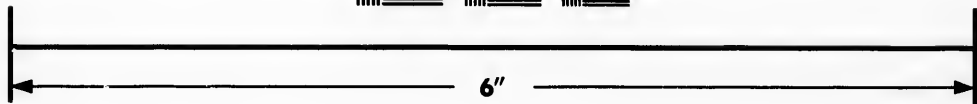
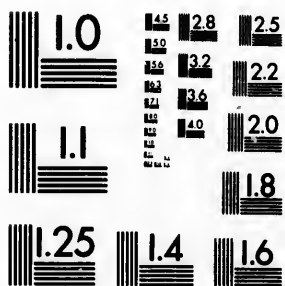


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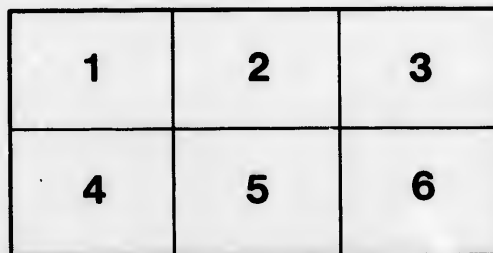
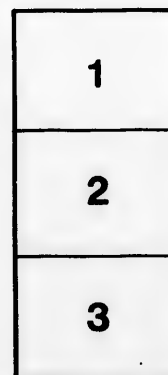
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S E R M O N

AT THE EXECUTION OF

MOSES PAUL, AN INDIAN;

Who had been guilty of MURDER,

Preached at NEW HAVEN, IN AMERICA, *Cyrus*

By SAMSON OCCOM,

A native Indian, and Missionary to the Indians, who was in England  
in 1766 and 1767, collecting for the Indian Charity Schools.

TO WHICH IS ADDED

A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE  
LATE SPREAD OF THE GOSPEL,

AMONG THE

I N D I A N S.

ALSO

OBSERVATIONS on the LANGUAGE of the

MUHHEKANEW INDIANS;

COMMUNICATED TO THE

CONNECTICUT SOCIETY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES,

By JONATHAN EDWARDS, D.D.

NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT: Printed 1788.

LONDON: Reprinted, 1788, and Sold by BUCKLAND, Paternoster-row; DILLY, Foultry; OTRIDGE, Strand; J. LEPARD, No. 91, Newgate-street; T. PITCHER, No. 44, Barbican; BROWN, on the Tolzey Bristol; BINNS, at Leeds; and WOOLMER, at Exeter.



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## ADVERTISEMENT.

**T**HE REV. SAMSON OCCOM, author of this discourse, is a native Indian. In 1766, and 1767, he was in England, collecting with Dr. Whitaker, for Mr. Wheelock's Indian charity schools, and preached in most of the great towns. He is yet alive, and in the spring of this year 1788, he preached with good acceptance, at the Baptist Meeting House, in New York. &c. The following Sermon might, perhaps, have been altered in a few places for the better, but it is presumed, that good judges will overlook the defects of it, and wonder they are so few.

The Rev. Dr. EDWARDS, author of the following Dissertation, is a Son of the late Rev. Jonathan Edwards, A. M. president of New Jersey College, whose works on the Freedom of the Will—the Affections—the History of Redemption, &c. have rendered his memory dear to thousands. Two volumes of Posthumous Sermons, by this excellent man, are now in the press in Scotland, copied from his manuscripts, by the above gentleman, his son, who is a worthy minister at New-Haven in Connecticut, from whom I lately received both parts of this publication.

I. RIPPON.

## MR. OCCOM'S PREFACE.

**T**HE world is already full of books; and the people of God are abundantly furnished with excellent books upon divine subjects; and it seems altogether unlikely that my performance will be of any great service in the world, since the most excellent writings of worthy and learned men are disregarded. But there are two or three considerations that have induced me to be willing to suffer my broken hints to appear. One is, that the books that are in the world, are written in very high and refined language; and the sermons that are delivered every sabbath in general, are in a very high and lofty stile, so that the common people understand but little of them. But I think they cannot help understanding my talk; it is common, plain, every day talk; little children may understand me. And poor Negroes may plainly and fully understand my meaning; and it may be of service to them. Again, it may in a particular manner be serviceable to my poor kindred, the Indians. Further, as it comes from an uncommon quarter, it may induce people to read it, because it is from an Indian. Lastly, God works where and when he pleases, and by what instrument he sees fit, and he has used weak and unlikely instruments to bring about his great work.

## INTRODUCTION.

WHAT a night must the last have been before the execution! Methinks I hear the conversation between Mr. Occom and Moses.

*Occom.* Well, Moses! How do you do this evening?

*Moses.* Oh sir! It is near! Before to-morrow this time, where will my poor soul be?

*Occom.* Yes, a few hours more and you will be in eternity!—But will you tell me the frame of your mind?

*Moses.* I want to do it,—I sent for you on purpose.

*Occom.* Moses! Do you *really* see the evil, the abominable evil of your conduct—of all sin against God, and particularly of that sin for which you are to die? Do you loathe sin?

*Moses.* I am in great distress—I deserve to die a thousand deaths—you know what a wretch I have been. Lord have mercy upon me! I shall never be saved!

*Occom.* Are you willing to be saved from *sin* as well as from punishment?

*Moses.* I do not know: I wish I was. But he will never save me.

*Occom.* He is willing to save every praying, repenting, believing sinner.

*Moses.* But I cannot pray, and repent, and believe.

*Occom.* I know you cannot without the help of the Spirit of God.

*Moses.* Ah sir! There is no room left for me to repent and pray and believe, because I have been so wicked.

*Occom.* Poor creature, you ought to pray and repent and believe, because you are so wicked. The more wicked you have been, the more you need all these things. Here, here, do take my bible and read a few scriptures.

*Moses.* Sir, please to read them yourself to me.

*Occom.* Peter said to Simon Magus, "Thy heart is not right in the sight of God, *repent* therefore of this thy wickedness, and *pray* God, &c. For I perceive that thou art in the gall of bitterness, and in the bond of iniquity," Acts viii. 21-23. q. d. Thou art *very* wicked, and because thou art, *repent* of thy wickedness and *pray* God—you observe this wicked man was exhorted to *repent* and *pray*. Let me read you Acts xvii. 30. "But now God commandeth *all* men every where to *repent*."—Every sinful man is commanded to repent.—It is as proper to repent in a prison as in a palace.—And wicked men have been exhorted to *believe* in Jesus Christ who came "a light into the world." The wicked Jews were cavilling at him, but his command to them runs thus, "While ye have light, believe in the light, that ye may be the children of light." John xii. 34, 36, 46. They were exhorted so to believe in Christ as that it might appear on their believing that they were children of the light.

*Moses.* It is true, but I *may not*, and I *cannot*. I wish I knew it was *right* for me to pray and repent and believe.

*Occom.*

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## INTRODUCTION.

*Occom.* My poor Moses! now you grieve me very much—what do you think it would be *wrong* for you to pray and repent and believe?

*Moses.* O sir, what a vile sinner I have been.

*Occom.* Yes, you have been a vile man, but surely it cannot be *wrong* in a miserable creature to *pray* to God for *mercy*. It cannot be *wrong* for a sinner to *repent*, that is to be sorry for sin, and to turn away from it. it cannot be *wrong* for one who has heard that Jesus Christ came into the world to save some of the chief of sinners, to believe what God has said of Christ, and to fly to him as an able and willing Saviour for life and everlasting happiness. Need I make this plainer to you?

*Moses.* I wish to understand it.

*Occom.* Well, would it be wrong in you who need mercy to ask it of God?

*Moses.* No.

*Occom.* Would it be wrong in you who have sinned against God to be sorry for sin, and to turn away from the love and practice of it to God?

*Moses.* No.

*Occom.* Would it be wrong for you to believe in Christ?—to believe that Jesus Christ will not cast out the soul that cometh to him, and so to believe it as to go to him yourself and venture your body and soul into his hand?

*Moses.* No, this could not be a *sin*—it cannot be *wrong*.

*Occom.* Well if it would not be *wrong* for you to do so, it would be *right*, and if it be *right*, it is your duty to do what is *right*.

*Moses.* Dear sir, I now see it is *right*, and then no doubt it must be my *duty* to do what is right, but I cannot, I cannot.

*Occom.* This is what I *want* you *properly* to believe that you cannot do any thing which is spiritually good, without the assistance of the Holy Spirit.

*Moses.* I do believe it.

*Occom.* You do not believe it *properly* unless you believe it *practically*—he that *really*, that is, *practically* believes he can do nothing spiritually good without divine help, will *endeavour* to ask for the Holy Spirit—O Moses, let me beseech you to do it—beg of God to bestow his Holy Spirit upon you, and let this encourage you to it, “Our heavenly Father shall give the Holy Spirit to them that ask him,”

Luke xi. 13.

*Moses.* O that I could but ask and pray aright!

*Occom.* Well let us read the 51st Psalm—this you perceive was David's prayer after he had murdered Uriah. My dear Moses, do endeavour to make this prayer your own; pray it over all the night if you are awake.—Our God hears and answers prayer. He waits to be gracious.

*Moses.* Sir, do pray to God for me before you go.—They kneel down.—Prayer over.—They fix the time of meeting in the morning.—Morning came,—Forenoon was wet,—But multitudes of ministers and people were assembled.—After certain preliminary steps had been taken, Mr Occom began as follows.

The

## The ADDRESS.

BY the melancholy providence of God, and at the earnest desire and invitation of the poor condemned criminal, I am here before this great concourse of people at this time, to give the last discourse to the poor miserable object who is to be executed this day before your eyes, for the due reward of his folly, and madness, and enormous wickedness. It is an unwelcome task to me to speak upon such an occasion; but since it is the desire of the poor man himself, in conscience I cannot deny him; I must endeavour to do the great work the dying man requests.

I conclude that this great concourse of people have come together to see the execution of justice upon this poor Indian; and I suppose the biggest part of you look upon yourselves christians, and as such I hope you will demean yourselves; and that you will have suitable commiseration towards this poor object. Though you cannot in justice pray for his life to be continued in this world, you can pray earnestly for the salvation of his poor soul. Let this be therefore, the fervent exercise of our souls; for this is the last day we have to pray for him.—As for you that do not regard religion, it cannot be expected, that you will put up one petition for this miserable creature: yet I would intreat you seriously to consider the frailty of corrupt nature, and behave yourselves as becomes rational creatures.

And in a word, let us all be suitably affected with the melancholy occasion of the day, knowing that we are all dying creatures, and accountable unto God. Though this poor condemned criminal will in a few minutes know more than all of us, either in unutterable joy, or inconceivable woe; yet we shall certainly know as much as he, in a few days.

The sacred words that I have chosen to speak from upon this undesirable occasion, are found written in Romans vi. 23.

FOR THE WAGES OF SIN IS DEATH, BUT THE GIFT OF GOD IS ETERNAL LIFE THROUGH JESUS CHRIST OUR LORD.

DEATH is called the King of Terrors, and it ought to be the subject of every man and woman's thoughts daily; because it is that unto which they are liable every moment of their lives: and therefore, it cannot be unseasonable to think, speak and hear of it at any time, and especially on this mournful occasion; for we must all come to it, how soon we cannot

6 MR. OCCOM'S SERMON AT THE

tell; whether we are prepared or not prepared, ready or not ready, whether death is welcome or not welcome, we must feel the force of it: whether we concern ourselves with death or not, it will concern itself with us. Seeing that this is the case with every one of us, what manner of persons ought we to be in all holy conversation and godliness; how ought men to exert themselves in preparation for death continually; for they know not what a day or an hour may bring forth, with respect to them. But, alas! according to the appearance of mankind in general, death is the least thought of. They go on from day to day, as if they were to live here for ever, as if this was the only life. They contrive, rack their inventions, disturb their rest, and even hazard their lives in all manner of dangers, both by sea and land; yea they leave no stone unturned that they may live in the world, and at the same time have little or no contrivance to die well: God and their souls are neglected, and heaven and eternal happiness are disregarded; Christ and his religion are despised—yet most of these very men intend to be happy when they come to die, not considering that there must be great preparation in order to die well. Yea there is none so fit to live as those that are fit to die; those that are not fit to die are not fit to live. Life and death are nearly connected: we generally own that it is a great and solemn thing to die. But I say again, how little do mankind realize these things? They are busy about the things of this world as if there was no death before them. *Dr. Watts* pictures them out to the life in his psalms:

See the vain race of mortals move  
Like shadows o'er the plain,  
They rage and strive, desire and love,  
But all their noise is vain.

Some walk in honor's gaudy show,  
Some dig for golden ore,  
They toil for heirs they know not who,  
And fruit are seen no more.

Eternal life is shamefully disregarded by men in general, and eternal death is chosen rather than life. This is the general complaint of the bible from the beginning to the end. As long as Christ is neglected, life is refused, and as long as sin is cherished, death is chosen; and this seems to be the woful case of mankind of all nations, according to their appearance in these days; for it is too plain to be denied, that vice and immortality, and floods of iniquity are abounding every where amongst all nations, and all orders and ranks of men, and in every sect of people. Yea there is a great agreement and harmony among all nations, and from the highest to the lowest to practise sin and iniquity; and the pure religion of Jesus Christ is turned out of doors, and is dying without; or, in other words, the Lord Jesus Christ is turned out of doors by men in general, and even by his professed people. "He came to his own, and his own received him not." But the devil is admitted, he has free access

EXECUTION OF MOSES PAUL. 7

cess to the houses and hearts of the children of men: Thus life is refused and death is chosen.

But in further speaking upon our text, by divine assistance, I shall consider those two general propositions:

I. That sin is the cause of all the miseries that befall the children of men, both as to their bodies and souls, for time and eternity.

II. That eternal life and happiness is the free gift of God, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

In speaking to the first proposition, I shall first consider the nature of sin; and secondly, shall consider the consequences of sin, or the wages of sin, which is death.

First then, we are to describe the nature of sin.

Sin is the transgression of the law:—This is the scripture definition of sin. Now the law of God being holy, just and good; sin must be altogether unholy, unjust and evil. If I was to define sin, I should call it a contrariety to God; and as such it must be the vilest thing in the world; it is full of all evil; it is the evil of evils; the only evil, in which dwells no good thing; and is most destructive to God's creation, where ever it takes effect. It was sin that transformed the very angels of heaven into devils; and it was sin that caused hell to be made. If it had not been for sin, there never would have been such a thing as hell or devil, death or misery.

And if sin is such a thing as we have just described; it must be worse than the devils and hell itself.—Sin is full of deadly poison; it is full of malignity and hatred against God, against all his divine perfections and attributes, against his wisdom, against his power, against his holiness and goodness, against his mercy and justice, against his written law and gospel; yea, against his very being and existence. Were it in the power of sin, it would even dethrone God, and set itself on the throne.

When Christ, the Son of the Most High, came down from the glorious world above, into this wretched world of sin and sorrow, to seek and to save that which was lost, sin, or sinners rose up against him, as soon as he entered our world, and pursued him with hellish malice, night and day, for above thirty years together, until they killed him.

Further, sin is against the Holy Ghost; it opposes all his good and holy operations upon the children of men. When, and wherever there is the out-pouring of the Spirit of God, upon the children of men, in a way of conviction and conversion; sin will immediately prompt the devil and his children to rise up against it, and they will oppose the work with all their power and in every shape. And if open opposition will not do, the devil will mimic the work, and thus prevent the good effect.

Thus we find by the scripture accounts, that whenever God raises up men, and uses them as instruments of conviction and

8 MR. OCCOM'S SERMON AT THE

conversion, the devil and his instruments will rise up to destroy both the reformers and the reformed. Thus it has been from the early days of Christianity, to this day. We have found it so in our day. In the time of the outpouring of the Spirit of God in these colonies, to the conviction and reformation of many; immediately sin and the devil influenced numbers to rise up against the good work of God, calling it delusion, and the work of the devil. And thus sin also opposes every motion of the Spirit of God, in the heart of every Christian; this makes a warfare in the soul.

2. I shall endeavour to shew the sad consequences or effects of sin upon the children of men.

Sin has poisoned them, and made them distracted or fools. The Psalmist says, The fool hath said in his heart, there is no God. And Solomon, through his Proverbs, calls ungodly sinners fools; and their sin he calls their folly and foolishness. The Apostle James says, "But the tongue can no man tame, it is an unruly evil, full of deadly poison." It is the heart that is in the first place full of this "deadly poison." The tongue is only an interpreter of the heart. Sin has vitiated the whole man, both soul and body; all the powers are corrupted; it has turned the minds of men against all good, towards all evil. So poisoned are they, according to the Prophet Isaiah v. 20. "Wo unto them that call evil good, and good evil; that put darkness for light, and light for darkness; that put bitter for sweet, and sweet for bitter." And Christ Jesus saith in John iii. 19, 20. "And this is the condemnation, that light is come into the world, and men loved darkness rather than light, because their deeds were evil. For every one that doth evil hateth the light, neither cometh to the light, lest his deeds should be reproved." Sin has stupified mankind, they are now ignorant of God their maker; neither do they enquire after him. And they are ignorant of themselves, they know not what is good for them, neither do they understand their danger; and they have no fear of God before their eyes.

Further, sin has blinded their eyes, so that they cannot discern spiritual things; neither do they see the way that they should go, and they are deaf as adders, so that they cannot hear the joyful sound of the gospel that brings glad tidings of peace and pardon to sinners of mankind. Neither do they regard the Charmer charming ever so wisely.—Not only so, but sin has made man proud, though he has nothing to be proud of; for he has lost all his excellency, his beauty and happiness; he is a bankrupt, and is excommunicated from God; he was turned out of Paradise by God himself, and became a vagabond in God's world, and as such he has no right nor title to the least crumb of mercy in the world: yet he is proud, he is haughty, and exalts himself above God, though he is wretched and miserable, and  
poor,

## EXECUTION OF MOSES PAUL. 9

poor, and blind and naked. He glories in his shame. Sin has made him beastly and devilish; yea he is sunk beneath the beasts, and is worse than the ravenous beasts of the wilderness. He is become ill-natured, cruel and murderous; I said he is worse than the ravenous beasts, for wolves and bears do not devour their own kind, but man does; yea we have numberless instances of women killing their own children; such women I think are worse than the tygers.

Sin has made man dishonest and deceitful, so that he goes about cheating and defrauding and deceiving his fellow-men in the world: yea, he is become a cheat to himself, he goes about in a vain shew; we do not know where to find man. Sometimes we find him as an angel of God; and at other times we find as a devil, even one and the same man. Sin has made man a liar even from the womb; so that there is no believing nor trusting him. The royal psalmist says, "The wicked are estranged from the womb, they go astray as soon as they are born, speaking lies."—His language is also corrupted. Whereas he had a pure and holy language, in his innocency, to adore and praise God his maker, he *now* curses, swears, and profanes the holy name of God, and curses and damns his fellow-creatures. In a word, man is a most unruly and ungovernable creature, and is become as the wild ass's colt, and is harder to tame than any of God's creatures in this world. In short, man is *worse* than all creatures in this lower world, his propensity is to evil and that continually; he is more like the devil than any creature we can think of: and I think it is not going beyond the word of God, to say, man is the most devilish creature in this world. Christ said to his disciples, "One of you is a devil;" to the Jews he said, "Ye are of your father the devil, and the lusts of your father ye will do." Thus every unconverted soul is a child of the devil, sin has made him so.

Sin is the cause of all the miseries that attend poor sinful man. I shall consider his *temporal death*.

His temporal death then begins as soon as he is born. Though it seems to us that he is just beginning to live, yet in fact he is just entered into a state of death: as St. Paul says, "Wherefore, as by one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin; and so death passed upon all men, for that all have sinned." Man is surrounded with ten thousand instruments of death, and is liable to death every moment of his life; a thousand diseases await him on every side continually; the sentence of death is past upon him as soon as he is born: yea, he is struck with death as soon as he breathes. And it seems all the enjoyments of men in this world are also poisoned with sin: for God said to Adam after he had sinned, "Cursed is the ground for thy sake, in sorrow shalt thou eat of it all the days of thy life." By this we plainly see that every thing that grows out

of

of the ground is cursed, and all creatures that God hath made for man are cursed also; and whatever *God* curses is a cursed thing *indeed*. Thus death and destruction are in all the enjoyments of men in this life, every enjoyment in this world is liable to misfortune in a thousand ways, both by sea and land.

How many ships, that have been loaded with the choicest treasures of the earth, have been swallowed up in the ocean many times just before they enter their desired haven. And vast treasures have been consumed by fire on the land. And the fruits of the earth are liable to many judgments. And the dearest and nearest enjoyments of men are generally balanced with equal sorrow and grief. A man and his wife who have lived together in happiness for many years; that have comforted each other in various changes of life, must at last be separated; one or the other must be taken away first by death, and then the poor survivor is drowned in tears, in sorrow, mourning and grief. And when a dear child or children are taken away by death, the bereaved parents are bowed down with sorrow and deep mourning. When Joseph was sold by his brethren unto the Ishmaelites, they took his coat and rolled it in blood, and carried it to their father, and the good patriarch knew it to be Joseph's coat, and he concluded that his dear Joseph was devoured by evil beasts, and he was plunged all over in sorrow and bitter mourning, and he refused to be comforted. And so when tender parents are taken away by death, the children are left comfortless.—All this is the sad effect of sin.—These are the wages of sin.

And we are to consider man's *spiritual death*, while he is here in this world. We find it thus written in the word of God. "And the Lord God commanded the man, saying, of every tree of the garden thou mayest freely eat: but of the tree of knowledge, of good and evil, thou shalt not eat of it, for in the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die." And yet he did eat of it, and so he and all his posterity, are but dead men. And St. Paul to the Ephesians saith, "You hath he quickened, who were *dead* in trespasses and sins."—The great Mr. Henry says on this place, that unregenerate souls, all those who are in their sins, are *dead* in sins; yea, in trespasses and sins; which may signify all sorts of sins, habitual and actual; sins of heart and life. Sin is the death of the soul. Wherever that prevails, there is a privation of all spiritual life. Sinners are *dead in state*, being destitute of the principles and powers of spiritual life; and cut off from God, the fountain of life: and they are *dead in law*, as a condemned malefactor is said to be a dead man. Now a dead man, in a natural sense, is unactive, and is of no service to the living; there is no correspondence between the dead and the living; there is no agreement or union between them, no fellowship at all between the dead and the living. A dead man

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is altogether ignorant of the intercourses amongst the living :  
 ---just so it is with men that are spiritually dead ; they have no  
 agreeable activity. Their activity in sin, is their deadness, and  
 inactivity towards God. They are of no service to God ; and  
 they have no correspondence with heaven ; and there is no agree-  
 ment or fellowship between them and the living God ; and they  
 are totally ignorant of the agreeable and sweet intercourse there  
 is between God and his children here below : and they are ig-  
 norant, and know nothing of that blessed fellowship and union  
 there is among the saints here below. They are ready to say  
 indeed, Behold how they love one another ! But they know  
 nothing of that love, that the children of God enjoy. As sin  
 is in opposition to God, so sinners are at enmity against God ;  
 there is no manner of agreement between them.

Let us consider further. God is a living God, he is all life,  
 the fountain of life ; and a sinner is a dead soul ; there is no-  
 thing but death in him. And now judge ye, what agreement  
 can there be between them ? God is a holy and pure God, and  
 a sinner is an unholy and filthy creature :---God is a righteous  
 Being, and a sinner is an unrighteous creature ; God is light,  
 and a sinner is darkness itself. Further, what agreement  
 can there be between God and a liar, a thief, a drunkard, a  
 swearer, a profane creature, a whoremonger, an adulterer, and  
 idolater. No one that has any sense, dare say, that there  
 is any agreement. Further, as sinners are dead to God, as  
 such, they have no delight in God, and godliness ; they have  
 no taste for the religion of Jesus Christ ; they have no pleasure  
 in the holy exercises of religion. Prayer is no pleasant work  
 to them ; or if they have any pleasure in it, it is not out of  
 love to God, but out of self-love, like the Pharisees of old ;  
 they loved to pray in open view of men, that they might have  
 praise from them. But probably they were not careful to pray  
 in secret. These were dead souls, they were unholy, rotten  
 hypocrites, and so all their prayers and religious exercises were  
 cold, dead, and abominable services to God. Indeed they are  
 dead to all the duties that God requires of them ; they are  
 dead to the holy bible ; to all the laws, commands and pre-  
 cepts thereof ; and to the ordinances of the gospel of the Lord  
 Jesus Christ. When they read the book of God, it is like an  
 old almanack to them, a dead book. But it is because they  
 are dead, and as such, all their services are against God, even  
 their best services are an abomination unto God ; yea sinners  
 are so dead in sin, that the threatenings of God do not move  
 them. All the thunders and lightnings of Mount-Sinai do  
 not stir them. Though all the curses of the law are out against  
 them ; yea, every time they read these curses in the bible, they  
 are cursing them to their faces, and to their very eyes ; yet  
 they are unconcerned, and go on in sin without fear. And  
 lastly



lately here: Sin has so stupified the sinner, that he will not believe his own senses; he wont believe his own eyes, nor his own ears; he reads the book of God, but he does not believe what he reads. And he hears of God, and heaven, and eternal happiness, and of hell and eternal misery; but he believes none of these things; he goes on; as if there were no God, nor heaven and happiness, and as if he had not any fear of hell and eternal torments;—he sees his fellow men dropping away daily on every side, yet he goes on carelessly in sin, as if he never was to die. And if he at any time thinks of dying, he hardly believes his own thoughts. Death is at a great distance, so far off, that he does not concern himself about it, so as to prepare for it. God mournfully complains of his people, that they do not consider; "O that they were wise, that they understood this, that they would consider their latter end."

The next thing I shall consider, is the actual death of the body, or separation between soul and body. At the cessation of natural life, there is an end of all the enjoyments of this life: there is no more joy nor sorrow; no more hope nor fear, as to the body; no more contrivance and carrying on any business; no more merchandizing and trading; no more farming; no more buying and selling; no more building of any kind, no more contrivance at all to live in the world; no more flatteries nor frowns from the world; no more honor nor reproach; no more praise; no more good report, nor evil report; no more learning of any trades, arts or sciences in the world; no more sinful pleasures, they are all at an end; recreations, visiting, tavern haunting, music and dancing, chambering and carousing, playing at dice and cards, or any game whatsoever; cursing and swearing, and profaning the holy name of God, drunkenness, fighting, debauchery, lying and cheating, in this world, must cease for ever. Not only so, sinners must bid an eternal farewell to all the world; bid farewell to all their beloved sins and pleasures: and the places and possessions that knew them once, shall know them no more for ever. And further, they must bid adieu to all sacred and divine things. They are obliged to leave the bible, and all the ordinances thereof; and to bid farewell to preachers, and all sermons and all christian people, and christian conversation; they must bid a long farewell to sabbaths and seasons, and opportunities of worship; yea, an eternal farewell to God the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, and adieu to heaven and all happiness, to saints and all the inhabitants of the upper world. At your leisure please to read the destruction of Babylon; Rev. the 18th, most of that description will apply to the case of dying sinners.

Mean while, the poor departed soul must take up its lodging in sorrow, woe and misery, in the lake that burns with fire and brimstone, where the worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched;

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quenched; where a multitude of frightful deformed devils dwell, and the damned ghosts of Adam's race; where darkness, horror and despair reigns, where hope never comes, and where poor guilty naked souls will be tormented with exquisite torments, even the wrath of the Almighty poured out upon their damned souls; the smoke of their torments ascending up for ever and ever; and hellish groans, howlings, cries and shrieks all round them, and merciless devils upbraiding them for their folly and madness, and tormenting them incessantly.—And there they must endure the most unsatiable, fruitless desire, and the most overwhelming shame and confusion, and the most horrible fear, and the most doleful sorrow, and the most rack- ing despair. When they cast their flaming eyes to heaven, with Dives in torments, they behold an angry and frowning God, whose eyes are as a flaming fire, and they are struck with ten thousand darts of pain; and the sight of the happi- nesses of the saints above, adds to their pains and aggravates their misery. And when they reflect upon their past folly and madness, in neglecting the great salvation in their day, it will pierce them with ten thousand inconceivable torments; it will as it were enkindle their hell afresh; and it will cause them to curse themselves bitterly, and curse the day in which they were born, and curse their parents that were the instruments of their being in the world; yea they will curse, bitterly curse; and wish that very God that gave them their being, to be in the same condition with them in hell torments. This is what is called the second death, and it is the last death, and an eternal death to a guilty soul.

And O eternity, eternity, eternity! Who can measure it? Who can count the years thereof? Arithmetic must fail, the thoughts of men and angels are drowned in it; how shall we describe eternity? To what shall we compare it? Were it possible to employ a fly to carry off this globe by the small particles thereof, and to carry them to such a distance that it should return once in ten thousand years for another particle, and so continue until it has carried off all this globe, and framed them together in some unknown space, until it has made just such a world as this is; after all, eternity would remain the same un- exhausted duration\*. This must be the unavoidable portion of all impenitent sinners, let them be who they will, great or small, honorable or ignoble, rich or poor, bond or free. Ne- groes, Indians, English, or of what nations soever, all that die in their sins, must go to hell together, for the wages of sin is death.

The next thing that I was to consider is this:

II. That eternal life and happiness is the free gift of God, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

Under

\* Reader, do notice the Indian's Description of ETERNITY.

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Under this proposition I shall endeavour to shew, what this life and happiness is.

The life that is mentioned in our text, begins with a *spiritual* life: it is the life of the soul, a restoration of soul from sin to holiness, from darkness to light, a translation from the kingdom and dominion of satan, to the kingdom of God's grace. In other words, it is being restored to the image of God, and delivered from the image of satan. And this life consists in union of the soul to God, and communion with God; a real participation of the divine nature, or in the apostle's words, it is Christ formed within us; "I live, says he, yet not I, but Christ liveth in me." And the apostle John saith, "God is love, and he that dwelleth in love, dwelleth in God, and God in him." This is the life of the soul. It is called emphatically life, because it shall never have a period, but is stable, permanent, and unchangeable, called in the scriptures, everlasting life, or life *eternal*. And the happiness of this life consists in communion with God, or in the spiritual enjoyment of God. As much as a soul enjoys of God in this life, just so much of life and happiness he enjoys or possesses; yea, just so much of heaven he enjoys. A true christian, desires no other heaven; but the enjoyment of God: a full and perfect enjoyment of God, is a full and perfect heaven and happiness to a gracious soul.—Further, this life is called eternal life, because God has planted a living principle in the soul; and whereas he was dead before, now he is made alive unto God; there is an active principle within him towards God, he now moves towards God in his religious devotions and exercises; is daily, comfortably and sweetly walking with God, in all his ordinances and commands; his delight is in the ways of God; he breathes towards God, a living breath, in praises, prayers, adorations and thanksgivings; his prayers are now heard in the heavens, and his praises delight the ears of the Almighty, and his thanksgivings are accepted. So alive is he now to God, that it is his meat and drink, yea more than his meat and drink, to do the will of his heavenly Father. It is his delight, his happiness and pleasure to serve God. He does not drag himself to his duties now, but he does them out of choice, and with alacrity of soul. Yea, so alive is he to God, that he gives up himself and all that he has entirely to God, to be for him and none other; his whole aim is to glorify God in all things, whether by life or death, all the same to him.

We have a bright example of this in St Paul. After he was converted, he was all alive to God; he regarded not himself, but was willing to spend, and be spent in the service of his God; he was hated, reviled, despised, laughed at, and called by all manner of evil names; was scourged, stoned and imprisoned;—and all could not stop his activity towards God.

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He would boldly and courageously go on in preaching the gos-  
pel of the Lord Jesus Christ, to poor, lost, and undone sin-  
ners; he would do the work God set him about, in spite of  
all opposition he met with, either from men or devils, earth or  
hell; come death, or come life, none of these things moved  
him, because he was alive unto God. Though he suffered  
hunger and thirst, cold and heat, poverty and nakedness by day  
and by night, by sea and land, and was in danger all ways; yet  
he would serve God amidst all these dangers. Read his amaz-  
ing account in 2 Cor. xi. 23. and on.

Another instance of marvellous love towards God, we have  
in Daniel. When there was a proclamation, sent by the king,  
to all his subjects, forbidding them to call upon their gods,  
for thirty days; which was done by envious men, that they  
might find occasion against Daniel, the servant of the Most  
High God; yet he having the life of God in his soul, regarded  
not the king's decree, but made his petitions to his God, as  
often as he used to do, though death was threatened to the  
disobedient. But he feared not the hell they had prepared;  
the den resembled hell, and the lions the devils. Thus  
Daniel and Paul went through fire and water, as the com-  
mon saying is, because they had *eternal* life in their souls in an  
eminent manner; and they regarded not *this* life, for the cause  
and glory of God. And thus it has been in all ages with true  
Christians. Many of the fore-fathers of the English, in this  
country, had this life, and are gone the same way that the  
holy prophets and apostles went. Many of them went through  
all manner of sufferings for God; and a great number of them  
are gone home to heaven, in chariots of fire. I have seen the  
place in London, called Smithfield, where numbers were burnt  
to death for the religion of Jesus Christ\*. And there is the  
same life in true christians now in these days; and if there  
should persecutions arise in our day, I verily believe, true  
christians would suffer with the same spirit and temper of mind,  
as those did, who suffered in days past.

We proceed to shew, that this life which we have described,  
is the free gift of God, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

Sinners have forfeited all mercy into the hand of divine jus-  
tice, and have merited hell and damnation to themselves; for  
the wages of sin is everlasting death, but heaven and happiness  
is a free gift; it comes by favour; and all merit is excluded:  
and especially if we consider that we are fallen sinful creatures,  
and

\* That part of Smithfield on which the Bell lately stood, it seems  
is the very ground that was hallowed by the feet of the burning  
Martyrs. A *small circular pavement* is the only distinction which  
now remains to ascertain the memorable, the never to be forgotten spot.

and there is nothing in us that can recommend us to the favour of God; and we can do nothing that is agreeable and acceptable to God; and the mercies we enjoy in this life, are altogether from the pure mercy of God; we are unequal to them. Good old Jacob cried out, under a sense of his unworthiness, "I am less than the least of all thy mercies," we have nothing to give unto God, if we essay to give all the service that we are capable of, we should give him nothing but what was his own, and when we give up ourselves unto God, both soul and body, we give him nothing; for we were his before; he had right to do with us as he pleased, either to throw us into hell, or save us.—There is nothing that we can call our own, but our sins; and who is he that dares to say, I expect to have heaven for my sins! for our text says, that the wages of sin is death. If we are thus unequal and unworthy of the least mercy in this life, how much more are we unworthy of eternal life? yet God can find it in his heart to give it. And it is altogether unmerited; it is a free gift to undeserving and hell deserving sinners of mankind: it is altogether of God's sovereign good pleasure to give it. It is of free grace and sovereign mercy, and from the unbounded goodness of God; he was self-moved to it. And it is said, that this life is given in and through the Lord Jesus Christ. It could not be given in any other way, but in and through the death and sufferings of Christ; Christ himself is a gift, and he is the christian's life. "For God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life." The word says further, "For by grace ye are saved, through faith, and that not of yourselves; it is the gift of God." This is given through Jesus Christ our Lord; Christ obtained it with his own blood, by the influence of his spirit he prepares us for it; and by his divine grace preserves us to it. In a word, he is all in all in our eternal salvation; all this is the free gift of God.

I have now gone through what I proposed from my text. And I shall now make some application of the whole.

First to the criminal in particular; and then to the auditory in general.

*My poor unhappy brother MOSES;*

As it was your own desire that I should preach to you this last discourse, so I shall speak plainly to you.—You are the bone of my bone, and flesh of my flesh. You are an Indian, a despised creature; but you have despised yourself; yea, you have despised God more; you have trodden under foot his authority; you have despised his commands and precepts: and now, as God says, "be sure your sins will find you out;" so now, poor Moses, your sins have found you out, and they have overtaken you this day; the day of your death is now come; the

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the king of terrors is at hand; you have but a very few moments to breathe in this world.—The just laws of man, and the holy law of Jehovah, call aloud for the destruction of your mortal life; God says, "Who so sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed." This is the ancient decree of heaven, and it is to be executed by man; nor have you the least gleam of hope of escape, for the unalterable sentence is past; the terrible day of execution is come: the unwelcome guard is about you; and the fatal instruments of death are now made ready; your coffin and your grave, your last lodging, are open ready to receive you.

Alas! poor Moses, now you know, by sad, by woful experience, the living truth of our text, that the wages of sin is death. You have been already dead; yea twice dead: by nature spiritually dead, and since the awful sentence of death has been past upon you, you have been dead to all the pleasures of this life: or all the pleasures, lawful or unlawful, have been dead to you: And death which is the wages of sin, is standing even on this side of your grave ready to put a final period to your mortal life; and just beyond the grave, eternal death awaits your poor soul, and the devils are ready to drag your miserable soul down to their bottomless den, where everlasting woe and horror reigns; the place is filled with doleful shrieks, howls and groans of the damned. Oh! to what a miserable, forlorn, and wretched condition, have your extravagant folly and wickedness brought you, i. e. if you die in your sins. And O! what manner of repentance ought you to manifest! How ought your heart to bleed for what you have done! How ought you to prostrate your soul before a bleeding God! And under self-condemnation, cry out, Ah Lord, ah Lord, what have I done!—Whatever partiality, injustice and error there may be among the judges of the earth, remember that you have deserved a thousand deaths, and a thousand hells, by reason of your sins, at the hands of a holy God. Should God come out against you in strict justice, alas! what could you say for yourself? for you have been brought up under the bright sun-shine, and plain, and loud sound of the gospel; and you have had a good education; you can read and write well; and God has given you a good natural understanding: and therefore your sins are so much more aggravated. You have not sinned in such an ignorant manner as others have done; but you have sinned with both your eyes open as it were, under the light, even the glorious light of the gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ. —You have sinned against the light of your own conscience, against your knowledge and understanding; you have sinned against the pure and holy laws of God, and the just laws of men; you have sinned against heaven and earth; you have sinned against all the mercies and goodness of God; you have sinned

sinned against the whole bible, against the old and new-testament; you have sinned against the blood of Christ, which is the blood of the everlasting covenant. O poor Moses, see what you have done! and now repent, repent, I say again, repent; see how the blood you shed cries against you, and the avenger of blood is at your heels. O fly, fly to the Blood of the Lamb of God, for the pardon of all your aggravated sins.

But let us now turn to a more pleasant theme.—Though you have been a great sinner, a heaven daring sinner; yet hark! O hear the joyful sound from heaven, even from the King of kings, and Lord of lords; that the gift of God is eternal life, through Jesus Christ our Lord. It is a free gift, and bestowed on the greatest sinners, and upon their true repentance towards God and faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, they shall be welcome to the life, which we have spoken of; it is granted upon free terms. He that hath no money may come; he that hath no righteousness, no goodness, may come; the call is to poor undone sinners; the call is not to the righteous, but sinners, inviting them to repentance. Hear the voice of the Son of the most high God, "Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest." This is a call, a gracious call to you, poor Moses, under your present burdens and distresses. And Christ has a right to call sinners to himself. It would be presumption for a mighty angel to call a poor sinner to himself; and were it possible for you to apply to all God's creatures, they would with one voice tell you, that it was not in them to help you. Go to all the means of grace, they would prove miserable helps, without Christ himself. Yea, apply to all the ministers of the gospel in the world, they would all say, that it was not in them, but would only prove as indexes, to point out to you, the Lord Jesus Christ, the only Saviour of sinners of mankind. Yea, go to all the angels in heaven, they would do the same. Yea, go to God the Father himself, without Christ, he could not help you, to speak after the manner of men, he would also point to the Lord Jesus Christ, and say, "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased, hear ye him." Thus you see, poor Moses, that there is none in heaven, or on the earth, that can help you, but Christ, he alone has power to save and to give life.—God the eternal Father appointed him, chose him, authorized, and fully commissioned him to save sinners. He came down from heaven, into this lower world, and became as one of us, and stood in our room. He was the second Adam. And as God demanded perfect obedience of the first Adam; the second fulfilled it; and as the first sinned, and incurred the wrath and anger of God, the second endured it; he suffered in our room. As he became sin for us, he was a man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief; all our stripes were laid upon him; yea, he

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he was finally condemned, because we were under condemna-  
tion ; and at last was executed and put to death for our sins ;  
was lifted up between the heaven and the earth, and was cru-  
cified on the accursed tree ; his blessed hands and feet were  
fastened there ;—there he died a shameful and ignominious  
death : there he finished the great work of our redemption :  
there his heart's blood was shed for our cleansing : there he  
fully satisfied the divine justice of God, for penitent, believing  
sinners, though they have been the chief of sinners.—O Moses !  
this is good news to you, in this last day of your life ; Behold !  
a crucified Saviour ; his blessed hands are out-stretched, all  
in a gore of blood. This is the only Saviour, an almighty  
Saviour, just such as you stand in infinite and perishing need  
of. O, poor Moses ! hear the dying prayer of a gracious Sa-  
viour on the accursed tree.—“ Father forgive them, for they  
know not what they do.” This was a prayer for his enemies  
and murderers ; and it is for all who repent and believe in  
him. O why will you die eternally, poor Moses, since Christ  
has died for sinners ? Why will you go to hell from beneath  
the bleeding Saviour as it were ? This is the day of your exe-  
cution, yet it is the accepted time, it is the day of salvation if  
you now believe in the Lord Jesus Christ. Must Christ follow  
you into the prison by his servants, and there intreat you to  
accept of eternal life, and will you refuse it ? and must he  
follow you even to the gallows, and there beseech you to ac-  
cept of him, and will you refuse him ? Shall he be crucified  
hard by your gallows, as it were, and will you regard him not ?  
(O) poor Moses, believe on the Lord Jesus Christ with all your  
heart, and thou shalt be saved eternally. Come just as you  
are, with all your sins and abominations, with all your blood-  
guiltiness, with all your condemnation, and lay hold of the  
hope set before you this day. This is the last day of salvation  
with your soul ; you will be beyond the bounds of mercy in  
a few minutes more. O, what a joyful day, will it be if you  
now openly believe in, and receive the Lord Jesus Christ ; it  
would be the beginning of heavenly days with your poor soul ;  
instead of a melancholy day, it would be a wedding day to your  
soul ; it would cause the very angels in heaven to rejoice, and  
the saints on earth to be glad ; it would cause the angels to  
come down from the realms above, and wait hovering about  
your gallows, ready to convey your soul to the heavenly man-  
sions, there to take the possession of eternal glory and happiness,  
and join the heavenly choirs in singing the song of Moses and  
the Lamb ; there to sit down forever with Abraham, Isaac and  
Jacob in the Kingdom of God's glory ; and your shame and  
guilt shall be forever banished from the place, and all sorrow  
and fear forever fly away, and tears be wiped from your face ;  
and there shall you forever admire the astonishing and amazing



and infinite mercy of God in Christ Jesus, in pardoning such a monstrous sinner as you have been; there you will claim the highest note of praise, for the riches of free grace in Christ Jesus. But if you will not accept of a Saviour proposed to your acceptance in this last day of your life, you must this very day, bid farewell to God the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, to heaven and all the saints and angels that are there; and you must bid all the saints in this lower world an eternal farewell, and even the whole world. And so I must leave you in the hands of God; and must turn to the whole auditory

SIRS, We may plainly see, from what we have heard, and from the miserable object before us, into what a doleful condition sin has brought mankind, even into a state of death and misery. *We* are by nature as certainly under sentence of death from God, as this miserable man is, by the the just determination of man; and we are all dying creatures, this is the dreadful fruit of sin. O! let us then fly from all appearance of sin; let us fight against it with all our might; let us repent and turn to God, and believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, that we may live forever; let us all prepare for death, for we know not how soon, nor how suddenly we may be called out of the world.

Permit me *reverend gentlemen and fathers* in Israel, to speak a few words to you, though I am well sensible that I need to be taught the first principles of the oracles of God, by the least of you. But since the providence of God has so ordered it, that I must speak here on this occasion, I beg that you would not be offended nor be angry with me.

God has raised *you* up, from among your brethren, and has qualified, and authorised you to do his great work; and *you* are the servants of the Most High God, and ministers of the Lord Jesus, the Son of the living God: *you* are Christ's ambassadors; *you* are called shepherds, watchmen, overseers, or bishops, and *you* are rulers of the temples of God, or of the assemblies of God's people; *you* are God's angels, and as such you have nothing to do but to wait upon God, and to do the work the Lord Jesus Christ your blessed Lord and Master has set you about, not fearing the face of any man, nor seeking to please men, but your Master. *You* are to declare the whole counsel of God, and to give a portion to every soul in due season; as a physician gives a potion to his patients, according to their diseases, so *you* are to give a portion to every soul in due season, according to their spiritual maladies; whether it be agreeable or disagreeable to them, *you* must give it them; whether they will love *you* or hate *you* for it, *you* must do your work. Your work is to encounter sin and Satan; this was the very end of the coming of Christ into the world, and the end of his death and sufferings; it was to make an end of sin and to destroy the works

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## EXECUTION OF MOSES PAUL. 21

works of the devil. And this is your work still, you are to fight the battles of the Lord. Therefore combine together, and be terrible as an army with banners; attack this monster sin in all its shapes and windings, and lift up your voices as trumpets and not spare, call aloud, call your people to arms against this common enemy of mankind, that sin may not be their ruin. Call upon all orders, ranks and degrees of people, to rise up against sin and satan. Arm yourselves with fervent prayer continually, this is a terrible weapon against the kingdom of satan. And preach the death and sufferings, and the resurrection of Jesus Christ; for nothing is so destructive to the kingdom of the devil, as this is. But what need I speak any more? Let us *all* attend, and hear the great Apostle of the Gentiles speaking unto us in Eph. vi from the 10th verse and onward. "Finally, my brethren, be strong in the Lord, and in the power of his might; put on the whole armour of God, that ye may be able to stand against the wiles of the devil. For we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places. Wherefore take unto you the whole armour of God, that ye may be able to stand in the evil day, and having done all to stand. Stand therefore, having your loins girt about with truth, and having on the breast-plate of righteousness; and your feet shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace: above all, taking the shield of faith, wherewith ye shall be able to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked; and take the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the spirit, which is the word of God: praying always with all prayer and supplication in the spirit, and watching thereunto with all perseverance, and supplication for all saints."

I shall now address myself to the *Indians*, my brethren and kindred according to the flesh.

MY POOR KINDRED,

You see the woful consequences of sin, by seeing this our poor miserable country-man now before us, who is to die this day for his sins and great wickedness. And it was the sin of drunkenness that has brought this destruction and untimely death upon him. There is a dreadful woe denounced from the Almighty against drunkards; and it is this sin, this abominable, this beastly and accursed sin of drunkenness, that has stript us of every desirable comfort in this life; by this we are poor, miserable and wretched; by this sin we have no name nor credit in the world among polite nations; for this sin we are despised in the world, and it is all right and just, for we despise ourselves more; and if we do not regard ourselves, who will regard us? And it is for our sins, and especially for that accursed, that most hateful sin of drunkenness that we suffer every day. For the love of strong drink we spend all that we have,

23 MR. OCCOM'S SERMON AT THE

have, and every thing we can get. By this sin we cannot have comfortable houses, nor any thing comfortable in our houses; neither food nor raiment, nor decent utensils. We are obliged to put up any sort of shelter just to screen us from the severity of the weather; and we go about with very mean, ragged and dirty clothes, almost naked. And we are half starved, for most of the time obliged to pick up any thing to eat.---And our poor children are suffering every day for want of the necessaries of life; they are very often crying for want of food, and we have nothing to give them; and in the cold weather they are shivering and crying, being pinched with the cold.---All this is for the love of strong drink. And this is not all the misery and evil we bring on ourselves in this world; but when we are intoxicated with strong drink, we drown our rational powers, by which we are distinguished from the brutal creation; we unman ourselves, and bring ourselves not only level with the beasts of the field, but seven degrees beneath them; yea we bring ourselves level with the devils; I do not know but we make ourselves worse than the devils, for I never heard of drunken devils.

My poor kindred, do consider what a dreadful abominable sin drunkenness is. God made us men, and we chuse to be beasts and devils; God made us rational creatures, and we chuse to be fools. Do consider further, and behold a drunkard, and see how he looks, when he has drowned his reason; how deformed and shameful does he appear? He disfigures every part of him, both soul and body, which was made after the image of God. He appears with awful deformity, and his whole visage is disfigured; if he attempts to speak he cannot bring out his words distinct, so as to be understood; if he walks he reels and staggers to and fro, and tumbles down. And see how he behaves, he is now laughing, and then he is crying; he is singing, and the next minute he is mourning; and is all love to every one, and anon he is raging, and for fighting, and killing all before him, even the nearest and the dearest relations and friends: Yea nothing is too bad for a drunken man to do. He will do that which he would not do for the world, in his right mind.

Further, when a person is drunk, he is just good for nothing in the world; he is of no service to himself, to his family, to his neighbours, or his country; and how much more unfit is he to serve God: yet he is just as fit for the service of the devil.

Again, a man in drunkenness is in all manner of dangers, he may be killed by his fellow-men, by wild beasts, and tame beasts; he may fall into the fire, into the water, or into a ditch; or he may fall down as he walks along, and break his bones or his neck; he may cut himself with edge tools.---Further, if he has  
any

EXECUTION OF MOSES PAUL. 23

any money or any thing valuable, he may lose it all, or may be robbed, or he may make a foolish bargain, and be cheated out of all he has.

I believe you know the truth of what I have just now said, many of you, by sad experience; yet you will go on still in your drunkenness. Though you have been cheated over and over again, and you have lost your substance by drunkenness, yet you will venture to go on in this most destructive sin. O fools when will ye be wise?---We all know the truth of what I have been saying, by what we have seen and heard of drunken deaths. How many have been drowned in our rivers, and how many have been frozen to death in the winter seasons! yet drunkards go on without fear and consideration: alas, alas! What will become of all such drunkards? Without doubt they must all go to hell, except they truly repent and turn to God. Drunkenness is so common amongst us, that even our young men and young women are not ashamed to get drunk. Our young men will get drunk as soon as they will eat when they are hungry.--- It is generally esteemed amongst men, more abominable for a woman to be drunk, than a man; and yet there is nothing more common amongst us than female drunkards. Women ought to be more modest than men; the holy scriptures recommend modesty to women in particular---but drunken women have no modesty at all. It is more intolerable for a woman to get drunk, if, we consider further, that she is in great danger of falling into the hands of the sons of Belial, or wicked men, and being shamefully treated by them.

And here I cannot but observe, we find in sacred writ, a woe denounced against men, who put their bottles to their neighbours mouth to make them drunk, that they may see their nakedness: and no doubt there are such devilish men now in our day, as there were in the days of old.

And to conclude, consider my poor kindred, you that are drunkards, into what a miserable condition you have brought yourselves. There is a dreadful woe thundering against you every day, and the Lord says, that drunkards shall not inherit the kingdom of God\*.

And now let me exhort you all to break off from your drunkenness, by a gospel repentance, and believe on the Lord Jesus and you shall be saved. Take warning by this doleful sight before us, and by all the dreadful judgments that have befallen poor drunkards. O let us all reform our lives, and live as becomes dying creatures, in time to come. Let us be persuaded that we are accountable creatures to God, and we must be called to an account in a few days. You that have been careless all your days, now awake to righteousness, and be concerned

\* Mr. Occom discovers great abhorrence of the sin of drunkenness.

24 MR. OCCOM'S SERMON AT THE,

concerned for your poor and never dying souls. Fight against all sins, and especially the sin that easily besets you, and behave in time to come as becomes rational creatures; and above all things, receive and believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and you shall have eternal life; and when you come to die, your souls will be received into heaven, there to be with the Lord Jesus in eternal happiness, and with all the saints in glory; which, God of his infinite mercy grant, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

A P P E N D I X.

Mr. Kirkland has sent to the society in Scotland, for propagating christian knowledge, a copy of his journal from May 1786 to May 1787. A concern about religion began among the Ononda Indians August and September 1786, and in November greatly increased, and continued to do so through the winter and spring. About seventy in three villages of that tribe appear savingly converted. In one of these villages the convictions have been remarkably rational and pungent, and a sense of the evil of their sin, has exceeded the fear of punishment. In another, just views of their state have been more mixed with enthusiasm. Outward reformation is such, that in one village there hath not been an instance of an Indian drunk these six months. On Lord's Days Mr. Kirkland is often employed without any considerable intermission from morning to evening, and can hardly command leisure for necessary refreshment; and often on other days spends ten hours in preaching, catechising and private religious conversation with the many who come to unfold to him the distresses of their souls, and to ask instruction in civiltianity. Their hunger for the bread of life, permits not his sending them empty away. Frequently they have enjoyed much of God's presence in public worship: It was remarkably so on January 1, 1787, when they were disturbed with Pagan Indians discovering their joy for the New Year, by firing of guns, and inviting the Christians to an idolatrous dance, for which there was not a sufficient number through their refusal. Irritated at Mr Kirkland, to whom they ascribed the disappointment, four Indian youths conspired to murder him that night, which was discovered, and by the great care of some of his converts, disappointed. Even the Heathen Sachems disapproved this, and at an Indian Council that week, three of the youths expressed their penitence, and the fourth sent his apology. These appearances have struck some of the Tuscarara and Onondaga tribes. Mr. K. writes that his work though so uncommonly laborious, was never so delightful. Indeed since the days of Mr David Brainerd, there has been nothing so promising among the Indians. Mr Kirkland is translating the gospel of Mark, and some select Psalms, into the Onondia language, which he hopes to get printed. His labours are much helped by a Schoolmaster, and by good Peter the catechist, one of the most eloquent men among the Six Nations.

J. R. has communicated this to the Theological Miscellany.

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# OBSERVATIONS

ON THE

# LANGUAGE

OF THE

## MUHHEKANEW INDIANS;

IN WHICH

THE EXTENT OF THAT LANGUAGE IN NORTH-AME-  
RICA IS SHEWN; ITS GENIUS IS GRAMMATICALLY  
TRACED; SOME OF ITS PECULIARITIES, AND SOME  
INSTANCES OF ANALOGY BETWEEN THAT AND THE  
HEBREW ARE POINTED OUT.

COMMUNICATED TO THE

Connecticut Society of Arts and Sciences,

AND PUBLISHED AT THE REQUEST OF THE SOCIETY.

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By JONATHAN EDWARDS, D. D.

PASTOR OF A CHURCH IN NEW-HAVEN, AND MEMBER OF THE  
CONNECTICUT SOCIETY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES.

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NEW-HAVEN, PRINTED BY JOSIAH MEIGS, 1787;

LONDON REPRINTED BY W. JUSTINS,

SHOEMAKER-ROW, BLACKFRIARS.

M,DCC,LXXXVIII.

*At a Meeting of the Connecticut Society of  
Arts and Sciences, held by adjournment in  
the City of New-Haven, on the 23d Day of  
October. A. D. 1787.*

**T**HE Rev. Doctor *Edwards* communicated to  
the Society a Dissertation on the Indian Lan-  
guage, with Observations on its Analogy to the  
Hebrew, and was desired to lodge the same with  
the Secretary to be published.

A true Copy of Record,

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CHAUNCEY GOODRICH, *Rec. Sec.*

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P R E F A C E.

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**T**HAT the following Observations may obtain credit, it may be proper to inform the Reader, with what advantages they have been made.

When I was but six years of age, my father removed with his family to Stockbridge, which at that time was inhabited by Indians almost solely, as there were in the town but twelve families of whites, or Anglo-Americans, and perhaps one hundred and fifty families of Indians. The Indians being the nearest neighbours, I constantly associated with them; their boys were my daily school-mates and play-fellows. Out of my father's house, I seldom heard any language spoken, beside the Indian. By these means I acquired the knowledge of that language, and a great facility in speaking it: it became more familiar to me than my mother tongue. I knew the names of some things in Indian, which I did not know in English: even all my thoughts ran in Indian; and though the true pronunciation of the language is extremely difficult to all but themselves, they acknowledged that I had acquired it perfectly; which, as they said, never had been acquired before by any Anglo-American. On account of this acquisition, as well as on  
account



account of my skill in their language in general, I received from them many compliments, applauding my superior wisdom. This skill in their language, I have in a good measure retained to this day.

After I had drawn up these Observations, lest there should be some mistakes in them, I carried them to Stock-bridge, and read them to Capt. Yoghum, a principal Indian of the tribe, who is well versed in his own language, and tolerably informed concerning the English; and I availed myself of his remarks and corrections.

From these facts, the Reader will form his own opinion of the truth and accuracy of what is now offered him.

When I was in my tenth year, my father sent me among the Six Nations, with a design that I should learn their language, and thus become qualified to be a missionary among them; but on account of the war with France, which then existed, I continued among them but about six months, therefore the knowledge which I acquired of that language was but imperfect; and at this time I retain so little of it, that I will not hazard any particular critical remarks on it. I may observe, however, that though the words of the two languages are totally different, yet their structure is in some respects analogous, particularly in the use of prefixes and suffixes,

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## OBSERVATIONS, &c.

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THE language, which is now the subject of observation, is that of the *Mubbekaneew*, or Stockbridge Indians. They, as well as the tribe at New London, are, by the Anglo-Americans, called *Mohegans*, which is a corruption of *Mubbekaneew*\*, in the singular, or *Mubhekaneok* in the plural. This language is spoken by all the Indians throughout New England. Every tribe, as that of Stockbridge, of Farmington, of New London, &c. has a different dialect; but the language is radically the same. Mr. Elliot's translation of the Bible is in a particular dialect of this language. The dialect followed in these observations, is that of Stockbridge. This language appears to be much more extensive than any other language in North-America. The languages of the Delawares, in Pennsylvania; of the Penobscots, bordering on Nova-Scotia; of the Indians of St. Francis, in Canada; of the Shawanese, on the Ohio; and of the Chippewaus, at the westward of Lake Huron, are all radically the same with the Mohegan. The same is said concerning the languages of the Ottowaus, Nanticooks, Munsees, Menomonees, Messisaugas, Saukies, Otagaummies, Killistinoes, Nipegons, Algonkins, Winnebagoes, &c. That the languages of the several tribes in New-England, of the Delawares, and of Mr. Elliot's Bible, are radically the same with the Mohegan, I assert from my own knowledge. What I assert concerning the language of the Penobscots, I have from a gentleman in Massachusetts, who has been much conversant among the Indians. That the languages of the Shawanese and Chippewaus is radically the same with the Mohegan, I shall endeavour to shew. My authorities

\* Wherever *w* occurs in an Indian word, it is a mere consonant, as in *work*, *world*, &c.

for

for what I say of the languages of the other nations are, Captain *Toghum*, before mentioned, and *Carver's Travels*.

To illustrate the analogy between the *Mohegan*, the *Shawanee*, and the *Chippewau* languages, I shall exhibit a short list of words of those three languages. For the list of *Mohegan* words, I myself am accountable: That of the *Shawanee* words, was communicated to me by General *Parsons*, who has had opportunity to make a partial vocabulary of that language. For the words of the *Chippewau* language, I am dependent on *Carver's Travels*.

<i>English.</i>	<i>Mohegan.</i>	<i>Shawanee.</i>
A bear - -	Mquoh - -	Mauquah
A beaver - -	Amisque * - -	Amaquah
Eye - - -	Hkeesque - -	Skeefacoo
Ear - - -	Towohque - -	Towacah
Fetch - - -	Pautoh - - -	Peatoolo
My grandfather	Nemoghhome †	Nemafompethau
My grandmother	Nohhum - -	Nocumthau
My grandchild	Naughees - -	Noofhethau
He goes - -	Pumiffoo - -	Pomthalo
A girl - - -	Peefquafoo - -	Squauthauthan
House - - -	Weekumuhm - -	Weecuah
He (that man)	Uwoli - - -	Welah
His head - -	Weenfis - -	{ Weefeh (I ima- gine mispelt, for { weenfeh.)
His heart - -	Utoh - - -	Otabeh
Hair - - -	Weghankun - -	Welathoh
Her husband - -	Waughecheh - -	Wafecheh
His teeth - -	Wepeeton - -	Wepeetalee
I thank you - -	Wneeweh - -	Neauweh
My uncle - -	Nfees - - -	Neefeethau
I - - - -	Neah - - -	Nelah
Thou - - -	Keah - - -	Kelah
We - - - -	Neaunuh - -	Nelauweh
Ye - - - -	Keauwuh - -	Kelauweh
Water - - -	Nbey - - -	Nippee
Elder filter - -	Nmees - - -	Nemeethau
River - - -	Sepoo - - -	Thepee

\* *e* final is never sounded in any Indian word, which I write, except monosyllables.

† *gh* in any Indian word has the strong guttural sound, which is given by the Scots to the same letters in the words *teugh*, *enough*, &c.

The

LANGUAGE

mer nations are,  
*Travels.*  
*Mohegan*, the  
 I shall exhibit  
 uages. For the  
 table: That of  
 me by Generat  
 e a partial voca-  
 of the *Chippewau*  
 els.

*Shawanee.*  
 aquah  
 aquah  
 elacoo  
 wacah  
 atoloo  
 masompethau  
 cumthau  
 osthethau  
 mthalo  
 uauthathau  
 eecuah  
 elah  
 Weefeh (I ima-  
 gine misfelt, for  
 weenfah.)  
 tahah  
 elathoh  
 afecheh  
 epeetalee  
 eauweh  
 eefethau  
 elah  
 elah  
 elauweh  
 elauweh  
 ippee  
 emeethau  
 hepee

OF THE MUHHEKANEW INDIANS.

The following is a specimen of analogy between the  
 Mohegan and Chippewau languages.

<i>English.</i>	<i>Mohegan.</i>	<i>Chippewau.</i>
A hear - -	Mquoh - - -	Mackwah
A heaver - -	Amitique - -	Amik
To die (I die)	Nip - - - -	Nip
Dead (he is dead)	Nboo or Nepoo *	Neepoo
Devil - - -	{ Mtandou, or Mannito † }	{ Manitou
Dress the kettle (make a fire)	Pootouwah - -	Poutwah
His eyes - -	Ukeesquan - -	Wiskinkhie
Fire - - -	Stauw - - -	Scutta
Give it him -	Meenuh - - -	Millaw
A spirit (a spectre)	Mannito - - -	Manitou
How - - - -	Tuneh § - - -	Tawnè
House - - -	Weekumuhm -	Wigwaum
An impostor (he is an impostor or bad man)	Mtiffoo - - -	Mawlawtiffie
Go - - - -	Pumiffeh - - -	Pimmouffie
Marry - - -	Weeween - - -	Weewin
Good for nought	Mtit - - - -	Malatat
River - - -	Sepoo - - - -	Sippim
Shoe - - - -	Mkiffin - - -	Maukiffin
The sun - - -	Keefogh - - -	Kiffis
Sit down - -	Mattipeh - - -	Mintipin
Water - - -	Nbey - - - -	Nebbi
Where - - -	Tedah - - - -	Tah
Winter - - -	Hpoon - - - -	Pepoun
Wood - - - -	Metooque - - -	Mittic

Almost every man who writes Indian words, spells them  
 in a peculiar manner: and I dare say, if the same person  
 had taken down all the words above, from the mouths of  
 the Indians, he would have spelt them more alike, and  
 the coincidence would have appeared more striking. Most  
 of those who write and print Indian words, use the letter *a*

\* The first syllable scarcely sounded.

† The last of these words properly signifies a spectre, or any thing  
 frightful.

§ Wherever *u* occurs, it has not the long sound of the English *u* as  
 in *commune*; but the sound of *u* in *uncle*, though much protracted.  
 The other vowels are to be pronounced, as in English.

where

l, which I write, ex-  
 tural sound, which is  
 ds *tough, enough, &c.*  
 The

3 OBSERVATIONS ON THE LANGUAGE

where the sound is that of *oh*, or *ou*. Hence the reader will observe, that in some of the Mohegan words above, *o* or *oh* is used, when *a* or *ab* is used in the correspondent words of the other languages: as *Mruob*, *Mauquab*. I doubt not the sound of those two syllables is exactly the same, as pronounced by the Indians of the different tribes.

It is not to be supposed, that the like coincidence is extended to all the words of those languages. Very many words are totally different. Still the analogy is such as is sufficient to shew, that they are mere dialects of the same original language.

I could not, throughout, give words of the same signification in the three languages, as the two vocabularies, from which I extracted the *Shawane* and *Chippewan* words, did not contain words of the same signification, excepting in some instances.

The Mohawk, which is the language of the Six Nations, is entirely different from that of the Mohegans. There is no more appearance of a derivation of one of these last-mentioned languages from the other, than there is of a derivation of either of them from the English. One obvious diversity, and in which the Mohawk is perhaps different from every other language, is, that it is wholly destitute of labials; whereas the Mohegan abounds with labials. I shall here give the numerals, as far as ten, and the *Pater Noster*, in both languages.

<i>Mohegan.</i>	<i>Mohawk.</i>
Ngwittoh	Utkot
Neesoh	Tegeeneh
Noghloh	Ohs
Nauwoh	Kialeh
Nunon	Wisk
Ngwittus	Yoiyok
Tupouwus	Chautok
Ghufooh	Sottago
Nauneeweh	Teuhtoh
Mtannit	Wialeh

The *Pater Noster* in the Mohegan language, is as follows:

Noghnuh, ne spumuck oieon, taugh mauweh wneh wtukoleauk neanne annuwoieon. Taugh ne aunchuwu-tammun wawehtuseek mauweh noh pummeh. Ne an-noihitteech mauweh awauneeek noh hkey oiecheek, ne aunchuwu-

aunchuwutammun, ne aunoihitteet neek spummuk oie-  
cheek. Menenaunuh noonooch wuhkamauk tquogh nuh  
uhhuutamauk ngummauwch. Ohquutamouwenauunuh  
auneh mumachoielaukeh, ne anneh ohquutamouwoielauk  
numpch neek mumacheh annehoquaukeek. Cheen liquuk-  
quaucheh siukeh annehenaunuh. Panneeweh htouwenau-  
nuh neen maumtehkeh. Keah ngwehcheh kwiouwauweh  
mauwch noh pummeh; ktanwoi; estah awaun wtinnoiyu-  
wun ne aunoiyeyon; hanweeweh ne ktinnoieen. Amen.

The Pater Noster, in the language of the Six Nations,  
taken from Smith's History of New-York, is this:

Soungwauneha caurounkyawga tehseetaroan sauhfon-  
eyousta efa sawaneyou oketrauhfela ehneauwoung na cau-  
rounkyawga nughwonshauga neatewehnesalauga taug-  
waunatoronoantoughsick toantaugweleewheyoutaung  
cheneeyeut chaquaraulehwhbeyoutaunna toughsou taug-  
wauffareneh tawautottenaugalonghtoungga nasawne sa-  
cheautaugwafs coantehsahelaunzaickaw efa sawaneyou efa  
sashoutzta efa soungwafoung chenneauhaungwa; auwen.

The reader will observe, that there is not a single labial,  
either in the numerals, or Pater Noster of this language;  
and that when they come to *amen*, from an aversion to  
shutting the lips, they change the *m* to *w*.

In no part of these languages does there appear to be a  
greater coincidence, than in this specimen. I have never  
noticed one word in either of them, which has any analogy  
to the correspondent word in the other language.

Concerning the Mohegan language, it is observable,  
that there is no diversity of gender, either in nouns or  
pronouns. The very same words express *he* and *she*, *him*  
and *her*. Hence, when the Mohegans speak English, they  
generally in this respect follow strictly their own idiom: a  
man will say concerning his wife, *he sick, he gone away*, &c.

With regard to *cases*, they have but one variation from  
the nominative, which is formed by the addition of the  
syllable *an* as *wnechun*, his child, *wnechunan*. This varied  
case seems to suit indifferently any case, except the nomi-  
native.

The plural is formed by adding a letter or syllable to  
the singular; as *nemaunauw*, a man; *nemannauk*, men;  
*penumpausoo*, a boy; *penumpausook*, boys.

The Mohegans more carefully distinguish the natural  
relations of men to each other, than we do, or perhaps any  
other nation. They have one word to express an elder  
brother, *netobcon*; another to express a younger brother,  
*ngbesum*.

10 OBSERVATIONS ON THE LANGUAGE

*ngbesum*. One to express an elder sister, *nmase*; another to express a younger sister, *ngbesum*. But the word for younger brother, and younger sister is the same.—*Nfasc*, is my uncle by my mother's side; *nuchebque*, is my uncle by the father's side.

The Mohegans have no adjectives in all their language; unless we reckon numerals and such words as *all*, *many*, &c. adjectives. Of adjectives, which express the qualities of substances, I do not find that they have any: they express those qualities by verbs, neuter; as *wnissoo*, he is beautiful; *missoo*, he is homely; *pebtunquissoo*, he is tall; *nscnmoo*, he is malicious, &c. Thus in Latin, many qualities are expressed by verbs neuter, as *valeo*, *caleo*, *frigeo*, &c.—Although it may at first seem not only singular and curious, but impossible, that a language should exist without adjectives, yet it is an indubitable fact. Nor do they seem to suffer any inconvenience by it. They as readily express any quality by a neuter verb, as we do by an adjective.

If it should be enquired, how it appears that the words above mentioned are not adjectives: I answer, it appears as they have all the same variations and declensions of other verbs. *To walk*, will be acknowledged to be a verb. This verb is declined thus; *npumseh*, I walk; *kpumseh*, thou walkest; *pumissoo*, he walketh; *npumsehruh*, we walk; *kpumsehruh*, ye walk; *pumissook*, they walk. In the same manner are the words in question declined; *npebtubquisséb*, I am tall; *kepebtubquisséb*, thou art tall; *pebtubquissoo*, he is tall; *npchubquisséhruh*, we are tall; *kepebtubquisséhruh*, ye are tall; *pebtubquissook*, they are tall.

Though the Mohegans have no proper adjectives, they have participles to all their verbs: as *pebtubquisset*, the man who is tall; *paumset*, the man who walks; *waumset*, the man who is beautiful; *oietet*, the man who lives, or dwells in a place; *oioetet*, the man who fights. So in the plural, *pebtubquissetcheek*, the tall men; *paumsetcheek*, they who walk, &c.

It is observable of the participles of this language, that they are declined through the persons and numbers, in the same manner as verbs: thus, *paumse-ub*, I walking; *paumse-an*, thou walking; *paumset*, he walking; *paumseauk*, we walking; *paumseauque*, ye walking; *paumsetcheek*, they walking.

They have no relative corresponding to our *who*, or *which*.

*which.* Instead of *the man who walks*, they say, the walking man, or the walker.

As they have no adjectives, of course they have no comparison of adjectives; yet they are put to no difficulty to express the comparative excellence or benefits of any two things. With a neuter verb expressive of the quality, they use an adverb to point out the degree: as *annurweeweb wniisso*, he is more beautiful; *kahnub wniisso*, he is very beautiful. *Nemannauroo*, he is a man; *annurweeweb nemannauroo*, he is a man of superior excellence or courage; *kahnub nemannauroo*, he is a man of extraordinary excellence or courage.

Besides the pronouns common in other languages, they express the pronouns, both substantive and adjective, by affixes, or by letters or syllables added at the beginnings, or ends, or both, of their nouns. In this particular, the structure of the language coincides with that of the Hebrew, in an instance in which the Hebrew differs from all the languages of Europe, antient or modern. However, the use of the affixed pronouns in the Mohegan language, is not perfectly similar to the use of them in the Hebrew. As in the Hebrew they are joined to the ends of words only, but in the Mohegan, they are sometimes joined to the ends, sometimes to the beginnings, and sometimes to both. Thus, *tmobecan*, is a hatchet or ax; *ndumbecan*, is my hatchet; *ktumbecan*, thy hatchet; *utumbecan*, his hatchet; *ndumbecannub*, our hatchet; *ktumbecanoowub*, your hatchet; *utumbecanoowub*, their hatchet. It is observable, that the pronouns for the singular number are prefixed, and for the plural, the prefixed pronouns for the singular being retained, there are others added as suffixes.

It is further to be observed, that, by the increase of the word, the vowels are changed and transposed; as *tmobecan*, *ndumbecan*; the *o* is changed into *u* and transposed, in a manner analogous to what is often done in the Hebrew. The *t* is changed into *d*, *cuphonia gratia*.

A considerable part of the appellatives are never used without a pronoun affixed. The Mohegans can say, my father, *nogh*; thy father, *kogh*, &c. &c. but they cannot say absolutely *father*. There is no such word in all their language. If you were to say *ogh*, which the word would be, if stripped of all affixes, you would make a Mohegan both stare and smile. The same observation is applicable to *mother*, *brother*, *sister*, *son*, *head*, *hand*, *foot*, &c. in short,

to



to those things in general which necessarily in their natural state belong to some person. A hatchet is sometimes found without an owner, and therefore they sometimes have occasion to speak of it absolutely, or without referring it to an owner. But as a *head, hand, &c.* naturally belong to some person, and they have no occasion to speak of them without referring to the person to whom they belong; so they have no words to express them absolutely. This I presume is a peculiarity in which this language differs from all languages, which have ever yet come to the knowledge of the learned world.

The pronouns are in like manner prefixed and suffixed to verbs. The Mohegans never use a verb in the infinitive mood, or without a nominative or agent; and never use a verb transitive without expressing both the agent and the object, correspondent to the nominative and accusative cases in Latin. Thus they can neither say, *to love*, nor *I love, thou givest, &c.* But they can say, *I love thee, thou givest him, &c. viz. Nduwuhunuw*, I love him or her; *ndubwhuntammin*, I love it; *ktubwhunin*, I love thee; *ktubwhunookmub*, I love you, (in the plural) *ndubwhununk*, I love them. This, I think, is another peculiarity of this language.

Another peculiarity is, that the nominative and accusative pronouns prefixed and suffixed, are always used, even though other nominatives and accusatives be expressed. Thus they cannot say, *John loves Peter*; they always say, *John he loves him Peter*; *John udubwhunuw Peteran*. Hence when the Indians begin to talk English, they universally express themselves according to this idiom.

It is further observable, that the pronoun in the accusative case is sometimes in the same instance expressed by both a prefix and a suffix; as *ktubwhunin*, I love thee. The *k* prefixed, and the syllable *in*, suffixed, both unite to express, and are both necessary to express the accusative case *thee*.

They have no verb substantive in all the language; therefore they cannot say, *he is a man, he is a coward, &c.* They express the same by one word, which is a verb neuter, viz. *nemannauwoo*, he is a man. *Nemannauw*, is the noun substantive, *man*: that turned into a verb neuter of the third person singular, becomes *nemannauwoo*, as in Latin, it is said, *græcor, græcatur, &c.* Thus they turn any substantive whatever into a verb neuter; *kmattannij-*  
*sautaub,*

*fauteub*, you are a coward, from *matanfautee*, a coward: *kpefquaufoeb*, you are a girl, from *peefquaufoo*, a girl\*.

Hence also we see the *reason*, why they have no verb substantive. As they have no adjectives, and as they turn their substantives into verbs on any occasion, they have no use for the substantive or auxiliary verb.

The third person singular seems to be the radix, or most simple form of the several persons of their verbs in the indicative mood: but the second person singular of the imperative, seems to be the most simple of any of the forms of their verbs: as *meeifib*, eat thou; *meeifoo*, he eateth; *amecifib*, I eat; *kmeefib*, thou eatest, &c.

They have a past and future tense to their verbs; but often, if not generally, they use the form of the present tense, to express both past and future events. As *wnukwob ndiotuwobpob*, yesterday I fought; or *wnukwob ndiotuwob*, yesterday I fight; *ndioturwauch wupkob*, I shall fight to-morrow; or *wupkauch ndiotuwob*, to-morrow I fight. In this last case, the variation of *wupkob* to *wupkauch*, denotes the future tense; and this variation is in the word *to-morrow*, not in the verb *fight*.

They have very few prepositions, and those are rarely used, but in composition. *Anneb*, is to; *ocheb*, is from. But to, from, &c. are almost always expressed by an alteration of the verb. Thus, *ndoghpeb*, is I ride, and *Wnoghquetookoke*, is Stockbridge. But if I would say in Indian, *I ride to Stockbridge*, I must say, not *anneb Wnoghquetookoke ndoghpeb*, but *Wnoghquetookoke ndinnetoghpeb*. If I would say, *I ride from Stockbridge*, it must be, not *ocheb Wnoghquetookoke ndoghpeb*; but *Wnoghquetookoke nochetoghpeb*. Thus *ndinnogbob* is, I walk to a place; *notogbob*, I walk from a place; *ndinnebnub*, I run to a place; *nochetbnub*, I run from a place. And any verb may be compounded, with the prepositions, *anneb* and *ocheb* to and from.

It has been said, that savages have no parts of speech besides the substantive and the verb. This is not true concerning the Mohegans, nor concerning any other tribe of Indians, of whose language I have any knowledge. The Mohegans have all the eight parts of speech, to be found in other languages, though prepositions are so rarely used,

\* The circumstance that they have no verb substantive, accounts for their not using that verb, when they speak English. They say, *I am*, *I sick*, &c.

except

except in composition, that I once determined that part of speech to be wanting. It has been said also, that savages never abstract, and have no abstract terms, which with regard to the Mohegans, is another mistake. They have *ubwundowukon*, love; *schcundowbkon*, hatred; *nsoonowukon*, malice; *pyubtommauwukon*, religion, &c. I doubt not, but that there is in this language the full proportion of abstract, to concrete terms, which is commonly to be found in other languages.

Besides what has been observed concerning prefixes and suffixes, there is a remarkable analogy, between some words in the Mohegan language, and the correspondent words in the Hebrew. In Mohegan, *Neab*, is I: the Hebrew of which is *Ani*. *Kaab*, is thou or thee: the Hebrews use *ka*, the suffix. *Uwob*, is this man, or this thing: very analogous to the Hebrew *hu* or *hua*, ipse. *Neaunub*, is we: in the Hebrew *nachnu* and *anachnu*.

In Hebrew, *ni*, is the suffix for *me*, or the first person; In the Mohegan, *n* or *ne* is prefixed, to denote the first person; as *nmee'feh* or *nemee'feh*, I eat. In Hebrew, *k* or *ka* is the suffix for the second person, and is indifferently either a pronoun substantive or adjective: *k* or *ka* has the same use in the Mohegan language; as *kme'feh*, or *kame'feh*, thou eatest; *knisk*, thy hand. In Hebrew, the *van*, the letter *u* and *hu*, are the suffixes for he or him: In Mohegan, the same is expressed by *u* or *uw*, and by *oo*: as *ndubwunuw*, I love him; *pumissoo*, he walketh. The suffix, to express *our* or *us* in Hebrew, is *nu*; in Mohegan, the suffix, of the same signification, is *nub*; as *nogbnub*, our father; *nmee'feh'nub*, we eat, &c.

How far the use of prefixes and suffixes, together with these instances of analogy, and perhaps other instances, which may be traced out by those who have more leisure, go towards proving, that the North American Indians are of Hebrew, or at least Asiatic extraction, is submitted to the judgment of the learned. The facts are demonstrable: concerning the proper inferences, every one will judge for himself. In the modern Armenian language, the pronouns are affixed\*. How far affixes are in use among the other modern Asiatics, I have not had opportunity to obtain information. It is to be desired, that those who are informed, would communicate to the public what information they may possess, relating to this matter. Perhaps,

\* Vide Schroderi thesaurum Linguae Armenicae.

by such communication, and by a comparison of the languages of the North-American Indians, with the languages of Asia, it may appear, not only from what quarter of the world, but from what particular nations, these Indians are derived.

It is to be wished, that every one who makes a vocabulary of any Indian language, would be careful to notice the prefixes and suffixes, and to distinguish accordingly. One man may ask an Indian, what he calls *band* in his language, holding out his own hand to him: The Indian will naturally answer, *kaisk*, i. e. *thy* hand. Another man will ask the same question, pointing to the Indian's hand. In this case, he will as naturally answer, *niisk*, *my* hand. Another may ask the same question, pointing to the hand of a third person. In this case, the answer will naturally be *unisk*, *his* hand. This would make a very considerable diversity in the corresponding words of different vocabularies; when, if due attention were rendered to the personal prefixes and suffixes, the words would be the very same, or much more similar.

The like attention to the moods and personal affixes of the verbs is necessary. If you ask an Indian how he expresses in his language, to *go*, or *walk*; and to illustrate your meaning, point to a person who is walking; he will tell you *pumissoo*, he walks. If to make him understand, you walk yourself, his answer will be, *kpumseh*, thou walkest. If you illustrate your meaning by pointing to the walk of the Indian, the answer will be, *npumseh*, I walk. If he take you to mean *go* or *walk*, in the imperative mood, he will answer *pumisséb*, walk thou.

APPEN.

## APPENDIX.

AS the following ANECDOTE is well authenticated, and stands recommended by an artless simplicity, it may not be unacceptable to the Reader to find it inserted in this vacant page.

### CONVERSATION BETWEEN THE REV. MR. M——, AND PAGEY, AN INDIAN.

*Pagey.* Do you know any ting, Sir, of Jesus Christ?

*Minister.* I trust I do.

*Pagey.* O blessed for ever Jesus Christ, he make white man know him, he make poor Indian know him, blessed for ever, Amen.

*Minister.* How did you find Jesus Christ?

*Pagey.* I no finde him, he finde me.

*Minister.* Where did he find you?

*Pagey.* I was a work in my field a hoeing my corn and den I tink I hear someting say *Pagey!* Ah, I look but I see noting. So I stoop'd down again and I hoe my corn, and I tink I hear someting say *Pagey!* I cry out what a you say? but I see noting, and I feel cold on my head. I go up high hill and look round but I see noting, den I tink I hear someting say again, *Pagey!* I cry out what a you say? and I tink he say to me *Pagey!* you know who gave a you dat corn? I say no; and he say Jesus Christ gave a you dat corn; I fall on my face on a ground, and I cry, cry, when I tink a blessed Jesus give poor drunken Indian corn.

*Minister.* What, *Pagey*, do you get drunk now?

*Pagey.* O no, me never be drunk again after Jesus Christ tell a me he give a me dat corn—so den I go home to my wigwam (his house or hut) and see a my squaw (his wife)—my squaw be a drunk. I take up a tick for a beat a my squaw, but while I hold up amy hand to beat a my squaw, I tink I hear blessed Jesus say—*Pagey!* Jesus Christ a beat a you when you was drunken Indian? So den I throw down my tick and I fall on my face, and I cry, and I pray for my squaw, and blessed Jesus hear me, and my poor squaw never get drunk any more. O blessed for ever Jesus Christ, Amen.

One man he ask a me—*Pagey!* who is best, you or your brother deacon? I say no best, Jesus Christ best, blessed for ever, Amen. Dey tell a me I must tink dare be tree in God, and but one God, so I tell a my blessed Jesus, and he say, *Pagey!* you know de rain? yes; and you know de hail? yes; and you know de snow? yes. Well, you know de rain be water, de snow be water, and de hail be water—but they are all one water—I jump up—I have a, I have a.

Communicated by the Rev. Mr. M—— of America to Dr. M—— and from him to J. R.

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