JOHN ELIOT AND THE INDIANS

1652-1657



JOHN ELIOT AND THE INDIANS 1652 – 1657

Being Letters Addressed to Rev. Jonathan Hanmer of Barnstaple, England

Reproduced from the Original Manuscripts in the possession of Theodore N. Vail Edited by Wilberforce Eames

NEW YORK MCMXV [1915]

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THE ADAMS & GRACE PRESS, NEW YORK

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THE NEW

OUR

LORD AND SAVIOUR

IESUS

Translated into the

INDIAN LANGUAGE.

AND

Ordered to be Printed by the Commissioners of the United Colonies in NEW-ENGLAND,

At the Charge, and with the Confent of the

CORPORATION IN ENGLAND

For the Propagation of the Gospel amongst the Indians in New-England.

CAMBRIDG:

Printed by Samuel Green and Marmaduke Johnson.

MDCLXI.

PROLOGUE

The letters of John Eliot here printed belong to the period when he was most actively engaged in his work among the Massachusetts Indians. They were addressed to the Rev. Jonathan Hanmer,* minister of the church at Barnstaple in Devonshire, whose interest in Mr. Eliot's labors had been enlisted by mutual friends.

John Eliot had come to New England in November, 1631; was ordained teacher of the church at Roxbury in 1632; and had taken up the study of the Indian language in 1643. In 1646 he began to preach to the Indians in their own tongue, at Nonantum; and in 1650 he selected a site and laid out the plan for an Indian town at Natick. Accounts of the progress of this work were published at London in 1643, 1647, 1648 and 1649, in four of the so-called "Eliot Tracts;" and the interest aroused thereby resulted in the creation by Act of Parliament,

^{*}Mr. Hanmer was born in 1606 and died in 1687. He was minister in the church at Barnstaple from 1646 to 1662, and was the author of several books. See *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. xxiv, pp. 295-297, and authorities there quoted.

July 27, 1649, of the Corporation for the Propagation of the Gospel among the Indians in New England.

The efforts of the new Corporation were at once directed to the raising off unds for the purchase of tools and other necessaries required in the building of the new town. It was at this stage of affairs that Mr. Hanmer wrote to Mr. Eliot, on March 12th, 1652, announcing that an unnamed gentleman (Mr. Speacot) had made a liberal gift of £50, which would be laid out in such commodities as were most desired. Mr. Eliot replied in two letters, dated July 19 and October 7, 1652, as follows:

Facsimile of Letter of July 19, 1652

it have x scrips your bis datal march 12. 51. where the your harn ma in an unexported sightent, of moffenger of inconcagnity by fuggely water this - Julians, is that it may be when and quilty & griber for his prople in the their , who half nours faited me The low boin one phonor form of forest his it is made that I house , in The achalle or this. I count to Up quickly to failed poring to Exceptor I may bow forwarded more than I can the top of the there - his years contribuitors bowards this work - Cisilart in Margos & supe for the to lefite bastime to balo up the of their frame. As to defice to mining the sound of their the series of the serie General years Goling to thom , as following mulo, is greatly and wing who the for sichal ways, Dinseys . in the own they have love taught, they my can eightly injoy villable fauchitis in - un lake of a place fit fre to begin no rifill civility, before they but years so we logan that work through hich grows. to be all of the test in all their affaires Civilia, you so, is a Day of taffing syruper, they a making the wood of God their only magna shartan, be gight land, is chart only magna shartan, be gight land, is the conversation of the shart of the state of the to God, & sach other the platforms of it hely government of Gods owner in Milhiam. I have bet over this year sinks me Nicole It the world the year following in Expense of the Lord girt you want it a MA I let with your following the I hat glase with your foll ight por thought, Japhant it was to a morey to Englant if they hat in this have of hims, take up that forms of gogstant, ino infilation, of by who short from reigno over them praking of the Julians, when I have this mouth. But I fraget my felle of am well by his word in all the of the Low have the state them in this their goynt, a guiter them in judgen.
This fit your the & prometh to sign of proposer the fee his church consumer.
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whereby they give up then flort to be governed by the best exclipationly, in all his ordinary. namers, is church Duringhating. The fall walk of good Drift aper of he thing the to be something to the stand of the many plans to the to be the total to the the total th Towning it you fay of my weighting for a fragely of looks for my brown nahe. it is trust of It for les forms after the Lord was petited to offer a confertable forty both to him, I metalfor for I found how to be have ministery who little up a few as a few ministery who little up a few as a few ministery of the last up as the same few ministers who little up a few as a few ministers. forthe to be dilter a frisiheath hefer will the ford. I logle his librarys of hos miniposes who left us, as of they are like paile for, of the Corporation - Lower, of my brok? make have love possible of his again while. Bof it the zor 253 minifers of exen have fet who us nor forgo a shi graza they for into us the I while of the new cano taking upon the whole little jot Though the ziches of Gots body he is now fift yet, but it please looks he

what more then I can now wright unto your selfe. The reverend ministers, and christian people there, having bene these two years contribuitors towards this work, and by whose supply, a great part of the work for the civile part in charges and expences, hath bene caryed on. After several years preching to them, the Lord opened theire hearts to desire baptisme to seale up pardon of theire sinne, and to desire church estate, and ministry, whereby to injoy all Gods ordinances, and to injoy cohabitation, and civile government, as subservient unto, and greatly conducing unto these spiritual wayes, and 1nercys. order they have bene taught, they must have visible civility, before they can rightly injoy visible sanctitie in ecclesiastical co1nmunion. Henc we looked out a place fitt for to begin a towne, where a competent number of people might have subsistenc together. In the yeare 1650 we began that work through rich grace. In the yeare 1651 in a day of fasting and prayre, they entered into a covenant with God, and each other, to be ruled by the Lord in all theire affaires civilie, makeing the Word of God theire only magna charta, for govern111ent, laws, and all conversation. And chose rulers of tennes, fifties, and of an hundred. The platforme of which holy government of Gods owne institution, I have sent over this yeare unto Mr. Nicols with the reverend elders in Exon. And if the Lord give you opertunity, I should gladly wish your selfe might also have a sight of it, that I might receive your animadversions on it. But in my poore thoughts, I apprehend it would be a mercy to England, if they should in this terme of lines, take up that forme of government, which is a divine institution, and by which

Christ should reigne over them, by the word of his mouth. But I forget myselfe, I am speaking of the Indians, whom I desire to traine up, to be the Lords people only, ruled by his Word in all things. And the Lord hath blessed them in this theire government, and guided them in judg1nent. This present yeare the Lord seemeth to ripen and prepare them for holy church covenant whereby they give up themselves to be governed by the Lord ecclesiastically, in all his ordinances, and church administrations. But I shall walk by good advise before I doe this. They are now building the1nselves a meeting house, which when it is made, it may please the Lord to call them forth to be built a spirituall house unto the Lord.

Touching what you say of my wrighting for a supply of books for my brother Mahu, it is true I did so. But soone after the Lord was pleased to offer a comfortable supply both to him, and me also. For I bought two librarys of two ministers who left us, and they are both paide for, by the corporation in London, and my brother Mahu hath bene possessed of his a good while. Besides, the reverend elders, ministers of Exon have sent unto us new supply, and this yeare they sent unto us the second edition of the new annotations upon the whole bible, so that through the riches of Gods bounty he is now supplyed, but what particular books he may further want, I cannot tell. Sir you make mention of a liberal gift of a religious gentleman, whose name I hope I shall hereafter know, that I mayexpresse my thankfullnesse in a few lines unto him. And wheras you require to know in what com1nodity, it may be most suitably laid out, I answer in two

commoditys chiefly. First in strong linnen cloth, canvas and other good hempen cloth, and lockroms, because in the hot sun1mers, the Indians delight to goe in linnen, and work, if in any garment, only a linnen garment, if they can get it. Secondly in red, blew, or white cottons, course and thik, some call it trading cloth, which is coursest, and some better. Only these two soorts of commoditys are best for the present. The way of sending, may be by ships from Barstable, who have often recourse hither, or by some Bristol ships, who also trade hither. If by London, then there is a faithfull freind of mine Mr. Bulcher who will conveigh any such things to me. But it may be the goods had better be taken up in your country, then to be bought in London. Sir I doe also request this, that if any ships come from Barstable, you would please to appoynt some or other discreete and Godly man, able to judg wisely, and discerne, to set apart so much time, as to see with his eyes, and heare with his owne eares, how the matters are here caryed, and what is done among the Indians. should he have a good allowanc for his paines, it would tend much to the furtheranc of our work, and comfort of your hearts. And may you please to communicate this my motion to reverend Mr. Nicols and consider what were wisdome to be done in that case. Nay if some of the churches should send forth a minister, and other faithfull brethren, on purpose to visit and comfort and incourage such a work, I see not but it were a worthy work and well becomeing the spirit of the gospel. But I can now goe no further. I doe humbly blesse the Lord for the prayres that are made in all the churches, in the behalfe of

Endorsement of Letter of July 19, 1652



this work, and us that labour in it. I beg for the continuane thereoff, and so commending you and all your holy labours unto the Lord, and to the blessing of his grace I rest.

Your unworthy fellow labourer in the gospell of Christ,

John Eliot.

Roxbury this 19th of the 5th, 1652.

[Addressed:] To his reverend and much respected brother

Mr. Hanmer minister of the gospell at

Barnstable in

Devonshire,

these.

I pray leave these letters with Mr. John
Clarke merchant at Mr.
Duns house in Blackwell hall
to be sent safely as is
above written.

Facsimile of Letter of October 7, 1652

Rexind is much resported in christ. I xed but from you full of love ooth in acknowledgent is incourage in in this work of the ford among the fordians. to with for for the for = mor this which antis actions ing as your defined. but built the to tout that faile & miscory coming to form & faringle to many hand whom they can come at your therper of thought it nocefory to write if this this also, as I shall by the next like wife if the ford give of hunity, God, wants ow well fingly of the puzchafor of two liberarys, he my built maken, the other for my folfor as also Roxund me Nicols of Exception, the to rest of the sexund ministers thorn on the first and want of for the fitter different of for your mention. Gorante . I find our now come a cohalitation of the fitter of the fitte is labour, they much delight in linnon, to work in, in the fun more appointly. if therefore it be laids out in good canval of other good They like for hists, is forme for four dettor ups, about head to clother it work best accome date us for the popular unlift from to laid out in thick warmed white blanket cloth, with J. think is plentafily made in your country. Juch things will by Junity for the way of family in J defired it may be by your westernet this ing. So it now to bound for the Bay of majorchilds, you if any be bound for the J. to of shoots the great of things place of N.E. it may be fafely convergent unto me. for the minister who Brock thous is pared in Brock man who whom the care-bring com itens. I doubt not but he will carefully found them who mot or if they be bound to any other port it us, but is good frat unto mot who am of Rox bury; will only by Be notified & come igher if any tody of trult have the core thought come to them, the plant false of chyprofic is though the grace of cheift, come up to this, that up no the 13th day of this mouth (if God will) we have a day of talting to progress, where we mouth (if God will) we have a day of talting to progress, where we mouth (if God will) we have a day of talting to progress, where we mouth (if God will) we have a day of talting to progress, where we mouth (if God will) we have a day of talting to progress, where we have complying the following the contestion of Johns Chee; I there can from Surry Julians to make confession of Josus chaigh his fact is grave whole confessions if they to charity, opprouse for first on love not writer to them of flight & blas fait of the fath them we halk good to time them into a ville conflicte Aurach for the finger at their is all his hely owiners now this define for in filing on the facts may for occupied, or if from the attended to the fine of the country by your progress, to the gray as of all the gray the Lot to for conding to got your holy labored of all the gray to the first the format of all the gray to the first the format of all the gray to the gray t your affectionale brother of Roxhry this of of his 8 most 1682. the Lows vinyor Gohn Clink

Reverend and much respected in Christ.

I received letters from you full of love, both in acknowledgment and incouragement in this work of the Lord among the Indians, to which letters I have by the former ship returned answer according as But least these letters should faile and miscary coming you desired. so far, and through so many hands before they can come at you therfore I thought it necessary to write by this ship also, as I shall by the next likewise if the Lord give opertunity. Your loving expression about bookes I thus answered, that through the goodnesse of God, wants are well supplyed by the purchase of two librarys, one for my brother Mahu, the other for my selfe. As also Reverend Mr. Nicols of Excester, with the rest of the reverend ministers there, and christian people, have made a good supply unto us both in bookes, blessed be the Lord, and blessed be they. For the fittest disposal of that fifty pounds you mention, because our Indians are now come in cohabitation and labour, they much delight in linnen, to work in, in the summer especially. If therfore it be laide out in good canvas and other good strong linnen for shirts, and some for some better uses, about head cloathes etc. it will best accommodate us for the present, unlesse some be laide out in thik warme white blanket cloth, which I think is plentyfully made in your country. Such things will best suit us.

For the way of sending it, I desire it may be by your westerne shiping, and if none be bound for the Bay of Massachusets, yet if any be bound for the Ile of Shoals the great fishing place of New England, it may be safely conveighed unto me. For the minister who preacheth there is named Mr. Brock, a godly man, unto whom the care being committed, I doubt not but he will carefully send them unto me. Or if they be bound to any other port with us, letters and goods sent unto me, who am of Roxbury, will easyly be notified, and conveighed, if any body of trust have the care theroff comited to them. The present state of our busynesse, is through the grace of Christ, come up to this, that upon the 13th day of this month (if God will) we have a day of fasting and prayre, wherin we shall call forth sundry Indians to make confession of Jesus Christ his truth and grace. Whose confessions, if they, to charity, appeare to be such as were not revealed to them by flesh and blood, but by the father, then we shall proceed to build them into a visible constituted church, for the Injoyment of Christ and all his holy ordinances. Now this busynesse is pressing on and filleth me so with ocasions, as that I cannot attend much to writing. Sir I earnest beg your prayres, and the prayres of all the people of the Lord, and so commending you, and all your holy labours unto the Lords blessing and mercy, I rest.

Your affectionate brother and fellow labourer in the Lords vinyard
John Eliot.

Roxbury this 7th of the 8th month, 1652.

[Postscript:)

Sir

In my former letters I was bold to move, that if the christian people who are contribuitors to this good work of the Lord would please to send over soine Godly messenger who may see with his eyes what is done, and what fruite appeareth of that love of theires which they have bestowed, it may much tend to theire satisfaction, and incouragement in so great and good a work as this is.

Facsimile Title of Eliot's Translation of the Whole Bible 1663

MAMUSSE WUNNEETUPANATAMWE

U P-B I B L U M

NANEESWE

NUKKONE TESTAMENT KAH WONK WUSKU TESTAMENT.

Ne quoshkinnumuk nashpe Wuttinneumoh [HRIST noh afoowelit

ELIOT. OHN

CAMBRIDGE:

Printeump nashpe Samuel Green kah Marmaduke Johnson.

6 6 3.

From these letters we learn that a part of the funds for carrying on the Indian work during 1650 and 1651 had been contributed by friends in Exeter, chief among whom was the Rev. Ferdinando Nicolls (b. 1598, d. 1662), who was rector of St. Mary Arches there since 1634. To him Mr. Hanmer is several times referred for fuller information. Mr. Eliot then proceeds to tell how, after several years preaching to the Indians, they had selected a place to begin the town of Natick, in 1650, and had organized a plan for self government in 1651. For further particulars concerning this plan, or platform, he refers Mr. Hanmer to the accounts sent over to Mr. Nicolls to be published in the tract called *Strength out of Wealcnesse*, London, 1652.

Mr. Eliot then mentions that he had written to Mr. Hanmer, some time before, about a supply of books for Rev. Thomas Mayhew, who ministered to the Indians on the island of Martha's Vineyard; and that in the meantime the want had been supplied by the purchase of the libraries of two ministers who had gone away. These were the libraries of Rev. Thomas Jenner, formerly of Weymouth, and Rev. Thomas Weld, formerly of Roxbury; the former of which was bought (in part) for Mr. Mayhew at £30, and the latter for Mr. Eliot at £34. He also mentions having received from England, among other books sent over to him by his friends at Exeter, the second edition of the

New Annotations upon the Whole Bible. The full title of the work is as follows:

ANNOTATIONS || upon all the || BOOKS || of the || Old and New Testament: || This Second Edition so enlarged, || As they make an entire Commentary on the sacred Scripture: || The like never before published in English. || Wherein || The Text is Explained, Doubts Resolved, Scriptures Parallelled, || and Various Readings observed. || By the Labour of certain Learned Divines thereunto || appointed, and therein employed, As is expressed in the || PREFACE. ||

... || LONDON, || Printed by John Legatt, 1651. || Two volumes, folio.

The first edition appeared in 1645, and the third edition in 1657. Copies of all three are in the New York Public Library.

The most interesting information derived from these letters, however, is that concerning the outlay to be made of the £50 given by Mr. Speacot. It was to be expended entirely in linen and canvas goods, to be used for wearing apparel by the Indians. In the directions for sending, Mr. Eliot names his London friend Mr. Bulcher, and also

Facsimile Title of Eliot's Translation of Bayly's Practice of Piety 1665

Manitow mpae POMANTAMOONK

Sa np will man

Unoh woh, an OMANTO

Wussikkirteahonat

* Tim 4 8.

Manisticonk obtooms quobode ungah yengen'nt poman-Eumongande kab ne paomone.

CAMBRIDGE:

Printed in the Year 1 6 6 5.

the Rev. John Brock, minister on the Isles of Shoals, either of whom he says would take care of any goods consigned to him. These instructions were faithfully carried out by Mr. Hanmer, and the goods were purchased and forwarded to Mr. Eliot the next year, by the ship May-Flower of Boston, Thomas Webber master. A copy of the invoice follows.



grand of goods Sands on g: May flower 8 Howengeand, Congress onto me John Cliott Sastor of C. Church at hombury of mai Jonathan -Hammer, y. Cost to Charles, vis: # 1 Ballot of Canous of: 3 gt: 180 Sconds Cost --010 14 09 4 1 Ballott of titt landas W: 6 gt: 210 awnds cost -S: \$2: 016 04 04 # (hariges paile on these goods at Bristott is --3:6 0700 0000508 1. 2 ps: of Sourchonige Roth of: 45 gds: ps: white rosh 4 pd: for Cartinge to f. Grater Since. n So: for Carryage of g. Convas from Bristoll upd for makerige bills of briting & oldaringe & ? Panaas at y: Contonic house 4 pd: for Costome of so sees of Ganvag intid short cio o 4 por for portinge, Cartinge, (vansinge, boatinge) trandige, & boatige for g: 2 ps: pour leth -- ? 4 pri der fraight, primage & chrosinge -4 po : Sovovall posty charget on those goods --05119) WHICE if an xis out x ning X atto & formior galorhifind of go Tippingo out go 2 linkots of Courses of poorigo office 006 52 001

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Invoyce of Goods sente on the May fflower of Boston	£	S	d
(Master Tho: Webber) for Boston in New England,			
consigned unto Mr.John Eliott Pastor of the Church			
at Roxbury per Mr. Jonathan Hanmer, the Cost			
and Chardges, viz:			
Item 1 Ballott of Canvas no: 3 qt: 180 Awnes Cost	010	14	09
Item 1Ballott of Canvas no: 6qt: 210 awnes cost	016	04	04
Item 100 yards of Course dowlis at 10d:½ per yd: is	004	07	06
Item Chardges paide on those goods at Briston is	000	05	08
	031	12	03
Item 2 ps: of TruckeingeClothqt:45yds:ps:whitecost	016	00	00
Itern pd: forCanvas.and packeinge the Truckinge cloth	000	05	06
Item pd:for Cartidge to the water side	000	00	08

Itern pd: for Carryadge of the Canvas from Bristoll	000	14	00
Item pd: for makeinge bills of entry and clearinge the			
Canvas at the Custome house	000	03	06
Item pd:for Custome of 50 ells of Canvas entred short.	000	02	08
Item pd: for portidge, Cartidge, Craneidge, boatidge,			
and warfidge, and warehouse roome for the Canvas	000	04	08
Item pd: for warehouse roome, warfidge, portidge,			
Craneidge, and boatidge for the 2 ps: truck: cloth	000	04	08
Item pd: for ffraight, primadge and Averidge	002	11	00
Itern pd: Severall petty chardges on these goods	000	00	08
Sume is	0511	19	107
pd out per [] Nuttell Junior per a certificate of			
the shippinge out the 2 ballets of canvas at the excise			
office in London	000	00	06
	52	00	01

With regard to the ship May-Flower, on which the goods were shipped, all that is known of her history is related in Dr. Azel Ames's May-Flower and her Log, second edition, Boston, 1907, pp. 94-98. About twenty vessels of that name are there recorded, between the years 1587 and 1657. The genuine May-Flower, it appears, was of only 180 tons burden, and the last known of her with certainty, was her arrival in the harbor of Charlestown, New England, on July 1, 1630. On October 6, 1652, "Thomas Webber, Mr. of the good shipp called the MAYFLOWER of the burden of Two hundred Tuns or there abouts Rideing at Ancor in the Harber of Boston," sold one-sixteenth of the ship "for good & valluable Consideracons to Mr. John Pinchon of Springfield Mrchant." The next day, October 7, 1652, the same "Thomas Webber, Mr. of the good Shipp called the MAYFLOWER of Boston in New England now bound for the barbadoes and thence to London," acknowledges an indebtedness to Theodore Atkinson, a wealthy "hatter, felt-maker," and merchant of Boston, and the same day (October 1, 1652), the said "Thomas Webber, Mar. of the good shipp called the MAYFLOWER of the burthen of Two hundred tuns or thereabouts," sold "unto Theodore Atkinson felt-maker one-sixteenth part as well of said Shipp as of all & singular her masts Sails Sail-yards Ancors Cables Ropes Cords Gunns Gunpowder Shott ArtilThe Mayflower in Plymouth Harbor



THE WANTE OFFICE THE SERVE LANGUAGE BURES OF

lery Tackle Munition apparell boate skiffe and furniture to the same belonging." It is of course possible that this was the historic ship, though, if so, reappearing twenty-two years after her last known voyage to New England. If the same, she was apparently under both new master and owner. From the fact that she is called "of Boston in New England" and was trading between that port, "the Barbadoes" and London, it is not impossible that she may have been built at Boston-a sort of namesake descendant of the historic ship-and was that MAY-FLOWER mentioned as belonging, in 1657, to Mr. Samuel Vassall, as he had large interests alike in Boston, Barbadoes, and London.

The shipment of linen and canvas goods reached Mr. Eliot towards the end of the year 1653, and their receipt was acknowledged in the letter next following.



(spent of much respected in the court, That libral gift of that Christian Gradbonan, I in whitions familia, ath your owns exceeding great love cans, paints & travaile about the fame, if S. I by the blefing of the Low xowing fato is in got condition, in the ont of the & yours. 53. in the lost feet in, at fuch a paper, as & it was a fingular comfort unto us & furtherance of the work, provision for winker clothing is a fregrowt to the work all this Spring, until fuch limits of the Led afordath of fome more papelys. and I dow for not only my thanks frak this los bet alp an accomp of the imposit showof unto inds you grant the face of fland for how miles one aunitary in the form of the form of the formal for the formal in the plant the formal in the first of the work, they can't forward in timber, there is in them a to no Spocot himfel millet good measure of natural informity, of ingressiofity, only it is browned in with & suite manner of living let & cultire, oder, governt & whigh they begin to to furbulas up, it Granker forth unto former just im ployents, of of Gods bleffing I hope they will be in the to cinco selpists sails to forme church state nothing they dos as they are acted or guild by Comfol , or all Explicit to they made in the years . 52. os the valour of move at all that way for forme thought good of and of move at all that way, for fine fraid roafins, only former by some some and the sparing this spare of the full and in pay of mortiage about it. viz: for the sparination of the Julians in pay of knowling in the doctrinal It of which for when we examined to the sparing in the doctrinal It of which for which we warmen and the sparing in the doctrinal It of which they were examined to the sparing in the doctrinal It of which they were examined to the sparing in the doctrinal It of which they were examined to the sparing in the doctrinal It of which they were examined to the sparing in the doctrinal It of the sparing in the sparing in the doctrinal It of the sparing in the sp principally by the EDORT of all the Americas about us, as also any of the this firm man, who thought for to good any gunghion to them. as forme I. S. for it was an open to fee - might be the flow folifation your - fant is enely without the though & & give - in what they had escion the following whating of this Days pli when to the Corporation - La postified, byoth the Arilian poul of Engl: for their love. to to refer of 800 of Engl: for this love alp a whating of fee july as the sulver have extented upo I unto the Christian ing 66- hot. when may to fine thise - to bands a I have according to the worst of God, to the light they have secret

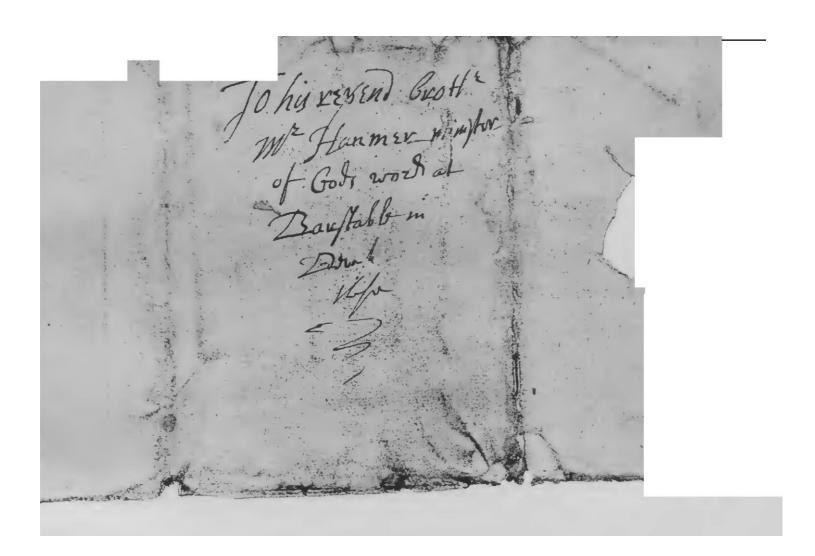
Reverend and much respected in the Lord.

That liberal gift of that Christian gentleman Mr. Speacot and his religious familie, with your owne exceeding great love, care, paines and travaile about the same, I did by the blessing of the Lord receive, safe and in good condition, in the end of the yeare 1653, which the Lord sent in, at such a season, as that it was a singular comfort unto us, and furtheranc of the work, provision for winter clothing, and a support to the work all this spring, until such times as the Lord affordeth us some more supplyes, and I doe send not only my thanks for all this love, but also an accompt of the improvement theroff unto the ends you appoynted the same, and I have sent here inclosed one accompt to your selfe, and the same I have sent to Mr. Specot himselfe inclosed in his letters, which I request you to deliver to him. It pleaseth God still to owne and blesse the work, they come forward in civility, there is in them a great measure of natural ingenuity, and ingeniosity, only it is drowned in theire wild, and rude manner of liveing, but by culture, order, government, and religion they begin to be furbushed up, and drawen forth unto some good imployments, and by Gods blessing I hope they will be in these civile respects raised to forme good improvements. Religion is on the gaineing hand (I

blesse the Lord) though in church estate, and affaires of ecclesiastical polity, they come on but slowly, but in those matters they doe as they are acted, and guided by counsel, and not according to theire owne I hope you have seene theire confessions, which they made motions. in the yeare 1652, and the reasons of our proceeding no further at that time. In the yeare 1653, I did not move at all that way, for some special reasons, only some preparations against this present yeare. This yeare 1654, we have had another meeting about it, viz:for the examination of the Indians in poynt of knowledg in the doc-trinal part of religion. They were examined principally by the Eldersof all the churches about us, as also by any other christian man, whothought good to propound any question to them, as some did, for it was an open and free conferenc, that so there might be the fuller satisfaction given to all that desired the same. In conclusion wheroff the Elders did give testimony of theire good satisfaction in what they had received from them. But a more particular relation of this dayesmeeting, I have sent over to the Corporation to be published, together with the present state we stand in, touching our further proceeding, in gathering them into a church estate and covenant, unto which Imust make bold to refer you for fuller information.

Also the lastyeare I sent over the Indians thanks unto the Christian people of England for theire love, also a relation of such judgments as the rulers have executed upon sinners, which I hope are published, wherin maybe seene theire care to leade a conversation according to the word of God, and the light they have received.

Endorsement of Letter of August 29, 1654



Sir my lines are filled with ocasion, and cannot inlarg further. I intreat the continuanc of your prayres unto the Lord for us all and for me, and so commending you and all your holy labours unto the Lord, I rest.

Your loveing brother and fellow labourer in the Lords vinyard John Eliot.

Roxbury this 29th of the 6th, 1654.

[Addressed:] To his reverend brother

Mr. Hanmer minister

of Gods word at

Barstable in

Devonshire

these.

Facsimile Title of Eliot's Indian Grammar 1666

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BEGUN: OR, An Essay to bring the Indian Language

NT

For the Help of such as desire to Learn the same, for the furtherance of the Gospel among them.

BY JOHN ELIOT.

lia-33.19. Thou shall not see a ferce people, a people of a deepet speech thin thou caust perceive, of a stammering tongue, that thou caust not anderstand. In 66.18. It shall come that I will gather all Nations and Tangues, and they

find come and fee my Glory.

Dan 7 14. And there was given him Bominion, and Glory, and a Kingdome, that all People, Nations and Languages should serve him, &c.

Plat. 19.3. There is no speech nor language where their voice is not heard.

Mal 2.11. From the rising of the San, even to the going down of the same, my Name shall be great among the Gentiles, &c.

CAMBRIDGE:

Printed by Marmaduke Johnson. 1666. In this letter Mr. Eliot repeats his thanks to Mr. Speacot and Mr. Hanmer for their gifts and encouragement, and continues his account of progress in the Indian work at Natick, with special reference to the Indian confessions of faith printed in the tract entitled *Tears of Repentance*, London, 1653, and to the examination of the Indians by the Elders at a meeting in 1654, a relation of which he says had been sent over to the Corporation to be printed. This relation appeared in print the next year, under the title of *A Late and Further Manifestation of the Progress of the Gospel amongst the Indians in New-England*, London, 1655.

After an interval of three years Mr. Eliot wrote again, in 1657; 'the delay being partly explained by his long illness in 1656. During this period he had been closely occupied with his translation of the Bible into the Indian language. In 1654, his Indian primer or catechism was printed, and in 1655 the book of Genesis and the Gospel of Matthew passed through the press. In the letter which follows he mentions that Mr. Blinman and Mr. Newman, together with his eldest son John Eliot, had been appointed to help him in the Indian work.

Facsimile of Letter of May 5, 1657

Worpfull to much expected in Christ fofis. was glout to lay his hand upon me; who a four afflictions paint in b much at I was not able to Dos what I bried in writing to your follo. But now huth plante God to robate me of the sign of my paint (lofe his name) but a command of it he hath left in me to know in member and , to awa : her prayer faith a grate for Got to to know hundle, is in the awfull form of my warring futh. 3t it was the loud that put it into your heart to opper your hand it so much foundly unto the Louds work in my hand, among these forms for the forms for the forms for the forms of the Sians, of thank the fort for it wont at unto your comfort to hours 1. Fings of theirs for I from the Lord hat put forth more labouring.

joyed in this, fruit this yours the Lord hath put forth more labouring.

into this harrony while a thing long laboure is prayed for into this harrony with at Brogler long of the This joyne to Topof that then won't incorrect four others to the work. the works of the Big to appoint my Bold court who is a tradual in the Colledge is hath this years your with me ' fometime unto the work and I hope the Los will mable him therento. This tient of prisone I take as a fresh favor by wile of God upon the work, afaring my follo that Golfoli fare God hall his labored to some the farms of the Gomes of the God hall form trains to soll the Lord that form and J. Bloff the Lord that Some are flile coming in among is and shale that are count in form of thom the property of playth God to by flow the frank forms of thom the property of the other affections, or tryally, with hims fourtime found work have different them in the work. Set I let the how is not for out by the bords allefance. They so the more judy thempfor for their fines, its draw moores to the bord in christ St we do strouble with your prayers, poon is brace in christ St we do strouble wind your prayers. On his live to the state of the bord in the state of the state frostly mode your grayed, both for from & me, or all from of that I febour in this work. And they come digt you was for lost, in to the world of your work to brongon Resolution prof 1.5 87. gove white & so whitian familion of the let form Elich.

Worshipfull and much respected in Christ Jesus.

The last yeare when I should have written to your Worship, the Lord was pleased to lay his hand upon me, with a soare afflicting paine, in so much as I was not able to doe what I desired, in writing to But now it has pleased God to release me of the rigor of my paine (I blesse his name) but a remnant of it he hath left in me to keepe me in remembranc, to awaken prayre, faith and zeale for God, and to keepe humble, and in the awfull feare of my heavenly father. Sir it was the Lord that put it into your heart, to open your hand with so much bounty unto the Lords work in my hand, amongst these poore Indians. I thank the Lord for it, and I returne my thanks unto your self e, and I doubt not but it would ad unto your comfort to heare tidings of theire good progresse in Christ Jesus. My soule doth rejoyce in this, that this yeare the Lord hath put forth more labourers unto this harvest, which is a thing I have long laboured and prayed for. Our Commissioners meeting at Boston, divers of the Elders joyned to request that they would incourage some others to the work, and they have so done, for the Elders propounded Mr. Blinman, and Mr. Newman, whom they accepted. Yea and the Lord put it into the hearts of the Elders to propound my eldest sonne who is a graduate in the

Colledg, and hath this yeare gone with me sometimes unto the work, and I hope the Lord will inable him therunto. This turne of providenc I take as a great favor, and smile of God upon the work, assuring my selfe that wherso ever God sendeth his laborours to cary the fanne of the Gospel, there God hath some graine to gather into his garner, some elect to call into his kingdom, and I blesse the Lord that sonle are still coming in among us, and those that arecome in, some of them prosper, and prove sound. It pleaseth God to try them with great sicknesse and mortality, besids other afflictions, and tryals, which I have sometime feared would have dishartened them in the work. I blesse the Lord it is not so, but, by the Lords assistanc, they doe the more judg themselves for theire sinnes, and draw neere to the Lord, and cry for mercy, pardon, and grace in Christ. Sir we doe greatly neede your prayres, both for them, and me, and all the rest that labour in this work. And thus commending you unto the Lord, and to the word of his grace, I rest.

Your worships to serve you in Christ Jesus
John Eliot.

Roxbury this 5th of the 3d, 1657.

I desire to present my service, and christian respect to all your relations, and religious familie.

Facsimile Titles of
Eliot's Indian Primer 1669 and
Logick Primer 1672

Indian Primer;

OR.

The way of training up of out Indian Youth in the good knowledge of God, in the knowledge of the Scriptures and in an ability to Beade.

Composed by J. E.

vatteaush nish naheuntunanih kih pohkoutamasish, wahiadt nob sabtuhtanonadt

15, Kab wutch kummukki suinneut kowahten wunneetupacatamme wulfukwhorgah, &c.

Cambridge, Printed 1669.

THE LOGICA Primer. To Some Logical Notions to initiate the INDIANS in the brown in the INDIANS in the brown in the Indian to both the Bule of Health; and to brown how to make the thereof. The logical Notions to initiate the thereof. The of the Print g Island. The ofe of this Iron Key is to

pen the rich Treasury of

igny cia. To gove fabrilty to the

finale; to the young man know-

the noly Scriptures.

le les artificreties

Facsimile Titles of

Dying Speeches (61685) and

Eliot's Indian Dialogues 1671

AND THE REPORT OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY

Here be But a few of the

Dying Speeches & Counsels

Of fuch Indians as dyed in the Lord.

It is an humbling to me that there he no more, it was not in my heatr to gather them, but Major Gookins bearing fome of them ichearled, He firft moved that Daniel fhouid gather them, in the Language as they were Spoken, and that I should translate them into English; And here is presented what was done that way.

Thefe things are Prined, not fo much for Pub-liftment, as to five charge of writeing out of Copyes for those that did defiere them.

John Eliot.

INDIALOGUES, FOR Their Instruction in that great Service of Christ, in calling home their Country-men to the Knowledge of GOD, And of THEMSELVES, AND OF IESUS CHRIST. Mal. I. II. For from the rising of the Sun, even unto the going down of the same, my Name shall be great among the Gentiles, and in every place incense shall be offered unto my Name, and a pure offering: for my Name shall be great among the Heathen, saith the Lord of Hosts. Printed at Cambridge. 1671. (pull)

The foregoing letters furnish a nearly continuous narrative of the first period of Mr. Eliot's missionary labors among the Indians, from the laying out of the new town at Natick in 1650, to the summer of 1657. They are interesting exalples of his epistolary style, and they show his devotion to the great work he had undertaken. They also supply several new facts of interest which seem not to have been published before.

The subsequent progress of Mr. Eliot's work in translation and printing for the Indians may be briefly outlined. In 1658, having finished his translation of the Bible, he petitioned the Corporation in England to have it printed. In the latter part of 1659 the printing of the New Testament was begun, and in 1661 it was finished. The whole Bible was con1pleted at the press in 1663. In 1664, a translation into Indian of Baxter's *Call to the Unconverted* was published, and in 1665 a translation of Bayly's *Practice of Piety*. In 1666, .Mr. Eliot printed his *Indian Grammar*, and in 1669, the *Indian Primer*. In 1671, the *Indian Dialogues* appeared, and in 1672, *the Logick Primer*. In 1680 a new edition of the Indian Bible went to press, which was completed in 1685. A second edition of Bayly's *Practice of Piety* also came out in 1685, and in the same year or the year following, the little tract called *The Dying Speeches of several Indians*. In 1688, the Indian version of Baxter's *Call*

Facsimile Title of Eliot's Translation of Baxter's Call to the Unconverted 1688



Facsimile Title of Eliot's Translation of Shepard's Sincere Convert 1689

Sampwutteahae

QUINNUPPEROMPAUAENIN:

Wahuwamook oggustemesuog Sampwatterbae

Wunnamptamwaenuog,

Mache wullukbamun ut Englith-Mane Unnontowaonk nathpe

Noh aforwest

THOMAS SHEPHARD

Quinnuppenimun en INDIANE Unnontowsongenit melbpe

Woh afformefit

TOHN ELIOT.

Rah nawbutche ut aigeuongath ogguffemele ontetteaur

Nathpo

GRINDAL RAWSON.

Matth. 24. 14. Kah nen associamwongane wannaunchempkaonk pish hubkptambadiin wame muttaohkit newutch wwauwaeniunneate wame wutohtimoineash.

Rom. 10. 14.15. Kah toh woh wattin notamunneau matta kuhkwtamwohteaenuunuwg? Kah toh woh ben kuh-kwtamuhken matta anvnittumuk.

Matth. 18.19. Towatche moncheek, kah kuhkotamuh-

CAMBRIDGE.

Printed by Samuel Green, in the Year, 16893

to the Unconverted was reprinted, and in 1689 a translation of Shepard's Sincere Convert. This was the last of Mr. Eliot's publications. He died at Roxbury, May 21, 1690, in the eighty-sixth year of his age.

Further details about Mr. Eliot's labors among the Indians, and the earlier attempts to convert them, will be found in the series of eleven narratives published in London from 1643 to 1671, and generally known as the ELIOT INDIAN TRACTS. Their titles are as follows:

- New Englands First Fruits; in respect, First of the Conversion of some, Conviction of divers, Preparation of sundry of the Indians.
 Of the progresse of Learning, in the Colledge at Cambridge in Massacusets Bay . . . London, Printed by R. 0. and G. D. for Henry Overton, 1643. Quarto, pp. (2), 26, (1).
- (2) The Day-Breaking, if not the Sun-Rising of the Gospel with the Indians in New-England. London, Printed by Rich. Cotes, for Fulk Clifton, 1647. Quarto, pp. (2), 25.
 - (3) The Clear Sun-shine of the Gospel breaking forth upon the Indians in New-England . . . By Mr. Thomas Shepard Minister . . . at Cambridge in New-England. London, Printed by R. Cotes for John Bellamy, 1648. Quarto, pp. (14), 38.

Facsimile Title of Glorious Progress 1649 2 H E

Glorious Progress

OF THE

GOSPEL,

AMONGST THE

Indians in New England,

MANIFESTED

By three Letters, under the Hand of that famous Instrument of the Lord Mr. JOHN ELIOT,

And another from Mr. Thomas Mayhew jun: both Preachers of the Word, as well to the English as Indians in New England.

WHEREIN

The riches of Gods Grace in the effectual calling of many of them is cleared up: As also a manifestation of the hungring desires of many People in sundry parts of that Country, after the more full Revelation of the Gospel of fesus Christ, to the exceeding Consolation of every Christian Reader.

TOGETHER,

With an Appendix to the foregoing Letters, holding forth Conjectures, Observations, and Applications. By I. D. Minister of the Gospell.

Published by EDWARD WINSLOW

Mal. 1.11. From the rifing of the Sun, even unto the going down of the same, my Name shall be great among the Gentiles, and in every place incence shall be offered unto my Name, and a pure Offering; for my Name shall be great among the Heathen, saith the Lord of Hosts.

LONDON, Printed for Hannah Allen in Popes-bead-Alley. 1649.

- (4) The Glorious Progress of the Gospel, amongst the Indians in New England. Manifested By three Letters, under the Hand of that famous Instrument of the Lord Mr. John Eliot, And another from Mr. Thomas Mayhew jun. both Preachers of the Word, as well to the English as Indians in New England . . . Published by Edward Winslow. London, Printed for Hannah Allen, 1649. Quarto, pp. (8), 28.
- (5) The Light appearing more and more towards the perfect Day. Or, A farther Discovery of the present state of the Indians in New-England, Concerning the Progresse of the Gospel amongst them. Manifested by Letters from such as_preacht to them there. Published by Henry Whitfield, late Pastor . . . at Gilford in New-England, who came late thence. London, Printed by T. R.& E. M. for John Bartlet, 1651. Quarto, pp. (8), 46. Two editions or issues, with title variation.
- (6) Strength out of Weaknesse; or a Glorious Manifestation of the further Progresse of the Gospel among the Indians in New-England. Held forth in Sundry Letters from divers Ministers and others to the Corporation established by Parliament for promoting the Gospel among the Heathen in New-England . . . Published by the aforesaid Corporation. London; Printed by M. Simmons for John Blague and Samuel Howes, 1652. Quarto, pp. (16), 40. Four editions were printed.

Facsimile Title of
Tears of Repentance 1653

Tears of Repentance:

Or, A further Narrative of the Progress of the Gospel

INDIANS

NEW-ENGLAND:

Setting forth, not only their present state and condition, but sundry Confessions of sin by directe of the said Indians, wrought upon by the saving Power of the Gospel; Together with the manifestation of their Faith and Hope in Jesus Christ, and the Work of Grace upon their Hearts.

Related by Mr. Eliot and Mr. Mayhew, two Faithful Laborers in that Work of the Lord.

Published by the Corporation for propagating the Gospel there, for the Satisfaction and Comfort of such as wish well thereunto.

1say, 42.3. A bruised Reed shall he not break, and the smoaking Flax, shall be not quench.

London: Printed by Peter Cole in Leaden-Hall, and are to Sold at his Shop, at the Sign of the Printing-Press in Cornhil, near the Royal Exchange. 1653.

Facsimile Title of

Late and Further Manifestation 165 5

A Late and Further

INDIANS

Declaring their constant Love and Zeal to

Being a Narrative of the Examinations of the Indians, about their Knowledge in Religion, by the Elders of the Churches.
Related by M. John Eliot.

Published by the CORPORATION, established by Alt of Parliament, for Propagating the Gospel there.

Acts 3.47. I have fet thee to be a light to the Gentiles, that then shouldest be for Salvation unto the Ends of the Earth.

- (7) Tears of Repentance: Or, A further Narrative of the Progress of the Gospel Amongst the Indians in New-England: Setting forth, not only their present state and condition, but sundry Confessions of sin by diverse of the said Indians . . . Related by Mr. Eliot and Mr. Mayhew, two Faithful Laborers in that Work of the Lord. Published by the Corporation for propagating the Gospel there . . . London: Printed by Peter Cole, 1653. Quarto, pp. (36), 47. Two editions.
- (8) A Late and Further Manifestation of the Progress of the Gospel amongst the Indians in New-England . . . Being a Narrative of the Examinations of the Indians, about their Knowledge in Religion, by the Elders of the Churches. Related by Mr. John Eliot. Published by the Corporation, established by Act of Parliament, for Propagating the Gospel there. London: Printed by M. S., 1655. Quarto, pp. (8), 23.
- (9) A further Accompt of the Progresse of the Gospel amongst the Indians in New-England and of the means used effectually to advance the same. Set forth in certaine Letters sent from thence declaring a purpose of Printing the Scriptures in the Indian Tongue into which they are already Translated. London, Printed by M. Simmons for the Corporation of New-England, 1659. Quarto, pp. (11), 35, (1).

Facsimile Title of

A Further Account 1660

A further Account of the progress

OF THE

GOSPEL

Amongst the Indians

In New England:

BEING

A Relation of the Confessions made by several Indians (in the presence of the Elders and Members of several Churches) in order to their admission into Church-fellowship.

Sent over to the Corporation for Propagating the Gospel of Jesus Christ amongst the Indians in New England at London, by Mr John Elliot one of the Laborers in the Word amongst them.

Printed by John Macock. 1660.

Facsimile Title of

Brief Narrative 1671

A BRIEF

NARRATIVE

OF THE

Progress of the Gospel amongst the Indians in New-England, in the Year 1670.

Given in

By the Reverend Mr. JOHN ELLIOT, Minister of the Gospel there,

In a LETTER by him directed to the Right Worshipfull the Commissioners under his Majesties Great-Seal for Propagation of the Gospel amongst the poor blind Natives in those United Colonies.

LONDON,

Printed for John Allen, formerly living in Little Britain at the Rifing-Sun, and now in Wentworth street near Bell-Lane, 1671.

- (10) A further Account of the progress of the Gospel Amongst the Indians In New England: being A Relation of the Confessions made by several Indians (in the presence of the Elders and Members of several Churches) in order to their admission into Church-fellowship. Sent over to the Corporation for Propagating the Gospel of Jesus Christ amongst the Indians in New England at London, by Mr. John Elliot one of the Laborers in the Word amongst them. London, Printed by John Macock, 1660. Quarto, pp. (8), 76, (2).
- (11) A Brief Narrative of the Progress of the Gospel amongst the Indians in New-England, in the Year 1670. Given in By the Reverend Mr. John Elliot, Minister of the Gospel there. In a Letter by him directed to the Right Worshipfull the Commissioners under his Majesties Great-Seal for Propagation of the Gospel amongst the poor blind Natives in those United Colonies. London, Printed for John Allen, 1611. Quarto, pp. 11.