

THE
LIFE OF JOHN ELIOT,
APOSTLE OF THE INDIANS.

By John Wilson (1804-1875)

“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.”— Richard Baxter.

REVISED BY THE EDITORS.

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The original work, of which this is an abridgement, and carefully revised by the editors, was written in Scotland a year or two since. We have given it a place in our Sunday School and Youth's Library, not only because it is so excellent in itself, and makes a part, and a bright part too, in the early history of our pilgrim fathers, — but that it might accompany the admirable Life of David Brainerd, written expressly for our library by a “Friend of Sabbath Schools;” for whom we earnestly pray to God, that he may long live to continue his labours among us in this great and holy cause.

Our young readers have scarcely any correct idea of the Indian nations which inhabited New-England, to which Mr. Eliot preached; and New-York and Pennsylvania, to whom Mr. Brainerd preached; both with distinguished success. The lives of Brainerd and Eliot will give them much useful information, and inspire them with a proper disposition toward missionary

efforts, particularly among our north-western Indians. The missionary spirit of Brainerd and Eliot is reviving in our American Churches, and will shortly rest on some of our young readers, when the fathers have fallen asleep in their graves

Editors

CHAPTER I.

Some particulars of Eliot's early years — His removal to America — Settlement at Roxbury.

John Eliot was born in England in the year 1604. His early life is involved in obscurity, and even the names and circumstances of his parents are now unknown. It appears, however, that he enjoyed the unspeakable blessing of a Christian education, which issued in his conversion, and led him to remark, when advanced to manhood, that “he saw that it was a great favour of God to him, to season his first times with the fear of God, the word, and prayer.”

He received an excellent education at the university of Cambridge, England, and made remarkable progress in his studies. He became an excellent grammarian, and attained an extensive knowledge of theology, of the original languages of the sacred Scriptures, and of the sciences and liberal arts.

On his leaving the university, he was placed in circumstances highly favourable to his mental and moral improvement, and which afforded him important means of usefulness to his fellow creatures. About the year 1629, the pious and en-

lightened Thomas Hooker, who afterward proved one of the most distinguished divines of New-England, having on account of his nonconformity, been suspended from the exercise of the ministry at Chelmsford, in Essex, England, established a school at Little Baddow. Mr. Eliot was employed as his usher; and he discharged the duties with great fidelity. His services proved very acceptable to Mr. Hooker, who took the greatest interest in his welfare, successfully directed him to the solemn consideration of Divine truth, and deeply impressed his mind with his obligations to glorify his Redeemer. The blessings which he enjoyed at Little Baddow were gratefully remembered.

"To this place I was called," he writes, "through the infinite riches of God's mercy in Christ Jesus to my poor soul, for here the Lord said unto my dead soul, Live; and through the grace of God I do live, and shall live for ever! When I came to this blessed family, I then saw, and never before, the power of godliness in its LIVELY VIGOUR and EFFICACY."

Mr. Eliot having experienced this change in his views and feelings on the subject of religion, devoted himself to the work of preaching the Gospel to his fellow creatures. Reflecting, however, on the unscriptural and cruel measures which were so ardently pursued by King James, and the persons who were at the head of ecclesiastical affairs, he found that he would be unable to continue in the office of the ministry in his native land, and resolved to depart to

America, where he hoped to enjoy liberty of conscience. He arrived at Boston in the month of November, 1631, eleven years after the first English settlers landed at Plymouth.

Deeply impressed with the necessity of using all the means in his power for the promotion of his spiritual interest, and the improvement of his fellow creatures, he lost no time in altering into Christian communion with the Congregational Church, which had been formed at Boston by the first colonists of Massachusetts Bay, and in agreeing to act as pastor, during the absence of its regular minister, the Rev. John Wilson.

In 1632 he married a pious young lady, and as he had agreed, with a number of his Christian friends, to devote himself to their service in the Gospel, if they should cross the Atlantic, they had erected a town called Roxbury, about B mile distant from Boston, and formed themselves into a Church, and soon had he happiness of finding that Mr. Eliot had resolved to minister among them in holy things.

Mr. Eliot engaged in the ministry with great humility. He was strongly impressed with the awful responsibility of the office; and when he considered its duties, difficulties, and temptations, he found that a reliance on that grace, which is all-sufficient, could alone support his soul.

In his preparation for the pulpit he was remarkably diligent. The "unsearchable riches of Christ" was the general theme of his dis-

courses. Like the great apostle of the Gentiles, he was determined "to know nothing among his people save Jesus Christ and him crucified." He endeavoured, therefore, to improve every subject which he treated, for the purpose of drawing sinners to the Saviour.

Conscious of the infinite value of Divine truth, and realizing the awful importance of his circumstances, as an ambassador of the King of kings, he used great plainness of speech when he declared the message of God to rebellious man, and a manner of delivery which was solemn, energetic, and graceful.

Conceiving that one of the principal ends of Church fellowship was to represent to the world the qualifications of those who "should ascend the hill of the Lord, and stand in his holy place for ever," he diligently rebuked the sins of professors. "He would sound the trumpet of God," says Dr. Mather, "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 of the law given from that burning mountain. There was usually a special fervour in the rebukes which he bestowed on carnality. When he was to brand the earthly-mindedness of Church members, and the allowance of indulgence which they often gave themselves in sensual delights, he was a right Boanerges, — he spoke as many thunderbolts as words."

While he was thus zealous for the glory of God in his public ministrations, he was not neg-

lectful of the private, though no less important duties of his calling. He was, indeed, the father of his people. By holding frequent intercourse with them, he greatly endeared himself to them, and became acquainted with the extent of their knowledge of Divine things, with their trials and difficulties, with their joys and sorrows. He was in this manner enabled to act as their instructor, counsellor, and comforter. Aware that mankind, in their natural state, are averse to the truths of the Gospel, and unwilling to accept the Saviour, he was instant in season, and out of season, in striving to win souls to Christ, and went to the highways and hedges, that he might compel sinners to come to the marriage supper of the Lamb. When his neighbours were in distress, he spent whole days in fasting and prayer on their behalf, and often requested his friends to join with him in these exercises.

He was remarkably devoted to the welfare of the children of his congregation; and in their service he had a peculiar delight. He spent much of his time in their public and private instruction; and he composed several catechisms, with the view of guarding their tender minds from pernicious errors. When he came into a family, he was accustomed to call for all the young people in it, that he might lay his hands on every one of them, and implore: a blessing on their behalf. At Roxbury, he was careful to have a grammar school in complete efficiency; and he used his influence to have a similar institution established and supported in many

other places. "I cannot forget the ardour," says Dr. Mather, "with which I once heard him pray at a synod held in Boston. 'Lord, for schools every where among us! That our schools may flourish! That every member of this assembly may go home to procure a good school to be encouraged in the town where he lives! That before we die we may be happy to see a good school established in every part of the country!'" The success which attended his labours for the education of the young was great; and he had the happiness of being the indirect instrument of raising up many individuals, who, as ministers of the Gospel, were remarkably blessed by the Head of the Church.

Accustomed to view himself as one who had been set apart for the spiritual service of the Lord, he entangled not himself among the affairs of the world. So much, indeed, was his mind engrossed with the care of his people, that sometimes he seemed ignorant of the property which he possessed; and so much did he rest contented with his temporal circumstances, that he chose rather to accept the precarious, but voluntary contributions of the members of his Church, than to demand the payment of any stipulated sum. He gave much of his substance to feed the poor, who counted him as a father, and repaired to him with filial confidence. He was of opinion, that "he had nothing but what he gave away;" and that "looking over his accounts, he could no where find the God of heaven a debtor."

The following anecdote, which is related by Dr. Dwight, and the authenticity of which we have no reason to doubt, may serve as an illustration:-- "The parish treasurer having paid him his salary, put it into a handkerchief, and tied it into as many hard knots as he could make, to prevent 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, gave the handkerchief to the mistress of the house, saying, 'Here, my dear, take it; I believe the Lord designs it all for you.'"-- (Travels in New-England and New-York, vol. iii, p. 115.)

With the view of encouraging the labours of his brethren in the ministry, as well as edifying and refreshing his own soul, he regularly attended the occasional lectures which they delivered at Boston, Cambridge, Charlestown, and Dorchester. To their instructions he was very attentive; and he repeated them to the individuals with whom he associated, when returning from the house of God, in such a manner as to cause their hearts to burn, while he talked with them by the way.

CHAPTER II.

The propagation of the Gospel, one of the principal ends of the New-England colonies — Beneficial effects of the intercourse of the Indians with the English — Eliot resolves to act as an evangelist — Account of the Indians among whom he proposed to labour.

One of the principal objects which the persons who first proposed to settle in New-England had in view, was the propagation of the Gospel among the natives of that country. We find this to have been particularly the case with the members of the congregations of the pious Robinson, the founders of the first colony, who, reflecting on the fact, that God, in his wise providence, often makes the persecution of the Church the means of its enlargement, considered it one of the greatest grounds of encouragement, to cross the Atlantic, which they were permitted to entertain, that they might be instrumental in advancing the kingdom of Christ in those remote parts of the world, where, from their desire to preserve their liberty of conscience, they were compelled to spend their days. The government at home likewise professed to be zealous for the conversion of the American Indians.

The first settlers in New England were placed in such difficult circumstances, that their time was almost altogether occupied in protecting their lives, providing for their sustenance, and cherishing the Divine life in their own souls. They did not lose sights however, of the deplorable

rable condition of the poor savages; but, as far as their intercourse with them permitted, they endeavoured to commend to them, by their lives and conversations, the religion of Jesus. In the year 1621, we find the Rev. Robert Cushman, of Plymouth colony, informing the public, that “the English were content to bear the intrusion of the Indians, that they might see and take knowledge of their labours, orders, and diligence, both for this life and a better;” that “many of the younger sort were of a tractable disposition, both to religion and humanity;” and that if “God would send them means,” they would “bring up hundreds of them to labour and learning.”

The Indians could not view the Christian conduct of the English, without being led to inquire into the nature of those principles in which it originated; and accordingly we find that the curiosity of several of them having been excited in this way, they obtained a correct idea of the scheme of salvation, and the morality of the Bible. A few of them, indeed, were deeply affected with what they had been taught concerning a future state, and the consequence of the final judgment.

In 1636 the government of Plymouth colony made several laws for preaching the Gospel to the Indians; for admitting English preachers among them; and, with the concurrence of the principal chiefs, for constituting courts to punish misdemeanours.

The conversion of the Indians at length at-

tracted the attention of the general court of Massachusetts; and, in 1646, they passed their first act, encouraging the propagation of the Gospel among them. At the same time, they recommended the ministers to consult about the best means of carrying their benevolent intentions into effect, and showed themselves disposed to countenance whatever measures they might adopt for this purpose.

It appears that Mr. Eliot, about the time when this act was passed, had been led seriously to consider the condition of the poor heathen with whom he was surrounded, and to long for their deliverance from the power of the prince of darkness. His mind must, therefore, have been cheered by the intimation of the purposes of government; and it is not to be wondered at, that, after solemnly inquiring into the duty which devolved on him as a minister of Christ, he should immediately resolve to attempt the work of propagating the Gospel among the Indians to whom he had access.

Before giving an account of his entrance on the work of a missionary, it is necessary to take a brief view of the character and circumstances of the people among whom he was called to labour. It is only in this way that a proper estimate can be formed respecting the strength of the faith and love which he displayed in his future life, — that many of the occurrences which it may be proper to record can be understood, — and that the effects of his labours can be rightly appreciated.

When the British established their first colonies in New-England, there were about twenty or thirty different nations of Indians in that territory, which closely resembled one another in their external appearance, mode of living, form of government, language, religious views, and moral habits. The Indians of Massachusetts were supposed to be among the most populous of all these tribes; and though, owing to their residence on the sea coasts, they had made some little progress in civilization, they were described by those who were acquainted with them as "the most sordid and contemptible of the human race," and "as the veriest ruins of mankind on the face of the earth."

The Indians were remarkable for their strength, agility, and hardiness of constitution. Their clothing, which was very imperfect, was generally formed of the skins of beasts. They were exceedingly fond of decking themselves with fantastic ornaments, and of painting their bodies with ill-shapen figures of men, trees, and other natural objects; and accustomed to respect the individual who could distinguish himself by any peculiarity in his appearance.

Their food, which was principally the produce of their hunting and fishing, and imperfectly cultivated grounds, experienced little preparation before it was used. They had no fixed time for taking their meals; and, owing to their extreme indolence and improvidence, they were frequently subjected to long fastings. They have been known, indeed, to abstain from food for

several days together, and to live for a considerable time on a handful of meal and a spoonful of water. Comfort seems to have been an object which they had not in view, and which, from their ignorance of the most simple mechanical arts, they could not attain, in the construction of their huts or wigwams. These presented a mean appearance, externally and internally, being commonly formed by young trees bent down to the ground, and covered with rush mats, and having very few articles of furniture.

We cannot suppose that the family concerns of the Indians could be well regulated, when we consider that polygamy was prevalent among them; but there were other circumstances connected with them which increased the bad effects of this unnatural arrangement. The husband, instead of extending protection to his wives, uniformly made them the slaves of his slothfulness and caprice; and instead of employing his superior strength for the support of his family, prostituted it to the vile purpose of maintaining a cruel dominion over those whom he ought to have viewed with sentiments of kindness and endearment. In this state of things, the education of the young was an object which was almost entirely neglected.

All the Indian tribes acknowledged the authority of a chief, whom they called Sachem, or Sagamore, and to whom they were accustomed to render blind obedience. They viewed him as the legal proprietor of the whole territory, over which his authority extended; and, when

inclined to raise crops, they solicited hid permission to cultivate the lands.

The government of the Sachems was cruel in the extreme. They ordered their Paniese, or counsellors, who were generally the wisest, strongest, and most courageous men who could be found in their dominions, to be early subjected to a severe discipline, and to perform many cruel exercises, with the view of being qualified for their office, and rendered capable of enduring the greatest hardships. Though they pretended to be guided by the principles of justice, in the distribution of punishment, they made no proper distinctions between the degrees of guilt. From the custom which prevailed, of executing their own sentences, they not unfrequently took delight in the agonies of those whose lives and fortunes they conceived to be entirely at their disposal; and, from the humble submission which was generally rendered to them by the offenders, they found little difficulty in gratifying their evil inclinations, to any extent hich they might desire. The only restraint, indeed, which they experienced, arose from the apprehension which they might entertain, lest their people should forsake them, and place themselves under the protection and government of other Sachems. While, however, they entertained all this disregard to human feeling, they practised the rights of hospitality, and took particular care of the widow, the fatherless, the aged, and those who had no friends who were able to provide for them.

The language of the North American Indians was exceedingly barbarous. Dr. Cotton Mather remarks, that “one would think that its words had been growing ever since Babel,” and gives the following examples of the length of some of them: “Nummatchekodtantamoon-gannunnonash, *our lusts*; Noowomantammoon-kanunnonash, *our loves*; Kummogokdonattoot-tammooctiteaongannunnonash, *our questions*.”

The religion of these tribes, like that of all others who are sunk in heathenism, formed a dreadful example of the mental degradation and debasement of those who have not retained the knowledge of the true God in their minds; and its principles afford a striking illustration of the perversity of the human heart. While they believed in a plurality of gods, who had made the different nations of the world; and while they made gods of every thing which they believed to be great, powerful, beneficial, or hurtful, they conceived that there was one God, known by the name of Kitchtan, and Woonand, who was superior to all the rest; who dwelt in the south-west regions of the heavens; who created the original parents of mankind: who, though never seen by the eye of man, was entitled to gratitude and respect, on account of his natural goodness, and the benefits bestowed by him, — and who was altogether unpropitious when offended. The principal object of their veneration, however, was Hobamoch, or the evil deity. To him they frequently presented, as offerings and sacrifices, the most valuable

articles which they possessed; and his favour they were most desirous of obtaining. Their powahs, or priests, pretended to have familiar intercourse with him; and they affirmed to the people, with the view of maintaining their authority over them, that he often appeared to them in the form of a man, a deer, an eagle, or a snake; and that they understood the method of procuring his kind regards, and averting his judgments.

It is worthy of notice, that the Indians were not accustomed to render adoration to idols; but though they said not to a stock, "Thou art our father, and to a stone, Thou hast brought us forth," They feared and served their powahs more than the Being who created them. These priests were subtle, ambitious, and cruel; and, from the high pretences which they made, they found no difficulty in commanding the veneration of their deluded votaries. They were constantly applied to for advice and protection; and, by the practice of ridiculous tricks, and cruel ceremonies, they wrought effectually on the imaginations of their poor followers. Many wonderful stories are related about their skill in curing the sick, and leading the gods to satisfy their desires.

The morality of the American savages, as we may naturally expect from a consideration of their depraved theology, was extremely lax. Strangers to the gentle affections of mankind, they persecuted their enemies with unrelenting cruelty, and seldom extended forgiveness to

those who had offended them. They even considered themselves bound to avenge the injuries of their friends. A natural consequence of this was a frequency in wars; in carrying on which they used bows and arrows, tomahawks and scalping knives. They were much addicted to lying, stealing, and impurity; and they indulged in drunkenness, as far as they possessed the means of gratifying their desires in this respect. They delighted greatly in dancings and revelings, and wasted much of their time in gaming.

The Indians mourned much for the dead. When they came to a grave, they appeared to be deeply affected with grief; and after they finished an interment, they made great lamentation. They believed in the immortality of the soul; but the joys of their heaven, which was supposed to be in the south-west, were entirely of a carnal kind.

Dr. Mather gives testimony to the exalted character of Mr. Eliot's motives for engaging in the work of an evangelist, and observes, that the "remarkable zeal of the Romish missionaries, compassing sea and land, that they might make proselytes, made his devout soul think of it with a farther disdain, that we should come any whit behind in our care to evangelize the Indians."

CHAPTER III.

Account of Mr. Eliot's first four visits to the Indians
— Progress of the Indians in civilization.

The first object to which Mr. Eliot directed his attention, after he had resolved, in the strength of the Lord, to attempt the instruction of the Indians, was the acquisition of their language. "God first pat into my heart a compassion over their poor souls," he remarks, "and a desire to teach them to know Christ, and to bring them into his kingdom." Then presently he found out, by God's wise providence, a young man who had been a servant in an English house, and who well understood the language, and had a clear pronunciation, whom he employed for an interpreter. By his help he translated the commandments, the Lord's prayer, and many texts of Scripture, and compiled both exhortations and prayers.

By diligent application in this manner, he was soon able to preach to the Indians. His progress was very astonishing; but it is in some degree explained, when we consider the simplicity of his intentions, the ardour of his mind, and his dependence on Divine grace.

He lost no time in entering on his labours, after he was able to communicate his ideas to the Indians in an intelligibly manner; and, on the 26th of October, 1646, after having given due notice of his intentions, he set out, attended by three other persons, to preach his first sermon

to them. The place at which he had invited them to meet him, was situated about four or five miles from his house at Roxbury; and when he approached it, he was met by Waban, "a wise and grave Indian," and several of his friends, who conducted him to a large wigwam, where a considerable congregation had been collected from all quarters, with a view of hearing the "new doctrines to be taught by the English." After having prayed in the English language, he was attentively listened to, while he declared the things which concerned the eternal peace of his auditory. In a sermon, which continued upward of an hour, he gave a clear and succinct account of the law of God, and the dreadful curse of those who violate its commandments; of the character and work of Jesus Christ; of the blessed state of those who embrace him by a true and living faith; and of the dreadful torment of the wicked in the place of punishment. The impressions which this discourse produced were of a very favourable nature, and as far as Waban was concerned, they were never effaced. The poor Indians, having been encouraged to propound any questions connected with the subject on which they had been addressed, availed themselves of the privilege, and afforded satisfactory evidence, that their curiosity had been excited about their most important interests, and that they were desirous of knowing more of the counsel of God than had been declared to them. The questions which they proposed were such as the following:— "How can I come to

know Jesus Christ? Were Englishmen ever so ignorant of Jesus Christ as Indians? Can Jesus Christ understand prayers in the Indian language? How can there be an image of God, since it is forbidden in the second commandment? If the father be wicked, and the child good, will God be offended with that child, because in the second commandment it is said he visits the iniquities of the fathers upon the children? How could all the world become full of people, if they were all once drowned in the flood?" These questions sufficiently prove the attention with which the Indians listened to their teacher; and Mr. Eliot, having given them plain answers, and conversed with them for about three hours, returned home, considering it "a glorious and affecting spectacle, to see a company of perishing, forlorn outcasts, diligently attending to the blessed word of salvation then delivered."

On the 11th of November, Mr. Eliot and his friends again met the Indians, agreeably to an appointment which they had made with them, and had the pleasure of finding a larger company assembled, than on the occasion of their first visit. Mr. Eliot having directed his attention to the children who were present, taught them a few simple truths. He then turned to the adults, and having informed them that he came to bring them good news from God Almighty, the maker of heaven and earth, he preached about an hour concerning the nature of the Divine Being; the necessity of faith in

Christ, and the dreadful judgments of those who neglect the great salvation. One individual shed many tears during the sermon; and the whole audience appeared very serious and listened with attention to the instructions delivered to them. As soon as they obtained liberty to ask questions for their farther information, they took advantage of their teacher's kindness. An old man, with tears in his eyes, asked, "Whether it was not too late for such an old man as he, who was near death, to repent and seek after God?" Some others inquired, "How the Indians came to differ so much from the English in their knowledge of God and Jesus Christ, since they had all but one father? How it came to pass that sea water was salt, and river water fresh? How it came to pass that if the water was higher than the earth it did not overflow the whole world? How may Indians come to know God?" Mr. Eliot and his friends spent several hours in answering these and similar questions, and they had reason to believe that the Holy Spirit gave testimony to the truth declared. During the concluding prayer, an event occurred of the most interesting nature. "I cast my eye on one," says one of Mr. Eliot's friends, "who was hanging down his head, weeping. He held up his head for a while; yet such was the power of the word on his heart, that he hung down his head again, and covered his eyes again, and so fell wiping and wiping them, weeping abundantly, continuing thus till prayer was ended; after which he

presently turns from us, and turns his face to a side and corner of the wigwam, and there falls a weeping more abundantly by himself; which one of us perceiving, went to him, and spake to him encouraging words, at the hearing of which he fell a weeping more and more: so leaving him, he who spake to him came unto me, being newly gone out of the wigwam, and told me of his tears; so we resolved to go again both of us to him, and speak to him again. We met him coming out of the wigwam, and there we spake again to him; and there he fell into a more abundant renewed weeping, like one deeply and inwardly affected indeed, which forced us also to such bowels of compassion, that we could not forbear weeping over him also; and so we parted, greatly rejoicing for such sorrowing."

The result of these two visits was very encouraging to Mr. Eliot, and he resolved to continue his labours. On the 26th of the month, however, when he met the Indians for the third time, he found, that though many of them had constructed wigwams at the place of meeting, with the view of more readily attending the ministry of the word, his audience was not so numerous as on the former occasions. The powahs had strictly charged the people not to listen to the instructions of the English, and threatened them with death in case of disobedience. Mr. Eliot having warned his auditors against the impositions of these priests, proceeded to discourse as formerly. He was heard with the greatest attention, and some of the Indians were deeply

affected by his sermon. "It is wonderful," observed one of his friends, when writing on this subject, "to see what a little leaven will work, when the Spirit of Christ hath the setting it on — even upon hearts and spirits most incapable. An English youth, of good capacity, who lodged in Waban's wigwam on the night after the third meeting, assured us, that the same night Waban instructed all his company out of the things which he had heard that day from the preacher, and prayed among them; and waking often that night, continually fell to praying, and speaking to some or other, of the things which he had heard." Two or three days after these impressions had been made, Mr. Eliot had the satisfaction of finding that they were likely to be attended with permanent consequences. Wampas, an intelligent Indian, came with two of his companions to the English, and desired to be admitted into their families. He brought his son, and several other children with him, and begged that they might be educated in the Christian faith, "because they would grow rude and wicked at home, and would never come to know God, which they hoped they should do, if they were constantly among the English." The example of these individuals was of a very salutary nature; and all the Indians who were present at the fourth meeting on the 9th December, offered their children to be instructed.

Mr. Eliot was greatly encouraged by this remarkable success which attended his first

missionary labours; and perceiving that the Indians were desirous of adopting the arts of civilized life, he “abhorred that he should sit still and let that work alone,” and lost no time in addressing himself to the general court of the colony, in behalf of those who showed a willingness to be placed under his care. His application was successful; and the Indians having received from the court some land, on which they might build a town, and enjoy the Christian instruction which they desired, met together, and gave their assent to several laws, which had been framed for the purpose of enforcing industry and decency, and securing personal and domestic comfort, under penalties which must have presented to them a sufficient motive to obedience.

The ground of the town having been marked out, Mr. Eliot advised the Indians to surround it with ditches and a stone wall; and gave them instruments for accomplishing these objects, and such rewards in money as induced them to work hard. He soon had the pleasure of seeing Nonanetum completed.

The progress in civilization which followed these arrangements was remarkable. The women, who were formerly the cultivators of the soil, began to learn to spin, and to make several little articles which in winter they disposed of at the neighbouring markets. They also sold cranberries, strawberries, and fish in spring; and whortleberries, grapes, and fish in summer. Mr. Eliot instructed the men in husbandry and

the more simple mechanical arts. In hay-time and harvest they assisted the English in the fields; but they were neither so industrious, nor so capable of hard labour, as those who had been accustomed to it from early life.

Mr. Eliot's efforts for the civilization of the Indians afforded great delight to the rulers of the colony; and they resolved to co-operate with him as far as they were able. On the 26th of May, 1647, they passed an act establishing courts of judicature among them, authorizing the appropriation of all the fines which the magistrates might receive to the education of the children, and requiring Mr. Eliot to explain the reasonableness of the English laws.

Mr. Eliot, encouraged by his success, resolved to establish another lecture at a place called Neponsitt, (within the bounds of the settlement of Dorchester,) about four miles south from Roxbury. The following extract from one of his letters, dated the 24th of September, 1647, refers to his labours at this place as well as at Nonanetum, and shows that the word of God had come home to the souls of the poor pagans in demonstration of the Spirit and of power: —

"The effect of the word which appears among them, and the change which is among them, is this: — They have utterly forsaken all their powahs, and given over that diabolical exercise, being convinced that it is quite contrary to praying unto God; yea, sundry of their powahs have renounced their wicked employ-

meat, have condemned it as evil, and resolved never to use it more.

“They pray unto God constantly in their families, morning and evening, and that with great affection, as hath been seen and heard by sundry persons that have gone to their wigwams at such times; as also when they go to meat, they solemnly pray and give thanks to God as they see the English do. When they come to English houses they desire to be taught; and if meat be given them, they pray and give thanks to God; and usually express their great joy that they are taught to know God, and their great affection to them that teach them. They are careful to instruct their children, and they are also strict against any profanation of the Sabbath, by working, fishing, hunting, &c.

“In ray exercise among them we attend to four things beside prayer to God. First, I catechise the children and youth, wherein some are very ready and expert. Secondly, preach unto them out of some texts of Scripture, wherein I study all plainness and brevity; unto which many are very attentive. Thirdly, If there be any occasion, we in the next place go to admonition and censure,— unto which they submit themselves reverently and obediently, and confess their sins with much plainness and without shillings and excuses. Fourthly, The last exercise we have among them is their asking us questions, — and very many they have asked which I have forgotten; but some few that come to my remembrance I will briefly touch. ‘Be-

fore I knew God,' said one, 'I thought I was well, but since I have known God and sin, I find my heart full of sin, and more sinful than ever it was before, — and this hath been a great trouble to me; and at this day my heart is but very little better than it was, and I am afraid I will be as bad again as I have been. Now, my question is, whether is this a sin or not?' Another great question was this : When I preached out of 1 Cor. vi, 9, 10, 11, old Mr. Brown being present, observed them to be much affected, and one especially did weep very much; and after that there was a general question, 'Whether any of them should go to heaven, seeing they found their hearts full of sin?' The next meeting being at Dorchester Mill, they did there propound it, expressing their fears that none of them should be saved; which did draw forth my heart to preach and press the promise of pardon to all that were weary and sick of sin; and this doctrine some of them in a special manner did receive in a very reverend manner. This very day I have been with the Indians, and one of their questions was, to know what to say to such Indians as oppose their praying to God, and believing in Jesus Christ. 'What get you,' say they, 'by praying to God and believing in Jesus Christ? You go naked stilly and you are as poor as we, and our corn is as good as yours, and we take more pleasure than you. Did we see that you got any thing by it we would pray to God and believe in Jesus. Christ also.' I answered them.

First, God giveth unto us two sorts of good things: one sort are little things, the other sort are great ones. The little mercies are riches, —as clothes, food, sack, houses, cattle, and pleasures; these are little things which serve but for our bodies a little while in this life. The great mercies are wisdom, the knowledge of God, Christ, eternal life, repentance, faith; these are mercies for the soul and for eternal life. Now, though God do yet give you the little mercies, he giveth you that which is a great deal better, which the wicked Indians cannot see. And this I proved to them by this example: — When Foxun, the Mohegan counsellor, 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, and repentance, and faith, but he sat and had not one word to say unless you talked of hunting, wars, &c. Secondly, you have some more clothes than they; and the reason why you have no more is, because you have but a little wisdom. If you were more wise, to know God, and obey his commandments, you would work more than you do, for God commandeth, Six days shalt thou work,

“There do sundry times fall out differences among them, and they usually bring their cases to me, and sometimes such as it is needful for me to decline. Their young men, who of all the rest live most idly and dissolutely, now begin to go to service. They moved for a

school, and through God's mercy a course is now taken that there be schools at both places where their children are taught."

On the 3d of March, 1647, four of the ministers in New-England, accompanied by many Christian friends, went to Nonanetum with the view of attending Mr. Eliot's Indian lecture. They had the pleasure of witnessing this interesting service, and engaging in conversation with the converts who were present. The questions proposed on this occasion, both by the men and the women, evinced a progress in the Divine life which was truly cheering. The ministers remarked, that "they saw the Lord Jesus leading the Indians to make narrow inquiries into the things of God," and expressed their fervent gratitude for the influences of the Spirit which had been poured out on their souls.

In the summer of the same year Mr. Whitefield again visited the Indians at Nonanetum. He was struck with astonishment at their appearance; and from their general behaviour, and decent apparel, he could scarcely distinguish them from the English people. On the 9th of June a meeting of a synod was held at Cambridge; and with the view of confirming the reports which had been spread respecting the work of the Lord among the Indians, and of exciting a spirit of prayer on their behalf among the Churches, Mr. Eliot was requested on this occasion to convene them in the afternoon, and to address them from the word of God. He collected a large company, and preached to them

concerning their miserable condition without Christ, from Ephes. ii, 1, "You hath he quickened who were dead in trespasses and sins." When his sermon was finished, a considerable time, as usual, was spent in conversation with the Indians, who deeply impressed the English by their anxiety to obtain knowledge, and by the simplicity with which they received the truth. "Their gracious attention to the word of God," remarks Mr. Shepard, "the affections and mournings of some of them under it, their sober propoundings of divers spiritual questions, their aptness to understand and believe what was replied to them, the readiness of divers poor naked children to answer openly the chief questions in the catechism, 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 up their hearts to great thankfulness to God; very many deeply and abundantly mourning for joy, to see such a blessed day, and the Lord Jesus so much spoken of among such as never heard of him before."

At the conclusion of one of Mr. Eliot's sermons, the aged man, to whom allusion has already been made as deeply affected by the ministry of the word, addressed his countrymen in the most energetic and earnest manner; and praised the goodness which God had manifested to the Indians, in sending his word to remove their darkness and ignorance.

So acute were many of the questions proposed by the Indians, and so deeply expressive of concern for their souls, that Mr. Edward Jackson, a respectable gentleman, was induced regularly to attend Mr. Eliot, for the purpose of noting them for his own improvement. He furnished Mr. Shepard with a long list of these questions, from which a few are here selected: "Why are some men so bad that they hate those men that would teach them good things? If a father pray to God to teach his sons to know him, and he teach them himself, and they will not learn to know God, what should such a father do? How long is it before men believe that have the word of God made known to them? If we be made weak by sin in our hearts, how can we come before God to sanctify a Sabbath?"

Mr. Jackson, in passing some of the wigwams a little after sunrise, observed one of the Indians engaged in prayer, and was so much affected by the earnestness displayed, that he considered that God was fulfilling his declaration, that "the ends of the earth shall remember themselves, and turn unto him." On another occasion he observed a father call his children from their work in the field, and devoutly crave a blessing in their behalf on some parched corn to be used for their dinner.

On the 13th October Mr. Eliot preached on the words, "Have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness." When he had concluded his discourse, he was asked by the

Indians about the opinions which Englishmen formed respecting him when he came among wicked Indians .to teach them. From some other questions which were proposed to him, he was led to conclude that the converts entertained the desire of teaching their ignorant countrymen.

At a funeral on the 7th of the same month, which was conducted in the most decent manner, one of the Indians prayed for half an hour. While he was engaged in this exercise, the Indians were so deeply affected that the woods “rang with their sighs and prayers.” A gentleman, who witnessed this earnestness in devotion, remarked, that he was ashamed of himself and his friends, who, with all their knowledge, fell greatly behind their lately barbarous brethren. “God was with Eliot, and the sword of God's word will pierce deep when the hand of a mighty Redeemer hath the laying it on.”

CHAPTER IV.

Eliot continues his labours, and the Indians become more content.

The awakening of the Indians at Nonantum and Neponsitt, raised a great noise among their brethren in different parts of the country; and Mr. Eliot, who was unwearied in his endeavours to promote their salvation, was desirous that his labours should be extended as widely as possible.

A Sachem, from Concord, having attended one of the lectures, was so much affected by it as to desire to forsake his barbarous habits, and to conform to the manners of the English. He informed his chief men of his intentions on the subject, and entreated them to support his views. He was so far successful in his endeavours that they expressed a desire to have a town granted to them, in which they might settle; and entreated Mr. Eliot to preach to them as often as he could find opportunities.

The regulations which they adopted for the management of their affairs, and which were dated at Concord, “in the end of the eleventh month, 1647,” were on the whole very judicious. They strictly prohibited intemperance, impurity, powawing, falsehood, gambling, and quarrels, under severe fines; threatened murder and adultery with death; and enjoined neatness, cleanliness, industry, the payment of debts, and the observance of the other duties of morality.

The Indians at Concord, however, did not rest satisfied with consenting to observe these regulations. They appointed a respectable Englishman as a recorder, to see them carried into execution; and they generally abandoned their savage habits. They established the worship of God in their families; and, according to their ability, they addressed themselves, morning and evening, to the Father of mercies, who has graciously promised to hear the faithful prayers of the most humble supplicants. They observed the Sabbath, and employed some

of its precious hours in repeating to one another the religious instructions, which, under all their disadvantages, they had obtained.

Toward the close of 1647, Mr. Eliot was invited to attend a meeting of his brethren in the ministry, held at Yarmouth, with the view of settling some very unhappy disputes, which had been productive of the worst effects in the Church at that place. He was made highly useful on this occasion to his English friends; but he did not lose sight of the poor heathen who were within his reach. In the exercise of his characteristic diligence, he embraced every opportunity of declaring to them the glad news of salvation. When he first addressed them he found that he could scarcely render his instructions intelligible, on account of his ignorance of that dialect of the Indian language, which they spoke. By the aid of interpreters, however, and by using his admirable talent of adapting himself to the situation of his hearers, by circumlocution, and variation of expression, he as, in a short time, enabled to explain Divine truths to those who were altogether unacquainted with Christianity. His labours were not in vain in the Lord. Though the principal Sachem and his two sons refused to listen to the Gospel, salutary impressions were produced on the minds of several of the Indians. These individuals were greatly encouraged by some of their brethren from Nonanetum, who exhibited a Christian example, and discoursed about the things which concerned the peace of their

souls. Waban, who had attended Mr. Eliot to Yarmouth, laboured assiduously for the spiritual improvement of his barbarous neighbours. He travelled over a considerable part of the country, declared what the Lord had done to enlighten his mind, and met with such success in his benevolent exertions, that Mr. Shepard, who was well acquainted with him, felt himself at liberty to state, that “many, unto whom he first breathed encouragement, did far exceed him in the light and the life of the things of God.”

Mr. Eliot was delighted to find that the Indians throughout the colony of Massachusetts were in general disposed to listen to the truth; but he was soon called to contend with many difficulties in the prosecution of his labours. Encouraged, however, by his Divine Master, he did not abate his efforts.

“The work of preaching to the poor Indians,” he writes, in a letter addressed to the Hon. Edward Winslow, “goeth on not without success. It is the Lord only who doth speak to the hearts of men, and he can speak to them, and doth so effectually, that one of them I believe has verily gone to the Lord: — a woman, who was the first of ripe years, who hath died since I taught them the way of salvation. Her life was blameless after she submitted to th6 Gospel. I several times visited her, prayed with her, and asked her about her spiritual estate. She told me that she still loved God though he made her sick, and was resolved to pray onto him so long as she lived. She said

also that she believed God would pardon all her sins, because she believed that Jesus Christ died for her, and that God was well pleased in him; and that she was willing to die, and believed that she would go to heaven, and live happy with God and Christ there. Of her own accord she called her children to her, and said to them, 'I shall now die, and when I am dead, your grandfather, and grandmother, and uncles, will send for you to come and live among them, and promise you great matters, and tell you what pleasant living it is among them, — for they pray not to God, keep not the Sabbath, and commit all manner of sins, but I charge you to live here all your days.'" Soon after this she died.

"For the farther progress of the work among them, I perceive a great impediment. Sundry Indians in the country, in different places, would gladly be taught the knowledge of God and Jesus Christ, and would pray unto God, if I could go unto them and teach them, where they dwell; but to come and live here, among or near to the English, they are not willing. A place must be found somewhat remote from the English where they must have the word constantly taught, and government constantly exercised, means of good subsistence, and encouragements for the industrious provided. Such a project would draw many that are well-minded together.

"Thus you see by this short intimation that the sound of the word is spread a great way,

yea farther than I will speak of; and it appeareth to me that the fields begin to look white unto the harvest. O that the Lord would be pleased to raise up labourers unto this harvest! But it is difficult not only in respect of the language, but also on account of their barbarous course of life and poverty. There is not so much as meat, drink, or lodging for them that go unto them to preach among them, but we must carry all things with us, and somewhat to give unto them, I never go unto them empty, but carry somewhat to distribute among them; and so, likewise, when they come unto my house, I am not willing they should go away without some refreshing, neither do I take any gratuity from them unrewarded.

“The Indians about us, whom I constantly teach, do still diligently and desirously attend, and in a good measure practise according to their knowledge, and by degrees come on to labour. And I will say this solemnly, not suddenly nor lightly, but before the Lord, as I apprehend it in my conscience, were they but in a settled way of civility and government, and I called to live among them, I durst freely join into Church fellowship among them, and could find out at least twenty men and women in some measure fitted of the Lord for it, and soon would be capable thereof. When God's time is come he will make way for it, and enable us to accomplish it. In the meantime I desire to wait, pray, and believe. Thus commending you to the grace, guidance, and protection of God

in Christ, I rest yours to be commanded in
Jesus Christ, Jo. Eliot.
“Roxbury, Nov. 12, 1648.”

“I have not been dry night nor day,” he writes, “from the third day of the week to the sixth, but have travelled from place to place in that condition; and at night I pull off my boots, wring my stockings, and on with them again, and so continue. The rivers also were raised so that we were wet in riding through. But God steps in and helps me. I have considered the exhortation of Paul to his son Timothy, Endure hardness as a good soldier of Jesus Christ, with many other such like meditations.”

When travelling through the wild parts of the country, without a friend or companion, he was often barbarously treated by the natives, and was even in danger of his life. The Sachems were greatly opposed to the truth, and viewed its progress as calculated to destroy their authority and their gain. They therefore plotted his destruction, and would certainly have put him to a most tormenting death, if they had not been awed by the power of the English colonists. Undismayed by their opposition, however, he persevered in his labours of love, and manifested a courage which the Gospel can only inspire. “The Sachems of this country,” he observes, “are generally set against us, and counterwork the Lord by keeping their men from praying to God as much as they can. They plainly see that religion will make a great change

among them, and cut them off from their former tyranny. This temptation hath much troubled our Sachem; and he was raised in his spirit to such a height, that, at a meeting after lecture, he openly contested with me about our proceeding to make a town, and plainly told me that all the Sachems in the country were against it. When he did so carry himself, all the Indians were filled with fear; their countenances grew pale, and most of them slunk away; a few stayed, and I was alone. But it pleased God to raise up my spirit, not to passion, but to a bold resolution, telling him it was God's work I was about, and He was with me; and I feared not him, nor all the Sachems in the country, and I was resolved to go on, do what they can; and that neither they nor he should binder that which I had begun; — and it pleased God that his spirit sunk before me. I did not aim at such a matter, but the Lord carried me beyond my thoughts and usual manner: After this brunt I took my leave to go home, and he went a little way with me, and he told me that the reason of this trouble was, because the Indians that pray to God, since they have so done, do not pay him tribute as formerly they have done. I answered him, that once before, when I heard of this complaint that way, I preached on that text, 'Give unto Caesar What is Caesar's, and unto God what is God's;' and also on Romans xiii. But he said, 'It is true, you teach them well, but they will not in that point do as you teach them.' And farther, he

said, "This thing are all the Sachems sensible of, and therefore set themselves against praying to God."

The opposition of the powahs was no less formidable than that of the Sachems. Their prejudices were powerfully excited by the progress of the Gospel, and their influence greatly diminished. They endeavoured therefore to discourage Mr. Eliot, to bias the minds of the Indians against the reception of the truth, and to work on their superstitious fears. Some of the converts displayed wonderful intrepidity, however, when assailed by those whom they formerly viewed with feelings approaching to those of devotion.

On another occasion, when he gave a description of the difficulties with which he and his people had to contend, he took such a calm and enlightened view of them, as completely proved that he exercised unshaken confidence in the wisdom and faithfulness of the Divine dispensations, when to the eye of sense they appeared to be possessed of the opposite character. "I believe verily," said he, "that the Lord will bring great good out of all these oppositions; nay, I see it already, (though I see it not all, I believe more. than I can see,) but this I see, that by this opposition the wicked are kept off from us, and from thrusting themselves into our society. Beside it has become some trial now to come into any company and call upon God; for beside the forsaking of their powahs, and their old barbarous habits to all sin, and

some of their friends and kindred, &c; now this is added, they incur the displeasure of their Sachems; all which put together, it cannot but appear there is some work of God upon their hearts, which doth carry them through all these snares.”

The first account of Mr. Eliot's labours presented to the British public appeared in the year 1647. It was contained in a pamphlet entitled “The Day-breaking, if not the Sun-rising of the Gospel with the Indians in New-England;” and it excited grateful feelings in the minds of many of the friends of the Saviour throughout the country, and an ardent desire for additional information on the subject to which it referred. In consequence of this circumstance the Rev. Thomas Shepard, minister of the Gospel at New Cambridge, England, was induced to compose a similar narrative, under the title of “The Clear Sun-shine of the Gospel breaking forth upon the Indians.”

The parliament felt great interest in the work which had been reported as going forward in America. They were pleased to refer the consideration of the encouragement which was due to Mr. Eliot and his associates to the committee of foreign plantations, whom they requested to prepare and bring in an ordinance for the encouragement and advancement of learning and piety in New-England, This act was dated 27th of July, 1649, and was highly creditable to the understandings and hearts of those who framed it. As it contains a decided and impar-

tial testimony to the beneficial consequences of the labours of Mr. Eliot and his associates, and makes us acquainted with the means which enabled them to continue and extend their operations, the following breviate, which was printed and distributed in England, is here inserted: —

"Whereas the commons of England, assembled in parliament, have received certain intelligence from divers godly ministers and others in New-England, that divers of the heathen natives, through the pious care of some godly English, who preach the Gospel to them in their own Indian, language, not only of barbarous are become civil, but many of them forsaking their accustomed charms and sorceries, and other satanical delusions, do now call on the name of the Lord, and give great testimony of the power of God drawing them from death and darkness to the light and life of the glorious Gospel of Jesus Christ, which appeareth by their lamenting with tears their misspent lives; teaching their children what they are instructed themselves; being careful to place them in godly families and English schools; betaking themselves to one wife, putting away the rest; and by their constant prayers to almighty God morning and evening in their families, expressed in all appearance with much devotion and zeal of heart. All which considered, we cannot but in behalf of the nation whom we represent, rejoice and give glory to God for the beginning of so glorious a propagation of the Gospel among these poor heathen

which cannot be prosecuted with that expedition as is desired, unless fit instruments be encouraged and maintained to pursue it, schools and clothing be provided, and many other necessities. Be it therefore enacted by this present parliament, that for the furthering of so good a work, there shall be a corporation in England consisting of sixteen, viz. a president, treasurer, and fourteen assistants. And be it enacted, that a general collection be made for the purposes aforesaid through all England and Wales; and that the ministers read this act and exhort the people to a cheerful contribution to so pious a work.”

The commissioners of the united colonies of New-England were appointed by parliament to receive and dispose of the moneys which might be collected in consequence of this act. Great Opposition, however, was manifested to its benevolent intentions; and though the universities of Cambridge and Oxford published letters, recommending the case of the Indians to the consideration of the ministers of the Gospel, the sums which were raised at first were very inconsiderable. They assisted, however, materially in advancing the great work in North America; and as they were found to be economically applied by the commissioners, the people of England soon became somewhat more favourable to the claims of the corporation.

Previously to the formation of this society Mr. Eliot had received no salary on account of his indefatigable labours among the Indians.

He revoked to seek the salvation of their souls independently of the encouragement of his fellow creatures, knowing that while he was enabled to do this he would enjoy the unspeakable consolation of the Spirit of God, and receive all necessary worldly comforts. He was particularly grateful, however, to the parliament for their benevolent exertions, and he expressed his obligations to them in terms of the warmest affection. "Now this glorious work of bringing in, and setting up the glorious kingdom of Christ," he writes, "hath the Lord of his free grace and mercy put into the hands of this renowned parliament and army. Lord, put it into all their hearts to make this design of Christ their main endeavour! When the Lord Jesus is about to set up his blessed kingdom among these poor Indians also, how well doth it become the spirit of such instruments in the hands of Christ to promote that work also, being the same business in some respects which themselves are about by the good hand of God!"

Honourable as Mr. Eliot conceived the work of evangelizing the Indians to be, and grateful as he was to find that the inhabitants of his native country were disposed to encourage it, he appears to have been grieved to observe that his friends, in pleading its cause, had alluded to his exertions in terms which he conceived to be derogatory to the glory of the Saviour, whom he desired to serve. The appellation of Indian Evangelist, which Mr. Winslow had applied to him, he declared to be a "redundancy," and

protested against its use with the greatest vehemency. "I do beseech you," he writes, "to suppress all such things if ever you should have occasion of doing the like. Let us speak and do, and carry all things with all humility. It is the Lord who hath done what is done, and it is most becoming of Jesus Christ to lift up Christ, and (let) ourselves lie low. I wish that word could be obliterated, if any of the copies remain." What might not be expected, if the principles here recognized were generally felt and acted on by those who are engaged in propagating the Gospel, by those who direct the affairs of our religious societies, and by those who urge the claims of the heathen before the Christian public? Alas! it has now become customary with many to speak of making "sacrifices" for the cause of Christ, to boast of the "wisdom" of the plans which are in operation for the extension of the truth, and to consider the success vouchsafed by God as a testimony to the merit of "zeal and liberality." The command' of the Saviour, "Go into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature;" the appalling cry, "Come over and help us;" and the Divine declaration, "Ye are not your own," are liable to be forgotten amidst the unhallowed congratulations in which the Christian public too frequently indulge.

CHAPTER V.

He resolves to translate the Bible into the Indian language.

Encouraged by the institution of the society for the propagation of the Gospel in New England, Mr. Eliot exerted himself to the utmost of his power to promote the improvement of the Indians to whom he had access, and embraced an early opportunity of communicating his views on this subject to the individuals from whom he could look for pecuniary assistance. Necessity alone compelled him to take this step. "I have not means of my own," he said, "I have a family of many children to educate, and therefore I cannot give over my ministry in our Church, whereby my family is sustained, to attend the Indians, to whom I give, and of whom I receive nothing."

The education of the youth appears to have been an object to which his attention was particularly directed. "Let me, I beseech you," he writes, "trouble you with some considerations about this great Indian work, which lieth upon me as my continual care, prayer, desire, and endeavour to carry on; namely, for their schooling and education, of youth in learning, which is a principal means of promoting it for future times. We must have special care to have schools for the instruction of the youth in reading.

He seems to have been no less anxious to

translate the Scriptures into the Indian language. When he proposed to engage in this work of immense labour and difficulty, his mind was deeply impressed with its importance and responsibility, and with the necessity of using all the means in his power for securing fidelity. "I must have some Indians," he remarked, "and it may be other help, continually about me, to try and examine translations, which I look at as a sacred and holy work, and to be regarded with much fear, care, and reverence."

Desirous of instructing the Indians in the arts of civilized life, he also submitted to his friends a proposal about sending mechanics from England, who might act under his direction. Aware, however, of the disastrous consequences which might ensue to his work, from his people holding intercourse with persons who were strangers to the power of Christianity, he anxiously demanded, that if his request should be complied with, the individuals who should cross the Atlantic, "might be godly, well conditioned, honest, meek, and well spirited."

When Mr. Eliot submitted these proposals to his friends, he furnished them with an account of the progress of the Gospel, and of his expectations of its future success. The following extract from one of his letters, which refers to these subjects, possesses considerable interest: —

"An Indian, who lived remote, asked me if I had any children. I answered yes. He asked how many. I said six. He asked how many of

them were sons. I told him five. Then he asked whether my sons should teach the Indians to know God as I do: at which question I was much moved in my heart; for I have often in my prayers dedicated all my sons unto the Lord to serve him in this service, if he will please to accept them therein. My purpose is, to do my uttermost to train them up in learning, whereby they may be fitted in the best manner I can to serve the Lord herein and better preferment I desire not for them, than to serve the Lord in this travel. To this purpose I answered them; and my answer seemed to be well pleasing to them, which seemed to minister to my heart some encouragement, that the Lord's meaning was to improve them that way, and that he would prepare their hearts to accept the same.

“Some strange Indians came to see them, who prayed to God; as one from Martha's Vineyard. When those strangers came, and they perceived them to affect religion, and had mutual conference about the same, here was very great gladness of heart among them, and they made these strangers exceedingly welcome. Hereupon did the question arise, namely. What is the reason that, when a strange Indian comes in among us, whom we never saw before, yet if he prays unto God, we do exceedingly love him? But if our own brother, dwelling a great way off, come unto us, he not praying to God, though we love him, yet nothing so as we love that other stranger who doth pray unto God.

“This question did so dearly demonstrate

that which the Scripture calls ‘love of the brethren,’ that I thought it was useful to try others of them, whether they found the same in their hearts. They answered that they all found it so in their hearts; and that it had been a matter of discourse among themselves, which was no small comfort and encouragement unto my spirit. I asked them what should be the reason that the godly people in England, three thousand miles off, who never saw them, yet hearing that they prayed to God, do exceedingly rejoice at it, and send them tokens of their love. I then showed to them the unity of spirit.”

“The Indians continue constant,” he writes in a letter dated the 29th of the tenth month, 1649, “and earnestly desire to prepare for their enjoyment of that great Messing, — to gather a Church of Christ among them. Since the writing of my last, a Nipmuck Sachem hath submitted himself to pray unto the Lord, and much desireth one of our chief ones to live with him, and teach him and those that are with him. You wrote much, encouraging to lose no time, and follow the work; but I durst not do so. The work is great, as I informed you in my former letters, and I fear lest it should discourage you. I would neither be too hasty to run, before the Lord do clearly (by Scripture rules) say go; nor, on the other hand, would I hold them too long in suspense. There may be weakness that way to their encouragement; but it is the Lord's work, and he is infinite in wisdom, and he will suit the work in such a

time and place as shall best attain to his appointed ends and great glory."

Such were the views and feelings with which Mr. Eliot contemplated the measures which he ought to pursue, in reference to the erection of a town for the Indians; and from one of his letters, dated 21st October, 1650, it will appear that, while he was encouraged by the success which he continued to experience, his whole conduct was regulated by them.

"Much respected and beloved in our Lord Jesus: —

"God is greatly to be adored in all his providences, and hath evermore wise and holy ends to accomplish which we are not aware of; and therefore, although he may seem to cross our ends with disappointments, after all our pains and expectations, yet he hath farther and better thoughts than we can reach unto, which will cause us to admire his love and wisdom when we see them accomplished. He is gracious to accept of our sincere labours for his name, though he disappoint them in our way, and frustrate our expectations in our time; yea, he will fulfil our expectation in his way and in his time, which shall finally appear to the eye of faith, a better way than ours, and a fitter time than ours--his wisdom is infinite.

"The Lord still smileth on his work among the Indians. Through his help that strengtheneth me, I cease not in my poor measure to instruct them; and I do see that they profit and grow in knowledge of the truth, and some of

them in the love of it, which appeareth by a ready obedience to it. To testify their growth in knowledge I will not trouble you with their questions, but I will only relate one story which fell out about the beginning of this year. Two of my hearers, travelled to Providence and Warwick, where Gorton liveth; and there they spent a Sabbath, and heard his people in some exercises, and had much conference with them. Perceiving that they had some knowledge in religion, and were of my hearers, they endeavoured to possess their minds with their opinions. When they came home, the next lecture day, before I began the exercise, one of them asked me, 'What is the reason, that seeing those English people where I have been had the same Bible that we have, yet do not speak the same things?' I asked the reason of this question. He said, 'Because my brother and I have been at Providence and at Warwick, and we perceived by speech with them that they differ from us.' I asked, him in what points; and so much as his brother and he could call to mind, he related as followeth: —

“First, They said thus, they teach you that there is a heaven and a hell; but there is no such matter.’ I asked him what reason they gave: he answered, “He (Gorton) said that there is no other heaven than what is in the hearts of good men, nor any other hell than what is in the hearts of bad men.’ Then I asked, And what said you to that? Saith he, 'I told them I did not believe them, because

beaten is a place whither good men go after this life is ended, and hell is a place whither bad men go when they die, and cannot be in the hearts of men.' I approved of this, and asked what else they spake of. He said farther, 'They spake of ministers, and said, they teach you that you must have ministers, but that is a needless thing.' I asked what reason they gave. He said, 'They gave these reasons: 1st. 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. 2d. Ministers cannot change men's hearts, God must do that, and therefore there is no need of ministers.' I asked him what he said to that. He said, 'I told them that we must do as God commands us; and if he commands to have ministers, we must have them. And farther, I told them I thought it was true that ministers cannot change men's hearts, but when we do as God bids us, and hear ministers preach, then God will change our hearts.' I approved this answer also. I asked what else they spake. He said, 'They teach you that you must have magistrates, but that is needless, nor ought to be.' I asked what reason they gave. He said, 'They gave this reason, — magistrates cannot give life, therefore they may not take away life: when a man sinneth, he doth not sin against magistrates, and therefore why should they, punish them; but he sins against God, and therefore we must leave them to God to punish them.' I asked him what he said to that: he answered.

'I said to that, as to the former, we must do as God commands us.'

"By such time as we had done this conference, the company was gathered together, and we went to prayer; and I did solemnly bless God, who had given them so much understanding in his truth, and some ability to discern between truth and error, and a heart to stand for the truth, and against error; and I cannot but take it as a Divine testimony of God's blessing upon my poor labours. I afterward gave the person with whom I conversed an answer to his first question, viz. Why they (Gorton and his friends) having the same Bible with us, yet spake not the same things. And I answered him by that text, 2 Thess. ii, 10, 11, 'Because they received not the love of the truth, that they might be saved; and for this cause God shall send them strong delusion, that they should believe lie' This text I opened unto them.

"The present work of the Lord that is to be done among them, is to gather them together from their scattered kind of life; first into civil society, then to ecclesiastical. In the spring that is past, they were very desirous to have been upon that work, and to have planted corn in the place intended; but I did dissuade them, because I hoped for tools and means from England, whereby to prosecute the work this summer. When ships came, and no supply, you may easily think what a damping it was; and truly my heart smote me that I had looked too much at man and means, in stopping their

earnest affections from that bar which proved a blank. I began without any such respect, and I thought that the Lord would have me so to go on, and only look to him whose work it is. When I had thus looked up to the Lord, I advised with our elders and some other of our Church, whose hearts consented with me. Then I advised with divers of the elders at Boston lecture, and Mr. Cotton's answer was, 'My heart saith go on, and look to the Lord only for help:' the rest also concurred. So I commended it to our Church, and we sought God in a day of fasting and prayer, and have been ever since a doing, according to our abilities. This I account a favour of God, that on that very night, before we came from our place of meeting, we had notice of a ship from England, whereby I received letters, and some encouragement in the work from private friends, — a mercy which God had in store, but unknown to some, and so contrived by the Lord that I should receive it as fruit of prayer.

When grass was fit to be cut, I sent some Indians to mow, and others to make some hay at the place. This work was performed well, as I found when I went up with my man to-order it. We must also of necessity have a house in which to lodge, meet, and to lay up our provisions and clothes; I set them therefore to fell and square timber for a house. When it was ready, I went, and many of them with me, and on their shoulders carried all the timber together, &c. These things they cheerfully do, but

I pay them wages carefully for ail such works I set them about, which is a good encouragement to labour. I purpose, God willing, to call them together this autumn, to break and prepare their own ground against the spring, and for other necessary works, which are not a few, in such an enterprise. There is a great rivet which divideth between their planting ground and dwelling place, through which, though they easily wade in summer, yet in the spring it is deep, and unfit for daily passing over, especially by women and children. Therefore I thought it necessary that this autumn we should make a foot bridge over, against such time in the spring as we shall have daily use of it. I told them my purpose, and reason of it, — wished them to go with me to do that work, which they cheerfully did: with their own hands did they build a bridge eighty feet long, and nine feet high in the midst, that it might stand above the floods. When we had done I called them together, prayed, and gave thanks to God, and taught them out of a portion of Scripture. — At parting I told them I was glad of their readiness to labour when I advised them thereunto; and inasmuch as it hath been hard and tedious labour in the water, that if any of them desired wages for the work, I would give them; yet (being as it is for their own use) if they should do all this labour in love I should take it well; and, as I may have occasion, remember it. They answered me, they were far from desiring wages when they do their own work, but on the

other side, they were thankful to me that I had called them in a work so needful for them; whereto I replied, I was glad to see them so ingenious.

"The Lord of heaven bless and assist you in all your ways, and I beg your prayers for me still, and so rest, — yours in our Lord Jesus,
"John Eliot."

CHAPTER VI.

Great success attends Mr. Eliot's labours among the Indians — Difficulties relative to the settlement of the Indians at Punkipog--Exhortations of two Indians— Church formed At Natick.

The corporation for propagating the Gospel in New England afforded Mr. Eliot all the encouragement which they were warranted to do, on a consideration of the money which they had received, and the prospect of an accession to their funds which they could reasonably entertain. The benevolent individuals, however, who composed this body, though supported by the influence of parliament, and several of the most eminent individuals of the day, had to struggle with much opposition. Their motives and their proceedings were misrepresented; and they were assailed by a multitude of objections from many of whom they entertained the most charitable opinion. Having done nothing wrong, they had nothing to conceal; and with the view of satisfying the public that the charitable donations entrusted to them were not misapplied, they

invited a weekly inspection of their books, which contained “an account of their receipts, disbursements, and manner of proceeding.” Acting in this manner, and conscious of the goodness of their cause, they trusted that God would advance its interests; and they found accordingly that he stirred up the hearts of some eminent Christians to contribute in a very liberal manner to its support, and “to charge their lands with a yearly revenue to the corporation.”

Mr. Eliot having been informed of these circumstances, proceeded in the execution of his plans; and, in a letter addressed to a member of the corporation, and dated 28th February, 1651, he gave a pleasing view of the progress which he had made.

“In matters of religion,” he says, “they go on, not only in knowledge, but also in the practice and power of grace. I have seen lively actings of charity out of reverence to the command of the Lord. We offered twelve pence a night to any who would tend an old destitute paralytic man; and for mere hire none would abide it: out of mere charity, however, some of the families did take care of him. The old man doth wisely testify that their love is sincere, and that they truly pray to God. I could, with a word spoken in our churches, have this poor man relieved; but I do not, because I think the Lord hath afflicted him for the trial of their grace, and exercise of their love.

“One of our principal men, Wamporas, is dead. He made so gracious an end of his life,

embraced death with such holy submission to the Lord, and was so little terrified at it, as that .ho hath greatly strengthened the faith of the living. I think he did more good by his death than h« could have done by his life. One of his sayings was, 'God giveth us three mercies in the world; the first is health and strength; the second is food and clothes; the third is sickness and death; and when we have had our share in the two first, why should we not be willing to take our part in the third?' His last words were Jehovah Anninumah Jesus Christ, that is, 'O Lord, give me Jesus Christ.' When he could speak no more, he continued to lift up his hands to heaven, according as his strength lasted, unto his last breath. When I visited him the last time I saw him in this world, one of his sayings was this: 'Four years and a quarter since, I came to your house, and brought some of my children to dwell with the English; now when I die, I strongly entreat you, that you would strongly entreat Elder Heath, and the rest who have our children, that they may be taught to know God, so that they may teach their countrymen.' His heart was much upon our intended work, to gather a church among them. I told him that I greatly desired he might live, if it were God's will, 'to be one in that work; but that if he should now die, he should go to a better church, where Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and Moses, and all the dead saints were with Jesus Christ, in the presence of God, in all happiness and glory. Turning to the com-

pany who were present, he spake unto them thus, 'I now shall die, bat Jesus Christ calleth you that live to go to Natick, that there the Lord might rule over you; that you might make a church, and have the ordinances of God among you; believe his word, and do as he commandeth you.' His gracious words were acceptable and affecting. The Indians flocked together to hear them. They beheld his death with many tears; nor am I able to write his story without weeping.

"It hath pleased God to take away that Indian who was most active in carpentry, and who had framed me a house, with the direction of some English, whom I sometimes procured to go with me to guide him, and to set out his work; so that our house lieth not yet raised, which maketh my abode among them more difficult, and my tarriance shorter than else I would; but the Lord helpeth me to remember that he hath said, 'Endure hardness as a good soldier of Jesus Christ.' It hath pleased God this winter much to enlarge the ability of him whose help I use in translating the Scriptures; beside, it hath pleased God to stir up the hearts of many of them this winter to learn to read and write; wherein they do very much profit, with a little help, for they are very ingenious. And whereas I had thoughts that we must have an Englishman to be their schoolmaster, I now hope that the Lord will raise up some of themselves, and fit them for that work. I trust in the Lord that we shall have sundry of them able to read and

write, who shall write every man for himself, so much of the Bible as the Lord shall please to enable me to translate. Beside these works which concern religion and learning, we are also a-doing, according to the measure of our day, of small things in the civil part of this work. We have set out some part of the town in several streets, measuring out and dividing of lots, which I set them to do, and teach them how to do. Many have planted apple trees, and they have begun divers orchards. Last week I appointed our lecture to be at a water, which is a common passage. There we built a bridge, and made a wire to catch fish. We have also begun a palisado fort, in the midst whereof we intend to have a meeting house and a school house.'

By unremitting attention to his "work," Mr. Eliot soon qualified two individuals for instructing their countrymen; and in order to assist them in the discharge of their duties, he composed a catechism, which they carefully taught to their scholars. He also required that the children placed under their care should transcribe such parts of the Bible as he had translated. He hoped in this way to fix Divine truths in the minds of the young, and to lead them to profit by a knowledge of the word of God, which, at this time, he did not expect to be able to present to them in a printed form. On the Sabbath he encouraged some of the most judicious converts to engage in prayer, in the presence of their brethren, and to address a word

of exhortation. He adopted this method of preparing them for extended usefulness, when they might be called to explain the principles of Christianity to those who were still strangers to the glad tidings of salvation.

He was no less zealous in prosecuting the work of building the town, where the Indians intended to settle ; and in a short time he had the pleasure of seeing it completed. The village consisted of "three fair streets;" two of which stretched along the Boston side of Charles river, and one along the other. The houses, some of which were built in the English style, showed that the workmen exercised considerable ingenuity in their construction. One of them was large and commodious, and its lower room was used as a place of worship on the Sabbath, and as a school house during the week; while its upper apartments were used for the accommodation of Mr. Eliot, and as a wardrobe in which the Indians deposited their skins and other articles which they considered valuable. The fort was also at this time finished. It was of a circular form, and palisaded with trees; and covered about a quarter of an acre of ground.

Convinced that a pious magistracy would be a great means of encouraging the propagation of the Gospel, Mr. Eliot had no sooner seen the completion of the town of Natick, than, with the concurrence of the general court, he resolved to establish a more independent form of government among his children in the faith.

On the 10th June, 1651, he collected the Indians from all quarters, with the view of carrying his plans into effect Directed by their instructor, they chose one ruler of a hundred, two rulers of fifty, and ten rulers of ten, to whom they promised to render proper obedience. Before separating with the Indians on this occasion, Mr. Eliot proposed that the converts should consider the propriety of entering into a covenant, in which they should engage to serve the Lord during all the days of their lives. In this proposal they unanimously acquiesced, and likewise agreed with him in thinking, that, before they should engage in this solemn work, a day should be set apart for fasting and prayer, and for affording an opportunity to those who had been elected rulers, of addressing their subjects on the concerns of their immortal souls.

The 24th of September was set apart for carrying these purposes into effect, and the Indians met together at an early hour. Cutshamoquim, the chief Sachem, who, on account of his official situation, ought to have addressed his brethren, was not suffered to teach by Mr. Eliot, who had heard that he had lately used some "strong water at Gorton's plantation—though not unto drunkenness." Having been permitted to pray, however, he confessed his sin, and implored the pardon of God, and the assistance of the Holy Spirit. When he had sat down, several of the other rulers engaged in devotional exercises, and delivered addresses from various passages of Scripture, which they

had committed to memory. Mr. Eliot then instructed them in the nature of the duty of fasting; and "by the parable of a nut," as he informed one of his friends, "showed them that outward acts are as the shell, which is necessary; but a broken and believing heart is the kernel." The forenoon was spent in these exercises; and, after a short relaxation, the rulers proceeded to pray and discourse in a similar manner during the afternoon. When night approached, Mr. Eliot preached from Deut. xxix, 1-16, and repeated the following covenant) into which both rulers and people unanimously and solemnly entered: — ‘

“We are the sons of Adam. We, and our forefathers, have a long time been lost in our sins, but now the mercy of the Lord beginneth to find us out again. Therefore, the grace of Christ helping us, we do give ourselves and our children unto God to be his people. He shall rule us in all our affairs, not only in our religion, and affairs of the Church, (these we desire as soon as we can, if God will,) but also in all our works and affairs in this world, God shall rule over us. The Lord is our Judge, — the Lord is our Lawgiver, — the Lord is our King; he will save us. The wisdom which God hath taught in his book, that shall guide us and direct us in the way. O! Jehovah, teach us wisdom, to find out thy wisdom in thy Scriptures. Let the grace of Christ help us, because Christ is the wisdom of God. Send thy Spirit into our hearts, and let it teach us. Lord, take us to

be thy people, and let us take thee to be our God."

The Indians having thus formed a civil and religious community, the Hon. John Endicott, governor of Massachusetts, resolved to inquire into their situation and prospects. Accompanied by some of his friends, he went to Natick to inspect their town and observe their conduct. He was particularly delighted to observe the manner in which the converts conducted their spiritual exercises. A middle aged man commenced the services by devoutly and reverently engaging in prayer, and by addressing his brethren, for three quarters of an hour, from the parables of the treasure hid in the field, and the wise merchant selling all his possessions for the pearl of great price. In discoursing on these subjects, he, as well as his auditors, appeared to be deeply affected with the truths which he stated. Mr. Endicott considered his gravity and utterance as very commendable, and requested Mr. Eliot to furnish him with the substance of his exhortations. This Indian having concluded with prayer in the manner in which he began, Mr. Eliot preached for an hour, about coming to Christ and bearing his yoke. When he had finished, the schoolmaster read due of the psalms in metre, in the Indian language, which was sung with great cheerfulness and melody. The appearance of every thing which Mr. Endicott saw at the Indian town, deeply affected his mind with gratitude to the Giver of every good and perfect gift; and he was so

highly pleased with the scenes which he witnessed, that, though Natick was forty miles distant from the place of his residence, be considered the journey which he took thither as the best which he had for many years. He said that he "could hardly refrain from tears for very joy, to see the diligent attention of the Indians to the word of God."

Mr. Eliot and his friends having spent a day in fasting and prayer for Divine direction, resolved to meet on the 13th October, 1652, which the Indians called Natootomahteackesuk, or the day of asking questions, in order to judge of the fitness of the converts for Christian communion. When they had met, Mr. Eliot and two of the converts engaged in prayer, and delivered discourses. The ministers were then requested to catechise the Indians about the doctrines of Christianity, with the view of being satisfied with the extent of their knowledge; but they expressed a desire to be made acquainted with their Christian experience, and hoped at the same time to ascertain the extent of their information. The confessions which had been written on former occasions were therefore read, and the Indians requested to come forward and express the feelings of their souls with regard to religion, "In doing this they were daunted much," said Mr. Eliot, "to speak before so great and grave an assembly."

When a considerable number of the Indians had stated their views of Divine truth, and the feelings of their hearts, it was found that suffi-

cient time did not remain for hearing the rest, who were desirous of being admitted to the enjoyment of the privileges of a Christian Church: and as there were no competent lodgings in which the ministers, and others who were present, could be accommodated, and as Natick was distant from the settlements of the English, and the nights were at this season both cold and long, it was proposed that the assembly should be dissolved. As a reason for doing this, it was also urged, that as Mr. Mayhew and Mr. Leverich, who were expected to have been present as witnesses to the fidelity of Mr. Eliot's translations of the confessions, had not been able to attend, the work could not proceed without a direct violation of the precept, "In the mouth of two or three witnesses shall every thing be established," which was thought to be peculiarly applicable to their circuitmitances. Mr. Eliot was therefore requested to inform the Indians "that the magistrates, elders, and other Christian people present, did much rejoice to hear their confessions, and advised them to go on in that good way; but as for the gathering a Church among them this day, it could not be."

It is to be regretted that, on this interesting occasion, more tenderness was not manifested to the poor Indians, who had given the most satisfactory proofs of their acquaintance with the truths of Christianity, of a change of heart, of their great anxiety to show forth the dying love of their Divine Redeemer, and of their readiness to submit to Christian discipline. Mr. Eliot

transmitted their confessions to London for publication,* and recorded his conviction of the Christian character of the individuals who delivered them. "I see evident demonstration," he observes, "that God's Spirit by his word hath taught them, because their expressions, both in prayer, and the confessions which I have now published, are far more, and more full, and spiritual and various, than ever I was able to express unto them, in that poor broken manner of teaching I have used among them. Their turning doctrines into their own experience, which you may observe in their confessions, doth also demonstrate the teaching of God's Spirit, whose first special work is application. Their different gifts, likewise, is a thing observable in their confessions. The Lord will make them a praying people; and indeed there is a great spirit of prayer poured out upon them, to my wonderment: and you may easily apprehend, that they who are assisted to express such confessions before men, are not without a good measure of enlargement of spirit before the Lord."

Of the justice of these remarks, the reader may form his own opinion, by referring to the interesting confessions which are inserted in the original work (appendix A,) as a testimony to the power of the Gospel, in changing the heart of barbarians, and leading them to cherish the most exalted affections. In doing this, it will

* The Confessions were published in 1653, under the title of "Tears of Repentance."

be proper to keep in mind the declaration of Mr. Eliot, which he subjoined to them: "And because all witnesses failed me, let me say but this, — I began and have followed this work for the Lord, according to the poor measure of grace received, and not for base ends. I have been true and faithful unto their souls; and in writing and reading their confessions, I have not knowingly or willingly made them better than the Lord helped themselves to make them; but am verily persuaded, on good grounds, that I have rather rendered them weaker (for the most part) than they delivered them; partly by missing some word of weight in some sentences, partly by my short touches of what they more fully spake, and partly by reason of the different idioms of their language and ours."

We would naturally expect that Mr. Eliot, who had looked forward with great anxiety to the time when he should be able to put the memorials of Christ's dying love into the hands of his children in the faith, must have felt great discouragement from the result of the proceedings on the day of the "great assembly." His feelings, however, appear to have been totally removed from despondency. He exhibited indeed great resignation to the will of God, and recorded his resolution to persevere with steadfastness in his work.

Regarding the meeting. Dr. Increase Mather, whose sentiments respecting the Indians were generally entertained by ministers in the country, expressed himself in the terms of high

approbation: "There is so much of God's Work among them," said he, "as that I cannot but account it a great evil, yea, a great injury to God and his goodness, for any to make light of it. To see and hear Indians opening their mouths, and lifting up their hands and eyes to heaven in prayer to the living God, calling on him by his name Jehovah, in the mediation of Jesus Christ, and this for a good while together; to see and hear them exhorting one another from the word of God; to see and hear them confessing the name of Christ and their own sinfulness, — sure this is more than usual! And though they spoke in a language of which many of us understood but little, yet we that were present that day, saw and heard them perform the duties mentioned, with such grave and sober countenances, with such comely reverence in their gesture, and their whole carriage, and with such plenty of tears trickling down the cheeks of some of them, as did argue to us, that they spoke with the holy fear of God, and it much moved our hearts."

While the confessions of the Indians were in the course of circulation among the New-England churches, Mr. Eliot continued to prosecute his labours with unwearied zeal. He took Monequessun, an ingenious youth, into his house, and having taught him to read and write, made him schoolmaster at Natick. He ordered the catechism, which he had composed in the Indian language, to be printed in 1653, and placed some of the most promising children

with English schoolmasters, to learn the English, Latin, and Greek languages.

In 1654, he procured from the general court of Massachusetts several parcels of land for the use of such of the Indians as might afford any just hope of embracing the Christian religion. The court appointed Major Daniel Gookin, a person of distinguished piety and prudence, as the principal ruler of the praying Indians. This gentleman, on entering on his office, commanded them, agreeably to a proposal of Mr. Eliot, to pay tithes of their increase, in order to support the schools at which their children were receiving instruction, and to afford encouragement to their preachers. He discharged the duties connected with his situation with great tenderness and prudence; and his laborious services, which were of the most disinterested nature, proved highly useful to Mr. Eliot, who concurred with him in most of the plans which he adopted.

The town at Punkipog having been founded, the Indians at this place, as well as the other praying towns, utterly abandoned polygamy, and made strict laws against fornication, drunkenness, Sabbath breaking, and other immoralities.

On the 15th November, 1658, the Indians kept a day of fasting and humiliation, on account of severe damages which they had received from excessive rains. At the meetings held on this occasion, several of them delivered exhortations, which were published in London in the following year. We shall insert one of them in this place, because, as mentioned by

Dr. Mather, it contains "much of Eliot," and forms an important testimony to the preparation which they had made for the formation of a Christian Church; an event to which, with the greatest anxiety, they had now looked forward for several years.

The Exhortation of Waban, from Matthew
ix, 12, 13.

"When Jesus heard that, he said, They that be whole need not a physician, but they that are sick. But go ye and learn what that meaneth, I will have mercy and not sacrifice; for I came not to call the righteous, but sinners, to repentance."

"I am a poor weak man, and know but little, and therefore I shall say but little.

"These words are a similitude, that as some be sick, and some well; and we see in experience that when we be sick we need a physician, and to go to him and make use of his physic; but they that be well do not so; they need it not, and care not for it. So it is with soul-sickness, — and we are all sick of that sickness in our souls, but we know it not. We have many at this time sick in body, for which cause we do fast and pray this day, and cry to God, but more are sick in their souls. We have a great many diseases and sicknesses in our souls, as idleness, neglect of the Sabbath, passion, &c. Therefore what should we do this day but go to Christ the physician, for Christ is the physician of souls; he healed men's bodies, but he can heal souls also; he is a great physician, therefore let all sinners go to

him; therefore this day know what need we have of Christ, and let us go to Christ to heal us of our sins, and he can heal us both soul and body. Again, what is that lesson which Christ would have us learn, ' that he came not to call the righteous, but sinners, to repentance?' What! doth not God love them that be righteous? Doth he not call them to him? Doth not God love righteousness? Is not God righteous? Answer. The righteous here are not meant those that are truly righteous, but those that are hypocrites; that seem righteous and are not ; that think themselves righteous, but are not so indeed: such God calleth not, neither doth he care for them. But such as see their sins, and are sick of sin, them Christ calleth to repentance, and to believe in Christ: therefore let us see our need of Christ to heal all our diseases of soul and body."*

In the year 1660, Mr. Eliot, with the approbation of the New-England ministers, had the happiness of seeing a Church formed at Natick. The individuals who composed it having given themselves, first to the Lord, and then to one another in a holy covenant, were baptized and admitted to the Lord's Supper. Of their number we have seen no account.

* Waban, it will be recollected, was the first convert under Mr. Eliot's ministry among the Indians.

CHAPTER VII.

The translation of the New Testament is published, and Mr. Eliot proceeds to translate other valuable works for the Indians.

In September, 1661, Mr. Eliot had the pleasure of seeing an edition of the New Testament, with marginal references, completed at press. It consisted of fifteen hundred copies, and was printed at the expense of the society for propagating the Gospel in New England. The commissioners of the united colonies, with the view of interesting his Majesty in the work of propagating the Gospel in North America, inserted a dedication to him in the copies of the translation which they sent to England.*

* The following is an extract from the letter sent to England with the copies transmitted to the corporation: — Wee have heerwith sent you twenty peeces of the New Testament which wee desire may be thus disposed, viz., that two of the speciall being very well bound up, the one may be presented to his majestie in the first place, the other to the lord chancellor; and that five more may be presented to Dr. Reynolds, Mr. Carrill, Mr. Baxter, and the two vice chancellors of the universities, whoe we understand have greatly incouraged the worke; the rest to be disposed of as you shall see cause." (Thomas' History of Printing in America, vol. i, p. 471.) One of these copies of the translation of the New Testament, belonging to the Glasgrov college library, is at present before us. The following is the title, "Wusku Wuttestamentum Nul-Lordumum Jesus Christ Nuppoquohwussuaeneumun." As a specimen of the work, we here subjoin the Lord's prayer:— "Noothun kesukqut, quttianatamunach koo-

The measures pursued for the instruction of the Indian youth, appear to have been of the most praiseworthy nature. A considerable number of schools were erected, which were well attended. Several of the more promising scholars for piety and talent were placed under a course of instruction preparatory to their appointment as preachers to their countrymen. Considerable sums were expended in their board and education, but the object in view in the attention which was shown to them, was imperfectly attained. A few of them, it is true, who had acquired a respectable knowledge of English, Greek, and Latin, and of other branches of knowledge, were eventually employed with advantage as schoolmasters and teachers.

Mr. Eliot, having completed the translation of the New Testament, lost no time in proceeding with the Old; and before the end of 1663 the whole Scriptures* were printed in the Indian language. The commissioners of the united colonies beheld with joy the completion of this work. "Publications also of these sacred

wesuonk. Peyaumoutch kukketassootamoonk ne an nach onkeit neane kesukqut. Nummeetsuongash asekesukokish assamaiinean yeuyeu kesukod. Kah ah quontamaiinnean nummatcheseongash, neane matchenehukqueagig nutahquontanounnonog. Ahque sagkompagunaiean en qutchhuaonganit, webe pohquowussinean wutch matchitut. Newutche kutahtaun ketassootamoonk, kah menuhkesuonk, kah sohsumoonk micheme. Amen."

* "The whole translation he wrote with but one pen." (Mather, b. iii, p. 197.)

writings to the sons of men," they remarked as a work that the greatest princes have honoured themselves by. But to publish and communicate the same to a lost people, as remote from knowledge and civility, much more from Christianity, as they were from all knowing, civil, and Christian nations; this puts a lustre on it that is superlative. The Southern colonies of the Spanish nation have sent home from this American continent much gold and silver, as the fruit and end of their discoveries and transplantations; that we confess is a scarce commodity in this colder climate. But suitable to the ends of our undertaking, we present this and other concomitant fruits of our poor endeavours to plant and propagate the Gospel here, which, upon a true account, is as much better than gold, as the souls of men are more worth than the whole world. This is a noble fruit, and indeed in the counsels of all-disposing Providence, was a higher intended aim of Columbus's adventure. Religion is the end and glory of mankind."

These remarks of the commissioners may be thought by many in the present day, when translations of the Scriptures into the language of heathen nations are not unfrequently executed, to be too much of a congratulatory nature: but it must be remembered that Mr. Eliot was among the first of uninspired men who entertained the sublime idea of unfolding the whole of God's revelation before the eyes of poor heathen, and who actually accomplished such a work in

circumstances which demanded of him the greatest labour, and which, with thousands even of ardent and enlightened Christians, would have proved a sufficient excuse for treating it with neglect.

Mr. Eliot lost no time after the publication of the translation of the Bible, in turning his attention to other means for the extension of his usefulness among the Indians. He commenced a translation of Baxter's *Call to the Unconverted*; and the *Indian Psalter* was published soon after, and several copies were bound up with the Bible. When referring to this subject Mr. Eliot observes, "That the Indians are much pleased to have their language in metre and rhythm, as it now is in the singing Psalms in some poor measure, enough to begin and break the ice withal: these they sing in our musical tone." The translation of Baxter's *Call to the Unconverted* appeared in 1664. It consisted of one hundred and thirty pages of small 8 vo., and a thousand copies were circulated with beneficial consequences. An interesting young Sachem, who had been brought to the knowledge of the truth, was so much delighted with it, that when he lay dying of a tedious distemper, he continued to read it with floods of tears in his eyes, while his strength lasted. The translation of the *Practice of Piety* first appeared in 1665. It was so highly valued by the Indians and their teachers, that it was reprinted in 1667 and 1687.

CHAPTER VIII.

Notices of some of Mr. Eliot's assistants in his ministry — He endeavours to prevent a war between the Missokonog Indians and the English.

While Mr. Eliot was engaged in translating books on practical divinity for the use of the Indians, he did not allow his zeal for the interests of the churches of the English to decrease. His mind appears to have been deeply affected by the accounts in Scripture concerning the peacefulness of the kingdom of Christ; and, actuated by the most benevolent motives, he endeavoured to effect a reconciliation between the two denominations of Christians into which the New-England Churches were then chiefly divided.

Mr. Eliot, in the course of his missionary labours, had travelled several times into Plymouth colony, and had been instrumental in leading some of the Indians in that quarter to embrace the Gospel. Animated by his example and exhortations, several persons resolved to attempt the work in which he was so successful.

In 1666 Mr. Eliot published "The Indian Grammar begun; or an essay to bring the Indian language into rules, for the help of such as desire to learn the same, for the furtherance of the Gospel among them." The dedication of this work, addressed "To the right honorable Robert Boyle,* governor, with the rest of

* This truly great man was warmly interested in the success of Mr. Eliot.

the right honourable and Christian corporation for the propagation of the Gospel unto the Indians in New-England," being not unworthy of notice, is here subjoined: —

"Noble Sir, — You were pleased, among other testimonies of your Christian and prudent care for the effectual progress of this great work of the Lord Jesus among the inhabitants of these ends of the earth, and goings down of the sun, to command me (for such an aspect have your so wise and seasonable nations to my heart) to compile a grammar of this language for the help of others who have a heart to study and learn the same, — for the sake of Christ, and of the poor souls of these ruins of mankind, among whom the Lord is now about a resurrection- work to call them into his holy kingdom. I have made an essay into this difficult service, and laid together some bones and ribs preparatory at least for such a work. It is not worthy the name of a grammar, but such as it is I humbly present it to your honours, and request your animadversions upon the work, and prayers unto the Lord for a blessing upon all essays and endeavours for the promoting of his glory and the salvation of the souls of these poor people. Thus humbly commending your honours unto the blessing of Heaven, and the guidance of the word of God, which is able to save your souls, — I remain, your honour's servant in the service of our Lord Jesus,

"John Eliot."

The Indian grammar, though very brief, affords satisfactory proof that Mr. Eliot was a distinguished philologist. In the postscript addressed to the prudent inquirer, the following sentences occur, which ought deeply to affect the heart of every reader: "We must not sit still and look for miracles. Up and be doing, and the Lord will be with thee. Prayer and pains, through faith in Christ Jesus, will do any thing. I do believe and hope that the Gospel shall be spread to all the ends of the earth, and dark corners of the world, by such a way and by such instruments as the churches shall send forth for that end and purpose. — Lord, hasten these good days, and pour out that good Spirit upon thy people. Amen."

In the year 1666, Mr. Eliot, the honourable governor, and several magistrates and ministers of Plymouth colony, collected at Marshpee a vast multitude of the Indians, among whom Mr. Bourne laboured; and received from many of them confessions relative to their knowledge, faith, and Christian practice. The good people were extremely gratified by the understanding and affection displayed on this occasion; but such was their strictness, that before they would countenance the admission of the converts into church fellowship, they ordered the confessions to be written, and sent to all the churches in the colony for consideration.

The confessions of Mr. Bourne's converts having met with the deliberate approbation of the New-England churches, Mr. Eliot and Mr.

John Cotton went down to Marshpee on the 17th August 1670, and ordained Mr. Bourne as their pastor.

With the view of improving the understandings of the Indians in general, and of the teachers and rulers in particular, Mr. Eliot about this time established a lecture at Natick, in which he explained the leading doctrines of theology and logic. His labours in this, respect were eminently useful; and though he lectured only once a fortnight, during the summer, months, several of his scholars gained much knowledge, and soon became able to speak methodically and profitably upon any plain texts of Scripture. Notwithstanding this success, he was far from being satisfied with his oral instruction[^] and he printed, in 1672, one thousand copies of a logic primer, and made little systems of all the liberal arts, for the use of the Indians.

The inhabitants of Hassanamesitt, one of the praying towns, situated about thirty-eight miles from Boston, having erected a place of worship after the English fashion, and manifested great attention to the word, had the pleasure, in 1671, of seeing a Church established among them by Mr. Eliot. Tuckupawillin, who had acted as their teacher for some time past, and given proofs of his piety and talents, was appointed the minister.

About the time when this Church was gathered, Mr. Eliot having been informed that the rulers and inhabitants of Plymouth colony intended to wage war against a particular tribe

of the Indians, assembled the Church at Natick, and composed the following instructions for two of its members, who were requested to act as mediators:—

"We, the poor Church at Natick, hearing that the honoured rulers and good people of Plymouth are pressing and arming of soldiers to go to war against the Missokonog Indians, (for what cause we know not,) though they yet pray not to God, yet we hope they will; and we do mourn and pray for them, and desire greatly that they may not be destroyed; especially because we have not heard that they have done any thing worthy of death. Therefore we do send these, our two brethren, Anthony and William, who were formerly our messengers to those parts, and we request John Sausiman to join them. And this trust we commit unto you, our dear brethren and beloved.

"1. To go to the Missokonog Indians, or who else may be concerned in the quarrel tell them the poor Church of Natick sends them two scriptures, which we entreat them to obey. The first is Dent, xx, 10, 11, where we see as it is the duty of Plymouth to offer you peace before they war upon you, so it is your duty to offer, accept, and desire peace; and we pray you for God's sake, and for your soul's sake, obey this word of God. The second text is 1 Cor. vi, 1-6, where God commandeth, that when differences arise among people, they ought to put their differences to arbitration of others; and therefore we do exhort you to obey this word

of God; and whatever differences are between you and the English of Aquidneck, or between you and Plymouth, refer them all to the judgments of the rulers of the Massachusetts, and whatever they judge do you obey; lay down your lives and all you have at their feet.

“If they of Misspkonog accept this our exhortation, tell them that the Church hath also sent you to the governor, to tell him what the Church hath done, and how acceptable it is to you, and that you do obey both these words of God. You desire peace, and desire to refer the whole matter to the judgment of the government of Massachusetts.

“2. When you come to the governor, tell him that the Church hath sent you to be mediators of peace on the behalf of the Missokonog Indians, or any other of their neighbours; tell him that they yield willing obedience to those texts of Scripture, and therefore tell him that the poor Church of Natick doth beseech him, and all the rest of the magistrates, for God's sake, who is the King of Peace, and our great Peacemaker in heaven, that they would accept this offer and submission unto peace, and unto the instituted way of making and establishing of peace, and to cease pressing and arming of soldiers, and marching against them that are desirous of peace. We beseech you to consider what comfort it will be to kill or be killed, when no capital sin hath been committed, or defended by them, (that we hear of)

"And we request you, our beloved brethren, to be speedy in your motions. We shall endeavour to follow you with our prayers, and long to hear of a happy peace, that may open a clear door for the passage of the Gospel among that people. Thus commending you to God in prayer, we do send you forth upon this great service of peace making, which is evidently the flower and glory of Christ's kingdom.

" John Eliot,

“With the consent of the Church,

"Natick, August 1st, 1671."

These instructions cannot be considered without interest. Simple as they are, they form a beautiful illustration of the benevolent feelings which the Gospel inspires, and unfold an affection on the part of Mr. Eliot and his converts, for those who had no other claim on their regards, than the circumstance that they were their fellow creatures, which is rarely exemplified; but which it is the duty of every professed follower of the Prince of Peace to manifest on every occasion on which a disposition exists, in consequence of unrestrained ambition, the unhallowed love of glory, over-sensitive jealousy, or sinful distrust in the providence of God, — the common sources of war, to hurry immortal souls, burning with vindictive feelings, into the presence of an infinitely holy God. There is frequently a moral courage in forbearance; a courage which, though not nursed by the commendations of the mighty of this world, whose praises, when properly considered, are a reproach to humanity.

may produce more surprising results than the valour of armies has yet been able to accomplish.

CHAPTER IX.

A statement of the progress of Christianity among the Indians, in 1674.

In the year 1674, when Major Gookin completed his "Historical Collections of the Indians in New-England," the principal praying towns in the colony of Massachusetts, under the care of Mr. Eliot, amounted to seven. Of these we shall give such an account as is necessary to illustrate the success which, under the Divine blessing, had accompanied the labours of Mr. Eliot.

I. Natick, where the first Christian Church was formed in the year 1660, contained twenty-nine families, and one hundred and forty-five souls, who occupied about six thousand acres of land. Most of these were of course able to attend the house of God. On the Lord's day, fast days,* and lecture days, they assembled at the sound of a drum. Their teachers were Anthony and John Speen, who, in conducting the religious exercises of the Church, followed the example of the English. Their services consisted

* Mr. Eliot taught the converts to set apart days for fasting and prayer, whenever they should have occasion; and they performed the duties connected with them with a very laborious piety. (Mather's Magnolia, b. iv, p. 222.)

of solemn prayer, reading the Scriptures, praise, catechizing, preaching, and pronouncing the blessing. "In all these acts of worship, for I have been often present with them," says Major Cookin, "they demean themselves visibly with reverence, attention, modesty, and solemnity, the men-kind sitting by themselves, and the women-kind by themselves, according to their age, quality and degree, in a comely manner. And for my own part, I have no doubt, but am fully satisfied, according to the judgment of charity, that divers of them do fear God, and are true believers." A considerable number of them were Church members, and united with the Christian Indians of some of the neighbouring towns in celebrating the dying love of Jesus.

2. Pakemitt, or Punkapog, (Stoughton,) was situated about fourteen miles south from Boston, contained about twelve families, and sixty souls, and possessed six thousand acres of land. The Indians who lived in this place had removed from Neponsitt mill, and had been severely tried by the apostasy, death, and removal of some of their members, and by the afflictive dispensations of Divine Providence. They enjoyed the instructions of William Ahatwon, a young man of piety and talent.

3. Hassanamesitt, (Grafton,) the town at which the Church was formed in 1671, was inferior to none of the other Indian plantations in the extent, fertility, and culture of its lands; and it annually produced a large quantity of grain and fruits. About thirty baptized persons, six-

teen of whom were communicants, resided within its bounds, and worshipped God in a most becoming manner. When the sacrament of the Lord's Supper was dispensed, they were joined by other Church members, who resided in other places.

4. Okommakamesit, (Marlborough,) was situated about thirty miles westward from Boston, and contained about ten families, and fifty souls. The land belonging to it consisted of six thousand acres, and was well cultivated. It possessed several good orchards, planted by the Indians. It had suffered much by the death of its ruler, who is represented as a very pious and judicious man. Its teacher's name was Solomon.

5. Wamesit, or Pantucket, (Tewksbury,) was situated between Concord and Merrimack rivers, and distant from Boston about twenty miles. It possessed only twenty-five hundred acres of fertile land; but contained about fifteen families and seventy-five souls. These observed the same civil and religious orders as the inhabitants of the other towns, and had a constable and other officers, and a teacher called Samuel, who, having been educated at the expense of the corporation, possessed a respectably cultivated mind.

This place was well situated as a fishing station, and great numbers of the Indians resorted to it from various quarters during the fishing season. Mr. Eliot, as we have seen, taking advantage of this circumstance, had long been

accustomed to address them on the welfare of their immortal souls with considerable success. His last visit was peculiarly encouraging. On the evening of the fifth of May he arrived, accompanied by Major Gookin, and preached from the parable of the marriage of the king's son, to as many of the Indians as he could assemble in the wigwams. The eldest son of one of the chief Sachems was present. He was remarkable for his sobriety, and between fifty and sixty years old. Repeated endeavours had been made, some years before, to induce him to embrace the Christian religion; but these had been attended with no other effect than that of leading him to express his willingness to hear the Gospel, and observe the Sabbath. On this occasion, however, he was seriously pressed to give his answer concerning praying to God; and after some deliberation, he stood up, and made a speech to this effect: —

"Sirs, you have been pleased, for four years past, in your abundant love, to apply yourselves particularly unto me and my people, to exhort, press, and persuade us to pray to God. I am very thankful to you for your pains. I must acknowledge I have all my days used to pass in an old canoe, and now you exhort me to change my old canoe, and embark in a new canoe, to which I have hitherto been unwilling; but now I yield up myself to your advice, and enter into a new canoe, and do engage to pray to God hereafter."

6. NASHOBAH, (Littleton,) situated about

twenty-five miles west north-west from Boston, contained about ten families and fifty souls, who were placed under the care of a teacher named John Thomas.* Its lands, which were about four miles square in extent, were fertile and well watered.

7. MAGUMKAQUOG, (Hopkinton,) situated between Natick and Hassanamesitt, contained about eleven families and fifty-five souls, fifteen of whom were baptized, and eight members of the church at Natick. Their teacher's name was Job, and they worshipped God, kept the Sabbath, and observed civil order in a becoming manner, like the other praying Indians.

From the preceding account of the praying towns in the colony of Massachusetts, it is apparent that Mr. Eliot was, in the year 1764, rationally permitted to entertain the hope that God had abundantly blessed his labours. The work, however, in which he was engaged, was greatly retarded by a war, in which the colonists of New-England were involved with Philip, the principal chief of the Indians, and son of Massasoit, the celebrated friend of the English.

The English, since the commencement of the first colonies, had conducted themselves with great kindness to their heathen brethren; and, in general, had refused to take possession of any

* John Thomas was among the first of the praying Indians, and joined the Church when it was gathered at Natick. He was exemplary through life, and died in 1727, aged one hundred and ten years. — Holmes' American Annals, vol. ii, p. 103.

portions of land which they had not obtained by honest purchase from the Indian proprietors. Notwithstanding this circumstance, it is not to be wondered at that the jealousy of the Sachems should have been excited by the progress which the strangers were evidently making, and that they should use all the means in their power to prevent encroachments, the tendency of which was to lessen their territory and authority.

In the end of 1674, John Sausiman, a converted Indian, who, after having apostatized from the faith, and devoted himself to the service of Philip as secretary, had been induced by Mr. Eliot to return to the bosom of the Church, and to engage in propagating the Gospel, informed the English that his profane countrymen had resolved to adopt measures for their destruction, and that he dreaded that he would be murdered by some of Philip's men.

A short time after this communication had been made, Tobias, one of Philip's chief captains, with the assistance of his son and another Indian, proceeded, to murder Sausiman, and pretended that he was drowned. The barbarous deed, however, was speedily brought to light by Nahawton, one of the praying Indians, who had been made acquainted with the circumstances connected with it, by one of the spectators; and the English, having caused the perpetrators to be apprehended, found them guilty, by a jury composed of an equal number of Indians and English, and ordered them to be executed on the 4th of June 1675.

Philip having heard of the condemnation of one of his counsellors, and being conscious that he had given reason to the colonists to suspect that he had formed a conspiracy for their destruction, and that he had been accessory to the murder, became apprehensive of personal danger, and, contrary to a most solemn agreement, resolved to commence hostilities against the English. Finding his strength greatly increased by the accession of several Indian tribes, he soon carried his purposes into effect, and appeared for a short time to bid defiance to the combined forces of the colonies of Plymouth, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New-Haven.

The converted Indians were naturally attached to the service of their invaluable benefactors; and a considerable number of them took up arms against their infidel countrymen. Most of these, who were often placed in difficult circumstances, displaying considerable skill, bravery, and fidelity; and several of them laid down their lives for the sake of their friends. Unmoved by these circumstances, and ungrateful for the assistance which they received, the colonists, from the fact that a few professors of religion had been induced to unite with Philip, contracted the most unreasonable prejudices against the converts in general. They viewed them with abhorrence and distrust; and, not content with confining them in Long Island, and subjecting them to great sufferings, they thought them worthy of death. Mr. Eliot, whose dread of war we have already had occa-

sion to observe, exerted himself to the utmost of his power to protect his children in the faith, and to watch over their interests. To the everlasting disgrace of many of his countrymen, however, he was on this account subjected to much contempt and reproach. As an illustration of this painful remark, we may take notice of a fact which exhibits an almost incredible malevolence on the part of an individual, whose name is deservedly forgotten. On a certain occasion, during the war, Mr. Eliot went to sea in a small boat, which happened to be upset by a larger vessel. When about to sink, without the expectation of rising again, he exclaimed, "The will of the Lord be done I" He was happily rescued from the imminent danger in which he was placed; but his deliverance, instead of being a matter of joy to all his acquaintances, led one of them to remark, that he wished that he had been drowned!

After a very severe struggle, attended by the loss of a great number of the colonists, and much injury to their possessions, the war was terminated by the slaughter of Philip, and many of his warriors, on the 12th of August, 1676. On its conclusion, Mr. Eliot had the pain to observe that his fairest prospects were in a great measure blasted. He found many of the praying towns wholly destroyed.* He was called to lament the total defection of some of the Indians, whose professions had lately

* In one of his letters, addressed to Mr. Boyle, he says that they were reduced to four.

cheered his heart; to observe that the love of others had waxed cold; and to mourn over the premature death of some who had promised to be useful in advancing the cause of Christ. In these trying circumstances, however, he knew where to look for comfort and support. While he contemplated the Lord's goodness to him during his past life, he knew that the duty of labouring among the heathen, resting on a Divine command, was altogether independent of the success which might be vouchsafed to him; and in the exercise of faith he could say, — "Surely my judgment is with the Lord, and my work with my God.*"

While, undismayed by the severe trials which he experienced, he exercised this humble confidence in the goodness and faithfulness of God, he was not permitted to labour without receiving that token of the Divine approbation in which he most delighted. The Lord looked down in mercy on his servant, and caused the blessing of the Holy Spirit to accompany his preaching. "The eastern Indians," he remarked in a letter dated 4th November, 1680, and addressed to Mr. Boyle, "do offer to submit themselves to be taught to pray unto God. A chief Sachem was here about it, a man of a grave and discreet countenance. Our praying Indians, both in the islands and on the main, are (considered together) numerous. Thousands of souls, of whom some are true believers, some learners, and some are still infant, — all of them beg, cry, and entreat for Bibles,

having already enjoyed that blessing, but now are in great want."

The effect of this success, which was granted to Mr. Eliot, was that of leading him to abound still more and more in the work of the Lord, and to use all the means in his power to satisfy the desire for the sacred Scriptures which existed in the minds of the Indians. — With the assistance of Mr. John Cotton, of Plymouth, he therefore resolved to publish a second edition of his translation of the New Testament, and before the end of this year he carried his resolutions into effect.

He had no sooner finished the second edition of the New Testament, than he resolved to proceed with the Old. The following extracts from two of his letters addressed to Mr. Boyle, make us acquainted with his feelings and desires on this subject, and exhibit a very tender affection for the prosperity of the Christian Indians, and for the progress of Scriptural knowledge.

"Roxbury, March 15, 1682-3.

"Right Honourable, &c.

"The Lord's work still goeth on among them; and though many of the younger sort since the wars (where their souls received a wound) have declined, and too much miscarried, yet now; through the grace of Christ, they are on the repenting and recovering hand.

"The great work that I travail about is the printing of the Old Testament, that they may have the whole Bible. I desire to see it done

before I die, and I am so deep in years that I cannot expect to live long; beside, we have but one man, viz. the Indian printer, who is able to compose the sheets and correct the press with understanding. For such reasons, so soon as I received the sum of near £40, (177 dollars,) for the Bible work, I presently set the work on foot; and one-tenth part near is done. We are in Leviticus. I have added some part of my salary to keep up the work; and many more things I might add as reasons of my urgency in this matter."

"Boston, June 21, 1683.

"Right Honourable nursing Father,

"Your hungry nurslings do still cry unto your honour for the milk of the word in the whole book of God, and the bread of life which they have fed on in the whole Bible, and are very thankful for what they have, and importunately desirous to enjoy the whole book of God. It is the greatest charity in the world to provide for their souls. They only stay for that word from your honour, let it be done. My age makes me importunate. I shall depart joyfully, may I but leave the Bible among them, for it is the word of life; and there be some godly souls among them that live thereby. The work is under great incumberments and discouragements. My heart hath much ado to hold up my head; but it doth daily drive me to Christ, and I tell the Lord that it is his word; and your hearts are in his hands. I do therefore commit

the whole to the Lord, and leave both it and myself to the Lord, who hath not left me wholly destitute."

Mr. Eliot, exercising this trust in that gracious providence which had hitherto supplied all his wants, commenced the printing of the Old Testament, before he had received the permission of the society for propagating the Gospel in New England. He had not advanced far in the work, however, when he received £460 to enable him to carry it on. In acknowledging the receipt of this sum, in a letter addressed to Mr. Boyle, and dated Nov. 27, 1683, he requested a "curtain of love to be drawn over all his failures," and apologized for his haste; remarking that it was "Christ's work, and for the good of souls, which it was his charge to attend, and run adventures to accomplish." Happy would it be for the cause of Christ if those who profess to be attached to it were deeply impressed with this truth, and determined to use with humility all the means in their power to advance the interests of his kingdom.

In the beginning of the year 1684, having gratefully received an additional sum of £400 to aid him in printing the Old Testament, he took occasion to present Mr. Boyle with an account of the state of religion among the praying Indians. He concluded his observations on this subject in the following terms: — "By this it appeareth that they are, in some good measure, able, by the light of the Scriptures, and by the examples of the Churches of

Christ, and by such instructions as they have had, to practise and manage the whole instituted public worship of God among themselves, without the presence or inspection of any English among them, which is no small addition and advancement of the kingdom of Christ; and it is no small comfort to me, whom Divine Providence and grace hath made one of the poor instruments, to instruct and manage them in this estate in Christ Jesus, whereunto they have attained." The second edition of the Bible appeared in 1685. It consisted of two thousand copies, for which there was a great demand. A short time after its publication, the praying Indians appear to have been involved in great difficulties. These are referred to in one of Mr. Eliot's letters, addressed to Mr. Boyle, which we here insert.

"Roxbury, Aug. 29, 1686, in the
third month of our overthrow.

"Right Honourable unweariable nursing Father,

"I have nothing new to write bat lamentations, and I am loath to grieve your loving and noble soul.

"Our Indian work yet liveth, praised be God, The Bible is come forth; many hundreds are bound up and dispersed to the Indians, whose thankfulness I intimate and testify to your honour. The Practice of Piety is also finished, and beginneth to be bound up. And my humble request to your honour is, that we may re-impress the primer and catechism; for though the last

impression be not yet spent, yet quickly they will; and I am old, ready to be gone, and desire to leave as many books as I can. I know not what to add in this distressing day of our overthrow, so I commit your honour to the Lord, and rest, your honour's, to serve you in Jesus Christ,

John Eliot,"

In 1687, the work of converting the Indians appears to have been in a flourishing state, though Mr. Eliot, who was now in his eighty-third or eighty-fourth year, was so weakened with his old age, and his labours among them, that he was unable to preach to them oftener than once in two months. Dr. Mather, in a letter addressed to Dr. Leusden, professor of Hebrew in the university of Utrecht, says, "There are six Churches of baptized Indians in New-England, and eighteen assemblies of catechumens, professing the name of Christ. Of the Indians there are four and twenty who are preachers of the word of God; and beside these there are four English ministers, who preach the Gospel in the Indian tongue."

In 1688, Mr. Eliot concluded his correspondence with Mr. Boyle by the following letter, which, while it directs our attention to a considerable part of his labours in translating useful books into the Indian language, breathes the same earnest desire for the improvement of his spiritual children, and the progress of the work in which he had so long engaged, which characterized his earlier years.

"Roxbury, July 7, 1688.

"Right Honourable, deep learned, abundantly charitable, and constant nursing Father,

"Sir, — I am drawing home, and am glad of an opportunity of taking leave of your honour with all thankfulness. The work, in general, seemeth to my soul to be in and well toward a reviving. Many Churches of confessors of Christ are in motions to gather into Church estates, who do carefully keep the Sabbath.— And out of these professors of religion we do gather up and call in such as are willing to confess Jesus Christ, and seek salvation by him. Touching other matters, what our losses and changes be, and how trading, &c. are spoiled, I am silent; but my prayer to God is, Isaiah i, 25, 26, 'And I will turn my hand upon thee, and purely purge away thy dross, and take away all thy sin: and I will restore thy judges as at the first, and thy counsellors as at the beginning,' &c. So do, O Lord.

"Sir, the Lord prolong your days, and fill you with all grace, until you arrive at the fulness of glory, where I leave you, and rest, your honour's, to serve you in Jesus Christ,

"John Eliot."

CHAPTER X.

Mr. Eliot's last efforts for the advancement of the cause of Christ — His illness and death,

Mr. Eliot "brought forth fruit in his old age;" and "when he began to draw near his end, he grew more heavenly and more divine."

Deeply convinced of the inexpediency of holding an office, the duties of which he was unable satisfactorily to perform, he wished to resign his charge as pastor of the Church of Roxbury, when he conceived that he had not strength to edify his congregation. With this view, he fervently prayed that the Lord of the harvest might provide a faithful successor, and importuned his people with some impatience, to invite another minister. Sometimes, indeed, he would call the inhabitants of the town together, with the purpose of leading them to join with him in a fast for the blessing of Christian instruction. "'Tis possible," he said, when addressing them on this subject, "you may think the burden of maintaining two ministers may be too 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." His Church, to their honour, assured him that they would count his very presence among them worth a salary, when he should be altogether unable to do them any farther service.

Mr. Nehemiah Walter, a graduate of Harvard college, and a person young in years, but old in discretion, gravity, and experience, having been unanimously chosen as pastor of the Church at Roxbury, found the venerable evangelist disposed to embrace and cherish him with the tender affection of a father. The good old man disrobed himself with unspeakable satisfaction, and gave his garments to his successor; and, for a year or two before his death, he could scarcely be persuaded to perform any public service. He alleged that it would be doing "wrong to the souls of the people, for him to do any thing among them, when they were supplied so much to their advantage otherwise." On occasion of a public fast, when Dr. Mather supposes he delivered his last discourse, he gave a distinct and useful exposition of the eighty-third psalm, and concluded with an apology to his hearers, begging them "to pardon the poorness, and meanness, and brokenness of his meditations," and adding, "My dear brother here, will, by and by, mend all."

When compelled by his age and infirmities to abandon his ministrations in' the Church, he would say, in a tone peculiar to himself, "I wonder for what the Lord Jesus lets me live; he knows that now I can do nothing for him." While the humility of his heart, however, gave utterance to this sentiment, he did not abandon himself to inactivity. Though he conceived that the English could not be benefited by any gifts which he possessed, he hoped that the poor

negroes, whose deplorable condition he had long deeply commiserated, might receive some profit from his feeble instructions. He requested, therefore, that they might be sent to him once a week, at the time and place most convenient for him, in order that he might catechise them, and do the most in his power to enlighten them concerning the things which belonged to their everlasting peace. He did not, however, make much progress in this very laudable undertaking.

When he was able to do little without doors he tried to do something within. A young boy in the neighbourhood had, in his infancy, fallen into a fire, and burned his face so dreadfully as that he became perfectly blind. The zealous minister therefore took him home to his house, with the intention of making him a scholar, and instructed him with such diligence that in a short time he could repeat many chapters of the Bible correctly, and translate an ordinary piece of Latin with considerable ease.

“When he was making his retreat out of this evil world, he discoursed from time to time on the coming of the Lord Jesus Christ. For this he prayed, and for this he longed.” When he heard any bad news, his usual reflection was, “Behold some of the clouds in which we must look for the coming of the Son of man.”

The last object of his care from which he withdrew his attention, was the welfare of all the Churches of New-England, about which he had long been solicitous. When they were

placed in a very uncomfortable situation, on account of the advantages which some individuals, who sought their ruin, had obtained against them, Dr. Increase Mather resolved to set out on a voyage to Britain, that, by his entreaties at Whitehall, he might divert the impending storms. On this occasion the soul of the aged Eliot was excited to prayer and thankfulness; and "his shaking hand, that had heretofore, by writing, deserved so well from the Church of God, but was now taking its leave of writing for ever," addressed to him the following encouraging lines: —

"Reverend and beloved Mr. Increase Mather,

"I cannot write. Read Neh. ii, 10, 'When Sanballat the Horonite, and Tobijah the servant, the Ammonite, heard of it, it grieved them exceedingly, 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."

Having been attacked with a considerable degree of fever, he rapidly sunk under his disorder. When he lay in the extremity of his sufferings, seeing Mr. Walter come to him, and fearing that by petitioning for his life he might detain him in the vale of tears, he said, "Brother, thou art welcome to my very soul. Pray retire to thy study for me, and give me leave to

be gone." Having been asked how he did, he answered, "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." When speaking about the propagation of the Gospel among the Indians, he remarked, "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." He used many similar extraordinary and precious expressions in his dying moments. Among the last words he uttered were, "Welcome joy; and his voice for ever failed him in this world, while he repeated, "Pray, pray, pray." He departed from this life in the beginning of 1690, and in the eighty-sixth year of his age.

Mr. Eliot's death produced a powerful impression in New-England; and devout men made great lamentation over him." "Bereaved New-England," says Dr. Mather, "where are thy tears at this ill-boding funeral? We had a tradition current among us, that the country would never perish as long as Mr. Eliot was alive!"

The great grief which was manifested on the death of Mr. Eliot, had its origin in the excel-

lence of his character, and the eminent usefulness of his labours.

He was a Christian of the highest order and, throughout the course of his long life, enjoyed in large abundance the unspeakable consolations of the Gospel. Dr. Mather marks, that "he walked in the light of God countenance all the day long;" that "he had continual assurance of the Divine love marvelously sealing, strengthening, and refreshing him for many years before he died, and that 'his conversation was in heaven.'" In these circumstances it is to be naturally expected that he highly valued, and diligently improved, the means of grace. He made the Bible his companion and his counsellor ; and he viewed it his necessary food. He delighted to pour out his soul in supplication to the Father of mercies. "He was indeed a man of prayer," remarked Dr. Mather. "Could the walls of his old students speak, they would even ravish us with the relation of the many hundred and thousand prayers which he there poured out before the Lord. He not only made it his daily practice to enter into that closet and shut his door, and to pray to his Father in secret, but he would not rarely set apart whole days for prayer, with fasting before the God of heaven. When there were any remarkable difficulty before him, he took this way to encounter and overcome it; being of Dr. Preston's mind, that 'when we would have any great things to be accomplished, his best policy is to work by an engine which this

world sees nothing of.' He could say as the pious Robertson did upon his death bed, 'I thank God I have loved prayer with all my heart.' If one would have known what that sacred thing, the spirit of prayer, intends, in him there might have been seen a practical exposition of it. He kept his heart in a frame for prayer with a marvellous constancy, and was continually provoking ail that were about him thereunto. When he heard any considerable news, his usual reflection was, 'Brethren, let us turn all this into prayer.' He constantly used his endeavours to lead his Christian friends to engage in this exercise at private meetings, and in the churches; and when he came into a house with which he was intimately acquainted, he was accustomed to 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.' His delight in the Sabbath was no less remarkable than his delight in prayer. He diligently prepared himself for its sacred exercises; and it was observed concerning him, that he might have been seen in the spirit every week. Every day, indeed, was a kind of Sabbath to him; but the Lord's day was viewed and enjoyed by him as a foretaste of heaven. His desire was that it should be spent agreeably to the purpose of its institution; and that he should entertain no thoughts, speak no words, and perform no actions which were opposed to its holy services. When he beheld any person guilty of a profanation of it, he uni-

formly expressed his decided disapprobation of such conduct."

The effect of this close walk with God was apparent in his life. He reckoned the honours and pleasures of the world as the small dust of the balance, and he viewed them with the sentiments and feelings of a dying man. "Study mortification, study mortification," was his address to the ministers in whom he observed any inclination to depart from the exercise of self-denial; and his whole conduct was a comment on his precept. He was extremely temperate in the enjoyment of the good things of this life; and it was said, that "it was in a manner all one with him to be rich or poor." His food was of the most simple kind; and his apparel without any ornament. "Had you seen him with his leathern girdle about his loins, for such a one he wore," says Dr. Mather, "you would have thought what Herod feared, that John the Baptist was come to life again."

He so diligently laboured to promote the improvement of the individuals with whom he associated, and he so habitually and judiciously endeavoured to direct their attention to important subjects, that more than one of his friends said, "I was never with him but I got, or might have got, some good from him." Alike removed from levity and moroseness, he maintained a cheerful and grave deportment in his intercourse with his fellow creatures. He knew that he was in the presence of his God, and he endeavoured to regulate his speech as one who ex-

pected to be engaged in celebrating the praises of redeeming grace in the regions of glory.

He was a man of peace, and he greatly abhorred every species of contention. His general kindness procured and supported the friendship of his acquaintances, and rendered him the object of their most tender and affectionate regards. His enemies were few, and he endeavoured, not without success, to overcome their evil with good. Having used some expressions in his sermons which proved offensive to one of his hearers, he found himself violently abused for his fidelity. Unmindful of this circumstance, however, he sent Mrs. Eliot to cure him of a dangerous wound, and treated him with such affection as completely disarmed the hostility of his mind. "No man," it was said, "could entertain persons of a persuasion different from his own with more kindness than he, when he saw any thing of Christ, or the fear of God, prevailing in them. While he proved a hammer to their errors, he dealt with them as a friend. Wherever he came, he acted like the Apostle John, in solemnly and earnestly persuading to love, and delivering the charge, 'My children, love one another.'"

In the prosecution of his studies he was remarkably diligent. When we consider the extent of his public labours, this circumstance may appear incredible. He knew, however, the value of time, and he was careful to redeem it. He allowed himself but little sleep; and his advice to students was, "I pray, look to it,

that ye be morning birds." For more than twenty years before his death he slept in his studying room, that, being there alone, he might enjoy his early mornings without giving the smallest disturbance to his friends who, in the exercise of their affection for him, might say, "Master, spare thyself." The publications which he prepared for the Indians, for the congregation of Roxbury, and for his brethren in the ministry, which we have already noticed, must have been the fruit of great labour. They were not the only proofs, however, of the extent of his affection for the church of Christ. He published several English books before his death; among which was "The Harmony of the Gospels in the Holy History of Jesus Christ."

Mr. Eliot was remarkably blessed by God in his family concerns; and this was to be expected from the manner in which they were managed. Such was the love and affection which subsisted between him and his wife, and so orderly was their walk and conversation, that they were commonly called Zacharias and Elizabeth. Mrs. Eliot lived till about three or four years before her husband's death, and was a woman very eminent for her holiness and prudence. She proved highly useful, not only to her family, but to her neighbourhood. She had attained considerable skill in physic and surgery, and she dispensed many medicines among the poor who had occasion for them. When she died, her aged husband, who very

rarely wept, stood with tears over her coffin, before a large company of people who attended her funeral, and said, "Here lies my dear, faithful, pious, prudent, prayerful wife; I shall go to her, and she not return to me."

Mr. Eliot consecrated all his sons to the service of Christ in the ministry of the Gospel; but his wishes were not completely realized. All his children, however, gave such proofs of their conversion, that the good old man would sometimes comfortably say, "I have had six children, and I bless God for his free grace, they are all either with Christ, or in Christ, and my mind is now at rest concerning them." When asked how he could bear the death of such excellent children as he had educated, he humbly replied, "My desire was that they should have served God on earth; but if God will choose to have them serve him in heaven, I have nothing to object against it, his will be done."

The grace which Mr. Eliot experienced with regard to his offspring, forms an illustration of the words of Solomon: — "Train up a child in the way he should go, and when he is old he will not depart from it." His fatherly care, indeed, was of the most praiseworthy nature. He laboured diligently to enlighten the understandings, and to improve the hearts of his daughter and sons. He was accustomed to watch over their conduct with the greatest tenderness; and he tolerated no extravagancies in their dress or mode of living. With the view

of leading them to the early use of their mental faculties, he regularly asked them to make a few observations on the passages of Scripture which were read at family worship. "By this method," it was observed, "he did mightily sharpen and improve, as well as try their understandings, and endeavour to make them wise unto salvation."

Mr. Eliot, in his dying moments, declared that he saw a dark cloud on the work of the Lord among the Indians; and it is much to be lamented that the zeal with which the efforts for their evangelization had been conducted during his life, greatly diminished after his death. The mortality of the Indians, the encroachments of the English upon their settlements, and several other circumstances of a painful nature, brought the missionary ardour to a severe trial; and though, when viewed under an enlightened Christian benevolence, they ought only to have led to more strenuous efforts, they were permitted to exercise an unfavourable influence. It is a subject of gratitude, however, that the work of converting the Indians has never altogether been abandoned, nor carried on without success; and that, though there are now scarcely any remains of the powerful tribes among whom the first missionaries laboured, the Christians of the United States are at present acting with energy among the heathen in the western forests.

THE END.

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