest: and when   
thou diest, Heaven will be no strange place to   
thee: no, thou hast been there a thousand times   
before.”  
 He would say to students, “I pray look to it   
that you be morning birds.”   
 A few years before his death, he pressed his   
people to obtain another pastor, and said, “’Tis   
possible you may think the burden of maintain-  
­ing two ministers may be two heavy for you;   
but I deliver you from that fear; I do here give   
back my salary to the Lord Jesus Christ, and   
now, brethren, you may fix that upon any man   
that God shall make a pastor for you.” But his   
Church kindly and generously told him that they   
should count his very presence worth a salary,   
when he should be so superannuated as to do no   
further service for them.  
 He was an abstemious man, and yet far from   
being morose or censorious, but when invited to   
a large dinner, it is said that while he, eat but   
very little he would indulge in pleasant and   
grateful remarks with respect to the plenty with   
which God had furnished his people in this   
wilderness. Having been invited at a stranger’s  
house to take some drink, which he was told   
was wine and water, he replied, “Wine! ‘tis a

58 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.

noble, generous liquor, and we should be humbly   
thankful for it; but, as I remember, water was   
made before it,” and water was his drink, to a   
degree which was far from being common even   
in those days.   
 He was greatly displeased with the increasing   
attention in his day among the men to the wear­-  
ing of the hair, the length of it growing to ef­-  
feminacy, and false hair frequently being added,   
when there was no necessity for it to cover the   
head. He finally despaired of changing or   
checking the custom, and said, “The lust is be-  
­come insuperable."   
 It is said of him that no man ever had fewer  
enemies than he, but still there were those who   
privately disliked him, and he charged his wife   
in her visits among the people to do good in a   
special manner to any whom she found disposed  
to speak against him, or to entertain unkind   
feelings towards him. Having once displeased   
a hearer by something in a sermon, the man   
abused him publicly by words and by printing   
something to his injury. The man soon after   
was wounded. Mrs. Eliot had considerable   
skill in medicine and the treatment of wounds,   
and Mr. Eliot sent her to cure the man, which   
she did, and upon his recovery the man called   
to thank her, but she tool, no reward, and Mr.

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 59

Eliot kept him to dine, and took no notice of his   
evil conduct, whereupon the man was deeply   
affected and subdued.   
 He had much tact and wit in suiting his ben-  
­edictions to the conditions and circumstances of   
different people.   
 In the days of affliction he showed exemplary   
resignation to the will of God. He followed to   
the grave two or three of his sons, who were   
ministers of the Gospel. But his patience and   
submission under these trials are spoken of with   
great commendation.   
 His love for the Hebrew tongue is seen in the   
following enthusiastic words: “O that the Lord   
would put it into the heart of some of his rel-  
ig­ious and learned servants to take such pains   
about the Hebrew language as to fit it for uni-  
­versal use! Considering that above all lan-  
­guages spoken by the lip of man, it is most   
capable to be enlarged, and fitted to express all   
things, and motions, and notions that our human   
intellect is capable of in this mortal life, consid-  
­ering also that it is the invention of God himself;   
and what one is fitter to be the universal lan-  
­guage, than that which it pleased our Lord Jesus   
to make use of when he spake from heaven unto   
Paul!”  
 In the government of his family, it is said

60 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.

that there might have been seen a perpetual   
mixture of a Spartan and a Christian discipline,   
and that whatever decay there might have been   
in family religion generally, the people ‘knew   
how that he would command his children and   
his household after him, that they should keep   
the way of the Lord.’  
 He was remarkable for the efforts he em-  
­ployed to instruct the children, making catechisms   
for them having reference to any prevailing er-  
­rors. The effect of this is certified in a remark   
of Cotton Mather, that it is a well-principled   
people that he has left behind him. “As when   
certain Jesuits were sent among the Waldenses   
to corrupt their children, they returned with   
much disappointment and confusion, because the   
children of seven years old were well-principled   
enough to encounter the most learned of them   
all so, if any seducers were let loose to wolve   
it among the good people of Roxbury, I am con-  
­fident they would find as little prey in that well   
instructed place as in any part of the country.   
No civil penalties would signify so much to save   
any people from the snares of busy heretics, as   
the unwearied catechising of our Eliot has done   
to preserve his people from the gangrene of ill   
opinion.”\*

\* Book III. Art. IV.

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT 61

It is said of Mr. Eliot that he was not only an   
evangelical minister, but a Protestant and a Pu­-  
ritan. “He was a modest, humble, but very   
reasonable non-conformist unto the ceremonies   
which have been such unhappy apples of strife   
in the Church of England; otherwise the dismal   
thickets of America had never seen such a per-  
son in them.”  
 Mr. Eliot was strongly attached to the Con-  
­gregational form of Church order. He spoke of   
it as the special gift of Christ to his people who   
followed him into the wilderness with an earnest   
zeal for communion with Him in a pure worship.   
He regarded Congregationalism as a happy me­-  
dium to “rigid Presbyterianism” on the one   
hand, and “leveling Brownism” on the other,   
the liberties of the people not bring disregarded,   
nor the authority of the elders rendered in-   
significant, but a due balance kept between them   
both. He regarded the Platform of Church Dis­-  
cipline “as being the nearest of what he had yet   
seen to the directions of heaven.”  
 By this it is not to be understood that Mr.   
Eliot as a true Congregationalist, supposed that   
any form of Church government was imposed   
by Christ or the Apostles upon the Christian   
Church, as being in any way essential to the   
existence of a true Church of Christ. With re-

VOL. III. 6

62 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.

gard to the appointment of any special form of   
Church Government, it would seem that there is   
a wise silence in the New Testament. The   
genius of Christianity forbids an adherence to   
any form of ecclesiastical order as essential to   
the existence of a Church of Christ. This truth   
was declared by Christ at Jacob's well to the   
Samaritan woman. The Jews insisted on Je­-  
rusalem as the place where men ought to wor­-  
ship. The Samaritans as strenuously maintained   
that acceptable worship could he performed only   
in their mountain.   
 Christ said, The hour cometh when ye shall   
neither in this mountain nor yet at Jerusalem   
worship the Father; that is no place in prefer-   
ence to another shall be essential to acceptable   
worship. God is a Spirit, and they that worship   
him need not restrict themselves to any hallowed   
place, but may worship hint anywhere accepta-  
­bly, if they worship Him in spirit and in truth.   
 But if so great a change was allowed us the   
abolition of sacred places, which once were es­-  
sential to acceptable worship, and notwithstund­-  
ing all that had been done to make men feel that   
Jerusalem and the Temple were the places to   
which the true worshipers must of necessity re-  
­sort, it follows that no forms, any more than   
places, arc essential to the true worship of God.

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 63

We may infer what form of Church government   
prevailed under the Apostles, though different   
readers of the New Testament will draw differ­-  
ent inferences. This shows that no form is   
prescribed as being essential, otherwise we should   
not have been left in the dark in so important a   
subject. The body of Moses and the place of   
his sepulchre were hidden, because as we gen-  
­erally suppose the Israelites would have paid an   
idolatrous reverence before such a shrine as the   
tomb of their illustrious leader, and in the Jew­ish   
Church the solemn farce of a Holy Sepulchre   
would have been enacted, in anticipation and in   
countenance of the subsequent follies which have   
been connected with the Sepulchre of Christ.   
We may say of any supposed form of Church   
government as being in any way essential, as is   
said of the body of Moses, and for a similar   
reason, “The Lord buried it,” and “no man   
knoweth of its sepulchre lo this day.”   
 Our preference for the Congregational form   
of Church government is not properly founded   
on any prescriptions in the New Testament, but   
on our convictions that this form is most accord­-  
ant with the genius of Christianity and of repub­-  
lican institutions, But so surely as we insist   
on Congregationalism as having any “divine   
right,” or authority, and we seek to propagate

64 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.

Congregationalism with such convictions, we are   
as surely High Churchmen and Puseyites as   
can anywhere be found. To insist on the ab-   
sence of all forms and on the perfect simplicity   
of worship, with a sectarian spirit, shows as great   
on attachment to a form of worship as though   
we urged the adoption of all the ceremonies of   
the Cathedral. We may be as bigoted in favor   
of simplicity as of anything else, and a Quaker  
and a Congregationalist may be as much a for-  
­malist and a Churchman as any other. At the   
same time we may believe that the Congrega-  
­tional form of government is nearer to the Spirit   
of the New 'Testament than any other, and this   
is what Mr. Eliot probably meant when he said   
that Congregationalism was nearest in his view   
to the directions of heaven,   
 The influence which was exerted upon the   
mind of Thomas Jefferson, and which he exerted   
in the framing of the Constitution, by observing,   
as he did, an illustration of democracy in a Con-  
­gregational Baptist Church in Virginia, is well   
known.\*  
 We ought to carry out the true Puritan doc-  
trine of liberty of conscience by not despising   
any who choose to worship under a different   
form and order from our own. It is an interest­-  
ing illustration of the noble spirit in our Puritan

\* Jefferson's “Notes on Virginia.”

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 66

institutions that all sects have liberty here to   
worship God with any forms or in any man­-  
ner they please; and he who tries to hinder   
them any further than by convincing them, or   
feels sourly towards them in the enjoyment of   
their liberty of conscience and religious prefer-  
­ences, has not yet learned all that he may of the   
nature and spirit of religious liberty. But if we   
profess to be in the true succession from the Pu-  
­ritans and Pilgrims as to doctrine and Church   
order, let us not mix any of those things with   
our worship from which the Pilgrims fled to   
this wilderness, that they might he rid of them.  
We can live peaceably and freely in the midst   
of such corruptions and not be persecuted.   
They could not. Let us not abuse our liberty,   
by turning again to those beggarly elements of   
human appointments in Church government and   
worship which corrupt the religion of Christ.   
Let us not begin to do so by cultivating the   
spirit of bigoted attachment to our simple order   
and forms, for thereby we as truly violate the   
spirit of Christianity as though we insisted on a   
multitude of ceremonies and a hierarchy, as es-  
­sential to a Church. He who says “No Church   
without simplicity in worship,” and he who   
says, “No Church without a Bishop,” are two   
extremes which meet. At the same time, we  
 6\*

66 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.

shall be the degenerate sons of men who made   
such sacrifices for purity in worship as did the   
Pilgrims, unless we adhere to our simple and   
beautiful mode of Church government and wor-  
­ship as preferable to any other.  
 The practice of examining persons who seek   
admission to the Church, was much insisted on   
by Mr. Eliot. The relation of their experience   
he says, “is an ordinance of wonderful benefit.   
The devil knows what he does when he thrusts   
so hard to get this custom out of our churches.   
For my part I would say in this case, Get thee   
behind me Satan; thou givest an horrible offence   
to the Lord Jesus Christ. Let us keep up this   
ordinance with all gentleness; and where we   
see the least spark of grace held forth, let us   
prize it more than all the wit in the world.”  
 Mr. Eliot had six children, a daughter and   
five sons. The daughter became exemplary, for   
her piety and matronly deportment. His first   
son, John, was “a lively, zealous, acute preach-  
­er, not only to the English at New Cambridge,\*

\* Newton. Dr. Homer, in his History of Newton says, “This  
son of the apostle Elio was the first minister of Newton. He abili-  
ties and occupation in the ministry are said to be pre-eminent.  
Under the direction of his father, he obtained considerable prof-  
ciency in the Indian language, and was an assistant to him in the   
missionary employment until he settled at Newton. Even after his   
ordination there, he imitated the manner of his father, devoting himself

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 67

but also to the Indians thereabout.” He died   
early, and upon his death-bed uttered many   
remarkable things. The third child, Joseph,   
was pastor of the Church in Guilford, Conn.   
The fourth child, Samuel, was a candidate for   
the ministry, but died young. The fifth was   
Aaron, who also died very young. The last   
was Benjamin, who became his father's assistant   
in the ministry at Roxbury, but died before his   
father. Of these six children, Mr. Eliot said,   
“THEY ARE ALL EITHER WITH CHRIST, OR IN  
CHRIST.”  
 Mather speaks of the singular and surprising   
successes of Mr. Eliot's prayers; ‘for they were   
such that in our distresses we still repaired to   
him under that encouragement.’ “He is a pro-  
­phet, and he shall pray for thee, and thou shalt   
live.” He mentions the following fact. They   
who are displeased at David's imprecations   
against his enemies, may see in it that a good man   
may pray for the destruction of the incorrigibly   
wicked, when great and good ends will be accom-   
plished by it, leaving it submissively to the   
appointments of the all-wise God. A good man   
never ventures to pray in this manner, except

self to the instruction of the Indians, as well as his own flock. Ac-  
cordingly he preached statedly once in a fortnight to them at Re-  
quimet, (Stoughton,) and sometimes at Natick.”

68 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.

when he is under a strong influence, drawing  
him very near to God with holy freedom and   
boldness. At such times his feelings are em­-  
inently pure; and it is in such times that good   
men feel impelled to pray for the removal of   
those who oppose God, and hinder others in   
their salvation. No doubt if there were more of   
ardent piety, there would be more of righteous   
indignation against the obstinate opposers of   
religion, and we should find ourselves better   
able to understand the feelings and language of   
David, when praying against the enemies of his   
throne and of the God who ruled by him.   
That language will come into more familiar use   
by the people of God, in their nearest approach-   
es to him, as they go forth with their King and   
Saviour in his conflicts with his enemies.   
 The fact to which the allusion has been made   
was this:   
 There was a pious gentleman of Charlestown   
by the name of Foster, who, with his son, was   
taken prisoner by the Turks. The news being   
spread in this vicinity, the good people offered   
up many prayers for his deliverance. But it   
was reported that the prince, within whose au-  
­thority be was a prisoner, had resolved that   
during his reign, no captive should be set free.   
The friends and acquaintances of this man then

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 69

concluded that his captivity was hopeless. Soon   
after, Mr. Eliot on some public nod solemn   
occasion, used these direct and forcible petitions.   
“Heavenly Father! work forth deliverance of   
thy poor servant, Foster; and if the prince   
which detains him, will not, as they say, dismiss   
him so long as himself lives, Lord, we pray thee   
to kill that cruel prince; kill him, and glorify   
thyself upon him.” Soon after the prisoners   
returned and brought news that in consequence   
of the untimely death of the prince they had   
been set at liberty.   
 There was one thing which seems to have   
pressed very heavily on the mind and heart of   
Mr. Eliot in his ministerial office. It was the   
care of a Church. “He looked upon it,” says   
one, “as a thing no less dangerous than impor-  
­tant, and attended with so many difficulties,   
temptations, and humiliations, as that nothing   
but a call from the Son of God could have en-   
couraged him unto the susception of it. He   
saw that it was no easy thing to feed the souls   
of such a people, to bear their manners with all   
patience, not being by any of their infirmities   
discouraged from teaching of them, and from   
watching and praying over them, to value them   
highly as the flock of God, which he hath pur­-  
chased with his own blood, notwithstanding all

70 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.

their miscarriages, and in all to examine the   
rule of Scripture for the warrant of whatever   
shall be done, and to remember the day of   
judgment wherein an account must be given of   
whatever shall be done, having in the mean­-  
time no expectation of the riches and grandeurs   
which accompany a worldly domination.” This   
seemed to be characteristic of the spirit with   
which Mr. Eliot discharged his duties as the   
pastor of a Church.   
 An observation of Rev. Samuel Ward has   
been quoted as applicable to him: “In observing   
I have observed and found that divers great   
clerks have had but little fruit of their ministry,   
but hardly any truly zealous men of God, though   
of lesser gifts, but have had much comfort of   
their labors in their own and bordering parishes,   
being in this likened by Gregory to the iron on   
the smith's anvil, sparkling round about.”  
 Mather says, “The Lord Jesus Christ was   
the load-stone which gave n touch to all the   
sermons of our Eliot; a glorious, precious, love-   
ly Christ, was the point of heaven to which they   
still verged unto.” It is said, that though he   
printed many books or pamphlets, his heart   
seemed to be in none of them so much, as in   
his ‘Harmony of the Gospels, in the holy History   
of Jesus Christ.’ It was a standing piece of

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 71   
  
advice with him to young ministers, “Pray let   
there be much of Christ in your ministry.” On   
hearing a sermon in which the Saviour had been   
made prominent, he would say, O, blessed be   
God, that we hear Christ so much and so well   
preached in poor New England.   
 On corning out of the meeting-house where he   
had been listening to a sermon, he said to the   
preacher, “Brother, there was oil required for   
the service of the sanctuary; but it must be   
beaten oil; I praise God that I saw your oil so   
well beaten to-day; the Lord help us always by   
good study to bent our oil that there may be no  
knots in our sermons left undissolved, and that   
there may a clear light be thereby given in the   
house of God.” Still it is observed that he looked   
for something more than mere study in a ser-   
mon; he required those things in it which   
would make the hearer feel that the Spirit of God   
was in the sermon and with the preacher, and he   
was once heard to complain, “It is a sad thing   
when a sermon shall have that one thing, The   
Spirit of God, wanting in it.”  
 He had eminently spiritual views of the duty   
and privilege of infant baptism. On giving the   
Rev. Cotton Mather the Right Hand of Fellow-  
­ship at his ordination, he said to him, “Brother,   
art thou a lover of the Lord Jesus Christ?

72 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.

Then I pray, feed his lambs.” He was careful   
to have the lambs pass under the “Lord's   
tything rod.” One Mr. Norcott, a truly pious   
man, published a book against the baptism of   
infants, which being circulated in Boston and   
the vicinity, Mr. Eliot answered it in a brief pub-  
­lication, beginning with these words: “The   
book speaks with the voice of a lamb, and I   
think the author is a godly though erring bro-  
ther; but he acts the cause of a roaring lion,   
who by all crafty ways, seeketh to devour the   
poor lambs of the flock of Christ.” He then   
speaks “in the behalf of those who cannot   
speak for themselves.”  
 On one occasion, speaking of the Saviour's   
directions to Peter, John 21:15, he observed,   
That the care of the lambs is one third part of   
the charge over the house of God.  
 The title of one of Mr. Eliot's publications,   
“The Divine Management of Gospel Churches,   
by the Ordinance of Councils, constituted in   
order according to the Scriptures, which may   
be a means of uniting those two holy and em-  
i­nent parties, the Presbyterians and the Congre-  
­gational,” shows that a plan of union between   
these two sister denominations is not wholly of   
modern origin.

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 73

But reserving many things respecting Mr.   
Eliot's character and opinions for another place   
in this book, let us now look at him in that re­-  
markable work to which God appointed him   
among the Indians of this vicinity.

VOL. III. 7

74 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.

CHAPTER IV.

Nonantum. Mather’s description of the natives. The Lost Tribes   
of Israel. Specimen of Indian words, Eliot's first religious exer-  
­cise at Nonaantum. Indian Questions. Second visit to the Indians,   
Indian Questions. Eliot’s reflections on his interviews. Anecdotes.

THE old turnpike road to Worcester, in Bright-  
­on, leaves Nonnntum hill on the left, and a   
private road conducts to the summit of the   
hill which is crowned by two mansions.\* The   
scenery from that hill has a rare combination of   
still life and of the busy world. The Charles Riv-  
­er, seen from a distant part of the hill, meanders   
to the sea; the quiet, classic scenes of Cambridge   
are before the eye; soft undulations of hill and   
dale, winding roads and aboriginal woods, and   
the quiet waters of the estuary, impress the   
mind with sensations of repose which are pleas-  
antly broken by the distant noise of travel upon   
the bridges, the sudden whistle of the locomo-  
­tive, and an impressive view of the neighboring   
city, That hill, extending as far as Watertown  
and Newton, was once the favorite residence of

\* Now owned and occupied by Warren Dutton and Horace Gray,

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 76

the Indians, in this vicinity,\* and thither Eliot,   
the pastor of the neighboring Church in Rox-  
­bury, directed his way, to give the Indians the   
word and ordinances of the Gospel in their own   
language.   
 Cotton Mather says, “The natives of the   
country now possessed by the New Englanders,   
had been forlorn and wretched heathen ever   
since their first herding here; and though we   
know not how these Indians first became inhab-  
­itants of this mighty continent, yet we may   
guess that probably the devil decoyed these   
miserable savages hither, in hopes that the gos-  
­pel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ would   
never come here to destroy or disturb his abso­-  
lute empire over them. But our Eliot was in   
such ill-terms with the devil, as to alarm him by   
sounding the silver trumpets of heaven in his   
territories, and make some noble and zealous   
attempt towards ousting him of his ancient pos-  
s­sessions here. There were, I think, twenty

\* “The first place he began to preach at was Nonantum, near  
Watertown, upon the south side of Charles River, about four or five  
miles from his own house; where lived at that time Wabon, one of  
their principal men, and some Indians with him.” Gookin, Mass.  
Hist. Soc. Coll. for 1792, Vol. I  
 “The place where Eliot first began to preach to the Indians, was   
at Nonantum, a hill at the northeast corner of Newton, nearly where   
Messrs. Haven’s and Wiggin’s houses now stand.” Moore’s Life  
of Eliot.

76 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.

several nations, if I may call them so, of Indians,   
upon that spot of ground which fell under the   
influence of our Three United Colonies; and   
our Eliot was willing to rescue as many of   
them as he could from that old usurping land-  
­lord of America, who is by the wrath of God,   
the prince of this world.”\*   
 Some of the interest and zeal which many of   
the first planters and their successors felt with   
regard to the Indians, was owing to their belief   
that they were the Ten Tribes of Israel. Cotton   
Mather enumerates “some small reasons,” as he   
calls them, which led the English to suspect   
that they might be Israelites. He adds, “They   
have, too, a great unkindness for our swine;” --  
but he does not seem to place much reliance on   
that coincidence with the Jewish antipathy to   
swine, for he adds, “but I suppose that is be-  
cause our swine devour their clams, which are   
a great dainty with them.”  
 This supposition that the North American In-  
­dians are the Ten Tribes of Israel, has seemed   
even more probable to many modern writers   
than it did to the first settlers of the country,   
Mr. Catlin, in his interesting and valuable work   
on the North American Indians, mentions many   
curious facts in the history, manners and cus-   
  
\* Mag. Book III., Part IV. See Appendix, C.

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT 77

toms of the present race of red men, in favor of   
this supposition. But there are so many theo-  
­ries on the subject of the Lost Tribes of Israel,   
and it is so easy for an ingenious mind to dis-  
­cover or invent resemblances, that neither this   
theory nor any other on the same subject has   
ever obtained general belief.  
 It was to a people of rude speech and fierce   
countenance that Mr. Eliot endeavored to give a   
knowledge of the Gospel and the institutions of   
civilized life. His first labor of course was to   
acquire their language. It was the language of   
the Massachusetts Indians to which he applied  
himself. He found an old Indian who could   
speak English, took him into his family, and by   
finding out one word, and expression, and sen-  
tence after another, he soon was able to converse   
in that tongue, and finally understood it so well   
that he reduced it to rules, and made an Indian   
grammar. One glance at this language will   
show that it must have been no easy task for a  
stranger to learn it well enough to converse in   
it. Some of the words are of enormous length,   
one of them sometimes filling a whole line.   
The word for “our loves,” is noowoomantam­-  
moorkanunornash. “Our question” is Kum-  
mogkokonnattootummooetiteaongannunnarash.  
“One would think,” says Mather, “that these   
  
 7\*

78 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.

words had been growing ever since Babel unto   
the dimensions to which they are now extended.”  
Another remark of his on this subject, though it   
may seem to us to be somewhat in a trifling   
mood, was undoubtedly written with sober feel-   
ings, considering the prevalent superstitions of   
those times superstitions with regard to which   
we greatly err if we suppose them to have been, in   
those times, peculiar to America.\* “I know not,”   
this writer adds. “what thoughts it will produce   
in my reader, when I inform him that once finding   
that the demons in a possessed young woman   
understood the Latin and Greek and Hebrew   
languages, my curiosity led me to make trial of   
this Indian language, and the demons did seem   
as if they did not understand it.”  
 The reason of the great length of these Indian   
words is understood to be, that instead of having   
separate words for pronouns and adjectives, the   
noun or verb expresses them by adding syllables   
to itself. Mather, who was ready at anagrams   
and puns, says that the name Eliot read back-  
wards, is *toil E*, and he thinks that the name   
corresponds well with the toil of reducing such   
a language to a grammar. At the close of his   
Grammar Eliot wrote these words: “Prayers

\* He who thinks that a belief in witchcraft, &c, was a peculiarity  
of New England, should look into Strype’s Ecclesiastical Memorials.

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 79

and pains through faith in Christ Jesus, will do   
anything.”

We have from Eliot's own pen a narrative,   
called “A true relation of our beginnings with   
the Indians.” It was published in London, in   
1647, under this title, “The Day breaking, if not   
the Sun-rising, of the Gospel, with the Indians   
in New England.”  
 In October, l646, Eliot, with n few others,   
having sought the blessing of God, went to No-  
­nantum, for the purpose as he says, of making   
known to the Indians the things of their peace.   
As they approached the wigwams, five or six of   
the Chiefs met them with English salutations   
and bid them welcome. The principal wigwam   
had been previously prepared for the meeting,   
and many of the Indians were assembled. Eliot   
and his companions then begun with prayer in   
the English language, not being sufficiently ac-  
­quainted with the Indian tongue to make suita-  
­ble religious impressions at first with it upon the   
minds of the Indians, and besides they wished   
to let the Indians see that they felt the duty in   
hand to be serious and sacred, and they had a  
desire, moreover, as missionaries to offer up a  
united supplication to God. “with the same re-  
­quest and heart sorrowes,” in that place where   
God was never wont to be called upon.

80 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.

It was an affecting sight, as we may suppose,   
to Eliot and his friends, when they ceased from   
prayer and looked upon the company of Indians   
sitting in silence, with a mixture of curiosity   
and seriousness and wildness in their faces. To   
such un audience Eliot preached in the Indian   
tongue from Ezekiel 37:9. “Prophesy, son   
of man, and say to the wind, Thus saith the   
Lord, Come from the four winds, O breath, and   
breathe upon these slain that they may live.”  
 It is a curious fact that the name of the man\*   
in whose wigwam they were assembled was   
Waban, and Waban is the Indian name for the   
wind, so that it seemed to Waban that the mes-  
­sage was sent to him, and it proved a means in   
his conversion. The text from which Mr. Eliot   
preached on this occasion, was not one which   
his hearers could at first understand, and there-  
­fore some have expressed surprise at the selec­-  
tion of it. But in reply to this, it may be asked,   
what passage of the Word of God would have   
been immediately intelligible to those ignorant   
hearers? Besides, the text seems to have been   
chosen by Mr. Eliot for a purpose which is cer-  
tainly proper on special occasions, viz., as a   
warrant and encouragement to his own soul and

\* He was not a Sachem, as frequently stated. See Mass. Hist.,   
Col. IV., 19.

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 81

that of his helpers, in preaching in that valley   
of dry hones. Yet, after suitable religious im­-  
pressions had been made, and the hearers had   
felt their lost and wretched state, and their need   
of divine power, in reflecting upon the text it   
must have seemed to the hearers peculiarly ap-  
propriate to the occasion and to their condition.   
 An hour and a quarter was occupied in the   
discourse. Mr. Eliot gave the Indians first a   
brief exposition of the ten commandments, show­-  
ing the wrath and curse of God against those   
who break the last one of them. The subject   
was then applied, and the law having been   
brought to do its work in their hearts, and their   
sins being pointed out to them, as Mr. Eliot   
says, with much sweet affection, Jesus Christ   
was preached to them as the only Saviour. He   
told them who Christ was, and what he did, and   
whither he had gone, and how he will come   
again to judge the wicked and burn the world.   
The creation and fall of man, the greatness of   
God, heaven and hell, the pleasures of religion   
and the miseries of sin were then explained in   
language and with illustrations suited to their   
capacity.   
 The sermon being finished, Mr. Eliot pro-   
posed some questions to them, and first inquired   
whether they understood what had been said,

82 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.

and whether all or only some of them understood   
it? A multitude of voices exclaimed that they   
all understood everything which had been spo-  
­ken. Leave was then granted them to put   
questions, and it is interesting to notice the first   
questions which these children of the wilderness   
proposed. The first questions were,   
 “What is the cause of thunder?”  
 “What makes the sea ebb and flow?”  
 “What makes the wind blow?”   
 But there were some questions proposed by   
them which Mr. Eliot says some special wisdom   
of God directed them to ask, as, for example,   
 How may we come to know Jesus Christ?  
 Mr. Eliot told them that if they could read   
the Bible they would see clearly who Jesus   
Christ is, but inasmuch as they could not then   
read, he desired them to remember what he had   
told them out of the Bible, and to think much   
and often upon it, when they lay down on their   
mats in their wigwams and when they rose up,   
and to go alone in the fields, and woods, and   
muse on it, and so God would teach them.  
 He told them that if they would have help   
from God in this thing, they must begin to pray.   
and though they could not make long prayers as   
the English did, yet if they did but sigh and   
groan, saying, “Lord, make me to know Jesus

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 83

Christ for I know him not,” and if with all their   
hearts they persisted in such prayers, they might   
hope that God would help them. But they were   
especially to remember that they must confess   
their sins and ignorance to God and mourn over   
them and acknowledge how just it would be in   
God to withhold from them any knowledge of   
Christ, on account of their sins.  
 This instruction was communicated to them  
by Mr. Eliot through the Indian interpreter   
whom he had brought with him, but he says he   
was struck with the fact that a few words from   
the Preacher had much greater effect than many   
from the interpreter.   
 One of them asked, whether Englishmen were   
ever at any time so ignorant of God and Jesus  
Christ as they themselves?   
 Another put this question: Whether if the   
father he naught and the child good, will God be   
offended with that child? because in the second   
commandment it is said that he visits the sins   
of the fathers upon the children.   
 They were told in reply to this that every   
child who is good will not be punished for the   
sins of his father, hut if the child be bad, God  
would then visit his father's sins upon him, and   
they were bid to notice that part of the second   
commandment which contains a promise to the

84 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.

thousands of them that love God and keep his   
commandments.   
 One of them asked, How is all the world now   
become so full of people, if they were all once   
drowned in the flood? This led to the story of   
the ark and the preservation of Noah.   
 Mr. Eliot then proposed some questions to   
them, for example, whether they did not desire   
to see God, and were not tempted to think there   
is no God because they could not see him?   
 Some of them answered, They did desire to   
see Him if it could be, but they had heard from   
Mr. Eliot that he could not be seen, and they   
did believe that though their eyes could not see   
him, he was to be seen with their soul within.   
 Mr. Eliot endeavored to confirm them in this   
impression, and asked them if they saw a great   
wigwam or a great house, would they think that   
racoons or foxes built it? or would they think   
that it made itself? or that no wise builder made   
it, because they could not see him who made it?   
 Knowing that the doctrine of one God was a   
great stumbling block to them, Mr. Eliot asked   
them if they did not think it strange that there   
should be but one God, and yet this God be in   
Massachusetts, and in Connecticut, in Old Eng-  
­land, in this wigwam, and the next, and every  
where at the same time?

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 85

One of the most sober of them replied that it  
was indeed strange, as everything else they had   
heard preached was strange, and they were   
wonderful things which they never heard of be-  
­fore, but yet they thought “it might be true, and   
that God was so big everywhere.” Mr. Eliot   
illustrated the truth by the light of the sun,   
which, though it was but a creature of God, shed   
its light into that wigwam, and the next, in Mas­-  
sachusetts and Old England, at once.   
 He inquired of them if they did not find some-   
thing troubling them within after the commission   
of murder, theft, adultery, lying; and what would   
comfort them, and remove that trouble of con-  
­science when they should die und appear before   
God?   
 They replied that they were thus troubled,   
but they could not tell what they should say   
about it, or what would remove this trouble of   
mind, whereupon Mr. Eliot enlarged upon the   
evil of sin and the condition of the soul which is   
cast out of the favor of God.   
 Having spent three hours in this interview,   
Mr. Eliot asked them if they were not weary,   
and they said, no. But thin king it best to leave  
them with an appetite, Mr. Eliot concluded   
the meeting with prayer, but before he departed   
the principal Indian expressed desire for more

VOL. III. 8

86 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.

land to build a Town upon, and Mr. Eliot prom-  
­ised to speak for them to the General Court,   
“that they might possess all the compass of that   
hill upon which their wigwams then stood.”  
 In the second visit which Mr. Eliot made to   
the Indians at Nonantum, be began to catechise   
the younger children. He framed three ques-  
tions only, that their memories might not be   
overloaded. The questions and answers were   
these:   
 1. Who made you and all the, world. Ans.   
God.   
 2. Who do you think should save you and   
redeem you from sin and hell? Ans. Jesus   
Christ.   
 3. How many commandments hath God giv-  
en you to keep. Ans. Ten.   
 By the time that the questions reached the   
smaller children, they had learned the answers   
perfectly, from hearing the others repeat them,   
and the parents had become familiar with them,   
and they were requested to use this Shorter   
Catechism of three questions, in teaching their   
children, against the next visit.   
 The substance of Mr. Eliot's address to the   
Indians on this occasion was this: “We are   
come to bring you good news from the great  
God Almighty, Maker of Heaven and earth, and

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 87

to tell you how evil and wicked men may come   
to be good, so that while they live they may be   
happy, and when they die may go to God and   
live in heaven.”   
 He then endeavored to give them just impres-  
­sions concerning God, his power, greatness, and   
goodness, his will, what he required of all men,   
even of the Indians, in the ten commandments,   
the dreadful punishment of all who break one of   
these commandments, the anger of God at sin,   
and yet his compassion for sinners in sending   
Christ to die for wicked men. He taught them   
that if they would repent and believe, God would   
love the poor miserable Indians, but that the   
wrath of God would burn against all who neg-  
­lected so great salvation as was now offered to   
them by those whose only desire was their sal-   
vation.   
 The power of these words was manifestly felt  
by one of the Indians, who at the thought of his   
sins and of the danger to which they exposed   
him, wept aloud, yet without affectation, but   
striving to conceal his emotions.   
 Perhaps in no way can we communicate re­-  
ligious instruction in a more simple and effectual   
way to the young who may read this book, than   
to record here the questions and answers which   
Mr. Eliot has preserved in his several inter-

88 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.

views with the Indians. Other writers who   
lived at that time have also recorded questions   
and answers which they heard. But it will not   
be necessary to state the times, or places, or the   
hand by which they were recorded.  
 An old man rose up after Mr. Eliot had fin-  
­ished, his sermon, and asked whether it was not   
too late for such an old man as he, who was   
near death, to repent or seek after God.   
 This question affected Mr. Eliot and his com-  
­panions with compassion. They told him what   
is said in the Bible about those who were hired   
at the eleventh hour, and drew a parallel to   
his case by describing a son who had for very   
many years been disobedient, and afterwards   
penitent, and the feelings of his father towards   
him.   
 Question. How came the English to differ   
so much from the Indians in the knowledge of   
God and Jesus Christ, seeing they all had at   
first one father?  
 Question. How may we come to serve God?  
 Question. How comes it to pass thot the sea   
water is salt and the land water fresh?  
 Answer. This is one of the wonderful works   
of God. As strawberries are sweet and cran­-  
berries sour, by the appointment of God, so was   
it in this case. To this was added some ac-

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 89

count of natural causes and effects in connection   
with this subject, which they less understood,   
yet did understand somewhat, as appeared by   
their usual signs of approving what they under-  
­stand.”  
 Question. If the water is higher than the   
earth, how comes it to pass that it doth not over-  
­flow all the earth?  
 The missionary took an apple and illustrated   
the shape of the earth, the motion on its axis,   
and round the sun; then showed them how God   
made a great hollow ditch for the waters, which   
was so deep as to hold the waters by the attract-  
­tion of gravitation, so that notwithstanding their   
convexity, they could not overflow the earth.   
 During a recess in this interview, the Indians   
were busily employed in discussing these several   
subjects among themselves, their minds being   
evidently excited by them, through the effect of   
new ideas upon subjects which were new or had   
always been incomprehensible to them. Being   
afterwards asked if they wished to propose any   
further questions, one asked.   
 If a man has committed some great sins, (sto­-  
len goods, &c.,) and the Sachem does not punish   
him, and he is not punished, but he restores the   
goods, what then? is not all well now? meaning

90 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.

to ask whether restoration made sufficient amends   
to the law or God.  
 He was, told that though men be not offended   
at such sins, yet God is angry. The holiness of   
God was here illustrated. Such a sinner should   
seek forgiveness as much as any other sinner   
through the blood of Christ.   
 Upon hearing this answer, the Indian who   
proposed the question drew back and hung down   
his head, with an appearance of great sorrow   
and confusion, and finally broke out saying,   
“Me little know Jesus Christ, or me should seek   
him better.” Mr. Eliot comforted him by tell­-  
ing him that as it is early dawn at first when   
there is but little light, but the sun rises to per-  
­fect day, so it would be with him and his people   
with regard to a knowledge of the favor of God   
if they would seek Him.   
 One of the Indians who had received religious   
impressions in his acquaintance with the colo­-  
nists, said he would propose this question. A   
little while since he said he was praying in his   
wigwam to God and Jesus Christ, that God   
would give him n good heart; that in his prayer   
another Indian interrupted him and, told him   
that he prayed in vain, because that Jesus Christ   
could not understand what Indians speak in  
prayer; he had been used to hear Englishmen

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 91

pray, and so could well enough understand them,   
but Indian language in prayer he was not ac­-  
quainted with. His question therefore was,   
“Weather God and Jesus Christ did understand   
Indian prayers?”   
 At the close of one interview, Mr. Eliot prayed   
for above fifteen minutes in the Indian tongue,   
that they might feel that Christ understood such   
prayers. The Indians stood about him in gro­-  
tesque figures, some of them lifting up their eyes   
and their hands to accompany the prayer, and   
one of them holding a rag to his eyes and weep­-  
ing violently, and after prayer retiring to a cor-  
­ner of the wigwam to weep in secret; which   
one or Mr. Eliot's companions observed and   
spoke with him, and found him to be deeply   
affected with n sense of his guilt.   
 Mr. Eliot makes several useful observations   
in view of his first two visits to the Indians.   
 1. None of them slept in sermon or derided God's messenger.   
 2. That there is need of learning in minis-   
ters who preach to Indians more than to gracious   
Christians, in order to answer their philosophical   
questions.  
 3. That there is no need of miraculous or   
extraordinary gifts in seeking the conversion of   
the most depraved of the human family.

92 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.

4. If Englishmen despise the preaching of   
faith and repentance and humiliation for sin, the   
poor heathens-will be glad of it, and it shall do   
good to them.   
 He adds to this, The Lord grant that the   
foundation of our English woe be not laid in the   
ruin and contempt or those fundamental doc­-  
trines of faith, repentance, humiliation for sin,   
but rather relishing the novelties and dreams of   
such men as are surfeited with the ordinary   
food of the Gospel of Christ. Indians shall   
weep to have faith and repentance preached,   
when Englishmen shall mourn, too late, that are   
weary of such truths.   
 5. That the deepest estrangement of man   
from God is no hindrance to his grace, nor to   
the Spirit of grace. What nation or people   
ever so deeply degenerated since Adam’s fall,   
as these Indians, and yet the Spirit of God is   
working upon them.   
 “It is very likely if ever the Lord convert any   
of these natives, they will mourn for sin exceed-  
­ingly, and consequently love Christ dearly; for   
if by a little measure of light such heart-break-   
ings have appeared, what may we think will be   
when more is let in?”  
 “They are some of them very wicked, some   
very ingenious. These latter are very apt and

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 93

quick of understanding, and naturally sad and   
melancholy, (a good servant to repentance) and   
therefore there is the greater hope of heart­-  
breakings if ever God brings them effectually   
home, for which we should affectionately pray.”  
 Mr. Eliot says, '' It is wonderful to see what   
a little leaven and that small mustard-seed of   
the Gospel will do, and how truth will work   
when the spirit of Christ hath the setting of it   
on, even upon hearts and spirits most incapable.”  
The night after the Indians had heard the Gos­-  
pel preached for the third time, an English   
youth lodged in Waban's tent. He said that   
Waban instructed his companions with regard   
to the things which they had heard that day,   
and prayed with them, and that he awoke sev­-  
eral times that night and began to pray and   
speak to one and another of the Indians of the   
things which they had heard. Mr. E. says,   
This man, being a man of gravity and chief   
prudence, a counsel among them, although no   
Sachem, is like to be n means of great good to the   
rest of his company, unless cowardice or witch­-  
ery put an end, as usually they have done, to   
such hopeful beginnings.   
 Two young Indians being at an Elder's house   
one Sabbath evening, having been previously   
affected under Mr. Eliot's preaching, one of

94 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.   
  
them began to confess to the elder how wicked   
he had been, and declared that God could never   
look upon him with love. The elder opened to   
him in a familiar manner the truth of God's   
love to the guilty, his willingness to pardon the   
vilest through the redemption made by Christ, and   
illustrated his instructions by the discourse of   
Christ to the Samaritan woman at Jacob's well,   
and how Christ forgave her though she was liv-   
ing in sin at the moment when he began to   
speak to her. Whereupon the young man be­-  
gan to weep bitterly, and the other youth, his   
companion, disclosing his own guilt, burst out   
into loud weeping in which they both continued   
for half an hour.   
 An old man told Mr. Eliot at one of the meet­-  
ings that he was fully purposed to keep the   
Sabbath, but still he was in fear whether he   
should go to heaven or hell. This was a case   
in which reliance on good works gave as usual   
no peace to the conscience. It led Mr. Eliot to   
speak fully of the way of justification by Christ   
without works, “as the remedy against all fears   
of hell.”   
 Mr. Eliot was interested in the fact that some   
of the Indians who seemed to receive the Gos-  
­pel most readily, and feel its power, were able   
to use “gracious expressions,” as he calls them,

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 96

which he was confident they had not heard   
from him, nor from his assistants. He gives a   
specimen of them with the corresponding Indian   
words:

Amanaomen Jehovah tahassen metagh.   
 Take away, Lord, my stony heart.

Checheson Jehovah kekowhogkow.   
 Wash, Lord, my soul.

“What are these,” he says, “but the sprinklings   
of the spirit bod blood of Christ Jesus on their   
hearts? and 'tis no small matter that such dry,   
barren, and long accursed ground should yield   
such kind of increase in so small a time. I   
would not readily commend a fair day before   
night, nor promise much of such kind of begin-  
­nings, in all persons, nor yet in all of these, for   
we know how the profession of many is but a   
mere paint, and their best graces nothing but   
mere flashes and pangs which are suddenly kin-  
­died, and as soon to go out, and are extinct   
again; yet God doth not usually send his   
plough and seeds-men to a place but there is at   
least some little piece of good ground, although   
three to one be naught; and methinks the Lord   
Jesus would never have made so fit a key

96 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.

for their locks unless he had intended to open  
some of their doors, and so to make way for his   
coming in.”   
 At the fourth meeting with the Indians, the   
children having been catechised, and the vision   
of the dry bones, which seems to have impressed   
Mr. Eliot from the first in speaking to the   
Indians, being explained, they offered all their   
children to the k English to be educated by   
them.   
 At this time one of them being asked, What   
is sin? he answered, A naughty heart. He did   
not seem to feel that sin consists only in out­-  
ward acts.   
 One of them complained that some of the   
Indians reviled him and the more serious Indians,   
calling them rogues, and otherwise insulting   
them for cutting off their long locks and arrang-  
ing their hair in a modest manner, for, Mr.   
Eliot says, “since the word hath begun to work   
upon their hearts they have discerned the vanity   
and pride which they placed in their hair, and   
have therefore, of their own accord (none speak-   
ing to them that we know of) cut it modestly.”  
They said that some Indians who had heard the   
news of the great attention to religion among   
them, would come from a distance and stay   
with them three or four days, and one Sabbath,

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 97

and then they would go from them, (implying   
that they did not like the Sabbath), but as for   
themselves, they said they were fully purposed   
to keep the Sabbath.   
 Some of the Indians who heard the Gospel,   
despised and rejected it. So it has always been   
and is now, wherever the Gospel is preached.   
Some have their hearts opened to attend to the   
things of their pence, and others are hardened.   
Mr. Eliot's assistant, learning that some Indians   
had discouraged and threatened others with re-  
gard to their attendance on the preaching, spoke   
to them on one occasion about the temptations of   
Satan. After sermon they proposed these ques-   
tions:   
 1. Some Indians say we must pray to the   
devil for all good, and some to God; may we   
pray to the devil or no?   
 2. What does humiliation mean, which we   
hear used so often by the English?  
 3. Why do the English call us Indians, for   
before they came here we had another name?  
 4. What is a spirit?  
 5. May we believe in dreams?   
 6. How did the English come to know God   
so much, and we so little?  
 At the close of this interview they said that

VOL. III. 9

98 LIF OF JOHN ELIOT.

their great desire was to have a town and to  
learn to spin.   
 They believed in the existence of an evil   
spirit, whom they called CHEPIAN, and who they   
thought corresponded to the devil in Scripture.   
They gave the following account of their way   
in which conjurers or Powows were made:   
Whenever an Indian had a strange dream in   
which Chepian appeared to him as a serpent,   
he would make it known to the rest, and for two   
days the Indians would dance and rejoice for   
What the serpent had told him, and he then be-   
came a Powow, or one whom the devil favored   
with his communications. The reader will no-  
­tice the identity of the form in which they made   
the devil to appear to them, with the form in   
which he appeared to our first parents.

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 99

CHAPTER V.

Nonantum granted to the Indians by the General Court. First Indian   
Laws. Eliot's and Shepard's account of the progress of the Gospel   
among the Indians. Concord Indians. Their laws. Nonantum.   
Questions and anecdotes. Cape Cod Indians. The Synod at   
Cambridge, 1649, examine the Christian Indians. “Who made   
Sack? Anecdotes and Questions. Order of the General Court,  
1647. Regard for the Sabbath. Power of conscience. Questions.   
Burial of a child. Settlement or Natick. Questions.   
  
THE Indians were desirous of obtaining a   
grant of land for a permanent settlement, that   
they might enter upon civilized life. They had   
bartered their principal places to the English.   
The General Court purchased of some of the   
planters, who had bought it of the Indians, the   
place where their meeting was held, and gave it   
to them. The Indians inquiring what the name   
of the place should be they were told it should   
be Noonatomen (afterwards Nonantum) which   
signifies rejoicing, "because they did rejoice at   
the word of God, and God did rejoice over them   
us penitent sinners.”  
 The following is a specimen of their first   
laws:

100 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.

1. If any man be idle a week, or at most a   
fortnight, he shall pay five shillings.   
 3. If any man shall beat his wife, his hands   
shall be tied behind him, and he shall be car­-  
ried to the place of justice to be severely pun-  
­ished.   
 4. Every young man, if not another's servant,   
and if unmarried, shall be compelled to set up a   
wigwam, and plant for himself, and not live   
shifting up and down to other wigwams.   
 5. If any woman shall not have her hair   
tied up, but hang loose or be cut as men's hair,   
she shall pay five shillings.   
 7. All those men that wear long locks, shall   
pay five shillings.   
 Most of the facts above narrated are contained   
in a piece written by Mr. Eliot, entitled The  
Day Breaking if not the Sun Rising of the Gos­-  
pel with the Indians in New England. It was   
printed in London, “by Richard Cotes, for   
Fulk Clifton, and are to be sold at his shop   
under Saint Margaret's Church, on New-fish   
Street Hill, 1647.”   
 The same printer in 1648, issued another   
piece, written by Mr. Thomas Shepard, minis-  
­ter of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, at Cambridge,   
in New England, called, “The Clear sun-shine   
of the Gospel breaking forth upon the Indians

LIFE JOHN ELIOT. 101

of New England; or, An Historical Narrative   
of God's Wonderful Workings upon sundry of   
the Indians, both Chief Governors and common   
people, in bringing them to a willing and de­-  
sired submission to the Ordinances of the Gos-  
­pel; and framing their hearts to an earnest   
inquiry after the knowledge of God the father   
and of Jesus Christ the Saviour of the world.”   
This piece was dedicated by Stephen Marshall;   
Jeremy Whitaker, Edmund Calamy and nine   
others, in England, “to the Right Honorable   
the Lords and Commons assembled in High   
Court of Parliament, That in you the Represent-  
­atives of this nation, England might be stirred   
up to be Rejoycers in and advancers of these   
promising beginnings.” They looked upon the   
success of the Gospel among the Indians as a   
fulfillment in part of the promise of God the   
Father to the Son, “Ask of me, and I will give   
thee the heathen for thine inheritance, and the   
uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession.”   
Psalm 2. They remind the Parliament that   
“God makes man's will of sin serviceable to the   
advancement of the riches of his own grace.   
The most horrid act that was ever done by the   
sonnes of men, the murther of Christ, God made   
serviceable to the highest purposes of Grace and   
mercy that ever came upon his breast. Hee

102 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.

suffered Paul to be cast into prison to convert   
the Jaylor, to be shipwrackt at Milita to preach   
to the barbarous. So he suffered their (the   
Pilgrims') way to be stopp'd up here, (in Eng-  
­land) and their persons to be banished hence,   
that hee might open a passage for them in the   
wilderness, and make them instruments to draw   
soules to him, who had been so long estranged   
from Him. The end of the adversary was to   
suppresse, but God's to propagate, the Gospel,   
as one saith of Paul, his blindness gave light to   
whole world. ‘Coecitas Pauli totius orbis illumi­-  
natio.’ Acts 9:9. It was a long time before   
God let them (the Pilgrims) see any further end   
of their coming over than to preserve their con-  
­sciences, cherish their Graces, provide for their   
sustenance. But hee let them know it was for   
some farther arrand that he brought them here,   
giving them some Bunches of Grapes, some clus-   
ters of Figs in earnest of the prosperous successe   
of their endeavours upon these poor out casts.   
If the first fruits bee specimens, what will the   
whole harvest bee? When the East and West   
shal sing together the song of the Lamb.”  
 Mr. Shepard says that the news of what had   
been done for the Indians at Nonantum, by the   
preaching of the Gospel, had reached the Con­-  
cord Indians, and their Sachem was so much

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 103

affected by it, that he made application to have   
the Gospel and its ordinances made known to   
them. “They craved the assistance of one of the   
chiefe Indians of Noonanetum (Nonantum,)   
a very active Indian, to bring in others to the   
knowledge of God.”  
 Mr. Eliot had already expressed his views\*   
on the subject of a native ministry in these   
words,-- “Nor doe I expect any great good will   
bee wrought by the English, (leaving secrets to   
God,--although the English surely begin and   
lay the first stones of Christ's Kingdom and   
Temple amongst them) because God is wont or-  
­dinarily to convert Nations and peoples by some   
of their owne country men who are nearest to   
them, and can best speake, and most of all pity   
their brethren and countrimen.”  
 A native ministry among the Indians began,  
in an informal way, much earlier than we have   
seen it begin among other heathen nations.   
The North American Indians, though sunk in   
superstition and wickedness, retained much   
more of intellectual strength, were more shrewd,   
and sooner became fit to teach their country-  
­men than has been the case elsewhere in the

\* The Day Breaking &c., p. 15.

104 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.   
  
history of modern missions. No doubt the cli-  
­mate had much to do with the vigor of mind   
which the Indians have exhibited. They were   
far removed from the effeminateness of Eastern   
nations, and though indolent in their dispose-  
­tions and habits, their minds when roused by the   
truth of the Gospel, rose to greater intellectual   
efforts than have been commonly seen in tribes   
exposed to the enervating influences of warmer   
latitudes.   
 Some quotations from· the introduction by   
Calamy and others, to Mr. Shepard's piece above   
referred to, will show the spirit of those good   
men, as well as confirm the fact that the Gospel   
had done wonders in a short time among the   
Indians. It was published in 1646, two years   
after Mr. Eliot and begun his labors with them.   
 They tell the readers of the effects which the   
Gospel had wrought among the Indians. “They   
set up prayers in their families morning and   
evening, and are in earnest in them. And with   
more affection they crave God's blessing upon a   
little parched corn, and Indian stalks than many   
of us do upon our greatest plenty, and abund­-  
ance. God is making good that promise,   
Zeph. 2: 11. I will famish all the gods of the   
earth, (which he doth by withdrawing the wor­-  
shipers, and throwing contempt upon the wor-

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 105

ship.) and men shall worship me alone, every   
one from his place, even all the isles of the heathens.”  
 They call upon the people of England to read   
and ponder this remarkable narrative of the   
work of grace among the North American   
Savages. “Let these poor Indians stand up   
incentives to us, as the Apostle set up the Gen-  
tiles a provocation to the Jews; who knows but   
God gave life to New England to quicken Old,   
and hath warmed them that they might heat us;   
raised them from the dead, that they might   
recover us from that consumption, and those sad   
decays which are come upon us.”  
 “This small Treatise is an Essay to that end,   
an Indian Sermon; though you will not hear us,   
possibly when some rise from the dead you will   
hear them. The main Doctrine it preacheth   
unto all is to value the Gospel, prize the min­-  
istry, loath not your manna, surfeit not of your   
plenty, be thankful for mercies, fruitful under   
means: Awake from your slumber, repair your  
decays, redeem your time, improve the seasons   
of your peace, answer to cals, open to knocks,   
attend to whispers, obey commands; you have   
a name you live, take heed you be not dead,   
you are Christians in shew, be so in deed: least

106 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.

as you have lost the power of religion, God take   
away from you the form also.”   
 “And you that are ministers learn by this not   
to despond, though you sec not present fruit of   
your labors; though you fish all night and catch   
nothing. God hath a fulness of time to perform   
all his purposes. And the deepest degeneracies   
and the widest estrangements from God shall be   
no bar or obstacle to the power and freeness of   
his own grace when that time is come.”  
 “And you that are merchants, take incour-  
agement from hence to scatter beams of light, to   
spread and propagate the Gospel into those dark   
corners of the earth; whither you traffick you   
take much from them; if you can carry this to   
them, you will make them an abundant recom-  
­pense. And you that are Christians indeed,   
rejoice to see the Curtains of the Tabernacle   
inlarged, the bounds of the Sanctuary extended,   
Christ advanced, the Gospel propagated, and   
souls saved. And if ever the love of God did   
centre in your hearts, if ever the sense of his   
goodness hath begot bowels of compassion in   
you, draw them forth towards them whom God   
hath singled out to be the objects of his grace   
and mercy; lay out your prayers, lend your   
assistance to carry on this day of the Lord begun   
among them. The Parents also and many

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 107

others being convinced of the evil of an idle life,   
desire to be employed in honest labor, but they   
want instruments and tools to set them on work,   
and cast garments to throw upon those bodies   
that their loins may bless you whose souls   
Christ hath cloathed. Some worthy persons   
have given much; and if God shall move the   
heart of others to offer willingly towards the   
building of Christ a Spiritual temple, it will   
certainly remain upon their account when the   
smallest rewards from God shall be better than   
the greatest layings out for God.”  
 It will be perceived that this is an appeal in   
behalf of foreign missions. We will consider   
some of the facts which Mr. Shepard relates,   
and to which this appeal is an introduction.   
 “The awakening of the Indians in our Towne,”  
says Mr. Shepard, “raised a great noyse among   
all the rest round about us, especially about   
Concord side, where the Sachim and one or two   
more of his men hearing of these things, and of   
the preaching of the Word, and how it wrought   
among them bore, came therefore hither to   
Noonanetum, (Nonantum.) to the Indian Lecture,   
and what the Lord spake to his heart wee know   
not, only it seems he was. so farre affected as   
that he desired to become more like to the Eng­-  
lish, and to cast off those Indian wild and sinfull

108 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.   
  
courses they formerly lived in; but when divers   
of his11men perceived their Sachim's mind, they   
secretely opposed him herein, which opposition   
being known, he therefore called together his   
chief men about him, and made a speech to this   
effect unto them, viz.: That they had no reason   
at all to oppose those courses the English were   
now taking for their good, for saith hee, all the   
time you have lived after the Indian fashion,   
under the power and protection of higher Indian   
Sachims, what did they care for you? They   
onely sought their owne ends out of you, and   
therefore would exact upon you and take away   
your skins, and your kettles, and your wampum   
from you at their own pleasure, and this was all   
that they regarded: but you may evidently see   
that the English mind no such things, care for   
none of your goods, but onely seek your good   
and welfare, and instead of taking away all,   
are ready to give to you.”  
 The effect of this speech seems to have been   
happy. The Indians sought the assistance of a   
discreet and active Indian at Nonantum, “in   
making certain lawes for their more religious   
and civill government, and behaviour.” It will   
interest the reader to observe the fruit of this   
half civilized legislator's advice and labors. Mr.   
Shepard gives us the “Conclusions and Orders

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 109

made and agreed upon by divers Sachims and   
other principall men amongst the Indians at   
Concord, in the end of the eleventh moneth,   
An. 1646.”\* The following are a good speci­-  
men of the whole:   
 1. Every one that shall abuse themselves   
with ruin or strong liquors, shall pay for every   
time so abusing themselves twenty shillings.   
 2. There shall be no more Powwowing  
amongst the Indians. And if any shall here  
­after Powwow, both he that shall Powwow, and   
he that shall cause him to Powwow shall pay   
twenty shillings apiece.   
 3. They do desire that they may be stirred   
up to seek after God.   
 4. They desire they may understand the   
wiles of Satan, and grow out of love with his   
suggestions and temptations.   
 5. That they may fall upon some better   
course to improve their time than formerly.   
 6. That they may he brought to the sight of   
the sin of lying, und whosoever shall be found   
guilty herein, shall pay for the first offence five   
shillings, the second ten shillings, the third   
twenty shillings.   
  
 \* Shepard's Clear Sunshine, p. 39. Hist. Coll. Vol, IV. 3d   
series. Shattuck's Hist. Concord.

VOL. III. 10

110 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.   
  
 7. Whosoever shall steale anything from   
another, shall restore fourfold.   
 8. They desire that no Indian hereafter shall   
have any more but one wife.   
 9. They desire to prevent the falling out of   
Indians, one with another, and that they may   
live quietly one by another.   
 10. That they may follow after humility,   
and not be proud.   
 11. That when Indians doe wrong, they   
may be liable to censure by fine or the like, as   
the English are.   
 12. That they pay their debts to the En­glish.   
 13. That they doe observe the Lord's day,   
and whosoever shall prophane it, shall pay   
twenty shillings.   
 14. This order refers to the disgusting prac-  
tice of eating vermin gathered from their per-  
­sons; “and whosoever shall offend in this case   
shall pay for every louse a penny.”   
 15. They will weare their haire comely as   
the English-do, penalty five shillings.   
 16. They intend to reforme themselves in   
their former greasing themselves, penalty five   
shillings.   
 17. They do all resolve to set up prayer in

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 111

their wigwams, and to seek God both before   
and after meate.   
 20. Whosoever shall play at. their former   
games shall pay ten shillings.   
 22. Wilful murder shall be punished by   
death.   
 23. They shall not disguise themselves in   
their mournings, as formerly; nor shall they   
keep a great noyse by howling.   
 25. No Indian shall take an Englishman's   
canooe without leave, penalty five shillings.   
 26. No Indian shall come into any English-  
­man's house, except he first knock; and this   
they expect from the English.   
 27. Whosoever bents his wife, shall pay   
twenty shillings.  
 28. If any Indian shall fall out with and   
beate another Indian, he shall pay twenty shil-   
lings.   
 29. They desire they may be a towne, and   
either to dwell on this side the Beare swamp, or   
at the East side of Mr. Flint's Pond.   
 These orders were put into form by Captain   
Simon Willard, of Concord, whom the Indians   
chose to be their Recorder. They were very   
solicitous that what they agreed upon might be   
faithfully preserved without alteration. The

112 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.   
  
narrative of these conclusions and orders is  
signed by Thomas Flint, and Simon Willard.\*  
 Mr. Shepard says that on the 3d March,   
1647, he and the Rev. Messrs. Wilson of Bos­-  
ton, Allen, of Dedham, and President Dunster,   
and many Christian friends, attended the Indian   
Lecture at Nonantum. “On which day,” he   
says, “perceiving divers of the Indian women   
well affected, and considering that their soules   
might stand in need of answer to their scruples   
as well as the mens, and yet because we knew   
how unfit it was for women so much as to ask   
questions publicly immediately by themselves,   
wee did therefore desire them to propound any   
questions they would be resolved about by   
first acquainting either their Husbands or the   
Interpreter privately therewith; whereupon we   
heard two questions orderly propounded; which   
because they are the first ever propounded by   
Indian women in such an ordinance that ever   
wee heard of, and because they may bee other­-  
wise useful, I shall therefore set them down.”  
 The first question was proposed by the wife   
of one Wampooas, a serious Indian, and was to   
this effect:   
 “Do I pray when my husband prays, if I

\* Shepard's Clear Sunshine, &c., p. 41.

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 113   
  
speak nothing as he doth, yet if I like what   
he says, and my heart goes with it?”  
 The second was by the wife of one Tothers-  
­wampe, viz., “Whether a husband should do   
well to pray with his wife, and yet continue in   
his passions and be angry with his wife?”  
 Mr. Shepard says, he had “heard few   
Christians when they begin to look towards  
God, make more searching questions than these   
Indians.”  
 An old Indian had an unruly, disobedient   
son. He asked, “What should one do with   
him, in case of obstinacy and disobedience, and   
that will not hear God's word, though his father   
command him, nor will not forsake his drunken-  
­ness, though his father forbid him.”  
 Rev. Mr. Wilson was much moved at this   
question, “and spake so terribly yet so gra­-  
ciously as might have affected a heart not quite   
shut up, which this young desperado hearing,   
(who well understood the English tongue,) in-  
­stead of humbling himself before the Lord's   
Word, which touched his conscience and con­-  
dition so neare, hee was filled with the Spirit of   
Satan, and as soone us ever Mr. Wilson’s   
speech was ended; he brake out into a loud con-  
­temptuous expression. “So!” saith he; which   
we passed by without speaking againe, leaving

10\*

114 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.   
  
the Word with him, which wee knew would   
one day take its effect one way or other upon   
him.”   
 In 1647, Messrs. Eliot, Wilson and Shepard,   
were sent for to Yarmouth, to arbitrate in some   
difficulties, by means of which “not only that   
bruised Church, but the whole Towne” was   
restored to peace. “But Mr. Eliot, as Hee takes   
all other advantages of time, so hee took this, of   
speaking with, and preaching to the poore In-  
­dians in these remote places about Cape Cod.”  
 The Indian dialect varied in forty or sixty   
miles, and on this account, and because the In-  
­dians at Cape Cod “were not accustomed to   
sacred language, about the holy things of God,   
wherein Mr. Eliot excels any other of the En-  
glish, who in the Indian language about com-  
­mon matters excell him," it was difficult to make   
them understand, yet by the help of one or two   
interpreters, they succeeded.   
 There was a Sachem among them of a very   
furious spirit, whom the English for that reason   
called Jehu. He promised to attend the preach-  
­ing on the day appointed, and to bring his men   
with him, but that very morning he sent his men   
to sea for fish, and although he came late to   
hear the Sermon, his men were absent. Yet he   
feigned that he did not understand what was

LIPE OF JOHN ELIOT. 115

said, though the others said that he did under-  
­stand, and Mr. Eliot by privately questioning   
him found out that he did. He heard, however,   
“with a dogged look, and a discontented coun-  
­tenance.” How curious the uniform resemblance   
of the human heart in different classes of hear-  
­ers in every age and place, under the preaching   
of the Gospel. Who in preaching has not seen   
a face answering to this Jehu's face, and the   
heart of man to that of this man?  
 It was found on this visit to the Indians of  
Cape Cod, that there was some tradition among   
them of the Gospel having been preached in   
those parts before. An aged Indian told the   
ministers that the very things which Mr. Eliot   
had taught them as the Commandments of God,   
and concerning God, and the making of the   
world by one God, they had heard from some   
old men now dead. A French ship was wrecked   
upon that coast many years before, and among   
the passengers and crew was the Frenchman   
who, the Indian tradition said,\* while the   
Indians were putting him to death, told them   
that God was angry with them for their sins.   
Mr. Shepard speaks of “the French preacher   
cast upon those coasts many years since.” This   
man may have been a French Catholic Priest,

116 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.  
  
on his way to the French possessions in   
Canada.\*  
 The presence of this preacher among them   
will account for a dream which one of the In-  
­dians related to Mr. Shepard and his com-  
­panions, as having occurred to him some time   
ago. The tradition of what the preacher had   
said, and the account of his appearance was   
strongly impressed upon his imagination.₸ as we   
may suppose, without resorting to any other   
explanation of the dream which nevertheless is   
curious and interesting.   
 He said that two years before the arrival of   
the English, there was a great mortality in that   
region, and one night when he was much dis­-  
turbed and broken of his rest, he dreamed that   
he saw many men arrive upon the coast, dressed   
in such clothes as the English wear. Among   
them there was a man wholly in black, with a   
thing in his hand which he now saw was an   
Englishman's book; that the man in black stood   
on a place higher than the rest, with the English   
around him, before a great number of the In-  
­dians. This man told the Indians that God was   
moosquantum, or angry with them, and would   
  
\* See Bancroft’s History of the United States, Vol. I.   
₸ See Sir Walter Scott's “Demonology and Witchcraft, “Let  
ter II.

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 117   
  
kill them for their sins. He said, that he him-  
­self then stood up, and asked the man in black   
what God would do with him and his Squaw   
and Papooses. The man would not answer him   
the first nor the second time, but the third time   
he proposed the question, the man smiled upon   
him, and told him that he and his papooses   
would be safe, and that God would give them   
victuals and other good things.  
 Strange as it may seem, this dreamer who   
seemed thus to have had his dream fulfilled,   
would not come to the sermon till it was nearly   
finished, and then finding that the man in   
black was yet speaking, “away he flung,” and   
was seen no more by the ministers till the next   
day. Whether Satan, or fear, or guilt, or the   
world prevailed, Mr. Shepard says he could not   
say.   
 The next year this writer says, he was much   
surprised in unending an Indian Lecture at   
Nonantum, to see so many Indian men, women,   
and children, in English apparel, so that they   
were scarcely known from the English people.   
Partly by gifts, and partly by their own labors,   
some of them had obtained means by which   
they were even handsomely dressed.   
 June 9, 1648, was the first day of the Synod's   
meeting at Cambridge. The forenoon was spent

118 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.

in hearing a sermon preparatory to the work of   
the Synod, and the afternoon was occupied in   
hearing on Indian Lecture. “There was a great   
gathering of Indians from all parts to hear Mr.   
Eliot, which we conceived not unseasonable at   
such a time; part1y that the reports or God's   
worke begun among them might be seen and   
believed of the chief who were then sent, and   
met from all the churches of Christ in this coun-  
­try, who could hardly believe the reports they   
had beard concerning these new stirs among the   
Indians, and partly hereby to raise up a greater   
spirit of prayer, for the carrying on the work   
begun upon the Indians among all the churches   
and servants of the Lord Jesus. The sermon   
was spent in showing them their miserable con-  
­dition without Christ; out of Ephes. 2:1, that   
they were dead in trespasses and sinnes, and in   
pointing unto them the Lord Jesus who onely   
could quicken them.”  
 After sermon, opportunity was given for the   
Indians to ask questions. Some of them were these:   
 What countryman was Christ, and where was   
he born?   
 How far off is that place from us here?  
 Where is Christ now?

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 119   
  
How may we lay hold on Christ, and where,   
he being now absent from us?  
 Mr. Shepard continues, “But that which I note   
is this, that their gracious attention to the Word,   
the affections and mournings of some of them   
under it, their sober propounding of divers and  
spirituall questions, their aptnesse to beleeve   
and understand what was replyed to them; the   
readiness of divers poore naked children to an-  
swer openly the chief questions in the Cate-   
chism, which were formerly taught them, and   
such like appearances of a great change upon   
them did marvellously affect all the wise and   
godly ministers, magistrates and people, and did   
raise their hearts up to great thankfulnesse to   
God; very many deeply and abundantly mourn­-  
ing for joy to see such a blessed day, and the   
Lord Jesus so much known and spoken of   
among such as never heard of him before: So   
that if any in England doubt of the truth of   
what was formerly writ; or if any malignant   
eye shall question and vilifie this work, they   
will now speak too late, for what was here done   
at Cambridge, was not set under a Bushell, but   
in the open Sunne; and what Thomas would   
not beleeve by the reports of others, he might be   
forced to beleeve by seeing with his own eyes.

120 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.   
  
and feeling Christ Jesus thus risen among them   
with his own hands.”\*  
 An old Indian came to Mr. Eliot's house, as   
Mr. Eliot told Mr. Shepard, and Mr. Eliot told   
him that because he brought his wife and chil-  
­dren to meeting so constantly, he would give   
him some clothes, for it was cold weather, and   
the old man was quite destitute. He did not   
understand this term which Mr. Eliot used for   
clothes, and enquired of Mr. Eliot's Indian do-   
mestic, and when he understood that it was   
clothing which was promised, he broke out with   
much feeling, saying, “God is merciful:”—a  
blessed, because a plainhearted, affectionate   
speech,” says Mr. Shepard, “and worthy of Eng-  
­lishmen's thoughts when they put on their   
clothes; to think that a poor blind Indian that   
scarce ever heard of God before, that hee should   
see not only God in his clothes, but mercy also   
in a promise of a cast off worne sute of clothes,   
which were then given him, and which he now   
daily wears.”  
 Mr. S. says that “Mr. Edward Jackson one of   
our Towne, constantly attended Mr. Eliot's   
Lectures, and took down the questions and an-  
­swers, and having sent me his notes, I shall   
send you a taste of some of them,” viz.;   
  
 \* “Cleare Sunshine of the Gospel,” p. 46.

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 121

1. Why are some 80 bad that they hate those   
men that would teach them good things?  
 2. Was the devil or man made first?  
 3. If a father prays to God to teach his sons   
to know him, and he doth teach them himself,   
and they will not learn to know God, what   
should such fathers do? This question was put   
by an old man that had rude children.   
 4. A Squaw asked this question: Whether   
she might not go and pray in some private   
place in the woods, when her husband was not   
at home, because she was ashamed to pray in   
the wigwam before company?  
 5. How may one know wicked men, who are   
good, and who are bad?  
 6. To what nation did Jesus Christ come   
first unto, and when?  
 The following question illustrates the old say-  
ing, that a child or fool may ask a question   
which a philosopher cannot answer. It relates   
to the solemn and fearful subject of the dissolu-  
­tion of the body and soul. Who has not, at least   
in his earlier years, puzzled himself with ques-  
­tions about the passage of a departing spirit   
from the chamber of death? The question re-  
­ferred to was this:   
 7. If a man should be incloscd in iron a foot   
thick, and thrown into the fire, what would be-

VOL. III. 11

122 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.

come of the soul? Could the soul come out   
thence or not?   
 8. Why did not God give all men good   
hearts, that they might be good?  
 9. If one should be among strange Indians   
that know not God, and they should make him   
to fight against some whom he ought not to   
fight against, and he should refuse, and for his   
refusal they should kill him, what would become   
of his soul in such a case? This question was   
asked by a “stout fellow,” whose mind was   
interested in religion, and was connected with   
the notion of the Indians that all their valiant   
men have a reward after death. He seemed to   
think that his refusal to fight in the case sup-   
posed, might prejudice his chance of reward   
hereafter.   
 10. How long is it before men believe who   
have the word of God made known unto them?  
 11. How may we know when our faith is   
good, and our prayers good prayers?  
 12. Why did not God kill the devil, that made   
all men so bad, God having all power?  
 13. If we be made weak by sin in our hearts,   
how can we come before God to sanctify the   
Sabbath?  
 An amusing incident took place at one of the   
public meetings. A drunken Indian cried out,

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 123

“Mr. Eliot, who made sack? Who made   
sack?” This, it will be perceived, was a cavil   
about the “origin of evil.” It is said that “he   
was soon snib'd by the other Indians, who cried   
out that it was a papoose question. Mr. Eliot   
seriously answered him; which hath cooled   
his boldness ever since.”  
 The man who took down these questions says   
that “he had some occasion to speak to Waban,   
(one of the chief men at Nonantum,) about the   
time of sun-rising, and staying about half an   
hour, as he came back by one of the wigwams,   
the man of that wigwam was at prayer, at which   
he was so much affected that he stopped under   
a tree to listen; and these passages of Scripture   
came to his mind while listening to the voice of   
devotion from the wigwam: ‘All the ends of   
the earth shall remember and turn unto the  
Lord.’ ‘0 thou that hearest prayer, unto thee   
shall all flesh come.’”  
 He says that he had seen on Indian call his   
children in from the field where they were   
gathering corn, when he asked a blessing upon   
the food before them, “with much affection,   
having but a homely dinner to eat.” Mr.   
Shepard adds, “I wish the like hearts and   
wayes were seen in many English who professe   
themselves Christians, and that herein and many

124 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.

the like excellencies they were become Indians,   
excepting that name, as he did, in another case,   
except these bonds.”  
 The following is the substance of an order   
passed by the General Court at Boston, May   
26, 1647, concerning the Indians.  
 “Upon information that the Indians dwelling   
among us, and submitted to our government,   
being by the ministry of the Word brought to   
some civility, are desirous to have a course of   
ordinary judicature set up among them:   
 “It is ordered, therefore, by authority of this   
Court, that some one or more of the magistrates,   
as they shall agree among themselves, shall,   
once every quarter, keep a Court at such place   
where the Indians ordinarily assemble to hear   
the Word of God, and they then hear and deter-  
­mine all causes civill and criminall, not being   
capitall, concerning the Indians only; and that   
the Indian sachims shall have libertie to take   
order in the nature of summons or attachments,   
to bring any of their own people to the said Courts,   
and to keep a Court of themselves every moneth,   
if they see occasion, to determine small causes   
of a civill nature, and such smaller criminall   
causes, as the said magistrates shall refer to   
them: and the said sachims shall appoint offi­-  
cers to serve warrants, and to execute the orders

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 126

and judgements of either of said Courts, which   
officers shall from time to time bee allowed by   
the said magistrates in the quarter Courts, or by   
the Governour: And that all fines to bee im-  
­posed upon any of the Indians, in any of the said   
Courts, shall goe and bee bestowed towards the   
building of some meeting-houses, for education   
of their poorer children in learning, or other pub-  
­lick use, by the advice of said magistrates, and   
of Master Eliot, or of such other elder, as shall   
ordinarily instruct them in the true Religion.   
And it is the desire of this court that the said   
magistrates, and Master Eliot, or such other   
elders as shall attend the keeping of the said   
Courts, will carefully indeavour to make the In­-  
dians understand our most usefull Lawes, and   
the principles of reason, justice, and equity,   
whereupon they are grounded; and it is desired   
that some care may be taken of the Indians on   
the Lord's dayes.”  
 Mr. Shepard speaks of his brother Eliot as a   
man “whom, in other respects, but especially   
for his unweariednesse in this work of God,   
going up and down among them, and doing   
them good, I think we can never love nor   
honor enough.” Mr. Eliot says, “That which   
I first aymed at was to declare and deliver   
unto them the law of God, to civilize them;

126 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.

which course the Lord took by Moses, to   
give the law to that rude company, because   
of transgression, Galatians 3:19, to convince,   
bridle, restrain, and civilize them, and also   
to humble them. But when I first attempted   
it they gave no heed unto it, but were weary,   
and rather despised what I said. A while   
after God stirred up in some of them a de­-  
sire to come into the English fashions, and live   
after their manner, but knew not how to at-  
tain unto it; yea, despaired that it should ever   
come to passe in their dayes; but thought that,   
in 40 years more, some Indians would be all one   
English, and in an hundred years all Indians   
hereabout would so bee: which when I heard,   
(for some of them told me they thought so, and   
that some wise Indians said so,) my heart moved   
within me, abhorring that wee should sit still   
and let that work alone, and hoping that this   
notion in them was of the Lord, and that this   
mind in them was a preparation to embrace the   
law and Word of God; and therefore I told   
them that they and wee were all one save in two   
things, which make the only difference betwixt   
them and us: First, wee know, serve, and pray   
unto God, and they doe not. Secondly, we la-   
bor and work in building, planting, clothing our-  
­selves, &c., and they doe not; and would they

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 127

but doe as wee doe in these things they would   
bee all one with Englishmen. They said they  
did not know God, and therefore could not tell   
how to pray to him nor serve him. I told them   
if they would learn to know God, I would teach   
them; unto which they being very willing, I   
then taught them, (as I sundry times had in-  
­deavored afore,) but never found them so forward,   
attentive, and desirous till this time; and then I   
told them I would come to their wigwams and   
teach them, their wives and children, which   
they seemed very glad of; and, from that day   
forward, I have not failed to doe that poore tittle   
which you know I doe.”  
 Mr. Eliot says that be found the usual oppo-  
sition to religion among Indians which he found   
among white men. The Indians of “Dorches-  
­ter Mill,” for example, would not, at first, regard   
his instructions; “but the better sort of them per-  
ceiving how acceptable this was to the English,   
both to magistrates, and all the good people, it   
pleased God to step in and bow their hearts, to   
desire to be taught to know God.” “The Linn   
Indians,” Mr. Eliot said, "are all naught save   
one.” This was owing to the opposition of   
their sachem.   
 A sober Indian going up into the country   
with two of his sons, prayed us he used to do at

128 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.   
  
home, and talked to the Indians about God and   
Jesus Christ; whereupon they mocked, and   
called one of his sons Jehovah, and the other   
Jesus Christ.   
 The Nonantum Indians early began to ob-  
serve the Lord's day. They fined every violator   
of the Sabbath ten shillings. One Sabbath   
morning the sachem's wife went to fetch water,   
when, meeting with ether Indian women, she   
fell into worldly conversation with them, but   
they reproved her. She insisted that it was not   
improper, but the other women informed the   
native Indian preacher who was to address them   
that day, and he discoursed to them upon the   
sanctification of the Sabbath, and in his dis-  
­course related what he had heard about the   
sachem's wife. After sermon they had much   
conversation on the subject, in which the sa-  
­chem's wife insisted that, inasmuch as her con-  
­versation was in private, and early on the   
Sabbath morning, there was no harm in it; and   
then she retorted upon the preacher by telling   
him that he had sinned much more than she in   
giving occasion to so much talk about this sub-   
ject on the Sabbath. The whole matter was, by   
common consent, referred to Mr. Eliot for his   
arbitration.   
 Towards evening, on another Sabbath, two

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 129

strangers came to Waban's tent (Nonantum);   
and when they came in, they told him that,   
about a mile off, they had chased a racoon into   
a hollow tree, and that if he would send his ser-  
vants to fell the tree, they might catch him,   
which Waban, in his desire to entertain the   
strangers with fresh game, accordingly did.   
Whereupon the Indians were much displeased,   
and this case was, by request, made the subject   
of discourse on the next lecture day.   
 Another case was this. “Upon a Lord’s day   
their public meeting holding long, and some-  
­what late when they came at home, in one wig­-  
wam the fire was almost out, and therefore the   
man of the house, as he sat by the fireside, took   
his hatchet and split a little dry piece of wood,   
which they reserve on purpose for such use, and   
so kindled his fire, which, being taken notice of  
it was thought to bee such a worke.as might not   
lawfully bee done upon the Sabbath day, and   
therefore the case was propounded the lecture   
following for their better information.”  
 A great improvement was soon visible among   
them in their treatment of their wives. A man   
who had offended in this respect was brought   
before the assembly at n time when the governor   
and many of the colonists happened to be present.   
The man being publicly accused of beating his

130 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.  
  
wife, made no defence, but confessed his sin,   
and being kindly admonished and instructed, he   
turned his face to the wall and wept; “and such   
was the modest, penitent, and melting behaviour   
of the man that it much affected all to see it in   
a barbarian, and all did forgive him; onely this   
remained, that they executed their law notwith-  
­standing his repentance, and required his fine,   
to which he willingly submitted, and paid it.”   
 The power of conscience among them is il-  
lustrated by Mr. Eliot in the two following an-  
ecdotes.   
 The son of a sachem, 14 or 16 years old, had   
been intoxicated; and being reproved by his   
father and mother for disobedient and rebellious   
conduct, he despised their admonition. Before   
Mr. E. heard of it, he had observed that on   
being catechized, the fifth commandment being   
required of him, he reluctantly said, “Honor thy   
father,” but left out “mother.”  
 George, the Indian, who asked, in a public   
meeting, “who made sack?” killed a cow, and   
sold it at the college for a moose. President   
Dunster was unwilling that he should be directly   
charged with it, but wished Mr. Eliot to inquire   
of him as to the crime. But being brought be-  
fore the assembly, he freely confessed his sin.   
 The Indians were never weary of asking

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 131

questions in the public meetings. An old Pow-   
aw once demanded, why, seeing the English   
had been in the land twenty-seven years, they   
had never taught the Indians to know God till   
now? He added, many of us have grown old   
in sin, whereas had you begun with us earlier,   
we might have been good.   
 The answer was that the English did repent   
that they were not more earnest at the first to   
seek their salvation, but the Indians were never   
willing to hear till now, and as God has now   
inclined their hearts to hear, the English were   
striving to redeem the time.   
 Another question was of deep interest. One   
of them said, That before he knew God, he   
thought he was well, but since, he had found   
his heart to be full of sin, and more sinful than  
it ever was before; and that this had been a   
great trouble to him; that at that day his heart   
was but little better than it was at first, and he   
was afraid it would be as bad as it was before,  
and therefore he sometimes wished that he might   
die before he should be so bad again! Now,   
said he, my question is, Is this wish a sin?   
Mr. E. says this question was evidently the   
result of his own experience and seemed to be   
sincere .   
 Another question was this:

132 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.

Whither do our little children go when they   
die, seeing they have not sinned?   
 This 1ed to an exposition of the depravity of  
man's nature, and of the part which it is hoped   
dying infants have in the redemption made by   
Christ, and the covenant relation of the children   
of believers, which last doctrine Mr. Eliot says,   
“was exceedingly grateful unto them.”  
 The whole assembly at one time united and   
sent a question to Mr. Eliot, by his man, as their   
united question, viz:   
 “Whether any of them should go to heaven,   
seeing they found their hearts full of sin, and   
especially full of the sin of lust?” At the next   
lecture held at “Dorchester mill,” occasion was   
taken to preach to them from Matt. 11:28, 29.   
“Come unto me all ye that labor and are heavy   
laden,” &c., when the justifying grace of Christ   
to all who are weary and sick of sin was fully   
and earnestly set forth. But at this time they   
repeated their fearful apprehension that “none   
of them would go to heaven.”   
 A question which uniformly troubled all who   
began to think of embracing religion was this:   
 “If we leave off Powawing and pray to God,   
what shall we do when we are sick?” For   
though they had some knowledge of the medici­-  
nal qualities in certain roots and herbs, they of

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 133

course had no knowledge or the human system,   
and hence no skill in applying their remedies,   
but relied on the unties and unearthly gestures   
and incantations of their Powaws to make the   
medicines take effect. Mr. Eliot expressed the   
desire that the Lord would stir up the hearts of   
some people in England to give some mainte-  
­nance towards a school or academy, wherein   
there should be “Anatomies, and other instruc­-  
tions that way.” Mr. E. had himself showed   
them an anatomy, the only one he says the   
English had ever had in the country. By a   
course of instruction in medicine Mr. E. believed   
that he could most effectually, and perhaps, in   
the only way, “root out their Powaws.”  
 The Indians proposed this question to Mr.   
Eliot:   
 “What shall we say to some Indians who   
say to us, what do you get by praying to God,   
and believing in Jesus Christ? You go naked   
still, and are as poor us we. Our corn is as   
good as yours; and we take more pleasure than   
you; if we saw that you got any thing by pray­-  
ing to God, we would do so.”  
 Mr. E. answered to them on this point as   
follows: “First, God gives two sorts of good   
things; 1. little things, which he showed by   
his little finger, (‘for they use and delight in

VOL. III. 12

134 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.

demonstrations;’) 2. great things, (holding up   
his thumb). The little mercies he said are   
riches, clothes, food, sack, houses, cattle, and   
pleasures, all which serve the body for a little   
while, and in this life only. The great mercies   
are wisdom, the knowledge of God, Christ,   
eternal life, repentance and faith; these ate for   
the soul, and eternity. Though God did not   
give them· so· many little things, through the   
knowledge of the Gospel, he gave them the   
greater things which are better. This he   
proved by an illustration: when Foxun, the   
Mohegan Counselor, who is counted the wisest   
Indian in the country, was in the Bay; I did on   
purpose bring him unto you; and when he was   
here, you saw he was a fool in comparison of   
you, for you could speak of God, and Christ,   
and heaven, &c.; but he sat and had not one   
word to say unless you talked of such poor   
things as hunting, wars, &c.”  
 He also told them that they had some more   
clothes than the wicked Indians; and the reason   
why they had so few, was because they had so   
little wisdom; but if they were wise to obey   
God's commands, for example, “Six days shalt   
thou labor,” they would have clothes, houses,   
cattle, and riches, as the English have.   
 Many questions and cases of dispute arose

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 135

out of their old practice or gaming, to which   
they were greatly addicted. The irreligious   
Indians demanded the old stakes of some who   
had been convinced of the sin of gaming, and   
had declined to pay their forfeits. The winners   
however, insisted on being payed. Mr. Eliot   
had no little trouble in settling the matters of   
casuistry and conscience which thus occurred.   
But he took this method in many cases. He   
prevailed on the creditor to accept one half   
of his demand, having first showed him the   
sinfulness of gaming. He then told the debtor   
in private that God requires us to fulfill our   
promises though to our hurt, and then asked   
him if he would pay half. In this way such   
cases were many of them settled, for the credit-  
­ors ref used Mr. Eliot's proposition, that whoever   
challenged a debt incurred by gaming should   
go before the Governor with his demand.   
 The demand upon Mr. Eliot for agricultural   
and other Implements soon increased beyond   
his ability to supply them. The women were   
desirous of learning to spin; wheels were pro-  
cured for them. The men began to supply the   
English market all the year round, in the win-  
­ter with brooms, staves, eel-pots, baskets, and   
turkies; in the spring with cranberries, fish, and   
strawberries; in the summer, with whortleber-

136 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.

ries, grapes and fish; and in the autumn, with  
cranberries, fish and venison. Some of them   
worked with the English in haying time, and   
harvest; but it was hard work for them with   
their old habits of indolence. “Old boughs,”   
says Mr. Eliot, “must be bent a little at once;   
if we can set the young twigges in a better bent,   
it will bee God's mercy.”  
 Mr. Eliot fell in with a Narragansett Sachem,   
and having spoken to him on· the subject of   
religion, asked him if he did not believe such   
things? The Sachem seemed averse to answer,   
and Mr. E. asked him why he had not profited   
more by the instructions or a Mr. Williams,   
their teacher? He answered that the Indians did   
not care to learn of him, because he is no good   
man, but goes out and works upon the Sabbath   
day. “I name it,” says Thomas Shepard, “not   
to show what glimmerings nature may have   
concerning the observation of the Sabbath; but   
to show what the ill example of the English   
may do, and to show what a stumbling-block to   
all religion the loose observation of the Sab-  
bath is.”  
 In a few years Mr. Eliot says a visible im-   
provement had taken place in many of the   
domestic habits of the Indians, indicating an   
advancement in the principles and sentiments

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 137

of civilization. Not only were they as a gen-   
eral thing respectably clothed, but the common   
wigwams at Nonantum equalled those of Sa-  
­chems in other tribes, and instead of herding   
together in one room they made divisions and   
apartments in their houses from feelings of   
propriety and modesty.   
 Questions relating to the plurality of their   
wives perplexed them, and gave occasion for the   
same judicious decisions on this delicate and   
trying subject which are now made by our wise   
and discreet missionaries in lands where the   
same practice exists. While some good men   
are in favor of driving the ploughshare at once   
among the roots of this and every other evil   
in the institutions and customs of corrupt soci-  
­ety, it is found impracticable to do so, by those   
who see the complicated nature of these prac-  
­tices, without occasioning still greater evils.   
Remedial measures are in operation among the   
converts from heathenism and paganism by   
which caste and polygamy and other social   
evils will in time, but not in a day or year, be   
done away. The process of cure was more   
rapid among the Indians, than it is among the   
Oriental tribes, for reasons connected with the   
character of the people, the ascendency which   
religion soon had among them, and the absence   
 12\*

138 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.

of opposing influences in the government  
tribes.   
 The text from which Mr. Eliot preached his   
first sermon at Nonantum, (“Prophesy to the   
wind,” &c.) and which made Waban, whose   
name translated, is, the wind, had produced   
a decided effect on him, and he became useful in   
diffusing the knowledge of the Gospel to other   
tribes, at Concord, at places on the Merrimack,   
and elsewhere. He remained steadfast in the   
faith, and never ceased to think that the Word   
of God was directed specially to himself in that   
first sermon of Mr. Eliot, though Mr. E. says   
that he had no design in the coincidence be-  
­tween the text and the Indian's name.   
 Mr. Eliot once preached to the Indians from   
these words, Ephes, 6:11, “Have no fellow-  
ship with the unfruitful works or darkness,” &c.   
One of the questions proposed after sermon was  
this:  
 What do Englishmen think of Mr. Eliot,   
because he comes among wicked Indians to   
teach them?   
 Another question was as follows:  
Suppose two men sin. The one knows he   
sinneth, and the other doth not know sin, will   
God punish both alike?  
 Another asked, Suppose there should be one

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 139

wise Indian that teacheth good things to other   
Indians, whether should not he be as a father or   
brother unto such Indiana be so teacheth in the   
ways of God?  
 One of the Indians at Nonantum had a child   
sick of consumption. When it was dead some   
of the Indians came to one of the English and   
asked him the proper manner of burial. Where  
upon the father procured some pieces of board   
and nails, and made a decent coffin; and about   
forty or the tribe went with the body to the   
grave. There having laid the body in the   
earth, in a solemn and suitable manner, with-  
­out any howlings, or heathenish rites, or savage   
gesticulations, they made up the mound, and   
then of their own accord, for it was not the Eng-  
­lish custom, they assembled for prayer near the   
grave, and requested one of their number, a   
serious Indian by the name of Totherswamp, to   
pray with them, which he did, “with such zeal   
and variety of gracious expressions, and abun-  
­dance of tears, both of himself and most of the   
company, that the woods rang again with their   
sighs and prayers.”  
 Thomas Shepard says, “I know that some will   
think that all this work among them is done   
and acted thus by the Indians to please the   
English, and for applause from them; and it is

140 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.  
  
not unlikely but 'tis so in many, who doe but   
blaze for a time; but certainly 'tis not so in all,   
but that the power of the Word hath taken place   
in some, and that inwardly and effectually, but   
how for savingly time will declare. Some may   
say that if it be so, yet they are but few that   
are thus wrought upon. Be it so; yet so it   
hath ever been, many called, few chosen, and   
yet withal, I believe the calling in of a few  
Indians to Christ, is the gathering home of   
many hundreds more, considering what a vast   
distance there hath been between them and   
God so long, even dayes without number; con­-  
sidering also, how precious the first fruits of   
America will be to Jesus Christ, and what seeds   
they may be of harvests in after times; and yet   
if there was no great matter seen in those of   
grown years, their children, notwithstanding,   
are of great hopes, both from English and   
Indians themselves, who are therefore trained   
up to schoole, where many are very apt to   
learne, and who are also able readily to answer   
to the questions propounded, containing the   
principles and grounds of all Christian religion   
in their own tongue. I confesse it passeth my   
skill to tell how the Gospel should be generally   
received by these American natives, considering   
the variety of languages in small distances of

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 141

places; onely hee that made their eares and   
tongues can raise np some or other to teach   
them how to heare, and what to spake; and if   
the Gospel must ride circuit, Christ can and will   
conquer by weake and dispicable meanes,   
though the conquest perhaps may be somewhat   
long.”\*   
 Mr. Eliot wrote an interesting letter to a   
friend in England, dated Roxbury, this 12th of   
Nov. 1648, and sent it by the way of Vir-  
ginia, and through Spain.   
 He says that the Indians used to abhor the   
remembrance of their dead friends, but that now   
they had begun to receive profit from the recol-  
­lection of their dying counsels, and hope from   
their confidence in the safety of the pious dead.   
The woman who asked the question, whether,   
when her husband prayed, if she prayed in her   
heart, but did not speak, yet her heart liked   
what he said, it was prayer; called her two   
grown up daughters to her when she was dying   
and said to them: “I shall now die, and when I   
am dead, your grand-parents and uncles will   
send for you to come live among them and   
promise you great matters, and tell you what   
pleasant living it is among them. But do not

\* Shepard’s “Cleare Sunshine.”

142 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.

believe them, and I charge you never hearken   
unto them, nor live among them; for they pray   
not to God, keep not the Sabbath, commit all   
manner of sins, and are not punished for it.   
But I charge you live here, for here they pray   
unto God, the Word of God is taught, sins are   
suppressed and punished by laws, and therefore   
I charge you live here all your days.” Soon   
after it came to pass as she had said, and the   
case was propounded to Mr. Eliot, and the   
father-in-law opposed the removal of the chil-  
­dren, on the ground of their mother's charge.   
 The settlement of Natick took place in the   
following way. Many Indians in the country   
were desirous of hearing the Gospel, but they   
would not remove into the neighborhood of the   
English, “because they had no tools or skill, or   
heart to fence their grounds,” and so their corn   
was spoiled by the English cattle, and the Eng­-  
lish refused to pay for it, because the Indians   
would not build fences. “Therefore,” Mr. E.   
says, “a place must be found (both for this and   
sundry other reasons) somewhat remote from   
the English;--but I feare it will bee too charge-  
­able, though I see that God delighteth in small   
beginnings that his name may he magnified.”  
 There was a great fishing place at the falls of   
the Merrimack where the Indians assembled

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 143  
  
every spring, and Mr. E. visited them. They   
put a question to him after one of his sermons,   
which all who are interested in the conversion   
of the heathen often find occurring to them   
with painful interest. “If it be thus as you   
teach, then all the world of Indians are gone to   
hell, to be tormented forever, until now a few   
may go to heaven and be saved; is it so?”  
 In the letter which went so far in getting to   
England, Mr. Eliot records some further ques­-  
tions from his Nonantum Indians, viz:   
 How many good people were in Sodom when   
it was burnt?  
 Doth the devil dwell in us as we dwell in a   
house?  
 When God saith, Honor thy father, doth he   
mean three fathers, our father, our Sachem, and   
our God?  
 When the soul goes to heaven, what doth it   
say when it comes there. And what doth a wicked   
soul say when it cometh into hell?   
 If one sleep on the Sabbath at meeting, and   
another awaketh him, and he be angry at it,   
and say it's because he is angry with him that   
he so doth, is not this a sin?  
 If any talk of another man's faults and tell   
others of it when he is not present to answer, is   
not that a sin?

144 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.

Why did Christ die ill our stead?  
 Seeing Eve was first in sin, whether she did   
die first?  
 Why must we love our enemies, and how   
shall we do it?  
 When every day my heart thinks I must die   
and go to hell for my sins, what shall I do in  
this case?  
 May a good man sin sometimes? Or may ·   
he be a good man and yet sin sometimes?   
 If a man think a prayer, doth God know it,   
and will he bless him?   
 Who killed Christ?   
 If a man be almost a good man and dieth,   
whither goeth his soul?  
 How long was Adam good before he sinned?   
 Seeing we see not God with our eyes, if a   
man dream that he seeth God, doth his soul   
then see him?   
 Did Adam see God before he sinned? Shall   
we see God in heaven?   
 If a wicked man pray, whether doth he make   
a good prayer? Or when doth a wicked man   
pray a good prayer?   
 Whether God did make hell before Adam   
sinned?  
 If two families dwell in one house, and one

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 145.

prayeth and the other not, what shall they that   
pray do to them that do not?  
 Did Abimelech know Sarah was Abraham's   
wife?  
 Did not Abraham sin in saying she was my   
sister?  
 Seeing God promised Abraham so many   
children, like the stars for multitude, why did  
he give him so few? And was it true?  
 If God made hell in one of the six days, why   
did God make hell before Adam sinned?  
 How shall I bring mine heart to love prayer?  
 If one man repent and pray once in a day,   
another man often in a day, whether doth one   
of them go to heaven, the other not? Or what   
difference is there?  
 I find I want wisdom, what shall I do to be   
wise?  
 Why did Abraham buy a place to bury in?  
 Why doth God make good men sick?  
 How shall the Resurrection be, and when?  
 Do not Englishmen spoil their souls to say a   
thing cost them more than it did? and is not all   
one as to steal?  
 You may our body is made of clay; what is   
the sun and moon made of?  
 If one be loved of all Indians, good and bad,

VOL. III. 13

146 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.   
  
another is hated of all, saving a few that be  
good, doth God love both these?  
 I see why I must fear hell and do so every   
day. But why must I fear God?  
 How is the tongue like fire, and like poison?   
 What if false witnesses accuse me of murther,   
or some foul sin?  
 What punishment is due to liars?  
 If I reprove a man for sin, and he answer,   
“Why do you speak thus angrily to me? Mr.   
Eliot teacheth us to love one another?”--is this   
well?  
 Why is God so angry with murtherers?  
 If a wife put away her husband because he   
will pray to God and she will not, what is to be   
done in this case?  
 If there be young women pray to God, may   
such as pray to God marry one that will not   
pray to God, or what is to be done in this case?  
 Whether doth God make bad men dream   
good dreams?   
 What is salvation?  
 What is the Kingdom of Heaven?  
 If my wife do some work in the house on the   
night before the Sabbath, and some work on the   
Sabbath night, whether this is a sin?   
 If I do a sin, and do not know it is a sin, what   
will God say to that?

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 147

Is faith set in my heart or in my mind?  
 Why have not beasts a soul as man hath,   
seeing they have love, anger, &c., as man hath?  
 How is the Spirit of God in us, and where   
is it?   
 Why doth God punish in hell for ever? man   
doth not so, but after a time lets them out of   
prison again. And if they repent in hell, why   
will not God let them out again?  
 How shall I know when God accepts my   
prayers?  
 How doth Christ make peace between man  
and God? and what is the meaning of that   
point?   
 Why did the Jews give the watchmen money   
to tell a lie?  
 If I hear God's word when I am young, and   
do not believe, but when I am old I believe,   
what will God say?  
 In wicked dreams doth the soul sin?  
 Doth the soul in heaven know things done   
here on earth?  
 Doth the soul in heaven remember what it   
did here on earth before he died?  
 If my heart be full of evil thoughts, and I re-  
pent and pray, and a few hours after it is full   
again, and I repent and pray again; and if after

148 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.

this it be lull of evil thoughts again, what will   
God say?  
 Why did the earth shake at Christ's resur-  
­rection?  
 What if a minister wear long hair, as some   
other men do, what will God say?  
 If a man will make his daughter marry a   
man whom she doth not love, what will God   
say?   
 Why doth Christ compare the kingdom of   
heaven to a net?   
 Why doth God so hate them that teach others   
to commit sin?

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 149

CHAPTER VI.

Letters respecting the Indians, from individuals in New England, to  
their friends in Old England. Speculations about the last tribes of  
Israel. Remarks. Questions. Samuel Gorton, the Familist. Two   
Indians controvert his opinions. Interesting conversation. Labors   
of the Mayhews on Martha’s Vineyard. Covenant of the Indians.   
of Martha’s Vineyard. Questions. Merrimack Indians. Accounts   
by the Mayhews of, their labors. Questions.   
  
SOME of Mr. Eliot's letters respecting the In-  
dians were published in London, with an appen-  
­dix by Rev. “J. D.”' As we are interested and   
entertained occasionally by a supposed discovery   
of the lost tribes of Israel, it may not be useless   
to give here some of the speculations and rea­-  
sonings of this good man, on this subject as   
relating to the North American Indians. He   
begins his appendix with the following words:   
 “The works of the Lord are great, sought   
out of oil them that love them, saith the Psalm-  
­ist; Ps. 111: 3. The word which we, render   
sought out, hath a mighty emphasis in it:   
'Tis a word used sometimes to denote the elab-   
orate care of digging and searching into mines.   
And sometimes it's made use of to expresse the  
 13\*

150 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.

accurate labors of those who comment upon   
writings. Indeed, there is a golden mine in   
every work of God; and the foregoing letters to   
a gracious eye, are as a discovery of a far more   
precious mine in America, than those gold and   
silver mines of India: For they bring tidings of   
the unsearchable riches of Christ, revealed unto   
poore soules in those parts.. . . I could not   
pass over so rich a mine without digging.   
. . . . “The general consent of many   
judicious and godly divines doth induce consid-   
ering minds to believe that the conversion of   
the Jews is at hand. It's the expectation of   
some of the wisest Jews now living, that about   
the year 1660, Either we shall be Mosaick or   
else that themselves Jews shall be Christians.  
 There may be at least a remnant of   
the generation of Jacob in America, (peradven-  
ture some of the Ten tribes dispersions.) And   
that those sometimes poor now precious Indians   
may be as the first fruits of the glorious harvest   
of Israel's redemption. The observation is not   
to be slighted, (though the observer, Mr. Shep-  
­ard, said it was more cheerful than deep) that   
the first Text out or which Mr. Eliot preached,   
was about the dry bones . . . . Why may we  
not at least conjecture, that God by a special   
finger pointed out that text to be first opened

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 151

which immediate concerned the persons to  
whom it was preached?  
 He then states the reasons why the Indian   
tribes may be of Jewish descent, viz:   
 "1. They have at least a traditional knowl­-  
edge of God, as the Maker of heaven and earth.   
 2. Whatever they attribute unto others, this   
they peculiarly attribute unto God, viz: that   
all things, both good and evil, are managed by   
his Providence.   
 3. Before they had received any instruction  
from the English, upon observation of a bad   
year, or other ill success, they did meet and   
weep as unto God, and on the other side, upon  
a good year, or good success in any business,   
as of War, they used to meet and make a kind   
of acknowledgement of thanks to God in it.   
 4. They are careful to preserve the memory  
of their families, mentioning Uncles, Grand-  
­parents. &c. A thing which bad a great tang   
of, and affinity to, the Jews' care of preserving   
the memorial of their Tribes.   
 5. Those of them who have been wrought   
upon, tell of some face of Religion, wisdom and   
manners which long agoe their ancestors had,   
but that it was lost.   
 6. The better and more sober of them de-

152 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.

light much to express themselves in parables,   
a thing peculiar to the Jews.   
 These and the like considerations prevail   
with me to entertain (at least) a conjecture that   
these Indians of America may be Jews, especial-  
ly of the Ten Tribes. And therefore to hope   
that the work of Christ among them may be as   
preparatory to his own appearing.”  
 Some of these reasons appertain with equal   
force to other tribes of the earth who have been   
supposed by different writers to be remnants of   
the house of Israel. While we should respect   
the interest and zeal of those who study the   
providence of God, with a view to finding out  
his designs, and to be prepared for the fulfillment   
of his promises, we should. not easily yield our   
confidence to any hypothesis which rests merely   
on conjecture, or depends for support in reasons   
which apply equally well to theories inconsistent   
with it. This is not the place lo remark at   
large on the interesting subject of the Jews and   
their conversion, but the impression seems hap-  
­pily to be extending that the sooner we cease to   
regard them as destined to a national conver-  
­sion, and look at them us sinners of the human   
family, like Mohammedans and Papists, and re-  
frain from efforts and n treatment which foster  
their spirit of separation and their assumption

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 153   
  
of superior dignity and special claim to respect  
and favor, the sooner we shall employ ourselves  
in efforts to address them in a way which will   
be far more likely to humble their pride, and   
prepare them to submit to the Gospel, than the   
somewhat adulatory and flattering method of   
approaching them and speaking of them ·will   
ever be.  
 The improvement which the writer above   
named makes of Mr. Eliot's letters in the fo­l-  
lowing exhortations is far more obviously correct   
than his speculations about the origin and desti-  
ny of the Indians. He says the work of grace   
among them should lead the people of England,  
 “First, To study and search into the works of   
the Lord, to see how he counter plots the ene-  
­my in his designs; In making the late Bishops   
persecuting of the godly tend to the promoting   
of the Gospel.   
 Secondly, To take heed of despising the day   
of small things.   
 Thirdly, To be ashamed or and bewail our   
want of affection to and estimation of that glory-  
ous Gospel, and those great things of Christ,   
which these poor Heathens upon the little Glym-  
merings and tasts so exceedingly value and   
improve.  
 Fourthly, Doth not the observation of the

154 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.

precedings reports clearly confirm the doctrine of  
the Sabbath, and the practice of prayer. O  
tremble, ye Sabbath slighters and duty despis-  
ers, Christ hath witnesses against you in Amer-  
ica The converted Heathen in New   
England goe beyond you, O ye Apostolic   
Christmas in England.   
 Arise ye heads of our Tribes in Old England,   
and extend your help to further Christ's labour-   
ers in New England.  
 Rouse up yourselves, my Brethren! ye  
preachers of the Gospel, this work concerns you   
Contrive and plot, preach for and presse the ad-   
vancement hereof.   
 Come forth ye masters money, part with   
your gold to promote the Gospel. If you give   
any thing yearly, remember Christ will be your   
Pensioner. If you give any thing into banke,   
Christ will keep account thereof and reward it.”

The reader, it is to be hoped, will not be   
weary of the Indian questions, which Mr. Eliot   
sent to his friends in England as often as he   
wrote to them. These questions, are not only   
curious, but they suggest valuable thoughts and   
lead to profitable reflections.   
 If a man know God's Word, said one of   
them at the Indian lecture, but believe it not,

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 155

and he teach others, is that good teaching? and  
if others believe that which he teacheth, is that  
believing or faith? Upon this question Mr.   
Eliot asked them how they could tell when a   
man knoweth God's Word, that he doth not be-  
lieve it? They answered, When he doth not   
do in his practice answerable to that which he   
knoweth.  
 If I teach on the Sabbath that which you have   
taught us; and forget some, is that a sin? and   
some I mistake and teach wrong, is that a sin?   
 Do all evil thoughts come from the devil, and  
all good ones from God?   
 What is watchfulness?  
 What should I pray for at night, and what  
at morning, and what on the Sabbath day?   
 What is true Repentance? or how shall I  
know when this is true?  
 How must I wait on God?  
 Shall we see Christ at the day of judgment?  
 When I pray for a soft heart, why is it still   
hard?   
 You said, God promised to go with Moses;   
how doth he go with us?   
 When such die as never heard of Christ,   
whither do they go?  
 When the wicked die, do they first go to

156 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.

heaven to the judgment-seat of Christ to be   
judged, and then go away to hell?   
 Why doth God say, I am the God of the   
Hebrews?   
 When Christ arose, whence came his soul?  
When it was replied, From heaven; · they said  
How then was Christ punished in our stead?  
or when did he suffer in our stead, afore death,   
or after?  
 When I pray every day, why is my heart so   
hard still, even as a stone?   
 If one purposeth to pray, and yet dieth before   
that time, whither goeth his soul?  
 Why must we be like salt?  
 Doth God know who shall repent, and who  
not?--Why then did God use so much meanes  
with Pharaoh?  
 What meaneth that ‘blessed are they that   
mourn’?   
 When I see a good example, and know that   
it is right, why do I not do the same?  
 What anger is good, and what is bad?  
 Do they dwell in separate houses in heaven,   
or all together, and what do they?  
 If a child die before he sin, whither goeth his   
soul? ‘By this question,’ says: Mr. E., ‘it did   
please the Lord to convince them of original sin  
blessed be his name.’

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 157   
  
 If one that prays to God sins like him that   
prays not, is not he worse? ‘And while,’ says   
Mr. Eliot, ‘they discoursed of this point, and   
about hating wicked persons, one of them shut   
it up with this: They must love the man and   
do him good, but hate his sin.’  
 Why do Englishmen so eagerly kill all   
snakes?  
 May a man have good words and deeds, and   
a bad heart, and another have bad words and   
deeds, and yet a good heart?  
 What is it to eate Christ's flesh, and drink his   
blood; what meaneth it?   
 What meaneth a new heaven and a new   
earth?  
 If but one parent believe, what state are our   
children in?  
 How doth much sinne make grace abound?   
What meaneth that, We cannot serve two  
masters?  
 Can they in Heaven see us here on earth?  
Do they see and know each other? Shall I   
know you in heaven?  
 If all the world be burnt up, where shall hell be?  
 Do they know each other in Hell?  
 What meaneth, that Christ meriteth eternal   
life for us?  
 What meaneth that, The woman brought to

Vol. III 14

158 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.   
  
Christ a box , or oyle, and washt his feet with   
tears, &c.?  
 What meaneth that of the two debtors, one   
oweth much, another but little?  
 What meaneth God when he says, yee shall   
be my jewels?  
 If so old a man as I repent, may I be saved?   
 When we come to believe, how many of our   
children doth God take with us, whether all,   
only young ones, or at what age?  
 What meaneth that, Let the trees of the wood   
rejoice?  
 What meaneth that, The Master doth not  
thank his servant for waiting on him?  
 When Englishmen choose magistrates and   
ministers, how do they know who be good men   
that they dare trust?  
 Seeing the body sinneth, why should the soul   
be punished, and what punishment shall the   
body have?   
 If a wicked man prayeth and teacheth, doth   
God accept, or what saith God?  
 If a man be wise and his Sachem weak, must   
he yet obey him?  
 We are commanded to honour the Sachem,   
but is the Sachem commanded to love us?   
 When all the world is burnt up, what shall   
be in the room of it? (By an old woman.)

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 159

Mr. Eliot says, in a letter containing these   
questions, “You may perceive many of the   
questions arise out of such texts as I handle, and   
do endeavour to communicate as much Script-  
­ure as I can. The word of the Lord convert-  
eth, sanctifieth, and maketh wise the simple;   
sometimes they aske weaker questions than   
these, which I mention not; you have the best,   
and when I am about writing, I am careful in   
keeping a remembrance of them; it may be the   
same question may be again and again asked at   
several places and by several persons. The  
Lord teach them to know Christ, whom to know   
is eternal life. I shall entreat your supplica-  
­tions at the throne of grace, under the tender   
wing whereof I now leave you, being forced by   
the time, and rest,   
 Your respectful and loving   
 brother and fellow-laborer   
 in the Indian work,   
 JOHN ELIOT.”

Samuel Gorton, charged with being a Fam-  
ilist and Antinomian, was banished from   
Plymouth, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts.   
The Familists were an Anabaptist sect founded   
in Holland, in 1666, by Henry Nicholas, a   
Westphalian. They held that the essence of

160 LIFE O F JOHN ELIOT.

religion consists in the feelings of divine love,   
(and hence they were coiled the Family of love,   
and familists), that all other religious tenets,   
whether relating to matters of faith or modes of   
worship, are of no consequence, and that it   
is indifferent what opinions Christians enter-  
­tain concerning God, provided their hearts are   
filled with the emotions of piety and love.   
They were confuted by Dr. Henry More, and   
by George Fox, the Quaker. A proclamation   
was issued against them by Queen Elizabeth in  
1580.   
 This Gorton in 1650 was in Rhode Island.   
Two of the Nonantum Indians mode a visit to   
Providence and Warwick, and spent a Sabbath   
and heard Gorton and his followers explain their   
views, and afterwards had some conversation   
with them.   
 Upon their return, on a lecture day, before the   
people had fully assembled, these two Indians   
addressed a question to Mr. Eliot; and the con-  
­versation which ensued is recorded by him as   
illustrating the proficiency in Christian knowl­-  
edge to which some of the Indians had attained,   
and their ability to withstand false teachers.   
 The question was this: what is the reason   
that seeing those English people, where they had   
been, have the same Bible that Mr. Eliot has,

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 161

yet do not speak the same things? Being asked   
the reason of his question, they said, They had   
been at Providence and Warwick, and they   
perceived by conversation with them that they   
differed from Mr. E.; they heard their public   
exercises, but did not understand what they   
meant, though they understood the English   
language well. Being asked what they said,   
they replied, they said thus:   
 They (that is Mr. Eliot and his friends) teach   
you that there is a heaven and a hell, but there   
is no such matter.   
 Mr. E. asked them what reason they gave for  
this assertion.   
 Because there is no other heaven but what is  
in the hearts of good men, and no other hell but   
what is in the hearts of bad men.   
 Mr. E. What did you say to that?  
 Indians. We told them we did not believe   
them, because heaven is a place where good   
men go when this life is ended, and hell is a   
place where bad men go when they die, and   
cannot be in the hearts of man.   
 Mr. E. approving this answer. What else   
did they say?  
 Indians. They spake of Baptism, and said,   
they teach you that infants must be baptized,   
but that is a very foolish thing.

162 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.

Mr. E. What reason did they give?  
 Indians. Because infants neither know God   
nor baptism, nor what they do, and therefore it   
is a foolish thing to do, it.   
 Mr. E. What did you say to that?  
 Indians. I could not say much; but I thought   
it was better to baptize them while they be   
young, and then they are bound and engaged;   
but if you let them alone till they be grown up,   
it may be they will fly off, and neither core for   
God nor Baptism.   
 Mr. E. commended this reply. What further   
did they say?  
 Indians. They spake of ministers, and said,   
they teach you that you must have ministers,   
but that is a needless thing.   
 Mr. E. Why?  
 lndians. They gave these reasons: First,   
ministers know nothing but what they learn out   
of God's book, and we have God's book as well   
as they, and can tell what God saith. Again,   
ministers cannot change men's hearts, God must   
do that, therefore there is no need of ministers.   
 Mr. E. What did you reply?  
 Indians. I told them that we must do as   
God commands us, and if he commands us to   
have ministers we must have them. And further,   
I told them I thought it was true that ministers

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 163

cannot change men's hearts; but when we do as   
God bids us, and hear ministers preach, then   
God will change our hearts.   
 Mr. E. What else did they speak of?   
 Indians. They said, they teach you that   
you must have magistrates, but that is need-   
less.   
 Mr. E. What reason did they give?  
 Indians. They said, Because magistrates   
cannot give life, therefore they may not take   
away life; besides, when a man sinneth, he doth   
not sin against magistrates; and therefore why   
should they punish them? but they sin against   
God, and therefore we must leave them to God   
to punish them.   
 Mr. E. What answer did you make?  
 Indians. I said to that as to the former, we   
must do as God commands us. If God com-  
­mands us to have magistrates, and commands   
them to punish sinners, then we must obey.   
 In answer to the question, Why all who have   
the Bible do not speak the same things. Mr.   
E. preached on that occasion from 2 Thes, 2:  
10, 11. “Because they believed not the truth   
that they might be saved; for this cause God   
shall send them strong delusions that they might   
believe a lie,” &c.   
 The Rev. Thomas Mayhew, and his son the

164 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.

Rev. Experience Mayhew, prosecuted the work   
of evangelizing the Indians of Martha's Vine-   
yard with signal success. As the relations   
which they give respecting the Indians, and the   
progress of the Gospel among them, correspond   
so nearly with the foregoing narratives, it is not   
thought necessary to speak of them at large.   
Some idea of the principles which were incul­-  
cated by the Mayhews, and of the influence   
which they exerted upon the natives, may be   
derived from the following covenant which Mr.   
Thomas Mayhew wrote for them, and in which   
they all with free consent willingly and thank-  
fully joined.   
  
COVENANT OF THE INDIANS OF MARTHA'S VINE-  
 YARD.

“Wee, the distressed Indians of the Vineyard,   
(or NOPE, the Indian name of the Island.) that   
beyond all memory have been without the true   
God, without a Teacher, and without a Law,   
the very servants of sin and satan, and without   
pence, for God did justly vex us for our sins;   
having lately, through his mercy, heard of the   
name or the True God, the name of his Son   
Christ Jesus, with the holy Ghost, the Com-  
forter, three Persons, but one most Glorious God,   
whose name is JEHOVAH; wee do praise His

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 166

Glorious Greatness, and, in sorrow of our hearts,   
and shame of our faces, we do acknowledge   
and renounce our great and many sins, that   
we end our Fathers have lived in, do run unto   
him for mercy and pardon for Christ Jesus'   
sake: and we do this day, through the blessing   
of God upon us, and trusting to his gracious   
help, give up ourselves in this Covenant, Wee,   
our wives and children, to serve JEHOVAH: And   
we do this day chuse Jehovah to be our God in   
Christ Jesus, our Teacher, our Lawgiver in his   
Word, our King, our Judge, our Ruler by his   
magistrates and ministers; to fear God Himself,   
and to trust in Him alone for salvation, both of   
Soul and Body, in this present Life, and the   
Everlasting Life to come, through his mercy in   
Christ Jesus our Saviour and Redeemer, and   
by the might of his Holy Spirt, to whom, with   
the Father and Son, be all Glory everlasting,   
Amen.”  
 Mr. Mayhew says, “I observed that the In­-  
dians, when they chose their Rulers, made   
choyce of such us were best approved for their   
godliness, and most likely to suppress sin, and   
encourage holiness. There was an Indian that   
was well approved for his Reformation, that was   
suspected to have told a plain Lye for his Gain;   
the business was brought to the public Meeting,

166 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.

and there it was notably sifted with zeal and   
good affection; but at length the Indian defend-  
ing himself with great disdain and hatred of   
such evil, proved himself clear, and praised God   
for it.”  
 He also relates the following anecdote:   
 “My Father and I were lately talking with an   
Indian who had not long before almost lost his   
life by a wound his Enemies gave him in a   
secret hidden way, the mark whereof he had   
upon him, and will carry it to his grave. This   
man understanding of a secret Plot that was to   
take away his Enemies life told my Father and   
I, That he did freely forgive him for the sake of   
God, and did tell this Plot lo us that the man’s   
life might be preserved. This is a singular   
thing, and who among the Heathen will do   
so?”  
 Again: “Myoxeo also lately met with an   
Indian which came from the Mayn, (the main­-  
land,) who was of some note among them. I   
heard that he told them of the great things of   
God, the sinfulness and folly of the Indians, the   
pardon of sin by Christ, and of a good life; and   
so they were both affected, that they continued   
this discourse two half nights and a day, until   
their strength was spent. He told him in par-  
ticular how a Beleever did live above the world,

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 167   
  
that he did keep worldly things alwaies at his   
feet, (as he shewed him by a sign.) That when   
they were diminished or increased, it was neither   
the cause of his sorrow or joy, that he should   
stoop to regard them, but he stood upright with   
his heart Heavenward, and his whole desire was   
after God, and his joy in Him.”   
 He says, “Within two or three weeks (1652)   
there came an Indian to me in business, and by   
the way he told me that some Indians had lately   
kept a day or Repentance to humble themselves   
before God in prayer, and that the word of God   
which one of them spake unto for their In­-  
struction, was Psal. 66:7. ‘He ruleth by his   
Power forever, his eyes behold the nations, let   
not the rebellious exalt themselves.’ I asked   
him what their end was in keeping such a day?  
He told me these six things. 1. ‘They desired   
that God would slay the rebellion of their hearts.   
2. That they might love God and one another.   
3. That they might withstand the evil words of   
wicked men, and not be drawn back from God.   
4. That they might be obedient to the good   
words and commands of their Rulers. 5. That   
they might have their sins done away by the   
Redemption of Jesus Christ, And Lastly, That   
they might walk in Christ's way.’”   
 In 1651, thirty Indian children were at school

168 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.

which began in November, 1661. “They are   
apt to learn,” says Mr. M., “and more and more   
are now sending in unto them.”  
 “I was once,” says Mr. M., “down towards   
the further end of the Island, and lodged at an   
Indian's house, who was accounted a great man   
among the Islanders, being the friend of the Sa­-  
chem on the Mayn. At this man's house where I   
sate awhile, his son being about thirty years old,   
earnestly desired me, in his Language, to relate   
unto him some of the ancient stories of God. I   
then spent a great part of the night (in such dis-  
­course as I thought fittest for them) as I usually   
do when I lodg in their houses; what he then   
heard did much affect him. And shortly after   
he came and desired to joyn with the praying   
Indians to serve Jehovah.” He was persecuted   
for this; but he told Mr. M. “That if they   
should stand with a sharp weapon against his   
breast, and tell him that they would kill him   
presently if he did not turn to them; but if he   
would, they would love him; yet he had rather   
lose his life than keep it on such terms.”  
 A Powaw once told Mr. M. that after he had   
forsaken his powawing, and had begun to serve   
God, and to renounce his Imps, which he did in   
a public manner, the Imps still remained with   
him tormenting him, so that he could never be

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 169

at rest, sleeping or waking. At a Lecture,   
sometime after, he asked Mr. M. this question:   
If a Powaw had his Imps gone from him, what   
he should have instead of them to preserve him?   
He was told if he believed in Christ “he should   
have the Spirit of Christ dwelling in him, which   
is a good and strong Spirit, and will so keep   
him safe, that all the Devils in Hell, and Pow-  
aws on earth, should not be able to do him any   
hurt; and that if he did set himself against his   
Imps by the strength of God, they should all   
flee away like muskeetooes.” He replied, That   
soon after he had believed he was not troubled   
with any pain as formerly in his bed, nor dread­-  
ful visions of the night, but lay down with ease,   
slept quietly, waked in peace, and walked in   
safety; “for which he is, cry glad and praises   
God.”  
 Mr. Mayhew also relates a fact, like the one   
already given respecting the feelings and con-  
­duct of the Christian Indians at the death and   
burial of their children. The case already men-  
­tioned, it will be remembered, occurred at No-  
­nantum: this, at Marth's Vineyard. Mr.   
Mayhew says,   
 “I have observed the wise disposing hand of   
God in another providence of his. There have   
not, as I know, any man, woman, or child, died,

VOL. III. 15

170 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.

of the meeting-Indians, since the meeting began,   
until now of late the Lord took away Hia-  
­coomes, his child, which was about five days   
old. He was best able to make a good use of   
it, and to carry himself well in it, and so was his   
wife also; and truly they gave an excellent ex-  
ample in this also as they have in other things;   
here were no black faces for it as the manner of   
the Indians is, nor goods buried with it, nor   
hellish howlings over the dead, but a patient   
resigning of it to him that gave it. There were   
some English at the burial, and many Indians   
to whom I spake something of the Resurrection;   
and as we were going away, one of the Indians   
told me he was much refreshed in being freed   
from their old customes, as also to hear of the   
Resurrection of good men and their children to   
be with God.”  
 One of the ‘meeting-Indians’ said that ‘if all   
the world, the riches, plenty, and pleasures of it   
were presented without God, or God without all   
these, I would take God.’  
 Another said, ‘If the greatest Sagamore in   
the land should take him in his arms, and   
proffer him his love, his riches and gifts, to turn   
him from his ways, he would not go with him   
from the way of God.’  
 One of them was heard, of his own accord,

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 171

in complaining against head knowledge and lip   
prayers, without heart holiness, loathing the   
condition of such a. man, saying, I ‘desire my   
heart may taste of the word of God, repent of   
my sins, and lean upon the Redemption of the   
Lord Jesus Christ.’  
 The following is a letter from a good man in   
this country to a friend in England, written   
about the year 1650.   
  
 ‘The best News I can write you from New-Eng-  
land is, the Lord is indeed converting the Indians,   
and for the refreshing of your heart, and the   
hearts of all the godly with you; I have sent   
you the Relation of one Indian of two yeares   
profession, that I took from his owne mouth by   
an Interpreter, because he cannot speak or un-  
­derstand one word of English.   
  
 THE FIRST QUESTION WAS;

Q. How did you come first to any sight of   
sinne?  
 A. His answer was, Before the LORD did   
ever bring any English to us, my Conscience   
was exceedingly troubled for sin, but after Mr.   
Mayhew came to preach, and had been here   
some time, one chiefe Sagamore did imbrace

172 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.   
  
the Gospel, and I hearing of him, I went to him,   
and prayed him to speake something to me con-  
­cerning God, and the more I did see of God, the   
more “I did see my sinne, and I went away   
rejoycing, that I knew any thing of God, and   
also that I saw my sinne.   
 Q. I pray what hurt doe you see in sinne?  
 A. Sin, sayth he, is a continuall sicknesse in   
my heart.  
 Q. What further evill doe you see in sinne?   
 A. I see it to be a breach of all Gods Com-  
­mandments.   
 Q. Doe you see any punishment due to man   
for sinne?  
 A. Yea, sayth he, I see a righteous punish-  
­ment from God due to man for sinne, which   
shall be by the Devills in a place like unto fire   
(not that I speake of materiall fire, saith he)   
where man shall be for ever dying and never   
dye.   
 Q. Have you any hope to escape this pun-   
ishment?  
 A. While I went on in the way of Indianisme   
I had no hope, but did verily believe I should   
goe to that place, but now 1 have a little hope,   
and hope I shall have more.   
 Q. By what meanes doe you look for any   
hope?

LIFE OF JOHN EI,IOT. 173

A. Sayth he, by the satisfaction of Christ.   
 I prayed the Interpreter, to tell him from mee   
that I would have him thinke much of the satis­-  
faction of Christ, (and so he told him) I prayed   
him to returne mee his Answer.   
 A. I thanke him kindly for his good Coun-  
sell, it doth my heart good, sayd he, to heare   
any man speake of Christ.  
 Q. What would you thinke if the Lord should   
save you from misery?   
 A. If the Lord, said he, would save me from   
all the sinne that is in my heart, and from that   
misery, I should exceedingly love God, and, saith   
he, I should love a man that should doe mee any   
good, much more the Lord, if he should doe this   
for mee.   
 Q. Doe you thinke that God will doe you   
any good for any good that is in you?  
 A. Though I beleeve that God loves man that   
leaves his sinne, yet I beleeve it is for Christ's sake.   
 Q. Doe you see that at any time God doth   
answer your prayers?   
 A. Yea, sayth he, I take every thing as an   
Answer of prayer.  
 Q. But what speciall answer, have you taken   
notice of?  
 A. Once my wife being three dayes and three

174 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.   
  
nights in labour, I was resolved never to leave   
praying till she had deliverance, and at last God   
did it, and gave her a sonne, and I called his   
name Returning, because all the while I went   
on in Indianisme I was going from God, but   
now the Lord hath brought mee to him backe   
again.   
 By this time Captaine Gooking came to us,   
and he asked him this Question:   
 Q. What he would thinke if he should finde   
more affliction and trouble in God's wayes, than   
he did in the way of Indiauisme,   
 A. His answer was, when the Lord did first   
turne me to himselfe and his wayes, he stripped   
mee as bare as my skinne, and if the Lord   
should strip me as bare as my skinne againe,   
and so big Saggamore should come to mee, and   
say, I will give you so big Wam1pom, so big   
Beaver, and leave this way, and turne to us   
againe: I would say, take your riches to your-  
selfe, I would never forsake God and his wayes   
againe.  
 This is a Relation taken by my selfe,   
 WILLIAM FRENCH.’

There was a great fishing place at one of the   
falls of the Merrimack, where the Indians assem-  
­bled in great numbers in the spring of the year,

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 175

and Mr. Eliot went to meet them. He hired a   
Nashaway or Lancaster Indian to beat down a   
path for him from Roxbury through the woods,   
and to notch the trees that he might find his   
way through. His Church were concerned for   
his safety, on account of difficulties between two   
tribes through which his path lay. A Sachem   
with twenty men did escort for him, and the   
journey occupied three days. “It pleased God,”   
he says, “to exercise us with such tedious rain   
and bad weather, that we were extreme wet, in-  
­somuch that I was not dry night nor day from   
the third day of the week to the sixth, but so   
traveled, and at night pull off my boots, wring   
my stockings, and on with them again. My   
horse was tired, so that I was forced to let him   
go without a rider and take one of the men's   
horses, which I took along with me. Yet God   
stept in and helped. I considered that word of   
God, ‘Endure hardness as o. good soldier of Je­-  
sus Christ.’”  
 It is not surprising that the questions proposed   
by the Indians should have excited so much   
interest among their English teachers, and the   
friends in England to whom they were commu­-  
nicated. Should similar questions be reported   
to us from a tribe of people among whom our

176 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.

missionaries had effected an entrance, we should   
feel that there was great promise of success   
among that people. It seems that many in   
England doubted the practicability of converting   
the North American savages. They were   
greatly surprised o.t the communications from   
Mr. Eliot; they saw that nothing was too hard   
for the Almighty, that Christ could save unto   
the uttermost, all who come unto God by him,   
that the Gospel was suited to the nature of man   
in every condition, that the story of the cross   
moved the heart of the savage as well as the   
civilized, and that Mr. Eliot's reflection after   
his first efforts in preaching at Nonantum was   
true, “That there is no need of miraculous or   
extraordinary gifts in seeking the salvation of   
the most depraved of the human family.”  
 The Sudbury, Concord, Lancaster, Medford,   
and, Dedham Indians had all in few years re-  
­ceived the Gospel from Nonantum. In visiting   
that interesting spot we cannot but say, “From   
you sounded out the word of the Lord.”  
 A pious Indian from Martha's Vineyard visited   
the Indians of Merrimack weare. After he had   
been there, the Merrimack Indians stated this   
case to Mr. Eliot, for an explanation. ‘If a  
strange Indian comes among us whom we never   
saw before, yet if he pray unto God we do ex-

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 177   
  
ceedingly love him. But if my own brother,   
dwelling a great way off, come unto us, he not   
praying to God, though we love him, yet noth­-  
ing so as we love that other stranger who doth   
pray unto God.’

1787 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.

CHAPTER VII.

Natick, The Indians build a bridge. Scenery of Charles River. The   
 Arsenal at Watertown. Indian names. Mr. Sigourney's Lines.  
 Gov. Endicott’s Letter. Proceedings preparatory to forming an   
 Indian Church. Confessions of several Indians. Indian Catechism.   
 Number in the Indian Church at Natick. Eliot's Indian Grammar.   
 His Indian Bible. Remarks upon it. A copy sent to Charles II.   
 Richard Baxter's remark. Further observations on the Indian   
 Bible. 14 places of praying Indians. In 1660. Mr. Bancroft's   
 testimony. Indian Youths at Harvard College.

WE come now to another stage in the history of   
the Indian mission.   
 It has already been said that in 1650 Mr. Eliot   
obtained a grant of land for the Indians, for the   
purpose of building houses and organizing a   
town government. The place selected was called   
NATICK, which means *a place of hills*. There   
the Indians began to build houses, each house   
having a piece of land attached to it for agricul­-  
ture. One large building was erected to be the   
property of the town, the lower part to be used   
for a school-room and place of worship, the up-  
­per room to be a place of deposit for skins and   
articles of public property, with a bed for Mr.  
Eliot.

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 179

In one of his letters to friends in England,   
Mr. Eliot says,   
 “There is a great river which divideth   
between their planting grounds and dwelling   
place, through which they easily wade in sum-  
­mer, yet in the spring it is deep and unfit for   
daily passing over, especially of women and   
children.” He proposed to the Indians that they   
should make a foot bridge over it, which was   
accordingly built, and was ninety feet long and   
nine feet high. When it was finished, Mr. Eliot   
called the Indians together, prayed, and gave   
thanks to God, and taught them out of a portion   
of Scripture. He then told them that as it had   
been hard and tedious labor in the water, if any   
of them desired wages for their work he would   
give it to them, yet considering the work   
was for their own use, if they should do all that   
labor in love, he should take it well and remem-  
ber it.   
 They replied that they were for from desiring   
any wages for doing their own work, and on the   
contrary were thankful for their employment,--  
at which Mr. Eliot praised them for their readi-  
­ness and ingenuity at such work. This bridge   
is said to have lasted longer than one which the   
English built about the same time at Dedham.   
 It would be interesting if we could identify

180 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.

Some of the favorite places of the Indians in   
this vicinity. It is pleasant to think that they   
were often grouped together at that most charm-  
­ing point where the Charles River bends round   
the arsenal at Watertown. No one who has   
stood on the bridge at that place on a summer   
morning when the mists were rising from the   
stream, or in the after part of the day, when the   
sun was in the right position over the curving   
parts of the stream to make their outlines bril-  
­liant as gold in the green meadow, can have   
failed to think that had such scenery occurred   
to him in Italy or Scotland, he would have   
found it celebrated in the works of the poet   
and painter. We have only to take journeys about   
home to find in the part of the country where   
we live, views and scenes both natural and his-  
­torical of thrilling interest. It is easy to imag-  
ine the light canoe borne rapidly along the   
winding vales of the Charles River; we meet   
with Indian names in almost every village   
which is watered by that interesting stream, as   
well as in other places. Wrentham has its Nack-  
­up hill; Norwich its Quenaboag and Shetucket   
river; Auburn its Boggachoog brook; Lancas-  
­ter its Weshakum ponds; and Natick its Pegan   
plain.

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 181

The following lines by Mrs. Sigourney may   
appropriately be introduced here.

INDIAN NAMES.

“How can the red man be forgotten, while so   
many of our states and territories, bays, lakes and   
rivers, are indelibly stamped by names or their   
giving?”

Ye say, that all have passed away,   
 That noble race and brave,   
 That their light canoe, have vanished   
 From off the crested wave;   
 That ‘mid the forests where they roamed,   
 There rings no hunter's about;   
 But their name is on their water,  
 Ye may wash it out.

‘Tis where Ontario’s billow,   
 Like Ocean's surge is curled,   
 Where strong Niagara's thunders wake   
 The echo of the world,   
 Where red Missouri bringeth   
 Rich tributes from the west,   
 And Rappahannock sweetly sleeps,   
 On green Virginia’s breast.

Ye say their cone-like cabins,  
 That clustered o'er the vale.   
 Have fled away like withered leaves,   
 Before the autumn gale;   
 But their memory liveth on your hills,   
 Their baptism on your shore,   
 Your everlasting rivers speak   
 Their dialect of yore.

VOL. III. 16

182 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.

Old Massachusetts wears it  
 Within her lordly crown,   
 And broad Ohio bears it  
 Amid her young renown;   
 Connecticut hath wreathed it,   
 Where her quiet foliage waves,  
 And bold Kentucky breathes it hoarse,   
 Through all her ancient caves.

Wachuset hides its lingering voice,   
 Within his rocky heart,   
 And Alleghany graves its tone   
 Throughout his rocky chart;   
 Monadnock on his forehead horar,   
 Doth seal the sacred trust;   
 Your mountains build their monuments,   
 Though ye destroy their dust.

The Society for Propagating the Gospel   
among the Indians of North America, an account   
of which will be found in the appendix to this   
volume, published a letter addressed to them by   
Governor Endicott, of Massachusetts. It is inter-   
esting as a testimony to the advancement which   
the Indians had made in religion and civilization,   
and as a specimen of the personal interest   
which good rulers in former times took in the   
promotion of the kingdom of Christ in the earth.   
The letter is here printed as it is written, with   
the Introduction by the Society:   
  
“The next Letter you meet withall came from   
the present Governour of the Massachusets,

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 183

directed to the President of our Corporation,   
and another of the Members thereof, which   
wee thought good to publish, that every   
Christion Reader may partake in the same   
consolation, wherewith he and we are com­-  
forted; and joyne with us in prayer to the   
Lord of the Harvest, that he would provide   
more Labourers to enter upon this soul-saving   
worke, and enlarge the hearts of all his peo-   
ple in this Nation towards the same.”  
  
 “Much honoured and beloved in the Lord Jesus:

I Esteeme it not the least of God's mercies   
that hath stirred up the hearts of any of the peo-  
­ple of God to be instrumentall in the inlarging   
of the Kingdome of his deare Sonne here   
amongst the Heathen Indians, which was one   
end of our comming hither, and it is not frus-  
­trated. It was prophesied of old, and now be­-  
gins to be accomplished, Psal.2:8. Neither   
can I but acknowledge the unspeakable good-  
­nesse of God that gives us favour in the sight   
of our Countreymen to helpe on with so large a   
hand of bounty, so glorious a work, provoked   
thereunto by your worthy selves, the chiefe   
Actors of so good a designe, let me (with leave)   
say confidently, you will never have cause to

184 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.

repent it; For the work is Gods and he doth   
owne it, the labour there hath been yours, and   
your Master will reward it. I think Religion   
and Conscience binde me to seek unto God for   
you, and to praise him with you, for what is al-   
ready begun. The Foundation is laid, and such   
a one that I verily beleeve the gates of Hell shall   
never prevaile against. I doubt not but the   
building will goe on apace, which I hope will   
make glad the hearts of Thousands. Truly   
Gentlemen, had you been care and eye-witnesses   
of what I heard and saw on a Lecture-day   
amongst them about three weeks since, you   
could not but be affected therewith as I was.   
To speak truly I could hardly refrain tears from   
very joy to see their diligent attention to the   
word first taught by one of the Indians, who   
before, his Exercise prayed for the manner   
devoutly and reverently (the matter I not so   
well understanding) but it was with such rever-  
­ence, zeale, good affection, and distinct utter-   
ance, that I could not but admire it; his Prayer   
was about a quarter of an houre or more, as we   
judged it; then he took his Text, and Mr. Eliot   
their Teacher told us that were. English, the   
place (there were some Ministers and diverse   
other godly men there that attended me thither)   
his Text was in, Matth. 13:44, 46, 46. [The

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 185

kingdom of heaven is like unto treasure, &c.   
And to a merchant man, &c.] He continued   
in his Exercise full halfe an houre or more, as I   
judged it, his gravity and utterance was indeed   
very commendable; which being done Mr. Eliot   
taught in the Indian tongue about three quarters   
of an hour as neer as I could guesse; the In-  
­dians which were in number men and women   
neer about one hundred, seemed the most of   
them so to attend him, (the men especially) as   
if they would loose nothing of what was taught   
them, which reflected much upon some of our   
English hearers. After all there was a Psalme  
sung in the Indian tongue, and Indian meeter,   
but to an English tune, read by one of them-  
­selves, that the rest might follow, and he read it   
very distinctly without missing a word as we   
could judge, and the rest sang cheerfully, and   
prettie tuneablie. I rid on purpose thither being,   
distant from my dwelling about thirty eight, or   
forty miles, and truly I account it one of the best   
Journeyes I made these many years. Some few   
dayes after I desired Mr. Eliot briefly to write   
me the substance of the Indians Exercise, which   
when he went thither again, namely to Naticke,   
where the Indians dwell, and where the Indian   
taught, he read what he remembered of it first   
to their School-Muster who is an Indian, and

16\*

186 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.

teacheth them and their Children to write, and   
I saw him write also in English, who doth it   
true and very legible, and asked him if it were   
right, and he said yea, also he read it unto   
others, and to the man himselfe, who also   
owned it. To tell you of their industry and in-   
genuitie in building of an house after the Eng-  
­lish manner, the hewing and squaring of their   
tymber, the sawing of the boards themselves,   
and making of a Chimney in it, making of their   
ground-sells and wall-plates, and mortising, and   
letting in the studds into them artificially, there   
being but one English man a Carpenter to shew   
them, being but two dayes with them, is remarke-   
able. They have also built a Fort there with   
halfe trees cleft about eight or ten inches over,   
about ten or twelve foot high, besides what is   
intrencht in the ground, which is above a quar­-  
ter of an acre of ground, as I judge. They have  
also built a foot bridge over Charles Rivers, with   
Groundsells and Spurres to uphold it against the   
strength of the Flood and Ice in Winter; it stood   
firme last Winter, and I think it will stand many   
Winters. They have made Drummes of their   
owne with heads and brases very neatly and   
artificially, all which shews they are industrious   
and ingenuous. And they intend to build a   
Water-Mill the next Summer, as I was told

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 187

when I was with them. Some of them have   
learnt to mow grasse very well. I shall no   
further trouble you with any more Relation at   
this time concerning them. But a word or two   
further with your patience concerning other In-  
dians. The work of God amongst the Indians   
at Martins Vineyard, is very hopefull and pros-  
­perous also. I mist of Mr. Mayhew their   
Teacher, who was lately at Boston, and there­-  
fore cannot give you a particular account thereof   
at this present time; yet I cannot but acquaint   
you what other motions there are touching other   
Indians. There came to us upon the 20th of   
this instant Moneth, at the Generall Court one   
Pummakummim Sachem of Qunnubbagge,   
dwelling amongst or neer to the Narragansets,   
who offered himselfe and his Men to worship   
God, and desired that some English may be   
sent from the Massachusets Government to plant   
his River, that thereby he may be partaker of   
Government, and may be instructed by the Eng-  
­lish to know God. We shall I hope take some   
care and course about it, and I hope we shall   
have more help to carry on that work also;   
For there are some Schollers amongst us who   
addict themselves to the study of the Indian   
Tongue. The Lord in mercy recompence it

188 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.

into your Bosomes, all that labour of love vouch­-  
safed to the poor Indians, which are the hearty   
prayers and earnest desire of, much honoured,   
Boston the 27th of   
 the Eight. 1651.   
 Your loving Friend in all   
 service of Christ.   
 JOHN ENDECOTT.”

The prudence and caution of Mr. Eliot in his   
proceedings with regard to the formation of a   
Church among the Indians are not a little re-  
­markable. He says,   
   
 “In way of preparation of them thereunto, I  
did this Summer call forth sundry of them in   
the dayes of our public Assemblies in Gods   
Worship; sometimes on the Sabbath when I   
could be with them, and sometimes on Lecture   
daies, to make confession before the Lord of   
their former sins, and of their present knowledge   
of Christ, and experience of his Grace; which   
they solemnly doing, I wrote down their Con-   
fessions: which having done, and being in my   
own heart hopeful that there was among them fit   
matter for a Church, I did request all the Elders   
about us to hear them reade, that so they might  
give me advice what to do in this great and

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 189

solemn business; which being done on a day   
appointed for the purpose, it pleased God to give   
their Confessions such acceptance in their hearts,   
as that they saw nothing to hinder their pro­-  
ceeding, to try how the Lord would appear   
therein. Whereupon, after a day of Fasting   
and Prayer among ourselves, to seek the Lord   
in that behalf, there was another day of Fasting   
and Prayer appointed, and publick notice thereof,   
and of the names of Indians were to confess, and   
enter into Covenant that day, was given to all   
the Churches about us, to seek the Lord yet   
further herein, and to make solemn Confessions   
of Christ his Truth and Grace, and further to try   
whether the Lord would vouchsafe such grace   
unto them, as to give them acceptance among   
the Saints, into the fellowship of Church-Estate,   
and enjoyment of those Ordinances which the   
Lord hath betrusted his Churches withal. That   
day was the thirteenth of the eighth month.   
 When the Assembly was met, the first part of   
the day was spent in Prayers unto God, and   
exercise in the Word of God; in which my self   
first and after that two of the Indians did Exer-  
­cise; and so the time was spent till after ten or   
near eleven of the clock. Then addressing our-   
selves unto the further work of the day, I first   
requested the reverend Elders (many being pres-

190 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.

ent) that they would ask them Questions touch-   
ing the fundamental Points of Religion, that   
thereby they might have some tryal of their   
knowledg, and better that way, than if them-   
selves should of themselves declare what they   
beleeve, or than if I should ask them Questions   
in these matters: After a little conference here  
­about, it was concluded, That they should first   
make confession of their experience in the Lords   
Work upon their hearts, been use in so doing, it   
is like something will be discerned of their   
knowledg in the Doctrines of Religion: and if   
after those Confessions there should yet be cause   
to inquire further touching my Point of Religion   
it might be fitly done at last. Whereupon we   
so proceeded, and called them forth in order to   
make confession. It was moved in the Assem-  
­bly by Reverend Mr. Wilson, that their former   
Confessions also, as well as these which they   
made at present, might be read unto the Assem-  
­bly, because it was evident that they were   
daunted much, to speak before so great and   
grave an Assembly as that was, but time did not   
permit it so to be then: yet now in my writing   
of their Confessions I will take that course, that   
so it may appear what encouragement there was   
to proceed so far as we did; and that such as   
may reade these their Confessions, may the bet-

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 191

ter discern of the reality of the Grace of Christ   
in them.”  
 He afterwards says.   
 “In the year 52 I perceiving the grace of God   
in sundry-of them, and some poor measure of   
fitnesse (as I was perswaded) for the enjoyment of   
Church-fellowship, and Ordinances of Jesus   
Christ, I moved in that matter, according as I   
have in the Narration thereof, briefly declared.   
In the year 53 I moved not that way, for these   
Reasons.   
 I having sent their Confessions to be published   
in England, I did much desire to hear what ac­-  
ceptance the Lord gave unto them, in the hearts   
of his people there, who daily labour at the   
Throne of grace, and by other expressions of   
their loves, for an holy birth of this work of the   
Lord, to the praise of Christ, and the inlarge-  
­ment of his Kingdoms. As also my desire was,   
that by such Books as might be sent hither, the   
knowledge of their Confessions might be spread   
here, unto the better and fuller satisfaction of   
many, then the transacting thereof in the pres-  
ence of some could doe. These Books came by   
the latter Ships (as I remember) that were bound   
for New England, and were but newly out   
when they set saile, and therefore I had not that   
answer that year, which my soule desired,

192 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.

though something I bad which gave encourage­-  
ment, and was a tast of what I have more fully   
heard from severall this year, praised be the   
Lord.   
 Besides there fell a great damping and dis­-  
couragement upon us by a jealousie too deeply   
apprehended, though utterly groundlesse, viz.   
That even these praying Indian, were in a con-  
­spiracy with others, and with the Dutch, to doe   
mischief to the English. In which matter,   
though the ruling part of the People looked oth-  
erwise upon them, yet it was no season for me   
to stir or move in this matter, when the waters   
were so troubled. This businesse needeth a   
calmer season, and I shall account it a favour of   
God when ever he shall please to cause his face   
to shine upon us in it. Yet this I did the last   
year, after the Books had been come a season,   
there being a great meeting at Boston, from other   
Colonies as well as our owne, and the Commis-  
­sioners being there, I thought it necessary to   
take that opportunity to prepare and open the   
way in a readinesse against this present year, by   
making this Proposition unto them; namely,   
That they having now seen their confusions, if   
upon farther triall of them in point of knowl­-  
edge, they be found to have a competent measure   
of understanding in the fundamentall points of

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 193

Religion; and also, if there be due testimony   
of their conversation, that they walke in a   
Christian manner according to their light, so   
that Religion is to be seen in their lives;   
whether then it be according to God, and ac-  
­ceptable to his people, that they he called up unto   
Church estate? Unto which I had I blesse the   
Lord, a generall approbation.   
 Accordingly this year 54 I moved the Elders,   
that they would give me advice and assistance   
in this great businesse, and that they would at a   
fit season examine the Indians in point of their   
knowledge, been use we found by the former   
triall, that a day will be too little (if the Lord   
please to call them on to Church-fellowship) to   
examine them in points of Knowledge, and hear   
their Confessions, and guide them into the holy   
Covenant of the Lord. Seeing all these things   
are to be transacted in o. strange language, and   
by Interpreters, and with such a people as they   
be in these their first beginnings. But if they   
would spend a day on purpose to examine them   
in their knowledge there would be so much the   
more liberty to doe it fully and throughly, (as   
such a work ought to be) as also when they may be   
called to gather into Church-Communion, it   
may suffice that some one of them should make   
a Doctrinall Confession before the Lord and his

VOL. III. 17

194 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.

people, as the rule of faith which they build   
upon, the rest attesting their consent unto the   
same: And themselves (the Elders I mean, if   
the Lord so far assist the Indians, as to give   
them satisfaction) might testifie that upon Ex-  
­amination they have found a competency of   
knowledge in them to inable them unto such a   
work and state. And thus the work might be   
much shortned, and more comfortably expedited   
in one day. I found no unreadinesse in the   
Elders to further this work.   
 They concluded to attend the work, and for   
severall Reasons advised that the place should   
be at Roxbury, and not at Natick. and that the   
Indians should be called thither, the time they   
left to me to appoint, in such a season as   
wherein the Elders may be at best liberty from   
other publick occasions. The time appointed   
was the 13 of the 4 moneth; meanwhile I dis-  
­patched Letters unto such as had knowledge in   
the Tongue, requesting that they would come   
and help in interpretation, or attest unto the   
truth of my Interpretations. I sent also for my   
Brother Mayku, who accordingly came, and   
brought an Interpreter with him, Others whom   
I had desired, came not. I informed the Indians   
of this appointment, and of the end it was ap-  
­pointed for, which they therefore called, and still

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 195

doe, when they have occasion to speak of it,   
Natootomuhteae kesuk, A day of asking Ques­-  
tions, or, A day of Examination. I advised   
them to prepare for it, and. to pray earnestly   
about it, that they might be accepted among   
Gods people, if it were the will of God.   
 It pleased God so to guide, that there was a  
publick Fast of all the Churches, betwixt this our   
appointment, and the accomplishment thereof:   
which day they kept, as the Churches did, and   
this businesse of theirs was a Principall matter   
in their Prayers.”  
 It will be useful, as well as interesting, to   
give some of the “Confessions of Indians”   
which were made and considered in preparation   
for their entering into the Church state.   
  
 CONFESSION OF TOTHERSWAMP.

“Before I prayed unto God, the English, when   
I came unto their houses, often said unto me,   
Pray to God; but I having many friends who   
loved me, and I loved them, and they cared not   
for praying to God, and therefore I did not: But   
I thought in my heart, that if my friends should   
die, and I live, l then would pray to God; soon   
after, God so wrought, that they did almost all   
die, few of them left; and then my heart feared,

196 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.

and I thought, that now I will pray unto God,   
and yet I was ashamed to pray; end if I eat and   
did not pray, I was ashamed of that also; so   
that I had a double shame upon me: Then you   
came unto us, and taught us, and said unto us,   
Pray unto God; and after that, my heart grew   
strong, and I was no more ashamed to pray, but   
I did take up praying to God; yet at first I did   
not think of God and eternal Life, but only that   
the English should love me and I loved them:   
But after I came to learn what sin was, by the   
Commandments of God, and then I saw all my   
sins, lust, gaming, &c. (he named more.) You   
taught, That Christ knoweth all our hearts, and   
seeth what is in them, if humility, or anger, or   
evil thoughts, Christ seeth all that is in the   
heart; then my heart feared greatly, because   
God was angry for all my sins; yea, now my   
heart is full of evil thoughts, and my heart runs   
away from God, therefore my heart feareth and   
mourneih. Every day I see sin in my heart;   
one man brought sin into the world, and I am   
full of that sin, and I break Gods word every   
day. I see I deserve not pardon, for the first   
mans sinning; I can do no good, for I am like   
the Devil, nothing but evil thoughts, and words,   
and works. I have lost all likeness to God, and   
goodness, and therefore every day I sin against

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 197   
  
God, and I deserve death and damnation: The   
first man brought sin first; and I do every day   
add to that sin, more sins; but Christ hath done   
for us all righteousness, and died for us because   
of our sins, and Christ teacheth us, That if we   
cast away our sins, and trust in Christ, then   
God will pardon all our sins; this I beleeve   
Christ hath done, I can do no righteousness, but   
Christ hath done it for me; this I beleeve, and   
therefore I do hope for pardon. When I first   
heard the Commandments, I then took up pray-  
­ing to God and cast off sin. Again, When I   
heard, and understood Redemption by Christ,   
then I beleeved Jesus Christ to take away my   
sins: every Commandment taught me sin, and   
my duty to God. When you ask me why do I   
love God? I answer, Because he giveth me all   
outward blessings, as food, clothing, children, all   
gifts of strength, speech, bearing; especially   
that he giveth us a Minister to teach us, and   
giveth us Government; and my heart feareth   
lest Government should reprove me; but the   
greatest mercy of all is Christ, to give us pardon   
and life.”

198 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.

TOTHERSWAMP.

The Confession which he made on the Fast day  
before the great Assembly was as followeth:   
  
 I confess in the presence of the Lord, before   
I prayed, many were my sins, not one good   
word did I speak, not one good thought did I   
think, not one good action did I doe: I did act   
all sins, and full was my heart of evil thoughts;   
when the English did tell me of God, I cared   
not for it, I thought it enough if they loved me:   
I had many friends thot loved me, and I thought   
if they died I would pray to God: and afterward   
it so came to pass; then was my heart ashamed,   
to pray I was ashamed, and if I prayed not, I   
was ashamed; a double shame was upon me:   
when God by you taught us, very much ashamed   
was my heart; then you taught us that Christ   
knoweth all our hearts: therefore truly he saw   
my thoughts, and I had thought, if my kindred   
should die I would pray to God; therefore they   
dying, I must now pray to God; and therefore   
my heart feared, for I thought Christ knew my   
thoughts: then I heard you teach, The first   
man God made was named Adam, & God made   
a Covenant with him, Do and live, thou and thy   
Children; if thou do not thou must die, thou

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT 199   
  
and thy Children: And we are Children of   
Adam poor sinners, therefore we all have sinned,   
for we have broke Gods Covenant, therefore evil   
is my heart, therefore God is very angry with   
me, we sin against him every day; but this   
great mercy God hath given us, he hath given   
us his only Son, and promiseth, That whosoever   
belecveth in Christ shall be saved: for Christ   
hath dyed for us in our stead, for our sins, and   
he hath done for us all the words of God, for I   
can do no good net, only Christ can, and only   
Christ hath done nil for us; Christ hath de-  
­served pardon for us, and risen again, he hath   
ascended to God, and doth ever pray for us;   
therefore all Beleevers Souls shall goe to Heaven   
to Christ. But when I heard that word of   
Christ, Christ said Repent and Beleeve, and   
Christ seeth who Repenteth, then I said, dark   
and weak is my Soul, and I am one in darkness,   
I am a very sinful man, and now I pray to   
Christ for life. Hearing you teach that Word   
that the Scribes and Pharisees said Why do thy   
Disciples break the Tradition of the Fathers?   
Christ answered, Why do you make void the  
Commandments of God? Then my heart feared   
that I do so; when I teach the Indians, because   
I cannot teach them right, and thereby make   
the word of God vain. Again, Christ said If

200 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.   
  
the blind lead the blind they will both fall into   
the ditch; Therefore I feared that I am one   
blind, and when I teach other Indians I shal   
caus them to fall into the ditch. This is the   
love of God to me, that he giveth me all mercy   
in this world, and for them al I am thankfull;   
but I confess I deserve Hell; I cannot deliver   
my self, but I give my Soul and my Flesh to   
Christ, and I trust my soul with him for he is   
my Redeemer, and I desire to call upon him   
while I live.   
 This was his Confession which ended, Mr.   
 Allin further demanded of him this Ques-  
 ­tion, How he found his heart, now in the   
 matter of Repentance?  
 His answer was; I am ashamed of all my   
sins, my heart is broken for them and melteth   
in me, I am angry with my self for my sins,   
and I pray to Christ to take away my sins,   
and I desire that they may be pardoned.   
 But it was desired that further Question   
 might be forborn, lest time would be   
 wanting to here them all speak.”  
  
 The following is the Confession of Waban,   
(or the wind,) the man in 'whose wigwam   
Mr. Eliot preached to the Indians in the   
beginning of his ministry among them, and

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 201

who, from Mr. Eliot's text, “Prophesy unto the   
wind," &c., supposed that the message of God   
was specially directed to himself.

CONFESSION OF WABAN.

“Before I heard of God, and before the English   
came into this Country, many evil things my   
heart did work, many thoughts I had in my   
heart; I wished for riches, I wished to be a   
witch, I wished to be a Sachem; and many such   
other evils were in my heart: Then when the   
English came, still my heart did the same   
things; when the English taught me of God (I   
coming to their Houses) I would go out of their   
doors, and many years I knew nothing; when   
the English taught me I was angry with them:   
But a little while agoe after the great sikness, I   
considered what the English do; and I had some   
desire to do as they do; and after that I began   
to work as they work; and then I wondered   
how the English come to be so strong to labor;   
then I thought I shall quickly die, and I feared   
lest I should die before I prayed to God; then I   
thought, if I prayed to God in our Language,   
whether could God understand my prayers in   
our Language; therefore I did ask Mr. Jackson,

202 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.   
  
and Mr. Mahu, If God understood prayers in   
our Language? They answered me God doth   
understand all Languages in the World, But I   
do not know how to confess, and little do I know   
or Christ; I fear I shall not beleeve a great   
while, and very slowly; I do not know what   
grace is in my heart, there is but little good in   
me; but this I know, That Christ both kept all   
Gods Commandements for us, and that Christ   
doth know all our hearts ; arid now I desire to   
repent of all my sins: I neither have done, nor   
can do the Commandements of the Lord, but I   
am ashamed of 1111 I do, and I do repent of all   
my sins, even of all that I do know of: I desire   
that I may be converted from all my sins, and   
that I might beleeve in Christ, and I desire him;   
I dislike my sins, yet I do not truly pray to God   
in my heart: no matter for good Words, all is   
the true heart ; and this day I do not so much   
desire good words, as throughly to open my   
heart: I confess I can do nothing, but deserve   
damnation; only Christ can help me and do for  
me. But I have nothing to say for my self that   
is good; I judg that I am a sinner, and cannot   
repent, but Christ hath deserved pardon for us.”

‘This Confession being not so satisfactory as   
was desired, Mr. Wilson testified, that he

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 203   
  
spake these latter expressions with tears,   
which I observed not, because I attended to   
writing; but I gave this testimony of him,   
That his conversation was without offence   
to the English, so far as I knew, and among   
the Indians it was exemplar: his gift is not   
so much in expressing himself this way,   
but in other respects useful and eminent;   
it being demanded in what respects, I an-  
­swered to this purpose, That. his gift lay in   
Ruling, Judging of Cases, wherein he is   
patient, constant, and prudent, insomuch   
that he is much respected among them, for   
they have chosen him a Ruler of Fifty, and   
he Ruleth well according to his measure.   
It was further said, they thought he had   
been a great drawer on to Religion; I re-  
plyed, so he was in his way, and did pre-  
vail with many; and so it rested.

“CONFESSION OF WILLIAM, OF SUDBURY.

I CONFESS that before I prayed, I committed all   
manner of sins, and served many gods: when   
the English came first, I going to their houses,   
they spake to me of your God, but when I heard   
of God, my heart bated it; but when they said

204 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.

the Devil was my god, I was angry, because I   
was proud: when I came to their houses I hated   
to hear of God, I loved lust in my own house   
and not God, I loved to pray to many gods.   
Five years ago, I going to English houses, and   
they speaking of God, I did a little like of it,   
yet when I went again to my own house, I did   
all manner or sins, and in my heart I did act all   
sins though I would not be seen by man. Then   
going to your house, I more desired to hear of   
God; and my heart said, I will pray to God so   
long as I live: then I went to the Minister Mr.   
Browns house, and told him I would pray as   
long as I lived: but he said I did not say it from   
my heart, and I beleeve it. When Waban   
spake to me that I should pray to God, I did so.   
But I had greatly sinned against God, and had   
not beleeved the Word but was proud: but then   
I was angry with my self, and loathed my self,   
and thought God will not forgive me my sins.   
For when I had been abroad in the woods I   
would be very angry, and would lye unto men,   
and I could not find the way how to be a good   
man: then I beleeved your teaching, That when   
good men die, the Angels carry their souls to   
God; but evil men dying, they go to Hell, and   
perish for ever. I thought this a true saying,   
and I promised to God, to pray to God aa long

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 205   
  
as I live. I had a little grief in my heart five   
years ago for my sins: but many were my   
prides; sometime I was angry with my self, and   
pityed my self; but I thought God would not   
pardon such a proud heart as mine is: I beleeve   
that Christ would have me to forsake my anger;   
I beleeve that Christ hath redeemed us, and I   
am glad to hear those words of God; and I de-  
­sire that I might do al the good waies of God,   
and that I might truly pray unto God: I do now   
want Graces, and these Christ only teacheth us,   
and only Christ hath wrought our redemption,   
and he procureth our pardon for nil our sins;   
and I beleeve that when beleevers dy, Gods   
Angels carry them to Heaven; but I want faith   
to beleeve the Word of God, and to open my   
Eyes, and to help me to cast away all sins; and   
Christ hath deserved for me eternall life: I have   
deserved nothing my self: Christ hath deserved,   
all, and giveth me faith to beleeve it.”  
  
 “CONFESSION OF MONEQUASSUN, THE   
 SCHOOLMASTER.

I Confess my sorrow for all my sins against   
God, and before men: When I first heard in-  
­struction, I beleeved not, but laughed at it, and   
  
 VOL. III. 18

206 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.

scorned praying to God; afterward, when we   
were taught at Cohannet (that is the place where   
he lived) I still hated praying, and I did think   
of running away, because I cared not for praying   
to God; but afterwards, because I loved to dwell   
at that place, I would not leave the place, and   
therfore I thought I will pray to God, because I   
would still stay at that place, therefore I prayed   
not for the love of God, but for love of the place   
I lived in; after that I desired a little to learn   
the Catechisme on the Lecture daies, and I did   
learn the ten Commandements, and after that, all   
the points in the Catechisme; yet afterwards I   
cast them all away again, then was my heart   
filled with folly, and my sins great sins, after-  
­wards by hearing, I began to fear, because of my   
many sins, lest the wise men should come to   
know them, and punish me for them; and then   
again I thought of running away because of my   
many sins: But' after that I thought I would   
pray rightly to God, and cast away my sins;   
then I saw my hypocricy, because I did ask   
some questions, but did not do that which I   
knew: afterword I considered of my question,   
and thought I would pray to God, and would   
consider of some other Question, and I asked   
this Question, How should I get Wisdom ? and   
the Answer to it did a little tum my heart from

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 207   
  
sin, to seek after God; and I then considered   
that the Word of God was good; then I prayed   
to God because of the Word of God. The next   
Lecture day you taught that word of God, If any   
man lack Wisdom, let him ask it of God, who   
giveth, freely to them that ask him, and upbraid-  
eth no man, James, 1:5. Then again a little   
my heart was turned after God, the Word also   
said, Repent, mourn, and believe in Jesus Christ:   
this also helped me on. Then you taught, That   
he that beleeveth not Christ, and repenteth not of   
sin, they are foolish and wicked; and because  
they beleeve not, they shall perish: then I   
thought my self a fool, because I beleeved not   
Christ, but sinned every day, and after I heard   
the Word greatly broke the Word. But after-  
­ward I heard this promise of God, Who ever re-  
­penteth and beleeveth in Christ, God will for-   
give him all his sins, he shall not perish; then I   
thought, that as yet, I do not repent, and be-  
­leeve in Christ: then I prayed to God, because   
of this his Promise; and then I prayed to God,   
for God and for Christ his sake: after that again   
I did a little break the Word of Christ. And   
then I heard some other words of God, which   
shewed me my sins, and my breakings of Gods   
word; and sometimes I thought God and Christ   
would forgive me, because of the promise to

208 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.  
  
them that beleeve in Christ, and repent of sin, I   
thought I did thot which God , spake in the   
Promise. Then being coiled to confess, to pre-  
­pare to make a Church at Natick, I loved Co-  
hannet; but after hearing this instruction, That  
we should not only be Hearers, but Doers of the   
Word, then my heart did fear. And afterward   
hearing that in Matthew, Christ saw two breth-  
­ren mending their Nets, he said, Follow me and   
I will make you, Fishers of men, presently they   
followed Christ; and when I heard this, I feared,   
because I was not willing· to follow Christ to   
Natick; they followed Christ at his Word, but   
I did not, for now Christ saith to us, follow Me:   
then I was much troubled, and considered of this   
Word of God. Afterward I heard another word,   
the blind men cried after Christ and said, Have   
mercy on us thou Son of David, but after they   
came to Christ he called them, and asked them,   
What shall I do for you? they said, Lord open   
our eyes; then Christ had pity on them, and   
opened their eyes, and they followed Christ;   
when I heard this, n1y heart was troubled, then   
I prayed to God and Christ, to open mine eyes,   
and if Christ open my eyes, then I shall rejoyce   
to follow Christ: then I considered of both these   
Scriptures, and I a little saw that I must follow   
Christ. And now my heart desireth to make

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 209   
  
confession of what I know or God, and of my-  
self, and of Christ: I beleeve that there is only   
one God, and that he made and ruleth all the   
World, and that he the Lord, giveth us al good   
things: I know that God giveth every day all   
good mercies, life, and health, and all; I have   
not one good thing, but God it is that giveth it   
me, I beleeve that God at first made man like   
God, holy, wise, righteous; but the first man   
sinned, for God promised him, If thou do my   
Commandements, thou shalt line, and thy Chil-   
dren; but if thou sin, thou shalt die, thou and   
thy children; this Covenant God made with the   
first man. But the first man did not do the   
Commandements of God he did break Gods   
Word, he beleeved Satan; and now I am full of   
sin, because the first man brought sin; dayly I   
am full of sin in my heart: I do not dayly re-  
­joyce in Repentance, because Satan worketh   
dayly in my heart, and opposeth Repentance,   
and all good Works; day and night my heart is   
full of sin. I beleeve that Jesus Christ was born   
of the Virgin Mary; God promised her she   
should bear a Son, and his Name should be   
JESUS, because he shall deliver his people   
from their sins: And when Christ came to   
preach, he said, Repent, because the Kingdom of   
Heaven is at hand; again Christ taught, Except

18\*

210 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.   
  
ye repent and become as a little child, ye shall   
not enter into the Kingdom of Heaven; there-  
­fore humble your selves like one of these little   
children, and great shall be your Kingdom in   
Heaven. Again Christ said, Come unto me all   
ye that are weary and heavy laden with sin, and   
I will give you rest: take up my Cross and   
Yoak, learn of me for I am meek, and ye shall   
find rest to your souls, for my yoak is easie and   
burden light: these are the Words of Christ   
and I know Christ he is good, but my works are   
evil: Christ his words are good, but I am not   
humble; but if we be humble and beleeving in   
Christ, he pardons all our sins. I now desire   
to beleeve in Jesus Christ, because of the word   
of Christ. that I may be converted and become   
as a little Child. I confess my sins before God,   
and before Jesus Christ this day; now I desire   
all my sins may be pardoned; I now desire re-   
pentance in my heart, and ever to beleeve in   
Christ; now I lift up my heart to Christ, and   
trust him with it, because I beleeve Christ died   
for us, for all our sins, and deserved for us eter-  
­nal life in Heaven, and deserved pardon for all   
our sins. And now I give my soul to Christ   
because he hath redeemed: I do greatly love,   
and like repentance in my heart, and I love to   
beleeve in Jesus Christ, and my heart is broken

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 211  
  
by repentance: al these things I do like wel of,   
that they may be in my heart, but because   
Christ hath all these to give, I ask them of him   
that he may give me repentance, and faith in   
Christ, and therefore I pray and beseech Christ   
dayly for repentance and faith; and other good   
wales I beg of Christ dayly to give me: and I   
pray to Christ for al these gifts and graces to   
put them in my heart: and now I greatly thank   
Christ for all these good gifts which he hath   
given me. I know not any thing, nor can do   
any thing that is a good work: even my heart   
is dark dayly in what I should do, and my soul   
dyeth because of my sins, and therefore I give   
my soul to Christ, because my soul is dead in   
sin, and dayly doth commit sin; in my heart I   
sin, and all the members of my body are sinful.   
I beleeve Jesus Christ is ascended to Heaven   
through the clouds, and he will come again from   
Heaven: Many saw Christ go up to Heaven,   
and the Angels said, even so he will come again   
to judg all the world; and therefore I beleeve   
Gods promise, That all men shall rise again   
when Christ cometh again, then all shall rise,   
and all their souls comes again because Christ   
is trusted with them, and keeps their souls,   
therefore I desire my sins may be pardoned;

212 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.

and I beleeve in Christ; and ever so long as I   
live, I will pray to God, and do all the good   
waies he commandeth.”

“CONFESSIONS OF ROBIN SPEENE.

I was ashamed because you taught to pray to   
God, and I did not take it up; I see God is an-  
­gry with me for all my sins, and he hath afflicted   
me by the death of three of my children, and I   
fear God is still angry, because great are my   
sins, and I fear lest my children be not gone to   
Heaven, because I am a great sinner, yet one of   
my children prayed to God before it died, and   
therefore my heart rejoyceth in that. I remem-  
ber my Pawwawing [for he was a Pawwaw] my   
lust, my gaming, and all my sins; I know them   
by the Commandements of God, and God heareth   
and seeth them all; I cannot deliver my self   
from sin, therefore I do need Christ, because of   
all my sins, I desire pardon, and I beleeve that   
God calls all to come to Christ, and that he de-  
livercth us from sin.”   
  
 “His Second Confession.

I have found out one word more: great are   
my sins, and I do not know how to repent, nor

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 213  
  
do I know the evil of my sins; only this one   
word, now I confess I want Christ, this day I   
want him; I do not truly beleeve nor repent: I   
see my sin, and I need Christ, but I desire now   
to be redeemed: and I now ask you this Ques­-  
tion What is Redemption? “I answered him,  
“by shewing him our estate by Nature; and   
“desert, the price which Christ paid for us, and   
“how it is to be applied to every particular   
“person; which done, he proceeded in his con-  
­fession thus: I yet cannot tell whether God hath   
pardoned my sins, I forget the word of God;   
but this I 'desire, that my sins may be pardoned,   
but my heart is foolish, and a great part of the   
Word stayeth not in my heart strongly. I de-  
sire to cast all my sins out of my heart: but I   
remember my sins, that I may get them par-  
­doned, I think God doth not yet hear my prayers   
in this, because I cannot keep the Word of God,   
only I desire to hear the Word, and that God   
would hear me.”

“His Third Confession.

One word more I cal to mind, Great is my   
sin! this saith my heart, I have found this sin,   
when I first heard you teach, that all the world   
from the rising to the sitting Sun should pray to   
God, I then wondered at it, and thought, I being

214 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.   
  
a great sinner, how shal I pray to God; and   
when I saw many come to the Meeting, I won-   
dred at it: But now I do not wonder at that   
work of God, and therefore I think that I do   
now greatly sin: and now I desire again to   
wonder at Gods Works, and I desire to rejoyce   
in Gods good waies, Now I am much ashamed,   
and fear because I have deserved eternal wrath   
by my sins: my heart is evil, my heart doth   
contrary to God: and this I desire, that I may   
be redeemed, for I cannot help myself, but only   
Jesus Christ hath done al this for me, and I de-  
­serve no good, but I beleeve Christ both deserved   
all for us: and I give my self unto Christ, that   
he may save me, because he knoweth eternal   
life, and can give it; I cannot give it to my self,   
therefore I need Jesus Christ, my heart is full   
of evil thoughts; and Christ only can keep my   
soul from them, because he hath paid for my   
deliverance from them.”

“CONFESSION OF ANTONY.   
  
 Another who made his Confession is named   
Antony, upon whom the Lord was pleased   
the last Winter to lay an heavy stroke; for he   
and another Indian being at work sawing of

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 215  
  
Board, and finishing the Peece, they laid it so  
short, and the Rowl not so stedfast, insomuch   
that this man being in the Pit directing to lay   
the Piece, and the other above ordering there  
­of, it slipped down into the Pit upon this mans   
bend, brake his neather Chap in two, and   
cracked his Skull, insomuch that he was taken   
up half dead, and almost strangled with blood;   
and being the last day of the week at night I   
had no word until the Sabbath day, then I   
presently sent a Chyrurgion, who took a dis­-  
creet order with him; and God so blessed his   
indeavors, as that he is now well again,   
blessed be the Lord: and whereas I did fear   
that such a blow in their Labor might dis-  
courage them from Labor, I have found it by   
Gods blessing otherwise; yea this man hath   
performed a great part of the sawing of our   
Meeting-House, and is now sawing upon the   
School-house, and his recovery is an estab­-  
lishment of them to go on; yea, and God   
blessed this blow, to help on the Work of   
Grace in his soul; as you shall see in his   
Confession, which followeth.

BEFORE I prayed to God 1 alwaies committed   
sin, but I do not know all my sins, I know but a   
little of the sins I have committed, therefore I

216 LIFE JOHN ELIOT.   
  
thought I could not pray to God, because I knew   
not al my sins before I prayed to God, and since   
I heard of praying to God: formerly when the   
English did bid me pray unto God I hated it,   
and would go out of their houses, when they   
spake of such things to me. I had no delight   
to hear any thing of Gods Word, but in every   
thing I sinned; in my speeches I sinned, and   
every day I broke the Commands of God. After   
I heard of praying to God, that Waban and my   
two brothers prayed to God, yet then I desired   
it not, but did think of running away; yet I   
feared if I did run away some wicked men   
would kill me, but I did not fear God. After   
when you said unto me, pray, my heart thought,   
I will pray; yet again I thought, I cannot pray   
with my heart, and no matter for praying with   
words only: but when I did pray, I saw more   
of my sins; yet I did but only see them, I could   
not be aware of them, but still I did commit   
them: and after I prayed to God, I was still full   
of lust, and then a little I feared. Sometimes I   
was sick, and then I thought God was angry,   
and then I saw that I did commit all sins: then   
one of my brothers died, and then my heart was   
broken, and after him another friend, and again   
my heart was broken: and yet after all this I   
broke my praying to God, and put away God,

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 217

and then I thought I shall never pray to God:   
but after this I was afraid of the Lord, because   
I alwaies broke my praying to God and then my   
heart said, God doth not hear my prayer.   
When I was sick, and recovered again, I thought   
then that God was merciful unto me. Hearing   
that word of God, If you, hear the Word of God,   
and beforgetful hearers, you sin against God;   
then I thought God will not pardon such a sin­-  
ner as I, who dayly did so, and broke my   
praying to God. When I heard the Com-  
­mandements, I desired to learn them, and other   
points of Catechism, but my desires were but   
small, and I soon lost it, because I did not desire   
to believe: then sometimes I feared Gods, anger   
because of al my sins; I heard the Word and   
understood only this word, All you that hear this   
day, it may he you, shall quickly die, and then I   
quickly saw that God was very angry with me.   
Then God brake my head, and by that I saw   
Gods anger; and then I thought that the true   
God in Heaven is angry with me for my sin,   
even for al my sins, which every day I live, I   
do. When I was almost dead, some body bid   
me now beleeve, because it may be I shal quickly   
die, and I thought I did beleeve, but I did not   
know right beleeving in Christ: then I prayed   
unto God to restore my health. Then I be-

VOL. III. 19

218 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.

leeved that word, That we must shortly appear   
before Jesus Christ; then I did greatly fear lest   
if I beleeved not, I should perish for ever. When   
I was neer death, I prayed unto God, Oh Lord   
give me life, and I will pray to God so long as I   
live and I said, I will give my self, soul, and body   
to Christ: after this, God gave me health, and   
then I thought, truly, God in Heaven is merci-  
­ful; then I much grieved, that I knew so little   
of Gods word. And now sometimes I am   
angry, and then I fear because I know God   
seeth it; and I fear, because I promised God   
when I was almost dead, that if he giveth me   
life, I will pray so long as I live; I fear lest I   
should break this promise to God. Now l de-   
sire the pardon of all my sins, and I beg faith in   
Christ, and I desire to live unto God, so long as   
I live; I cannot myself get pardon, but I dayly   
commit sin, and break Gods Word, but I look to   
Christ for pardon.”

“CONFESSION OF EPHRAIM.

ALL the daies I have lived, I have been in a   
poor foolish condition, I cannot tell nil fly sins,   
all my great sins, I do not see them. When I   
first heard of praying to God, I could not sleep

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 219

quietly, I was so troubled, ever I thought I would   
forsake the pin CC because of praying to God, my   
life hath been like as if I had been a mad man,   
Last yeer I thought I would leave all my sins,   
yet I see I do not leave off sinning to this day;   
I now think I shall never be able to forsake my   
sins. I think sometimes the Word of God is   
false, yet I see there is no giving over that I   
might follow sin, I must pray to God; I do not   
truly in my heart repent, and I think that God   
wil not forgive me my sins: every day my heart   
sinneth, and how will Christ forgive such an   
one? I pray but outwardly with my mouth, not   
with my heart; I cannot of my self obtain par-  
­don of my sins: I cannot tell all the sins that I   
have done if I should tell you an whol day to-  
gether: I do every morning desire that my sins   
may be pardoned by Jesus Christ; his my heart   
saith, but yet I fear I cannot forsake my sins,   
because I cannot see all my sins: I hear, That   
if we repent and beleeve in Christ, all our sins   
shall be pardoned, therefore I desire to leave off   
my sins.  
 This poor Publican was the last which made   
his Confession before I read them unto the   
Elders, and the last of them I shall now   
publish. I will shut up these Confessions   
with the Confession (if I may so call it) or

220 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.   
  
rather with the Expression, and manifesta-   
tion of faith, by two little Infants, of two   
yeers old, and upward, under three yeers   
of age when they died and departed out of   
this world.

The Story is this,

This Spring. in the beginning of the yeer, 1652,   
the Lord was pleased to afflict sundry of our   
praying Indians with that grievous disease or   
the Bloody-Flux, whereof some with great tor-  
­ments in their bowels died; among which were   
two little Children of the age above-said, and at   
that time both in one house, being together taken  
with that disease. The first of these Children   
in the extremities of its torments, lay crying to   
God in these words, God and Jesus Christ, God   
and Jesus Christ help me; and when they gave   
it any thing to eat, it would greedily take it (as   
it is usual at the approach of death) but first it   
would cry to God, Oh God and Jesus Christ,   
bless, it, and then it would take it: and in this   
manner it lay calling upon God and Jesus Christ   
untill it died: The mother of this Child also   
died of that disease, at that time. The Father   
of the Child told me this story, with great won-  
­derment at the grace of God, in teaching his   
Child so to call upon God. The name of the

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 221

Father is Nishohkou, whose Confession you   
have before.   
 Three or four daies after, another Child in the   
same house, sick of the same disease, was (by a   
divine hand doubtless) sensible of the approach   
of death, (an unusual thing at that age) and   
called to its Father, and said, Father, I am going   
to God, several times repenting it, I am going   
to God. The mother (as other mothers use to   
do) had made for the Child a little Basket, a lit-  
­tle Spoon, and a little Tray: these things the   
Child was wont to be greatly delighted withal   
(as all Children will) theref ore in the extremity   
of the torments, they set those things before it, a   
little to divert the mind, and cheer the spirit:   
but now, the child takes the Basket, and puts it   
away, and said, I will leave my Basket behind   
me, for I am going to God, I will leave my  
Spoon and Tray behind me (putting them away)   
for I am going to God: and with these kind of   
expressions, the same night finished its course,   
and died.   
 The Father of this child is named Robin   
Speen, whose Confessions you have before, and   
in one of them he maketh mention of this child   
that died in Faith. When he related this story   
to me, he said, He could not tell whether the

19\*

222 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.

sorrow for the death of his child, or the joy for   
its faith were greater, when it died.   
 These Examples are a testimony, That they   
teach their children the knowledg and fear of   
God, whom they now call upon; and also that   
the Spirit of God co-worketh with their instruct-  
­tions, who teacheth by man, more than man is   
able to do."   
 Mr. Eliot says, ‘I have now finished all that I   
purpose to publish at this time; the Lord give   
them Acceptance in the hearts of his Saints, to   
engage them the more to pray for them; and   
Oh! that their judgings of themselves, and   
breathings after Christ, might move others (that   
have more means than they have, but as yet   
regard it not) to do the like, and much more   
abundantly.’  
 A meeting of the Elders of the Churches was   
requested by Mr. Eliot, as before stated, to give   
advice in view of these Confessions, and upon   
further personal examination of some of the In-   
dians, as to the next step to be taken in organ-   
izing the Indian Church. But Mr. E. says,   
 “'There fell out a very great discouragement a  
little before the time, which might have been a   
scandall unto them, and I doubt not but Satan   
intended it so; but the Lord improved it to stir

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 223

up faith and Prayer, and so turned it another   
way: Thus it was. Three of the unsound sort   
of such as are among them that pray unto God,   
who are hemmed in by Relations; and other   
means, to doe that which their hearts love not,   
and whose Vices Satan improveth to scandalize   
and reproach the better sort withall; while   
many, and some good people are too ready to   
say they are all alike. I say three of them had   
gotten severall quarts or strong water, (which   
sundry out of a greedy desire of a little gaine,   
are too ready to sell unto them, to the offence   
and grief of the better sort of Indians, and of the   
godly English too)\* and with these Liquors, did   
not onely make themselves drunk, but got a   
Child of eleven years of age, the Son of Tote-   
swamp, whom his Father had sent for a little   
Corne and Fish to that place near Watertowne   
where they were. Unto this Child they first   
gave too spoonfuls of Strong-water, which was   
more then his head could bear; and another of   
them put a Bottle, or such like Vessel to his   
mouth, and caused him to drink till he was very   
drunk; and then one of them domineered, and   
said, Now we will see whether your Father will   
punish us for drunkenness (for he is a Ruler   
among them) seeing you are drunk with us for

\* See the Memorial or Mr. Eliot to the General Court, on this  
subject, Appendix L.

224 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.   
  
company; and in this case lay the Child aboard  
all night. They also fought, and had been sev-   
erall times Punished formerly for Drunkennesse.  
 When Toteswamp heard of this, it was a great   
shame and breaking of heart unto him, and he   
knew not what to doe. The rest of the Rulers   
with him considered of the matter, they found a   
complication of many sins together.   
 1. The sin of Drunkennesse, and that after   
many former Punishments for the same.   
 2. A willful making of the Child drunk, and   
exposing him to danger also.   
 3. A degree of reproaching the Rulers.  
 4. Fighting.   
 Word was brought to me of it, a little before   
I took Horse to goe to Natick to keep the Sab-  
­bath with them, being about ten dayes before the   
appointed Meeting. The Tidings sunk my   
spirit extreamly, I did judge it to be the greatest   
frowne of God that ever I met withall in the   
work, I could read nothing in it but displeasure,   
I began to doubt about our intended work: I   
knew not what to doe, the blacknesse of the   
sins, and the Persons reflected on, made my   
very heart faile me: For one of the offendors   
(though least in the offence) was he that hath   
been my Interpreter, whom I have used in 'I'rans-   
lating a good part of the Holy Scriptures; and   
in that respect I saw much of Satans venome,

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 225  
  
and in God l saw displeasure. For this and   
some other acts of Apostacy at this time, I had   
thoughts or casting him off from that work, yet   
now the Lord hath found a way to humble him.   
But his Apostacy at this time was a great Triall,   
and I did lay him by (or that day of our Exam­-  
ination, I used another in his room. Thus Satan Z  
aimed at me in this their miscarrying; and   
Toteswamp is a Principall man in the work, as   
you shall have occasion to see anon God-willing.   
 By some occasion our Ruling Elder and I be­-  
ing together, I opened the case unto him, and   
the Lord guided him to speak some gracious   
words or encouragement onto me, by which the  
Lord did relieve my spirit; and so I committed   
the matter and issue unto the Lord, to doe what  
pleased him, and in so doing my soul was quiet   
in the Lord. I went on my journey being the   
6 day or the week; when I came at Natick, the   
Rulers had then a Court about it. Soon after I   
came there, the Rulers came to me with a   
Question about this matter, they related the  
whole businesse unto me with much trouble  
and grief.   
 Then Toteswamp spake to this purpose, I am  
greatly grieved about these things, and now   
God tryeth me whether I love Christ or my Child   
best. They say, They will try me; but I say,

226 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.   
  
God will try me. Christ saith, He that loveth   
father, or mother; or wife, or Child, better than  
me, is not worthy of me. Christ saith, I must  
correct my Child; if I should refuse to doe that;  
I should not love Christ. God bid Abraham kill   
his Son, Abraham loved God, and therefore he  
would have done it, had not God with-held him,  
God saith to me, onely punish your Child, and   
how can I love God, if I should refuse to doe   
that? These things he spake in more words,   
and much affection, and not with dry eyes: Nor   
could I refraine from teares to hear him. When   
it was said, The Child was not so guilty of the   
sin, as those that made him drunk; he said.   
That he was guilty of sin, in that he feared not   
sin, and in that he did not believe his counsells   
that he had often given him, to take heed of evill   
company; but he had believed Satan and sinners  
more then him, therefore he needed to be pun-   
ished. After other such like discourse, the Ru-   
lers left me, and went unto their businesse,   
which they were about before I came; which   
they did bring unto this conclusion, and judge-  
­ment, They judged the three men to sit in the   
stocks a good space of time, and, thence to be   
brought to the whipping-Post, & have each of   
them twenty lashes. The boy to be put in the   
stocks a little while, and the next day his father

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 227  
  
was to whip him in the School, before the Chil-  
dren there; all which Judgment was executed.   
When they came to be whipt, the Constable   
fetcht them one after another to the Tree (which   
they make use of instead of a Post) where they   
all received their Punlshments: which done,   
the Rulers spake thus, one of them said, The   
Punishments for sin are the Commandements of   
God, and the worke of God, and his end was, to  
doe them good, and bring them to repentance.   
And upon that ground he did in more words   
exhort them to repentance, and amendment of   
life. When he had done, another spake unto   
them to this purpose, You are taught, Cate-  
­chisme, that the wages of sin are all miseries and   
calamities in this life, and also death and eternall  
damination in hell. Now you feele some smart   
as the fruit of your sin, and this is to bring you   
to repentance, that so you may escape the rest.   
And in more words he exhorted them to repent-  
­ance. When he had done, another spake to this   
purpose, Heare all yee people (turning himselfe to   
the People who stood round about, I think not   
lesse then two hundred, small and great) this is   
the Commandement of the Lord, that thus it   
should be done unto sinners; and therefore let   
all take warning by this, that you commit not   
such sins, least you incur these Punishments.

228 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.

And with more words he exhorted the People.   
Others of the Rulers spake also, but some things  
spoken I understood not, and some things slippt  
from me: But these which I have related re-  
mained with me.   
 When I returned to Roxbury, I related these   
things to our Elder, to whom I had before re­-  
lated the sin, and my grief: who was much   
affected to hear it, and magnified God. He said  
also, That their sin was but a Transient act,   
which had no Rule, and would vanish! But   
these Judgements were an ordinance of God,   
and would remaine, and doe more good every   
way, then their sin could doe hurt, telling me   
what cause I had to be thankfull for such an is­-  
sue: Which I therefore relate, because the Lord   
did speak to my heart, in this exigent, by his   
words.”  
 This difficulty being thus settled, the time   
came for the meeting of the Elders; Mr. Eliot   
observes,   
 “When the assembly was met for Examination   
of the Indians, and ordered, I declared the end and   
Reason of this Meeting, and therefore de-  
clared, That any one, in due order, might have  
liberty to propound any Questions for their sat-  
isfaction. Likewise, I requested the Assembly,   
That if any one doubted of the Interpretations

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 229   
  
that should be given of their answers, that they  
would Propound their doubt, and they should  
have the woods scanned and tried by the Inter-  
preters, that so all things may be done most  
clearly. For my desire was to be true to Christ  
to their soules, and to the Churches: And the  
trying out of any of their Answers by the In-  
terpreters, would tend to the satisfaction of such  
as doubt, as it fell out in one Answer which they  
gave; the Question was, How they knew the   
Scriptures to be the word of God? The final  
Answer was, Because they did find that it did   
change their hearts, and wrought in them   
wisedome and humility. This Answer being   
Interpreted to the Assembly, my Brother Mahu  
doubted, especially of the word. [Hohpooonk]   
signifying, Humility, it was scanned by the In-  
terpreters, and proved to be right, and he rested   
satisfied therein. I was purposed my selfe to   
have written the Elders Questions, and the In-  
­dians Answers, but I was so imployed in pro-  
­pounding to the Indians the Elders Questions,   
and in returning the Indians Answers, as that  
it was not possible for me to write unlesse I had   
caused the Assembly to stay upon it, which had   
not been fitting; therefore seeing Mr. Walton,   
writing, I did request him to write the Ques-  
­tions and Answers, and help me with a Copy of

VOL. III. 20

230 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.

them, which I thank him, he did, a Copy whereof  
I herewith send to be inserted in this place, on  
which, this only I will animadvert, That the El­-  
ders in wisdom thought it not fit to ask them in   
Catechisticall method strictly, in which way   
Children might Answer. But that they might  
try whether they understood what they said,   
they traversed up and downe in Questions of   
Religion, as here you see.   
  
 POSTSCRIPT.

LET the Reader take notice, That these ques-  
­tions were not propounded all to one man, but   
to sundry, which is the reason that sometime  
the same Questions are propounded againe   
and againe, Also the number Examined  
were about eight, namely, so many as might   
be first called forth to enter into Church-  
­Covenant, if the Lord give opportunity.”   
  
 We have a Catechism, entitled “The Exam-   
ination of the Indians at Roxbury, the 13th day   
of the 4th month, 1654. The following are   
some of the questions and answers.   
 Q. Have not some Indians many God?  
 A. They have many Gods.

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 231

Q. How doe you know these Gods are no  
Gods.  
 A. Before the English came we knew not   
but that they were Gods, but since they came   
we know they are no Gods:   
 Q. How doe you know the word of God is   
Gods word?  
 A. I believe the word that you teach us, was   
spoken of God.   
 Q. Why doe you believe it?  
 A. Therefore I believe it to be the word of   
God, because when we learn it, it teacheth our   
hearts to be wise and humble.   
 Q. Whether are not your sins, and the   
temptations of Hobbomak more strong since, then   
before you prayed to God?  
 A. Before I prayed to God, I knew not what   
Satans temptations were.  
 Q. Doe you know now?   
 A. Now I have heard what Satans tempta-   
tions are.   
 Q. What is a temptation of the Devill in   
your heart, doe you understand what it is?   
 A. Within my heart there are Hypocrisies,   
which doe not appear without.  
 Q. Whether doe not you find this a princi-  
­pall temptation from the wickednesse of your   
heart, to drive you away from Christ, and not to

232 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.

believe the gracious Promises in Jesus Christ?  
Or whether when you find wickednesse in your   
heart, you are not tempted that you cannot believe?  
 A. My heart doth strongly desire to goe on  
in sin, but this is a strong temptation, but Faith   
is the work of Jesus Christ.   
 Q. What doe you believe about the immor-  
tality of the soule, and resurrection of the body?   
doth the soule dye When the body dyeth?   
 A. I believe, when the body of a good man   
dyeth; the Angels carry his soule to heaven,   
when a wicked man dyeth, the Devills carry his   
soule to hell.   
 Q. How long shall they be in that state?  
 A. Untill Christ cometh to Judgement.   
 Q. When Christ cometh to judge the world,   
what then shall become of them?  
 A. The dead bodies of all men shall rise   
again.  
 Q. Whether shall they ever dye any more?   
 A. Good men shall never dye any more.   
 Q. Whether doe you believe that these very   
bodies of our shall rise againe?  
 A. This body which rots in the earth, this   
very body, God maketh it new.   
 Q. Who is Jesus Christ?   
 A. Jesus Christ is the Son of God, yet borne   
man, and so both God and man.

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 233

Q. Why was Christ Jesus a man?  
 A. That he might dye for us.   
 Q. Why is Christ Jesus God?   
 A. That his death might be of great value.   
 Q. Why doe you say, Christ Jesus was a   
man that he might dye, doe onely men dye?  
 A. He dyed for our sins.   
 Q. What reason or justice is there, that   
Christ should dye for our sins?  
 A. God made all the world, and man sinned,   
therefore it was necessary Christ should dye to   
carry men up to Heaven. God hath given unto   
us his Son Jesus Christ, because of our sins.   
 The Question being put to another for further   
 Answer, his Answer was, That God so   
 loved the world, that he gave his onely be-  
 ­gotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him  
 should not perish, but have everlasting life.   
 Q. When you heare that Adam by his sin   
deserved eternall death, and when you hear of   
the grace of God sending Jesus to save you,   
which of these break your heart most?  
 A. Pardon of sin goeth deepest.  
  
 With regard to the formation of the church,   
one writer says;   
 “This great and solemne work of calling up

20\*

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 234  
  
these poor Indians unto that that Gospel light and   
beauty of visible Church-estate, having now   
passed through a second-Tryall: In the former   
whereof, they expressed what experience they   
had found of Gods grace in their hearts; turning   
them from dead works, to seek after the living   
God, and salvation in our Saviour Jesus Christ.   
In this second they have in some measure de­-  
clared how far the Lord hath let in the light of   
the good knowledge of God into their soules,   
and what tast they have of the Principles of   
Religion, and doctrine of salvation. Now the   
Question remaineth, What shall we further doe?   
And when shall they enjoy the Ordinance, of   
Jesus Chrilt in Church-state?  
 The work is very solemne, and the Ques-  
tion needeth a solemne Answer. It is a great   
matter to betrust those with the holy priviledges   
of Gods house upon which the name of Christ   
is so much called, who have so little knowledge   
and experience in the wayes of Christ, so newly   
come out of that great depth of darknesse, and   
wild course of life; in such danger or polluting   
and defiling the name of Christ among their   
barbarous friends and Countrey-men; and un­-  
der so many doubts and jealousies of many peo-   
ple; and having not yet stood in the wayes of   
Christ so long, as to give sufficient proof and

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 235  
  
experience of their stedfastnesse in their new   
begun profession. Being also the first Church   
gathered among them, it is like to be a pattern   
and president of after proceedings, even unto   
following Generations. Hence it is very need­-  
full that this proceeding of ours at first, be with   
all care and wearinesse guided, for the most ef-  
fectuall advancement of the holinesse and hon-  
­our of Jesus Christ among them.   
 “Upon such like grounds as these, though I   
and some others know more of the sincerity of   
some of them, than others doe, and are better   
satisfied with them: Yet because I may be in a   
temptation on that hand, I am well content to   
make slow hast in this matter, remembring that   
word of God, Lay hands suddenly on no man.   
Gods works among men doe usually goe on  
slowly, and he that goeth slowly, doth usually  
goe most surely, especially when he goeth by   
counsell. Sat cito si sat bene;\* the greater proof   
we have of them, the better approbation they   
may obtain, at last, Besides, we having had   
one publick meeting about them already this   
summer, it will be difficult to compaese another,   
for we have many other great occasions, which   
may hinder the same, and it is an hard matter  
to get Interpreters together to attend such a  
work, they living so remote. The dayes also will  
  
 \* Fast enough, if well enough.

236 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.

soon grow short, and the nights cold, which will  
be an hindrance in the attendance unto the ac-  
complishment of that work, which will mostl fitly  
be done at Natick.   
 “But above all other Reasons this is greatest,   
that they living in sundry Towns and places re-   
mote from each other, and, labourers few to take   
care of them, it is necessary that some of them-  
­selves should be trained up, and peculiarly   
instructed, unto whom the care of ruling and   
ordering or them in the affaires or Gods house   
may be committed, in the absence of such as   
look after their instruction. So that this is now   
the thing we desire to attend, for the comfort of   
our little Sister that hath no breasts, that such   
may be trained up, and prepared, unto whom   
the charge of the rest may be committed in the   
Lord. And upon this ground we make the  
slower hast to accomplish this work among   
them. Mean while I hope the Commissioners   
will afford some encouragement for the further-   
ance of the instruction of some of the most godly   
and able among them, who, may be a speciall   
man tier helpfull unto the rest, in due order and   
season.   
 “And thus have I briefly set down our pres-  
­ent state in respect, of our Ecclesiasticall pro-  
cedings. I beg the prayers of the good people

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 237

of the Lord, to be particularly present at the   
Throne of Grace; in these matters, according as  
you have hereby a particular Information how   
our condition is. And for me also, who am the   
most unfit in humane reason for such a work as   
this, but my soule desireth to depend and live   
upon the Lord Jesus, and fetch all help, grace,   
mercy, assistance, and supply from him. And   
herein I doe improve his faithfull Covenant and   
Promises, and in perticular, the Lord doth cause   
my soule to live upon that word of his, Psal.   
37:3, 4, 5, 6, 7, wherein I have food, rayment,   
and all necessaries for my selfe and children   
(whom I have dedicated unto the Lord, to serve   
him in this work of his, if he will please to   
accept of them) and this supply I live upon in   
these rich words of gracious Promise, verse 3.  
Trust in the Lord, and doe good, dwell in the   
Land, and verily thou shalt be fed.   
 Herein also I find supply of grace to believe   
the conversion of these poor Indians, & that not   
only in this present season, in what I doe  
already see, but in the future also, further then   
by mine eye or reason I can see. Which sup-  
ply of grace, I live upon in those words of his   
gracious Promise, which I apply and improve in   
this particular respect, verse 4. Delight thy-

238 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.   
  
selfe also in the Lord, and he shall give thee the   
desires of thy heart.  
 “Herein also I find supply of grace to believe,   
that they shall be in Gods season, which is the   
fittest, brought into Church Estate; faith fetch­-  
ing this particular blessing out of the rich   
Fountaine of those gracious words of Promise,   
Commit thy way unto the Lord, trust also in   
him, and he shall bring it to passe.   
 “Herein also my soule is strengthened and   
quieted; to stay upon the Lord, and to be sup­-  
ported against all suspitious jealousies, hard   
speeches, and unkindnesses of men, touching   
the sincerity and reality of this work, and about   
my carriage or matters, and supply herein.   
Which grace my soule receiveth by a particular   
improvement of that rich treasury of the Prom-  
­ise in these words, verse 6. And he shall bring  
forth thy righteousnesse as the light, and thy  
judgement as the noon day. And herein likewise   
I find supply of grace, to wait patiently for the   
Lords time, when year after year, and time after   
time, I meet with disappointments. Which   
grace I receive from the commanding force of   
that gracious Promise, verse 7. Rest in the   
Lord, and wait patiently for him, fret not thy   
selfe, either for one cause, or another. Thus I   
live, and thus I labor, here I have supply, and

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 239   
  
here is my hope, I beg the help of prayers, that   
I may still so live and labour in the Lords work,  
and that I may so live and dye.”  
 In 1670, the number of men and women in   
full communion at Natick was between forty   
and fifty, and more than three hundred and fifty   
had renounced their savage practices and open   
sins, and gave heed to the instructions of the   
Gospel.   
 Their meetings were notified by the drum.  
In their assemblies they were attentive and rev-  
­erent. A native teacher commenced worship   
with prayer, and the English Christains assisted   
in the business of instruction. There, as at   
other times, and in other places among civilized   
people God poured out his Spirit upon the young.   
Several cases of hopeful piety in young children   
are mentioned. The most interesting of them   
have already been given.   
 Mr. Eliot having made a grammar of the In-   
dian tongue, and a catechism, was proceeding   
with his Indian Bible. In 1649, he said it was   
his earnst wish to translate some parts of the   
Scriptures for the Indians. He probably labored   
at this work, at intervals, for twelve years, and   
he was at least forty-five years of age when he   
began it.

240 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.   
  
 It should be remembered that tis work, un-  
like the same employment of our foreign mis-  
sionaries at their first arrival at new stations,   
was wholly in addition to his labors as Pastor of  
another people,--the congregation at Roxbury.   
It was of no direct use to him in his ministerial   
work, any farther than investigation and study   
is always profitable to the mind. It was a labor   
superadded to the cares and toil or his pastoral   
and ministerial office.   
 A man who has a taste, for languages is gener-   
ally repaid for the labor of acquiring them, by   
the stores of learning which they contain. Cato   
learned Greek at the age of eighty, and the lit-  
­erary world mention it to his praise, But here   
is a man learning a language which has no lit-   
erature. No tragic or heroic muse had left her   
inspired strains in it. No beautiful old ballads  
or legendary songs repaid his labor,--no Cant-  
er­bury Tales, or Children in the Wood, or Chevy   
Chase, or Fairy Queen hymns of devotion,   
nor martial songs; the language could only   
whoop and powaw; the great word, gathering   
subjunctives and adjuncts into itself, like a   
crowded wigwam, was savagely ignorant of the   
graces, or the concise, vigorous expressions of   
some barbarous tongues, and Eliot's researches   
into it were like digging, as the Plymouth set-

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 241

tlers did, into the mounds for corn, and finding  
nothing but skulls. But nothing could repress   
the ardor of his benevolent mind. He was de-   
termined that the Indians should have the word   
of God in their own tongue, and the work drew   
near to its accomplishment.  
 But how could it ever be printed? His slen-  
­der salary could not pay for it; the planters   
could not subscribe an adequate sum. In a let-  
­ter to England in 1651, he says, with much   
sorrow, “I have no hope to see the Bible print-  
­ed in my days.”  
 The Society for Propagating the Gospel came   
to his help.\* In September 1661, the New Tes-   
tament in the Indian tongue was published at   
Cambridge. Three years after this, the Old   
Testament was added, and the whole Bible,   
with a Catechism and the Psalms of David in  
metre, was thus given to the Aborigines of this   
desert, in their own tongue, in forty years after   
the settlement of the country.   
 This was the first Bible printed on this Con-  
­tinent. It was printed at Cambridge, by Sam-  
­uel Green and Marmaduke Johnson. A copy   
handsomely bound, was sent to King Charles II.,   
and the Rev. Richard Baxter says of it, “Such   
a work and fruit of a plantation was never be-

\* See Appendix E.

VOL. III. 21

242 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.

fore presented unto a king.” Two hundred  
copies, in plain and strong leather, were imme-  
diately, put in circulation for or the use of the   
Indians. An angel would almost have ex-   
changed his heavenly joy for the happiness of   
Eliot, when he visited Natick, and saw the Bi-  
­ble in the hands of the natives. Like old   
Jacob, strengthening himself upon his dying   
bed, he might then have said, “I have waited   
for thy salvation, O Lord;” or, like Simeon,   
“Now, Lord, lettest thou thy servant depart in   
peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation.”  
 Douglass, in his History of America,\* says,   
“Mr. Eliot with immense labor translated and   
printed our Bible into Indian. It was done with   
a good pious design, but it must be reckoned   
among the otiosorum hominum negotia, (works   
of men of leisure). It was done in the Natick   
(Nipmuck) language. Of the Naticks, at pres-   
ent, there are not twenty families subsisting,   
and scarce any of these can read. Cui bono?”  
(To what profit?)  
 Those who know how far Mr. Eliot was   
from being a man of leisure, will smile at the   
suggestion that the translation of the Bible into   
the Indian tongue was the work of an idle ama-  
­teur. The disappearance of the race for whom   
this translation was designed, so unexpected,

\*I. 171, Note. 1745.

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 243  
  
and indeed so contrary to the fond hopes of our   
forefathers, is very far from showing the futility   
of Mr. Eliot's pious labor. Many or the Indians   
were made wise unto eternal life by the trans-  
­lated Bible. The good which it accomplished   
was more than an equivalent for the labor which   
it cost.   
 Cotton Mather says, “Behold, ye Americans,   
the greatest honour that ever you were partakers   
of. This Bible was printed here at our Cam­-  
bridge, and it is the only Bible that ever was   
printed in all America, from the very foundation   
of the world, The whole translation he writ   
with but one pen; which pen, had it not been   
lost, would have certainly deserved a richer   
case than was bestowed upon that pen with   
which Holland writ his translation of Plu­-  
tarch.  
  
 \*Mag. II, 511 Philemon Holland. See Rees’ Encyc., Aiken’s  
Biog. Mem. of Medicine. He was the translator general of his age,   
a man of incredible industry. In Fuller's Worthies or England we   
learn that Holland, having written several translations with one pen,   
made the following stanza.

“With one sole pen I writ this book,   
 Made or a gray goose quill;   
 A pen it was when I it took,   
 And a pen I leave it still.”   
 A familiar story is told of Gibbon, In writing the “Decline and   
Fall,” and that he presented the pen to the Duchess of Devonshire,  
who honored it with a silver case. These stories are probably fabu-

244 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.

The New Testament was published first, and   
then the whole Bible, Primers, Grammars,   
Psalters, Catechisms, The Pracitice of Piety,  
Baxter's Call, Shepard's sincere Convert and   
Sound Believer, soon appeared in the Indian   
tongue, from the pen of Mr. Eliot.   
 By this time there were fourteen places of   
praying Indians under the care of Mr. Eliot,   
and about eleven hundred souls who were ap­-  
parently converted. Natick, Stoughton, Graf-  
ton, Tewksbury, Hopkinton, Oxford, Dudley,   
Woodstock (three villages), Uxbridge and Marl-  
­boro', all had communities of praying Indians.   
 Mr. Bancroft, in his History of the United   
States,\* says, “No pains were spared to teach   
them to read and write, and in a short time a   
larger proportion of the Massachusetts Indians   
could do so, than recently of the inhabitants of   
Russia.” The Indians of Cape Cod, Martha's   
Vineyard, and Nantucket, amounting to about   
twenty-nine hundred, also were, by the labors   
of the Mayhews and others, partly evangelized.   
Mr. Eliot says, in 1673, that there were six   
churches gathered among the Indians, one at

lous. The contrivances which these men must have used to make one   
pen, or even one quill, do so much work, would deserve the appella-  
tion above quoted from Douglass, “otiosorum hominum negotia,”--  
or, the notions of men who had plenty of leisure.

\*II. 94.

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 245   
  
Natick, one at Grafton, one at Marshpee, two at   
Martha's Vineyard, and one at Nantucket. All   
these had religious teachers devoted exclusively   
to them, except the church Natick, of which   
Mr. Eliot says, “In modesty they stand off, be-   
cause they say that so long as I live, there is no   
need.” They could not be prevailed upon to   
have another teacher even with the advantages   
of his entire devotion to them, while Mr. Eliot   
was alive.   
 Cotton Mather says,\* “The number of   
preachers to the Indians increases apace. At   
Martha's Vineyard, the old Mr. Mayhew and   
several of his sons, or grand-sons, have done   
very worthily for the souls of the Indians; there   
were fifteen years ago by computation about fif-  
teen hundred souls of their ministry, upon that   
one island. In Connecticut, the holy and acute   
Mr. Fitch has made noble essays towards the   
conversion of the Indians; but I think the sin-   
ner he has to deal withal, being an obstinate in-  
­fidel, gives unhappy rumor as to the successes of   
his ministry. And godly Mr. Pierson has, if I   
mistake not, deserved well in that colony upon   
the same account. In Massachusetts we see at   
this day the pious Mr. Gookin, the gracious Mr.

\* Magnalia I, 516--See Appendix G.   
 21\*

246 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.

Peter Thacher, the well accomplished and in-   
dustrious Mr. Grindal Rawson, all of them hard   
at work, to tum these poor creatures from dark-   
ness to light, and from Satan unto God. In   
Plymouth we have the most active Mr. Samuel   
Treat laying out himself to save this genera­-  
tion, and there is one Mr. Tupper, who uses   
his laudable endeavours for the instruction of   
them.   
 “’Tis my relation to him\* that causes me to   
defer unto the last place the mention of Mr.   
John Cotton, who hath addressed the Indians in   
their own language with some dexterity. He   
hired an Indian after the rate of twelve pence   
per day, for fifty days, to teach him the Indian   
tongue; but his knavish tutor having received   
his whole pay too soon, ran away before twenty   
days were out; however, in this time he had   
profited so far that he could quickly preach unto   
the natives.”  
 Two Indians from Martha's Vineyard were   
entered at Harvard College, Their names were   
Joel and Caleb. Joel was lost on his voyage   
from Boston to Nantucket just before taking his   
degree. Caleb was graduated, but soon died of

\* Cotton Mather's mother was the daughter of Mr. Cotton.

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 247  
  
consumption at Charlestown. His name now   
stands on the College Catalogue in this form:   
“1665, Caleb Cheesehahteaumuck, Indus,” He   
composed a Latin and Greek Elegy on the   
death of an eminent minister, and subscribed   
them, “Cheesehahteaumuck, Senior Sophista.”

248 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.

CHAPTER VII.

Disturbance of Missionary efforts. Philip's War. Removal of the   
Indians to Deere Isle. Return. Conclusion of History of Mis-  
sionary efforts among the Indians of this neighborhood. Reflec-  
tions.   
  
CIVILIZATION and the influence of the Gospel,   
however, had their limits. The Narraganset   
Indians, situated between the Connecticut and   
Plymouth Colonies, refused the Gospel, and the   
benevolent intentions of the English. King   
Philip, the famous warrior of Mount Hope, (now   
Bristol) whose name was terrible to our fore-  
­fathers, scorned the doctrines of the cross. Mr.   
Eliot once had an interview with him, explained   
the way of salvation, and exhorted him to re-  
­pent. The Indian chieftain rose, took hold of   
Mr. Eliot's button, and told him, that he cared   
no more for his Gospel than he did for that but-  
­ton.   
 The Indians under Philip were growing jeal-  
­ous of English encroachments upon their hunting   
fields. Petty depredations were made by the   
Indians upon the English settlements, then fol-

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 249

lowed a summons to court, which, in process of   
time, became exceedingly annoying to proud,   
untamed savages. They had bartered their   
lands for English implements and toys; the   
tools and the toys were gone, end the savage   
could not be satisfied to abide by a paper, call it   
treaty, bond, or contract, on which he had   
scratched his mark. He sighed for his old do­-  
mains; the waves of civilization were coming   
round him like a flood; his people were artfully   
crowded by the English into narrow inlets be-  
­tween the settlements, that they might be   
watched on all sides.   
 King Philip was summoned to Court in 1674,   
for some offence committed by his tribe. The   
informer was murdered by the angry savages.   
The murderers were hanged by the English.   
The massacre of eight or nine of the English at   
Swansey was the consequence. Philip wept   
when he heard that the blood of a white man   
had been shed. The Colonists began to arm,   
and a universal panic prevailed, The supersti-  
­tion of those days added much to the general   
terror. Signs in the heavens were reported to   
have been seen, a scalp on the disc of the moon   
in an eclipse; an Indian bow was imprinted on   
the sky. Troops of horses were heard rushing   
through the air. The horrors of an Indian war

250 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.  
  
made their faces pale and their hearts faint.   
The scenes at Bloody Brook, the burning of   
Lancaster, Medfield, Brookfield, Weymouth,   
Groton, Marlborough, the ambushments rising   
on the congregation as they returned from pub-  
­lic worship, the massacre of wives and children   
at home, and the scalping of husbands and   
brothers in the field, roused the colonies of   
Plymouth, Massachusetts, and Connecticut to an   
exterminating war.   
 It is easy to see that' the communities of pray-   
ing Indians could not escape the influence of the   
general excitement against the Indians. Some   
of them were accused, justly or unjustly, of fa-  
­voring the designs of the enemy. The Colo-  
­nists were all the time afraid that the instinctive   
love of war and carnage in the Indian bosom   
would break through the restraints of religion,   
and that all which had been done for the Indians   
would be only a qualification of them us more   
successful traitors and expert butchers.   
 On the other hand, King Philip was jealous   
of the praying Indians. He used every means   
of persuasion and fear to enlist them on his side.   
Their situation was trying in the extreme. In   
the excited state of mind which an Indian war   
created among the English, a war on the part of   
the savages or stratagem, and treachery, it was

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 251

natural that the Christian Indians should be   
trusted and reared. Some of them enlisted with   
the English and did good service. and some de-  
­serted to Philip.   
 In 1675, a number of the Christian Indians   
were brought to Boston on a charge of being   
concerned in a murder at Lancaster. Mr. Eli-  
­ot and his friends interposed to save them, and   
succeeded in showing that the accusation was   
false and malicious. In so doing, they incurred   
the popular resentment, and were suspected and   
accused of bad motives and treasonable conduct.   
 The feelings of the people were now so un-  
­reasonable that the worst consequences to the   
praying Indians were apprehended. In this state   
or things the General Court, as a means of pro-  
­tection to themselves and to the Indians, passed   
an order that the Natick Indians should be re-  
­moved to Deer Island, in Boston harbor, between   
four and five miles from shore. They came to   
the place called the Pines, near Cambridge, on   
Charles River, and were thence conveyed by   
water to Deer Island. Mr. Eliot met them at   
the Pines, and endeavored to soothe and cheer   
them. He was then seventy years old. One   
might question whether he or the Indians suf-   
fered most in their removal.  
 A party or Indians had fired a barn at Chelms-

252 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.

ford. The English imputed it to the praying   
Indians at Tewksbury. A party of the English   
went to their wigwams, called them out and shot   
one lad, and wounded several women and chil-  
­dren. The murderers were tried, but the jury   
were overawed by the public sentiment and   
cleared them. The Tewksbury Indians fled   
into the wilderness; messengers were sent to   
them inviting them to return, but they gave this   
answer: We are not sorry for what we leave   
behind, but we are sorry that the English have   
driven us from praying to God, and from our   
leader. We did begin to understand a little of   
praying to God. When the winter season came,   
their sufferings forced them back to their wig-  
­wams, and the English endeavored in various   
ways to atone for the injuries they had suf-  
fered.  
 The Stoughton Indians, for some suspicion,   
were also removed to Deer Island, and the whole   
number there amounted to five hundred. Mr.   
Eliot and his friends visited them and found   
them patient and meek; exhibiting the true in-  
­fluence of the Gospel in a satisfactory degree.   
But they were exposed to want and suffering of   
various kinds. The ill-treatment of other com-  
­munities of Indians followed in rapid succession,   
and it was in vain that they sought in moments

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 253   
  
of contention, to repair the injuries which they   
had inflicted. One party of Indians, for exam­-  
ple, had been taken by a Narraganset Sachem,   
and had escaped, and were wandering in the   
woods, when an English scouting party met   
them, taking from them, among other things, a  
pewter cup which Mr. Eliot bad given them for   
their communion service, and which they had   
kept and carried with them with the reverence   
of a Jew for his sacred vessels of gold and   
silver. This party were also carried to Deer   
Island.   
 Philip, the terror of the English Colonies on   
this continent, was finally destroyed. The war-  
subsiding. the Deer Island Indians. with the   
permission of the General Court, and by the   
funds of the society in England for propagating   
the Gospel, were removed to Cambridge, and   
were permitted to choose their places of settle-  
­ment. Some of them went to the various falls   
of Charles River, some to Brush Hill in Milton,   
some settled at Nonantum, and many of them   
went to Natick.   
 But the efforts to Christianize the Indians   
were never resumed with the interest and zeal   
which were formerly felt. On the part of the   
English, there was conscience or wrong, and on

VOL. III. 22

254 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.

the part of the Indians a remembrance or injus-   
tice, and thus a breach was made between them   
which was never healed. Some or the Indians  
had been made slaves. King Philip's wife and   
son had been sold in the West Indies.\* Mr.   
Eliot followed with his prayers and efforts those   
of his Christian Indians who had been sold into   
bondage. He wrote to the celebrated and hon­-  
orable Robert Boyle to use his efforts in redeem-  
­ing some who had been left at Tangier.   
 By various means the praying towns had been   
reduced in 1694, to four. The tribes have dwin-  
­dled and finally disappeared, till a few years   
since one poor hut in Natick, inhabited by a   
family of Indian and Negro blood, and the grave-   
stone of Daniel Takawambait in the stone wall,   
were the most prominent of the memorials   
which they have left behind them. Fragments   
of their language are imperishably associated   
with many places and scenes throughout the   
land. The rural retreat, the new town, the   
gallant ship, are emulous of their names; while   
the tavern sign, the bank note, the omnibus,   
and the tobacconist, grace themselves with their   
faces and implements. The New England poet,

\* See Appendix, M.

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 255  
  
historian, and orator, draw thrilling incidents   
from Mount Hope and Bloody Brook, and the   
Christian and the philanthropist will enshrine   
the names of Nonantum and Natick. West-   
ward and still westward, the New England   
tribes have receded. Civilization has had more   
repulsion and injury for the savage than Christ-  
­ianity has been able to overcome. There is a   
law of progress in the affairs of nations ex-  
­pressed in the prophetic language of the patriarch   
Noah; “God shall enlarge Japhet, and he shall   
dwell in the tents of Shem.” The savage   
retreats before the civilized man, and while we   
mourn over the ruin or individual tribes, we   
cannot but stand in awe or that resistless meas-   
ure of God's providence by which he is forcing   
the Caucasian race to fill the earth, and suffer-  
­ing uncivilized nations to melt away like the   
snow in spring.   
 But that same vigorous faith which brought   
the Pilgrims here as missionaries to the Indians,   
has followed the red man in his wanderings   
over this vast continent. The names of David   
Brainard, Samuel Kirkland, and Gideon Black­-  
burn, are identified with the history of Indian   
missions. The American Board has pursued   
the work of evangelising them with much suc-

256 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.

cess. The history of the Cherokees, the moun-   
tainears of America, is of itself a tale or romantic  
and thrilling interest. The sketches of the   
present North American Indians by Mr. Catlin,   
in his valuable work, show that a large field for   
missionary effort on this continent is yet spread   
before the American churches.   
 When the workmen were digging for the   
foundation of some new houses at the corner of   
Tremont and Boylston streets, in Boston, sever­-  
al years ago, they found the skeleton of an   
Indian. He had been buried on his side, re-  
­clining, on his arm, and was found in that   
posture. Christian faith and hope, mingled   
with a little fancy, would fain lead us to hail   
this incident as a sign that the Indian race are   
not yet recumbent in hopeless degradation; that   
though seemingly buried in the great wilderness,   
they are buried in the posture of rising. Many   
interesting recollections, and our natural feel-   
ings towards an oppressed people, make us wish   
that this was more than fancy, and, as the Indian   
on the seal of the Massachusetts colony had a   
passage of Scripture proceeding from his mouth,   
Come over and help us, would we gladly put   
another passage into the mouth of that resurrect-  
­tion Indian above mentioned, making him say,

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 257  
  
with prophetic ecstasy, as he looks towards   
Nonantum and surveys the scenes of his ancient,   
and apparently lost race, “Thy dead men shall   
live, together with my dead body shall they   
arise; awake and sing, ye that dwell in dust,   
for thy dew is as the dew of herbs, and the   
earth shall cast out her dead.”

258 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.

CHAPTER VIII.

Mr. Eliot's avowal of republicanism, and his retraction of it. His  
 connection with the controvera1 about Mrs. Hutchinson. Richard  
 Baxter's Testimony about Mr. Eliot. Roman Catholics instructing t  
 the Indians. Mr. Eliot. Close of Mr. Eliot.'s life. Conclusion.

Two events in the life of Mr. Eliot must neces­-  
sarily be noticed in giving a complete account of   
him. One is the publication and subsequent   
retraction of a book called the Christian Com-   
mon wealth, and the other is his connection with   
the controversy raised by that notorious woman,   
Mrs. Anne Hutchinson.   
 Mr. Eliot wrote a book about the year 1650,   
called the Christian Commonwealth. It was   
carried to England in manuscript and printed.   
In 1660, the Governor and Council of Massa-   
chusetts condemned this book as being “full of   
seditious principles and notions in relation to all   
established governments in the Christian world,   
especially against the government established in   
their native country.”  
 Mr. Eliot wrote an acknowledgment of error   
as the author of the book, and presented his re-

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 259

cantation to the General Court. He speaks in  
it of Cromwell and his friends as “the late in-  
­novators” in the government of Great Britain,   
and of the monarchy as restored under Charles   
II., “as not only a lawful but eminent form of   
government.” The book was suppressed, and   
Mr. Eliot's recantation was published through   
the colony.   
 This incident has been considered as reflect  
ing on Mr. Eliot's character for discretion, or   
for decision. The book does not survive in this   
country to speak for itself. The facts in the   
case seem to be that during the success of Crom-  
­well, Mr. Eliot composed his book in accordance   
with what seemed to be the tendency in Eng-  
­land towards a settled republican form of gov-  
­ernment. But upon the restoration of Charles   
II., the provincial government of Massachusetts   
felt in duty bound to show their allegiance to   
the crown by protesting against the sentiments   
of a book which favored republicanism. How   
often it is the case that success is regarded as   
settling the question of right. Had Cromwell's   
plan succeeded, the Massachusetts government   
would not have felt obliged to condemn Mr.   
Eliot's book. We may perhaps reflect upon   
him for not maintaining and defending the   
principles of his book; but to have done so

260 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.   
  
would have been treason, seeing that monarchy   
had again become the established form of gov-  
ernment in the mother country. Mr. Eliot,   
perhaps, felt that it was right for him to find   
reasons for that permanent change in the gov-   
ernment of Great Britain which in the provi-  
­dence of God seemed to be at hand. When the   
event proved otherwise than he expected, loyalty   
being then so much a part of religion, and “the   
powers” in the government of the mother   
country being, according to the received opinions   
of Christians; and like all other powers “that   
be,” “ordained of God,” it was a question with   
Mr. Eliot between decision and boldness,   
amounting to a treasonable spirit, and submis-  
­sion to constituted authority. The ill suc­-  
cess of Cromwell no doubt made Eliot think   
that he had misinterpreted the purposes of   
God. Men are apt to feel and reason in this   
manner. If a colony, or province, or a number   
of men make insurrection, and succeed in over-  
­throwing the government, men call it a revolu-  
­tion, and the independence of the new state or   
nation is acknowledged. If they do not succeed,   
the attempt is called a plot, conspiracy, insur-   
rection, and the actors who in the event of suc-  
­cess would have been “the fathers of their   
country,” “the founders of a nation,” are gib-

LIFF OF JOHN ELIOT 261

beted by their generation, and regarded as   
traitors by the next, and by the world. While   
a revolution is pending, a man may say many   
things as an observer and theorizer, which,   
when events contradict them, he will do his best   
to retract, or cover up. It cannot be wondered   
at, that, amid the enthusiasm which attended   
the Restoration, and the implicit submission of   
the Colonial government to the restored king,   
and influenced by the loyal spirit of his times,   
Mr. Eliot should have deemed it a Christian   
duty to confess and retract that which the prov­-  
idence of God seemed to indicate was an error.   
He was not prepared to lift up a standard against   
the government of Great Britain; the appeal   
which Cromwell and his friends had made to   
the God of nations and of battles, had not been   
answered in his favor, and Mr. Eliot was meek   
enough to yield submission to that which, in the   
circumstances, seemed to be a Christian obliga-   
tion. What should he have done? Had he   
still believed that Cromwell was the anointed of   
the Lord, and that Charles was the usurper, he   
should have suffered any punishment rather   
than falsify his sentiments. It may be charita-  
bly supposed, however, that the events of the   
Restoration changed his opinion, and made him   
satisfied to be still a royalist. We have no evi-

262 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.  
  
dence in any part of his life, that Mr. Eliot was   
a time-server, or coward; on, the contrary, he   
was remarkable for decision of character and in-  
dependence.   
 In confirmation of what has now been said   
respecting Mr. Eliot's decision and firmness, we   
may allude to the part he took in opposing the   
sentiments and influence of that notorious dis-   
turber of the churches in his day, Mrs. Anne   
Hutchinson. She was of the sect of Antinomi-   
ans, who abused the doctrines of free grace,   
maintaining that the law is of no use or oblige-  
­tion under the dispensation of the Gospel, while   
the doctrines they taught superseded the neces-  
­sity of good works, Mrs. Hutchinson pretended   
to immediate impressions from heaven as the   
rule of conduct, saying that she knew God   
“spake to her, just as Abraham knew that it   
was the command of Heaven to sacrifice Isaac.”   
The Governor, Vane, who was an enthusiast,   
countenanced this woman, and Rev. Mr. Cotton,   
who took Mr. Eliot's place in the church at   
Boston, when Mr. Eliot removed to Roxbury,   
was also infected by her influence so far as to   
oppose his colleague, the Rev. Mr. Wilson, and   
the other ministers, who were generally opposed   
to her. Had Mr. Eliot remained the teacher of   
the church in Boston, it would have prevented

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT 263

that church from being divided as it was with   
regard to Mrs. Hutchinson, through the influ-   
ence of his successor, Mr. Cotton. Mr. Eliot,   
with several other ministers, visited her, con-   
versed with her upon religious subjects to   
ascertain her sentiments and spirit, and remon­-  
strated with her for her bold denunciation of all   
the Plantation except Messrs. Cotton and Wheel-   
right. Mr. Eliot appeared as a witness against   
her on her trial before the magistrates, and with   
Hugh Peters and Mr. Weld, testified that she   
said to them that “Mr. Cotton preached a cov-  
e­nant of grace, and the other ministers a covenant   
of works.” Mr. Eliot added, “I do remember   
this also, that she said we were not able and   
faithful ministers of the new covenant, because   
we were not like the apostles before the ascen-  
­sion.” Mr. Eliot took occasion on this trial to   
bear testimony against yielding to impressions   
as a rule of faith and duty. A passage from Mr.   
Hooker's sermons was quoted in justifica-  
­tion of Mrs. Hutchinson's statements. But Mr.   
Eliot who had been brought up at the feet of   
Mr. Hooker, and knew his opinions well, insist-  
­ed that the construction given to the passage   
was contrary to Mr. Hooker's mind and judg-  
ment. His old friend, Gov. Winthrop, gently   
dissented from Mr. Eliot's strong testimony

264 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.   
  
against impressions. Mr. Eliot said, “I say   
there is an expectation of things promised; but   
to have a particular revelation of things, as they   
shall fall out, there is no such thing in the   
Scripture.” Gov. Winthrop replied, “We must   
not limit the word of God.”\* Mrs. Hutchinson   
was condemned and banished. Her end soft-  
ened the feelings of those who condemned her,   
and made them reflect upon the inexpediency of   
proceeding so strenuously as they did against   
her. Such feelings always arise in the minds   
of good men who have withstood prevailing   
errors, not to make them regret the testimony   
they bore for the truth, but to mourn over hasty   
and excessive zeal, when patience, and perhaps   
a measure of neglect, might sooner have ended   
a controversy, or have prevented it altogether.   
But it is easier for those who are removed, by   
time or place, from the excitements or a contro-  
­versy, to moralize upon the best way of conduct-  
­ing it, than it would have been for them to exer-  
­cise the judicious temper which they recommend   
and praise, had they themselves partaken in the   
strife. Mr. Eliot showed himself in this contro-  
­versy to be no fanatical enthusiast, and gave

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 286

evidence that he was a man of decision and   
courage.   
 The following characteristic letter was written   
by the famous Rev. Richard Baxter to Dr. In-  
­crease Mather then in London. It was occa­-  
sioned by the receipt of Cotton Mather's Life of   
Eliot.

"DEAR BROTHER:   
 I thought I had been near dying at 12   
o'clock, in bed; but your book revived me. I   
lay reading it until between one and two. I   
knew much of Mr. Eliot's opinions, by many   
letters which I had from him. There was no   
man on earth whom I honoured above him. It   
is his evangelical work that is the apostolical   
succession that I plead for. I am now dying, I   
hope, as he did. It pleased me to read from   
him my case, [my understanding faileth, my   
memory faileth, my tongue faileth,] (and my   
hand and pen,) but my charity faileth not.  
That word much comforted me. I am as zeal-  
­ous a lover of the New England Churches as   
any man, according to Mr. Noyes', Mr. Norton's,   
Mr. Mitchel's, and the Synod's model.   
 “I loved your father upon the letters I re-  
­ceived from him, I love you better for your   
learning, labors, and peaceable moderation. I   
  
 VOL. III. 3

266 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.

love your son better than either of you, for the   
excellent temper that appeareth in his writings.\*  
O that godliness and wisdom (may) thus in-  
­crease in all families! He hath honoured him-  
­self half as much as Mr. Eliot. I say but half   
as much; for deeds excel words. God preserve   
you and New England! Pray for  
 Your fainting,   
 languishing Friend,   
 RI. BAXTER.

August 3,   
1691.

In contrast with the instructions which Mr.   
Eliot and other Protestant missionaries to the   
Indians gave the children of the wilderness,   
Cotton Mather alludes to the instructions given   
to the Indians in some parts of the country by   
the Popish missionaries. He says,   
 “By an odd accident there are lately fallen   
into my hands the manuscripts of a Jesuit,   
whom the French employed as a missionary   
among the western Indians, in which papers   
there are both a catechism, containing the prin-  
­ciples which those heathens are to be instructed   
  
 \* This testimony from Richard Baxter, in favor of the Mathers,  
is valuable to those who have seen them decried by some modern  
writers.

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 267

in, and cases of conscience referring to their   
conversations. The catechism, which is in the   
Iroquois language--with a translation annexed,   
has one chapter about heaven, and another   
about hell, wherein are such thick skulled pas-  
sages as these.”  
 Q. How is the soil made in heaven?  
 A. 'Tis a very fair soil, they want neither   
for meats nor clothes; 'tis but wishing, and we   
have them.  
 Q. Are they employed in heaven?  
 A. No, they do nothing; the fields yield corn,   
beans, pumpkins, and the like without any tillage.   
 Q. What sort of trees are there?   
 A. Always green, full, flourishing.   
 Q. Have they in heaven the same sun, the   
same wind, the same thunder that we have here?   
 A. No, the sun ever shines; it is always   
fair weather.   
 Q. But how are their fruits?   
 A. In this one quality they exceed ours,   
that they are never wasted; you have no sooner   
plucked one, but you see another presently   
hanging in its room.   
 Concerning hell, it thus discourses.   
 Q. What sort of a soil is that of hell?   
 A. Very wretched soil; 'tis a fiery pit in   
the centre of the earth.

268 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.

Q. Have they any light in hell?   
 A. No. 'Tis always dark; there is al-   
ways smoke there; their eyes are always in   
pain with it; they can see nothing but the   
devils.   
 Q. What shaped things are the devils?  
 A. Very ill shaped things; they go about   
with vizards on, and they terrify men.   
 Q. What do they eat in hell?  
 A. They are always hungry, but the damned   
feed on hot ashes and serpents there.   
 Q. What water do they drink?  
 A. Horrid water, nothing but melted lead.   
 Q. Don't they die in hell?   
 A. No; yet they cat one another every day;   
but anon, God restores and renews the man that   
was eaten, as a cropt plant in a little time re-  
­pullulates.   
 One case of conscience is thus resolved by the   
Jesuit:   
 Q. Whether an Indian stealing a hatchet   
from a Dutchman be bound to make restitution?  
 A. If the Dutchman be one that has used any   
trade with other Indians, the thief is not bound   
unto any restitution; for it is certain he gains   
more by such a trade than the value of many   
hatchets in a year.   
 In the History of the Early Jesuit Missions to

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 269   
  
the Indians of this country,\* as well as in all   
other Jesuit missions, there is a degree of zeal   
and devotedness which is truly wonderful.   
This is not the place to discuss the motives of   
these men, nor the principle in human nature   
which lends to their self-sacrifice in the mission-  
ary work. The fruits of their work, however,   
show that they do not promulgate the Gospel of   
Christ in its simplicity, did we not know this by   
more direct evidence.   
 The wife of Mr. Eliot died three years before   
him, at the age of 84. She had come to him   
across the ocean, a betrothed bride, when he had   
found a home for her in this new world. During   
her residence here, “she had attained unto a   
considerable skill in physick and chirurgery   
which enabled her to dispense many safe, good,   
and useful medicines unto the poor that had oc­-  
casion for them; and some hundreds of sick   
and weak and maimed people owed praises to   
God for the benefit which therein they freely   
received of her.”₸   
 She managed all the private affairs of her hus-  
­band for him that he might devote his whole   
time and strength to his arduous public labors.   
She brought up his six children of whom he

\* See Early Jesuit Missions, &c., by Wm. Ingraham Kip.  
 ₸ C. Mather.

270 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.

beautifully said, “they are all in Christ, or with   
Christ,” and then she smoothed his passage to   
the tomb by going before him, and making him   
more willing to depart. “That one wife,” says   
Mather, “which was given to him truly from   
the Lord, be loved, prized, cherished, with a   
kindness that notably represented the compass-  
­sion which he thereby taught his church to ex-  
­pect from the Lord Jesus Christ; and after he   
had lived with her for more than half an hun-  
­dred years he followed her to the grave with   
lamentations beyond those which the Jews, from   
the figure of a letter in the text,\* affirm, that   
Abraham deplored his Sarah with; her depar-  
­ture made a deeper impression on him than   
what any common affliction could. His whole   
conversation with her had that sweetness and   
that gravity and modesty beautifying of it, that   
every one called them Zachery and Elizabeth.”₸  
 The old gray haired apostle stood over her   
coffin, and said to the concourse of people who   
had come to the funeral, “Here lies my dear,   
faithful, pious, prudent, prayerful wife. I   
  
 \*Mather's allusion is probably this: In Gen. 23:2, where it is   
laid that Abraham came to weep for Sarah, a letter, smaller than the   
rest, in the Hebrew word to weep for her is believed by the Jewish   
critics to intimate that his grief was somewhat composed; (--“luc-  
turn Abrahoe fuisse moderatum.”—Poole’s Synopsis.)--Ep.   
 ₸ Magnalia I. 495.

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 271

shall go to her, but she shall not return to   
me.”  
 Lord Bacon\* speaking of “marriage and single   
life,” tells us what wives are to young men, and   
that “for middle age” they are “companions,”   
and “old men's nurses.” Men generally do   
not wait till old age before they experience the   
exquisite tenderness and assiduity of woman in   
their sickness. We all subscribe to the last coup-   
let of the following quotation, but not to the first:

“O woman! in thine hours or ease   
 Deceitful, coy, and hard to please,   
 \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \*  
 When pain and sickness wring the brow,   
 A ministering angel thou.”

There is a beautiful passage in one of Steele's   
papers in the Spectator. It purports to be a   
letter to his wife. He says.   
 “It is impossible for me to look back on many   
evils and pains which I have suffered since we   
come together, without n pleasure which is not   
to be expressed from the proofs I have had,   
in those circumstances, of your unmeasured   
goodness. How often has your tenderness re-   
moved pain from my sick head! how often an-  
­guish from my afflicted heart! With how skill-  
­ful patience hove I known you comply with the   
  
 \* Essays, VIII.

272 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.

vain projects which pain has suggested, to have   
an aching limb removed, by journeying from   
one side of a room to another! how often, the   
next instant, traveled the same ground again,   
without telling your patient it was to no pur-  
­pose to change his situation. If there are such   
beings as guardian angels, thus are they em-  
­ployed. I will no more believe one of them   
more good in its inclinations, than I can con-  
­ceive it more charming in its form than my wife.”  
 As Mr. Eliot became disabled by age for the   
ministerial work, he seemed to have the earnest   
solicitude about a successor which Moses had   
when, towards the close of his life, he “cried to   
the Lord” that he would “set a man over the   
congregation.” Mr. Eliot more than once as-  
­sembled the people of the town to fast and pray   
with reference ton successor. The Rev. Nehe-   
miah Walter was by the unanimous vote of the   
people associated with him in the pastoral   
office, after which it was with difficulty that he   
could be persuaded to conduct any public relig-  
­ious service, saying, “It would be a wrong to   
the souls of the people for him to do any thing   
among them when they were supplied so much   
to their advantage.” The last time that he   
preached is said to have been on the occasion   
of a public fast, when he expounded the lxxxiii.

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 273

Psalm, being, (as the caption has it.) a com-  
­plaint to God of the enemies' conspiracies, and   
a prayer against them that oppress the church.   
He concluded his exposition with an apology,   
begging his hearers to pardon the poorness and   
meanness and brokenness of his meditations,   
adding, “my dear brother here will by and by   
mend all.”  
 He once expressed the fear that his old friends   
and neighbors, Messrs. Cotton, of Boston, and   
Mather, of Dorchester, who had gone to heaven   
before him, would suspect him to have gone the   
wrong way, because he staid so long behind them.   
 Towards the close of his life his mind dwelt   
much on the coming of the Son of Man, and   
whatever theme he began to converse upon, he   
soon fell into a strain of remarks upon this sub-  
­ject. On one occasion some one brought him   
intelligence of certain sad events whereby the   
Churches of New England were much afflicted,   
His reply was, “Behold some of the clouds in   
which we must look for the coming of the Son   
of Man.”  
 Mr. Walter coming in to see him on his   
dying bed, Mr. Eliot said, “Brother, thou art   
welcome to my very soul. Pray retire to thy   
study for me, and give me leave to be gone,”

274 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.  
  
meaning that he should pray for his speedy   
release.   
 Being asked how he did, be said, ‘Alas, I   
have lost every thing; my understanding leaves   
me, my memory fails me, my utterance fails   
me; but I thank God my charity holds out still;   
I find that rather grows than fails.”  
 Speaking of the work in which he had been   
engaged among the Indians, he said, “There   
is a cloud, a dark cloud, upon the work of the   
gospel, among the poor Indians. The Lord   
revive and prosper that work, and grant that it   
may live when I am dead. It is a work which   
I have been doing much and long about. But   
what was the word I spoke last? I recall that   
word, my doings! Alas! they have been poor   
and small, and lean doings; and I'll be the man   
that shall throw the first stone at them all.”  
 The Rev. Increase Mather had gone to Eng­-  
land on business connected with the ecclesiasti-  
cal affairs of New England. Mr. Eliot wrote   
the following letter to him, and it is the last   
writing of his of which we have any account.   
  
 “Reverend and beloved Mr. Increase Mather.   
I cannot write. Read Neh. 2:10. When   
Sanballat the Horonite, and Tobiah the servant,   
the Ammonite heard of it, it grieved them ex-

LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 275

ccedingly that there was come a man to seek   
the welfare of the children of Israel.   
 “Let thy blessed soul feed full and fat upon   
this and other Scriptures. All other things I   
leave to other men, and rest.   
 Your loving Brother,   
 JOHN ELIOT.”

One of Mr. Eliot's last expressions was this.   
Welcome joy! His last breath was spent in   
calling upon these who stood around his dying   
bed to “Pray, Pray, Pray.” He died in the   
beginning of the year 1690, in the eighty-sixth   
year of his age.  
 Before his death, Mr. Eliot had the pleasure   
of seeing several faithful men raised up to labor   
among the Indians; among whom were Daniel   
Gookin, James Noyce, Rowland Cotton, Peter   
Thacher, Grindel Rawson, Goddefrcd Dettins,   
and M. Bondet. Mather says, “about the year   
1700, through the blessing of God in this one   
Massachusetts province, the Indians have most-  
­ly embraced the Christian religion. There are   
I suppose, more than thirty congregations of   
Indians, and many more than three thousand   
Indians, in this one province, calling on God in   
Christ, and bearing of his glorious Word.”

276 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.

In writing these pages, I have before me a   
copy of Eliot's Indian Bible, to which are an­-  
nexed his Psalms and Hymns, in the Indian   
tongue, and a short Catechism. Here is the   
monument of John Eliot; and what monument   
of earthly greatness is to be compared with it!   
The kings of the earth sleep in the great cathe-  
­dral; the beautiful, ivy grown, ruined abbey   
crowns the sepulchre of the novelist and poet;   
the marble statue immortalizes the name and   
deeds of the conqueror by land or sea. They   
are but the grass that withereth, and the flower   
which fadeth, “but the word of the Lord en-  
­dureth forever.” “Endureth”? There is not   
one Indian on this continent, or on the face of   
the earth, that can read this book. It can never   
guide another soul to God. As you look upon   
its title page, written in an unknown tongue,   
you see these words, Up-Biblum God, the   
Book of God. How significant, we may say,   
the appearance of those words when we consider   
the condition of the book bereaved of the race   
who once read it. “Up-Biblum God.” Like   
the man-child of the woman clothed with the   
sun who fled into the wilderness, and whose   
child was caught up unto God, and to his throne,   
this book, having done its office here, is, in a   
certain sense, caught up to God; and there it

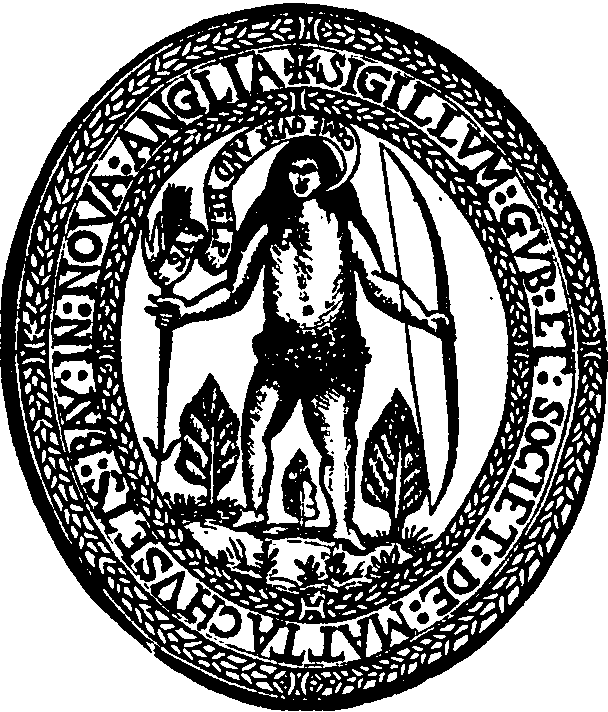
LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT. 277

“endureth forever,” in the hearts and souls of   
redeemed savages.   
 This book will never, of course. be reprinted,   
and copies of it are becoming rare. But if we   
wished to send something to a desponding   
missionary, or an example of condescension and   
love for souls to a minister who despises and   
neglects his poor, humble people, no better gift   
could be selected than a copy of Eliot's Bible.   
What gentle rebuke, what exhortation and en-  
couragement, its long barbarous words would   
speak oftentimes in the minister's or mission­-  
ary's study. We might appropriately inscribe   
on its cover the third reflection of Mr. Eliot on  
returning from one of his visits to Nonamtum,   
and send it to every missionary station round   
the globe: “There is no need of miraculous or   
extraordinary gifts in seeking the salvation or   
the most depraved of the human family.”  
 The mention of this Bible may lead us to   
think of that half million of wild Indians and   
that million and a half of partly civilized Indians   
who now occupy the wilderness of the west. It   
bids us attempt their conversion; it shows us   
that no difficulties are too mighty for the Gos-  
­pel to overcome, no discouragements too great   
for true Christian faith and courage. The ob-

VOL. III. 24

278 LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT.

jects of our forefathers' zeal and hope in coming   
to these shores, are now beyond the Rocky   
Mountains. A wilderness still invites our in-  
­creasing missionary efforts, as a wilderness once   
invited the labors of the Pilgrims. Wronged   
and driven away by the white man, still they   
cry:



...

APPENDIX.

A.--See page 201.   
 (Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc. 1732.)

“The following fabulous Traditions and Customs   
of the Indians of Martha's Vineyard, were   
communicated to BENJAMIN BASSET, Esq.   
of Chilmark, by THOMAS COOPER, a half blooded   
Indian, of Gay head, aged about sixty years;   
and which, he says, he obtained of his grand­  
mother, who, to use his own expression, was   
a stout girl, when the English came to the   
island.   
   
THE first Indian who came to the Vineyard, was   
brought thither with his dog on a cake of ice.   
When he came to Gay Head, he found a very   
large man, whose name was Moshup. He had   
a wife and five children, four sons and one   
daughter; and lived in the Den. He used to   
catch whales, and then pluck up trees, and make   
a fire, and roast them. The coals of the trees,   
and the bones or the whales, are now to be seen.

280 APPENDIX.

After he was tired of staying here, he told his   
children to go and play ball on a beach that   
joined Noman's Land to Gay Head. He then   
made a mark with his toe across the bench at   
each end, and so deep, that the water followed,   
and cut away the bench; so that his children   
were in fear of drowning. They took their sis-  
ter up, and held her out of the water. He told   
them to net as if they were going to kill whales;   
and they were all turned into killers, (a fish so   
called.) The sister was dressed in large stripes.   
He gave them a strict charge always to be kind   
to her. His wife mourned the loss of her chil-  
dren so exceedingly, that be threw her away.   
She fell upon Seconet, near the rocks, where   
she lived some time, exacting contribution of all   
who passed by water. After a while she was   
changed into a stone. The entire shape re-  
­mained for many years. But after the English   
came, some of them broke off the arms, head,   
&c. but the most of the body remains to this   
day. Moshup went away nobody knows whither.   
He had no conversation with the Indians, but   
was kind to them, by sending whales, &c.   
ashore to them to eat. But after they grew   
thick around him he left them.   
 Whenever the Indians worshipped, they al-  
ways sang and danced, and then begged of the

APPENDIX. 281

sun and moon, ns they thought most likely to   
hear them, to send them the desired favour;   
most generally rain or fair weather, or freedom   
from their enemies or sickness.  
 Before the English came among the Indians,   
there were two disorders of which they most   
generally died, viz. the consumption and the   
yellow fever. The latter they could always lay  
in the following manner. After it had raged   
and swept off a number, those who were well   
met to lay it. The rich, that is, such as had a   
canoe, skins, axes, &c. brought them. They   
took their sent in a circle; and all the poor sat   
around, without. The richest then proposed to   
begin to lay the sickness; and having in his   
hand something in shape resembling his canoe,   
skin, or whatever his riches were, he threw it   
up in the air; and whoever of the poor without   
could take it, the property it was intended to re-  
­semble became forever transferred to him or her.   
After the rich had thus given away all their   
moveable property to the poor, they looked out   
the handsomest and most sprightly young man   
in the assembly, and put him into an entire new   
wigwam, built of every thing new for that pur-   
pose. They then formed into two files at a   
small distance from each other. One standing   
in the space at each end, put fire to the bottom

24\*

282 APPENDIX.

of the wigwam on all parts, and fell to singing   
and dancing. Presently the youth would leap   
out of the flames, and fall down to appearance   
dead. Him they committed to the care of five   
virgins, prepared for that purpose, to restore to   
life again. The term required for this would be   
uncertain, from six to forty-eight hours; during   
which time the dance must be kept up. When   
he was restored, he would tell, that he had been   
carried in a large thing high up in the air, where   
he came to a great company of white people,   
with whom he had interceded hard to have the   
distemper layed; and generally after much per-  
­suasion, would obtain a promise, or answer of   
pence which never failed of laying the dis­-  
temper.”

“ Inscription copied from a grave atone at Gay Head.

1 2 3

YE UUH WOHHOK SIPSIN

4 5

S1L PAUL NOHTOBEYONTOK

6 7

AGED' 49: YEARS'NUPPOOP'TAH'

AUGUST 24 1787.

EXPLANATIONS.

1. Here. 2. The body. 3. Lies. 4. Silas Paul.   
5. An ordained preacher. 6. Died. 7. Then, or in.”

APPENDIX. 283

B. --See page 41.

In connection with the remarks in the forego-  
­ing pages on the climate and soil of New Eng-  
­land, the following extract from a piece by Rev.   
John Higginson of Salem, 1629, will be read   
with interest. It is taken from the Collections   
of the Mass. Hist. Society, 1792.

NEW-ENGLANDS PLANTATION.

Or, a short and true DESCRIPTION of the Com-  
modities and Discommodities of that countrey.   
Written in the year 1629, by Mr. HIGGE-  
SON, a Reverend Divine, now there resident.   
Whereunto is added a Letter, sent by Mr.   
Graves, an Enginere, out of New-England.   
Reprinted from the third edition, London,   
1630.

LETTING posse our voyage by sea,\* we will now   
begin our discourse on the shore of New-   
England. And because the life and wel-fare of   
every creature heere below, and the commodious-  
­nesse of the countrey whereat such creatures   
live, doth by the most wise ordering of God's

\* For the Journal of Mr. Higginson’s Voyage, see Hutchinson’s  
Collection of Papers, page 32.

284 APPENDIX.

providence, depend next unto himselfe, upon the   
temperature and disposition of the foure ele-  
­ments, earth, water, aire, and fire (for as of the   
mixture of all these, all sublunary things are   
composed; so by the more or lesse enjoyment of   
the wholesome temper and convenient use of   
these, consisteth the onely well-being both of   
man and beast in a more or lesse comfortable   
measure in all countreys under the heavens)   
therefore I will indeavour to shew you what   
New-England is by the consideration of each of   
these apart, and truly indeuvour by God's helpe   
to report nothing but the naked truth, and that   
both to tell you of the discommodities as well as   
of the commodities, though as the idle proverbe   
is, travellers may lye by authoritie, and so may   
take too much sinfull libertie that way. Yet I   
may say of my selfe as once Nehemiah did in   
another case: Shall such a man as I lye? No   
verily: It becommeth not a preacher of truth to   
be a writer of falshod in any degree: And   
therefore I have beene carefull to report nothing   
of New-England but what I have partly seene   
with mine own eyes, and partly heard and en­-  
quired from the mouths of veric honest and re-  
­ligious persons, who, by living in the countrey a   
good space of time, have had experience and

APPENDIX 285

knowledge of the state thereof, and whose testi­-  
monies I doe beleeve as my selfe.   
 First therefore of the earth of New-England   
and all the appertenances thereof: It is a land   
of divers and sundry sorts all about Masathu­-  
lets Bay, and at Charles river is as fat blacke   
earth as can be seene any where: and in other   
places you have a clay soyle, in other gravell,   
in other sandy, as it is all about our plantation   
at Salem, for so our towne is now no med .  
Psal. 76:2.   
 The forme of the earth here in the superfices   
of it is neither too flat in the plainnesse, nor too   
high in hils, but partakes of both in a mediocri-  
­tie, and fit for pasture, or for plow or meddow   
ground, as men please to employ it: though all   
the countrey bee as it were a thicke wood for   
the generall, yet in divers places there is much   
ground cleared by the Indians, and especially   
about the plantation: And I am told that about   
three miles from us a man may stand on a little   
hilly place and see divers thousands of acres of   
ground as good as need to be, and not a tree in   
the same. It is thought here is good clay to   
make bricke and tyles and earthen-pot as need   
to be. At this instant we are setting a brick-kill   
on worke to make brickes and tiles for the build-  
­ing of our houses. For stone, here is plentie of

286 APPENDIX.

slates at the Isle of Slate in Masathulets bay,   
and lime-stone, free-stone, and smooth-stone,   
and iron-stone, and marble-stone also in such   
store, that we have great rocks of it, and n har­-  
bour hard by. Our plantation is from thence   
called Marble harbor.  
 Of minerals there hath yet beene but little triall   
made, yet we are not without great hope of being   
furnished in that soyle.   
 The fertilitie of the soyle is to be admired at,   
as appeareth in the aboundance of grasse that   
groweth everie where, both verie thicke, verie   
long, and verie high in divers places: But it   
groweth verie wildly with a great stalke and a   
broad and ranker blade, because it never had   
been eaten with cattle, nor mowed with a sythe,   
and seldome trampled on by foot. It is scarce   
to bee beleevcd how our kine and goates, horses   
and hogges, doe thrive and prosper here and like   
well of this countrey,   
 In our plantation we have already a quart of   
milke for a penny: but the aboundant encrease   
of corne proves this countrey to bee a wonder-  
­ment. Thirtie, fortie, fiftic, sixtie are ordinurie   
here: Yea Joseph's encrease in AEgypt is out-  
stript here with us. Our planters hope to have   
more then a hundred fould this yere: And all   
this while I am within compasse; what will you

APPENDIX. 287

say of two hundred fould and upwards? It is   
almost incredible what great gaine some of our   
English planters have had by our Indiana corne.   
Credible persons have assured me, and the   
partie himselfe avouched the truth of it to me,   
that of the setting of 13 gallons of corne hee   
hath had encrease of it 52 hogsheads, every   
hogshead holding seven bushels of London meas­-  
ure, and every bushell was by him sold and   
trusted to the Indians for so much beaver as was   
worth 13 shillings; and so of this 13 gallons of   
corne, which was worth 6 shillings 8 pence, he   
made about 327 pounds of it the yeere following,   
as by reckoning will appeare: where you may   
see how God blessed husbandry in this land.   
There is not such greate and plentifull cares of   
corne I suppose any where else to bee found but   
in this countrey: Because also of varietie of   
colours, as red, blew, and vellow, &c. and of   
one corne there springeth four or five hundred.   
I have sent you many eares of divers colours   
that you might see the truth of it.   
 Little children here by setting of corne may  
earne much more then their owne mainte-  
­nance.   
 They have tryed our English corne at New   
Plimmouth plantation, so that all our several

288 APPENDIX.

graines will grow here verie well, and have a   
fitting soyle for their nature.   
 Our Governor hath store of greene pease   
growing in his garden, as good as ever I eat in   
England.   
 This country aboundeth naturally with store   
of roots of great varitie and good to eat. Our   
turnips, parsnips, and carrots are here both big-  
­ger and sweeter then is ordinary lo be found in   
England. Here are store of pumpions, cow-  
­combers, and other things of that nature which   
I know not. Also divers excellent pot-herbs   
grow abundantly among the grasse, as straw-  
­berrie leaves in all places of the countrey, and   
plentie of strawberries in their time, and penny­-  
royall, wintersaverie, sorrell, brookelime, liver-  
­wort, carvell, and watercresses, also leekes and   
onions are ordinarie, and divers physicall herbs.   
Here are also aboundance of other sweet herbs   
delightful to the smell, whose names we know  
not, &c. and plemie of single damaske roses   
veric sweete; and two kinds of herbes that bare   
two kinds of flowers very sweet, which they say,   
are as good to make cordage or cloath as any   
hempe or flaxe we have.   
 Excellent vines ere here up and downe in the   
woods. Our Governour hath already planted a   
vineyard with great hope of encrease.

APPENDIX. 289

Also, mulberries, plums, raspberries, corrance,   
chesnuts, filberds, walnuts, smalnuts, hurtle-  
­beries, and hawes of whitethorne neere as good   
as our cherries in England, they grow in plenty  
here.   
 For wood there is no better in the world   
I thinke, here being foure sorts of oke differing   
both in the leafe, timber, and colour, all excel­-  
lent good. There is also good ash, elme, wil-  
­low, birch, beech, saxafras, juniper, cipres, cedar,   
spruce, pines, and firre that will yeeld abun-  
­dance of turpentine, pitch, tarre, masts, and   
other materials for building both of ships and   
houses. Also here are store of sumacke trees,   
they are good for dying and tanning of leather,   
likewise such trees yeeld a precious gem called   
wine benjamin, that they say is excellent for   
perfumes. Also here he divers roots and berries   
wherewith the Indians dye excellent holding   
colours that no raine nor washing can alter.   
Also, wee have materials to make sope-ashes   
and salt-peter in aboundance.   
 For beasts there are some beares, and they   
say some lyons also; for they have been seen at   
Cape Anne. Also here are several sorts of   
deere, some whereof bring three or four young   
ones at once, which is not ordinarie in England.   
Also wolves, foxes, beavers, otters, martins, great

VOL. III. 25

290 APPENDIX.

wild cats, and n great beast called a molke as   
bigge as an oxe. I have seen the skins of all   
these beasts since I came to this plantation ex-   
cepting lyons. Also here are great store of   
squerrels, some greater, and some smaller and   
lesser: there are some of the lesser sort, they   
tell me, that by a certaine skill will fly from tree   
to tree, though they stand farre distant.

Of the waters of New-England, with the thing,   
 belonging to the same.

NEW-ENGLAND hath water enough, both salt and   
fresh, the greatest sea in the world, the Atlan-  
­ticke sea, runs all along the coast thereof.   
There are abundance of Ilands along the shore,   
some full of wood and masts to feed swine: and   
others cleere of wood, and fruitful to bear corne.   
Also wee have store of excellent harbours for   
ships, as at Cape Anne, and at Masathulets Bay,   
and at Salem, and at many other places: and   
they are the better because for strangers there   
is a verie difficult and dangerous passage into   
them, but unto such as are well acquainted with   
them, they are easie and safe enough. The   
aboundance of sea-fish are almost beyond be-  
­leeving, and sure I should scarce have beleeved   
it, except I had seene it with mine owne eyes.

APPENDIX. 291

I saw great store of wholes, and crampusse, and   
such aboundance of mackerils that it would as-  
­tonish one to behold, likewise cod-fish in abound­-  
ance on the coast, and in their season are plen­-  
tifully taken. There is a fish called a basse, a   
most sweet and wholesome fish as ever 1 did   
eate, it is altogether as good as our fresh sam-  
­mon, and the season of their comming was begun   
when wee came first to New-England in June,   
and so continued about three months space. Of   
this fish our fishers take many hundreds to-  
gether, which I have seen lying on the shore to   
my admiration; yea their nets ordinarily take   
more than they are able to hale to land, and for   
want of boats and men they are constrained to   
let a many goe after they have taken them, and   
yet sometimes they fill two boates at a time with   
them. And besides basse wee take plentie of   
scate and thornbucks, and abundance of lobsters   
and the least boy in the plantation may both   
catch and eat what he will of them. For my   
owne part I was scene cloyed with them, they   
were so great, and fat, and lussious. I have   
seene some myselfe that have weighed 16 pound,   
but others have had divers times so great lob-  
­sters as have weighed 25 pound, as they assure   
mee. Also heere is abundance of herring, tur-  
­but, sturgion, cuskes, hadocks, mullets, eeles,

292 APPENDIX.

crabbes, muskies, and oysters. Besides there is   
probability that the countrey is of an excellent   
temper for the making of salt: For since our   
comming our fishermen have brought home very   
good salt which they found candied by the   
standing of the sea water and the heat of the   
sunne, upon a rocke by the sea shore: and in   
divers salt marishes that some have gone   
through, they have found some salt in some   
places crushing under their feete and cleaving   
to their shooes.   
 And as for fresh water, the countrey is full of   
dainty springs, and some great rivers, and some   
lesser brookes; and at Masathulets Bay they   
digged wels and found water at three foot deepe   
in most places: And neere Salem thay have As   
fine cleare water as we can desire, and we may   
digge wels and find water where we list.   
 Thus wee see both land and sea abound with   
store of blessings for the comfortable sustenance   
of man's life in New-England.

Of the aire of New-England with the temper   
 and creatures in it.

THE temper of the aire of New-England is one   
speciall thing that commends this place. Ex-   
perience doth manifest that there is hardly a  
more healthfull place to be found in the world

APPENDIX. 293

that agreeth better with our English bodyes.   
Many that have been weake and sickly in   
old England, by comming hither have beene   
thoroughly healed and growne healthfull strong.   
For here is an extraordinarie cleere and dry aire   
that is of a most healing nature to all such as   
are of a cold, melancholy, flegmatick, rheumat-  
­ick temper of body. None can more truly   
speaks hereof by their owne experience then my   
selfe. My friends that knew me can well tell   
how verie sickly I have bin and continually in   
physick, being much troubled with a tormenting   
painc through an extraordinarie weaknesse of   
my stomacke, and aboundancc of melancholicke   
humors; but since I came hither on this voyage,   
I thanke God, I have had perfect health, and   
freed from paine and vomiting, having a stom-  
acke to digest the hardest and coursest fare, who   
before could not eat finest meat; and whereas   
my stomache could onely digest and did require   
such drinke as was both strong and stale, now I   
can and doe often times drink New-England   
water verie well; and I that have not gone with-  
­out a cap for many yeeres together, neither durst   
leave off the same, have now cast away my cap,   
and doe weare none at all in the day time: And   
whereas beforetime I cloathed my selfe with   
double cloaths and thicke waistcoates to keep

25 \*

294 APPENDIX.

me warme, even in the summer time, I doe now   
goe as thin clad as any, onely wearing a light   
stuffe cassocke upon my shirt, and stuffe breeches   
of one thickness without linings. Besides I have   
one of my children that was formerly most   
lamentably handled with sore breaking out of   
both his hands and feet of the king's-evill, but   
since he came hither hee is very well ever he   
was, and there is hope of perfect recoverie   
shortly even by the very wholesomnesse of the   
aire, altering, digesting and drying up the cold   
and crude humours of the body: And therefore   
I thinke it is a wise course for al cold complec-  
­tions to come to take physick in New-England:   
for a sup of New-England's aire is better then a   
whole draught of Old England's ale.   
 In the summer time, in the midst of July and   
August, it is a good deale hotter then in Old   
England: And in winter, January and Febru-  
­ary are much colder, as they say: But the   
spring and autumne are of a middle temper.   
 Fowles of the aire are plentifull here, and of   
all sorts us we have in England, as farre as I   
can learn, and a great many of strange fowles   
which we know not. Whilst I was writing these   
things, one of our men brought home an eagle   
which hee had killed in the wood: They say   
they are good meate. Also here are many kinds

APPENDIX. 295

of excellent hawkes, both sea hawkes and land   
hawkes: And my self walking in the woods   
with another in company, sprung a patridge so   
bigge that through the heaviness of his body   
could fly but a little way: They that have killed   
them, say they are as bigge as our hens. Here   
are likewise aboundance of turkies often killed   
in the woods, farre greater then our English   
turkies, and exceeding fat, sweet, and fleshy, for   
here they have aboundance of feeding all the   
yeere long, as strawberries, in summer al places   
are full of them, and all manner of berries and   
fruits. In the winter time I have scene flockes   
of pidgeons, and have eaten of them: They doe   
fly from tree to tree as other birds doe, which   
our pidgeons will not doe in England: They   
are of all colours as ours are, but their wings   
and tayles are far longer, and therefore it is   
likely they fly swifter to escape the terrible   
hawkes in this country. In winter time this   
country doth abound with wild geese, wild ducks,   
and other sea fowle, that a great part of winter   
the planters have eaten nothing but roast-meate   
of divers fowles which they have killed.   
 Thus you have heard of the earth, water and   
aire of New-England, now it may bee you ex­-  
pect something to bee said of the fire proportion-  
­able to the rest of the elements. lndeede I

296 APPENDIX.

thinke New-England may boast of this element   
more then of all the rest: For though it bee   
here somewhat cold in the winter, yet here we   
have plenty of fire to warme us, and that a great   
deal cheaper then they sel billets and faggots in   
London: Nay, all Europe is not able to afford   
to make so great fires as New-England. A   
poore servant here that is to possesse but 50   
acres of land, may afford to give more wood for   
timber and fire as good as the world yeelds, then   
many noble men in England can afford to do.   
Here is good living for those that love good   
fires. And although New-England have no tal­-  
low to make candles of, yet by the aboundaece   
of the fish thereof, it can afford oil for lampes.   
Yea our pine-trees that are the most plentifull of   
all wood, doth allow us plenty of candles which   
are very usefull in a house: And they are such   
candles as the Indians commonly use, having no   
other, and they are nothing else but the wood of   
the pine tree cloven in two little slices, some-  
­thing thin, which are so full of the moysture of   
turpentine and pitch, that they burne as cleere   
as a torch. I have sent you some of them that   
you may see the experience of them.   
 Thus of New-England's commodities: now I   
will tell you of some discommodities that are   
here to be found.

APPENDIX. 297

First, in the summer season for these three   
months, June, July, and August, we are troubled   
much with little flyes called musketoes, being   
the same they are troubled with in Lincolneshire   
and the Fens; and they are nothing but gnats,   
which except they bee smoked out of their   
houses arc troublesome in the night season.   
 Secondly, in the winter season for two months   
space, the earth is commonly covered with snow,   
which is accompanied with sharp biting frosts,   
something more sharpe then is in Old England,   
and therefore are forccd to make great fires.   
 Thirdly, the countrey being very full of woods,   
and wildernesses, doth also much abound with   
snakes and serpents of strange colours, and huge   
greatnesse: yea there are some serpents called   
rattle-snakes that have rattles in their tailes, that   
will not fly from a man as others will, but will   
flye upon him, and sting him so mortally, that   
bee will dye within n quarter of an houre after,   
except the partie stinged have about him some   
of the root of on herbe called snake-weed to bite   
on, and then hee shall receive no harme: but   
yet seldom falles it out that any hurt is done by   
these. About three years since, an Indian was   
stung to death by one of them, but wee beard of   
none since that time.   
 Fourthly and lastly, here wants as it were

298 APPENDIX.

good company of honest christians to bring with   
them horses, kine, and sheepe, to make use of   
this fruitfull land: great pitty it is to see so  
much good ground for come and for grasse as   
any is under the heavens, to ly altogether un-  
­occupied, when so many honest men and their   
families in Old England through the populous-  
­nesse thereof, do make evry hard shift to live   
one by the other.   
 Now, thus you know what New-England is,   
as also with the commodities and discommodities   
thereof: Now I will shew you a little of the   
inhabitants thereof, and their government.   
 For their governors they have kings, which   
they call Saggamores, some greater, and some   
lesser, according to the number of their subjects.   
 The greatest Saggamores about us can not   
make above three hundred men,\* and other   
Jesse Saggamores have not above fifteen sub-  
­jects, and others neere about us but two.   
 Their subjects above twelve years since₸   
were swept away by a great and grievous   
plague that was amongst them, so that there are   
verie few left to inhabite the country.   
 The Indians are not able to make use of the   
one fourth part of the land, neither have they   
any settled places, as townes to dwell in, nor   
  
 \* That is fighting men.   
 ₸ 1617.

APPENDIX. 299

any ground as they challenge for their own pos-  
­session, but change their habitation from place   
to place.   
 For their statures, they arc a tall and strong   
limmed people, their colours are tawney, they   
goe naked, save onely they are in part covered   
with beasts skins on one of their shoulders,   
and wen re something before; their haire is   
generally blacke, and cut before like our gentle-  
­women and one locke longer than the rest,   
much like to our gentelmen, which fashion I   
thinke came from hence into England.   
 For their weapons, they have bowes and ar-  
­rowes, some of them bended with bone, and   
some with brasse: I have sent you some of them   
for an example.   
 The men for the most part live idely, they do   
nothing but hunt and fish: Their wives set their   
corne and doe all their other worke. They   
have little houshold stuffe, as a kettle. and some   
other vessels like trayes, spoones, dishes, and   
baskets.  
 Their houses are verie little and homely,   
being made with small poles pricked into the   
ground, and so bended and fastened at the tops,   
and on the sides they are matted with boughs   
and covered on the roof with sedge and old mats,   
and for their beds that they take their rest on,   
they have a mat.

300 APPENDIX.

They doe generally professe to like well of   
our coming and planting here; partly because   
their is abundance of ground that they cannot   
possesse nor make use of, and partly because our   
being here will bee a meanes both of relief to   
them when they want, and also a defence from   
their enemies, wherewith (I say) before this   
plantation began, they were often indangered.   
 For their religion they do worship two Gods,   
a good God and an evil God: The good God   
they call Tantum, and their evil God whom they   
fear will doe them hurt, they call Squantum.   
 For their dealing with us, we neither fear   
them nor trust them, for fourtie of our muske-  
­teeres will drive five hundred of them out of the   
field. We use them kindly; they will come into   
our houses sometimes by half a dozen or half   
a score at a time when we are at victuals, but   
will ask or take nothing but what we give them.   
 We purpose to learn their language as soon   
as we can, which will be a means to do them   
good.   
 Of the present condition of the Plantation, and   
 what it is.

WHEN we came first to Nehum-kek,\* we found   
about half a score houses, and a faire house

\* Or Naumkeag. Salem.

APPENDIX. 301

newly built for the Governor, we found also   
aboundance of corne planted by them, very good   
and well liking. And we brought with us about   
two hundred passengers and planters more,   
which by common consent of the old planters   
were all combined together into one body poli­-  
ticke, under the same Governour.   
 There are in all of us both old and new plan­-  
ters about three hundred, whereof two hundred   
of them are settled at Nehum-kek, now called   
Salem: And the rest have planted themselves   
at Masathulets Bay, beginning to build a towne   
there which wee do call Cherton, or Charles   
Town.  
 We that are settled at Salem make what   
haste we can to build houses, so that within a   
short time we shall have a faire towne.   
 We have great ordnance, wherewith we doubt   
not but we shall fortifie ourselves in n short time   
to keepe out a potent adversary. But that which   
is our greatest comfort, and meanes of defence   
above all other, is, that we have here the true   
religion and holy ordinances of Almighty God   
taught amongst us: Thankes be to God, wee   
have here plenty of preaching, and diligent cate-  
­chizing, with strict and carefull exercise, and   
good and commendable orders to bring our peo-  
­ple into a christian conversation with whom we

VOL. III. 26

302 APPENDIX.

have to doe withall. And thus wee doubt not   
but God will be with us, and if God be with us,   
who can he against us?  
 [Here ends Master Higgeson's relation of   
New-England.]   
  
 A letter sent from New England, by Master   
 GRAVES, Engunere, now there resident.

THUS much I can affirme in generall, that   
I never came in a more goodly country in all   
my life, all things considered: If it hath not at   
any time been manured and husbanded, yet it is   
very beautifull in open lands, mixed with goodly   
woods, and again open plaines, in some places   
five hundred acres, some places more, some   
lesse, not much troublesome for to cleer for the   
plough to goe in, no place barren, but on the   
tops of the hils; the grasse and weeds grow up   
to a man's face, in the lowlands and by fresh   
rivers, aboundance of grasse and large meddowes   
without any tree or shrubbe to hinder the sith,   
I never saw, except in Hungaria, unto which I   
alwayes paralell this countrie, in all our most   
respects, for every thing that is heare eyther   
sowne or planted prospereth far better then in   
Old-England: The increase of corne is here   
farre beyond expectation, as I have seene here   
by experience in barly, the which because it is   
so much above your conception I will not men-

APPENDIX. 303

tion. And cattle doe prosper very well, and   
those that are bredd here farr greater than those   
with you in England. Vines doe grow here   
plentifully laden with the biggest grapes that   
ever I saw, some I have seen foure inches   
about, so that I am bold to say of this countrie,   
as it is commonly said in, Germany of Hungaria,   
that for cattel, corne, and wine it excelleth. We   
have many more hopefull commodities here in   
this country, the which time will teach to make   
good use of: In the mean time wee abound with   
such things which next under God doe make us   
subsist: as fish, foule, deere, and sundrie sorts   
of fruits, as musk-millions, water-millions, In­-  
dian pompions, Indian pease, beanes, and many   
other odde fruits that I cannot name; all which   
are made good and pleasant through this maine   
blessing of God, the healthfulnesse of the coun-  
­trie which far exceedeth all parts that ever I   
have beene in: It is observed that few or none   
doe here fal sicke, unless of the scurvy, that they   
bring from aboard the ship with them, whereof   
I have cured some of my companie onely by   
labour.   
  
 C. See page 204.

See Morell's poem on New England, Mass.   
Hist. Coll., 1792.

304 APPENDIX.

D.---See page 222.

The following letter to King Charles II. ac-  
­companied the presentation of the New Testa-  
­ment in the Indian tongue. The letter was   
written and sent by the Commissioners of the   
United Colonies of Massachusetts, Plymouth,   
Connecticut and New Haven.   
 “To the High and Mighty Prince, Charles the   
 second, by the grace of God, King of Eng-  
 ­land, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender   
 of the faith, &c.

“The Commissioners of the United Colonies in   
 New England, wish increase of all happiness.   
 “Most dread Sovereign,

“If our weak apprehensions have not misled   
us, this work will be no unacceptable present to   
your Majesty, as having a greater interest there  
­in, than we believe is generally understood,   
which upon this occasion we conceive it our   
duty to declare.   
 “The people of these four colonies (confed-  
­erate for mutual defence, in the times of the late   
distractions of our dear native country) your   
Majesty's natural born subjects, by the favour   
and grace of your royal father and grandfather   
of famous memory, put themselves upon this   
great and hazardous undertaking, of planting

APPENDIX. 305

themselves at their own charge in these remote   
ends of the earth; that without offence or pro­-  
vocation to our dear brethren and countrymen,   
we might enjoy that liberty to worship God,   
which our own conscience informed us was not   
only our right but duty; as also that we, if it so   
pleased God, might be instrumental to spread   
the light of the gospel, the know ledge of the son   
of God, our saviour, to the poor, barbarous   
heathen; which by his late Majesty, in some of   
our patents, is declared to be the principal aim.   
 “These honest and pious intentions have   
through the grace of God and our kings, been   
seconded with proportionable success. For, omit-  
­ting the immunities indulged by your High-  
­ness's royal predecessors, we have been greatly   
encouraged by your Majesty's gracious expres-  
­sions of favour and approbation, signified unto   
the address made by the principal of our colo-  
­nies; to which the rest do most cordially sub-  
­scribe; though wanting the like seasonable op-  
portunity, they have been till now deprived of   
the means to congratulate your Majesty's happy   
restitution, after your long sufferings; which we   
implore may yet be graciously accepted, that we   
may be equal partakers of your royal favour   
and moderation; which hath been so illustrious,   
that to admiration, the animosities of different   
 26\*

306 APPENDIX.

persuasions of men have been so soon composed,   
and so much cause of hope, that, unless the sins   
of the nation prevent, a blessed calm will suc­-  
ceed the late horrid confusions of church and   
state. And shall not we, dread sovereign, your   
subjects of these colonies, of the same faith and   
belief in all points of doctrine with our country-  
­men and other reformed churches, though per-  
­haps not alike persuaded in some matters of   
order, which in outward respects hath been un-  
­happy for us, promise and assure ourselves of   
all just favour and indulgence from a prince so   
graciously and happily endowed?   
 “The other part of our errand hither hath   
been attended with endeavours and blessing;   
many of the wild Indians being taught and un­-  
derstanding, the doctrine of the christian re­-  
ligion, and with much affection attending such   
preachers as are sent to teach them. Many of   
their children are instructed to write and read;   
and some of them have proceeded further to at-  
­tain the knowledge of the Latin and the Greek   
tongues, and are brought up with our English   
youth in university learning. There are di­-  
vers of them that can and do rend some parts   
of the scripture, and some catechisms which   
formerly have been translated into their own

APPENDIX. 307

language: which hath occasioned the undertak­-  
ing of a great work, viz. the printing the whole   
bible: which, being translated by a painful la-  
­bourer among them, who was desirous to see the   
work accomplished in his days, hath already   
proceeded to the finishing of the new testament;   
which we here humbly present to your Majesty,   
as the first fruit and accomplishment of the pious   
design of your royal ancestors. The old testa-  
­ment is now under the press, wanting and crav-  
­ing your royal favour and assistance for the   
perfecting thereof.   
 “We may not conceal, though this work hath   
been begun and prosecuted by such instruments   
as God has raised up here; yet the chief charge   
and cost, which hath supported and carried it   
thus far, hath been from the charity and piety of   
divers of our well affected countrymen in Eng-  
­land; who, being sensible of our inability in that   
respect, and studious to promote so good a work,   
contributed large sums of money, which were to   
be improved according to the direction and order   
of the then prevailing powers; which bath been   
faithfully and religiously attended, both there   
and here, according to the pious intentions of the   
benefactors. And we most humbly beseech your   
Majesty, that a matter of so much devotion and

308 APPENDIX.

piety, tending so much to the honour of God,   
may suffer no disappointment through any legal   
defect, without the fault of the donors, or poor   
Indians, who only receive the benefit; but that   
your Majesty be graciously pleased to establish   
and confirm the same; being contrived and   
done, as we conceive, in that first year of your   
Majesty's reign, of this book was begun and   
now finished the first year of your establish­-  
ment: which doth not only presage the happy   
success of your Highness's government, but will   
be a perpetual monument, that by your Majes-  
­ty's favour, the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ   
was made known to the Indians; an honour   
whereof, we are assured, your Majesty will not   
a little esteem.   
 “Sir, the shine of your royal favour upon   
these undertakings will make these tender plants   
to flourish, notwithstanding any malevolent as-  
pect from those that bear evil will to this Sion;   
and render your Majesty more illustrious and   
glorious to after generations.   
 “The God of heaven long preserve and bless   
your Majesty with many happy days, to his   
glory, the good and comfort or his church and   
people. Amen.”

APPENDIX. 309

E.--See page 182.

The Society for Propagating the Gospel   
among the Indians has been mentioned several   
times in this work.   
 About the year 1648, during the Protectorate   
of Cromwell, when the Presbyterians and Inde­-  
pendents and influence in England, a Society   
was formed through the influence, it is believed,   
of Gov. Winslow, and called the Society for   
Propagating the Gospel among the Indians and   
others in North America.   
 It is somewhere stated respecting Cromwell   
that he had conceived a very extensive scheme   
for the universal propagation of the Gospel, bor-  
­rowing the zeal and ingenuity of the Jesuits, and   
intending to meet and counteract their efforts   
everywhere, This scheme perished with him   
in his early death. Even the Society for Propa­-  
gating the Gospel among the Indians, &c., did   
not long survive the restoration of royalty in   
1660. But during its existence under the Com-  
monwealth it rendered aid to Mayhew, Eliot,   
and others, the funds being applied here through   
the Commissioners of the four Colonies.   
 The Society being dissolved at the Restora-  
­tion of monarchy under Charles II., an urgent

310 APPENDIX.

application was soon made for another Society   
having the some name and objects. The hon­-  
orable and distinguished Robert Boyle was Pres-  
­ident of the new Society. He had great wealth,   
and used it with profuse liberality. The cele-  
­brated Bishop Burnet was his almoner in many   
private as well as public charities. He distrib­-  
uted a thousand pounds a year for several years   
before his death among the French refugees in   
England. He also gave yearly, for a long time,   
the sum of three hundred pounds for the propa-  
­gation of the Gospel in North America. Mr.   
Eliot's letters to his noble benefactor, which may   
be found in the Collections of the Mass. Hist.   
Society, will be read with interest.   
 The Indian School, at Cambridge, was sup-  
­ported by the funds of this Society, and a build­-  
ing erected for it by the same. In 1665 there   
were eight Indian youths in that school. Eliot's   
Indian Bible was printed at the expense of this   
Society, and cost £500, or not far from two   
thousand dollars.   
 For a few years, the General Court of Mas-  
­sachusetts granted five hundred dollars towards   
the object of this Society. At the suggestion of   
the Society the Governor issued a request for   
contributions in its behalf to the towns of

APPENDIX. 311

the Commonwealth. About $1560 were col­lected.   
 This Society continues to this time. In 1800,   
its funds amounted to $20,000. At present they   
are not far from twice that sum. It is in the  
hands of members of the Unitarian denomi­-  
nation.  
 F.   
 Letters of Mr. Eliot to Hon. Robert Boyle  
may be found in Mass. Hist. Coll. 1792. Also   
two interesting letters from the same in Fran­-  
ces' Life of Eliot, pp. 260 and 267.

G.

See, for an account of the Missionary Labors   
of the Mayhews, Wilson's Memoirs of Eliot; pp.   
273-9.

H.

See Wilson's Memoirs of E., p. 290.

\*See Smith & Choules’ Hist. Miss. 1832, Vol. II

312 APPENDIX.

I.

Mr. Eliot's Observations on forming the In-  
­dian Alphabet, do. do., p. 284.

K.   
 For an account of Rev. William Leverich, and   
some other laborers among the Indians, see   
Wilson's Memoirs, pp. 267-60. p. 278-99.

L., --See page 133.

The following petitions of Mr. Eliot have been   
 copied for this work from the Mass. State   
 Papers. The first is a temperance document   
 which has not lost any pertinency or force   
 by age.

Petition of John Eliot to the \_\_\_\_\_ General   
 Court concerning the Indians,  
  
SHEWETH,   
 That whereas the Indians have frequent   
recourse to English townes and especially to   
Boston where they too often see evil examples   
of excessive drinking with English who are too

APPENDIX. 313

often disgraced with that beastly sin of drunk-  
­enness. And themselves many of them greatly   
delighting in strong liquors, not considering the   
strength and evil of them, and also too well   
knowing the liberty of the law which prohib-  
­iteth above half a pint of wine to a man that   
therefore they may without offence to the law   
have their half pint, and when they have had   
it in one place they goe to another and have   
the like till they be drunken. And sometime   
find too much entertainment that way by such   
who keepe no ordinary only desire theire trade   
though it be with the hurt and perdition of their   
soules. Therefore my humble request unto this   
honored Court is this, that there may be but one   
ordinary in all Boston who may have liberty to   
sell wine or any strong drink unto the Indians.   
And that whoever shall further them in their   
vicious drinking for theirs own base ends who   
keep no ordinary may not be suffered in such a   
sinne without due punishment. And that at   
what ordinary soever in any other towne as   
well as Boston any Indian shall be found drunk,   
having had any considerable quantity of drink   
there, they should come under severe censure.   
These things I am bold to present unto you for   
the preventing of those scandalous evils which

VOL. III. 27

314 APPENDIX.

greatly blemish and interrupt their entertain­-  
ment of the Gospel through the policy of Satan   
who counter worketh Christ with not a little un-  
­comfortable success. And thus with my hearty   
desire of the gracious and blessed presence of   
God among you in all your weighty affairs, I  
humbly take leave and rest your servant to com-   
mand in our Savour Christ,

JOHN ELIOT.   
this 23d of the 8th 1648.

M.--See page 134.

The next petition is exceedingly interesting.

To the Honorable the Governor and Council   
 sitting at Boston the 13th of the 6th, 1675.   
 The humble petition of John Eliot,   
  
SHEWETH,

That the terrour of selling away such Indians   
in the Ilands for perpetual Slaves who shall   
yield up themselves to your mercy is likely to   
be an effectual prolongation of the warre and   
such an exasperation of them as may produce   
we know not what evil consequences upon all   
the land. Christ hath said, “Blessed are the   
merciful, for they shall obtain mercy,” This   
[treatment] of them is worse than death. To

APPENDIX. 315

put to death men that have deserved to die is an   
ordinance of God and a blessing is promised to   
it. It may be done in faith. The design of   
Christ in these last days is not to extirpate na-  
­tions but to gospelize them. He will spread the   
Gospel sound the world about, rev. 11. 15. The   
kingdoms of the world have become the king­  
doms of our Lord and of his Christ. His sover­-  
eign hand and grace hath brought the Gospel into   
these dark places of the earth. When we came   
we declared to the world, and it is recorded, yea   
we are instructed by our letters patent from the   
King's majesty that the endeavour of the In-  
­dians conversion not their extirpation was one   
great end of our enterprize in coming to these   
ends of the earth. The Lord hath so succeeded   
his work as that (by his grace) they have the   
Holy Scriptures and sundry of themselves able  
to teach their countrymen the good knowledge   
of God. The light of the Gospel is risen   
among those who sat in darkness and in the re­-  
gion of the shadow of death. And however   
some of them have refused to receive the Gos-  
­pel, and are now incensed in their spirits unto a   
warre against the English, yet by that good   
promise, Ps. 1:1-6, I doubt not but the mean-   
ing of Christ is to open the door for the free pas-

316 APPENDIX.

sage of the Gospel among them, and that the   
Lord will publish that word, v. 6. Yet have I   
set my king on my holy hill of Syon, though   
some rage at it. My humble request is if you   
would follow Christ his design in this matter to   
promote the free passage of religion among   
them and not destroy them. To send them   
away from the light of the Gospel which Christ  
hath graciously given them unto a place, a state,   
a way of spiritual darkness to the eternal ruin   
of their souls is as I apprehend to net contrary   
to the mind of Christ. God's command is that   
we should inlarge the kingdom of Jesus Christ.  
Esay, 54:2. Enlarge the place of thy tent. It   
seemeth to me that to sell them away for slaves   
is to hinder the inlargement of his kingdom.   
How can a Christian [soule yield to act]-(these   
words are indistinct) in casting away their   
soules for which Christ hath with an eminent   
hand provided an offer of the Gospel. To sell   
soules for money seemeth to me a dangerous   
merchandise. If they deserve to dy, it is far   
better to be put to death under godly [rulers]   
who will take care if meanes may be used that   
they may die penitently. To fall away from all   
meanes of grace when Christ hath provided   
meanes of grace for them, is for us to be active

APPENDIX. 317

in the destroying their soules when we are   
highly obliged to seek their conversion and sal-  
­vation and have opportunity in our hands so to   
doe. Deut. 23:15, 16.\* A fugitive servant   
from his Pagan master might not be delivered   
to his master, but be kept in Israel for the good   
of his soul. How much less lawful is it to sell   
away souls from under the light of the Gospel   
into a condition where their souls will be utterly   
lost, so far as appertains unto man. All men (of   
rending) condemned the Spaniard for cruelty   
upon this point for destroying men and depopu-  
­lating the land. The country is large enough,   
here is land enough for them and us to, Prov.   
14:28. In the multitude of people is the King's   
honor. It will be much to the glory of Christ   
to have many brought in to worship his great   
name. I beseech the honored Council to par­-  
don my boldnesse, and let the case of conscience   
be discussed orderly before the thing be acted.   
Cover my weaknesse and weigh the reason and   
religion that laboreth in this great case of con-   
science.

\*“Thou shalt not deliver unto his master the servant which is   
escaped,” &c.

27\*

318 APPENDIX.

N.-See page 136.

The following petition of Mr. Eliot illustrates   
 the kind interest which he took in the com-  
 ­mon and private affairs of the Indians. I   
 have copied it from Mass. State Papers, (In­-  
 dian Papers) 30. p. 15. 1639-1705.

PETITION THAT TWO INDIANS MAY HAVE THEIR   
 DUE.

The humble petition of John Eliot to this Hon­-  
 orable Court.

First in the behalfe of Totherswompe unto   
whom one of Uncas his men doth owe 18 fath-  
­om of wampompeague for 6 beare skins and he   
cannot obtain justice with ease and therefore   
doth humbly intreat this honored Court to pro-  
­cure justice for him in this particular. Phoxon   
well knoweth his demand is just and true, as   
Thomas and Stanton can testify.   
 The other is in behalf of Anonganisch, who   
lost 17 fathom which Uncas and his men tooke   
unjustly from him 3 years since when they fell   
upon the Indians by Mr. Winthrop's plantation,   
and he saith that when his case was at this   
Court formerly heard The Govemour promised   
him that he should have justice, and that doth   
embolden him to sue again in the case. The

APPENDIX. 319

bringing them to doe justice doth so far cause   
them to honour and acknowledge God and there­-  
fore I humbly entreat your favour in further­-  
ance of the same, and so commending all your   
weighty occasions to the blessing of the Lord.

Your worships servant   
 in Jesus Christ,   
 JOHN ELIOT.\*

O.--See page 48.

THE CHURCH IN ROXBURY.

(See Am. Quarterly Register, Vol. 8th.)   
 THOMAS WELDE, the first Minister of Rox­-  
bury, was a minister in Essex, England. Re-

\* Those who are interested in the subjects referred to in   
other petitions or Mr. Eliot may find those petitions as follows:   
 Petition that the Indians may have more land, Mass. State Papers,  
30, page 31.   
 Petition in relation to exchange of land with the Indians, do. do.   
page 81.   
 Statement of John Eliot respecting land,, do. do. pp. 99, 100.   
 Complains of wrong done to the Nipmucks by the Narragansetts,   
 do. do, page 138.   
 Gookin’s and Eliot’s petition for lands for the Christian Indians,   
 do. do. p. 286.   
 There are also some original MSS. of Mr. Eliot's in the Hutchin-   
son papers in the Library of the Mass. Historical Society, but they   
are somewhat illegible and of no special pertinency to the present   
work.

320 APPENDIX.

fusing to conform to the requirements of the   
Established Church, he sought the quiet enjoy-  
ment of the rights of conscience in this country.   
He arrived in Boston, June 6, 1632. and entered   
upon the pastoral office in Roxbury, at which   
time the Church was embodied. In 1641, he   
was sent as an agent, with Rev. Hugh Peters,   
to England for the Province and never returned.   
 John ELIOT became teacher of the Church in   
Roxbury, Nov. 6, 1632. The next year he be-  
came colleague with Mr. Welde.   
 SAMUEL DANFORTH was colleague with Mr.   
Eliot after Mr. Welde went to England. He   
continued in office 24 years.   
 NEHEMIAH WALTER, born in Ireland, came to   
Boston at the age of 16. Graduated at Harvard   
College, and was the third colleague of Mr.   
Eliot. He had so good knowledge of the French   
Language that he preached to a society of French   
Protestants while their Pastor was absent.   
Whitefield called him “the good old Puritan.”   
A well known publication of his is called, “The   
Wonderfulness of Christ.”  
 THOMAS WALTER, his son, became colleague   
with his father, but died 7 years after.   
 OLIVER PEABODY, son of the Missionary at   
Natick of the same name, succeeded Mr. Wal-

APPENDIX. 321

ter, but continued only 18 months, and died   
when on the eve of being married, aged 27.   
 AMOS ADAMS, was Pastor at Roxbury 22 years   
and died of the epidemic which prevailed in the   
camp at Roxbury and Cambridge. The tide of   
one of his published Sermons was, The only   
Hope and Refuge of Sinners.   
 ELIPHALET PORTER succeeded him and con-  
­tinued in office 51 years.   
 GEORGE PUTNAM, the present Pastor, was or-  
­dained colleague with him, July 7, 1830.   
  
 A Church was organized in Roxbury, Sept.   
18, 1834, composed of Members of Evangelical   
sentiments, and of the Orthodox Congregational   
denomination. It took the name of “ELIOT   
CHURCH.”  
 Rev. John S. C. Abbott was ordained Pastor,   
Nov. 25, 1835.   
 Rev. Augustus C. Thompson was ordained   
Pastor, July 27, 1842.

P .--See page 61.

ROXBURY “ELIOT SCHOOL FUND.”  
 “Eliot School Fund had its origin in the do-  
­nation of Rev. John Eliot; of Roxbury, well   
known as the Apostle to the Indians, who, in

322 APPENDIX.

the year 1689, conveyed an estate of about sev-  
enty-five acres of land to certain persons and  
their heirs, as Trustees for “the maintenance,  
support and encouragement of a school and   
called Jamaica or the Pond Plain. for the teach-   
and instructing of the children of that end   
of the town (together with such Indians and ne-  
groes as shall or may come to the said school)   
and to no other use, intent, or purpose what-  
­ever. This is the language of the deed.” (The   
fund was afterwards increased by donations.)   
 “The Eliot school fund consists (1840) of   
$9,699 94. The School also possesses some   
real estate, which yields an annual income of   
$381.”  
 Report or the Committee on the School Fund,   
Roxbury. Auditor's Reports, 1831- 1846.

The following are the principal of Mr. Eliot's   
publications. It is remarkable that no entire   
Sermon of his has been preserved.   
 Answer to Norcott's book against Infant Bap-  
tism.   
 The Harmony of the Gospels in the Holy   
History or Jesus Christ.

APPENDIX. 323

The Christian Commonwealth.   
 The Divine management of Gospel Churches   
by the Ordinance or Councils, constituted in or-  
­der according to the Scriptures, which may be a   
means or uniting those two holy and eminent   
parties, the Presbyterians and the Congrega-  
tional.  
 Indian Bible, Catechism. and Psalms of Da-  
vid in metre.   
 Baxter's “Call to the unconverted,” translated   
into the Indian Tongue.   
 The Practice of Piety, translated into the   
Indian Tongue. This book was written by   
Lewis Bayly, for some time Chaplain to James   
the First. In 1792, it had reached the seventy-  
first edition. The author was promoted to the   
see of Bangor, 1616. See Lib. Am. Biog. V.   
245. Francis' Life or Eliot. BLOG. BRITAN,   
Art. BAYLY.   
 Thomas Shepard's Sincere Convert, trans-  
­lated into the Indian tongue.   
 Thomas Shepard's Sound Believer, translated   
into the Indian tongue.   
 Indian, Primer.   
 This little book has been of great help to   
linguists by the division of syllables in it for   
children, thereby giving learners of a larger   
growth some insight into the formation of In-   
words.

324 APPENDIX.   
   
 NOTE.

The following appropriate conclusion to this volume came to hand  
just as the last pages were going to press.

The CHOCTAWS TO THEIR WHITE BRETHREN OF   
IRELAND. – A meeting for the relief of the starving  
poor of Ireland was held at the Choctaw agency, on  
the 23d ult. Maj. William. Armstrong was called to   
the chair, and J. B. Luce was appointed secretary.  
A circular of the “Memphis committee” was read   
by Maj. Armstrong, after which the meeting contrib-   
uted $170. All subscribed, agents, missionaries,  
traders and Indians, a considerable portion of which   
fund was made up by the latter. The “poor Indian”   
sending his mite to the poor Irish!

[Arkansas, Intelligencer, April 3.]